

## Broader Horizons

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A Study of Johannes Witte de Hese's *Itinerarius*  
and Medieval Travel Narratives

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For my grandmothers

Helga Engebretsen Nøkleby (1894–1985)

and

Olga Swanson Westrem (1899–2000)

Who taught me that “manis soule . . . is i-cleped orisoun, as it were  
þe next marche in kynde bytwene bodily and goostly þinges”  
(John Trevisa’s translation of Ranulph Higden’s *Polychronicon*  
[II.i; ed. Churchill Babington, 2:183]).



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## Preface

JOHANNES WITTE DE HESE, identifying himself as a cleric in the diocese of Utrecht, claims to have been in Jerusalem in 1389 on a pilgrimage that he then extended to include Egypt, the Sinai, the capital city of Prester John's empire, the church of Saint Thomas in India, Purgatory, and the island haunts of strange humans and animals. Nothing more is known about this writer, whose name may be as much an invention as the story he tells. His little book—it runs only around forty-four hundred words—records in unremarkable Latin how one late-medieval northern European combined reading, conversation, and fantasy to construct a unique image of the world. This potpourri of information and fiction—untitled in the earliest manuscripts but by the late 1400s called the *Itinerarius*—presents an earth whose wondrous geography makes holy places ubiquitous and accessible even to a common Dutchman. It is tempting to dismiss Witte's *Itinerarius* as a juvenile prank or a “typical” example of medieval gullibility, and some readers have done so.

I believe that this book deserves serious, though not naïve, attention. In claiming to have been visiting sacred sites in the Holy Land when he embarked on a voyage that carried him to the heart of India, Witte recalls pilgrimage accounts and other travel narratives written by Europeans who visited Asia, from the eastern Mediterranean coast to the China Sea, especially after the mid-1200s. The *Itinerarius* belongs to a group—it cannot quite be called a tradition—of texts. They share a vocabulary that includes common verbs of motion, concrete nouns, and superlative adjectives; a style that combines autobiographical details about travel with ethnographic, political, and mercantile observations; and a perspective that reflects authorial attempts to achieve some comprehension of what has been at times a literally alienating experience.

Perhaps it would be more appropriate to say that Witte's book borrows from, rather than belongs to, this group, because it reports an imagi-

nary journey. Indeed, it demonstrates a knowledge of other texts whose authors surveyed exotic landscapes with their mind's eye, including *The Letter of Prester John* and *The Voyage of Saint Brendan*. It is thus a work of even more, though not greater, fiction than *The Book of John Mandeville*, whose content comes largely from reports by actual pilgrims, ambassadors, and merchants. As one of the first (if not *the* first) truly fabricated travel books in the Western tradition, the *Itinerarius* represents what Chaucer's duplicitous Canon might call "a thyng yfallen al of newe." I address these issues in chapter 1 by offering an analytical synopsis of the *Itinerarius*, discussing travel literature as a genre and summarizing European accounts of journeys undertaken between 1240 and 1400. In addition, in the commentary I draw on various medieval sources in an effort to explicate and contextualize Witte's book.

The *Itinerarius* itself has a history that is interesting in its own right: it offers a case study of what might happen to a book written in northern Europe during the late Middle Ages. In its language of composition, Latin, the work is found in eight manuscripts (the oldest almost certainly from 1424) and in eleven printed editions that appeared during the heyday of the Age of Discovery: seven of them during the 1490s, three the following decade, and one more in 1565. Records exist of three manuscript copies of a fifteenth-century translation into Middle Dutch, in which the traveler calls himself Johan (Jan) Voet and says he left Jerusalem in 1398. The textual tradition indicates that at least several additional manuscripts in both languages must once have existed. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, then, this book had the potential to reach a fair number of readers and listeners.

The *Itinerarius* did not remain in its pristine form, however. The Latin narrative underwent considerable revision three times, and the evidence shows that scribes and printers, rather than the author, were responsible for the changes. These successive stages of development—or mutation—make for significantly different texts: the first largely removes the author's voice by placing much of the account in the third person (a change that is later reversed), while the next two introduce hundreds of lexical and syntactical changes in efforts to improve the work's style. There is little evidence that revisers found the *Itinerarius* dubious or mendacious; indeed, independent interpolations in three manuscripts reinforce Witte's reliability. Readers seem to have judged it similarly, given the general tenor of marginalia and the frequency with which it was bound together, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with works of theology, history, natural science, and geography in manuscript codices and printed book collections. The Middle Dutch translation shows a different kind of mutation from the Latin original, which constitutes another reason to trace the book's textual history carefully. Producing orthographically and semantically dissimilar versions of a single translation, scribes "translated" the work from one Dutch dialect into another in the course of copying it.



A careful analysis of the Latin text's development also demonstrates that the seven printers who produced the *Itinerarius* between ca. 1490 and 1565 used—today we would say pirated—each other's work, so that a clear line of descent extends from the first edition to the eleventh. After the book's third publication, and except for the last one, changes are rare and often result from typographical errors. Printers may have raced—even competed—to get a book about travel in Asia into the hands of Europeans eager for information about new worlds; three of them (in 1499, 1504, and ca. 1507) moved Witte's date of departure from Jerusalem ahead one century, to 1489, probably in a deliberate attempt to market their product as news. As the printing press introduced texts with a regional appeal to larger audiences, the *Itinerarius*, which initially circulated in German-speaking areas, particularly in the Rhineland, began to appear farther afield, and its content generated the interest, and occasional censure, of scholars.

These issues related to the history of the *Itinerarius* as a book are the focus of chapter 2, which addresses the identity of Johannes Witte de Hese and the critical reception of the book attributed to him, and of chapter 3, which delineates the text's transmission. The description of this transmission has as its basis the heart of this book, chapters 4 and 5: the critical editions of the Latin and Middle Dutch versions of the work and the textual notes. By isolating discrete variants in the critical editions and by offering other kinds of information in the textual notes (as well as by linking this work to other medieval travel books in focused commentary paragraphs, in chapter 7), I attempt to represent comprehensively the range of texts that make up what is called Witte's *Itinerarius*. The English translation in chapter 6 is, I hope, neither more nor less rhetorically sophisticated than the original (in its earliest version), and notes account for discrepancies in the Latin and Dutch texts. Brief descriptions of the manuscripts appear in an appendix.

This range is wide and reflects the perils of editing medieval works, at least one that differs so from text to text that it borders on fiction to print any one of them as *the* version that early readers knew. Yet this conundrum befits a book whose author's identity cannot be established and whose title appears to be a printer's invention. Writing, as I shall for a couple hundred pages, about "Johannes Witte de Hese's *Itinerarius*" is, thus, in a sense already writing fiction. Witte himself describes the predicament he faced having to sail between two dangerous seas: one whose lode-stone bottom threatened to act as a lethal magnet to vessels with iron aboard, and another of shifting sands where one-eyed cannibals were on the lookout for tasty mariners. One *must* pass beyond these obstacles, he writes, "and thus it is essential that one have a favorable, direct wind" in order to escape alive. In the following examination and presentation of a book that is at once uninformed and curious about the world, sophomoric yet significant, I attempt to avoid either treating it with dismissive condescension or suggesting that it compares to Dante, either making it seem

that the text we have of the *Itinerarius* is univocal (this would be not fiction but a lie) or offering an edition that is unreadable. I hope for a good wind, although my life does not depend on it—but then, in fact, neither did Witte's.

# Acknowledgments

BEFORE EXPRESSING HIS GRATITUDE to a variety of organizations and people who contributed in one way or another to his book *The Powers of Prophecy*, the historian Robert E. Lerner began his "Acknowledgments" with an affecting, poignant observation. Foreseeing a time when all extant medieval codices would be available in a computerized format, so that work on them might be done by "pushing buttons," he recognized the potential richness of resulting studies. Recalling the Baroque libraries and fields of lavender he had encountered on his own travels from manuscript to manuscript, however, he expressed some dismay that in such a future, plainly put, "research will be infinitely less fun." Lerner's book was published in 1983. I am happy to report nearly two decades later not only that scholarship continues to be an enterprise supported by many good souls to whom thanks are due but also that it still affords much delight.

I must acknowledge at the outset that the present volume is something of a curiosity in that it is the product of some two decades of intermittent work. At its core are two editions and a translation of a fictional pilgrimage account that comprised the centerpiece of my dissertation, which I completed at Northwestern University in 1985. My work on the Latin and Middle Dutch manuscript copies of Johannes Witte de Hese's *Itinerarius* never would have begun in the first place had it not been for the attention I received, beginning in April 1981, at the James Ford Bell Library at the University of Minnesota from its curator and associate curator, John Parker and Carol Urness (she has since become curator). Its development was greatly furthered by a Dissertation Year Fellowship from The Graduate School at Northwestern University and by a grant from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service), or DAAD, which enabled me to study at the University of Heidelberg from 1981 to 1983. While many scholars lent their expertise to answering my questions and filling some of the gaps in my knowledge during that time,

I may well have abandoned the entire project had it not been for the encouragement, early on, of several (I give the names of their institutions here as I first knew them): Ursula Altmann (Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in [East] Berlin), Harmut Beckers (Universität Münster), Albert Derolez (Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent), and Pieter Obbema (Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden). At the Universität Heidelberg, my work was fostered by two particularly keen and sympathetic professors, Karl-Friedrich Kraft and the late Elfriede Stutz.

Experience taught me that research certainly could be adventuresome, if not always fun, as I hitchhiked to Czechoslovakia and back; worked amid the acrid smell of the brewery across a narrow lane from the tidy Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek in Donaueschingen, a quick stroll from one source of the Danube; and learned where best to cross into East Berlin on my many day visits, as well as where to stop to buy long-playing vinyl recordings from the Soviet Union in order to use up the “Ostmarken” I was required to exchange (and spend) every day before going back to the other side of the Wall.

My dissertation begins with a history of later medieval travel narratives running some three hundred pages, a context into which I hoped to set Witte’s *Itinerarius*. In the course of writing it, I decided to follow an idealized route to the Holy Land to understand something of what a medieval pilgrim might have witnessed. I still can hear the clacking of worry beads on a bus threading its way over a mountain pass in Turkey, still see the parade of pious Christians from throughout the world re-enacting Jesus’s route to the Cross along the Via Dolorosa on Good Friday, still smell the Dead Sea. Having blundered onto the site of Hama a day or two after the third largest city in Syria had been turned into a ruin during a government-directed air raid on rebels that cost many thousand lives, I came within a hair’s breadth of being shot by members of an army militia conducting a passport check on the bus I had boarded (unwittingly, and after authorities thought I had been sent in a different direction). The devastation was top secret, and word that an American had become a witness caused bedlam. My companions at the time—four Libyan history teachers who mistook me for a Norwegian (I was admittedly dissembling) and with whom I had been conversing animatedly about Ibn Batuta, the greatest medieval traveler of all, just before we were stopped for inspection—demanded as “brothers” of the Syrian soldiers that I be released to them. They won my life, and while they were demonstrably unnerved over my citizenship, they asked me to stay with them in the Libyan hostel in Damascus. In that ancient city, through their good offices, an imam showed me the shrine of John the Baptist in the city’s Great Mosque, explaining his importance to Muslims and, in an echo of a famous passage in the *Book of John Mandeville*, noting significant parallels between Islam and Christianity. It is fair to say that I am more indebted to this anonymous quartet

from Tripoli than to anyone else that my study was ever finished. Lerner's vision of a digitalized future has its attractions.

A less personally threatening hindrance nearly obstructed the completion of my dissertation after I returned to Northwestern. When I was quite far along in the introductory chapters on travel narratives and their history—my editions and translation of the *Itinerarius* having been finished—it was discovered that owing to my absence in Germany, I had never written a formal dissertation prospectus. At this stage in the project it was not difficult for me to fashion one nearly overnight, but rather to my surprise the Department of English rejected it: a chapter on travel narratives might preface a study of the journey or the pilgrimage as a trope in the poetry of Dante and Chaucer, but such works on their own lacked sufficient literary merit to justify being the subject of a doctoral thesis. This was precisely the perspective I was trying to gainsay, and I always will be appreciative to the members of my dissertation committee—Leonard Bar-kan, Traugott Lawler (director), and Catharine Regan—for maintaining that I should be allowed to attempt to make my case, as well as for their suggestions about how to make it more cogently. I mention this anecdote in part as a general acknowledgment of how much the academy has shifted in only a short time: it would be difficult to imagine a dissertation prospectus on travel narratives being rejected for the same reason today. Sometimes such a movement in tectonic plates has a proximate cause, however, and I believe that the publication of Mary B. Campbell's elegant book *The Witness and the Other World*, in 1988, demonstrated the cultural value of what may now be called a genre (even if its definition remains tentative). Others at Northwestern contributed significantly to my dissertation and the process of its completion. Robert E. Lerner offered copious learned annotations to sections of it. Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Dean of The Graduate School, supported me as a student and did me the honor of making me his assistant during my last two years at the university, educating me in the wider world of the academy. In this capacity I also gained much from Leila S. Edwards, John D. Margolis, and Claire Prince.

My dissertation remained in a drawer while I faced a demanding teaching schedule and other responsibilities at Lehman College of the City University of New York (and, later, at the CUNY Graduate Center). A chance encounter in August 1988 with V. A. Kolve in that marvelous United Nations of scholarship—the (former) Reading Room of the British Library—opened the cabinet. In his customary sage and attentive way, Del listened to my description of an erstwhile project, encouraged me to return to it despite all else, and suggested that I submit it to the Medieval Academy for its consideration. (Thus began what has become over time my profound indebtedness to him.) It is fair to say that in the present volume, which the Medieval Academy accepted for publication in 1991, most of my dissertation has been dramatically revised. Mary Campbell and an anonymous

scholar were readers of my manuscript, and I am grateful to both for their insights and suggestions, which have also been incorporated here.

Because my book entered a queue of publications, each of which is meticulously reviewed and edited by the staff at the Academy (in addition to their many other duties), I have had some leisure and occasion to revisit my submission of over a decade ago. In the early 1990s, Robert Lerner sent me a citation from a recently published catalog recording that a Latin copy of Witte's *Itinerarius* was in the holdings of the municipal library at Soest, in Westphalia. A grant from the Professional Staff Congress and the City University of New York, administered by CUNY's Research Foundation, made it possible for me to examine this manuscript, which I knew I needed to include in a published edition. In so doing, Lerner, ever an alert and generous teacher, enabled me to experience the wonder of Soest, a medieval gem whose buildings are constructed from local, distinctively green limestone and whose air is redolent with the odor of baking pumpernickel, which was invented there in the 1450s. I found it to be a hindrance to scholarship as the noon hour approaches. A three-month Summer Grant from the DAAD during 1996 supported my work in German libraries on another project, but I also used the occasion to re-examine my readings of all manuscript copies of the *Itinerarius* in European collections.

Two other men have left a mark on this book in ways neither could have imagined. Wallace W. Douglas, a peppery man and a specialist in Romantic poetry and composition theory at Northwestern, was the most scrupulous reader of my dissertation, which he returned to me laden with annotations a year after I received my degree. He was a devoted friend who taught me much, through correction and example. The poet James Merrill left his home in Stonington, Connecticut, to that borough's Village Improvement Association in order to give a selected writer an opportunity to work quietly and without interruption. It was my good fortune to be the second recipient of his—and the VIA's—generosity, in 1996–97. I used this opportunity (among other things) to refashion completely my presentation of the three versions of the *Itinerarius*, using numbered lemmata instead of lines to treat discrete sections of text, which in turn required a complete revision of chapter 3. I also updated sections of other chapters. On 7 February 1995, the *New York Times* ran obituaries for Wally Douglas and Jimmy Merrill side by side. My year in Stonington was much enlivened by the presence—and great kindness—of many of the borough's residents, chief among them Raymond Izbecki, Sylvia Lynch, Chip Kidd, J. D. McClatchy, and Eleanor Perényi.

Many scholars and friends in several countries have lent significant intellectual and emotional support—often the two have not been clearly distinguishable—over the course of the evolution of the present volume. Chief among those whose names have not already been mentioned are: Oscar Behrens, the late Jean Hagstrum, Peter S. Hawkins, Iain Macleod Higgins, Rachel Jacoff, Gerlof Janzen, the late Mills B. Lane IV, Karen and

Robert Upchurch, and Robyn and Reid Westrem. I can never thank Flora Sedgwick enough for undertaking the assiduous task of teaching me, in fact, to read; without Guido Kauls's mastery of foreign language pedagogy I never would have been able to function at a German university. Johanna Prins offered many suggestions for improving my work on the Middle Dutch text. During my years in Heidelberg from 1981 to 1983—and many times since then—Margot and Walter Maisel treated me like a third son (and their children Kirti and Thomas accepted me as a brother); I can never repay their kindnesses. On two visits to Czechoslovakia during those same years, Petr Antl and his wife Klára Antlová—together with Petr's parents Zuzana and Pavel, and his brother Pavel—bestowed generosity on me in ways that, given the times, amounted to real courage. They have remained ever openhanded, but happily, since the Velvet Revolution, their bravery has been less severely tested. Stephen A. Saitas, who is as aware as anyone I know of how my heart goes out to cartography, has traveled a good distance with me. He skillfully produced two figures for this book. Kheir Fakhreldin, a doctoral student in English at the CUNY Graduate Center, assisted me in compiling the index.

Finally, I am indebted to the staff of the Medieval Academy of America for shepherding this book. Luke Wenger, the former director, made helpful suggestions regarding format and content after the volume was first accepted for publication. Richard K. Emmerson, the current director, energetically promoted the appearance of this project. As readers of and contributors to *Speculum* may well expect, Jacqueline Brown has brought her general knowledge of medieval culture, her command of several languages, and her adroit editorial expertise to bear on the content and correctness of this text. The Academy's choice of Juleen Audrey Eichinger as an independent editor for this book was inspired: she has been attentive, consistent, exacting, patient, meticulous, and considerate.

Scott D. Westrem  
15 May 2001





# Abbreviations

## *Latin Manuscripts*

- A* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library, MS 1424/Co (MS Phillipps 6650)
- B* Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haus 2, MS lat. fol. 245
- C* Soest, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 17
- D* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 18770 (Tegernsee MS 770)
- E* Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 718
- F* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 4758 (copy of *a*)
- G* Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, MS VI. E. 21 (copy of *a*)
- H* Gent, Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, MS 13 (copy of *e*)

## *Middle Dutch Manuscripts*

- K* Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haus 1, MS Phillipps 1981 (MS Meerman 1055)
- L* Manuscript once in the library of Abraham de Vries of Haarlem and sold at auction on 16–26 March 1864; printed in 1845 (see *V*)
- M* Manuscript once in the libraries of Dr. J. F. M. Sterck of Aardenhout (MS 13) and Dr. A. J. Henneman of Nijmegen; last recorded seen 26 October 1961

## *Latin Editions (to 1565)*

- a* Cologne: Johann Guldenschaff, ca. 1490 (NUC NH 0330968; Copinger 2951; Goff H-142.)
- b* Cologne: Cornelius de Zyrickzee, ca. 1497–99 (NUC NH 0330981; Copinger 2949; Goff H-147 [first title page]; VT 1643 [second title page]; much revised copy of *a*)

- c* Cologne: Cornelius de Zyrickzee, ca. 1497–99 (NUC NH 0330976; Hain-Copinger \*8535; Goff H-145; revised copy of *b*)
- d* Cologne: Cornelius de Zyrickzee, ca. 1497–99 (NUC NH 0330965 and NH 0330977; Copinger 2948; Goff H-146; revised copy of *c*)
- e* Antwerp: Govaert Bac, ca. 1497–99 (NUC NH 0330973–0330975; Copinger 2947; Goff H-144; revised copy of *c*)
- f* Deventer: Jacob de Breda, after 10 April 1497 (Copinger 2950; revised copy of *d*)
- g* Deventer: Richard Pafraet, 1499 (NUC 0330969; Hain-Copinger \*8537; Goff H-143; revised copy of *f*)
- h* Deventer: Jacob de Breda, 24 February 1504 (BCNI 174; revised copy of *g*)
- i* Deventer: Richard Pafraet, 26 April 1505 (BCNI 208; revised copy of *f*)
- j* Paris: Robert Gourmont for Oliver Senant, ca. 1507 (NUC NH 0330983 and 0330985; Hain-Copinger \*8536; Goff H-148 [two title pages, one breaking the word “Oli/uerium” at the end of a line, the other reading “Oliuerium”]; revised copy of *b*)
- k* Antwerp: Johannes Withagius, 1565; ed. Nicholas Mameranus (NUC NH 0330988; BCNI 2944; revised copy of *b*)

### *Scholarly Editions*

- O* Gustav Oppert, ed., *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* (Berlin, 1864; 2nd ed. 1870; an edition of *b*)
- V* Mathias de Vries, ed., “Fragment eener Nederlandsche Vertaling van het Reisverhaal van Joannes de Hese,” *Verslagen en Berigten Uitgegeven door de Vereeniging ter Bevordering der Oude Nederlandsche Letterkunde* 2 (1845), 5–32; an edition of *L*)
- W* Scott D. Westrem, “A Critical Edition of Johannes Witte de Hese’s *Itinerarius*, the Middle Dutch Text, an English Translation, and Commentary, together with an Introduction to European Accounts of Travel to the East (1240–1400)” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1985; critical editions accounting for *ABDEFGHae* and *KL*)
- Z* Friedrich Zarncke, “Der Priester Johannes,” *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 7–8 (Leipzig, 1879–83 [for 1876]), 7:827–1028 and 8:1–186; an edition of *B*, occasionally noting variants based on *O*)

### *Other Abbreviations*

- BCNI *Bibliotheca Catholica Neerlandica impressa, 1500–1727* (The Hague, 1954)
- Copinger W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain’s Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 3 vols. (London, 1895–1902)

D	Dutch lemma
E	English lemma
Goff	Frederick R. Goff, <i>Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections</i> (New York, 1964)
Hain	Ludwig Hain, <i>Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel accuratius recensentur</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1826–38)
L	Latin lemma
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
NUC	<i>National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989; compact disc version, 1992)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
TN	Textual Notes for the Latin Edition (see pp. 155–81)
VT	Ernst Voulliéme, <i>Die Inkunabeln der öffentlichen Bibliothek und der kleineren Büchersammlungen der Stadt Trier</i> (Leipzig, 1910)

## The *Itinerarius*: Content and Context

### 1. Travel as Travail

THE ORACLE at Delphi pronounced the happiest man in the world to have been Aglaus of Psophis, who experienced little sadness in life because he never left his small farm in a remote corner of Arcadia. Pliny records this anecdote in his *Historia naturalis*, an eclectic and vast encyclopedia of science that reached most of its medieval European readers via Solinus's compilation *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (ca. A.D. 240). This is the book of wonders that C. Raymond Beazley dismissed as having been assembled "on the principle 'Credo,' or at least 'Lego, quia impossibile,'" in which geography functions merely "as a framework on which the web of the story-teller is woven into the garments of romance."<sup>1</sup> Solinus was justly nicknamed Polyhistor, and given the fabric of his many descriptions of marvels and monsters found throughout the world, Aglaus's good fortune as a happy homebody cannot rescue him from cutting a boring figure.

Full citations for works abbreviated in footnotes may be found in the bibliography, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>1</sup>Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 1:40. Accounts of Aglaus's happiness are in Pliny, *Natural History*, 7.46.151 (Book 7 is largely a catalog of wonders in Asia and Africa); and Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, 1.127, p. 31. Mommsen knew of 153 Latin manuscript copies (pp. xxix–lii) and many incunable and early printed editions (pp. lvi–lvii) of Solinus's work. The only translation into English is Arthur Golding's, published in 1587; see the facsimile *The Excellent and Pleasant Worke Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. George Kish. Kish discusses Solinus's "unabated popularity for over a thousand years" in the first three paragraphs of his unpaginated introduction (pp. 1–2). He concludes that it is "indeed safe to say that no other work had remained as popular as Solinus," even long after Europeans "possessed first-hand information on the countries he wrote about" (p. 3).

This is the paradox of travel, as both an activity and a subject for verbal entertainment. Even today, with supersonic transportation, air conditioned hotels, and a nearly universal language, travel is not without its discomforts and perils. It was all the more irksome during the Middle Ages (when the English word was more aptly *travail* and when *reisen/reizen* in Germanic languages also meant 'to march an army'). Yet for centuries audiences have derived pleasure from participating vicariously in journeys to remote lands; those attributed to Saint Brendan, Marco Polo, and Sir John Mandeville survive in many hundreds of manuscripts. Indeed, as these three names suggest, a traveler may occasionally be refashioned or even invented to amuse—perhaps also to instruct—the Aglauses who never leave home. One such invention is the subject of this book.

That travel resonates in the Western imagination is no mystery. Medieval Europe learned from its three influential monotheistic religions that history began with a fall from grace that forced humanity's progenitors to take "their first journey" as exiles from Paradise.<sup>2</sup> These faiths also liken each individual's life to a pilgrimage whose goal and resting place is God/Allah, and they have made this analogy manifest by endorsing actual journeys to holy places on earth. In Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, the drama of redemption is replete with the imagery of motion: the flight out of Egypt, the way of the cross, the hegira. From this perspective, the ideal of harmonious stasis in Arcadia, while it may offer bucolic charm, is naïve because it ignores the fundamental facts of human existence. The gulf fixed between Aglaus and Adam is sin. Although both experience life in a happy garden, the contented man of the Golden Age does not commit a primal act of disobedience that all his restless descendants in a baser Age of Iron will be condemned to repeat. In this classical tradition, travel is a symptom of sin rather than its penalty.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, however, Arcadia cannot be regained, as may Paradise by the believer who moves, with wandering steps and slow, toward salvation.

Thus, it seems only human that writers and their readers are more interested in any far-flung activity of a Ulysses or an Aeneas than in the domestic tranquillity of an Aglaus: for story-tellers and their audiences, some plot is better than none at all. Two putative travelers are particularly noteworthy for their unusual appeal during the Middle Ages. The first of

<sup>2</sup>Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, p. 1; for similar imagery describing Adam and Eve's "journey from Paradise into History" see Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 1. On wayfaring concepts in medieval discourse (with some attention to their roots in the classical world) see Ladner, "*Homo Viator*: Mediaeval Ideas on Alienation and Order."

<sup>3</sup>In Ovid's great creation myth, the first humans are happy because they know only their own shores; see *Metamorphoses* 1.89–162, esp. 94–96. Medieval readers would have found similar associations between the sedentary life and happiness in other standard works by classical and Christian authors, including Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (II. met. 5). Classical philosophers, often the antagonists of poets, turned such historiography around, seeing the expansion of human horizons as coinciding with progress from savagery to civilization.

these is Alexander the Great, whose exploits in Africa and Asia are the subject matter of a network of texts, which collectively form the “Alexander Legend,” written over the course of a millennium in a host of languages, from Greek and Latin (most prominently, Walter of Châtillon’s superlative *Alexandreis* [ca. 1180]) to Persian and various European vernaculars (some of which cast the tale in verse that seldom rises above “rime doggerel”).<sup>4</sup> The second is the narrator of *Le Livre de Jehan de Mandeville* (ca. 1360), an encyclopedic description of the world supposedly based on the international experience of a mercenary soldier who journeyed from England to Cathay between 1322 and 1356 but in fact mostly gleaned from reports by actual travelers to, or residents of, Asia. However scanty the evidence may be for the existence of “Sir John Mandeville,” his *Book* was copied and translated with such frequency (ca. 300 manuscripts in ten European languages are known today) that it became one of the most successful works of the later Middle Ages. Since the 1470s it has enjoyed a robust history as a printed book as well.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. The Matter of the *Itinerarius*

THE LITERARY VICTORY of Alexander and John Mandeville over Aglaus may help to explain the modest popularity during the fifteenth century of a relatively short treatise, entitled *Itinerarius* in its first printed edition (ca. 1490) and written by a Dutchman in holy orders named Johannes Witte de Hese, according to the earliest manuscripts. If we believe his book, his zeal for pilgrimage enabled him to witness wonders effected by familiar saints and fantastical animals, and to experience danger, terror, imprisonment, opulence, disorientation, perplexity, the kindness of strangers—in short, the full range of adventure—during more than two years of travel in Asia during the late 1300s.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup>On the Alexander legend generally see Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, and *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic*, ed. Noble, Polak, and Isoz.

<sup>5</sup>Higgins’s *Writing East* elegantly sorts out the complicated textual and interpretative issues raised by the *Book*. This study and Deluz’s *Le Livre de Jehan de Mandeville* largely replace Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*, although her appendices contain valuable information on manuscripts and printed editions. Deluz (in her studies of both 1998 and 2000) follows Bennett in numbering ca. 250 surviving manuscripts; Higgins’s total of “nearly 300” is more accurate (*Writing East*, p. 8; see also Table 1, pp. 22–23). On the *Book*’s history over time and how it suffered gradual vulgarization see Moseley, “The Metamorphoses of Sir John Mandeville.” For other critical studies see bibliography entries under Bovenschen, Greenblatt, Guéret-Laferté, Haraszti, Howard, Letts, and Warner.

<sup>6</sup>As will quickly become obvious, the *Itinerarius* is a work of fiction, and I indicate in chapter 2 that Johannes Witte de Hese, while a plausible name around 1400, does not appear to be documented outside of this book. I have chosen not to call attention to this fact by using distracting punctuation (referring to the protagonist as “Witte”) or by employing a distinction that would be cumbersome to maintain throughout this discussion (“Witte-pilgrim” vs. “Witte-author”), although I recognize the value of such discrimination

Witte begins his account by identifying himself as a “presbyter”—a priest or, perhaps, a Benedictine—from the “diocese of Utrecht,” territory that during the later Middle Ages comprised much of what is today the Netherlands, and by claiming that he was visiting holy places in Jerusalem, during May of 1389, when he decided to continue his pilgrimage to the Jordan, which he followed to the Red Sea and to Hermopolis, called the “capital city” of Egypt, where the Virgin Mary lived for seven years with the young Jesus.<sup>7</sup> This first sentence characterizes the *Itinerarius* as a whole. It briskly gives information about the narrator and his vocation as a cleric-pilgrim, transports him some 300 miles along a vaguely delineated route, and offers quick sketches of key stops on his journey. The language is at once pious, authoritative, and ambiguous, a peculiar blend that rescues the book from being dismissed as a fantasy in puerile Latin. The devotion that leads Witte to the Jordan, the string of toponyms marking his passage to Hermopolis, and the imprecise use of prepositions to describe his movement (as well as his attribution to an unnamed source [“dicitur”] of the name of Egypt’s capital [5]) all encourage the reader to trust a well-intentioned, if ineloquent, narrator rather than to notice that he *appears* to believe that the Jordan river flows into the Red Sea and to know nothing of Cairo.<sup>8</sup>

Witte’s voyage to Hermopolis exposes him to unusual marine life, an early glimpse of the exotica that will characterize his Asia and of the laconic writing style of this narrator, who seems ruffled by nothing. He samples a species of fish—it has the head of a cat and the beak of an eagle—that flies over the water the distance a bolt can be shot from a crossbow and requires long boiling. After claiming to have “no memory” of the many other odd animals he observed, he recalls seeing serpents soaring back and forth between water and land, poisoning humans unlucky enough not to have the antidote: ashes from palm trees or a plant called “choral,” which grows at the site, marked by four stones, where Moses led the children of Israel

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in studies of other medieval works that employ the persona of a “traveler” (including *The Divine Comedy*, *The Canterbury Tales*, and *The Book of John Mandeville*). Higgins, in distinguishing between “the Mandeville-author” and “his textual stand-in, Sir John,” believes the writer of the *Book* to be “irretrievably encrypted” in his derivative text (*Writing East*, p. 8). My references throughout this book to Witte’s itinerary or his *Itinerarius* should not be misconstrued as suggesting that he was an actual traveler, cleric, or writer.

<sup>7</sup>All references to the *Itinerarius*, unless otherwise noted, correspond to the Latin critical edition (employing the English translation) published in this volume. Specific passages are identified by line number for the Latin text (between parentheses); each variant is cited by the lemma number it has been assigned in the apparatus. References to the Middle Dutch also follow the text of the edition printed here (line and lemma numbers are preceded by the letter *D*). See the list of abbreviations (pp. xxi–xxiii) for sigla used to identify manuscripts, early printed editions, and scholarly editions of the Latin and Middle Dutch texts. For Witte’s claims here see commentary 1–3, 3–4, and 4–6.

<sup>8</sup>That the Jordan emptied into the Dead Sea and the sultan of Egypt resided in Cairo (frequently called Babylon) were commonplaces of fourteenth-century pilgrimage narratives (for possible sources of the confusion see commentary 3–4).

through the Red Sea. Once in Hermopolis, Witte visits places associated with the domestic life of the Holy Family, each of which is characterized by a marvel (water from the fountain where the Virgin Mary washed her “things” continues to cure people). From its beginning, the *Itinerarius* establishes a pattern of linking wondrous events that occur in the present—many of which concern healing, purification, and vision—with moments in Christian history.

Witte proceeds to Amram (32), an otherwise unattested port city from which he sails back across the Red Sea, then walks for a week until he reaches the monastery of Saint Catherine at Mt. Sinai. Here thirteen canons regular live austerely, each associated with a lamp that burns of its own accord until he dies, whereupon it goes out and rekindles itself when a replacement is chosen. The body of Saint Catherine emits some kind of oil, but much less than it used to. Birds participate in cloister life by flying in with olive branches, whose use is unspecified. In the desert, some four days’ journey from Mt. Sinai, is the field of Elim (“Helym” [50]), the site of a crumbling altar and seventy-two palm trees, all the work of Moses, as well as twelve fountains, whose water permanently protects anyone who drinks it from blindness. Venomous animals poison the nearby “river of Marach” (58–59) every night after sunset, but each morning a unicorn detoxifies the stream with its horn, a marvel Witte specifically claims to have witnessed. Not far away he sees a holy hermit who feeds on manna from heaven. The Sinai peninsula, traversed by many medieval pilgrims who recall its place in Old Testament history, is here a territory where marvels occur on a daily basis.

Now around one-fifth of the way into his narrative, Witte follows a bizarre route through the desert for fifteen days, then through the land of the Urcaldees (“per terram Urcaldeorum” [71–72]), home to people he calls Red Jews, until he reaches the Nile, which he follows for a day until he arrives at Damietta (“Damiad” [74]). Here he boards a ship and sails without benefit of the Suez Canal, to Ethiopia, also known as Lower India (“inferior India” [76]), the land evangelized by the apostle Bartholomew. He claims at this point to be *not* in the Red Sea but in the great “Sea-Ocean” (“mare Oceanum” [75]), the name medieval geographers gave to the expanse of water surrounding the *oikoumene*, the known landmass of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Somewhat farther down the coast, he reports, vegetarian pygmies, who live in caves and conch shells, battle storks for survival, a conflict he specifically states he did not see, as if this disclaimer (like the reference to the mission of Saint Bartholomew) will make up for the problematic geography of the previous sentences. Witte now appears to encounter real danger for the first time as he maneuvers past the “Liver and Sandy seas” (“maria Iecoreum et Arenosum” [85–86]). The first of these has a floor of lodestone, which attracts vessels carrying any iron, and the second is sand that ebbs and flows, made even more precarious by the local one-eyed cannibals (“Monoculi” [92]) who prowl for fish and unwary sail-



ors. Despite their eerie nocturnal labors and gleaming eyes, these Monoculi are definitely human, since they may be governed. Their king is named Grandicanis, a corruption of “Great Khan” (*magnus Canis*), a name much bruited in Europe since the 1240s but a title abolished when the Ming dynasty came to power in China in 1368.

Witte survives these several hazards and sails on to Middle India (“ad mediam Indiam” [99]), where Grandicanis rules at the imperial pleasure of Prester John, the legendary Christian priest-king whom many sought, between the mid-1100s and the mid-1500s, but only Witte found in his full grandeur. It is fitting, then, that his first port of call in this territory should be “Andranopolis” (101), a place known (in this context) to no other traveler. According to Witte, the city, evangelized by Saint Thomas, is inhabited by many Christians and characterized by a bustling international harbor, a towering lighthouse, five hundred stone bridges, buildings so tall that streets remain always in shadow, and a Franciscan monastery where Christian pilgrims are buried. A northern European of the late 1300s would have found this first landfall in eastern Asia no more alienating than Venice.

Not far from here, however, trouble strikes. Witte is taken prisoner by henchmen of Grandicanis and is brought to a fortress called Compardut (a corrupt form of the early Mongol capital of Khanbaliq [modern Beijing]). Here he remains for eight weeks. This is a pivotal event in the *Itinerarius*, because in relating the experience, Witte casually drops two pieces of important information. His verb forms subtly shift from first-person singular to first-person *plural*, indicating that he is not traveling alone.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, he now has a destination: when Grandicanis himself arrives at Compardut, Witte tells him—and, thus, the reader—that he and his companions are pilgrims underway to the shrine of Saint Thomas, the apostle to whom Christian tradition ascribes the evangelization of India. At this news the great ruler instantly releases his prisoners and, after wining and dining them for seven days, arranges an escort to take them to the city of “Eleap” (127), some twelve days’ journey away, at the frontier of Upper India (the territory is not named until line 150).<sup>10</sup> The entourage continues the voyage for well over a month, and the route to the more remote devotional goal becomes increasingly dangerous. Witte sails through a pitch black, three-mile-long natural tunnel at whose far end is a terrifying waterfall; he sees the

<sup>9</sup>He never numbers his companions, but near the end of his account he says he is one of twelve men who go ashore with their ship captain while some mates remain aboard ship (372–77); he is again one of twelve chosen ones at 410.

<sup>10</sup>“Eleap” would seem to derive from Aleppo, which, if geographical precision is to be invoked within Witte’s murky world, lies well to the west, not east, of “Middle India.” The *Itinerarius*, in locating a sizable Christian population in Asia and depicting the great khan as sympathetic to Christian piety, accords with an image of the East that the Latin Church encouraged and a romanticized picture of the Mongols that developed in fourteenth-century Europe; see commentary 99–109 and 117–19.

valley where pepper grows, describing how the fields are set ablaze to drive away serpents so that the precious commodity can be harvested; and he reports on the horrible clamor that emanates from a nearby passageway in the mountains through which a stream runs, also for three miles, carrying with it great boulders and echoing with frightful noise (we never learn if the travelers had to negotiate this second peril). At length, the vessel reaches "Gadde" (146), where Prester John has his customs house.

Witte's strenuous efforts are rewarded at last when, two weeks later, he arrives at Edissa (148–49), Prester John's capital, which is twenty-four times the size of Cologne.<sup>11</sup> Dominating the city, at its center, is the square imperial dwelling ("habitacio" [152]), measuring two miles on each side and resting on what would seem a relatively flimsy foundation of nine hundred columns, some of them elaborately carved or even part of a mechanical contraption. This area provides a large open space for public gatherings. Within the palace is a plaza decorated with images of the popes and the Roman emperors, together with some queens. The building's architecture, which mirrors the emperor's extraordinary wealth and piety, as well as his existence purely in the realm of imagination, is the subject of approximately one-quarter of the *Itinerarius* (152–266). Each of its seven stories is larger than the last, and five hundred steps—every one guarded by two lions, who ("it is said") kill all intruding heretics and pagans—lead merely to the entrance.

The levels of the monumental palace are dedicated to different spiritual entities, whose holiness increases with height, as does the size of the building. In ascending order Witte describes: 1) the "Palace of Prophets," decorated with precious fabrics and gilded sculptures of "all the prophets" (174–80); 2) the "Palace of Patriarchs," where Abraham's body lies, a clock announces the presence of any stranger, and a library attracts scholars (181–90); 3) the "Dwelling of Holy Virgins," which houses the dining room for lay people and servants (191–93); 4) the "Dwelling of Holy Martyrs and Confessors," where lords eat and sleep (194–96); 5) the "Choir of Holy Apostles," site of a beautiful church, Prester John's marvelous dining table (lightweight, though made of precious stones, it automatically purifies poisoned food or drink), a fountain, a bell commissioned by Saint Thomas (it drives away evil spirits), and bedrooms for important prelates (197–219); 6) the "Choir of the Holy Virgin Mary and the Angels," where Mass is sung daily after sunrise in a special chapel and where Prester John's counselors meet in a special vaulted, revolving palace (220–27); and 7) the "Choir of the Holy Trinity," the location of an even more beautiful chapel than the others (Mass is sung here daily before sunrise) and Prester John's private quarters, which include a mechanical model of the universe, a magic

<sup>11</sup>For the lengthy description of this city and its palace, the *Itinerarius* borrows, but indistinctly, from the *Letter of Prester John*; see discussion on pp. 22–24 below.

mirror, an elaborate representation of Christ in Majesty, a giant who guards Prester John from enemies who have somehow evaded the lions and the clock on the lower levels, and twenty-four revolving rooms (228–60). Atop this dizzying wonder of engineering stand twenty gilded towers. There is more—much more—but Witte claims that he is simply unable to record anything else. The palace's organization and interior design reflect a European's imagination rather than any informed knowledge of Asia, and yet its hierarchical arrangement—with the upper levels given over to the higher echelons of "Indian" society—runs counter to medieval domestic architecture. The royal residence is thus much more a mental construct than a mirror of actual European building design.

Before moving on, Witte makes several observations about the local landscape and society. The palace stands over the "Tigris," one of the four rivers of Paradise mentioned in Gen. 2:10–14 (267–68); a few paragraphs later, he claims that the "Phison," "Gyon" (Nile), and "Eufrates" are there as well (293–97).<sup>12</sup> Outside the huge structure stands a sign proclaiming in golden letters that thirty thousand people eat there daily. Prester John's wardrobe receives attention: in keeping with his status as a sacerdotal emperor, he dresses like a pope in the morning and a king in the afternoon. The people wear silk and leather garments, not wool "as we do" (280–81). In what seems an odd afterthought, Witte points out that only men live there; women inhabit the nearby Land of Females ("Terra Feminarum" [285]) and negotiate the four-day voyage three times a year, their schedules adjusted to the Latin ecclesiastical calendar, in order to become pregnant.<sup>13</sup> Daughters remain with their mothers, but sons join fathers at the age of three.

With only one-third of his narrative remaining, Witte finally reaches what he told Grandicanis was his destination: the shrine of Saint Thomas, located in the city of "Hulna" (310) on an island four days away from Edissa and two miles off shore.<sup>14</sup> The apostle is commemorated in a great church to which pilgrims, after demonstrating profound devotion by fasting and confession, walk from the mainland on dry ground, because the sea parts for a week before and after his feast day; for some reason, non-Christians are unable to make the crossing. Witte focuses on the events of two days during this fortnight, his attention directed largely on liturgical matters. While the ritual he describes is distinctly Latin, some of his report accords with what is known about medieval Indian Christianity: the un-

<sup>12</sup>These identifications of the rivers of Paradise are those found in many medieval geographical works and do not represent current biblical exegesis; the Phison has been variously identified over time with the Ganges, the Indus, and the Oxus (Amu Darya).

<sup>13</sup>Witte appears to mean that only Edissa—and not surrounding territory—is populated exclusively by men, but his language is, as elsewhere, ambiguous.

<sup>14</sup>For the description of Hulna and the feast of Saint Thomas (300–60), the *Itinerarius* relies (indistinctly) on *De adventu patriarche Indorum*; see discussion on pp. 24–25 below.

usually communal and participatory character of worship, the emphasis on self-denial, and the reckoning of solemn days by beginning them on the previous evening.<sup>15</sup>

On the vigil of the feast of Saint Thomas, between first and second vespers (not a very long time), the apostle's body is placed on a great gilded throne before the high altar; crowds of pilgrims watch and pray under the vigilant eyes of more than one thousand armed guards. On the festival day itself, Prester John arrives with the patriarch, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, who participate in many religious ceremonies. The day's climax comes when the patriarch celebrates High Mass: Saint Thomas's face is uncovered, and, as the host is elevated three times, it literally changes complexion, from the pallor of a corpse to the rosy cheeks one might associate with a Dutch child. As Prester John, the clerics, and the pilgrims come forward to receive the sacrament, the patriarch places each wafer in the apostle's hand, which, held by two archbishops, in turn offers it to worthy communicants and refuses it to sinners. As if aware that readers may begin to wonder at the annual supernatural events, the universally harmonious devotion, and the sheer amount of time it would take to administer the host individually to such a throng, Witte intervenes here to testify that when he was present on the feast day—in 1391—he saw three people rejected by the omniscient hand, although after many prayers of intercession from the whole congregation they eventually warranted its approval. Then he reports on additional miracles of healing. Prester John and the other priests return Saint Thomas's body to its fabulous reliquary, which is shut up in a tower for another year, surrounded by inextinguishable lamps. Precious stones, gleaming in the five lofty towers above the church, act as beacons for sailors far off in the sea. In a coda to the marvels of the pilgrimage to Hulna, Witte observes that the magi, whose remains were venerated at Cologne, once lived in these eastern lands, but then he retreats from this suggestion of correspondence between East and West to mention some commonplaces of Oriental exoticism: Asia has perpetual summer, dangerous vipers, and a towering mountain that divides the world into night and day.

Although Witte has attained his spiritual goal, he is far from home, and his adventures are far from over. The last one-sixth of the *Itinerarius* consists of brief vignettes that summarily describe the range of pleasures and perils travel can offer, particularly when governed by the imagination.<sup>16</sup> After receiving permission from Prester John and other rulers to depart,

<sup>15</sup>See commentary 300–60 and Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, pp. 359–88, esp. 384–85. The Saint Thomas Christians also employed Syriac in their liturgy, had a distinctive episcopal crown, and used bells and cymbals in worship, none of which enters into the *Itinerarius* (pp. 385–86).

<sup>16</sup>Some of what Witte sees as he returns “to these parts” (390) comes from the *Legend of St. Brendan*; see discussion on pp. 25–26 below.

Witte and his companions sail for ten days before reaching a small tropical island, replete with flowers and birds; he goes ashore with eleven others and the ship's captain, who forbids them to bring anything away with them. They are so overcome with the local splendor that what they believe to be a three-hour stroll turns out to have lasted for three days, as they learn from the mates who stayed behind; this slowing of, but not complete release from, time is appropriate for a place called "Root of Paradise" ("Radix Paradisi" [378–79]). Twelve days sailing from here, Witte says, one finds Mount "Edom" (380), location of the inaccessible Earthly Paradise, whose walls reflect the setting sun's light like a star. Only a mile farther is the mountain where Alexander the Great, identified as a Roman emperor, once was. For a medieval writer to claim sufficient holiness to warrant a glimpse of Eden, even in fiction, would have been audacious—would have repeated Alexander's arrogance—and Witte's avoidance of first-person verbs in these two vignettes (he uses the passive voice instead) suggests that even he has his limits.

Witte is now "in the remotest parts of the sea," from which navigating in any direction would be a "return" (390–91). After approximately one more month at sea, he approaches the rocky island of Purgatory, where, amid the crying of souls, he says a mass for the dead on each of three days, thus securing the release of three of them, as a loud voice triumphs. Four months later he and his companions go ashore on an island that turns out to be Jasconius, an inhospitable whale that submerges when they light a fire to prepare dinner, causing them to lose both pots and food but no lives. Given the pseudo-geography of this book, landing on the satanic leviathan described in medieval bestiaries is almost to be expected of someone who has just sailed past Paradise and Purgatory (motion that somewhat ominously reverses Dante's).

The last stops on Witte's itinerary expose him to human and animal wonders, although they are quite tame in comparison to the crew of creatures that inhabit the edges of the Ebstorf, London Psalter, or Hereford *mappaemundi*. Three months after they flee Jasconius, Witte and his companions encounter a black monk who entertains twelve of them graciously while asking questions about Saint Thomas; his island is home to sheep and goats that grow to be the size of cattle because they are permanently put out to pasture. Deviating to the north from an otherwise easterly course, Witte sails for six days between smoking mountains and reaches an island inhabited by naked wild men and various strange animals that are not described. On another island live apes the size of yearling calves. Four months later, near a second smoking mountain, he and his companions hear sirens (but are not drawn into danger) and see horrible monsters that terrify them (but the source of their frightfulness is not stated, and in any event nothing happens). An ensuing storm drives them into a gulf where, for five days, they remain in total darkness. The weather improves, and, setting a course to the east for a month and returning to the great Sea-Ocean, they

reach a land called Amosona, whose queen bears this same name (434–35). In one final geographical portrait that underscores his penchant for outlandish, ambiguous, and evasive descriptions, Witte notes that local people are black and white, they have two faces (one in front, one in back), and Gog and Magog, an entity associated elsewhere with Antichrist and apocalypse, are said to be imprisoned between two mountains. Although he supposedly rested here for eight days, Witte writes so imprecisely that we cannot know if he is referring to one, two, or several population groups; indeed, employing verbs in the imperfect passive and the present subjunctive, he leaves open the possibility that no one at all lives currently in Amosona, except, of course, its queen.

Witte's sudden return to Jerusalem after another quarter year of navigation "toward the territory in the east past many islands" (440) is in every way a surprise. First of all, in a single sentence it snaps the reader back from the edges of the earth and the fringes of language to a site that for medieval Europe was the center of the world and of faith. Second, by following an easterly route to the very end of his narrative, Witte has managed to circumnavigate an earth with three continents.<sup>17</sup> Finally, with this eager pilgrim having returned to the place he left in the first sentence, a reader may expect at least some attention to the Holy City's sacred sites. Instead, Witte refuses to say anything about them because, as he abruptly and somewhat vaguely concludes, "how things may be laid out there is known to many. The end."

### 3. The Genre of the *Itinerarius*

READERS, like Johannes Witte de Hese, will have good reason to wonder at the world of this *Itinerarius*. As the next chapter will document, the book's first audiences, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, appear to have accepted it as a source of generally factual information, but since the eighteenth century many scholars—its only remaining public—have dismissed it as a not particularly well written travel lie, and then felt free to turn over the leaf and choose another tale. While the work is not reliable history or moving literature, it has an important place within the context of early European travel writing. First of all, the *Itinerarius* is evidence that by 1400, the action of travel could drive fiction: Witte's journey is the plot of the story, not a device employed to unify otherwise disparate narrative elements, as is the case in *The Divine Comedy* or *The Canterbury Tales*.

<sup>17</sup>The second claim in European history to have voyaged around the world—one that includes the Americas and proceeds west to east—was implicitly made by another figment of the imagination, Raphael Hythloday, in 1516, six years before members of Ferdinand Magellan's crew actually accomplished this feat (Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. Paul Turner [Harmondsworth, Eng., 1961; repr. 1985], p. 39).

Owing in part, perhaps, to its author's limitations as a writer, the book (in its original form) emphasizes linear, first-person narrative, causing it to resemble the writings of other medieval travelers more than do the sprawling informational works ascribed to Marco Polo and John Mandeville.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, the *Itinerarius* is neither a report about pious journeying—a conventional pilgrimage itinerary, a guide book to holy places, or an account of missionary ventures—nor an encyclopedia of the world's wonders. Instead, it is a hybrid, distinct from most earlier travel books. Witte's single mission is to visit sites made sacred because of their role in Christian history, and he manages to locate them all around the world. Devotion does not evolve into curiosity as he moves from Jerusalem to Hulna; instead, the two attitudes temper each other all along, so that he reports seeing a unicorn near Mt. Sinai and saying Mass off the coast of Purgatory with the same measured treatment of marvels.

The hybrid form that results from Witte's extension of the pilgrim's horizon to include all of Asia suggests several parallels with *The Book of John Mandeville*, which also begins with the pilgrimage to the Holy Land (but, unlike the *Itinerarius*, exhaustively treats shrines from Constantinople to Cairo to Mt. Sinai to Palestine), then moves east to describe central Asia, the great khan's empire, and Prester John's land. Because scholars remain puzzled by questions relating to the *Book's* authorship, style, and purpose, Witte's analogous—if less substantial—text may contribute to the search for answers.

The *Book* was probably written near Liège about one generation before the *Itinerarius* appeared, very likely in the nearby Rhineland.<sup>19</sup> Both works depend on other sources for much of their content, although the author of the *Book* copied directly, if also deftly, from an eclectic set of fairly sophisticated texts, while Witte culled information from written and perhaps oral reports in so general a way that borrowings can seldom be

<sup>18</sup>Campbell observes that Rustichello of Pisa and Marco Polo consciously arrange the sequences of descriptions in their *Divisament dou monde* (ca. 1298) to create "a book . . . that exploits the linear and sequential path of the person who turns the pages . . . [or] listens to a story being told." In so doing, "the authorial 'I' . . . [takes] us on a journey" (*Witness*, p. 98). Zacher speaks of a "linear narrative" in *The Book of John Mandeville*: "the devout pilgrim metamorphoses into the wide-eyed curious wanderer"; see *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, p. 131. Setting aside the complicated questions of Rustichello and Marco's collaboration (for which the only evidence is in "their" book's preface) and the authorial voice (which seldom conveys a traveler's point of view), I should emphasize that I am speaking here more literally of a narrative that proceeds along a (relatively consistent) spatial and temporal continuum, directed by the (relatively consistent) voice of the (real or fictional) person whose experience endorses the information. This "linear" shape is different from what Zacher sees in Mandeville's *Book* (see the last sentence in this paragraph).

<sup>19</sup>Deluz, *Le Livre de Jehan de Mandeville*, pp. 272–75; see also chapter 2 below.

specifically identified.<sup>20</sup> Some critics who admit that the *Book*'s author produced an unoriginal "pastiche of tales and lore" nevertheless have praised his invention of the persona of "John Mandeville, knight" to tell the story.<sup>21</sup> Johannes Witte de Hese also appears to be a fiction, bringing to the *Itinerarius* the voice of a priestly guide who organizes the chaotic experience of a journey and authenticates it by occasional assurances of his reliability. The significance of this invention should not be overlooked. Iain Macleod Higgins observes that the first-person claims by John Mandeville echo "the 'quasi-juridical' formula of fourteenth-century French chroniclers and historians" and, in turn, present "a layman's contribution to geographical knowledge."<sup>22</sup> E. V. Gordon, in his edition of the dream-poem *Pearl*, found it necessary to attempt to date the appearance of "the purely fictitious 'I,' ... a first person feigned as narrator who had no existence outside the imagination of the real author."<sup>23</sup> In Witte, Mandeville has a likeness that is more than just rhetorical: these two narrators share a mind that is, to quote Christian K. Zacher's assessment of Mandeville, "at once naive, inquisitive, ironic, self-deprecating, and serious."<sup>24</sup> Six centuries later, they remain alive in the imagination as travelers eager to go places, able to learn

<sup>20</sup>On the Mandeville-author's range of source-texts—and his subtle manipulation of them—see Deluz, *Le Livre de Jehan de Mandeville*, pp. 39–72 (esp. 57–59, and also *passim*), and Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 9–14, 265–66 (and also *passim*). Witte's borrowings are discussed below and in the commentary.

<sup>21</sup>See Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, pp. 54 (for quotation), 59–67. Howard turns what others have called Mandeville's "fraud" or "hoax" into a virtue: "In choosing to play the eyewitness, Mandeville sacrificed the bookish stance of citing authorities: though he had a library of travel books before him as he wrote, he concealed it, making little display of book-learning" (pp. 55, 59). Moseley calls the "building up" of Mandeville's persona "the key to the book's success" (Intro. to *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, pp. 17–18). In a forthcoming study of one of the Mandeville-author's principal sources, William of Boldensele's *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus* (1336), I argue that the "personality" of John Mandeville actually draws heavily on William's self-presentation. The charge that the *Book* is a plagiarism, while certainly anachronistic, applies to Mandeville's assumption not just of words but also of identity. On Witte's historicity see chapter 2 below.

<sup>22</sup>Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 52, 53. While Mandeville's (like Witte's) persona anticipates the much more "present" witness of the literary travel book, it may also descend from the "dramatizing" voice found in some medieval historical writing. Rosamund Allen observes that in the *Brut* of Wace (1155)—and, by implication, in Layamon's *Brut* as well (ca. 1199–1225)—repeated phrases such as "if you had been there you would have seen" and "I do not know" create "an impression of realism" by granting characters in a narrative "their own lives and motives" (Intro. to *Lawman: Brut* [London, 1992; repr. 1993], p. xvi).

<sup>23</sup>*Pearl* (Oxford, 1953; repr. 1988), p. xiv (Gordon cites "'Sir John Mandeville'" as a literary example of the "fictitious 'I'" in the 1300s, but he doubts that such a figure is found in contemporary dream visions).

<sup>24</sup>Zacher, *Curiosity*, p. 131. For a lengthier discussion of similarities between the *Book* and the *Itinerarius* see my "Two Routes to Pleasant Instruction in Late-Fourteenth-Century Literature."



from observation, attentive to marvels but not given to awe, and willing to admit fear and forgetfulness. They are not frauds or lunatics but emblems of Englishmen and Germans born under the sway of the inconstant moon, driven, in John Gower's words, to "travaile in every lond."<sup>25</sup>

At times, however, Witte seems outrageous. We do not need to turn to zoology textbooks or medieval bestiaries to discredit his description of preparing to cook dinner on a whale's back. Of course, it is difficult to prove—and even harder to assess—a medieval "lie." It might be argued that Witte did in fact travel a great distance but mistook or misunderstood what he saw, that he compromised actual observations to accommodate what books instructed him to see, or that he embellished his experience in order to amuse readers without intending to commit fraud. Still, the *Itinerarius* is not just suspect; it is flagrant in its claims. Yet for this very reason its author should be given credit for recognizing, as did the writer of *The Book of John Mandeville* and as would Jonathan Swift, that the success of a travel book depends on a thread of faith extending from narrator to audience. Only when a traveler's experience is accepted at least tentatively as legitimate can travel's lessons—whether meant to be informative or entertaining—be learned.

The very fact of its fictionality is the most important reason to examine Witte's *Itinerarius*: this book is evidence of the existence, or at least the nascence, of travel writing as a literary genre in the later Middle Ages. Witte's fiction would be impossible without a public's sense of the real thing. The issue is complicated and important. Surviving medieval European accounts of journeys—whether to Jerusalem or Cathay—vary greatly in style and content, taking forms that include itineraries, letters, histories, and geographical encyclopedias. In an attempt to lend exactitude to the discussion, several scholars have suggested different taxonomies. If travel books may be said to constitute a distinct style of writing at all in medieval Europe, Jean Richard argues, it is at best "un genre multiforme," with at least seven different modes of expression: guidebooks, pilgrimage accounts, crusaders' records, reports by ambassadors and missionaries, works by adventurers and explorers, descriptions by merchants, and imaginary voyage narratives. In any one text, the traveler's perspective and circumstances are key matters that enable readers to distinguish among these modes, yet recognize a generic coherence, however tentative it may be.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup>This line concludes Gower's discussion of lunar influence on northern Europeans in *Confessio Amantis* 7.746–54. The author of the *Book* claims that the moon makes him—and all the English, in the words of the Cotton Version—"for to meve lyghtly and for to go dyuerse weyes and to sechen strange thinges and other dyuersitees of the world"; *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. Seymour, p. 120. The passage (and all quotations from the *Book* in this study, unless otherwise noted) is in the original French; see *Le Livre des Merveilles du Monde*, ed. Deluz, p. 313, and *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. Letts, 2:321.

<sup>26</sup>Richard, *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages*, pp. 8, 15–36. Efforts to develop a similar discourse for travel in more traditional literature—including imaginary voyages,

Gerd Tellenbach, taking a more topical approach to the problem, focuses on content rather than authorship. He catalogs common themes in travel writing, such as the measurement of distance, a delight in monstrosity or grotesquerie, fear of storms and shipwreck, and descriptions that seek to elucidate unfamiliar phenomena by comparing them to familiar things. Tellenbach's analysis is somewhat distorted, however, by a preponderance of examples from the fifteenth century, by which time anecdote and autobiographical detail had become relatively common features in texts as varied as Hans Schiltberger's captivity narrative and Felix Fabri's pilgrim-age accounts.<sup>27</sup>

Mary B. Campbell applies the term "exotic travel writing" equally to a letter about the Holy Land and a report from the New World; for her the difference between the pilgrim Egeria (in the late fourth century) and the explorer Raleigh (in the late sixteenth century) is a matter of rhetorical strategy. Admitting that each of the eight texts she examines in depth "could be said to represent a subgenre of the corpus" of travel writing, Campbell nevertheless argues that they share common linguistic features. Narrators reveal their subconscious attitudes toward "self and other, Home and the Other World" in the words they use to "[bear] witness to an alienated experience." Individuals writing over a period of twelve centuries necessarily employ different language to describe their confrontations with grotesquerie, geographical margins, marvels, and other characteristics of "the eastern Elsewhere," but they all must make certain rhetorical choices, which may include silence, and this fact unites them.<sup>28</sup> The distinctly different taxonomies proposed by Richard, Tellenbach, and Campbell underscore how various are medieval travel writings and, as a result, how difficult it is to treat them as generic.<sup>29</sup>

In a study of twenty-three first-hand descriptions of Mongol Asia written between 1238 and 1360, Michèle Guéret-Laferté attempts to dem-

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allegorical journeys, and chansons de geste—have mixed success in a collection of conference papers assembled by Taviani et al., *Voyage, quête, pèlerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévales*; see the pertinent assessment by D. H. Green in *Modern Language Review* 74 (1979), 232–35.

<sup>27</sup>Tellenbach, "Zur Frühgeschichte abendländischer Reisebeschreibungen."

<sup>28</sup>Campbell, *Witness*, pp. 6, 7, 3, 82–83. Campbell elsewhere maintains that a "vanished or invisible past [remains] the object of the traveler's attention" from Egeria through the period of "secular travel," which becomes the subject of texts with the First Crusade; see her "The Object of One's Gaze": Landscape, Writing, and Early Medieval Pilgrimage," in *Discovering New Worlds*. Campbell's attentiveness to what might be called the dialectic of travel writing has a grammatical analogue in Deluz's analysis of "vocabulaire géographique" in *The Book of John Mandeville* and other texts that circulated in French from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries; see Deluz, *Le Livre de Jehan de Mandeville*, esp. pp. 127–46, 383–98. She conducts a similar, more restricted study of William of Boldensele's language in "Liber . . . de Guillaume de Boldensele. . ."

<sup>29</sup>Within "the body of writings devoted to the Jerusalem pilgrimage," Howard distinguishes among logs, guides, and narratives (*Writers and Pilgrims*, p. 18).

onstrate how they all may be considered examples of travel narratives (“*ré-cits de voyage*”) despite their differences in length, intended audience, language, purpose, method of composition, and point of view.<sup>30</sup> Her careful analysis of these texts enables her to argue that they share (in varying degrees) characteristic rhetorical strategies consistent with a literary genre, or at least of a “form of discourse.”<sup>31</sup>

For example, travelers organize their accounts along two lines of development: one is progressive, consisting of spatial and temporal markers; the other is digressive, interrupting the record of movement with geographical, historical, and ethnographic information, as well as with anecdotes (“*micro-récits*”) gained first- or second-hand.<sup>32</sup> Both progression and digression give the narrator—even if not identical with the traveler—opportunities to underscore the verity of the text by recounting specific instances of witness (“*témoignage*”): things seen, heard, or otherwise experienced (or, indeed, *not* experienced, since such “lapses” reinforce the legitimacy of all other claims).<sup>33</sup> The need to establish credibility is fundamental for the medieval traveler who has been to Asia and who therefore faces the problem of presenting a radically different world to his audience at home. Writers “speak of the Other,” as Guéret-Laferté identifies this problem, by employing a specific vocabulary, including specific language to denote marvels (“*mirabile/mirabilia*”) and a “rhetoric of alterity,” which consists of at least eight features: ellipsis (signaling the omission of information), negation (emphasizing the absence abroad of something familiar at home), inversion (ascribing to foreigners a set of values that reverses what is familiar), comparison (establishing a commonality that makes what is odd seem customary), parallelism (describing a foreign practice in light of a familiar one), superlatives (privileging a particular over everything else in its category), numerical measurements (offering an assessment that, even

<sup>30</sup>Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes de l'Empire mongol*, pp. 9–17. Intending to examine every text from this period that contains an eye-witness account of the East, Guéret-Laferté includes testimony from three non-Europeans; she maintains that the seventeen clerics and six laymen who are her sources share an essentially uniform “vision du monde” (pp. 9–10). (See also my review of this book in *Speculum* 72 [1997], 1179–81.)

<sup>31</sup>The phrase “forme du discours” (p. 363) is borrowed from Paul Zumthor. She concludes her book by comparing her corpus of texts to a laboratory in which we see the beginnings of a literary form (p. 381).

<sup>32</sup>Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes*, pp. 49–76, esp. 49–50; she calls the progressive line a horizontal, or syntagmatic, axis and the digressive line a vertical, or paradigmatic, axis (“*axe syntagmatique*” and “*axe paradigmatique*”). See also pp. 163–69, for “personal” and “impersonal” forms of the horizontal axis.

<sup>33</sup>Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes*, pp. 169–87; assurances of witness share the fragility of any truth-claim, she maintains, and they often appear in a text, such as *The Book of John Mandeville*, when its fictitiousness is at greatest risk of exposure (pp. 182–85). Her observation applies significantly to the *Itinerarius* in light of the interpolations in manuscripts CDE described in chapter 3.

when hyperbolic, is a finite tally), and exotic vocabulary (employing foreign words, with familiar equivalents).<sup>34</sup> These rhetorical practices are only the tools with which medieval travel writers make a larger, intellectual maneuver—a “rationalization of the marvelous”—appropriating and integrating what is novel (strange humans, strange customs and beliefs, strange nature) into the existing body of Christian tradition and revelation. By applying to the East a historiography that spans from Adam to Antichrist, both of whom are Asians, Europeans prepare themselves to accept whatever majesty or monstrosity they may find there.<sup>35</sup>

Guéret-Laferté means not to scold medieval travelers but, rather, to identify organizational practices, stylistic features, and rhetorical strategies that characterize the narratives they wrote or dictated. The fact that many of these characteristics can also be found in the fictional *Itinerarius* indicates that, by around 1400, a writer and, presumably, some readers had a sense of what “belongs” in a travel book, such that they form a kind of “textual community” with an implicit understanding of genre.<sup>36</sup> To employ Guéret-Laferté’s taxonomy, Witte’s narrative development alternates between “horizontal” progression (“And sailing farther . . .” [*Et ulterius navigando*]) and “vertical” digression (“And there . . .” [*Et ibidem*]). The former extends along a series of place-names and idealized units of time; the latter punctuates movement with (usually brief) observations about local zoology, nature, ethnography, architecture, and liturgy. The integrity of authorial witness in the *Itinerarius* rests on the general experience of the

<sup>34</sup>Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes*, pp. 215–24 (on the “vocabulary of the marvelous”), 225–55 (on the “rhetoric of alterity”).

<sup>35</sup>Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes*, pp. 257–82, 287–88, 323–57. In a somewhat different context (that of the colonist relating to the colonized), Todorov distinguishes between two responses to “the experience of alterity”: emphasizing similarity (and in projecting one’s own values on others, making them identical to oneself) and stressing difference (establishing a hierarchy of superiority and inferiority). These apparently contradictory moves “are both grounded in egocentrism,” since both deny “the existence of a human substance truly other [than oneself]” and identify “our own values with values in general, . . . in the conviction that the world is one”; see his *The Conquest of America*, pp. 42–43.

<sup>36</sup>The phrase “textual community” is Brian Stock’s, which I employ here in a somewhat wider sense than he does: “microsocieties organized around the common understanding of a script,” whose formation requires “a text [written or oral, not necessarily singular], an interpreter, and a public.” Stock’s subtle analysis of the influence of growing literacy in medieval Europe has applications here. An increasing number of texts and readers enabled a wide range of social groups, from heretics to pilgrims, “to define the norms of their behavior” so that “the individual participants in collective activities like the pilgrimage and the crusade” acquired a “common understanding of their action’s significance.” In a less literal but more literary sense, the *Itinerarius* could not have been written without a shared awareness of the significance of travel, and thus it is a text that may repay careful listening. See Stock’s *Listening for the Text*, pp. 23, 37, 38, 48, 14.

entire voyage, reinforced by a few deliberate assertions.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps more important, Witte evokes the alterity of Asia with much the same rhetoric found in authentic travel accounts. He stresses the region's "marvelous" qualities.<sup>38</sup> He employs ellipsis ("in [Prester John's palace] there are yet more marvels and wonders that I do not recollect just now" [264–66]); negation ("they have no houses . . . [or] bread" [79–81]); inversion ("[The Monoculi] eat other humans. . . . And they always work at night" [96, 98]); comparison ("[Edissa] is more than twenty-four times the size of the city of Cologne" [150–51] and "sheep and goats in that place are as big as oxen [here] [412–13]); parallelism ("Prester John goes around . . . like a pope" [274–75]); superlatives ("a very high mountain" ["mons altissimus"] [364]); and numerical measurement ("[Prester John's palace is] two German miles long and the same in width as well. . . . And it stands atop [900] columns" [152–55]). The only feature of Guéret-Laferté's "rhetoric of alterity" missing from the *Itinerarius* is a word, other than a toponym, in any Asian language.<sup>39</sup>

This absence is suggestive, for Witte's fictional *Itinerarius* translates Asia into Latin more fully than does any one of the factual works Guéret-Laferté examines to develop her taxonomy. Prester John's palace is measured in German miles, Indian pepper is harvested and amazonian women come to Edissa to be impregnated on schedules that follow the Roman church's ecclesiastical calendar, the sequence of masses on the feast of Saint Thomas recalls liturgical practice at the cathedral of Cologne (adding only a patriarch and the relic), and almost nowhere does Witte seem to be in territory outside the bounds of Christendom. When he reaches Middle India, "where Grandicanis rules," he is surrounded by Christians, lay and clerical.<sup>40</sup> The effect is to subdue the alienating effect one might expect the East to have on this priest and his audience in the West.

<sup>37</sup>"I saw fish flying. . . . I had some of these fish to eat" (7, 10); "I also saw serpents flying" (13); "And I saw this [unicorn]" (64–65); "I saw this hermit" (69); "[in 1391,] I saw that the hand of Saint Thomas withdrew the Sacrament from three men" (335–37); "I said three Masses for the Dead [at Purgatory]" (395–96). Witte underscores his reliability by admitting, "I did not see [pygmies fighting storks]" (83). The confession is timely, coming amidst a route that is a geographical muddle and a description that adds several new, and odd, elements to the medieval image of pygmies.

<sup>38</sup>See usages of *mire* (26, 198, 200, 241, 261, 351); *mirabiliter* (185, 437); and *mirabilia* (266). Witte refers once to *miracula* (347).

<sup>39</sup>Witte does not explain how he was able to read a sign outside Prester John's palace or the salutation with which the emperor begins his official correspondence (271–73, 277–79).

<sup>40</sup>Obviously, any traveler, fictional or not, will need to adopt spatial and temporal measurements that his audience will understand. Yet Witte nowhere suggests that there is any real difference between miles or holy days here and there: he shows no awareness that the feast of Saint Thomas is celebrated on different days in the Roman, Greek, and Syriac churches. Particularly telling is his observation that the women of Terra Feminarum visit

At the same time, the *Itinerarius* begins and ends on the border of exoticism. Already in his second sentence Witte is watching weird fish flying over the surface of the Red Sea, and in his final glimpse of Asian landscape before his return to Jerusalem he sees Janus-faced people “mirabiliter dispositi” (437). Prester John may dress up like the pope, but his people wear “fabrics made of silk” and leather garments rather than wool “as we do” (274–75, 280–82), a distinction of consequence to medieval readers, for whom clothes truly made the man. On his unusual pilgrimage, Witte sees one-eyed cannibals, towers that would dwarf modern skyscrapers, and gargantuan sheep. His “India”—so vast a territory that it must be divided into three parts for him to speak of it—may boast Franciscan monasteries, but it is also alien space.<sup>41</sup> If he concludes by refusing to describe Jerusalem because the city is a matter of public knowledge, by implication the rest of the *Itinerarius* conveys privileged information.

Medieval Europeans would have learned nothing new from this fictional travel book, but in it they would have found many of their assumptions about Asia confirmed.<sup>42</sup> Describing “India” in his widely disseminated *Imago mundi* (ca. 1110), Honorius Augustodunensis writes:

Next comes India, named for the Indus river, which has its source in the north on Mount Caucasus and, flowing to the south, empties into the Red [*recte* Arabian] Sea; it closes off India in the west, and from it the Indicus Ocean gets its name. . . . In it is the island Taprobanes, celebrated for its ten cities. Here there are two summers and two winters each year, and it is always green. . . . There are also mountains of gold here, which are inaccessible because of dragons and griffins. Mount Caspius, after which the Caspium Sea is named, is in India; here the terribly ferocious nations of Gog and Magog, who eat human flesh and uncooked animals, are said to have been imprisoned by Alexander the Great. India has forty-four provinces with many races of people—the Garmanos, the Orestas, and the Coathras, whose trees touch the sky [*tangunt ethera*]. In the mountains are the Pigmeos, people two cubits tall, who fight constantly with cranes, and who give birth at age three and are old at eight. In their territory grows a very white pepper, but when they use fire to drive away the poisonous snakes that live there, the flames turn the pepper black. In addition, here are the Macrobios, who are twelve cubits tall and fight against griffins, which have the body of a lion and the wings

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their husbands “before Septuagesima” (287), a date that can be established only after determining when Easter falls, long one of the better known disagreements between Roman and Orthodox Christians.

<sup>41</sup>Although medieval geographers usually identify “Asia” as one of the earth’s three “*partes*” (or, somewhat anachronistically, “continents”), they did not limit “India” to the region of the subcontinent as we do today. The best modern English translation of the term (despite the Eurocentric perspective that underlies it) is probably “Far East.” Even this translation obscures the fact that Egypt—and sometimes territory to its south—was included in medieval “Asia.”

<sup>42</sup>Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, pp. 270–88, 303.

and talons of an eagle. . . . In addition, other people here kill their parents when they get old, cut them up, and serve their flesh at a banquet, regarding as impious all those who do not do this. There are others who eat raw fish and drink from the salty sea.<sup>43</sup>

India so teems with oddity that Honorius can hardly focus his attention. Although he begins with an etymology, some cardinal directions, and a reference to famous cities—thus giving his readers a sense of origins, orientation, and history—he cannot fix his eye on the landscape for its many intrusive monsters, and when he starts to enumerate the various peoples of India, he gets distracted by enormous trees. From the European perspective this is a land of extremes: it is always summer or winter, humans may be tiny or huge, their eating habits range from the disgusting to the forbidden, and their difference is emphasized by their scorn for anyone who does not behave as they do, an inversion that leaves the reader, who may have begun the paragraph drawing a mental map, quite disoriented. Time's extremities are here as well: Alexander, the hero who centuries before had effected the *translatio imperii*—the movement of the center of divinely ordained world power—from Asia to Europe, has allegedly confined Gog and Magog near the Caspian Sea, from which they will emerge to join Antichrist in the days preceding the apocalypse, according to Rev. 20:8.<sup>44</sup>

Witte imposes a kind of order on the wonders of his India—several of which occur in the passage from Honorius—by subjugating them to the schedule of his itinerary or by locating them on different levels of Prester John's palace. Neither his assimilationist tendencies to “translate” this foreign territory nor his tone of restraint can completely tame Asia, however.

<sup>43</sup>“Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago Mundi*,” ed. Flint, p. 53 (I.10); my translation (following the spelling of proper nouns in the text). The *Imago mundi* was for medieval Europeans perhaps the most generally known book with an extended, if rudimentary, discussion of geography; it also has sections on astronomy, time, and history. At least 160 manuscript copies survive, and they circulated widely—from Wales to Hungary—between the early 1100s and 1500. Isidore of Seville includes an overview of world geography in book 14 of his *Etymologies*, an important source for Honorius's text and for the assumption that things can, in a sense, be intellectually “controlled” by knowing the derivation of the words that name them.

<sup>44</sup>Honorius describes the Garden of Eden and its four rivers just before he turns to India, further establishing the historical importance of this part of the world (Flint, p. 52 [I.8–9]). Among the influential writers who contributed to making the concept of *translatio imperii* foundational in medieval historiography were Orosius (418) and Otto of Freising (ca. 1147). The movement of power was usually configured as running from Babylon to Persia (sometimes Egypt) to Greece to Rome; it has the biblical authority of Dan. 7. On the complicated issue of Gog and Magog see Gow, “Gog and Magog,” and my “Against Gog and Magog.”

It would not be in the nature of things for him to do so.<sup>45</sup> In his scriptorium, the writer of the *Itinerarius*, like Honorius Augustodunensis, mentally approaches the East. As Todorov puts it:

he knows in advance that he will encounter Cyclopes, men with tails, and Amazons. . . . [He] performs a “finalist” strategy of interpretation, in the same manner in which the Church Fathers interpreted the Bible: the ultimate meaning is given from the start (this is Christian doctrine); what is sought is the path linking the initial meaning (the apparent signification of the words of the biblical text) with this ultimate meaning.

If Witte overexerts his imagination, his book still offers a valuable medieval witness to the other world, one that shares a “strategy of interpretation” with Todorov’s subject: “he,” of course, is Christopher Columbus, who also imagined himself in Asia.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4. Sources for Exoticism in the *Itinerarius*

APPROACHING ASIA in that scriptorium, Witte weaves together bits of information and stories that circulated in the literature of northern Europe

“I mean “in the nature of things” quite literally. Medieval geographers, influenced both by zonal theory (the division of the earth into temperate and intemperate regions) and the scientific properties of the four elements, assigned different qualities to different parts of the world. While the entire *oikoumene* lay within the northern temperate zone, between the frigid pole and the steaming equator, territory adjacent to one or the other of these intemperate regions was affected by nearby conditions. Thus Europe, being in the north and west, was relatively cold and moist while much of Asia was hot and moist. Animals and plants were in turn affected by meteorology, Asia spawning “choleric” and even monstrous life forms. See, for example, William of Conches, *De philosophia mundi* (ca. 1130), esp. I.23 and IV.2–3 (*PL* 172, cols. 55–56, 85–86); and Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum* (1237/1240), Prol. and Book 4 (“De animalibus quadrupedibus”) (ed. Boese, pp. 5, 102–74). Thomas writes:

Oriens calidus et humidus est, occidentis vero frigidus et humidus; meridies calidus et siccus est, aquilo vero frigidus et siccus. Nunc autem, si omnes quatuor plage unius qualitatis essent et calor solis orbem totaliter occuparet: unde illud quod eius vehementie per contrarium obviaret? Crede ergo, lector, quia et complexiones in animalibus et effectus in herbis secundum qualitatem acris variantur (Prol. 81–90 [p. 5]).

For this latter reference I am grateful to the Medieval Academy’s anonymous reader of my manuscript. Ranulph Higden, shortly after making the remark that serves as the epigraph to this book, notes that marvels are common in the “vttter parties” of the world; his examples are many (*Polychronicon*, ed. Babington, 2:186–211).

<sup>46</sup>Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, pp. 16–17 (he focuses here particularly on Columbus’s Third Letter, which contains the explorer’s claim to have come very close to the Earthly Paradise). Campbell observes that Columbus’s letters “acted as a prism through which an old cosmography was refracted into the colors of romance” (*Witness*, p. 204). A glimmer of that rainbow may be traced in the *Itinerarius*.



during the fourteenth century, but he seldom appears to be copying from an open book. His journey's goal is also his text's principal achievement: he sets out to report on both Prester John and Saint Thomas, whose names were analogous with India in medieval Europe. As temporal and sacerdotal emblems of God's power, they attained legendary status by separate routes and were the subjects of independent traditions brought together coherently, if fantastically, for the first time in the *Itinerarius*.<sup>47</sup> Both traditions, which circulated in written (and almost certainly in oral) form, perpetuate an image of Asia that emphasizes the exoticism detailed above. Witte manages to combine them with yet a third tradition, one that has its roots in hagiography and that locates wonders north and west of Europe, in India's antipodes. This is the literary "matter" of Saint Brendan, whose name does not appear in the *Itinerarius* and whose adventures Witte claims for himself. Each of these three textual traditions warrants at least brief discussion.

Prester John first appears in European literature in the *Historia de duabus civitatibus* (ca. 1147), Otto of Freising's chronicle of universal history. Otto witnessed a meeting on 18 November 1145 at Viterbo between Pope Eugenius III (1145–53) and Bishop Hugh of Jabala, a small town on the Syrian coast (modern Jebele). Hugh informed the pope that, not long before, a Nestorian Christian and descendant of the magi named "Presbyter Johannes," after defeating an army in Persia, had been on his way to assist crusaders at Jerusalem but found himself unable to cross the Tigris and returned home. (Hugh's report was meant to emphasize the vulnerability of Eastern Christians and to convince the pope to call a crusade, as indeed Eugenius did in 1147.)<sup>48</sup> Otto's chronicle, although it had a respectable circulation and reception, never would have brought Prester John to the attention of Europe; it was the delivery, sometime around the year 1160, of a letter "to various Christian kings" that did that.

The origin of the *Epistola Presbyteri Johannis* (*Letter of Prester John*) remains a mystery despite efforts of scholars who have scrutinized the text and other sources for linguistic, literary, and historical clues. It is addressed to the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenos (1143–80), but references to his authority and the Greek Church do not exude respect; later versions of the *Letter* include the Holy Roman emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90), in the salutation only. In one respect the *Letter* was effective: it provoked a response from Pope Alexander III (1159–81), although nothing is known of the fate of the embassy of "magister Philippus," who left Venice in the 1170s with correspondence to Prester John, among other things an invitation for him to join all the world's Christian authorities at a Lateran council in 1178. This council, which took place in 1179, con-

<sup>47</sup>Other works—including Polo's *Divisament dou monde* and *The Book of John Mandeville*—mention both Prester John and Saint Thomas, but Witte makes them part of a single story.

<sup>48</sup>Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, pp. 439–44.

solidated papal authority and enacted ecclesiastical legislation mandating excommunication for any Christian who traded with Muslims. Philip, whom Leonardo Olschki reckons as Marco Polo's first precursor, made the earliest recorded attempt to establish a West/East contact, traveling out of an "inspiration drawn from literature and from imagination" rather than any mercantile interest.<sup>49</sup>

In his study of some one hundred Latin manuscripts of the *Letter*, Friedrich Zarncke isolated an original and five interpolated versions.<sup>50</sup> Although earlier scholars argued that the work was composed in Greek, Vsevolod Slessarev notes that its Hellenic elements are found exclusively in loanwords and titles. He believes the *Letter* to be the Latin composition of "a twelfth-century West European who must have spent at least part of his life in the Near East where he became imbued with vague notions about India, the Christians of St. Thomas, and Prester John." Slessarev further contends that the *Letter* does not belong to the genre of utopian literature, as some have claimed, but is an attempt to give "scanty and fragmentary material" a traditionally acceptable form by casting it in the form of a letter, like the pseudonymous epistles of Alexander to Aristotle.<sup>51</sup>

Witte carries over a general sense of Prester John's wealth, piety, and munificence into the *Itinerarius*, but he borrows few details. Whereas the *Letter* enumerates the rare woods, precious metals, and spectacular gems found in the imperial palace, specifically describing lavish processions in war and peace, Witte is more interested in the building's floor plan than its materials, and his Prester John is a rather anemic public personality. The landscape, too, is different: a new Canaan, flowing in milk and honey, free of crime, poverty, and snakes in the *Letter*, becomes an urban space with lions guarding the steps of a four-square-mile palace in the *Itinerarius*. Witte may get ideas for his pygmies, Sandy Sea, pepper fields, and Land of Females

<sup>49</sup>Olschki, *Marco Polo's Precursors*, pp. 19–22, 16.

<sup>50</sup>Zarncke, "Der Priester Johannes," 7:827–1028, 8:1–186. For English translations of two versions of the letter see Slessarev, *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend*, pp. 67–79; and E. Denison Ross, "Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia," in *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, ed. Newton, pp. 174–78. Manuel, who was twice married to Latin princesses, was reportedly intrigued by the West and not a likely candidate to enter an Asian potentate's household, as the *Letter* suggests he do. The *Letter* can be found today in over 250 manuscripts in Latin, Old French, Middle High German, Hebrew, Italian, Scottish, Slavonic, and Welsh. Since only five German manuscripts are known, it is likely that Witte read the work in Latin.

<sup>51</sup>Slessarev, *Prester John*, pp. 38–47, 55, 5. Slessarev's study is a cogent summary of the Prester John and Saint Thomas legends in medieval Europe. See also *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John*, ed. Ullendorff and Beckingham; and Kniefelkamp, *Die Suche nach dem Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes*. Romm believes the "wonder-letters" of Prester John and Alexander to be similar because they "purport to describe the wonders of the East for the benefit of the political and scientific leaders of the West"; see his "Alexander, Biologist," p. 16.

from the *Letter*, but what he says about them is uniquely his.<sup>52</sup> In a sense, he adopts more of his source's methodology than its content: like the writer of the *Letter* in Slessarev's view, Witte has brought organization to shards of information by giving them coherent literary form in a travel report.

At approximately the same time that the *Letter of Prester John* appeared, a treatise known as *De adventu patriarche Indorum ad Urbem sub Calixto papa secundo* (*On the Arrival of the Patriarch of the Indians at Rome under Pope Calixtus II*) began to circulate in Europe. The anonymous author of this brief account alleges that a certain "Patriarch John" of India, having made his way to Constantinople to be invested with the pallium, asked to accompany an entourage of emissaries to Calixtus II (1119–24), arriving at Rome in 1122 or early 1123. To the assembled curia, John described the city of Hulna, the extraordinary capital of India and seat of his patriarchate, and the nearby church of Saint Thomas, located atop a mountain in the middle of a lake whose waters part once a year to allow pilgrims to visit the shrine. In the text based on this "description," considerable attention is devoted to liturgical ceremony surrounding the pristine body of the saint, especially to the administration of the Eucharist with Thomas's right hand, which retracts from sinners, who either repent or fall down dead. The treatise concludes abruptly.<sup>53</sup>

This news about Saint Thomas was welcome, if not entirely surprising. As early as the fourth century, in the apocryphal *Acts of St. Thomas*, the apostle was credited with having brought the Gospel to India; at about this time, Egeria observed that few visitors to Jerusalem neglected to make the relatively short journey to Thomas's burial site at Edessa.<sup>54</sup> Despite this early popularity, almost no pilgrim mentions Saint Thomas again for a millennium, nor does he seem to have excited much interest in Europe until the mid-1100s, when *De adventu* (and the *Letter of Prester John*) appeared. It was at about this time, between 1127 and 1143, that Sigelmus, bishop of Sherburn, reportedly visited the saint's shrine in India and returned with reports of that region's splendid exotica, a matter that William of Malmesbury thought worth recording.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup>The four examples follow this order in the *Letter*: Land of Females, pygmies, pepper fields, and Sandy Sea (amid remarks on centaurs, unicorn-killing lions, desert-dwelling giants, the phoenix, the river Ydonis, an herb used to conjure the devil, and a Fountain of Youth, none of which appears in the *Itinerarius*).

<sup>53</sup>Odo of Reims, abbot of St. Remy (1118–51), wrote a simplified version of *De adventu*, which replaces the lake with a treacherous river and makes no mention of the repentance or death of sinners (thus it cannot have been Witte's source). Both texts are in Zarncke, "Priester Johannes," pp. 837–46.

<sup>54</sup>See commentary 148–50. Bones, purportedly those of Saint Thomas, were removed from Edessa to Ortona in Italy in 1258; see L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), p. 58.

<sup>55</sup>Since medieval Europeans did not have a geographically precise (or narrow) sense of "India," the extent of Sigelmus's journey is open to question. William describes it in the

By the time the *Itinerarius* was written, travel between Europe and India, though uncommon, was hardly unprecedented. When separate delegations of priests claiming to be Saint Thomas Christians arrived at the papal curia in 1403 and 1407, they were received suspiciously not because anyone questioned the possibility of such a journey but because earlier visitors had misrepresented themselves as having come from distant places.<sup>56</sup> During the century before the *Itinerarius* was written, Marco Polo, Odoric of Pordenone, several Franciscan missionaries in China, and *The Book of John Mandeville* all reported on the church of Saint Thomas, but Witte is demonstrably familiar only with the much older *De adventu*, from which he generally derives his description of pilgrims' access to the shrine and the liturgy of the Mass. As is the case with his use of the *Letter of Prester John*, his borrowings echo rather than quote their source.<sup>57</sup>

Episodes in the last quarter of the *Itinerarius* show that Witte also knew the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (*Voyage of St. Brendan*), although here again his use of the text is tentative and occasional.<sup>58</sup> The island of giant sheep, the deceptive whale Jasconius, a florid corner of Paradise where it is never night and time nearly stands still—these places are common to Brendan's and Witte's voyages, but they could hardly be located in more contrary worlds. They are not necessarily geographical opposites, since

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most general terms, as proceeding "trans mare Romam, et ad Sanctum Thomam in India." He continues: "cum magna prosperitate, quod quivis hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; inde rediens, exoticos splendores gemmarum, et liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportavit"; see *De Gestis Rerum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1887), 1:130. An entry, dated 883, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that Sigehelm and Athelstan were entrusted to go to Rome "and also to India to St Thomas and to St Bartholomew, [with] the alms which king Alfred had vowed to send thither when they besieged the host in London." The passage's authenticity, however, is doubtful: it appears only in the *Laud Chronicle*, written between 1121 and 1154, which includes many interpolations, some of them about foreign policy; see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. and ed. G. N. Garmonsway (New York, 1953; repr. 1975), pp. 79, xxxix. R. H. Hodgkin believes the entry to be spurious: *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1952), 2:636–41.

<sup>56</sup>Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, p. 95. On the travel to India of Italian merchants, records about whom are almost always a matter of chance, and on Niccolò de' Conti's assertion in the fifteenth century that Venetian ducats were circulating in parts of anterior India, see White, "Indic Elements in the Iconography of Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte*," esp. pp. 218–20.

<sup>57</sup>See commentary 300–60. Paul Devos follows several strands of the Saint Thomas legend in works that circulated in medieval Europe, including *De adventu* and the *Itinerarius*, which he calls a "fastidieuse rapsodie"; see his "Le miracle posthume de Saint Thomas l'Apôtre," *Analecta Bollandiana* 66 (1948), 231–75 (for Witte, pp. 247–48). S. G. Pothan, *The Syrian Christians of Kerala* (Bombay, 1963), cites ancient Syriac sources linking Saint Thomas to India (pp. 3–39). Berthold Spuler, *Die Morgenländischen Kirchen* (Leiden, 1964), has pertinent comments about what happened to the Saint Thomas Christians (pp. 108–21 [enumeration at foot of page]). See also Brown, *Indian Christians* (n. 54 above), pp. 43–66.

<sup>58</sup>See Carl Selmer, ed., "*Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*"; John O'Meara, trans., *The Voyage of Saint Brendan*; and Gerritsen et al., eds., *De reis van Sint Brendaan*.

Witte has been sailing east for so long when he enters Brendan-territory that he may indeed imagine himself in the western Atlantic (he continues to sail east to Jerusalem). But every location and movement in the *Navigatio* has a spiritual significance: Brendan reaches a harbor where he finds flocks of sheep just in time for Maundy Thursday dinner, Jasconius plays his devilish trick on Holy Saturday, the sailors spend Easter in the Paradise of Birds, and the gorgeous island that appears near the end of the seven-year voyage is a sign of what God has promised faithful Christians. Brendan follows the cycles of the ecclesiastical year. What he sees is important only for what it means, not for what it is; indeed, he himself admits that he is traveling because God wants to show him things. For Witte, on the other hand, islands are chance landfalls. He is on a trip around a world in which things, however outlandish, are what they seem, and the one place where allegory would be most appropriate—Jerusalem—is the single location he refuses to describe. In addition, the persona of the traveler undergoes a sea-change when the abbot of Clonfert becomes a cleric from the diocese of Utrecht. Whereas Brendan is the hero of the story, blessed with foresight (he knows better than to disembark on a great fish) and deserving of unusual counselors (a talking bird or an old hermit), Witte is an observer—and the narrator—who must make whatever sense he can of passing scenery. In the *Navigatio*, a saint is at the helm; in the *Itinerarius*, one of us climbs into the crow's nest.

### 5. The *Itinerarius* in the Context of Western Travel Literature<sup>59</sup>

THERE IS GOOD REASON to believe that Aglaus of Psophis's contentment would have impressed Pliny's original audience no more than it does many readers today (particularly since they and we encounter Aglaus amid a catalog of the wonders of "India and Africa"<sup>60</sup>). According to Lionel Casson, human beings have been actively involved in marine travel since the construction of the first reliable boats around 3000 B.C. Tourism to established "places of interest" in the eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea areas was common by 1500 B.C., when visitors to Egyptian buildings that were already one thousand years old left graffiti records of their names, hometowns, and experiences on the road. By the second century B.C., according to Greek sources, travelers and traders provided a steady enough source of income to sufficient numbers of robbers and pirates that the tourists of the

<sup>59</sup>What follows is only a sketch. I try here to provide a context for Witte's *Itinerarius*, not to write a history of travel. Fuller treatment is in Campbell, *Witness*; Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*; and my "A Critical Edition . . . with an Introduction to European Accounts of Travel to the East . . .," pp. 1–248.

<sup>60</sup>Pliny, *Natural History*, Book 7; Romm describes this "wonders-catalogue" as a "hypertrophy of facts and images" ("Alexander, Biologist," p. 20).

day, on their way to see sites associated with Plato and Alexander, were forced to go in groups.<sup>61</sup>

Descriptions of remote places fueled a small literary industry. Some writers, especially those interested in the East, eschewed the potential contributions of eyewitnesses in acquiring information, emphasizing the fantastic instead. Hellenistic literature had what James S. Romm calls a genre of "paradoxography or 'marvel-writing,' a pseudoscientific precursor of our own 'believe-it-or-not' collections," which grew out of the wealth of geographical data brought back to Greece after Alexander's campaign in Asia.<sup>62</sup> Alexander's own admirals were criticized for doctoring their observations with lurid, albeit popular, tales. By comparison, Strabo (ca. 63 B.C.–A.D. 21), for all the cartographical sophistication he displays in his *Geography*, was hardly the world traveler he claimed to be. In his description of Asia he ignored facts any experienced person would have known; according to Donald F. Lach, he did not even "deign to learn from the merchants about distant places," relying instead on such literary sources as Homer.<sup>63</sup> Around A.D. 40, Pomponius Mela finished his *Chorographia*—it is the first world geography known to have been written in Latin—in which he finds homes for pygmy-stealing griffons, Amazons, and headless people. An anonymous handbook for merchants known as *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* appeared at the end of the first century, describing wonders along the Indian coast and concluding with a glance at the unexplored regions of the Far East.<sup>64</sup> Casson contends that Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C., set an enduring standard for the travel writer in the classical world: "to be articulate, well-informed, a skilled raconteur; to include in what he tells a fair share of the unusual with a dash of the exotic; to tell it all with infinite zest."<sup>65</sup>

Sacred sites in the eastern Mediterranean continued to attract the pious and curious during this same period; guidebooks to shrines constituted an altogether different form of literary expression from the more fabulous descriptions of the Far East. Pausanias (fl. A.D. 160–80) wrote a Baedeker to Greece in which he paid particular attention to temples and other monu-

<sup>61</sup>Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, pp. 21, 71–74, 233–35.

<sup>62</sup>Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, pp. 92–94 (quotation from p. 92). A stylistic feature of such works—the catalog in which "item after item is ticked off with formulae" (such as "In Egypt there is . . ." [p. 92])—recurs in the "Et ibidem . . ." and literal "Item" repetitions in the *Itinerarius*.

<sup>63</sup>Lach, *The Century of Discovery*, vol. 1 (in two books) of *Asia in the Making of Europe*, pp. 13–15. See also Aujac, "Greek Cartography in the Early Roman World," pp. 173–75.

<sup>64</sup>Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, pp. 292–99; for an English version of the text see *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, ed. and trans. G. W. B. Huntingford (Cambridge, Eng., 1980).

<sup>65</sup>Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, p. 111.

ments.<sup>66</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260–ca. 339) did much the same in his *Vita Constantini* for churches erected in the Holy Land under imperial patronage; his *Onomasticon*, translated and revised in Saint Jerome's *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* one century later, is a digest of biblical place-names that connects specific locations with the events of spiritual significance that happened there. The hundreds of pilgrimage accounts written over the course of a millennium after Egeria's epistolary *peregrinatio* of the late 300s traditionally identify *loci* where faith becomes evident because of sites seen. Journeys on which places are made to fit the verbal contours of a sacred text turned the Holy Land, in Mary B. Campbell's exact formulation, into "a spectacularly effective rosary," whose every bead urges the pilgrim to recite a prayer or a passage of Scripture, thereby to raise "raw sense experience into a form of communion" with the world of the spirit.<sup>67</sup>

In both descriptions of the Far East and accounts of the Holy Land, then, an individual's observation was subordinated to traditional subject matter. Most people who had been to Asia during the Middle Ages, Lach contends, "brought little information to Europe besides fables and idle stories"—indeed, like everyone at home, "merchants and mariners learned much of their oriental lore from the legends and stories told or read aloud in the public square."<sup>68</sup> Pilgrims, for their part, balanced the need to assert their own authority as eye-witnesses in time against the necessity of focusing on the eternal significance of the Terra Promissionis, suppressing in their itineraries almost any autobiographical detail.

Certainly for much of the Middle Ages, however, Asia and Jerusalem—what Campbell calls the Matter of the East and the Matter of the Holy Land<sup>69</sup>—remained separate concerns. Their merger first may have been anticipated in the early 1200s by Jacques de Vitry in his significant historical works. Thought to have been a master at the University of Paris, Jacques preached the Fifth Crusade and, as the resident bishop of Acre, attended the Christian army at Damietta from 1218 to 1221. He was the author of companion histories of what he called the eastern and western worlds; an intended third volume, about events after 1179, never materialized. The first book, *Historia Orientalis* (also known as *Historia Hierosolymitanae*), opens with an elegy for territories in Palestine that Christians recently had lost to the Muslims, then paints an unfavorable picture of

<sup>66</sup>Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, p. 296.

<sup>67</sup>Campbell, *Witness*, pp. 32–33. Three bibliographies provide indispensable information about medieval accounts of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, with records (dated but still valuable) of manuscript copies and printed editions: Tobler, *Bibliographia Geographica Palaestinae*; Röhrich, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*; and Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, esp. vol. 1.

<sup>68</sup>Lach, *Century*, p. 29.

<sup>69</sup>Campbell, *Witness*, pp. 7–8; she maintains this distinction throughout her book.

Islam before achieving its principal goal: a description of the cities, shrines, and religious groups of the Holy Land. Like many writers of the period, Jacques believed that the immorality of Latin Christians was responsible for the loss of Jerusalem, and in his second book, *Historia Occidentalis*, he offers a severe review of Western behavior before treating the religious orders and sacraments of the Roman Church, including its new, invigorating spiritual movements. This expansive work's most remarkable moment, however, comes in its middle, when the focus is about to shift from Orient to Occident. After Jacques treats some of the Levant's peculiar animals—such as the basilisk and the amphisbaena—he points to lands located even more remotely in Asia and enumerates societies that are not mentioned in pilgrimage accounts, moving from Amazons and Gymnosophists, humans whose social customs were foreign enough for a medieval European, to a stunning array of “monstruosi populi,” humanoids whose peculiar physiques stretched to the limit the idea of creation in the image of God. Readers who could not believe in the literal existence of these races were asked at least to accept their potentiality as a sign of God's power. Jacques's argument is academic and old-fashioned; his information comes from Pliny and Solinus, Augustine and Isidore, historical accounts and a map of the world—but not from his own experience in the East.<sup>70</sup> Still, by casting his vision beyond Jerusalem, using an account of the Holy Places to segue to the weird and wondrous parts of Asia, Jacques suggested a means by which travelers could write with new scope.

When he died in 1240, Jacques de Vitry had been living for over a decade at Rome. Fearing that Jerusalem might never be recovered, he had left the Holy Land in 1225 and resigned his episcopal office three years later. His death, however, occurred at a time when the West was utterly unable to forget about the East—indeed, it was facing one of the most formidable, direct attacks ever to come from the outside. Unrest in Asia had been commanding Europe's attention some years before Mongol incursions into Poland and Hungary in 1241. At St. Albans the chronicler Matthew Paris blamed an economic disaster in the local fishing industry on the fall of cities in northern Russia: with the Frisian and Swedish com-

<sup>70</sup>Jacques de Vitry, *Libri Duo*, pp. 198–222, esp. 215:

Haec predicta que partim ex historijs orientalium, & mappa mundi, partim ex scriptis beati Augustini & Isidori, ex libris etiam Plinij & Solini, praeter historie seriem, praesenti operi adiunximus, si forte alicui incredibilia videantur, nos neminem compellimus ad credendum, vnusquisque in suo sensu abundet. Et tamen credere que contra fidem non sunt vel bonos mores, nullum periculum aestimamus. Scimus enim quod omnia Dei opera mirabilia sunt.

A “mappa mundi” could designate a written text with no cartographical design whatever; Hugh of St. Victor gave his verbal geographical text the title *Descriptio mappe mundi* (1130/1135), and “Mappa mundi” is the title of Honorius Augustodunensis's *Imago mundi* in several manuscripts; see Woodward, “Medieval Mappaemundi,” pp. 287–88. See also the discussion of “monstruosi populi” in general and Jacques's treatment of them in Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, pp. 42, 76–77, 163–64, 169–71.



petition too frightened to leave home in 1238, the year's enormous herring catch went entirely to markets in England, causing prices there to fall to ruinous levels.<sup>71</sup> Jacques, in his encyclopedic register of worlds *orientalis* and *occidentalis*, had overlooked the skilled equestrians whose crushing attacks would shortly thereafter devastate Russia and cripple eastern Europe so rapidly that they seemed loosed from hell, or Tartarus, itself. The medieval West had its first serious encounter with the Far East—with people who were called “Tartars”—willy nilly.<sup>72</sup>

Uncertainty characterized European politics. The Mongols were victorious at Legnica in Silesia (9 April 1241) and, two days later, they defeated Hungarian King Béla IV (1235–70); he later dispatched Dominican emissaries to the unknown enemy. Kraków and Pest were burned, and the enemy assembled near Vienna by midsummer. Meanwhile, Frederick II (1192–1250) was engaged in a campaign in Lombardy, and the papal see stood vacant for more than a year after the death of Gregory IX on 21 August, except for the ensuing three-week reign of Celestine IV. When Innocent IV became pope on 25 June 1243, the Mongol prince Batu, general of the Western armies, already had retreated a year before, after the death of Ögedei khan threatened to lead to factional squabbles at home. In addition, Batu's forces, which numbered only around four thousand, were exhausted after years of warfare and hardly could hope to exercise control over yet another continent.<sup>73</sup>

Innocent (1243–54) convoked the Council of Lyons in 1245, the principal items on his agenda being the imperial question (he deposed Frederick II), Church unity (he sought to improve relations with the Eastern Church), and the Mongol threat. In an effort to learn more about this unknown antagonist, and if possible to convert the khan to Christianity, the new pope commissioned two embassies to undertake a “Mongol mission.” He sent the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini on Easter Sunday (16 April) and—probably around the same time—the Dominican Ascelin of Lombardy to the court of the great khan, in George Painter's estimation, “to urge the merits of baptism, but primarily to spy upon [Mongol] resources and intentions.”<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup>Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols. (London, 1872–83), 3:488–89.

<sup>72</sup>Matthew rushed to apply the etymology “Tartarus” to what he considered to be the infernal Mongols; their tribal name was, more correctly, “Tatars.”

<sup>73</sup>Gumilev, *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom*, pp. 180–81, 184, 186.

<sup>74</sup>George D. Painter, “The Tartar Relation,” in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. Skelton, Marston, and Painter, pp. 34–35; and Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, pp. xv–xxi. Soranzo adds to Innocent's personal agenda the reform of the Western Church and the recovery of the Holy Land, noting that Innocent, who was from Genoa, employed civic ideals in pursuing his religious goals; see his *Il papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari*, pp. 77–125, esp. p. 78. On relations between medieval Europe and the Mongols generally

Ascelin and his companion, Simon of Saint-Quentin, never even made it to the Caspian Sea,<sup>75</sup> but John returned to the curia in November 1247 and almost immediately thereafter circulated his *Ystoria Mongalorum*, compiled from notes he took during his thirty-month-long journey from France to the khan's capital at Karakorum. John's unflattering picture of Mongol society was intended to sound a clear warning about an evil empire's determination to conquer the world, posing an obvious threat to Christian society, but he also seems eager to debunk the assumption that this enemy force was insurmountable. Unlike most travel reports, which are arranged chronologically, the *Ystoria* proceeds topically, covering, in order, Mongol geography, sociology, ethnology, religion, ethics, politics, and military might (and vulnerability). John evidently wrote his book on the road, because he read parts of it to eager audiences on the way home from Kiev; according to Salimbene, he was a popular and garrulous dinner guest after his return to France.<sup>76</sup> Sometime before his death in 1252, John produced a second edition of the *Ystoria*, changing little of the original text but expanding the final chapter to include information about the routes, conditions, and hardships of the journey. Even in this revised version of the book, however, the traveler, while himself observant, is largely invisible.<sup>77</sup>

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see Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht*; Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge*; Olschki, *Marco Polo's Precursors*, pp. 31–46; and Muldoon, *Popes*.

<sup>75</sup>Simon, also a Dominican, wrote an account of Ascelin's mission that survives only in passages incorporated by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*; the two returned to Lyons in the summer of 1248. See Guzman, "Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongol Baiju: A Reappraisal," and his "The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and His Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin." At least two other monks were dispatched to the Mongols: the Dominican Andrew of Longjumeau traveled as far as Tabriz, and the Franciscan Dominic of Aragon apparently got no farther than Cilician Armenia. Both returned in the spring of 1247, and Andrew made a second journey in 1249–51 (Phillips, *Medieval Expansion*, pp. 122–23, 125–26).

<sup>76</sup>Salimbene, *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH Scriptores 32[1] (Hannover, 1905), 206–13.

<sup>77</sup>For John of Plano Carpini see the careful Latin critical edition of the *Ystoria*, including variant readings from the first edition, in van den Wyngaert and the translation of this text, "by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey," in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*. John's companion, Benedict the Pole, dictated a brief, rather disorganized account of the experience, known as the "Relatio Fratri Benedicti Poloni," to a chronicler in Cologne; it is also edited by van den Wyngaert and translated in Dawson. A third record of the Franciscans' experiences, "The Tartar Relation," is the transcription in Latin of what Painter speculates was a lecture or "press conference" held in eastern Europe, at which Benedict spoke in Czech or Polish. The copyist-editor, known only as "C. de Bridia," completed the "Relation" on 30 July 1247. It is described, edited, translated, and published in facsimile by Painter, in *The Vinland Map*, ed. Skelton, Marston, and Painter, pp. 21–106. Guéret-Laferté believes that the added chapter to the *Ystoria* is what actually makes it a travel book—its necessary "seal of authenticity," without which it is "incomplete"—and suggests that John urged Benedict to

In May of 1253 another Franciscan set out for Karakorum. Although some of his contemporaries—and many scholars since then—believed William of Rubruck to be an ambassador from France's King Louis IX (1226–70), by his own report he was a missionary who traveled with royal blessing in order to minister to Christians whom the Mongols had displaced. While in Asia he hoped to preach the Gospel, perhaps even to Möngke khan himself, but he was discouraged by the political and religious chicanery he encountered. Unable to muster enough diplomacy to mask his antagonism, he asked the khan for permission to go home, a request that was immediately—one gathers happily—granted. Having weathered a 4,000-mile return journey to Acre, only to be detained by a Franciscan minister who wanted to capitalize on his rare knowledge, William wrote King Louis a long letter describing his adventures and petitioning to return to Paris.<sup>78</sup> Although they are products of similar experiences within a decade of each other, William's *Itinerarium* could hardly be more different from John's *Ystoria*. The letter is replete with poignant vignettes: a gloomy crossing of Asia in alien company, a nervous tasting of Mongol alcohol, assiduous care for a sick traveling companion, the vehement denunciation of a mountebank masquerading as an Armenian monk, an attempted theological debate with Muslims and Buddhists. These pictures bring to this account a keener sense of the observations and persona of a traveler than can be found in any other book written in Europe before 1400. William was clearly a man who forged his own way; no wonder he disliked the caravan journey east. In his letter he not only refuses to cater to a Western taste for Oriental exoticism but also unhesitatingly contradicts prevailing opinion, questioning Isidore's and Solinus's catalogs of monstrous humans, reducing the legendary Prester John to the status of a political footnote, and portraying the Mongols as crude bullies who could be beaten easily if only the king, captured at El Mansûra during the Sixth Crusade just a few years before, would take up the cross against them.<sup>79</sup> William's opinionated and strident

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write his narrative to give a similar "seal" to C. de Bridia's text; see her *Sur les routes*, pp. 26, 30, 31–32.

<sup>78</sup>See William of Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, in van den Wyngaert's *Itinera* (where the letter is entitled *Itinerarium* after the rubric in one manuscript copy) and the translation in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*. William's fate is uncertain, but he must have made it back to the West because Roger Bacon claims to "have examined this book with care, and . . . [to] have conferred with its author" and other travelers to the Orient in preparing his own encyclopedia; see *The 'Opus Majus' of Roger Bacon*, ed. Bridges, 1:305; and *Opus Majus*, trans. Burke, 1:324. See also Olschki, *Marco Polo's Precursors*, pp. 49–66.

<sup>79</sup>William of Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, in van den Wyngaert, *Itinera*, pp. 216–21, 189, 250 and 275, 266 and 273–74, 292–97, 269, 206–7, 330–31; and Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, pp. 129–33, 107–8, 155 and 174, 168 and 173–74, 189–94, 170, 122, 219–20. For Olschki, who holds that religious tolerance was a politically savvy trademark of Mongol rule in Asia, the remarkable theological disputation William arranges in front of Möngke khan—pitting Christians, including Nestorians, against Muslims and Buddhists—was a "rare and isolated"

account demonstrates the strength that an insightful guide with intriguing stories can bring to a travel narrative.

Intrepid and articulate as they were, these mendicant travelers never achieved the fame or notoriety enjoyed in his own day and since by the Venetian merchant Marco Polo, who reportedly spent twenty-six years in Asia. The knowledge he gained during this time is what he "caused . . . to be recorded" in 1298 by Rustichello of Pisa, a professional writer of French romances who was in prison with Marco at Genoa and who assumes the role of narrator in this "description of the world" (the book's original title, *Divisament dou monde*, more accurately reflects this subject than does the more popular *Travels*). The work, composed in an Italianate French, begins with a succinct summary of two mercantile ventures to the court of Kubilai khan undertaken (between 1260 and 1269, and 1271 and 1295) by Maffeo Polo, his brother Niccolò, and Niccolò's son Marco, who accompanied them on the second journey. This summary, which forms a prologue to the *Divisament*, has entered the Western imagination; it is hard to imagine that those who praise the book for its verve or adventure have read much beyond it (Ronald Latham noted regretfully that neither Marco nor Rustichello "was a literary genius"). According to the prologue, however, Marco is a gifted young man—a keen observer, a master of Asian languages, a skilled raconteur—and he manages to impress Kubilai himself, who anticipates the boy's development into a "man of experience and discretion."<sup>80</sup>

The three Polos depart for China from the Holy Land, where Kubilai has allegedly asked them to obtain oil for him from the great lamp in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Despite this pious detail, the *Divisament* bears no resemblance to a pilgrimage account but instead focuses the reader's attention almost immediately on lands far to the east of Jerusalem,

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event, so unusual that the negative reaction William claims his opponents registered may in fact have been murmuring against the khan (*Marco Polo's Precursors*, pp. 24–25).

<sup>80</sup>For the text of the *Divisament* see Luigi Foscolo Benedetto's critical edition *Il Milione*; the most reliable English translation, based on Benedetto, is *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. Latham (for passages quoted here, see Benedetto, pp. 3, 10; Latham, pp. 33, 17, 41). Rustichello's "prologue," is on pp. 3–13 of Benedetto's 243-page edition (pp. 33–45 in Latham, where the full text runs 312 pages). Thus, it forms only a small part of the *Divisament*. The prologue is largely omitted in the Latin translation that Fra Pipino completed in the first decade of the 1300s; in medieval Europe this was the more widely known version of the book, which may explain why some of Marco's experiences are seldom mentioned in early sources. The intricate textual tradition is described in Benedetto's and Latham's introductions, and in the landmark study by Moule and Pelliot, who attempt "to weave together all, or nearly all, the extant words which have ever claimed to be Marco Polo, and to indicate the source from which each word comes" (*Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, 1:5). Other editions and translations, including a fifteenth-century version in German (Bavarian dialect), are noted in the bibliography under Polo, Marco. The count of total manuscript copies varies: Charles W. Connell believes there to be 80 from before 1500 ("Marco Polo," in Friedman, et al., p. 374), while John Larner estimates some 150 (*Marco Polo*, p. 3).

beyond Jacques de Vitry's wildest imagination. Nor is this work a saga of the Polo family or of Marco himself. Following the brief prologue, the *Divisament* is structured as several lengthy itineraries, permitting the narrator to describe sequentially the political allegiance, religious persuasion, and economic base of hundreds of Asian towns and regions.<sup>81</sup> The encyclopedic quality of the *Divisament* stresses the East's plenitude; it abounds with bridges, fabrics, intrigues, metals, women, spices, macho fighters, and animal life, but monstrous humans and zoomorphic beasts are almost nowhere to be found. Despite an occasional comment about Marco's success as a trader, linguist, or administrator, he is generally absent from the work as well. Hundreds of first-person singular pronouns and verbs apply to the narrator, Rustichello, rather than to Marco, and some of the book's truth-claims are interpolations added by scribes and translators over the course of its complicated textual history. Still, less than half a century after the Franciscans returned unimpressed from Karakorum, the *Divisament* extolled Asian splendor while it implicitly honored the experience of a non-aristocratic, secular man of the road. Moreover, the *Divisament's* relatively wide diffusion—over one hundred manuscripts survive in several medieval European languages—helped, in Pierre Chaunu's words, “to fix in the minds of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Christendom the obsolete picture of Asia as it had been at the precarious peak of the great Mongol empire.”<sup>82</sup>

Meanwhile, accounts of pilgrimages to the Holy Land proliferated.<sup>83</sup> The last European to write about actual Latin Christian possessions in Palestine was Burchard of Mount Zion, who composed what he called a *descriptio* in ca. 1283. A German who probably lived for several years in or near Jerusalem, he possessed the inquisitive discrimination of William of Rubruck and a system of locating places conceptually superior to Marco Polo's. Rather than describe towns and regions sequentially, as one might find them along a road or coastline, Burchard divides the Holy Land into four discrete regions. He then moves mentally over the territory, quarter

<sup>81</sup>The discussion is somewhat rambling, but I count four itineraries: the Polos' trek from Acre to Beijing, a roundtrip journey between Beijing and Bengal (via Tibet), an itinerary within eastern China between Beijing and Zaiton (Ch'üan-chau or Quanzhou), and an account of coastal regions between China and Ethiopia, focusing on India, part of which functions as the narrative of the journey home. The final chapters contain anecdotes about Mongol wars in north-central Asia. Larner divides the *Divisament* into ten parts (*Marco Polo*, pp. 91–104).

<sup>82</sup>Chaunu goes on to say that, thanks to Marco Polo, “it was thirteenth-century Asia which Christopher Columbus was looking for”; see *European Expansion in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Katharine Bertram (Amsterdam, 1979), p. 76.

<sup>83</sup>Röhrich records over 150 different Holy Land pilgrimage accounts, guidebooks, and descriptions written between 1200 and 1400 (*Bibliotheca*, pp. 45–101; see also Tobler, *Bibliographia*, pp. 23–44).

by quarter, identifying important towns and topographical features from Dan to Beersheba; in fact, he refuses to describe any place outside these traditional boundaries of Palestine, although he mentions having traveled to Armenia and Egypt. Burchard's system grows unwieldy in the area of Jerusalem (despite his subdivision of this fourth quarter into smaller units), but still, by requiring the reader to formulate a mental map, it constitutes an important innovation in the literary treatment of space.<sup>84</sup> Burchard's learned empiricism is also notable. He emphasizes how carefully he has performed his research, inspecting everything from mountain summits to sewer systems to relevant books in his attempt to establish, as Witte puts it in the last words of the *Itinerarius*, "how things [are] laid out there." He resolves rival claims to a historical site and does not hesitate to question authority, in one case even disputing a passage in the Book of Isaiah. Unafraid to wade in a marsh inhabited by crocodiles and unashamed to use iron tools to chip off a piece of rock where Jesus prayed in Gethsemane, Burchard brings to the pilgrimage account the voice of a confident, courageous guide.<sup>85</sup>

During the spring and summer of 1291, not long after Burchard finished his *Descriptio*, the Egyptian sultan al-Ashraf conquered Acre and adjacent coastal areas, leaving the West without a share in the Land of Promise. One century later, according to Steven Runciman, women in the eastern Mediterranean were still wearing mourning black for the lost Latin kingdom once known as Outremer.<sup>86</sup> A papal ban on transportation from Cyprus to any port in Palestine effectively halted travel to Jerusalem, or at

<sup>84</sup>Burchard anticipated the even cleverer grid system of the Venetian Marino Sanudo, whose *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (*Book of Secrets for True Crusaders*), written between 1306 and 1321, was intended to encourage another crusade. In around 1320, Sanudo commissioned the Genoese cartographer Pietro Vesconte to draw a series of maps that correspond to his text, among them a map of Palestine, oriented to the east, with an overlay of lines that divide the territory into square leagues (in most copies, 77 running vertically [east to west] and 29 running horizontally [north to south]). Sanudo can thus both describe a place and fix its location by assigning it a "box number." His system not only brings more precision than ever before to measuring space in the Holy Land but also marks an innovation in cartography, whereby a map, "though secondary to the [adjacent] text, was [and is] essential for its interpretation"; see J. B. Harley, "The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography," in Harley and Woodward, *Cartography*, p. 7. See also Sanudo, *Part IV. of Book III. of Marino Sanuto's Secrets*. On the medieval understanding of coordinate systems see Patrick Gautier Dalché's illuminating "Connaissance."

<sup>85</sup>No critical edition of Burchard's *Descriptio* exists; Röhrich lists over one hundred manuscript copies (*Bibliotheca*, pp. 56–60). For the Latin text see J. C. M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, pp. 3–99; the only English translation is Aubrey Stewart's. For passages specifically referred to here see Laurent, pp. 21, 90–93, 67, 83, 69; and Stewart, pp. 4, 106–9, 71, 94, 73.

<sup>86</sup>Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3:412–23.

least publications about it, for a generation.<sup>87</sup> Pilgrims went instead to the city of St. Peter, where, in 1300, Boniface VIII guaranteed these “romers” the same plenary indulgence that had once applied to those who visited Jerusalem. The crush of people during Holy Week of this Jubilee year, we know from the poetic masterpiece it temporally defines, led to what may be the first instance of organized one-way traffic in western Europe.<sup>88</sup>

Conditions in the Holy Land remained tense in the 1330s, judging from the pilgrimage accounts of Jacopo of Verona,<sup>89</sup> William of Boldensele,<sup>90</sup> and Ludolph of Suchen.<sup>91</sup> When they include autobiographical detail, it often emphasizes the dangers or vagaries of travel: a frightening sea squall, access denied or graciously granted to a holy shrine, an encounter with Europeans who had been held hostage for forty years. These writers, like Jacques de Vitry, pause on their pilgrimages to glance eastward; William and Ludolph compute the time it would take to travel from Cairo to the il-khan of Persia.<sup>92</sup>

At about this same time, near the middle of the fourteenth century, two men claim to have traversed this distance and returned to tell the tale.

<sup>87</sup>On travel restrictions after 1291 see Röhrich, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, pp. 7–8, 39 (nn. 34–35). The Dominican Ricold of Monte Croce expanded his description of the Holy Land by describing his experiences, after 1288, in Tabriz and Baghdad, where he preached the Gospel quite freely; he returned to Florence in 1301. Ricold’s *Itinerarius* is found in Kappler, *Pérégrination*, and Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, pp. 103–41 (details mentioned here are on pp. 105–13, 122–23, 124–26); there is no English translation, but a French one was completed in 1351 by Jean le Long of Ypres, a monk (later abbot) of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer. On papal efforts to send Dominicans on preaching missions to Asia in the early fourteenth century see Loenertz, *La Société des Frères Pérégrinants*.

<sup>88</sup>*Inferno* 18.28–33.

<sup>89</sup>See the Latin edition by Ugo Monneret de Villard; no English translation exists. Three complete manuscript copies are known to exist (two of them in German); the single copy of the Latin text immediately precedes Witte’s *Itinerarius* in *A*, the basis for the edition printed here (see appendix).

<sup>90</sup>For an introduction and a Latin version see Grotefend “Die Edelherren von Boldensele oder Boldensen”; Christiane Deluz’s “*Liber de Quibusdam*” includes an edition that takes into account some of the twenty-three Latin and six French manuscript copies. I am preparing a critical edition of the Latin and French texts that accounts for all known manuscripts, as well as the fragment in Low German treated by Hartmut Beckers, with an English translation (none currently exists, although some of the text has indirectly entered the language through borrowings in *The Book of John Mandeville*). The French translation, like that of Ricold’s *Itinerarius*, is by Jean le Long (1351).

<sup>91</sup>Quite different Latin versions of Ludolph’s work are found in editions by Deycks and Neumann; a fourteenth-century Low German translation was edited both by Kosegarten and von Stapelmohr. The only English translation is Aubrey Stewart’s, based on Deycks.

<sup>92</sup>Grotefend, “Die Edelherren,” pp. 246–47; Ludolph of Suchen, “De Itinere,” ed. Deycks, pp. 56–58; and *Ludolph von Suchen’s Description*, trans. Stewart, pp. 72–76. Ludolph’s measurement is in fact taken from William, as are whole sections of his book, although he, unlike the author of *The Book of John Mandeville*, has never been accused of plagiarism.

If the number of manuscripts known today is a reliable indicator of a text's popularity during the Middle Ages, the most successful travel books of the period describe the journeys of a friar and a knight, each of which combines sacred and secular lore. In an account dictated in May of 1330, not long before he died, Odoric of Pordenone—also known as Odoric of Foro Julii or Friuli—recounts his experiences as a Franciscan missionary for perhaps as many as sixteen years in east Asia. His narrative combines faith and the fabulous. At first, Odoric seems to be writing hagiography, for early in his book he relates the martyrdom in 1321 of four minorite friars in India and his own role in transporting their relics to China. Language and vignettes throughout the account borrow from the register of romance, however, as his journey takes him to an island on whose shores fish beach themselves in homage to the local potentate, through a perilous valley of dead souls, and into the magnificent presence of the khan. Like Marco Polo in the *Divisament dou monde*—and Witte in the *Itinerarius*—Odoric fits the Orient into paragraph capsules. While the merchant assesses a region's value based on its commodities, however, the Franciscan fingers each locale as if it were itself a pearl, admiring its curious inexplicability. With his other hand he clutches a cross, which he often uses as a weapon after recounting a society's peculiar behavior, branding a place abominable or calling a people pestiferous. The cross, too, emblemizes the accuracy of his word, which was taken seriously and widely disseminated. Odoric has the distinction of being one of only two medieval travelers recommended for sainthood.<sup>93</sup>

Jerusalem and Xanadu are also on the same road for the traveler known as Sir John Mandeville, although he probably did not ride out of the gates of St. Albans in England, as we are told, but sprang from the imagination of a cleric who had covered considerable territory in books. *The Book of John Mandeville* is a geographical and ethnographical encyclopedia, a collection of information about Christian shrines in the Holy Land and life at the court of the great khan, as well as much in between and beyond, purportedly assembled by an adventuresome Englishman who left Europe in 1322 on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Overcome by a desire to see the world's diversity, "John Mandeville, . . . knight," as he styles himself

<sup>93</sup>No reliable census of Odoric's *Relatio* exists, but the combined evidence of several bibliographical sources indicates that approximately 111 manuscripts preserve the text today in several languages: the original Latin (69), Italian (23), French (9), Middle High German (9), and Spanish (1). Charles W. Connell, however, counts only 63 ("Marco Polo," in Friedman, et al., p. 374). For the Latin text see van den Wyngaert, pp. 381–495; for the German see Strasmann. Jean le Long's French translation (1351) was edited by Henri Cordier, which greatly supersedes the untrustworthy text printed by Louis de Baecker [Backer]. The best available English translation remains Yule's (with additions by Cordier). Jandeseck's valuable *Der Bericht des Odoric da Pordenone* has a good bibliography. Odoric was beatified by Benedict XIV on 2 July 1755, but he has never been canonized. Jordan of Sévérac also was beatified (see n. 96 below).



in his prologue, did not return for thirty-four years, by which time he was a veteran of the armies of the Egyptian sultan, the great khan, and (in some manuscripts) Prester John.<sup>94</sup>

As is now well known, the writer of the *Book* borrows literally and carefully from many sources, among them Jacques de Vitry's *Historia*, William of Boldensele's *Liber*, Odoric of Pordenone's *Relatio*, and several scientific, theological, and historical texts. Accusations that the product is a fraud or a plagiarism, however, overlook the sophistication of its assembly: its compiler was a master at gathering, emending, recasting, and presenting information. Although John Mandevilles appear in fourteenth-century English sources, attempts to link any one of them to the *Book* have been unsuccessful. He never fought with the khan against the king of Manzi, as he says he did, because those wars were over by the end of the 1200s; he was not the father of English prose, as Dr. Johnson says he was, because the book was composed in French (although in Anglo-Norman rather than Continental French). The Mandeville of the *Book* is a curious knight whose heroism in battle is never recounted; instead, his valor is undercut by an Egyptian sultan who hectors him for the sins of Europe, by companions who refuse to circumnavigate the globe with him, even by our last glimpse of him, surrendering to gout and old age. In the end, Mandeville is an affable fiction, his persona that of an agreeable Latin Christian whose tolerance for other societies was unusual in a medieval European, although his intense and frequently articulated dislike of Jews made him more typical. Not the digest of personal witness it claims to be, the *Book* made such literary sense that hardly a European language and, in some parts of England and Germany, hardly a library, it seems, could be without it. Mandeville's identity, nationality, and the extent of his travels may never be certain, but he is, recalling Mistress Quickly's epitaph for another fine fiction, "in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom."<sup>95</sup>

If the compiler of *The Book of John Mandeville* could offer a picture of Asia not based on personal experience, another author who wrote at first hand about Asia did so almost without self-reference. Jordanus Catalani (Cathala), also known as Jordan of Sévérac, served as a Dominican missionary in India during the 1320s; in August 1329 he was named Bishop of Quilon, a see that comprised all of southern India and that was created for him. At about that same time, after a decade or so in the subcontinent,

<sup>94</sup>A few manuscripts date Mandeville's travels between 1332 and 1366; the date of his return also is given variously as 1356 or 1357.

<sup>95</sup>French, Middle English, and Middle High German editions of the *Book* are noted in the bibliography under "Mandeville"; some 300 manuscript copies representing ten medieval languages are known. Bennett devotes considerable space to records of Mandevilles in late medieval England; for recent, sophisticated scholarship, especially by Deluz and Higgins, see n. 5 above. On the language of composition see Deluz, *Le Livre des Merveilles*, pp. 33–36 (see "Mandeville" in bibliography). See also pp. 228, 230 below.

Jordan wrote an exuberant, if rather hectic, account of Asian wonders, appropriately known as *Mirabilia descripta*. He immediately makes clear his interest in marvels rather than geography; in fact, he begins his book in Europe, describing a whirlpool in the Straits of Messina, before turning his attention to Greece and Armenia. It is not long before he reaches India, whose three divisions (Inferior, Superior, and Tercia) offer ample grist for his mill. Jordan's marvels tumble from the page as brief paragraph items with little connection to each other; in one short section he moves, in order, from five-headed serpents to the cockatrice, parrots, the childlike fighting behavior of Indian soldiers, precious gems, and the practice of suttee. However scattered Jordan's approach may be, his Asia is certainly "wonderful," to use his favorite word.<sup>96</sup>

As this sketch indicates, medieval travel reports vary greatly in style. No wonder scholars like Richard, Tellenbach, Campbell, and Guéret-Laferté have found the issue of genre so interesting and vexing. As texts, most are unprecedented surprises, like the historical circumstances that led to their composition in the first place. This is true of Johannes Witte de Hese's *Itinerarius*, which recounts both a pilgrimage and a voyage to Asia, yet refuses to speak of Jerusalem and never mentions Cathay. Like John of Plano Carpini and Marco Polo, Witte is a narrator given more to observation than self-reference. As is the case with any visitor to holy places, Witte seems motivated by piety, but he deviates considerably from the regular pilgrimage route. Like Mandeville, he does not write from carefully digested experience but derives his information from a variety of literary works—though his borrowings are far more paraphrases than citations. In contrast to the breathless Jordanus, Witte writes about the wonders he sees at the church of Saint Thomas with the same matter-of-factness with which he recounts how two archbishops hold the patens during High Mass. Finally, like most medieval travelers (and as the next chapter will demonstrate), Johannes Witte de Hese has a name that is not unusual for his time or home country, but the only word we have confirming his existence is his own.

In a letter sent to Augustine of Canterbury soon after his arrival in England in 597, Pope Gregory I, cautioning the missionary that ecclesiastical custom could become stale, encouraged him to adopt practices he had witnessed at various churches during his journey through Europe. Things, wrote the pope, "should not be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things."<sup>97</sup> In a sense, Gregory was articulating the idea of space found in the story of Saint Brendan's voyage. Writing over 650 years

<sup>96</sup>For the Latin text see Eugène Coquebert de Montbret, ed., *Mirabilia descripta*, 37–64; the English translation is by Sir Henry Yule, *Mirabilia Descripta*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>97</sup>Venerable Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896; repr. 1975), p. 49; and *A History of the English Church and People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price, rev. R. E. Latham (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1968), p. 73.

later and in quite another context, Roger Bacon urged the study of geography because “the things of the world cannot be known except through a knowledge of the places in which they are contained.”<sup>98</sup> Despite its geographical inaccuracies and unremarkable Latin, Johannes Witte de Hese’s *Itinerarius*, in purporting to relate how one man learned about remote places and by implying that such knowledge is valuable, navigates Bacon’s new world.

<sup>98</sup>‘Opus Majus,’ ed. Bridges, 1:300–301; *Opus Majus*, trans. Burke, 1:320. Bacon goes on to discuss how important is this “knowledge of the places of the world” in converting others to Christianity and anticipating the appearance of Antichrist.

## Authorship and Reception of the *Itinerarius*

### 1. What's in the Name

EXCEPT FOR an occasional item in a surviving record—court rolls, lists of university students or members of a monastic community, manuscript colophons—details about medieval authors, including matters that seem so basic today as year of birth or date of death, are frequently unknowable.<sup>1</sup>

Full citations for works abbreviated in footnotes may be found in the bibliography, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>1</sup>Even the most famous medieval writers may remain largely in shadow. In the preface to his 600-page study *Chaucer: His Life, His Works, His World*, Donald Howard admits to having recanted his earlier belief that “no real biography of Chaucer has ever been written or can be written. We do not know enough” (New York, 1987), p. xv. Beginning his own life of Chaucer, Derek Pearsall feels obligated first to answer the objection that such a task “cannot be done” owing to the paucity of data; he wittily acknowledges that medieval writers are appropriate subjects for post-modern critics who attempt “to get rid of authors whom they find difficult enough to locate in the first place” (*The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Critical Biography*, Blackwell Critical Biographies 1 [Oxford, 1992; repr. 1993], pp. 2, 4). Unsurprisingly, both Howard and Pearsall must occasionally rely on indirection to find direction out.

Even apparently reliable testimony must be carefully evaluated. One of the earlier and more accurate copies of William of Boldensele's *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus* is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 523 (ca. 1350–75), which concludes with the notation that the text was written in 1332, and that “this same William later died at Cologne, in 1336, and was buried there in front of the choir in the church of the Dominicans, with great respect from all the clergy and the citizens of Cologne” [millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup> xxxij. Idem dominus wilhelmus obiit postea colonie anno domini xxxvi. Sepultus est in ecclesia predicatorum ibidem ante Chorum cum maxima Reverencia tocius cleri et populi Civitatis Coloniensis (fol. 32v)]. The information, which sounds definitive, is proven false by incontestable evidence that William dispatched a letter from Avignon on 29 September

This lack of information is especially frustrating in the case of travel literature, in which the personality of the narrator contributes vitally to the substance and success of a text. Playing the key role of guide to an unknown place—whether it be the Sinai desert, Mongol Karakorum, or Brobdingnag—the narrator must sound experienced and reliable. Medieval travelers underscored their experience and reliability by means of the detail, the aside, the anecdote that has the air of spontaneity and thus validity. Yet these moments of personal witness do not originate or function similarly. A pilgrim, while taking pains to rivet attention on sacred shrines, nevertheless operates as the reader's route of access to blessing and may justifiably, if humbly, mention a mass celebrated at Nazareth or graffiti left behind in the church of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>2</sup> A traveler with more secular concerns must find other means to establish credibility. Sometimes this comes at the expense of pitting actual observation against erroneous but widely accepted authority.<sup>3</sup> The burden of establishing a credible narrative voice rests equally on writers of real and fictional travel: on Burchard of Mount Zion as on John Bunyan, on William of Rubruck as on Johannes Witte de Hese.<sup>4</sup> Thus, although pilgrimage accounts and travel narratives have different contents and purposes, both depend for their textual lives on the voice of someone who pauses occasionally to assert: *Et hoc vidi*.

Most medieval travelers—pilgrims, missionaries, envoys, merchants—have relatively unremarkable backgrounds; while unusual in being literate, they generally do not seem to be deeply learned or particularly literary. As a result, the account each wrote—in almost every case, that individual's only known work—is often the only direct witness we have of the author's existence. Some travelers apparently were unable to exercise final control

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1337; he was probably in the Holy Land in 1334–35 (Grotefend, "Die Edelherren von Boldensele oder Boldensen," p. 237; Westrem, "Critical Edition," pp. 40–41, n. 8).

<sup>2</sup>About Egeria, for example, Campbell writes: "her literary task is somehow to depress the reader's interest in herself and the course of her journeying, while at the same time maintaining the presence of that inviting and intercessory first person which makes her meditative tool effective" (*Witness*, p. 25).

<sup>3</sup>A prime example is the pilgrim William of Boldensele's insistence, based on evidence from the scene, that the huge pyramids south of Cairo are not the granaries of Pharaoh (as "fools" assert [and as medieval Europeans, reading Gen. 41:48–49, had assumed for centuries]) but monuments to the dead (Grotefend, "Die Edelherren von Boldensele oder Boldensen," pp. 250–52). Generally a faithful copier of William's intelligent account, the writer of *The Book of John Mandeville* here departs from his source, claiming that while some think that the structures are tombs, their appearance proves them to be Joseph's storehouses (Deluz, *Le Livre des Merveilles*, pp. 155–56; Seymour, *Mandeville's Travels*, pp. 37–38).

<sup>4</sup>Louise O. Vasvari distinguishes between the first-person narrator in imaginary travel literature, who "pretends to have returned from a trip," and the "I-speaker" of works like the audacious *Land of Cockaigne*, who "purposely shatters the illusion of the credibility of his narrative either by declaring outright that he is lying or, conversely, by exaggerated insistence on his truthfulness" ("The Geography of Escape and Topsy-Turvy Literary Genres," in Westrem, *Discovering New Worlds*, pp. 178–92, quotation from pp. 179–80).

over their story because they dictated it, at times under inconvenient circumstances: Marco Polo allegedly sat in prison, for example, and Odoric of Pordenone lay on his deathbed (although for these very “facts” we are, again, dependent on the works themselves). The lack of independent documentary evidence and the presence of a narrative voice that relates unusual personal experience renders both understandable and perilous the reader's temptation to build an identity for the traveler based on claims found exclusively in that person's book.<sup>5</sup>

The first sentence of the *Itinerarius* furnishes about as much autobiography as can be expected from any medieval text: the narrator supplies his full name, area of origin, vocation and place of work, and a specific date of departure on his adventure. Although the Middle Dutch translation transforms Johannes Witte de Hese into Johan/Jan Voet and delays his departure from 1389 to 1398, this version also accomplishes the important function of recording the voice of a credible informant. Even when the narrative moves from first to third person in two later manuscripts and the first printed edition, the text asserts its reliability.<sup>6</sup> In either language and from either perspective, this itinerary's beginning is so matter of fact that the reader of the opening sentence has no reason to suspect that the pious priest being introduced will, before very long, try to cook dinner on the dorsal side of a whale. Moreover, although it has proved impossible to corroborate that a Johannes Witte de Hese (or a Jan Voet) ever lived, this absence of information proves nothing—no more, in fact, than if a necrology in Gelderland recorded the name without mentioning any literary accomplishment. The search for a flesh-and-blood Johannes Witte de Hese can become a Mare Icoreum—the sea with the magnetic bottom that mires iron-bearing ships—since pursuing the question of authorship can be a

<sup>5</sup>Readers of fiction always face the temptation of conflating an actual author with a created persona. Medieval writers, already shrouded in mystery, may invite this error because their first-person narrators often relate pious subject matter. Pearsall points out the danger of drawing conclusions about Chaucer's life based on the “narrative voice” we hear in a given poem or on simplistic assumptions about when he might have written a work with a particular theme—for example, that the Parson's sobriety and focus on penitence marks his tale as the product of an author “declining into orthodox piety as death approached” (p. 228). The fallacy is not new. Noticing that Odoric of Pordenone's *Relatio* and *The Book of John Mandeville* both include passages that describe the narrator's journey, with an entourage, through a perilous valley, but not considering that Odoric's words might have been appropriated by a later writer, some fifteenth-century readers and manuscript scribes claimed that Odoric and Mandeville were traveling companions. Michel Velser, who translated the *Book* into German in the 1390s, introduces this claim into the text of his version of the *Book* in what Iain Higgins calls an “authenticating intervention” (*Writing East*, pp. 219–20).

<sup>6</sup>Manuscripts *DE* relate much—but not all—of the pilgrimage in the third person yet add three brief interpolations emphasizing the historicity of “Johannes de Hese” as “the aforementioned priest,” “this very same [man],” and “[my] lord” (lemmata 29, 905, 989).

kind of trap.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, the search for Witte may yield clues that explain why early readers apparently accepted the *Itinerarius* as truthful. In any event, it offers an opportunity to correct some longstanding errors in the scholarship.

The fact that Witte can *almost* be identified befits the *Itinerarius*, which makes such an effort to sound true. As Josephine Waters Bennett showed almost reluctantly in looking for the real Sir John Mandeville of St. Alban's, a writer whose chief mode of travel is the imagination needs first to assume a local habitation and a name.<sup>8</sup> Anyone attempting to find Johannes Witte de Hese must first reckon with a babel of nomenclature that manuscript scribes, printers, bibliographers, and literary historians have introduced into the discussion, making him seem ubiquitous and nowhere at the same time. Encyclopedias and library data bases list him under Esius, Hees, Hese, Hesius, Hess, Hesse, Heze, Jean, Joannes, Johannes (sometimes alphabetized under *I*), and Voet. In the National Union Catalog his entry appears under *Hese*; the British Library prefers *Joannes*. The surname "Witte" appears exclusively in the three manuscript copies of the *Itinerarius* that are closest to the original state of the text (*ABC*). The other Latin manuscripts and all the printed editions attribute the book to "Johannes de Hese" or some orthographic version of that name.<sup>9</sup> The Middle Dutch translator of the *Itinerarius* may have mistaken the name "Witte" for a Latinism: he has the traveler introduce himself as Jan Voet, admittedly a fitting name for a peripatetic priest.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Witte's supreme fiction, ironically, was lost on his original audience, which could not have appreciated the achievement of sailing *east* from India to Jerusalem without encountering more than a few odd islands along the way.

<sup>8</sup>Bennett, pp. 181–216; on the basis of her painstaking study of fourteenth-century property grants, wills, and land tenure records, Bennett observes that "there was no lack of John Mandevilles in England and in the vicinity of St. Albans at this time" and that they came from "families capable of knighthood." She is forced to conclude, however, that "[i]n the end we know no more about him than he tells us in his book" (*The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*, pp. 197, 199, 216).

<sup>9</sup>Manuscript *D* calls the traveler "johannis [de] hess" (lemmata 3–5; see n. 29 below). The printed editions give several variants of his name: "iohannes hese," "iohannes de hesen," "iohannes de heze," and "Ioannes Heseus"; printed editions *ab* once call him "iohannes presbiter predictus," which confuses him somewhat with Prester John ("Presbyter Johannes"), who later enters the narrative (lemmata 29, 184). On "Johannes de Hese" as the "master" of the third-person narrator in *E* see n. 6 above.

<sup>10</sup>Witte is a perfectly acceptable Dutch surname (an English equivalent would be "Whyte"; "Voet" may be rendered "Foote"). The Dutch literary historian Jan te Winkel believes that Voet is a corruption of Witte (see n. 55 below). In his edition of manuscript *L*, Mathias de Vries argued that "Johan Voet" was either a pseudonym or the nickname by which "Joannes de Hese" was known within a monastic community; see "Fragment," p. 9 (full citation under *V* in list of abbreviations).

Several localities named Hees, Hese, and Heze existed in the Lower Rhine area during the Middle Ages. Since in his opening sentence Witte calls himself a cleric "in the diocese of Utrecht" ("presbyter Traiectensis dyocesis"), his name most likely refers to a place identified as Hees in the parish of Soest, near Utrecht.<sup>11</sup> An eighteenth-century history of the prominent citizens of Utrecht includes at least nine different men named "de Wit," "de Witte," or "Witte" who had various civic responsibilities between 1402 and 1412. The name, in its various spellings, was fairly common—enough so that a Witte who was active in local politics might append his father's name to be more specifically identified. In the first year of record, both "Jan de Wit" and "Jan de Wit Gysberts zoen" are listed as councilmen. These lists display the flexible orthography of the time; they also indicate that "Wit(te)" could be treated as a location, and that Jan was regularly used in vernacular records for the Latin "Johannes."<sup>12</sup> Johannes Witte was a canon of the cathedral at Utrecht who played a significant role in 1393 in the choice of Frederik of Blankenheim to be bishop of Utrecht.<sup>13</sup> Although the general piety of the *Itinerarius* befits a cleric, so distinguished a man is unlikely to have written in such rudimentary Latin or to have

<sup>11</sup>The existence of this community is recorded (as "Hesi") as early as 838. Maurits Gysseling lists "Hées" near Arras in France; three other communities named "Hees" (one near Düsseldorf, one in Limburg, and one in Drenthe); two called "Hese" (a woods near Düsseldorf and an unknown site in the north Rhine area); and five identified as "Heze" (near Liège, near Turnhout, and in Brabant). Hees in Limburg is cited by scholars who mistakenly associate Witte with Maastricht, an error discussed below; see *Toponymisch Woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West-Duitsland (vóór 1226)*, 2 vols., Bouwstoffen en Studien voor de Geschiedenis en de Lexicografie van het Nederlands 6 (Brussels, 1960), 1:463, 489, 493–94. Gysseling lists no place-name closely related to "Witte" or "Voet."

<sup>12</sup>Kaspar Burman, *Utrechtsche Jaarboeken van de Vyftuende Eeuw, Vervattende het Merkwaardige in het Gesticht, en Voornamentlyk in de Stadt Utrecht, zedert den Jare 1402*, 3 vols. (Utrecht, 1750), 1:2–111. As the title makes clear, Burman's history begins in 1402. Jan de Wit is also called Jan die Witte and later is joined by (or, perhaps, is more precisely identified as) Jan die Witte Francken zoen. Henric de Witte, an alderman in 1402, may reappear as Henric Witte in 1408 among several aldermen ("schepenen"). Only the saddler William de Haze adopts a place-name similar to Hese (1:2, 3, 78, 79). During this same decade, a price is put on the head of Jan de Witte de Louwer (there is "geld op zyn lijf gezet"), who was part of a gang that tried to take over Utrecht (1:370).

<sup>13</sup>J. C. J. Kleijntjens, "De Verkiezing van Frederik van Blankenheim tot Bisschop van Utrecht," in *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* 54 (1930), 204–39. On 22 April 1393, 30 of 83 canons walked out of a church council to protest the role assumed by the pope in the naming of a new bishop. "Johannes Witte, canonicus" was one of three clerics who managed to secure general support for the papal candidate, Frederik, who was then bishop of Strasbourg (pp. 206, 211, 212, 225). Johannes is mentioned in other archives but never in connection with any absence or travel (*Archief* 55 [1931], pp. 126, 154, 159, 163, 165, 168).



styled himself merely “presbyter.” “Jo. Witte” was the scribe of one of four theological works in a manuscript of unknown provenance that dates from around 1426 or 1427.<sup>14</sup>

An intelligent young man from the Low Countries probably would have been educated at Cologne, which had long been a center of learning. Utrecht and Cologne also were closely united in ecclesiastical politics and enjoyed a flourishing economic relationship as towns linked by the Rhine. Lists of the matricula of the University of Cologne survive from the time of its founding, in 1388; they provide more evidence that Wit(te) and Hese/Hees were name elements in circulation during the late 1300s, although they offer no record of a Johannes Witte de Hese.<sup>15</sup> This silence is inconclusive, since even if the author of the *Itinerarius* had used his actual name and not a pseudonym, and even if he had studied at Cologne, he presumably would have completed his education before 1389, the date of his putative pilgrimage to Jerusalem (assuming that the work is not a schoolboy effort). A considerable percentage of the university population was engaged in religious study and, like Witte, is identified in the matricula as “presbyter.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 69. 20. Aug. 2°, fol. 197v. “Jo. Witte,” as he signs himself, copied Conrad of Soltau’s *Questiones circa quatuor libros sententiarum* (fols. 52r–197v); the colophon begins “Et sic est finis,” a typical scribal conclusion, one also found in manuscripts *A* and *D* of the *Itinerarius*. The scribe Witte’s work comes between texts dated 22 March 1427 and 12 February 1426. See Otto von Heinemann, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften*, vol. 6[3] of *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Die Alte Reihe: Nachdruck der Ausgabe 1884–1913* (Wolfenbüttel, 1898; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1966), p. 353.

<sup>15</sup>Hermann Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, vol. 1, 1389–1475, 2nd ed., Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde 8[1] (Bonn, 1928). “Joh. de Hees” was enrolled between 9 January 1389 and 7 January 1390, but he came from the diocese of Liège (p. 21). “Joh. Voit de Delfte,” from the diocese of Utrecht, was at the Augustinian chapterhouse of Saint Maria after 25 March 1391 (p. 60). Beginning in the 1440s, entries show increasing numbers of entries for young men who are fully identified as “Johannes Wit(te) de —” (see vol. 3, *Nachträge 1389–1559* [Bonn, 1931], p. 1053).

Among the students at the University of Heidelberg at this same time were “Johannes de Hees” (in 1387), “Johannes Wit” (in 1399–1400), and “Libertus de Hese” (in 1401–2), all from the diocese of Liège (and hence probably from Hees/Hese in Limburg), although many natives of the diocese of Utrecht are recorded; see Gustav Toepke, 1386–1553, vol. 1 of *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662* (Heidelberg, 1884), pp. 21, 70, 85.

<sup>16</sup>Keussen’s data show that, in 1389–90, 152 of 842 students (18%) at Cologne held the title of “presbyter”; between 1391 and 1395, the number dropped to 19 of 352 (5%). For the period from 1396 to 1400, the figure increased to 50 of 362 (14%). The overall percentage for 1389–1465 (928 out of 13,051 students) is 7.1% (1: Table II 190\*). Natives of the diocese of Utrecht made up a sizable proportion of Cologne’s student population: 12% in 1389–90 (100 out of 842), 22% in 1391–95 (77 out of 352), and 18% in 1396–1400 (66 of 362) (1: Table I 170\*–71\*).

## 2. Misidentifying Johannes Witte de Hese

LITTLE ATTENTION has ever been paid to Johannes Witte de Hese or his *Itinerarius*. Since 1500, notices—generally brief—have appeared first in the catalogs of libraries assembled by Renaissance humanists and then in encyclopedias and literary histories; patterns of misunderstanding or error in these notices prove that scholars generally have copied from each other and only rarely consulted the book itself. Biographical information advanced about Witte has generated more confusion than light: his name, the date of his pilgrimage, and his place of origin have been incompletely or erroneously reported. Differences in the name—as noted above, they range from Johannes Witte de Hese to Ioannes Hesius to Jan Voet—result from the absence of a stable spelling system during the Middle Ages, the loss of the surname early in the manuscript tradition, and, evidently, a misunderstanding of the Latin text by the Dutch translator.<sup>17</sup> A mistake in the first sentence of printed editions *ghj*—changing the date of Witte’s presence in Jerusalem from 1389 to 1489—underlies repeated misrepresentation of the *Itinerarius* as a book written in the late fifteenth century (the Middle Dutch translation has him begin his journey in 1398, an error that also has been consequential).<sup>18</sup> Sixteenth-century bibliographers probably initially were misled by one of the three editions with the wrong date; they may in turn be the source of mistakes made by later scholars who consulted reference works and not the *Itinerarius* and who have misdated the journey (or the book’s publication) to 1489.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Some scholars identify Jan Voet as an entirely separate, historical figure. Ben A. J. Wasser believes that “Jan Voet van Utrecht” translated into Middle Dutch a Latin account by “Johannes de Hese, . . . [a] priest from the diocese of Maastricht” and that Voet undertook a pilgrimage himself in 1398. Wasser offers an erroneous summary of the *Itinerarius*, claiming that it describes “islands, monsters, and violent natural phenomena” in the Mediterranean and treats the various Christian sects in the Holy Land. None of this is in any Latin or Dutch version of the book; see Wasser’s “Die Peregrinatie van Iherusalem,” 9–10.

<sup>18</sup>Printed edition *k*, which is a revision of *b*, omits the date entirely; the later date in *gh* appears to be a deliberate change by two printers (see discussion in chapter 3). Witte’s later observation that he was at the church of Saint Thomas in 1391 is found in *AB*, is corrupted in *C*, and is missing in *DE* and all printed editions and their manuscript copies (lemma 906). Although all three Middle Dutch manuscripts begin with Voet/Witte leaving Jerusalem in 1398, *K* nevertheless places him in India in 1391 (*L* breaks off before this point; *M* probably has the date 1391 [see description in the appendix]).

In the early eighteenth century, Bernard Pez cited manuscript *D*, then at Tegernsee, and mistakenly gave the date of the pilgrimage in the *Itinerarius* as 889 (reading DCCCLXXXIX for MCCCLXXXIX), but this error has not led later scholars astray [note, however, p. 102 n. 157 below]; see *Dissertatio Isagogica* (Vienna, 1721), 1:lxxxvii.

<sup>19</sup>Of the ninety-five copies I have located of the eleven printed editions, some 40% have the later date (8 of *g*, 11 of *b*, and 15 of *j*; another 8 are of *k*, which gives no date). They may have had somewhat larger print runs than editions with the correct date. In discussing the reception of the *Itinerarius* below, I note where the date of the pilgrimage is erroneously given.

A third significant mistake concerns Witte's origin. All the Latin manuscripts and printed editions describe the narrator of the *Itinerarius* as a "presbyter Traiectensis dyocesis"—a cleric from the *diocese* of Utrecht [emphasis mine]—and the Dutch translation appears originally to have employed an equivalent toponym.<sup>20</sup> It should first be noted that the word "presbyter" does not necessarily mean that he was a parish priest: Benedictines called each other "presbyter" rather than "monachus," for example, although a religious might be expected to identify his specific order or monastery (and perhaps to explain what he was doing away from it).<sup>21</sup> The more significant words in this phrase, however, are *Traiectensis dyocesis*, a medieval ecclesiastical territory that was coterminous with nearly all of what is today the Netherlands (except, of course, for land since reclaimed from the sea). Thus, this toponym describes much more than just the city of Utrecht, which was its principal urban center. The geographical spread of the diocese of Utrecht and adjacent territory (ca. 1400) is shown on the map in Figure 1.

The earliest references to the *Itinerarius* tend to overlook the significant word *diocese*, however, and almost everyone who refers to Johannes Witte de Hese associates him with a city. By the early nineteenth century, some scholars had shifted his home to Maastricht, a mistake that presumably arose out of linguistic confusion, since both cities are known in Latin as "Traiectum," Maastricht usually designated as "Traiectum ad Mosam" [on the Maas/Meuse] and Utrecht as "Traiectum ad Rhenum" [on the Rhine].<sup>22</sup> The church of Saint Servatius at Maastricht possessed a relic of Saint Thomas, which also may have encouraged people to think that Witte left from this town on a pilgrimage whose goal was the apostle's shrine in India.<sup>23</sup> Local pride probably influenced scholarship as well.

<sup>20</sup>The syntax in C makes Johannes Witte a "presbiter" from Hese in the diocese of Utrecht (lemma 6). *L* refers to Witte as "priester uten ghesticht van Utrecht" ("priest from the diocese of Utrecht"), while *K* reads simply "van Utrecht" and *M* "van vtert" (lemmata D3–4). It is easier to imagine the loss, rather than the addition, of the diocesan connection.

<sup>21</sup>Miller, *Mappaemundi*, 1:1–2, citing references to "Bede presbyter." The passage from the Middle Dutch translation in the previous note assumes that Witte was a priest, as has every scholar who has specifically mentioned Witte's vocation.

<sup>22</sup>By the sixteenth century Utrecht was being called "Utraiectensis" or "Ultraiectensis." In Nicholas Mameranus's edition of the *Itinerarius*, printed in 1565 at Antwerp, Witte identifies himself in the first sentence of his book as "Ioannes de Hese Presbyter Traiectensis diocesis" (sig. A5r), but in a prefatory poem lauding the exploits of the pilgrim-adventurer, Mameranus observes that "this priest of Christ was from Utrecht" ("Vtraiectensis Christi fuit ille sacerdos" [sig. A2r]), and in his introduction he relates how he discovered the narrative by the "Utrecht priest" ("Ioanne de Hese Vtraiectensis [sic] sacerdotis"; sig. A3v). On Mameranus's edition (*k*) see chapter 3.

<sup>23</sup>Saint Servatius, founded in the sixth century, is the oldest church in the Netherlands. Arnold von Harff, on a tour of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome on Easter Sunday (26 March) 1497, records "item an arm of St. Thomas the Apostle which I have seen in very truth at Mackeron in the kingdom of India. I have also seen the arm of St. Thomas in the sacristy of St. Servas Church at Maastricht." Later, on Rhodes, he notes

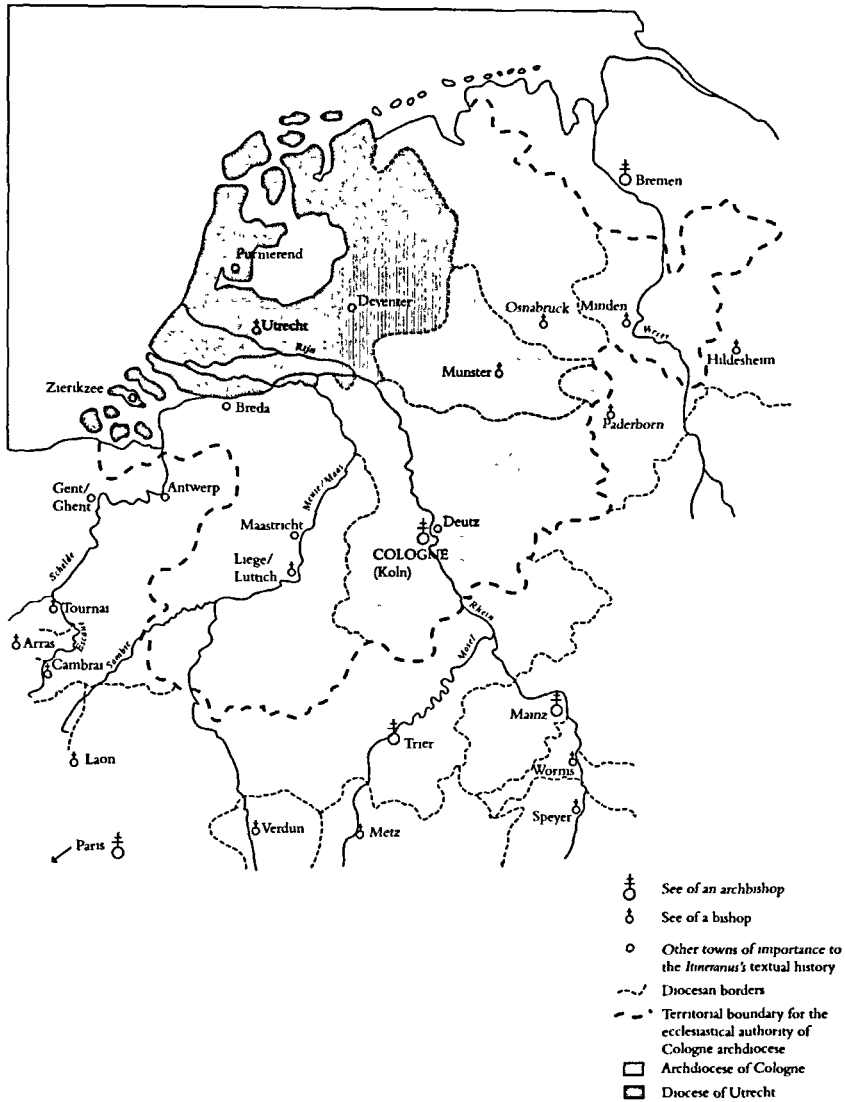


Figure 1. Map of the diocese of Utrecht and adjacent territory around the year 1400.

In 1836, Hamal de Becdelièvre, using unspecified sources, noted the death in 1396 of “Jean Hésius,” a Maastricht-born canon at the collegiate church of Saint Servatius, whom he identified as the writer of an autobiographical “account in Latin” of travel, begun in 1389, to Jerusalem, Arabia [*sic*], Ethiopia, and even more remote places.<sup>24</sup> The connection was reiterated in 1845—this time more influentially—by Mathias de Vries, later a distinguished professor at the University of Leiden. In the introduction to his edition of the Middle Dutch translation of the *Itinerarius*, de Vries argues that the author could not have come from “the diocese of Utrecht” but rather “of Maastricht.”<sup>25</sup> De Becdelièvre’s brief biography was developed in 1911 by P. M. H. Doppler, the archivist for the Dutch province of Limburg, whose capital is Maastricht. In his catalog of the canons of Saint Servatius, Doppler traces to 1368 the first mention of “Johannes Hesius (de Heze),” described as the offspring of a patrician family from the village of Hees in Belgian Limburg and the author of a Latin book of “impressions” gathered on “a journey to Palestine in 1389”; this work was “translated into Dutch, probably in 1398, by a certain Father Johan Voet.”<sup>26</sup> Both de

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wryly in yet another catalog of relics: “Item an arm of St. Thomas the Apostle, of which I have seen many” (*The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, trans. Letts, pp. 20, 87).

<sup>24</sup>Becdelièvre, *Biographie Liégeoise, ou Précis Historique et Chronologique de Toutes les Personnes qui se sont Rendues Célèbres . . . dans l'ancien diocèse et pays de Liège . . . et la Ville de Maestricht*, 2 vols. (Liège, 1836), 1:119:

1396. HÉSIUS (*Jean*), naquit à Maestricht, et fut chanoine de l'église collégiale de St.-Servais. Il entreprit en 1389, le voyage de Jérusalem dont il a donné une *relation en latin*; et parcourut non-seulement la Judée, mais l'Arabie, l'Ethiopie et d'autres contrées encore plus éloignées [emphasis in original].

With this summary, Becdelièvre does not seem to have read much more than the first quarter of the *Itinerarius*—that is, the excerpt Baron de Reiffenberg had translated into French and published in 1835–36 (see n. 50 below). His notion that the book describes travel in Arabia may come from Mameranus (see n. 39 below).

<sup>25</sup>“Fragment,” pp. 7–8. De Vries argues that Witte/Voet compares the Asian city of Edissa to Cologne (lines 159–60) rather than Utrecht, which he would have chosen if he “really was a priest” in that diocese (as, indeed, the text clearly states [“uten ghesticht van Utrecht”]): therefore, he must have come from the vicinity of the less cosmopolitan Maastricht. The reasoning is anachronistic and hypothetical.

<sup>26</sup>The text in the original reads:

1368. Johannes *Hesius (de Heze)*, afstammeling eener patricische familie, die haren naam ontleent aan het dorp Hees, gelegen in Belgisch Limburg, niet ver ten westen van Maasricht [*sic*], voor het eerst als kanunnik vermeld in 1368. In 1389 ondernam hij eene reis naar Palestina, welke indrukken hij in het latijn beschreef. Dit werk werd waarschijnlijk in 1398 in het Dietsch vertaald door zekeren pater Johan Voet [emphasis in original].

See “Lijst der Kanunniken van het Vrije Rijkskapittel van Sint Servaas te Maastricht (1050–1795)” in *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le Limbourg à Maastricht* 74 [3rd ser. 19] (1938), 33–174 (at pp. 139–40): Doppler himself (in his n. 330) attributes his reference to “Father Johan Voet” to a history of Dutch literature by W. J. A. Jonckbloet (*Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* [see n. 56 below]); he shows no sign of having read the *Itinerarius* in either Latin or Middle Dutch.

Becdelièvre and Doppler contradict the text of the *Itinerarius*, to say nothing of late medieval ecclesiastical hierarchy and geography. Witte introduces himself as “presbyter,” not “canonicus,” a title he certainly would have used after holding it for over twenty years. Moreover, had a canon from the cathedral at Maastricht ventured as far as India or even been associated with an account alleging as much, it is unlikely that the rather ample surviving church records about him would be silent about such an unusual exploit (the connection between the canon at Saint Servatius and the author of the *Itinerarius* was first made by de Becdelièvre). A canon also would probably have been a more accomplished writer of Latin.<sup>27</sup> In point of fact, Maastricht can be ruled out for the simple reason that the city belonged to the diocese of Liège until the mid-1500s, only then becoming an episcopal center in its own right. Any attempt to connect Johannes Witte de Hese (or Jan Voet) to Maastricht ignores the specific political meaning of “Traiectensis dyocesis” during the later Middle Ages.<sup>28</sup>

### 3. Evidence from the Book and Its Reception

SURVIVING MANUSCRIPTS and copies of early printed editions provide no specific biographical information about Johannes Witte de Hese, but they do offer historical evidence of some value. His book apparently began to circulate with no title or identifying rubric; its earliest readers thus would have had no extratextual preparation for what they were about to read, depending on context alone for a sense of its “identity.” The work’s first publisher, Johann Guldenschaff, was probably the first to style it the *Itinerarius*: the pragmatic demand of the printed book’s title page called for more than what a manuscript required.<sup>29</sup> Although Nicholas Mameranus used *Peregrinatio Ioannis Hesei* in his edition of 1565 (*k*), the title apparently invented by Guldenschaff has been adopted by almost all scholars and bibliographers.

The *Itinerarius* first circulated in the Lower Rhine region, where its Dutch protagonist presumably generated local interest. Manuscript A (probably 1424), the oldest copy of the text, was copied by Johannes of

<sup>27</sup>See the discussion of Johannes Witte, the influential Utrecht canon (n. 13 above). On barbarous Latin attributed to influential clerics, however, see chapter 3, n. 35.

<sup>28</sup>Maastricht was an episcopal see from 382 to 721; te Winkel, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 1:570, n. 1.

<sup>29</sup>Of the five manuscripts that pre-date the first printed edition of Witte’s book, *ABCE* have no title or introductory rubric whatever. Oswald Nott, the scribe of *D*, produced at Tegernsee in 1473, gave the text this heading: “The narrative of master Johannes of Hess, priest in the diocese of Utrecht, on the lands across the Mediterranean to the ends [of the earth],” which is modified slightly on the manuscript’s title page (fols. 166r, 2r; full Latin texts of both titles are in the appendix). No manuscript copy has an explicit that gives a title or the author’s name. On the appropriateness of the title *Itinerarius* see n. 56 below.

Purmerend, and by mid-century it was at the Benedictine abbey of Saint Heribert at Deutz.<sup>30</sup> The work was circulating in the vernacular in Holland by around 1450.<sup>31</sup> By 1473 the *Itinerarius* had reached southern Bavaria. Its original audience appears to have been monastic, but as a book printed at Cologne, Antwerp, Deventer, and Paris it reached other readers.<sup>32</sup>

Scribes and early readers left little indication of their responses to the book. Marginalia (except for corrections) are rare or absent in all manuscripts except *E*, which has fairly frequent notations that generally are restricted to textual summary, although the scribe directs specific attention [“Nota . . .”] to the layout of the palace of Prester John, the description of Hulna, the unveiling of the face of Saint Thomas on his feast day, the healings that occur on this occasion, and Jasconius the whale.<sup>33</sup> Oswald Nott, the scribe of *D*, urges readers to “note well” the entire description of Prester John’s capital of Edissa.<sup>34</sup> In *G*, an index finger points to the passage on the women of Terra Feminarum.<sup>35</sup> The lack of any pejorative comments suggests—but certainly does not prove—that literate audiences generally took the work seriously. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that when the *Itinerarius* was gathered before 1550 in a single codex with other texts, it joined chronicles, theological manuals, geographical treatises, and other travel accounts that were accepted as true at the time. Exemplars of the eleven printed editions show a similar regard, although

<sup>30</sup>Manuscript *B* probably originated in the Rhineland. “Johannes de Purmereynde” was the scribe of fols. 1r–187r in vol. 2 of manuscript *A*, including *The Book of John Mandeville* (in Latin), the *Liber peregrinationis* of Jacopo of Verona, and Witte’s *Itinerarius* (see the appendix for colophons and dates). The Cologne matricula list a “Joh. Purmar de Hollandia” as a “pauper” ca. 1432; a “Joh. de Hoet de Pirmer” of the diocese of Utrecht paid living costs (“solvit medium”) ca. 1434; and a “Joh. Johannis de Slusa de Purmareyn” from the same diocese achieved “artium” on 27 August 1442 (Keussen, 1:361, 389, 453; and 3:847; see n. 15 above). I have not found “Johannes de Purmereynde” in any catalog of colophons.

<sup>31</sup>One copy of the Middle Dutch translation (*K*) is attributed to “Heerick van Rhemen” (see colophon to Middle Dutch edition); Rhemen is located approximately 25 miles (40 kilometers) southwest of Utrecht.

<sup>32</sup>The three other manuscripts that were not copied from printed editions also seem to have been in German monasteries by the later fifteenth century: *C* was probably in the Dominican monastery at Soest in Westphalia in ca. 1470; on *D* see n. 29 above; and *E* was in the Benedictine house at Butzbach in Hessen before 1483. Early printed editions (of the Latin text) appeared between ca. 1490 and ca. 1507 at Cologne (4), Deventer (4), Antwerp (1), and Paris (1); a second Antwerp printer published it in 1565.

<sup>33</sup>For marginalia in *E* see TN VI passim (esp. 174–76, 307–8, 323, 348–49, 398–99).

<sup>34</sup>The marginal comment in *D*—“note these things well, for the next two leaves” [*nota hec bene usque post duo folia*—appears at Witte’s arrival at Edissa (see TN VI 149–50), at the top of fol. 109v; the two “folia” presumably begin with fol. 110r. The description of the palace is nearly complete at the bottom of fol. 111v (at the mention of the vigilant giant [258]). A later (eighteenth-century?) hand has added “NB” in the margin of *B* at the mention of Edissa (148–49; fol. 3v).

<sup>35</sup>TN VI 283–84 (*G* is a copy of printed edition *a*).

at least two late sixteenth-century readers entered hostile judgments into the book itself: one wrote "This author was a downright fabulist" on a title page, while another left bilingual repudiation ("Note well! Reader, watch out for shameless lies," "oh, go on," and "pure nonsense") in the margin adjacent to the description of Prester John's palace.<sup>36</sup> I know of no manuscript or printed copy of the *Itinerarius* bound before 1600 that was conjoined with works then generally believed to be fictional.

Since some of Witte's experiences and observations are taken silently from other books, it perhaps is fitting that the first writer to borrow from the *Itinerarius* should do so without attribution. More important, the context of this "loan" indicates that the book was accepted as factual. A Dutch sailor who accompanied Vasco da Gama on his second voyage to India (1502–3) published an account of his adventure a year after returning home. His descriptions of flying fish at the equator and of the shrine of Saint Thomas in India closely follow passages in Witte's work.<sup>37</sup> The first scholarly notice of Witte's book gives it considerable credit. In prefatory material to his edition of the work, published in 1565, Nicholas Mameranus, who had been poet laureate at the court of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1519–58), recalls learning about the *Itinerarius* while himself on a journey.<sup>38</sup> He reports that the text contains things "unknown and unheard-of in these parts," but in preparing it for publication he felt a need to eradicate certain Latin barbarisms that the "good priest" had committed. Indeed, in a poem accompanying his preface, Mameranus salutes "the priest of Christ / Who had such great love of traveling" for wanting to see so much of the world, judging the report worthy of a wider audience, which might find inspiration in it.<sup>39</sup>

Other readers were less enthusiastic. In a discussion of the unicorn written in the early 1600s, the Spanish naturalist Francisco Fernández de Córdova quotes Witte's claim that he saw the splendid beast purifying a

<sup>36</sup>Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Inc. 2284 8°: "Dieser author ist ein leibhaffter fabularius gewesen" (printed edition *b*); Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, A 672: "NB Attende lector impuden[s] mendacium," "fahr nur fort," and "merae nugae" (all on fol. A4r of edition *b*, at lines 180, 186, 210 [additional negative comments here and on fol. A4v]). In my dissertation I describe the contents of all the manuscripts and half of the 95 located copies of early printed editions; see Westrem, "Critical Edition," pp. 331–93 (manuscripts) and 394–469 (printed editions).

<sup>37</sup>On *Calcoen*, originally published at Antwerp around 1504, see commentary 7–11, 300–60.

<sup>38</sup>Johannes Franciscus Foppens described Mameranus as a man of wit who was given to jesting ("vir facetus et jocosus") in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1739), 2:914.

<sup>39</sup>In his edition *k*, Mameranus revised the text of *b*. His introduction (sigs. A2v–A4v), dated 19 January 1565, follows the poem in which Mameranus shows appreciation for "Johannes Hesius's" love of travel ("Quem peregrinandi magnus habebat amor"; sig. A2r). Mameranus twice states that the narrator is from the city of Utrecht; he never uses the word "diocese" (see n. 22 above).



stream in the Sinai, then dismisses it along with the rest of what he calls the book's innumerable wild lies and fables.<sup>40</sup> More commonly, however, the *Itinerarius* appears in a neutral or benign context, perhaps due to the fact that it seldom was the subject of extended critical study. Indeed, it may have been read less frequently than it was mentioned: any one scholar's reference to, or judgment of, the *Itinerarius* is likely to reappear in the work of several others, a pattern of copying information and misinformation that continues to the present day.

Josiah Simler mentions without comment a copy of the *Itinerarius* (dated 1489) in his catalog of the library of the Zurich bibliophile and "father of zoology" Konrad Gesner (1516–65), published after Gesner's death. Simler's aim was not to evaluate books but simply "to record their titles as an aid to people with libraries."<sup>41</sup> Similarly, Franciscus Sweertius included "Ioannes de Hese, siue Hesivs, Presbyter Traiectensis" in a list of Dutch writers, adding only that the book described "the wondrous things of all India."<sup>42</sup> Valerius Andreas, in another bibliographical encyclopedia, identified "Ioannes Hesivs, Presbyter Traiectensis" as the author of a book

<sup>40</sup>Fernández de Córdova, *Didascalía Multiplex* (London, 1615), p. 113. He refers to "Ioannes de Hese presbyter Traiectensis in suo Itinerario (quod tamen totum innumeris ac portentosis illis quidem scatet mendaciis fabulisque)." He quotes in its entirety Witte's description of the unicorn detoxifying water in the Sinai desert (lines 60–65). He knew the text from a printed edition: not *a*, *b*, or *k*, but possibly *d* (which alone reads "bōa" for "bona" [64] and may explain his single error in transcription ["bouina"]). Fernández de Córdova puts Witte in good company—he also cites Strabo, Pliny, Solinus, Marco Polo, and Ludovico di Varthema—noting that the unicorn's "horn is often seen around here, but never the animal, for which reason it is thought by many today to be fantastical" [Cornu . . . visum sæpe in his partibus est, animal tamen nunquam: qua de causa fabulosum hodie creditum à multis (p. 110)].

<sup>41</sup>Simler, *Bibliotheca Institutæ et Collecta Primum a Conrado Gesnero, Deinde in Epitomen Redacta & Novorum Librorum Accessione Locupletata* (Zurich, 1574), p. 382b and Dedication, p. 2. This work is the expanded, third edition of Gesner's own four-volume *Bibliotheca Universalis* (Zurich, 1545–49), which lists some ten thousand book titles, the *Itinerarius* not among them. The zoologist Gesner makes no mention of Witte's book in his *Historia animalium*, 3 vols. in 4 (Zurich, 1551–87). One might expect a reference in his discussion of the unicorn or simian creatures in vol. 1, *De Quadrupedibus viviparis* (1551), pp. 781–86, 957–81. The unusual title Simler supplies (*Itinerarium de mirabilibus rerum totius Indiæ*) and the date 1489 reappear, ascribed to "Ioan. de Hesse," in Israel Spach's *Nomenclator Scriptorum Philosophicorum atque Philologicorum* (Strasbourg, 1598), p. 544. Spach seems unaware that this book is the same as the "perigrinatio" [*sic*] by "Ioan. Hesei" (edition *k*) he lists on p. 424.

<sup>42</sup>Sweertius, *Athenæ Belgicæ sive Nomenclator infer. Germaniæ Scriptorum* (Antwerp, 1628), pp. 437–38. Sweertius characterizes the *Itinerarius*'s contents as treating of "mirabilibus rerum totius Indiæ"; he offers brief bibliographical information for edition *k*, whose title page could have furnished him with everything found in this entry, but he knows that this is not a unique printing (he cites publisher and date, then adds "& alibi"; he also dates the pilgrimage to 1489, but *k* mentions no year).

about travel in 1389 to Arabia [*sic*], India, Ethiopia, and other remote regions of the world, "in which many things are related that far exceed the truth, owing to the credulity of that age."<sup>43</sup> While these scholars give little indication of having read past the title page of the *Itinerarius*, Gerard Joannes Vossius seems to have concentrated on the book's last sentence: noting that Witte observed the marvels of the Indies, he continues: "he returned from there to Jerusalem, but about Jerusalem, in fact, he refused to write because many others had already taken it upon themselves to do so."<sup>44</sup>

The important contributions these men made to the new science of bibliography benefited writers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who inherited facts and misinformation as well as prejudice. In 1629, Pierre Bergeron published an introduction to his edition of travel narratives written between 1100 and 1500, which ranks as one of the earliest scholarly essays about medieval European accounts of Asia. Bergeron groups Witte with Odoric of Pordenone and John Mandeville, accusing them all of writing accounts that were full of fables owing to their inability to distinguish between what they had heard and what they had actually seen for themselves, something he considered a common failing during the Middle Ages. He is especially critical of the *Itinerarius* for including stories for their entertainment value, to say nothing of its many geographical absurdities and errors.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup>Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Louvain, 1643), p. 515; Andreas characterized the book as one "in qua multa fidem exsuperantia, ex ævi illius credulitate, narrantur," and thus he does not clearly characterize it as a fiction. Like Sweertius, he cites only edition *k*, yet he must have known of another copy since he dates the journey (correctly) as beginning in 1389. His entire entry was copied verbatim by Hugo Franciscus van Heussen in *Historia Episcopatum Foederati Belgii; utpote Metropolitan Ultrajectini*, 2 vols. (Antwerp, 1733), 1:126; and nearly so ("multa mirabilia fidemque exsuperantia") by Foppens in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2:658 (see n. 38 above). Johannes Albert Fabricius repeated the comment but credited Andreas; he identifies Witte as "Joannes de Hees sive de Hese, Presbyter Trajectensis," who traveled in 1389, adding references to one of the Deventer editions (*fghi*) and *j* (*Bibliotheca Latina Medie et Infimæ Ætatis*, 21 books in 6 vols. [Hamburg, 1734–46], 3:581–82 [book 8 in vol. 3 was published in 1735]).

<sup>44</sup>Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis*, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1651), 3.3.539–40: "Joannes de Hese, presbyter Trajectensis, descripsit iter suum ab Hierusalem in Indias, quæque mirabilia observavit, donec Hierosolymam rediret. De ipsis enim Hierosolymis scribere se velle negat, quia alii multi hoc præstitissent." This summary is repeated almost verbatim (with Vossius credited) by Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de Scriptoribus Ecclesie Antiquis*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1722), 3: col. 1240; Oudin dates the writing of the *Itinerarius* "around 1390" and claims that the writer was "celebrated on account of his travels" ("Joannes de Hees, Presbyter Trajectensis, circa 1390, celebris ob peregrinationes . . .").

<sup>45</sup>Bergeron, *Traicté de la Navigation et des voyages des descouverte & conquête modernes* (Paris, 1629); see the later edition in *Voyages faits principalement en Asie*, 1: cols. 51–52. Bergeron, echoing Valerius Andreas, dismisses the entire fourteenth century for its gullibility; Odoric's account, like Mandeville's, is "remplie de beaucoup de choses fabuleuses, n'ains pas assez bien distingué ce qu'ils avoient ouï dire d'avec ce qu'ils avoient vû

Another early study of travel narratives, considerably more extensive than Bergeron's, was undertaken in the early nineteenth century by Johann Beckmann, a professor of economics at the University of Göttingen. In his two-volume *Litteratur der älteren Reisebeschreibungen*, Beckmann summarizes and analyzes selected narratives, describes different editions, offers information about the travelers, and provides valuable chronological and geographical indices. It is an impressive, if largely forgotten, work of scholarship. Beckmann was the first person to recognize several problems in the reception of the *Itinerarius* that have been rehearsed here. He faults Nicholas Mameranus not so much for "improving" the text's Latin in his edition of 1565 as for failing to provide a critical apparatus with original readings. He attempts, albeit unsuccessfully, to unravel the interrelationship of the printed editions, and he recognizes variants in the spelling of "Hese" (he never mentions "Witte") and the writer's departure date from Jerusalem (he recognizes 1489 to be a misprint).<sup>46</sup> For all the attention he devotes to the *Itinerarius*, however, Beckmann sees it primarily as a bibliographical curiosity. "Other than its venerable age," he writes, "I know of nothing that could lend this little travel narrative any value." He complains about the text's brevity, its garbled topography, and its stock of "old fables."<sup>47</sup>

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eux-mêmes; qui est la faute ordinaire de tous ceux de ce siècle-là." "Jean de Hese," whom he calls a "Prêtre d'Utrecht," went in 1489 to Asia,

où il rapporte plusieurs fables & contes faits à plaisir, outre les absurditez & erreurs qu'il commet en Géographie. Car entr'autres, comme la plupart des autres écrivains de ce tems là, il confond les pais du *Prêtre-Jean d'Asie*, avec ceux de celui d'*Ethiopie* ou des *Abissins* [emphasis in original].

Bergeron's accusation of geographical absurdity is not without its irony. He reflects early modern opinion in asserting that Prester John was a historical ruler in Ethiopia; nineteenth-century historians would identify him with various Asian leaders. Bergeron also evinces what has become scoffing intolerance among Western scholars for the medieval belief that Ethiopia was part of India, even though such an association makes political and cultural—if not continental—sense. During the early years of the Cold War, according to Rogers, the United States failed to recognize that Moscow considered Addis Ababa to be in its *Asian* sphere of interest, with deleterious results for foreign policy (*Quest*, pp. 65–66).

<sup>46</sup>Beckmann, *Litteratur*, 2:390–99, 561–62. Beckmann may be the first modern scholar to have studied a manuscript copy of the *Itinerarius*: he refers to the location of Saint Thomas's shrine at "Ulua," a variant found only in *E*, which was in the University of Giessen library by 1771. He reproduces the title pages of printed editions *d*, *i*, and *k*, and he refers to manuscript *D* and edition *h*, whose erroneous departure date (1489) he corrects. He also points out other inconsistencies in the bibliographical record. Beckmann's own small mistakes in reproducing roman numerals (2:392, n. 4) are carried over into J. G. T. Graesse's classic *Trésor de Livres Rares et Précieux*, 7 vols. in 8 (Dresden, 1859–69), 3:262, where he is silently copied.

<sup>47</sup>Beckmann's text (with what are now unusual spellings) reads: "Außer dem ehrwürdigen Alterthum, weis ich nichts, was dieser kleinen Reisebeschreibung einen Werth geben könnte. Alles ist kurz; überall nur einzelne Brocken. Die berührten Oerter sind sehr unverständlich angezeigt worden. Vieles besteht aus den alten Fabeln der sogenannten heiligen Oerter" (2:395). Beckmann observes that the content of the *Itinerarius* and the texts

Beckmann's judgment was echoed by other nineteenth-century writers, who repeated the charge, now two hundred years old, that Witte was guilty of typical medieval gullibility and worthy more of neglect than attention.<sup>48</sup> In his historical survey of travelers from the Low Countries, Jules de Saint-Génois calls the *Itinerarius* one of the more curious journey narratives in existence, but he ultimately dismisses it as a collection of naïve tales, marvelous legends, and popular stories—a sign of how credulous literate people remained “at the end of the fifteenth [sic] century.”<sup>49</sup> The Baron de Reiffenberg, in a rambling and mostly irrelevant explanatory note to a passage in M. de Barante's *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois*, appreciates that the pilgrimage described in the *Itinerarius* (dated 1489) was occasioned by piety, but he goes on to cite scholars who dispute the work's extravagant claims. He begins a French translation of the text but abandons it less than a quarter of the way through, leaving Witte facing the cannibalistic Monoculi in the Sandy Sea (98).<sup>50</sup> Joseph J. C. Nève sounds a rather sinister note in his fairly lengthy treatment of the *Itinerarius*: he contends that the marvels “Jean de Hese . . . claims to have seen are so extraordinary, and the fables he relates so very absurd, that one cannot attribute it all to his extreme naïvete.” Indeed, while “Jean” may “embellish his subject a little” in claiming to have eaten flying fish from the Red Sea, he is no longer just an “incredibly credulous traveler” when he describes Prester John's palace or the island of Gog and Magog. Nève ends on a happier note, wondering whether the book is not just a fantasy from beginning to end, and whether the author, in writing it, would ever have had need to leave his own back yard.<sup>51</sup>

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printed with it will cause some readers to think they have a copy of *A Thousand and One Nights* in front of them (2:399), an idea repeated by subsequent scholars (see n. 50 below).

<sup>48</sup>Witte's exemplification of “typical medieval credulity” became standard fare in encyclopedias during the early 1800s. The 52-volume *Biographie Universelle* (Paris, 1811–28) pronounced that “Cette relation respire le goût du merveilleux et la crédulité du temps” (13:307 [s.v. “Esius”], published in 1815; the entry is by “Marron”). An anonymous contributor to the Belgian *Biographie Universelle* (Brussels, 1843–47), 9:306, precisely identified “Jean de Hese” as a “prêtre du diocèse d'Utrecht,” but after summarizing the content of the *Itinerarius* concluded that the book's rarity was its sole virtue (“La rareté de ce livre fait son seul mérite”).

<sup>49</sup>Saint-Génois, *Les Voyageurs* [sic] *Belges*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1846–47?), 1:36–37; the *Itinerarius* is “un recueil de récits naïfs, de légendes merveilleuses, de contes populaires et de poétiques mensonges, qui prouvent combien les clercs mêmes étaient encore crédules à la fin du XVe siècle” (p. 36).

<sup>50</sup>6th ed., 10 vols. (Brussels, 1835–36), 5:425–37; the reference to the *Itinerarius* appears in a lengthy note in an appendix to a discussion of relations between the duke of Burgundy and the emperor at Constantinople in 1443. Like Beckmann, the Baron de Reiffenberg (p. 432), Saint-Génois (1:36), and Philippus Christianus Molhuysen (see n. 53 below) compare the *Itinerarius* to *A Thousand and One Nights*.

<sup>51</sup>*Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, 28 vols. (Brussels, 1866–1944), 9: cols. 314–17; this volume was published in 1886–87. Nève writes, “Les merveilles qu'il déclare avoir vues

Dutch literary historians have treated the *Itinerarius* more charitably, noting its imaginative content and laconic style.<sup>52</sup> Philippus Christianus Molhuysen (1852) calls the travel narrative of “Jan de Hese” a “rare and peculiar book” full of “unbelievable things,” reminiscent of *A Thousand and One Nights*, but he speculates that the work may have influenced late fifteenth-century Portuguese exploration with its description of the land of Prester John, the oddities of which no other writer had described so nicely and amusingly.<sup>53</sup> A. J. van der Aa’s contemporaneous and nonjudgmental estimation of “Johannes Hesius or Hees, . . . famous for his travels

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sont si extraordinaires, les fables qu’il raconte sont tellement absurdes, qu’on ne peut les mettre toutes sur le compte de son extrême naïveté.” Of the flying fish he states, “on comprend que son imagination l’ait emporté à embellir un peu son sujet,” but then he adds, “Ce n’est encore qu’un voyageur excessivement crédule, lorsqu’il énumère les merveilles du palais du Prêtre-Jean.” Finally he asks: “C’est à se demander si tout le livre n’est pas, d’un bout à l’autre, une fable et si l’auteur, pour le composer, a dû sortir de chez lui” (cols. 315, 316, 316–17).

Nève’s analysis echoes the entry by A. de Lacaze in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 46 vols. (Paris, 1855–66). He reported that “Jean de Hese” arrived [*sic*] at Jerusalem in 1489, and that he made a pilgrimage throughout the Holy Land (“il arriva à Jérusalem en mai 1489, et visita la plus grande partie de la Palestine”), information that does not indicate a close reading of the book. De Lacaze went on to quote Andreas on “credulousness” (see n. 43 above), then surmised that the *Itinerarius* is so characterized by marvels and confusions in distance and location that “one may doubt whether the narrator actually left his own parish” (“La relation du voyage de Hese . . . présente un tel caractère de merveilleux et de crédulité, une telle confusion des distances et des localités, que l’on peut douter si le narrateur a réellement quitté son presbytère” [21: cols. 557–58]).

<sup>52</sup>Recent studies pay no attention to the book, however. Frits Pieter van Oostrom, who focuses on the literary taste of the Dutch aristocracy (the original audience of the *Itinerarius* appears to have been monastic) never mentions the book, although he observes that two copies of Marino Sanudo’s pilgrimage narrative (lavishly decorated) were owned by the House of Holland-Hainaut (van Oostrom, *Court and Culture*, pp. 26–28). The *Itinerarius* is also ignored in Erik Kooper’s collection of essays, which has no place for pilgrimage accounts or wonder books, although one contributor focuses on the legend of Saint Brendan, from which Witte draws material for the last quarter of his book (*Medieval Dutch Literature in Its European Context*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 21 [Cambridge, Eng., 1994], esp. Clara Strijbosch, “The Middle Dutch ‘Voyage of St. Brendan,’” pp. 191–207). Josephie Brefeld’s reference to the *Itinerarius*—“Johannes did travel through Palestine, but Holy Places were not visited, let alone described”—suggests that she did not read it (*A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages*, p. 36). See also Wasser, “Die Peregrinatie van Iherusalem.”

<sup>53</sup>Molhuysen, “Eene Wereldkaart uit de Middeneeuwen,” 29–36. Molhuysen, who pays almost no attention to the *mappamundi* of his article’s title, does little more than summarize the *Itinerarius* (pp. 31–34). He appears to have read “dit zeldzame en zonderlinge boek,” with its “ongelooflijke dingen,” in edition *f*, printed at Deventer [pp. 30–31, n. 1]; on Sindbad and his claim that no one had previously described “de regering en de merkwaardigheden van het rijk van Paap Jan zoo fraai en vermakelijk” see p. 34.

in 1398 [*sic*],” entered an encyclopedia that was frequently reprinted.<sup>54</sup> Jan te Winkel believes much of the narrative to be imaginary and calls the author’s occasional claims to have seen (or not to have seen) something odd rather intrusive; still, he defends the *Itinerarius* against charges of mendacity by insisting that it only repeats what other writers had (or might have) said—after all, India was a wonderland generally for medieval Europeans. To bolster this claim but also to enlarge the stature of the *Itinerarius*, te Winkel cites several sources, including Honorius Augustodunensis and a German version of Marco Polo.<sup>55</sup> W. J. A. Jonckbloet was the first scholar to compare the *Itinerarius* and the *Book of John Mandeville* on literary grounds (te Winkel treated them in succession, referring to the Dutch *Reysen . . . van ridder Jan van Mandeville* that circulated in late medieval Holland). According to Jonckbloet, since Witte’s clipped stories form an “itinerary” rather than a coherent narrative, his book has an appropriate title (Jonckbloet was unaware that the name *Itinerarius* is evidently not authorial). Nevertheless, he wryly concludes that Witte, despite his brevity, concedes nothing to the more garrulous Mandeville in churning out wonders.<sup>56</sup>

The complaints and the comparisons are justified. Witte’s text—in Latin or in Middle Dutch—seldom describes landscapes or actions in vibrant, appealing language. Its stylistic strengths include a terseness that steers the narrative clear of breathless enthusiasm and a vagueness that

<sup>54</sup>Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 7 vols. (Haarlem, 1852), 3:218.

<sup>55</sup>Te Winkel, *Geschiedenis*, 1:569–72:

Dat hij de vele wonderbaarlijkheden, waarvan hij gewag maakt, noch zelf uitgedacht heeft, noch zelf voor onwaarschijnlijk behoefde te houden, mag men gerust aannemen, daar men dezelfde dingen ook door andere schrijvers zóó of een weinig anders ter goeder trouw verhaald vindt. Trouwens Indië was in de middeleeuwen het wonderland (pp. 570–71).

Te Winkel, who knew of manuscripts *B* and *D*, as well as five printed editions, had researched his subject diligently enough to report that “Johannes de Hese” was a priest in the diocese of Utrecht whose family name was “Witte”; he believed this name to have been corrupted to “Voet” in the Middle Dutch translation (p. 570, n. 2).

<sup>56</sup>Jonckbloet, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 4th ed., 6 vols. (Groningen, 1888?–92), 2:404–5. Jonckbloet writes: “Hoewel dit verhaal, dat eigenlijk meer een reiswijzer is, veel beknopter uitviel dan dat van Mandeville, geeft Hesius dezen niets toe in het opsnijden van wonderen.” To be fair to Mandeville, Jonckbloet should be criticized (as should many others) for allowing one chapter in the *Book*—the infamous catalog of “monstrous races”—to characterize the entire narrative. To Mathias de Vries, who called the *Itinerarius* simple but entertaining, Jonckbloet replies that he found the work simple enough but far less enjoyable to read than its early publishers must have (“eenvoudig en helder is de taal zeker, maar de afgebroken stijl van den vertaler maakt, mijns inziens, de lezing niet zoo onderhoudend als den eersten uitgever voorkwam” [p. 405]). In *Geschiedenis van de Ouden Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde* (Antwerp, 1928), Jonaz van Mierlo also points out similarities between Witte and Mandeville (pp. 284–85).

leaves some of the narrator's claims—of having seen Eden or Gog and Magog, for example—tantalizingly ambiguous. While the *Book* achieved much greater literary distinction than did the *Itinerarius*, John Mandeville and Johannes Witte de Hese are both, in all likelihood, figments of the imagination of two anonymous authors who managed to fashion a traveler with a name, a vocation, and a set of experiences that sounded authentic enough for readers to credit his words, at least for a time.

## The Textual Tradition of the *Itinerarius*

### 1. The Threatened Text

IN ADDITION TO OCCUPYING a key position in the history of Western travel literature, Witte's *Itinerarius* underwent a complicated textual development and dissemination, which deserves attention for the light it sheds on what could happen to a book written in northern Europe around 1400. The Latin text is found in eight recovered manuscripts, of which the oldest, *A* (probably copied in 1424), is closest in content to the original and serves as the basis for the critical edition printed here.<sup>1</sup> Seven incunable editions and four other early publications of the Latin text appeared between ca. 1490 and 1565, found today in at least ninety-five exemplars; three of the recovered manuscripts are, in fact, copies of one of these printed books. By the second half of the fifteenth century, the *Itinerarius* also was circulating in Middle Dutch, as records of three exemplars of a single translation testify. Comparison of all these versions of the book indicates that at least five additional manuscripts—three in Latin and two in Dutch—are unrecovered at present (see Figure 2 for a hypothetical stemma). Witte's *Itinerarius*, in other words, reached a modest audience during the 1400s and early 1500s.<sup>2</sup>

Full citations for works abbreviated in footnotes may be found in the bibliography, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>1</sup>Harrison Hayford urged his students, including me, to describe manuscripts as “recovered” and “unrecovered”—rather than “surviving” and “lost”—partly to guard against anthropomorphizing them but also to allow for the distinct possibility that other copies of a book are found in collections that are insufficiently cataloged (or unknown to the editor).

<sup>2</sup>See the list of abbreviations for manuscripts and editions. Details in this chapter about the date, provenance, and contents of each manuscript are documented in the appendix. The



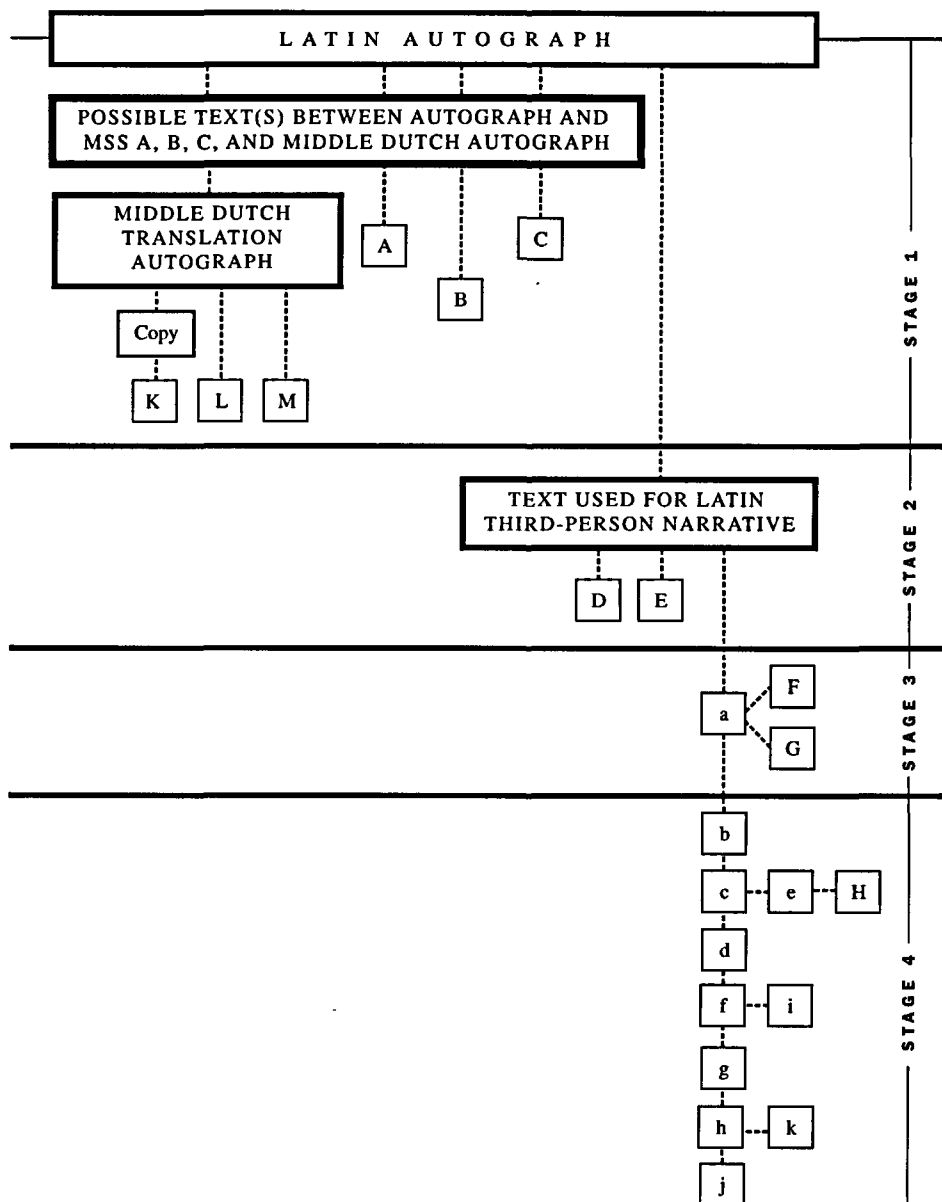


Figure 2. A stemma for Latin manuscripts and printed editions and for Middle Dutch manuscripts of the *Itinerarius*.

What readers and auditors confronted was by no means a stable text—not that any work produced during the Middle Ages was verbally “fixed”—and the history of the transmission of the *Itinerarius* brings other intriguing contours to a study of the work. In her survey of the records left by twenty-three men who claim to have journeyed within Asia between 1238 and 1360, Michèle Guéret-Laferté maintains that “the purity and integrity of the [travel book] text are continually threatened” by a series of factors, including scribal errors, editorial decisions, and the formation of manuscript codices, in which the way one work is read may be partly determined by the material that accompanies it.<sup>3</sup>

The *Itinerarius* is an excellent example of the threatened text. First, the original Latin version was distinctly and successively revised three times, effecting marked changes in narrative voice and style. Substantive changes are not frequent, but they include interpolated assurances by the “narrator” that his account is reliable, as well as shifts of verb forms to the subjunctive mood that enable scribes or printers to distance themselves somewhat from certain textual claims. At least one major revision was made while the work was still in manuscript form; its first two printers probably were responsible for the third and fourth stages of the text. Second, scribes worked with the fifteenth-century Middle Dutch translation in a different way, producing orthographically and syntactically dissimilar versions of the vernacular, in part to accommodate their own dialectal preferences. The translator evidently was more relaxed about additions—and scribes about omissions—than were copyists and printers of the Latin text. Third, a direct line of descent can be traced from the first to the eleventh printed edition, and no publisher either credited his source or disguised his appropriation of it. Some evidence indicates competition or collaboration in getting the text into circulation. Fourth, although the content and style of the *Itinerarius* may not impress many modern readers, its early audiences appear to have taken it seriously, given the frequency with which it was joined, before the mid-sixteenth century, to theological works, chronicles,

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most recent survey of *Itinerarius* texts is in Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, pp. 332–33 (s.v. “Johan de Hees”). Her inventory of medieval Dutch books, an enormous undertaking, overlooks manuscripts AC and five printed editions.

As the discussion below will demonstrate, the three unrecovered Latin texts are: 1) the autograph copy; 2) a common source for *DEa*; and 3) the copy text used by the Middle Dutch translator. The autograph copy of the translation and the copy text for *K* (a transcription produced ca. 1690) also remain unlocated. The considerable variation among the recovered texts makes it highly unlikely that *ABC* and the source for *DEa* are all copies of the autograph Latin manuscript (or the copy text used by the translator), or that *DEa* all descend from the same manuscript, or that *KLM* all are copies of the autograph Middle Dutch manuscript. Thus, although it cannot be definitively proved, several other manuscripts in both languages almost certainly have been destroyed or are unrecovered.

<sup>3</sup>Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes*, pp. 13–14 (“la pureté et l’intégrité du texte se trouvent continuellement menacées”).

and geographies in manuscript codices and bound collections of printed books. Finally, as the printing press introduced many texts with a regional appeal to larger audiences, the *Itinerarius*, which initially circulated in Germanic-speaking areas (almost exclusively in the Rhineland), began to appear throughout Europe. Editions were published in Antwerp (between 1497 and 1499) and Paris (ca. 1507), and Renaissance humanists and scientists from the Low Countries to Switzerland to Spain cite the book, though not always approvingly.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter's delineation of the textual transmission of the *Itinerarius* demonstrates that, of all the recovered copies of the book, manuscript *A* is lexically closest to the unrecovered autograph version. Variants in other manuscripts and printed editions—omissions, interpolations, changes in substance and style—place them successively farther away from the original. Yet *A* does not represent what is often called a “best text”: a composition teacher in fact might rank it the worst. Moreover, it is not a “best text” in the more traditional sense that it preserves an author's—and therefore an authoritative—intended set of words. As Ralph Hanna III trenchantly has argued, the belief in and quest for a “best text” may lead to either “mystified nostalgia” or “overly sophisticated [editing] habits.” Thus, *A* is not the basis for the edition printed here either to provide modern readers with “at least as good a text as any medieval reader had” or to facilitate “the creation of a non-medieval text corrected on the basis of [compared readings in] all manuscripts”—two separate, if not always conscious, aims of modern editors who strive to reestablish a work's “original audience.”<sup>5</sup>

The textual history of the *Itinerarius* turns some editorial assumptions on their head, since more difficult or more trenchant readings, usually considered to be a writer's “intended”—and therefore “truer”—expressions, are in the case of this book often signals of emendation. The conventional treatment of variants as constituting “a vocabulary of degeneration” does not apply to the *Itinerarius*, a work in which at times “the scribe [or printer] seems to have participated on a footing nearly equal to that of the author,” if not, in terms of Latin competence, actually superior to him.<sup>6</sup> Witte is

<sup>4</sup>The successive dependence of one printer on the work of another is detailed below. Witte's reputation among humanist scholars is discussed in chapter 2. The “threat” to the text need not be seen as ominous. As Stephen G. Nichols puts it in his lucid introduction to the special issue “The New Philology” in *Speculum* 65 (1990), 1–108: “If we accept the multiple forms in which our artifacts have been transmitted, we may recognize that medieval culture did not simply live with diversity, it cultivated it” (pp. 8–9).

<sup>5</sup>“Problems of ‘Best Text’ Editing and the Hengwrt Manuscript of *The Canterbury Tales*,” in *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, Eng., and Wolfeboro, N.H., 1987), pp. 87–94, esp. p. 88.

<sup>6</sup>Dan Embree and Elizabeth Urquhart, “*The Simonie*: The Case for a Parallel-Text Edition,” in *Manuscripts and Texts* (n. 5 above), pp. 49–59, esp. pp. 52–53. No one in the

seldom responsible for the *lectio difficilior* or *durior* in any sense, and what in another case might be called textual corruption is here frequently literary improvement. Moreover, if the *Itinerarius* exerted an “influence” over an audience—by conveying knowledge, however flawed, or stimulating readers to undertake their own journeys—it no doubt did so with greater success in its later, stylistically more sophisticated stage as a printed book (the five early manuscripts were originally most likely in monastic libraries). Manuscript *A* is the basis for this edition because of all the recovered copies of the *Itinerarius*, it represents the earliest state of a text that underwent considerable change, and that change is best described and measured by presenting it in discrete variants.<sup>7</sup>

As the number and substance of these variants testifies, Witte’s original narrative was “threatened,” as Guéret-Laferté would say, most directly by the impulse of its transmitters to improve it. Manuscripts *A* and *B* (ca. 1460) present similar versions of the *Itinerarius*, in repetitious and prolix Latin that seldom rises above the sophomoric (an exception is lines 26–30). Since other texts—they happen also to be later—record the narrative in increasingly more stylish language, *AB* must represent most closely its autograph version. Manuscript *C* (ca. 1470) contains several readings that otherwise are found only in *A*, and it preserves much of the redundancy of the original. Many of its variants, however—changes in vocabulary, interpolated truth claims, and incoherent readings—threaten the narrative not just by garbling it but also by intruding on it in several passages that affect Witte’s voice. The nearly contemporaneous manuscripts *D* (1473) and *E* (ca. 1480) are independent copies of an unrecovered manuscript (or two very similar ones) that had brought the *Itinerarius* to a second stage of development by revising the beginnings of some independent clauses to reduce tedious polysyndeton, by placing much of the narrative in the third person, and by reordering one extended sequence of events for better dramatic effect. The first printed edition of the work (*a*), published by Johann Guldenschaff at Cologne around 1490, shares these features, adding to them a thorough revision of vocabulary and syntax that fundamentally alters the text for a second time. Manuscripts *F* and *G* are copies of printed edition *a*, which Curt Bühler points out was common practice; their accurate renderings of Guldenschaff’s published book reveals an exactitude

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history of the *Itinerarius* “rewrite[s]” its text as radically as Embree and Urquhart show scribes did to the poem in their title.

<sup>7</sup>The claims made in this chapter are based on evidence in the form of variants that accompany the editions printed here. Each variant corresponds to a glossed word or passage in the base text, and each lemma is numbered; the lemmata are, in turn, organized by type (omission, addition, change in vocabulary, grammatical or syntactical revision, and so forth). At the end of the chapter, when the discussion turns to the Middle Dutch translation, lemma numbers are sometimes preceded by a letter to identify which text best records the reading being cited: *L* for Latin, *D* for Middle Dutch, and *E* for English.

that no other scribe, except perhaps for Johannes of Purmerend in *A*, shows for a manuscript copy text.<sup>8</sup>

Cornelius of Zyrickzee's first printed edition (*b*), also produced at Cologne (ca. 1497), is an elegant revision of *a* that returns the entire narrative to the first person and continues Guldenschaff's skilful editorial work, although it is marred by dozens of typographical errors. The *Itinerarius* here reaches its fourth and final stage of development: the nine subsequent printed editions (*c* through *k*) follow a clear linear descent even as they appear on presses away from Cologne—at Antwerp, Deventer, and Paris. An eighth recovered manuscript (*H* [ca. 1500]) is a careful copy of *e* (which itself almost exactly reproduces Zyrickzee's second edition [*c*]). Three publications, *g* (1499), *h* (1504), and *j* (ca. 1507), erroneously—and at first, it seems, intentionally—give the date of Witte's departure from Jerusalem as 1489. Edition *k* (1565) omits the year entirely and introduces many semantic and syntactical emendations. The text of this last pre-modern publication of the *Itinerarius*, at the far end of the series of revisions, at times departs so radically in vocabulary and style from that of *A* as to seem a completely different narrative.

## 2. The Autograph Text, Manuscript *A*, and Unrecovered Manuscripts

THE AUTOGRAPH COPY of the *Itinerarius* presented Johannes Witte de Hese as an unusually experienced traveler but an unremarkable writer. His Latin is capable of getting him from Jerusalem to Paradise and back, but it does so by means of almost chronic repetition, a limited vocabulary, dangling gerundives, infrequent use of subordinate clauses, and unimaginative transitions (many beginning “Et ulterius” or “Item”). These stylistic characteristics, found in *ABC* and the Middle Dutch translation, appear less and less often in the series of texts running *DEa[FG]bc[e[H]]df[i]gh[jk]* (bracketed sigla are copies of their immediate predecessor in this list), which successively introduce more sophisticated syntactical and grammatical forms. Thus, the quality of any one text's Latin is a measure of its relative distance from the original. In the manuscripts that preserve the *Itinerarius* in its earliest state, omission, interpolation, and garbled readings are also important markers, proving that *B* and *C* are less accurate versions of the autograph text than is *A*, which thus serves as the basis for the critical edition presented here. At the same time, variants in *BC* bring to each manuscript intriguing—rather than “inferior” or “corrupt”—readings that

<sup>8</sup>Bühler claims to have learned through experience “that every manuscript ascribed to the second half of the fifteenth century is potentially (and often without question) a copy of some incunabulum”; *The Fifteenth-Century Book* (Philadelphia, 1960), p. 16.

warrant attention for what they reveal about the production and dissemination of a medieval text. This attention deservedly extends to all the manuscripts and early printings that preserve versions of the *Itinerarius*.

Of all the recovered texts of the *Itinerarius*, manuscript A, in the James Ford Bell Library at the University of Minnesota, both records the narrative in its most original state and presents it in what students of medieval travel and geography likely will find to be its most interesting context. The manuscript is a remarkable anthology of works, almost all of which treat the matter of Asia, especially pilgrims' and crusaders' activities in the Holy Land. These include Theoderic's *Libellus de locis sanctis* (1169–74), Hayton of Armenia's *Flos historiarum terre orientis* (dictated in French in 1307 to Nicholas Falcon, who that same year prepared this Latin translation), Jacopo of Verona's *Liber peregrinationis* (ca. 1335/1340), William of Boldensele's *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus* (1336), and two copies of *The Book of John Mandeville* in Latin (composed in French, ca. 1360; these preserve the "Vulgate" version, which appeared after 1396). One copy of the *Book* and Jacopo's *Liber*, each signed and dated 1424 by Johannes of Purmerend, precede Witte's *Itinerarius*, which is written in Johannes's neat, distinctive hand but lacks a colophon.<sup>9</sup> The manuscript was in the monastery of Saint Heribert at Deutz, across the Rhine from Cologne, by the mid-1400s. A copy of the *Itinerarius* thus can be located in the Rhineland a generation or so after the purported journey it describes, in a state close to that of the original and in the context of other travel books.

Johannes of Purmerend appears to have been a careful scribe, despite one scholar's tepid assessment of his abilities.<sup>10</sup> He made few certain errors, neatly correcting those he noticed. In this critical edition I have felt obligated to make only seven emendations: four to correct obvious orthographical mistakes, one to improve grammar, and two to add a word that is crucial

<sup>9</sup>On Johannes of Purmerend see chapter 2, n. 30; part of this composite manuscript was copied (but none of Johannes's work) from an exemplar now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek at Vienna (Cod. 3529). The *Itinerarius* in A also lacks a conventional incipit with a title, but this is true of BCE as well.

<sup>10</sup>In his edition of Jacopo's *Liber*, of which MS 1424/Co contains the only currently recovered copy in Latin, Ugo Monneret de Villard observed that Johannes was not "un copista molto accurato," owing to his occasional omissions, "profoundly altered" forms of proper nouns, inconsistent spellings, and obscure passages (p. xi). A scribe working from a single copy text cannot be blamed for stumbling over illegible words or ambiguous abbreviations; were it possible to show that he had independently "corrected" a nonsensical reading, he would deserve a different censure. Requiring a fifteenth-century scribe to spell proper nouns—especially toponyms—"accurately" is anachronistic and naively assumes that medieval Europe had a common lexicon for political, biblical, and geographical terms. In the event, Johannes seems an unusually careful scribe: he draws a map of Mt. Sinai, presumably found in Jacopo's autograph text (see Figure 3), and on at least one occasion, in *The Book of John Mandeville*, he left a blank space for geographical material about eastern Europe that he either could not decipher or knew to be corrupt (vol. 2, fol. 2r).

to the meaning of a sentence.<sup>11</sup> All the other Latin texts differ from *A* on ten additional occasions. Some of these seem to offer “better” readings in terms of clarity and sense, but a central argument of this chapter is that clearer or more sensible constructions often indicate textual revision in the *Itinerarius*. Moreover, since my aim is not to present confidently a reconstructed “original,” I have not emended *A*. The ten instances are quite minimal: 1) in a reference to “good [animals]” *A* omits *animalia* (it is present in the previous sentence and thus may be understood in this one, a style followed in reverse by printed editions *b–k* [lemma 165]); 2) *A* omits *nos* in a sentence in which the word is not crucial but would be in keeping with four other first-person plural pronouns or verbs in a fairly brief paragraph; 3) *A* omits *tantum* in a sentence to which the word brings nice, but not necessary, balance; 4) *A* refers to a statue being fashioned at “a certain” (*quamdam*) rather than at “any old” (*quamlibet*) column, neither reading being demonstrably more sensible and either likely to have been caused by a mistaken reading of an abbreviation; 5) *A* notes that lamps burn in Prester John’s palace “at night” (*de nocte*) instead of “by day, as well as night” (*die ac nocte*), either of which could be original; 6) *A* locates Saint Thomas’s reliquary “in front of” (*ante*) and not “at” (*ad*) a particular tower, neither of which is necessarily more precise; 7) *A* fails to number the lamps that burn at this same site (all other Latin texts stipulate that there are twelve, but nothing requires enumeration); 8) *A* claims that the distance from Eden to Purgatory is a sailing distance of thirty-four days (the numeral is arabic), and not twenty-four, the latter being more in keeping with the metaphorical numbers (three, four, seven, twelve, twenty-four) used elsewhere; 9) *A* refers to “wild, hairy people” and various “other” animals, the latter word being omitted in the other texts, which thus maintain a distinctly human category for the wildman; and 10) *A* employs the subjunctive voice to place two-faced people in Amosona, which links them to Gog and Magog as people “said” to inhabit the region.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup>The spelling lapses (such as *sepseptimana* for *septimana*) are recorded in TN II 44, 89, 177, 301; the word *appellatam* is emended *appellatum* to agree with its subject *claustrum*, not its object *Mariam* (TN II 118); and *est* and *non* are added because they are necessary for sense (lemmata 256, 285). Johannes’s own tidy corrections in *A* (twenty minor ones) are recorded in TN II.

<sup>12</sup>These variants are noted at lemmata 171, 371, 426, 439, 490 (slightly different in *C*), 947, 958, 1057, 1136, and 1187 (manuscripts *CE* employ the abbreviation *s’t*, which is usually expanded *sunt* but may also stand for *sint*). In addition, *A* uniquely reads *videt* (640), where the other texts have one of two different tenses of this verb (except *C*, which has a completely different word); substitutes *rotulos* for *rotulas* (674), a noun that may be construed as masculine or feminine; and repeats a form of the verb *sanare* twice in a row (71), where the other texts have a form of *mundare* (except *C*, which omits the latter). The Middle Dutch translation, based on an early state of the *Itinerarius*, generally supports readings found in *BCDEa–k*: it shares them for variants numbered 1, 2, 8, 9, and 10; it agrees with *A* for variant 5; and it is ambiguous for variants 3, 4, and 6. It numbers the lamps at the

Since the readings in *A* are plausible and at least one is found in the Middle Dutch translation, variants common to *BCDEa-k* cannot definitively be regarded as original to the *Itinerarius*: they may accurately preserve readings in the autograph copy or they may all record variants that entered the text in an unrecovered manuscript—one that is farther removed from the autograph than *A*—from which they all descend. How many unrecovered manuscripts there may be is impossible to ascertain: *DEa* certainly share (ultimately) a common ancestor, but other clusters of texts emerge from the variant readings that cannot all be explained by hypothesizing lost manuscripts.<sup>13</sup>

### 3. Manuscript B

THE VERSION of Witte's *Itinerarius* preserved in *B* is close to that of *A*, but its variants and its scribe's occasional sloppiness place it at a farther remove from the original and rule it out as the (sole) source for any other known text in Latin or Middle Dutch.<sup>14</sup> Its similarities to *A* are not only textual: *B* probably was copied (ca. 1460) in the Rhineland, perhaps at Cologne, and it combines the *Itinerarius* with two thematically related works, *The Letter of Prester John* and a brief treatise on territories held by the Sultan of Egypt, written during the pontificate of John XXII (1316–34).<sup>15</sup>

Differences between *A* and *B* are relatively minor. Indeed, the two manuscripts share key pieces of information missing elsewhere, including the full name of the author (although *B* lacks the emphatic autobiographical *ego* of the first sentence) and a date that authenticates Witte's presence at

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church of Saint Thomas but gives their total as seven rather than twelve (variant 7). The fragmentary manuscript *L* lacks the text in which variants 6–10 occur, and *K* omits passages with variants 4 and 5.

<sup>13</sup>See also n. 2 above. In addition to *BCDEa-k*, the following clusters appear to result from shared readings indicated in the lemmata: *BCDa-k* (958, 1123), *BDEa-k* (220, 599, 757, 793), *BEa-k* (755), *Ba-k* (834, 858, 1165 [possibly omissions at 445 and 450]), and *CDEa-k* (839, 877 and 879 [omissions]; 34, 520, 854, 940 [additions]; 345, 484, 690, 966 [semantic changes, the first and last differences in number]). Particularly provocative are twenty-five shared (or similar) variants in *Ca-k* that suggest a common source, including omissions (155, 283, 618, 663, 744, 838, 936, 1145, 1150), additions (307, 576, 606, 769, 772, 802, 883, 1084), a transposition (20), and simple semantic changes (33, 122, 424, 577 and 578, 636, 825). Since many other substantive variants prove that *a-k* share a common source with *DE*, and since these twenty-five variants do not appear in either of these two manuscripts, at least some of the common readings in *Ca-k* must be circumstantial rather than proof of a common source.

<sup>14</sup>Variants in *B*—especially omissions—are considerable enough to make it highly unlikely that it was used in conjunction with another copy of the *Itinerarius* to produce a recovered or hypothesized text.

<sup>15</sup>As the description in the appendix indicates, *B* was once the sixth gathering (fols. 60–71) in a manuscript codex.



the church of Saint Thomas (although they disagree on the year).<sup>16</sup> Several substantive omissions in *B* are the most obvious proof of its textual isolation.<sup>17</sup> Additions to the narrative are relatively few, are limited to one or two words, and generally supply a preposition or information that clarifies a reading in *A*: stipulating that the women of Terra Feminarum join the men of Edissa “three times *per year*” or that the inhabitants of the native land of the magi fight “serpents and *other* poisonous animals” slightly improve sense but for this very reason seem markers of scribal emendation.<sup>18</sup>

Differences in vocabulary generally lead either to synonymous readings of equal sense (*lucidum* for *nitidum*) or to less apt ones (the children of Israel “come together” (*convenerunt*) rather than “rest” (*quieverunt*) at Elim, the Cyclopes have “eyes” rather than one dreadful *oculum*, and a numerable “twelve” evil spirits flee the bell of Saint Thomas).<sup>19</sup> Grammat-

<sup>16</sup>The full name and part of the date are also found in *C*. Witte was in India in 1391, according to *A* and Middle Dutch *K*; *B* places him there in 1390, but this seems to be a correction of an original reading of 1391 or 1392; see lemmata 2, 4, 906, and TN II 336 L906.

<sup>17</sup>*B* leaves out: 1) Witte’s second crossing of the Red Sea; 2) a key phrase in the description of sculpted figures of a king and queen at Prester John’s palace (rendering the sentence meaningless); 3) notice of a revolving chapel in the palace; 4) the statement that Indian animals bear two litters annually; 5) part of the explanation of how Christians walk through the dry sea to get to the church of Saint Thomas; and 6) the surmise that there is never night at “Radix Paradisi.” The first four and the sixth of these are almost certainly attributable to a scribal eye-slip in passages with word repetition (the fourth is also missing in *Ca-k*; the last is not in *C*); the fifth may have been caused by the scribe’s leap from *sic quod* to *siccis*; the fourth is also missing in *Ca-k* and the last in *C* only. The final sentence of the *Itinerarius*, which may be a scribe’s addition, is not in *BC* and is worded quite differently in *Ea-k*. See lemmata 91, 445, 630, 792, 821 and 824, 1027, and 1199. On other kinds of omission see nn. 22 and 24 below.

<sup>18</sup>For these two additions see lemmata 755 and 980 (the former is also found in *Ea-k*; the latter, with slightly different grammar, is in *C*). For clarifying prepositions or other parts of speech see 524, 604, 763, 789, and 868 (the addition at 518 is more redundant than helpful). The *B*-scribe evidently wanted saints to be identified as such and thus adds pious titles to names at 388, 758 (but see 757), and 816. Conjunctions such as *et* and *etiam* are added about as often as they are omitted and thus do not reflect the editorial policy of the printers to curb Witte’s redundant usage of these words: for additions see 42, 215, 684, 848, and 1046 (and *et cetera* at 116); for omissions see n. 22 below. The addition of *septem* (338)—inelegantly altering “we were detained for eight weeks” to “eight [of us] were detained for seven weeks”—is probably a result of scribal carelessness (confusing *septem* and *septimanis*).

<sup>19</sup>For the examples here see lemmata 264, 139, 262, and 562. Variants that not only alter but also (arguably) obscure or corrupt the text are at 56, 189 (turning Jews [*Judei*] into Indians [*indei*]), 355, 430, 754, 794, 889 (having the Saint Thomas Christians receive the eucharist from the “hands of the patriarch” rather than from the apostle’s disembodied hand), 910, 931, and 1189. Other semantic variants (almost all of them unique to *B*) are less consequential: 43, 113, 249, 335, 395, 402, 429, 449, 505, 516, 671, 765, 783, 795, 827, 850, 878, 913, 946, 960, 973, 979, 987, 1095, 1105, 1112. If the *B*-scribe generally prefers to write *ibi* for *ibidem* (9, 99, 148, 354, 513, 594, 662, 747, 977, 1086, 1116), the reverse is also attested (557, 635, 679, 911; see also 188). Three changes in vocabulary are especially noteworthy: a

ical variants largely are restricted to verb forms, but they show no pattern of change, such as a preference for the subjunctive over the indicative mood: some may arise because the scribe has misunderstood abbreviatory marks in the copy text.<sup>20</sup> The syntax of *A* is virtually unchanged in *B*, which has only six instances of word transposition.<sup>21</sup> Non-substantive omissions unique to *B*, although rather numerous, are by and large trivial.<sup>22</sup> One missing word is consequential, however: the absence of *non* in a passage about Grandicanis (the great khan) places him at home, rather than away, when Witte and his companions are imprisoned after arriving in his kingdom.<sup>23</sup>

The more principled revisions—semantic and syntactical—found in other Latin texts (discussed below) do not characterize *B*. The beginnings of only eight independent clauses are reworded, four times excising the word *item*.<sup>24</sup> One usage of *unum* as an indefinite article is deleted.<sup>25</sup> The *B*-scribe lacked Johannes of Purmerend's scribal skills—misspellings, careless use of abbreviatory marks, and corrections written over mistakes occur throughout *B*—but attempts to make the narrative more accessible include a rubric found in no other text drawing attention to the description of Mt. Sinai. Large initials in the last third of the narrative identify paragraph units.<sup>26</sup>

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great plaza “stands atop” rather than below columns (472); Witte's presence in India is given as 1390 in *B* but 1391 in *A* (906 [see n. 16 above]); and Witte's boat is blown into a gulf where he can see neither day nor “the moon” (*lunam*) rather than “light” (*lumen* [1165]); although this latter reading is also found in the printed editions, *DE* support the reading in *A*, and *C* is ambiguously abbreviated.

<sup>20</sup>Some verbs in the indicative mood in *A* appear in the subjunctive in *B* (lemmata 286, 476, 556, 764, 858, 1123 [and *CDa-k*]), but the reverse is also true (109, 342, 1023, 1187); a verb in the present subjunctive is mystifyingly changed to the future indicative (897). For other variants in verb forms see 79, 141, 169, 303, 1051, and 1077. For variant forms of adjectives, pronouns, and nouns see 226, 248, 279, 318, 718, and 1123. Grammatically incorrect errors are listed in TN V.

<sup>21</sup>Lemmata 50, 95, 897, 911, 1051, 1142.

<sup>22</sup>These trivial omissions—of words such as *de*, *eciam*, *est*, *et*, *ibi*, *ibidem*, and *sunt*—are recorded in lemmata 72, 96, 244, 477, 503, 529, 539, 558, 591, 727, 945, 1083, 1106, and 1178. Some of these are also lacking in other texts, but this probably results from independent revisions. Other omissions arguably alleviate the text of some of its repetitiveness (36, 96, 208, 209, 267, 834 [also in *a-k*]), but a few obscure its sense (891, 900 and 902, 1012, 1013). For words omitted at the beginning of a sentence see n. 24 below.


<sup>23</sup>Lemma 332.

<sup>24</sup>Lemmata 117, 537, 747, 775, 797, 971, 1100, 1163. With the exception of 747, which adds a phrase to the text, these simply cut rather than revise words.

<sup>25</sup>Lemma 395.

<sup>26</sup>See TN II for many examples of scribal correction, seldom with any attempt to erase and sometimes—because one word is written over another—leading to a nearly illegible reading; seventeen grammatical errors are recorded in TN V. Several place-names are also given obscurely (see TN I) by a scribe who had a generally idiosyncratic sense of Latin

## 4. Manuscript C

LAMBERTUS BROCKER, probably a lector at the Dominican monastery at Soest in Westphalia, copied the mostly theological and historical texts that make up C around 1470 (brief additions came later). The codex as a whole has an unruly quality. Excerpts from four works by Jacobus of Jüterbog, for example, are jumbled together on fols. 26ra–99vb, with two separate chapters from Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* included at fols. 81rb–82vb. Parts of the manuscript have the character of a commonplace book. The *Itinerarius* appears, disjointed, approximately halfway through a series of generally brief passages from Gobelinus Person’s *Cosmidromius* (fols. 177ra–214va): it begins on fol. 198ra and continues to the end of fol. 200vb (near the end of the description of the pilgrimage to Saint Thomas), at which point readers are told to “go back six folia” to the place (following the third line of fol. 194vb) where a special symbol designates the text’s continuation. At the foot of this column another notation indicates that that “more on this subject” can be found following another symbol in the “second column to follow”; it appears at the top of fol. 195rb, at the bottom of which a third instruction (“turn the page and where you will find this sign——there read [and so forth]”) sends readers to the middle of fol. 196ra for the remainder of the work, which concludes, without a formal explicit, eight lines from the end of the next column.<sup>27</sup> Approaching the text sequentially, then, readers of manuscript C learn first about the beacons that shine atop the church of Saint Thomas and Witte’s experience at the “Root of Paradise,” then, on the next folio, about the voyage from Eden to Jasconius; they move on, three columns later, to the murky landfalls that precede the voyage’s conclusion at Jerusalem, and must skip three full pages before reaching the first line of the account, which begins without any rubric identifying “Anno domini M<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> 89” as the incipit of a new text.

The version of the *Itinerarius* found in C shares some of the idiosyncratic, cobbled-together quality of Brocker’s presentation of it. The first sentence, for example, departs six times from that in A, and these variants characterize the ways in which the narrative in C differs from that in the earlier manuscript. Out of sequence, but in order of significance, the variants, each unique to C, are as follows: 1) the addition of the phrase *veni et cetera* (“I came, and so forth”) after Witte’s arrival in Egypt, one of several interpolations apparently intended to underscore the truthfulness of the account (its very spuriousness suggested by the perfunctory *et cetera*); 2) the omission of the phrase *et per Jordanem* (“and along the Jordan”) from Witte’s description of his route to Egypt, which is both an informa-

spelling (see TN III, e.g., *sepiliuntur* [109], *rirolus* [141], *calumpnas* [154, 155, and passim], *lapedibus* [156]). For the rubric see TN VI 42–43 L116.

<sup>27</sup>Brocker’s Latin instructions to his manuscript’s readers are recorded at TN VI 355, 380, and 406.

tional and a geographical loss; 3) the omission of *fui* ("I was"), which leaves the text without a crucial word and prompts a kind of dissonance that is not resolved satisfactorily by the addition of *veni*, noted above; 4) the replacement of *vocatam* ("called") with the nearly synonymous *nominatam* ("named"); 5) the syntactical revision from *de Hese presbyter Traiectensis dyocesis* to *presbiter de hese dyocesis traiectensis*, which may simply be a transposition within a cluster of words or may significantly alter the content of Witte's self-identification (this is discussed below); and 6) the addition of the words *ihesu christo* ("Jesus Christ") after *Domino nostro* ("our Lord"), which contributes little except an air of piety and arguably some redundancy to the account.<sup>28</sup> The three latter variants are instances of an apparent scribal tendency to make changes for their own sake without clear or consistent editorial policy, such as can be discerned in *DEa-k*. Many changes in vocabulary are not so trivial as that in the fourth variant discussed above, considerably confusing or distorting the text as we know it from all other recovered versions.<sup>29</sup>

The several additions to the *Itinerarius* found in C, particularly those in which Witte speaks in the first person, are more significant than the manuscript's hundreds of other variants. Found nowhere else, they are one indication of C's relative isolation, and they aid in constructing a textual stemma. More consequentially, they constitute attempts to ensure that the *Itinerarius* be read as the true record of an individual's exotic experience. As such these interpolated truth claims deserve special attention since they may mark moments in the text that prompted a scribe to want to reassert Witte's reliability. (They also should caution readers against assuming that first-person claims in other travel books are necessarily authorial.) To be sure, in some instances (such as the insertion of *veni* [lemma 14]), the added claim is unemphatic, amounting to the simple introduction of a first-person verb or an apparently minor grammatical variation.<sup>30</sup> On three occasions, however, the interpolation in C is a deliberate endorsement of Witte as trustworthy witness. His description of Prester John's gargantuan and

<sup>28</sup>These six variants are found, respectively, in lemmata 14, 10, 7, 12, 6, and 15.

<sup>29</sup>Many spellings in C are idiosyncratic, taking such forms as *transsitur*, *milliare*, *aperit*, and *allia* (consonants are frequently doubled); see TN III 33, 66, 89, 141, 332, 365, and passim.

<sup>30</sup>Only in C does Witte unequivocally state that "I came" to Ethiopia and "we sailed through" the marine passageway through a mountain near the pepper fields of India (lemma 200, 366–67). Some additions are more significant, including his assurances that he himself read a sign outside Prester John's palace and saw the miraculously changing complexion of Apostle Thomas's face (734, 865). This latter claim acquires extra force from C's recasting of present-tense verbs in the preterite, which makes Thomas's facial revivification not so much a recurring wonder as a personal anecdote: whatever the general rule may be, the saint "had" three different likenesses and "appeared" first like a dead man, on that particular occasion when Witte saw it (866, 867). The collapsing of *navigando* . . . *navigavimus* to *navigamus* (1127) eliminates redundancy but unites separate geographical ideas.

wonder-filled palace concludes with a sentence in which he insists that “everything written above I expressly saw myself, and [so did] that party of nobles we were in league with on the pilgrimage to St. Thomas”; he elaborates on the sensory delight he experienced at the “Root of Paradise”; and he testifies that he learned the truth about the island-whale Jasconius from “those who have information about this matter.”<sup>31</sup> It is difficult to imagine that the architectural, natural, and zoological spectacles preceding these interpolations did not encourage a scribe to insert a claim of truth where the ring was less audible. Other additions more subtly use Witte’s voice to impart information that is found in no other Latin or Middle Dutch version: Prester John is the best of all Christians, part of his palace is a marvelous architectural model of the heavens, and Gog and Magog “were and are” imprisoned in Amosona.<sup>32</sup>

As is the case with interpolations, omissions in C demonstrate that this version of the *Itinerarius* varies considerably from the other known texts. Several of these entail the loss of more than just a few words or a phrase: C lacks two sentences about the field of “helim” [Elim], most of the sentence describing the twenty-cubit plummet at the exit of a dangerous marine passageway near the Indian pepper fields, Witte’s admission of bafflement over the working of a marvelous clock in Prester John’s palace, his note that the palace contains many wonders that he has not recorded, the entire description of the individual rivers of Paradise, two sentences on the fecundity of animals and the limit of inhabited territory in India, a sentence on the liturgical role played by archbishops at the feast of Saint Thomas, and the assertion that night never falls at the “Root of Paradise.”<sup>33</sup> Some apparently minor omissions nevertheless alter the narrative: C leaves out Witte’s observations that lepers are healed in the balsam garden in Egypt, that pygmies are small, that evil spirits flee the sound of the marvelous bell

<sup>31</sup>Lemmata 712, 1011, 1092–93 (see also 1086 for the change of an ablative absolute construction to a first-person plural verb).

<sup>32</sup>Lemmata 682, 699, 1184 (the information about Gog and Magog, in the subjunctive mood in A, is in the indicative in C [as well as *BFbe*]). Only in C does Witte identify people going in and out of Prester John’s refectory as “servants to those” dining there or exclude only women from the churches of Edissa (720, 763). The “multitude of people” who assemble on Saint Thomas’s feast day is more exactly described as “a countless multitude of Christians,” and the two sinners denied the eucharist there are moved “instantly” to repentance (842, 909). In the Jasconius episode, C deletes a reference to lost cooking pots, replacing it with a sympathetic observation that the whale submerged in order to save its own life (1096). C also more knowingly claims that large domesticated beasts on a remote island never “suffer any kind of adversity” (1125). A couple of minor additions are sensible (769, 980); for less significant ones see nn. 36, 38, and 48 below.

<sup>33</sup>Lemmata 152 and 153, 375, 511, 704, 785 (the deleted information on the rivers of Paradise is replaced by a reference to monthly irrigation in Prester John’s land [776]), 796, 929, 1027 (also omitted in B); of these omissions, scribal eye-slips probably led to the first (*campum* repeated) and seventh (*archiepiscopi* repeated) and may have caused the one in lemma 10 (see n. 28 above).

commissioned by Saint Thomas, that the altar in Prester John's chapel is made of ivory, that apostles figure in a complicated sculptural program, and that the two archbishops who hold the hand of Saint Thomas do *not* govern its movements (in this version, they do).<sup>34</sup> Several dozen other lapses in C affect the meaning of the *Itinerarius* less consequentially; many of them appear to reflect scribal attempts to purge the text of what late fifteenth-century scholars were calling the barbarisms of medieval Latin.<sup>35</sup> Deletions include several usages of *unus/una/unum* employed as an indefinite article,<sup>36</sup> multiple verbs or nouns in instances where one might serve,<sup>37</sup> and pleonastic or other arguably verbose constructions.<sup>38</sup>

The omission of *fui* in the first sentence is only the first example of a missing word that leaves C with puzzling or even nonsensical readings. The cannibals along the Ethiopian coast have their single eye "in the middle of [a?] carbuncle" rather than "in the middle of their forehead, shining like a carbuncle"; the great khan reigns under an emperor whose name is not supplied; and the huge sheep and goats of a remote island "are as large as"—but the comparison stops there.<sup>39</sup>

Changes in the vocabulary or syntax of the *Itinerarius*—not additions or omissions but rewordings—make the text of C unique in another way.

<sup>34</sup>Lemmata 71, 207, 562–63, 634, 668, 916. Information is also lost in omissions noted in 531, 838–39, 844, 942, 943, 952, 960, 999, 1054, and 1115. The magi are identified without number as "reges" here, but this is also the case in *Ea-k* (974). Like *B*, C omits the narrative's last sentence (1199).

<sup>35</sup>Their complaints continue to be raised. Coquebert de Montbret, the editor of Jordan of Sévérac's description of India, could not believe that a bishop could write such bad Latin (see Jordan of Sévérac, *Mirabilia*, p. xvii). O'Meara bemoans the quality of language in the popular *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (*Voyage*, pp. xviii–xix): "[P]ronouns . . . are imprecise; *coepit* has become almost an auxiliary verb; *praedictus* usually signifies little more than the definite article, and *quidam* little more than the indefinite. Weakening of syntax is occasionally of staggering proportions."

<sup>36</sup>Unique to C are omissions in lemmata 75, 194, 579, and 942; others are also missing in other texts (155, 350, 514, 517, 808). Deletions seem to have been somewhat indiscriminate, as lemma 579 testifies (*unum diem* is not "a day" but "one day"). Nor is this editorial policy consistent: indefinite articles are added at 1060 and 1098.

<sup>37</sup>Lemmata 55, 697, 739, 813 and 814.

<sup>38</sup>Lemmata 28, 30, 68, 170, 171, 277, 283, 309, 394, 416, 420, 421, 504, 572, 586, 590, 614, 618, 621, 622, 649, 686, 726, 729, 745, 753, 756, 766, 767, 775, 827, 914, 936, 946, 982, 1006, 1040, 1073, 1119–21, 1128, 1146 (with substituted word), 1174, 1188, 1189. Also edited out are words or phrases such as *aforementioned* (63), *as it is said* (162, 223, 988, 1054), *et cetera* (477), and a variety of adverbs (82, 120, 137, 178, 252, 426, 675, 725, 737, 877, 926, 931, 1079, 1116, 1145) and conjunctions (48, 186, 426, 440, 522, 873, 1070). At the same time, many additions in C are themselves arguably wordy: 42, 49, 70, 164, 165, 217, 237, 286, 450, 451, 466, 483, 524, 583, 600, 604, 623, 643, 676, 684, 687, 688, 733, 756, 760, 868, 883, 941, 951, 965, 968, 985, 1022, 1042, 1044, 1067, 1072, 1157, and 1187. C intensifies a description or dramatic scene at 396, 576, 610, 1064, and 1069.

<sup>39</sup>Lemmata 266, 271, 1118. For other omissions that lead to some semantic or grammatical confusion see 493, 531, 555, 568, and 1049.

Many of these alterations seem innocuous—the reading *nominatam* for *vocatam*, noted above, for example—and amount to little more than the substitution of a synonym<sup>40</sup> or a minor change in grammar, such as an alternative noun/verb form or a preposition.<sup>41</sup> In a fair number of cases, the narrative's style profits from the introduction of a more exact word, although occasionally the effect is pedantic: according to C the body of Saint Catherine once emitted oil in great "quantity" (*quantitate*) not "abundance" or "fulness" (*copia*), the first level of Prester John's palace is illuminated at night by "little torches" (*faculis*) rather than "lanterns" (*lantermis*), that a multitude feasts every day in the palace refectory is "written" (*scriptum*) instead of "indicated" (*signatum*) outside the building, during the morning Prester John "processes" (*incedit*) rather than "goes around" (*transit*) like a pope, the women of the Land of Females do not "send" (*mittunt*) but "direct" (*dirigunt*) little boys to their fathers, and Witte and his colleagues "took a walk" (*ambulavimus*) on a paradisaal island that according to other texts they "passed through" (*transivimus*).<sup>42</sup> On occasion, the revision improves the sense as well, such as when Prester John's afternoon apparel is described as that of an "emperor" rather than a mere "king" or when the narrator seeks to establish the "cause" and not the "reason" of a marvel.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Lemmata 12, 41, 65, 104, 119, 171, 250, 257, 259, 287, 386, 422–23, 496, 507, 534, 536, 542, 555, 556, 637, 670 (also in B), 705, 715, 860, 872, 963, 1018, 1033, 1045, 1123, 1135, 1142, 1189. These synonyms include pronouns substituted for nouns (usually to avoid repetition). A rather trivial change evidently reflects another scribal stylistic preference: starting about one-quarter into the narrative, C frequently reads *ibi* for A's *ibidem* (327, 462, 485, 501, 503, 513, 719, 744, 787, 833, 841, 853, 962, 1005, 1021, 1062, 1086, 1183), although the reverse also occurs (545, 651, 911, 1026, 1133, 1190).

<sup>41</sup>Lemmata 182, 240, 241, 339, 358, 360, 751, 774, 800, 803 and 805, 852, 910, 1017, 1099, 1116, 1176. Changes in C from the subjunctive to the indicative mood are less trivial since they confirm Witte's claims as definitive and first-hand (109, 897, 1123 [also in BDa-k], 1184, 1187 [uncertain, because an abbreviation], 1197); one substitution of the future tense makes for an awkward sentence (768). Other generally minor grammatical variants are recorded in lemmata 23, 33, 46, 66, 79, 80, 226, 279, 364, 433, 553, 735, 788, 897, and 1058.

<sup>42</sup>Lemmata 122 (the change to *quantitate* is also found in a–k), 489, 716, 724, 771, 1009. For similar substitutions see 103 (where *ardent* is superior to *vivunt* but has been used earlier in the sentence), 111, 150, 161, 214, 218, 414, 508, 523, 566, 711, 759, 829, 831, 885, 965, 1014, 1054, and 1058. Flashes of a more refined Latin are occasionally evident (640, 1034, 1054, 1153 [the last three of these may be a scribe's conscious flourish at the end of a copying job]). In C, Witte must sail "through" (*per*), and not "below" (*infra*), two dangerous seas, bringing to the narrative a keener sense of space: the latter reading (in ABDE) suggests someone looking at a *mappamundi* rather than recalling an actual experience (253 [but not 228]). On the other hand, the alteration of "farther" (*ulterius*) to "after that" (*ex tunc*) makes time win out over space (1131; see also 1156). C twice replaces a word with *et* (343, 490).

<sup>43</sup>Lemmata 731, 1119. The variant recorded in lemma 892, similar to a change in DEa–k, may make better sense to some readers, but it is a distinct change from the reflexive pronoun in AB. See also 147 and n. 46 below.

More frequently, however, C distinctly alters—sometimes completely distorts—the text as it appears elsewhere: Moses is himself a “lord” rather than the builder of an altar to “the Lord,” a “diverse” and not the “Divine” office is held daily before Prester John, food placed on the emperor’s dining table remains fresh for a full month and not just a day, the Mass of the Blessed Virgin is said “before” rather than “after” sunrise, and a black monk does not question Witte and his companions about Saint Thomas but, like a professor, “examine[s]” them “on a variety of matters.”<sup>44</sup> In all its versions the *Itinerarius* reveals considerable authorial naïvete in matters of geography, but the situation is aggravated in C, where place-names and terminology are at times corrupt, uncertain, or illegible.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, several quantitative variants are found only here, and there is some evidence of scribal difficulty reading either roman or arabic numerals.<sup>46</sup> On a few occasions, changes may be owing to some difficulty reading a copy text.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, two other readings in the first sentence of the *Itinerarius* that are found uniquely in C suggest that many variants in this manuscript result from a scribal decision to effect change for its own sake. First, the syntactical revision recorded in lemma 6 is only one of many rearrangements of words, most of which leave the meaning of the text unchanged and its style

<sup>44</sup>Lemmata 135 and 136, 538, 580, 593, 1115. For other consequential changes—we cannot know if they result from conscious revision or scribal confusion, although the latter often seems likely—see 91, 93, 125, 159, 167 (the *unicornus* is a *unus cornuus*), 195, 284, 305, 415, 459, 472 (a change in architecture similar to a variant in B), 538, 567, 836, 850, 939, 949, 950 (Saint Thomas’s reliquary hangs not at a “beautiful choir [chancel]” [*chorum pulchrum*] but at a “tomb” [*sepulchrum*]), 972, 1002, 1026, 1039, 1067, 1096, and 1141.

<sup>45</sup>Lemmata 41, 87, 88, 90, 191, 202, 230, 243, 245, 274, 983, 1180 (on significant omissions see also 10, 785). Two toponyms are added to C, presumably for clarity’s sake (714, 848; see also several garbled readings of place-names recorded in TN I, *passim*).

<sup>46</sup>Lemmata 100, 140, 696. Variants in quantitative terms that are spelled out as words (770, 818) are particularly difficult to explain. The number of men who go ashore at the Root of Paradise is increased by one (1007). Like printed editions *ghjk*, C makes the number of trees Witte observes at Elim (70 rather than 72) accord with the figure given in Exod. 15:27, which may be a studied change (147). The presentation of the year in which Witte began his pilgrimage, 1389 (written “M° ccc° 89”), is a hybrid of the two competing systems for representing numbers during the later Middle Ages; a second date, marking his visit to Hulna seems only to give the century: “M° 3” (906 [according to A it was 1391]). Generally speaking, C spells out the declinable word for one, uses arabic numbers for two through four, gives roman numerals for eight through one hundred (seven is once spelled out, once a roman numeral, and once an arabic number), and spells out numbers over one hundred. See TN IV, *passim*.

<sup>47</sup>Problems reading the copy text may explain such peculiar variants as *versa* for *una* (105), *oleum* for *olim* (121), *et* for *ut* (127), *unus* for *nilus* (191), *iuda* for *india* (202), *longe* for *longum* (208), *sepe* for *semper* (220) *ducenti* for *detenti* (338), and *ductu* for *ducatu* (356). (As the lemma numbers indicate, these problems cluster in the first third of the text, suggesting a scribe was becoming better able to read a copy text.) C is itself obscure on occasion (1165, 1187, and TN II, *passim*).



unimproved.<sup>48</sup> Changes at the beginnings of independent clauses are infrequent—this characteristic of the printed editions is not evident in *C*—and they are often alterations in word order and/or minor omissions (usually of *et* or *item*).<sup>49</sup> Second, the occasional addition of a pious adjective or name in a reference to a holy person further exemplifies the degree to which the text of the *Itinerarius* presented in *C* had undergone scribal tinkering.<sup>50</sup>

People who read or heard Lambertus Brocker's copy of the *Itinerarius* encountered a text that preserved key features of the book as we know it from its earlier Latin versions (*AB*) and the Middle Dutch translation: the first-person narrator and his full name, a date for the visit to Hulna, and sentence order in the description of the feast of Saint Thomas. At the same time, the many differences in *C*—from interpolations attesting to the narrator's truthfulness to pervasive, sometimes distorting revisions in vocabulary and syntax—reveal that its audiences would have formed an impression of Witte's account they could not have obtained from any other recovered manuscript or printed copy.

## 5. Manuscripts *D* and *E* and the Early Printed Editions

MANUSCRIPTS *D* and *E* record versions of the *Itinerarius* that vary from *A* in many fewer instances than does *C*; their changes appear much more deliberate than do most in *B*. Nevertheless, these extremely similar texts—possibly copies of the same unrecovered exemplar—alter the original narrative in ways so significant that it is accurate to speak of *DE* as representing the first major revision of the *Itinerarius*. Their most significant change is the near removal of Witte from the account: his surname is omitted (all

<sup>48</sup>For simple word transpositions and rearrangements see lemmata 20, 50, 53, 138, 169, 172, 233, 234, 251, 269, 336, 342, 394, 431, 437, 456, 469, 474, 565, 597, 599, 608, 625 and 627, 638, 652, 661, 667, 691, 872, 881, 911, 914, 1013, 1066, 1074, 1085, 1141, and 1151. Some of these are found in other versions of the *Itinerarius* (see n. 13 above), but they may be examples of two scribes making the same change independently since no other pattern can be discerned. For more complicated syntactical revisions that usually build on the same word units see 60 and 61, 76 and 78, 92, 220, 221, 239, 280, 394, 410, 423–23, 681, 707 and 709, 724, 763, 813 and 814, 825, 885 and 890, 944 and 946, 956 and 959, and 1172–73.

The transposition in lemma 6 is anomalous in that it may affect the way one understands the opening sentence, although the lack of punctuation makes a definitive reading impossible. By placing *de hese* after the word *presbyter*, *C* may be disassociating the place-name from the priest's name. The protagonist in this pilgrimage could be "Johannes Witte de Hese, a priest in the diocese of Utrecht" (as my translation reads), but he also might be "Johannes Witte, a priest at Hese, in the diocese of Utrecht." Indeed, the reading in *C* calls into question our ability definitely to name this traveler.

<sup>49</sup>Lemmata 86, 123, 146, 405, 721, 743, 747, 748, 765, 846, 1047. Compare nn. 87, 110, and 167 below.

<sup>50</sup>Lemmata 15, 78, 595, 816, 901. See also the addition of *corpus Christi*, suggesting a need to clarify a liturgical description (864).

subsequent Latin texts refer to “Johannes de Hese”), but this is a minor matter compared to the recasting of most of the account in the third person. A second major alteration reorganizes the passage describing the celebration of the feast of Saint Thomas (lines 330–46), in which an editor has brought greater dramatic force to a somewhat jumbled scene in the original. Both changes are carried over into the book’s first printed edition, *a*, although neither *D* nor *E* was Johann Guldenschaff’s copy text.

*DE*, while they preserve similar versions of the *Itinerarius*, differ considerably as manuscript codices. The former is a miscellany of works, written by at least twelve scribes, on German history, ecclesiastical administration, the volatile political situation in the eastern Mediterranean in the mid-1400s, Asian geography, astronomy, and miracles of the Virgin Mary. By 1473 the manuscript was in the Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee, near Munich, a major center of book production in fifteenth-century Europe (it was most likely produced here). In the library’s catalog, completed in 1484, the *Itinerarius* appears under the title *Narraciones . . . de transmarinis partibus* by “Iohannis Hess presbiteri.” It is one of eight texts in the manuscript copied by a prolific scribe, Oswald Nott of Tittmannig, whose other contributions in *D* include a letter describing the destruction of Constantinople in 1453, Marco Polo’s description of Asia (given a title nearly identical to Witte’s narrative), and a treatise on a comet that appeared in 1472. Nott’s work is careful: he makes a deliberate effort to correct mistakes, several times entering a preferred reading in an adjacent margin. His single marginal gloss suggests a particular interest in Witte’s description of Prester John’s palace.<sup>51</sup>

The works collected in manuscript *E* treat mostly theological subjects—from a commentary on Raymond of Pennafort’s *Summa de casibus* to a manual for priests printed at Mainz in 1476—although the last third of the 200-folia codex consists of more dramatic fare in the *Gesta Romanorum moralisata* followed by Witte’s *Itinerarius*, copied by the same scribe, who produced two other texts in *E*, probably around 1480. The manuscript was once at the monastery of Saint Mark at Butzbach, near Giessen, a Benedictine foundation run by the Brethren of the Common Life after 1483. Although *E* predates their arrival, the carefully formed words and approachable format of the *Itinerarius* text exemplifies the kind of book the Brethren produced.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup>See TN II for Nott’s corrections and TN VI 149–50 for his instruction that the reader “note these matters well, for the next two leaves.” See also chapter 2, n. 34.

<sup>52</sup>This is the only manuscript to include glosses throughout the *Itinerarius* (see TN VI). The scribe uses roman numerals only twice (once for the date in line 1, again at lemma 958); elsewhere he employs arabic numbers, even for two-digit figures, writes the Latin word for the number, or combines a word with an arabic number (such as *Λ°* due for “seventy-two” [see TN IV 55 and *passim*]).

As noted above, in making most of the *Itinerarius* a third-person rather than a first-person narrative, *DE* change the text significantly. This revision also characterizes edition *a*, constituting one piece of firm evidence that the person who set the print worked from a text close to *DE*. The move does not entail many variants—only eighteen verbs and two pronouns are affected—nor is it consistent, since the first person is retained for the captivity scene and frightening tunnel voyage (lines 120–35), and the final one-fifth of the book, recounting the return from India to Jerusalem (lines 367–442). This latter change in narration prompted Oswald Nott to add in *D*: “Next item: the honorable Johannes de Hese says these [following] words in his own person, namely. . . .”<sup>53</sup>

The printed editions also follow *DE* in restructuring Witte’s dramatic account of the distribution of the eucharist at the church of Saint Thomas. The original version of the story is doubtless the one found in *ABC*, which relate information in this order:

- 1) The hand of the apostle Thomas is half closed and partly raised.
- 2) Christians receive the sacrament from the hand, which opens up to the worthy and withdraws from sinners.
- 3) Everyone approaches the sacrament with devotion and fear.
- 4) Witte himself saw the hand deny the sacrament to three men, who did penance and ultimately received the host.
- 5) Two archbishops hold Thomas’s hand but do not control it.
- 6) Thomas looks just as he did when alive.
- 7) Two other archbishops hold the patens beneath Thomas’s hand.
- 8) Two more archbishops hold a priceless napkin.

*DE* adopt a more logical sequence of events by beginning with a general statement about the apostle’s hand and its miraculous ability to assess each communicant’s state of grace (2), then describing the congregation’s move to the altar (3), the position of the hand (1) and the appearance of the body as well as the roles played by various prelates (5–8), before completing the vignette with Witte’s personal witness of the hand’s omniscience (4), which is rendered more effective by its placement at the end of the story rather than its middle. In edition *a* Guldenschaff revised the second sentence and omitted the third but otherwise retained the order in *DE*.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup>For the change to third-person verbs see lemmata 7, 18, 29, 34, 37, 39, 173, 179 (see 184 for *a-k*), 190, 192, 198, 206, 222 (omitted in *a-k*), 232, 272, 511, and 905 (where the shift occurs in two verbs). The first-person pronoun *ego* and the surname “Witte” are omitted from the first sentence in *DEa* (*B* also omits *ego*); printed edition *b* returns the narrative to the first person and restores *ego* but not the surname (2, 4); see n. 106 below. For Nott’s interpolation see 989 (where a phrase added in *E* also suggests a scribe’s recognition of the grammatical shift in the text).

<sup>54</sup>Lemmata 893, 896, 897, 904.

Many minor variants further demonstrate the textual similarity between *DE* and the printed editions. Some common omissions, such as usages of *unum* as an indefinite article or blatant redundancies, may result from editorial decisions made independently by an alert scribe and a printer.<sup>55</sup> Other deletions in *DEa-k*—such as the specific mention (in *ABC*) of Christian “pilgrims” being buried at Andranopolis or the exact date of Witte’s visit to Hulna—suggest that these texts are related.<sup>56</sup> Further evidence is found in interpolations underscoring the fact that “the aforementioned priest Johannes [de Hese]” sampled flying fish from the Red Sea and visited the church of Saint Thomas,<sup>57</sup> and in several minor additions.<sup>58</sup> Some changes in vocabulary probably reflect a scribe’s decision (recorded in the common source text for *DEa*) to replace one word with a synonym, but others constitute quite different readings, such as Witte’s saying masses for the dead “in the sea” (*in mari*) rather than “in the boat” (*in navi*) off the shore of Purgatory, or the stipulation that the Indian patriarch gives the sacrament to the apostle Thomas and not to himself.<sup>59</sup> Revisions in phrasing and syntax are relatively uncommon.<sup>60</sup>

Despite these many similarities, however, neither *D* nor *E* was Guldenschaff’s copy text when he prepared *a* for publication, as readings found exclusively in these two manuscripts prove. Their common omissions include a sentence stating that the authorities of Andranopolis convene in the town lighthouse and a phrase explaining how Witte escaped being becalmed in a gloomy gulf. Others involve less substantial but meaningful losses of text.<sup>61</sup> Their shared additions alter the narrative very little (except for the

<sup>55</sup>For indefinite articles see lemmata 291 and 336; for omissions in arguably repetitious or wordy phrases see 59, 61, 85, 346, 347, 465, 510, 621, 766, 1093, and 1143.

<sup>56</sup>Lemmata 296 and 906, as well as 507, 535, 680, 928.

<sup>57</sup>Lemmata 29, 905; *DEa-k* also add a phrase enumerating how many non-Christian kings rule under Prester John, although *DE* report the number as sixty-one while the printed editions set it at seven (742). See also lemma 173, which traces how an interpolated *ipse* goes from emphasizing the traveler in the third-person in *DE* to underscoring the first-person narrator’s veracity in *b-k*.

<sup>58</sup>Lemmata 237, 380, 406, 427, 465, 518, 546, 585, 649, 854 (also in *C*, with transposed word order in *E*), 919, 955, 988, 1019, 1031, 1194; some of these are modified in later printed editions.

<sup>59</sup>For the two examples see lemmata 1071 and 892; for other instances of single word substitutions see 53, 148, 193, 311, 312, 331, 352, 403, 458, 511, 569, 662, 671, 732, 793, 960, 984, 1027, 1091, 1110, and 1191. Such changes in vocabulary are more frequent in *C*. Only two verb forms are altered (600, 1093).

<sup>60</sup>Lemmata 25, 110, 223, 289, 391, 548, 650, 819 and 821, 895, 897, 959, 1010; simple transpositions are recorded in lemmata 129, 294, 383, 589, and 603. *DE* show little effort to reduce the frequency with which the coordinating conjunction *et* begins an independent clause. In one instance, *DE* create a new sentence (adding *Et est*) out of an apposition (541); this and some other variants noted here undergo further change in *a-k*.

<sup>61</sup>For the two examples cited see lemmata 308 and 1169; for less consequential omissions see 108, 158, 223, 443, 444, 446, 448, 477, 628, 652, 654, 762, 806, 815, 897, 1085, 1103, and 1152. The word *et* is deleted at 301, 442, 457, 638, and 849 (but see 850).

stipulation that only “three” devout men live in the monastery at Andranopolis); indeed, some may be said to contribute to the account’s verbosity.<sup>62</sup> *DE* both record some thirty unique readings in vocabulary and grammar, although few of these alter the narrative considerably.<sup>63</sup> They also begin the anecdote about the water-purifying unicorn by establishing sentence boundaries that obscure the sense of the original.<sup>64</sup> *DE* largely preserve the syntax of *A*: simple transpositions and changes of word order (occasionally with revised vocabulary) are relatively rare.<sup>65</sup> Three geographical variants common to *DE* further prove that they are closely related copies of a common source: the place-names *badde* for *gadde*, *ulna* or *ulua* for *hulna*, and *goch et magoch* for *gog and magog*.<sup>66</sup>

Despite these similarities *D* and *E* each exhibits unique readings that rule out either one as the copy text for the other or for edition *a*. These are fewer and less significant in *D* than in *E*.<sup>67</sup> Of twelve omissions in *D*, a couple seem intended to make the text less prolix, but several generate confusion and are probably Oswald Nott’s mistakes.<sup>68</sup> Four minor addi-

<sup>62</sup>Lemma 326; other additions unique to *DE* are recorded in lemmata 21, 273, 391, 424, 473, 492, 520 (also in *C*), 526, 565, 762, 772, 815, 870, 872, 874, 898, 932, and 936. The latter two emphasize the marvelous character of Prester John’s palace; one employs *unam* as an indefinite article (273), and others are wordy (424, 473, 565, 772, 870 and 874, 872). For a significant interpolation about “Johannes de Hese” taking leave of Prester John (lemma 989) see n. 53 above.

<sup>63</sup>For substitutions of one word for another (such as *magnitudo* for *multitudo* or *acceperunt* for *receperunt*) see lemmata 71 (also in *Ba–j*), 92, 265, 339, 447, 452, 602, 632, 634, 790, 828, 842, 850, 903, 912, 1039, 1112 (also in *B*), and 1129. To avoid redundancy, presumably, *DE* replace *Grandicanis* with *talis rex* (270). For changes in grammar see 403, 438, 487, 579, 856, 897, and 1187. These show no pattern: one verb in the indicative mood in *A* appears in the subjunctive in *DE* (856), but the opposite also occurs (403, 897, 1187 [*E* reads *s’t*, which may be expanded *sint* or *sunt*]). In addition, *DE* make *Hulna* a location that is a four-day journey “before” (*ante*) rather than “away from” (*a*) Prester John’s capital (802) and they introduce a result clause (*sic quod*) to replace an inconsequential *et* (377). *DE*, like *C*, prefer *ibi* for *ibidem* (123, 354, 520, 558 [others carried over in the printed editions are at 148, 458, 569, 662, 793]), but the opposite is also recorded (638, 931, 976).

<sup>64</sup>Lemma 162.

<sup>65</sup>For transpositions see lemmata 63, 339, 426 (*DE* vary), 529, 545, 553, 557, 866, 879, and 1107. Note that these lemma numbers indicate two clusters of transposed word units. For other syntactical revisions see 24, 171, 286, 327 (*DE* vary slightly), 376, 637, 744, 896–97 (a significant change), and 952.

<sup>66</sup>Lemmata 408, 804 and 821 (*n* and *u*, both formed by two minims, are sometimes nearly indistinguishable), 1185. The word *eidem* is spelled *iudem* in *DE* and in *B* (250).

<sup>67</sup>*D* alone identifies the writer of the *Itinerarius* as “johannis de hess” (lemmata 3, 4, 5).

<sup>68</sup>Lemmata 348, 376, 390, 551, 570, 631, 636, 664, 674, 986, 1016, 1194. While the omission of *ignis* after *incenditur* (390), for example, sensibly reduces prolixity (with what but fire could the pepper field “be ignited?”), *rotulos/rotulas* and *veniebamus* (674, 1194) are essential to the integrity of two sentences.

tions to the text are unnecessary.<sup>69</sup> Several changes in vocabulary are recorded, some semantic<sup>70</sup> and others grammatical.<sup>71</sup> Four minor word transpositions<sup>72</sup> and two emended beginnings of independent clauses also distinguish *D* from other *Itinerarius* texts.<sup>73</sup>

Variants unique to *E*, slightly more numerous than those found only in *D*, indicate both scribal lapses and interventions in the text. Four omissions result in the absence of an important sentence element, but several others improve the text slightly by reducing wordiness.<sup>74</sup> However, except for the clarification that the Monoculi are "human," three additions in *E* seem superfluous.<sup>75</sup> Most changes in vocabulary simply replace a word with its synonym, but several suggest scribal difficulty reading the copy text or understanding abbreviations.<sup>76</sup> Except for having Prester John attend "patriarchs," rather than a single supreme prelate, and placing two present-tense verb forms rather incongruously in the future tense, *E* exhibits few unique differences in grammar.<sup>77</sup> The same is true of syntax.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>69</sup>Lemmata 40, 276 (*ista civitas* is also in the printed editions), 671, 676.

<sup>70</sup>Lemmata 49, 239 (confusingly reading *of the boat* for *of the sea*), 381, 520 (changing *stairs* to *dwellings* is consequential), 582, 794 (reading *in die* for *Indie*), 843, 995, 1119, 1175. The place-name *Amosona* is spelled *amosana* (1180). *D* emends *ibidem* to *ibi* (719, 1183) as often as it does the opposite (537, 635).

<sup>71</sup>Lemmata 68, 163, 216, 318, 371, 583 (this plural form "[of the] patriarchs" is also found in the printed editions but contradicts references elsewhere to a single Indian patriarch), 607, 703, 843, 1077, 1123, 1150. The indicative mood of *A* is three times replaced with the subjunctive (318, 371, 1123 [also in *BCa-k*]), but the reverse also occurs (1123).

<sup>72</sup>Lemmata 160, 441, 520, 880.

<sup>73</sup>Lemmata 123, 558.

<sup>74</sup>The four significant omissions are recorded at lemmata 136 (perhaps a scribal eye-slip caused by the repetition of *altare*), 186, 958, and 1020 (*a-k* also omit); for others see 519, 523, 669, 694, 873, 886, 899, and 926 (the printed editions follow *E* at 873, 886, 926). Several revised beginnings of independent clauses lead to the omission of at least one word (123, 558, 582; see also 957).

<sup>75</sup>Lemmata 260 (for *homines*), 755 (also in *Ba-k*), 955, 1022; the scribe adds *et cetera* five times (676 [also repeating *deo*], 795, 885, 970, 1198).

<sup>76</sup>For synonyms see lemmata 791, 840, 856, 935, 937, and 954. For other more significant changes see 51, 64, 133, 542, 584 (also found in the printed editions), and 922; the readings *dicenti* for *detenti* (480) and *orant* for *curantur* (561) are nonsensical in their context and must be copying errors. The field named "Helym" is spelled *elym* (134). *E* changes *ibidem* to *ibi* five times (99, 146, 787, 1154, 1157).

<sup>77</sup>For the three cited examples in order see lemmata 848, 112, and 809; see also 262 (the Monoculi are also given plural "eyes" in *B*), 718, 908, 951, 1058 (also *Ca-k*), and 1194 (also *a-k*).

<sup>78</sup>For word transpositions see lemmata 74, 181, 401, 536, 701, 791, 974, and 1027. Sentence order is once completely changed (1024), perhaps a scribe's attempt to mask an eye-slip, and once revised for economy (1119).

6. Edition *a* and Manuscripts *F* and *G**Edition a*

Johann Guldenschaff's publication of the *Itinerarius* at Cologne around 1490 was a signal event in the history of this travel narrative. Although the first printed version of the account contains essentially the same information found in manuscripts *ABCDE* and follows *DE* in relating most of the pilgrim's adventures in the third person, the text has undergone a thorough stylistic revision, reaching its third distinct stage of development.<sup>79</sup> The following example—from the description of a marvelous alarm clock in Prester John's palace (lines 185–88)—shows in parallel text how the text of *A* has been revised in Guldenschaff's *a*, where livelier vocabulary, two added participles, and revised syntax present the wonder with heightened drama:

*A* Et ibidem est orlogium mirabiliter factum, quia si quis alienus ibidem intraverit,  
*a* Est etiam ibidem horologium mirabiliter factum, dans horribilem sonum ad introitum

*A* orlogium dat sonum horribilem, sic quod ibi fit concursus populi videndo et  
*a* cuiuslibet alieni. excitans sic concursum populi

*A* apprehendendo illos propter quos fit talis sonus.  
*a* ad apprehendendum illum vel illos propter quem vel quos huiusmodi fit sonus.

*A* Et qualiter hoc sit nescio.  
*a* quomodo autem hoc fiat nescitur.

The release of edition *a* has more than just textual significance. As a book purporting to relate first-hand information about the Indies, the *Itinerarius* no doubt had more immediate appeal to readers a century after its composition. Some market for it clearly existed, since Guldenschaff's edition served as the basis, directly or indirectly, for nine more publications by five different printers within approximately seventeen years. Even as a fictional narrative the book may have served a practical purpose in Europe's expanding knowledge of world geography. In a lucid discussion of *map-paemundi* in early printed books, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein has observed that "[b]efore the outlines of a comprehensive and uniform world picture could emerge, incongruous images had to be duplicated in sufficient quantities to be brought into contact, compared and contrasted."<sup>80</sup> As Witte's depiction of Asia circulated at the turn of the sixteenth century, his incongruities

<sup>79</sup>Guldenschaff was apparently untroubled about two passages of first-person narrative (lines 120–35 and 367–442): twice he revises the text to underscore this sense of direct witness (992, 1030). See n. 91 below. On Guldenschaff's responsibility for the text, however, see n. 84 below.

<sup>80</sup>Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1979), 2:513.

would only have underscored the value of data in contemporaneous accounts based on actual experience.

Several practical matters related to the production of printed books changed the text in significant ways. The need for a title page may have driven Guldenschaff to identify the narrative as the *Itinerarius*, a word first recorded in *a*. In addition, the account here is divided distinctly into three parts, with rubrics introducing the description of Prester John's palace and the pilgrimage to Hulna, bringing the central concerns of the work into clearer focus.<sup>81</sup> Guldenschaff also made the *Itinerarius* part of an anthology of works about the East, linking it with a treatise on the ten sectarian units (or "nations") of Christianity, a letter from a putative "Sultan John" to Pope Pius II (1458–64), and a brief papal response to that letter, thereby creating what Francis Rogers called "a chain of truly remarkable documents."<sup>82</sup> All subsequent printers adopted Guldenschaff's choice of material, which was expanded slightly in *bcdefghij* and again in *k* to include two other treatises that purportedly offered readers a true picture of Asia at the dawn of Europe's "age of reconnaissance." In all eleven early printed editions, the *Itinerarius* is the lead text and dominates the title page.

Born into a patrician family at Mainz, Guldenschaff served as apprentice to the printer Ulrich Zell there before establishing his own printing press at Cologne, where city records and evidence from type fonts show him to have been active from 30 April 1477 until at least 1494. He published several works closely connected to the city of Cologne, including three editions each of the *Historia 11000 Virginum* and Johannes of Hildesheim's *Historia Trium Regum* (Witte shows some awareness of the latter book, and he estimates Prester John's capital city to be twenty-four times larger than Cologne).<sup>83</sup> Guldenschaff's edition of the *Itinerarius* evidently enjoyed some commercial success since manuscript copies of it were produced in central Europe (probably in Austria and Bohemia) around 1500, and it survives in more exemplars than have been located of any other printing.

The several hundred variants that distinguish printed edition *a* from manuscripts *ABCDE* reveal a coherent plan for revising the text that was perhaps carried out in Guldenschaff's printing shop.<sup>84</sup> The editor's foremost goal was to eliminate the polysyndeton and pleonastic constructions

<sup>81</sup>See TN VI 147 L410 and 300 L797. On a rubric in *B* see n. 26 above.

<sup>82</sup>Rogers, *Quest*, p. 81.

<sup>83</sup>Ernst Voulliéme, *Die deutschen Drucker des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1928), p. 48; Ferdinand Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker: Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten* (Stuttgart, 1968), 1:93–94. On Johannes of Hildesheim see commentary 21–25 and 249–55; Witte mentions Cologne at lines 150–51.

<sup>84</sup>The discussion below credits an "editor" rather than Guldenschaff (or his shop) for the work because it cannot be known definitively that the revisions found in *a* did not already exist in its copy text.



that characterize the *Itinerarius* in its original form, in which sentences repeatedly begin with *Et* or *Item*, resulting in whole paragraphs that consist of relatively brief independent clauses relentlessly linked by coordinating conjunctions. This lackluster Latin would not have appealed to educated readers in the late fifteenth century, so it is unsurprising that the editor responsible for *a* brings considerable variation to the text by revising the beginnings of more than half of the work's sentences.

For example, the passage that extends from Witte's arrival at Gadde to his first mention of Prester John's palace at Edissa (lines 145–54) consists of eight independent clauses, each beginning with the word *Et*, in the early manuscripts. Emendations in *a* exemplify the editor's procedure and techniques. In the first sentence, which begins *Et ulterius navigando*—a phrase that has become a cliché by this point in the narrative—he simply omits the first word. Then he establishes a subtler linkage to the detail of the second sentence by using an enclitic to change *Et ibi stat castrum* to *Ibique stat castrum*. Starting the description of his ensuing voyage to Edissa, Witte repeats *Et ulterius navigando*, which in *a* becomes the more graceful transitional *De predicto portu ulterius navigando*. The next independent clause, starting *Et illa civitas*, remains unchanged, but its successor, *et est sita*, is trimmed to *sita*, thus subordinating Edissa's location to its status as Prester John's capital city. The subsequent sentence's opening, *Et illa civitas*, also stands unemended, but the move to the topic of the imperial palace—*Et habitacio*—acquires greater rhetorical force when the coordinating conjunction is replaced by a corroborating adverb to read *Habitatio vero* (the editor frequently employs particles both to reduce the account's redundancy and to underscore its veracity, other added words being *autem*, *igitur*, *itaque*, and *namque*). The last of these eight independent clauses, describing the palace's size, is made subordinate to the previous one, which first mentions the structure, by substituting the participle *habens* for *Et habet bene*.<sup>85</sup> Examined individually, these emendations—a simple omission, an added enclitic or particle, a verb form altered to link two independent clauses<sup>86</sup>—appear to be minor, even trivial, but the collective effect of more than 150 revised independent clauses throughout the *Itinerarius* is considerable.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup>Lemmata 405 (C also omits *Et*), 409, 411, 417, 422, 424 (C also changes *Et habet bene* to *habens*).

<sup>86</sup>Independent clauses are also linked by ablative absolutes (339, 937 and 938), relative pronouns (600, 689, 752, 810, 855, 1035), and conjunctions such as *nam* or *ut* (458, 481).

<sup>87</sup>Cornelius of Zyrickzee, who published the *Itinerarius* three times in the 1490s, further revised Guldenschaff's edition; in the following list of lemmata recording independent clauses whose opening words are emended in *a*, those marked with an asterisk represent readings that undergo additional change in *b* (see n. 110 below for original emendations in *b*); those that enter the text in subsequent editions are listed in the individual discussions of *cdefghijk* below: 16, 45, 86, 91, 101, 114, 117, 118\*, 142\*, 146\*, 151\*, 153, 166, 174, 177\*, 180, 185\*, 205, 207, 242, 259, 269, 276\*, 281\*, 290, 298\*, 304\*, 328\*, 339\*, 344, 347, 354, 379\*, 382\*, 395, 405, 409, 411, 422, 435, 439, 452, 455, 458\*, 461\*, 469, 470, 478\*, 479, 480, 491\*, 498\*, 501, 511, 519, 521, 524\*, 529, 533, 536 (change to participle also in C), 537, 539,

The editor responsible for *a* took other steps to make Witte's narrative more economical. Many omissions delete unnecessary words or phrases: Where else but "over the water" can fish fly? If two rocks are said to be found on either bank of the Red Sea marking the exodus of the Israelites, why stipulate that there are "four" of them? What reason is there to repeat *altar* when an existing relative pronoun sufficiently conveys the meaning of the word?<sup>88</sup> On occasion, however, *a* omits significant information, including notations that Witte did *not* witness storks killing pygmy boys, that the Monoculi are subservient to Grandicanis, that a marvelous mechanism may be found among the columns that support Prester John's palace, that Indian animals have two litters annually, that the Saint Thomas Christians receive the eucharist with devotion and fear, and that the queen of Amosona bears her land's name.<sup>89</sup> It is impossible to know whether deletions were accidental or intentional. Some may be evidence of the editor's eagerness to make changes for their own sake, since most of the additions in *a* are the very same words and phrases that are omitted elsewhere.<sup>90</sup>

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547, 548, 549\*, 555, 557, 558, 562 and 563\*, 567, 569, 574, 579, 582, 585, 591 and 592, 600, 601\*, 604, 608\*, 624, 631, 633\*, 635, 636 and 637\*, 642, 646\*, 662\*, 670, 671\*, 679, 685\*, 689, 700 and 702, 705\*, 721\*, 722, 728, 752, 762, 765, 748\*, 767, 771, 786\*, 797, 807\*, 810, 815\*, 817, 826, 828\*, 832, 846\*, 855, 857, 863, 876\*, 880, 891, 894\*, 905, 918, 922, 931\*, 937 and 938, 950, 953, 957\*, 977, 981\*, 989, 1005, 1025, 1029, 1035, 1041, 1052, 1055, 1062, 1065\*, 1069, 1071, 1074, 1078, 1083, 1086, 1097\*, 1108, 1116, 1131, 1133, 1138, 1144, 1154\*, 1156, 1157\*, 1163, 1166\*, 1178, 1187\*, 1192, 1196\*, 1199. Occasionally *a* appears to revise the beginning of an independent clause found in *DE* but not *ABC* (427, 541, 897).

<sup>88</sup>For the examples cited here see lemmata 19, 57, and 136. For other omissions of arguably repetitious or pleonastic constructions see 17, 41, 97, 98, 113, 149, 183 (here John the Baptist is no longer called "blessed," but later printed editions call him "saint"), 340, 386, 421, 436, 460, 570, 655, 657, 696, 710, 723, 725, 739, 749, 778, 780, 782 and 783, 813, 827 (with addition of adverb), 834, 868, 871 (see 872), 873, 881, 882, 886, 911, 926, 970, 996, 997, 1027, 1037, 1040, 1063, 1086, 1106 (also omitted in *B*), 1109, and 1145. Usages of *unus/una/unum* as an indefinite article are deleted at 407, 514, 635, 942, 948, 950, 1081, 1160, and 1193. Other omissions occur in the revisions recorded in n. 87 above.

<sup>89</sup>Lemmata 222, 268, 450, 792, 896 and 904, 1181. The absence of a word or two can alter the text's content in small but meaningful ways: the scholars selected to gaze into Prester John's magic mirror are not "extremely worthy" (659); the fact that thirty thousand people dine within the palace at Edissa is not recorded outside the building "in golden letters" (717); and Witte does not rather indelicately point out that the women from Terra Feminarum spend their occasional days in Edissa "copulating" with their husbands (761). Other losses of information due to omission are recorded in 463, 482, 543, 611, 621, 643, 648 (astronomical data lost to concision), 661, 850, 883, 936 (also omitted in *C*), 943, 1001, 1004, 1020, 1053, and 1134. Canceling the identification of Alexander the Great as a "Roman emperor" removes a historical inaccuracy (1050).

<sup>90</sup>For such arguably unnecessary additions see lemmata 78, 111, 171, 215, 236, 310, 316, 331, 335, 385, 425, 428, 453, 486, 526, 566, 573, 609, 615, 676, 755 (also in *BE*), 760, 836, 865, 879, 882, 884, 932, 952, 954, 974, 1068, 1117, 1167, and 1177. Other additions improve style or clarify ambiguities (164, 215, 237, 261 [*unum* used as a numeral], 311, 361, 384, 544, 549, 571, 672, 725, 732, 734, 769, 773, 835 [needed because of transposed sentence order], 851 [but see 850], 1030, 1061). A few do add to the text's clarity or substance (307,

Edition *a* also interpolates a truth-claim that “the aforementioned priest Iohannes” (“*iohannes presbiter predictus*”) saw a hermit in the Sinai desert.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, emendations in vocabulary—such as *dictam* for *vocatam*, *ideo* for *propterea*, or *apostoli* for *sancti Thome*—often seem more capricious than improving.<sup>92</sup>

Other semantic changes are more consequential. These range from word substitutions (“merchants” rather than “people” from around the world attend fairs in Edissa) to more nuanced revisions (scholars at Prester John’s court do not “gaze” into a mirror and “see” everything occurring around them (“*inspiciendo speculum vident omnia*”) but “contemplate” it and “know” all (“*intuendo ipsum omnia sciunt*”), the stress on cognition in *a* making the marvelous object seem less like a gimmick.<sup>93</sup> The number of elders in a sculpted scene of Christ in Majesty, of revolving rooms in the palace at Edissa, and of kings enfeoffed to Prester John are reduced (the first two from twenty-four to nine, the last from seventy-two to eighteen).<sup>94</sup>

Dozens of syntactical variations appear in *a*, often in combination with semantic revision, and they presumably were intended to bring a more

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467, 530, 560, 561, 798 and 799, 847, 907, 953, 974 [identifying the three kings as “magi,” although *a* generally omits appositions) 1088).

<sup>91</sup>The addition also makes up for an omission, in effect reversing the order of sentences so that the hermit is fully described before the assertion of the truth-claim; see lemmata 179 and 184. The name “priest Iohannes” is expanded to “*iohannes de hese*” in *b*, probably to avoid confusion with “Prester John” (“*Presbyter Iohannes*” in Latin). The phrase is in the first-person singular in *c–k*. The addition *ad nos* (1107) and the change of *fuit* to the more appropriate *venimus* (1139) reassert Witte’s status as witness even though most of edition *a* is in the third person. See n. 79 above.

<sup>92</sup>For examples cited here see lemmata 12 (*C* reads *nominatam*), 255, 907, and 915. For similar changes see 31, 94, 119 (also in *C*), 120, 122 (also in *C*), 172, 213, 221, 287, 318, 343, 366, 376, 378, 391, 413, 435, 466, 489, 564, 587, 613, 620, 644, 645, 678, 721, 730, 841, 897, 912, 920, 924, 934, 961, 973, 997, 1011, 1014, 1039, 1073, 1076, 1123, 1124, 1128, 1130, and 1183. Two indefinite articles are replaced with more stylish equivalents (176, 194). Some revisions—such as *et omnia genera languorum* for *infirmi* (934)—might be judged either more eloquent or verbose. Two variant spellings are noteworthy: *unicornis* for *unicornus* (167) and *brandicanus* for *grandicanis* (270, 339).

<sup>93</sup>Lemmata 464, 660. It is difficult to classify many of the semantic changes in *a* since stylistic improvement and altered sense are not always easily distinguishable. The voice that “came” (*veniebat*) to Witte at Purgatory in *ABCDE* “resounded” (*insonnit*) in the printed editions, bringing heightened drama, but little else, to the story (1075); on the other hand, describing images of the prophets as being “sculpted” (*sculpti*) rather than “made” (*facti*) of precious stones gives specific form to art of uncertain appearance (485), while locating in Prester John’s palace a “chancel” (*chorus*) dedicated to Abraham, rather than the patriarch’s “body” (*corpus*), which readers of pilgrimage accounts knew to be buried at Hebron, rescues the text from apparent error (497). For similar changes see 89, 108, 143, 228, 253, 289, 300, 304, 398, 403 (emending a double negative introduced in *DE*), 432, 471, 540, 583 (also in *E*), 933, 1119, 1164 and 1165 (also in *B*), 1171, 1189, and 1198 (*conscripterunt* for *est notum* underscoring how “textual” a world Europe was becoming by the late 1400s).

<sup>94</sup>Lemmata 673, 696, 740 and 742 (lemma 966 is discussed above in connection with *CDE*). On the elders and vassal rulers see commentary 249–55 and 276–80.

graceful style to the *Itinerarius*. The editor clearly preferred adjectives and pronouns to precede the nouns they modify, and verbs to follow their objects, although these preferences are not consistently or slavishly put into practice.<sup>95</sup> While many other manipulations of word order seem arbitrary,<sup>96</sup> several introduce clarity or elegance to the text.<sup>97</sup> Twice the order of sentences is reversed, and to good effect: in one, information about a miraculous parting of the sea is made to precede the claim that the Saint Thomas Christians walk to the island of Hulna with dry feet; in the second, a general description of Mount Edom comes before the focus on the Terrestrial Paradise at its summit.<sup>98</sup> Changes in grammar by and large seem to be stylistic niceties; the editor has an obvious distaste for the author's frequent use of gerundives and verbs in the imperfect tense.<sup>99</sup> One of the more interesting grammatical emendations in *a* is the subjunctive form given to several verbs that the early manuscripts record in the indicative mood, resulting in readings that distance the narrative voice from such claims as the curative power of the waters at Elim and the capacity of Prester John's dining table to emit sparks.<sup>100</sup> In sum, the stylistic overhaul of the *Itinerarius* that is evident in Guldenschaff's edition is so thorough that it is fair to say that readers who encountered the work in a printed book read a text that was very different from the one its author wrote.

<sup>95</sup>For simple word transpositions (asterisks mark the "inconsistent" reversals) see lemmata 20, 58, 66, 73, 74, 207\*, 271, 351, 392, 400, 408, 434, 453, 454\*, 465\* (a revision of *DE*), 474, 481, 488, 532, 575, 605, 693\*, 701, 741, 779, 793\*, 869\*, 872\* (with change in vocabulary), 910, 917\* (with change in vocabulary), 921, 923, 943, 948, 964, 1027, 1032\*, 1075, 1076, 1087, 1107\* (with minor addition), 1137, 1155, 1161, and 1179.

<sup>96</sup>Style is little affected by making the two fountains in Prester John's palace "hot and cold" instead of "cold and hot" (lemma 684); see also 221, 596, 825, 856, 1021 and 1023, 1073, 1089, and 1096.

<sup>97</sup>Lemmata 286, 376, 394, 479, 495, 506, 509, 533, 552, 554, 560–65, 578 and 581, 617 and 623, 641, 653, 744 and 746, 835 and 845, 885, 907, 952, 958, 986, 1139, 1141, 1153, 1158. Distinguishing between arbitrary and elegant changes in style is sometimes a close call, especially since the focus here is on isolated bits of text: the overall effect of revisions in *a* is the production of a narrative that is stylistically much more sophisticated than what may be found in any manuscript copy.

<sup>98</sup>Lemmata 835, 1033; edition *a* reverses the order of two other sentences in the course of adding to the text (179 and 184; see n. 91 above), and it further revises the substantial reorganization of sentences in *DE* (893).

<sup>99</sup>For gerundives see lemmata 887, 992 (the revision in turn requires another at 991), 969, 1109, 1111, 1113, and 1170 (but a gerundive is added at 1132); for verbs in the imperfect tense see 275, 371, 1018, 1059, 1080, 1101, 1107, 1154, 1173, and 1194. The change of *crescens* to *crescente* corrects a grammatical error in *ABCDE* (47). For changes in other verb forms see 22, 52, 239, 398, 403, 480, 508, 513, 708, 862, 930, and 965. For emendations in other parts of speech see 440, 466, 703, 882, 1058, and 1085.

<sup>100</sup>For cited examples see lemmata 145 and 146, and 555 and 556; see also 70 (twice) and 71, 258, 718, 858 (also in *B*), and 1018. By contrast, two usages of the subjunctive in *A* are in the indicative in *a*, but these variants are found in other manuscripts as well (1123, 1187).

*Manuscripts F and G*

Two manuscripts, both almost certainly produced in central Europe and dating from around 1500, are copies of edition *a*, providing evidence that Guldenschaff's publication circulated well beyond the Rhineland, where Witte's book had its origins and first audience. While variants in manuscripts *CDE* and edition *a* demonstrate that some transmitters of the *Itinerarius* felt free to make sometimes consequential changes as they worked, the scribes of manuscripts *F* and *G* reproduced their copy text almost exactly, even carrying over Latin abbreviations and punctuation from the printed page.<sup>101</sup>

Manuscript *F* is a collection of theological treatises copied by one scribe who mostly worked from incunable editions. The *Itinerarius* and the three other works that comprise edition *a* are found in a single gathering (fols. 140r–51v); they are somewhat anomalous among texts that address spiritual and practical matters relevant to the daily life of clerics.<sup>102</sup> Produced in the early sixteenth century—perhaps as late as 1513—*F* was in the Austrian Court Library (which later became the Nationalbibliothek) by 1576.

Discrepancies between *a* and *F* prove that the manuscript was copied from the printed book rather than the reverse. Four minor omissions are probably scribal oversights (two result in confused readings), and two additions are inconsequential.<sup>103</sup> Five alterations in vocabulary may reflect flashes of scribal independence, as may the change of two verbs from the subjunctive to the indicative mood.<sup>104</sup> In general, however, the scribe produced an extremely careful copy of Guldenschaff's printed edition.

The scribe of *G* was responsible for a similarly exact reproduction of *a*, whose four constituent texts make up the whole of this manuscript,

<sup>101</sup>Punctuation in *a* is rudimentary, but it has three instances of parentheses, which recur in *F* (not *G*); see TN III 154, 177, and 208–10.

<sup>102</sup>*F* includes copies of works by Jacobus Gruitroede and Saint Bonaventure published in the late 1490s.

<sup>103</sup>For omissions see lemmata 88, 300 (the absence of *mire* slightly lessens the wonder of the lighthouse at Andranopolis), 311 (*est*, abbreviated *ē*, is set together with the next word, *elevata*, in *a* and would thus be easy to overlook), and 968. For additions see 318 (the scribe, moving his eye from one line to the next after *eam*, perhaps was misled by *sic* near the beginning of that same line) and 677.

<sup>104</sup>For vocabulary see lemmata 32 (reading *nos* for *eos* emphasizes Witte's personal experience but conflicts with the third-person narration), 145, 403 (reading also in *G*), 466, and 1124; for grammar see 144 and 1184 (more definitively locating Gog and Magog). Of these variants, two in one sentence are noteworthy: in reporting on the miraculous virtue of the water at Helym, *F* states that if anyone "will have drunk" from them (like *ABCDE*, reading *biberit*, a future perfect indicative, for *biberet*, the imperfect subjunctive in *a*), he will not be "castrated" rather than "blinded" (*excearentur* for *excecarentur*) that day (144, 145); see also n. 132 below. One place-name and one proper noun are slightly modified (134, 1149). The scribe's eight mistakes in spelling or grammar—as well as his reproduction of one incorrect verb form in Guldenschaff's edition—are recorded in TN V; typographical errors in *a* (see TN VII) are silently corrected in the apparatus of the Latin critical edition here.

which itself was copied ca. 1500 in a distinctly humanist hand and rebound some three hundred years later. It may have belonged to a monastic library, because when it was catalogued in the early nineteenth century at the Royal Academic Library of Prague (today the National Library of the Czech Republic), it was grouped with manuscripts acquired from secularized religious houses in Bohemia.

Only one variant in *G* alters the text of *a* in any consequential way: the precious “stones” (*lapides*) found in Prester John’s wondrous, all-revealing mirror are here “lamps” (*lampades*), an error that is easy to explain. Otherwise, the scribe once adds a word (*ibi* [returning the text to its reading in *A*]), twice substitutes *fit* for *sit* and *bulna[m]* for *hulna[m]* (doubtless misled by characters in Guldenschaff’s type font), turns *que* into *quedam* and *regnant* into *regnantur*, and makes two other minor grammatical changes.<sup>105</sup>

## 7. Editions *bcd*

### *Edition b*

When the second printed version of the *Itinerarius* appeared at Cologne in the mid-to-late 1490s, the narrative reached a fourth stage of development: the text once again had been significantly altered, and its context was also different, the popular twelfth-century *Letter of Prester John* and a geographical treatise on India being added to the four works published together in *a*. Just as the extensive revisions in *a* cannot be definitively attributed to Johann Guldenschaff, changes in *b* are not known with certainty to have been introduced by its printer, Cornelius of Zyrickzee, or someone in his shop, although evidence of several kinds points strongly in this direction. First, Zyrickzee’s *Itinerarius* is indisputably based on edition *a*, but the narrative has returned to the first person, with several awkward passages suggesting that the text was being revised as the type was set.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, Zyrickzee published the book three times, and variants in his second and third printings (*c* and *d*) follow the same editorial principles

<sup>105</sup>See (in the order cited) lemmata 653, 497 (for *ibi* and one usage of *fit*), 1197, 807, 821, 50, 739, 403 (also in *F*), and 1151. The scribe of *G* does not adopt the parentheses found in *a* and *F* (see n. 101 above) and regularly drops the letter *h* in all forms of the word *pulcher*, but otherwise he closely follows the copy text, even reproducing most of its abbreviations (for a few aberrations see TN III). The passage describing how the women of Terra Feminarum regularly visit the men of Edissa is marked for special attention (TN VI 283–92).

<sup>106</sup>Lemmata 29, 184, 905, all of which combine a reference to the “aforementioned” or the “very same” priest “Iohannes” with a first-person verb (in the first two cases edition *c* [as well as *defghijk*, which are based on it] adds the word *ego*). See n. 53 above for eighteen verbs that are changed to the third person in *DEa*; about half of these are restored to their original first-person forms (the *plural* replaces the singular in three cases [190, 192, 198], the third-person singular passive is introduced three times [206, 232, 272], one instance of the same is unchanged [511], and one verb disappears with a deleted sentence in *a–k* [222]).

that are evident in *b*.<sup>107</sup> Two characteristics of *b* deserve particular attention because they offer important insight into how Zyrickzee worked. The text is riddled with typographical errors—it may have been prepared for publication either with great haste or by a novice typesetter—and revisions in edition *c* indicate that Zyrickzee did not check his mistakes against *a* when he made corrections. In addition, over twenty changes in *b* restore textual readings found in the early manuscripts but emended in *a*; the revisions are so minor, however, that they offer no reliable evidence that Zyrickzee had access to any copy of the *Itinerarius* besides Guldenschaff's printed book.<sup>108</sup>

Cornelius of Zyrickzee, a native of a town on the island of Schouwen in Zeeland (modern Zierikzee), founded a printing shop in around 1497 at Cologne, across from the Dominican cloister in the Stolkasse. He enjoyed a prolific and varied career, producing some fifty books in just over a decade on subjects from theology to classical poetry to witchcraft; his Latin edition of *The Book of John Mandeville* appeared before 1501. In all likelihood, the *Itinerarius* was one of Zyrickzee's first publications because his third edition of the book (*d*) was the copy text for edition *f*, which has a colophon dated 1499. He remained active at Cologne until 1509, when he returned to Zeeland, where he died, at Middelburg, on 11 August 1516.<sup>109</sup>

The editorial principles that characterize edition *b* recall those already observed in *a*. The beginnings of independent clauses continue to be revised in an ongoing effort to invest the narrative with a more elegant style, es-

<sup>107</sup>These principles are detailed below in the discussion of editions *c* and *d*. Zyrickzee also carries over several of Guldenschaff's peculiar spellings, such as *immunitatem* and *unicornis* (TN III 47, 63).

<sup>108</sup>On typographical errors see n. 117 below. Around half of these "restored" readings involve revised beginnings of independent clauses and/or the replacement of *ibidem* with *ibi* or vice versa (lemmata 118, 142, 378, 379, 382, 461, 498, 557, 646, 931, 957); of these, only the change of *In ipso autem* in *a* to *Et in isto* (the reading in *ABCDE*) seems a noteworthy coincidence (498). In addition, *b* omits a single word (310, 466, 744), transposes two words (685, 1161), replaces the enclitic *que* with *et* (815, 981, 1089, 1148), moves two verbs from the subjunctive to the indicative mood (70–71), and changes *nam* to *quia* (343). The restored readings *similia* for *consimilia* (678) and *fugientibus cibaria* for *confugientibus cibariaque* (1089) probably reflect Zyrickzee's failure to recognize the abbreviation for *con* in *a* and his dislike of the enclitic *que* rather than his familiarity with an earlier version of the text. Edition *b* also returns the *Itinerarius* to the first person, making the narrative voice consistent and increasing the book's implicit trustworthiness; Guldenschaff's copy text, which was similar to manuscripts *DE*, was almost certainly in the third person.

<sup>109</sup>Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker*, pp. 106–7 (see n. 83 above); Ernst Vouléme, *Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 24 (Bonn, 1903), pp. lxxv–lxxvii; and Severin Corsten, "Zur Person des Kölner Druckers C. von Zierickzee," in *Kölner Schule: Festgabe zum 60 Geburtstag von R[udolf] Juchhoff* (Cologne, 1955), pp. 9–17.

pecially by reducing even further the repetitious usage of *et* and *item*.<sup>110</sup> Approximately forty words or phrases are omitted, almost all of them presumably judged to be verbose.<sup>111</sup> The few additions in *b* are by and large minimal and insubstantial.<sup>112</sup> Changes in vocabulary recall those in *a*: some improve the diction marginally (such as *iterum* for *econverso* or *longinquis* for *remotis*), but most seem the product of whimsy (such as *vocatur* for *dicitur* or *dicitur* for *vocatur*) or formality (*ad parvam ab illo loco distantiam* for *ibi prope*).<sup>113</sup> One substitution alters the text slightly but notably: Prester John's magic mirror, with its three inlaid stones fostering three different kinds of perception, is now attended by an additional, fourth scholar.<sup>114</sup> In contrast to the many changes in sentence structure that appear in the first printed edition, *b* introduces no changes in the syntax of *a*

<sup>110</sup>See n. 87 above, which records over 150 reworded openings to independent clauses in *a*, approximately one-third of which are further revised in *b*. For eighteen additional revisions introduced in *b* see lemmata 130, 225, 233, 247, 321, 368, 387, 522, 651, 665, 713, 738, 743, 747, 775, 971, 1047, and 1126.

<sup>111</sup>Only a few omissions entail (minor) loss of information: in *b* it is not "necessary to sail" between the Sandy and Liver seas (lemma 254); the twenty towers atop Prester John's palace are not "gilded" (692); and the sun does not set brilliantly "shining" on Mount Edom (1043). In three instances of word pairs in *a*, one unit is cut ([*mirabilia*] *et rara* [702], [*vigilantes*] *et orantes* [845], and [*altus et*] *directus* [1037]); see also 263, 1196. Otherwise, deletions contribute to a leaner text; see 50, 128, 196, 251, 284, 310, 334, 362, 374, 392, 395, 398, 399, 402, 419, 466, 471, 494, 641, 647 (resulting in a somewhat confused reading), 695, 703, 744, 784, 801, 807, 837, 853, 932, 934, 1000, 1008, 1056, 1087, 1111, and 1119. The tally of some forty omissions does not include words left out in the course of revising the beginning of an independent clause, or deleted usages of *unus/unal/unum* as an indefinite article (175, 350, 517, 808, 1147, 1174). The loss of *in* at lemma 750 leads to confusion, and the word is restored in edition *c*.

<sup>112</sup>By supplying *ego* in the first sentence, *b* restores a lost reading (lemma 2); an expanded phrase stipulates that pilgrims come to the cloister at Andranopolis from all over the world (328). Otherwise the introduction of a word pair such as [*devoti*] *et religiosi* (325) or of such particles as *scilicet* (204), *vero* (331), and *eciam* (380) adds the kind of verbiage that is elsewhere targeted for omission. The identification of Prester John as "emperor of the Indies" (410) simply repeats information offered in lines 99–100; similarly, that signs of life appear in the facial complexion "of Saint Thomas" is obvious from the context (865). See also 124, 183, 322, 348 (that the conduct is "safe" is implicit), 777, and 1092.

<sup>113</sup>For examples cited see lemmata 43, 465, 156, 1179, and 329. The emendation of *memoriam* to *notitiam* might seem emblematic of Europe's transition from an oral to a scribal culture—assuming *notitiam* to have its later meaning 'note' or 'notice'—but the phrase *non habui notitiam* probably means "I had no knowledge [of the other strange animals]" (37–38). For other changes in vocabulary see 83 (altered meaning), 168, 171, 182, 236, 250, 287, 289, 319, 322, 324, 495, 554, 649, 706, 718, 751, 799, 807, 820, 822, 827, 875, 883, 925, 963, 1014, 1043 (with textual loss), 1089, 1104, and 1149. The word *ibidem* is changed to *ibi* six times (295, 485, 557, 719, 721, 1090). The city of Hermopolis is twice given as *hermipoli[s]* (13, 63), and Amram has become *amra* (88 [see also TN VII 32]).

<sup>114</sup>Lemma 658; the number is spelled out, *tres*, in *a* and all but one manuscript (TN IV 247), so the emendation cannot be a misreading of roman numerals.



beyond twenty-four transposed word units.<sup>115</sup> Similarly, grammar is little affected, although the shift of five verbs from the subjunctive to the indicative mood removes some of the sense of contingency in edition *a*.<sup>116</sup>

As noted above, the text of *b* contains a remarkable number of typographical errors: there are nearly seventy in the *Itinerarius* alone, and the nine mistakes on the title page forced Zyrickzee to print a second version of it (making only six corrections). An entire sentence is set twice, the repeated one including a misspelling.<sup>117</sup> Why the text should be so flawed is unclear. Zyrickzee may have rushed to get the book into print at a time when several European nations were eagerly seeking a route to Asia, creating an interested audience for the kind of material he gathered in this volume. He and Johann Guldenschaff appear not to have been simultaneously active in the Cologne printing trade, so competition was evidently not a factor. Inexperience might have played some role, although Zyrickzee's two subsequent editions, each with type completely reset, appeared within a year or two of *b*, and they were more carefully proofread. In preparing the text of *c* he shows no sign of having checked puzzling readings against Guldenschaff's edition, as the evolving reading of this passage (at lines 115–16) indicates:

<i>ABCDEa</i>	lampades ardentes in nocte sic quod
<i>b</i>	lapades ardentes n sic quod
<i>cdefghij</i>	lapides ardentes sic quod. <sup>118</sup>

In edition *b* Zyrickzee restored the first-person narrative to the *Itinerarius*, and he continued Guldenschaff's efforts to achieve a more elegant style. His subsequent versions, *c* and *d*, both introduce additional changes, as do the seven later publications by other printers, making it possible to demonstrate a direct line of descent in the textual tradition. Although some of these changes are significant—three editions move the action of the

<sup>115</sup>For transpositions (excluding several that occur in the course of revising the beginning of an independent clause) see lemmata 81, 197, 203, 221, 254, 293, 302, 311, 385, 456, 527, 581, 653, 693, 721, 736, 865, 978, 994, 999, 1073, 1107, 1159, and 1161.

<sup>116</sup>Lemmata 70 and 71, 109, 1018, 1184; the subjunctive replaces the indicative mood twice (172 [but any question about whether animals drink from a fountain detoxified by a unicorn is put to rest by Witte's immediately following claim to have seen it happen], 812). For other changes in verb forms see 181, 372, 506, and 862; for changes in other parts of speech see 879, 1006 (affecting sense), and 1033. This last change (*Super illo monte* to *Super illum montem*) is an editorial improvement, replacing an ablative construction more appropriate to a temporal context with the accusative, which befits the discussion of space here.

<sup>117</sup>See TN VII passim and lemma 455. Zyrickzee made no changes in the text of the *Itinerarius* in copies of *b* with the second title page.

<sup>118</sup>Lemmata 314 and 315; edition *k* restores the word *lampades* (which makes better sense with *ardentes*) but not *in nocte*. On the problem of *lapades* in *b* see TN VII 115–16. That Zyrickzee did not return to *a* to resolve lexical problems is further indicated by the series of readings recorded in lemma 843.

*Itinerarius* ahead one century to 1489, and Nicholas Mameranus made additional stylistic revisions in *k*—the text of Witte’s narrative effectively had reached its final stage of development around 1497 in Cornelius of Zyrickzee’s printing shop at Cologne.

### *Editions c and d*

When he printed the *Itinerarius* a second time (*c*), Zyrickzee made close to thirty changes, most of them minor. Almost all these emendations are carried over into the subsequent editions, including one omission,<sup>119</sup> six additions (including *ego*, twice),<sup>120</sup> two misguided changes in vocabulary,<sup>121</sup> four replacements of *ibidem* with *ibi*,<sup>122</sup> seven word transpositions,<sup>123</sup> and three alterations in grammar.<sup>124</sup> Five readings raise difficulties in sense or grammar that later editions attempted to correct.<sup>125</sup> The preposition *in*, restored to a sentence from which it had been omitted in *b*, is not found in any edition published after *c*.<sup>126</sup> Zyrickzee evidently did not wish to release another book replete with mistakes: edition *c* has a total of three typographical errors in the text of the *Itinerarius*.<sup>127</sup>

Emendations in edition *d*, more so than those in *c*, recall Zyrickzee’s practice as the presumed editor of the text in *b*. The beginnings of six more independent clauses are revised, reducing further the number of sentences opening with *et*.<sup>128</sup> Two minor omissions may be said to trim the text efficiently,<sup>129</sup> although two others delete a word that is required for sense.<sup>130</sup> The addition of *et* twice brings greater coherence to a sentence.<sup>131</sup> Two

<sup>119</sup>Lemma 315 (occasioned by an error in *b*; see previous note).

<sup>120</sup>Lemmata 29, 184, 241, 269, 549, 927.

<sup>121</sup>Lemmata 314 (a wrongheaded attempt to correct an error in *b*, itself corrected in *k*), 698 (the more sensible original reading is restored in *jk*).

<sup>122</sup>Lemmata 376 (words transposed), 501, 679, 931.

<sup>123</sup>Lemmata 361, 376 (wording slightly changed), 385 (further emended in *k*), 589, 662 (at the beginning of a sentence), 830, 1122

<sup>124</sup>Lemmata 79, 363, 1184 (the latter change, from the indicative *sunt* to the subjunctive *sint*, in the description of Gog and Magog, is carried over into all subsequent editions except *ek*).

<sup>125</sup>Only *d* follows *c* in reading *vigila* (lemma 843); *d* and *e* identify the Sandy Sea as *mare arenosam*, treating *mare* as a feminine noun (243); and *e* repeats three other problematic readings (102, 174, 888). The realm of Amasonia is spelled *amazonia* in *cdek* (1180).

<sup>126</sup>Lemma 1056.

<sup>127</sup>See TN VII 279, 327, and 416.

<sup>128</sup>Lemmata 62, 211, 840, 1015, 1028, 1047 (slight revision already in *b*); two more independent clauses starting with other words—both already changed in an earlier text—are also reworded (74, 1041).

<sup>129</sup>Lemmata 1023, 1056 (also omitted in *b*).

<sup>130</sup>Lemmata 369 (leaving the sentence without a verb; *est* is restored in later editions), 1114 (also missing in *f*).

<sup>131</sup>Lemmata 196, 317.

changes in vocabulary are consequential, several others less so.<sup>132</sup> Two grammatical emendations seem stylistic niceties.<sup>133</sup> A pair of words is transposed in three sentences.<sup>134</sup> Zyrickzee's third publication of the *Itinerarius* contains seventeen typographical errors—not so many as *b* but more than in *c*—suggesting that this third printing escaped his closest scrutiny.<sup>135</sup>

## 8. Edition *e* and Manuscript *H*

### *Edition e*

The fifth printed edition of the *Itinerarius*—and the first to be published outside of Cologne—appeared at Antwerp between 1497 and 1499. This work of Govaert Bac reproduces almost exactly the text of Zyrickzee's edition *c* and was itself the copy text for an elegant manuscript assembled for an influential cleric at Gent around 1500.

Bac was among the first printers to establish himself at Antwerp, which in the late fifteenth century was beginning to rival Cologne in size, distinction, and cultural richness; by the 1520s, it had become the center of book production in the Low Countries. Bac married the widow of Mathias van der Goes, an Antwerp printer who died in 1492, taking over his shop with its precious fonts and launching a “long and brilliant career” with the production of a grammar in July 1493, the year that he was admitted to the printer's guild of Saint Luke. Linguistically versatile and interested in geography and history, he published a Latin edition of *The Book of John Mandeville* on 19 June 1494, a French version of Aristotle's *Secretum Secretorum* before 16 January 1495, and many Dutch texts.<sup>136</sup> He lived and worked out of “The Bird House” (“tVogelhuys”), and most of the nine

<sup>132</sup>People who drink the water at Elim are protected against being castrated (*excearentur*) rather than going blind (*excecarentur*); see lemma 145 and n. 104 above for the same in *F*. The chambers on the second floor of Prester John's palace are beautifully arranged (*ordinata*) rather than decorated (*ornata* [500]). For other changes in vocabulary see 197 and 888 (improving an obscure emendation in *c*). Mount Edom is spelled *edum* in *dfghij* (1032).

<sup>133</sup>Lemmata 393 (*in* plus the accusative case having the sense of “towards [the end]”), 609 (the relative pronoun *qui* makes the whole *chorus*, not just the *capella*, the antecedent for the ensuing phrase).

<sup>134</sup>Lemmata 53, 207, 1027.

<sup>135</sup>For typographical errors see TN VII passim; one appears to set in type the nonsensical reading *legiquam*, which is emended in *fghijk* (line 395 L1071).

<sup>136</sup>P.-C. Vander Meersch, “Histoire de ceux, qui composent des livres, des bibliophiles, des imprimeurs et des libraires,” *Le Bibliophile Belge* 2 (1845), 236–49, esp. 237 (for citation) and 244–45; Elly Cockx-Indestege, “Godvaert Bac,” in *Le Cinquième centenaire de l'imprimerie dans les anciens Pays-Bas*. Catalogue [de la Exposition à la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup> 11 September–27 October 1973] (Brussels, 1973), pp. 466–78; and Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, trans. D. A. S. Reid, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1966), 1:75, 96.

printer's devices found in his publications feature a bird cage similar to the one in *e* on sig. D4v, an identifying emblem he is known to have used after 3 July 1496. Bac maintained his business until 1511, when he apparently quit after his wife's death; he remarried in 1514 and died three years later.<sup>137</sup>

### Manuscript *H*

Edition *e* changes the text of *c* only seven times; each of these variants is also found in *H*, which must therefore be a copy of Bac's publication, not Zyrickzee's. These discrepant readings comprise one minor omission, one minor addition (of *etiam*, frequently omitted in other texts), three changes in vocabulary, one transposition of a word pair, and one grammatical emendation.<sup>138</sup>

Manuscript *H* was prepared by two scribes for the remarkable library of Raphael de Marcatellis (1437–1508), abbot of the monastery of Saint Bavon at Gent. Its lovely, traditional orthography and decoration make *H* the most visually impressive text of the *Itinerarius*. The codex is an anthology of works related to travel and geography, including Ludolph of Suchen's pilgrimage account, Marco Polo's description of the world (in Latin), and a table of distances between cities on important trade routes originating at Bruges. Despite the antique appearance of *H*, however, its contents largely were copied from incunable editions, and the text of the *Itinerarius* suggests that its scribe had a better hand than head for Latin.<sup>139</sup> Two of three omissions were very likely caused by an eye-slip, two minor additions are sensible but not strictly necessary, and a pair of words is

<sup>137</sup>Hugh William Davies, *Devices of the Early Printers 1457–1560* (London, 1935), pp. xxx; and Rudolf Juchhoff, *Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen des XV. Jahrhunderts in den Niederlanden, England, Spanien, Böhmen, Mähren, und Polen* (Munich, 1927), p. 9 (see also pp. 7, 12–13). On the evidence of this device, most modern bibliographical records for edition *e* date it "3 July 1496–1499," but since Zyrickzee evidently did not publish *c* before 1497, *e* must necessarily have been printed later.

<sup>138</sup>Lemmata 1056 (the word *in* is also omitted in *bdfghijk*), 212, 571, 620 (perhaps a misleading abbreviation; see TN VII 233), 843 (an attempt to make sense of a confused reading in *c*), 220, 1184 (*sunt* for *sint* more definitively locates Gog and Magog in "amazonia" [1180; this spelling is also in *cdk*]). Bac's twelve minor typographical errors are recorded in TN VII passim; *H* corrects all of these except for the nonsensical *periditando* in line 92, the retention of which is further evidence that the manuscript is copied from *e*.

<sup>139</sup>Grammatically problematic readings are recorded in lemmata 115 (turning an adverb into an adjective, resulting in strained sense), 192 (moving the narrative into the present tense), 279 (found also in *BC*), 281, 440, 485, 992, and 1003; some changes in grammar or spelling are defensible or even improving (102, 521, 698). Two variations in vocabulary make for difficult readings as well (656, 919), but in reporting that Gog and Magog are imprisoned behind mountains (1186), the reading in *H* (*inclusi* for *conclusi*) employs the verb more frequently found in medieval map legends that mention the apocalyptic people (see Westrem, "Against Gog and Magog," pp. 71 and 74–75 nn. 30, 39). Other scribal slips are recorded in TN III 73 L194, 107, 128, and 223, and TN V 103, 104, 197, 219, 294–95, and 315.

transposed so that the verb follows its object.<sup>140</sup> The scribe strengthens Witte's claim to have witnessed the feast of Saint Thomas by replacing *ipse Johannes de hese* with *ego Johannes de hesen*, but in so doing he evidently turns the Dutch traveler into a German.<sup>141</sup>

## 9. Editions *fghi*

### *Edition f*

Although Witte claimed to have come from the diocese of Utrecht, the first version of the *Itinerarius* known to have been produced on what is today Dutch soil did not appear until about one century after the book was written. It was published at Deventer four times in nearly eight years by two printers who patently borrowed each other's work and whose relationship appears to have been collegial. The first of these editions (*f*) was released sometime after 10 April 1497 by Jacob de Breda, who copied Zyrickzee's edition *d* with minor changes; in 1499, de Breda's text was in turn used by Richard Pafraet to bring out his own version of the work (*g*), which gives Witte's adventures a greater sense of immediacy for the original reading public by changing the date of his departure for India from 1389 to 1489. De Breda printed the *Itinerarius* again in 1504 (*h*), this time incorporating readings that had been introduced by Pafraet, including the later date. One year later, Pafraet also republished the text (*i*), once again basing it on de Breda's first printing and restoring the original date. The last two links in the concatenation of texts of the *Itinerarius*—editions *j* and *k*—are separate copies of de Breda's edition *h*.

Although Deventer never enjoyed the commercial success of Antwerp, by the late 1400s it was "one of the three cultural centres in [the northern Rhineland], the other two being Cologne and Münster."<sup>142</sup> Famous for its school and monastery operated by the Brethren of the Common Life, the town attracted Pafraet from Cologne, who brought type fonts and capital with him and who helped to establish the Deventer printing trade with the stunning publication in 1477 of Pierre Bersuire's *Liber Bibliae moralis*, a text running nearly one thousand pages. He legally established himself at Deventer in 1481, and in 1485 he employed as an accountant Jacob de Breda, who had become a citizen there two years earlier. Almost immediately de Breda began publishing under his own name but with Pafraet's type fonts; the two printers maintained separate shops, but

<sup>140</sup>Lemmata 349 (the loss of a phrase probably due to the repetition of *diebus*), 1023 (on the loss of *ibidem* see TN VII 377), 476, 647, 742, 897. One scribal correction offers additional evidence that *H* is a copy of *e* (TN VII 206 L555).

<sup>141</sup>Lemma 905 (the change to *hesen* is not made in the first sentence).

<sup>142</sup>Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, *Fifteenth-Century Printing Types* (n. 136 above), 1:39.

both were near the school. Neither ever developed a type font of his own, but, after 1489, each began making changes in format and letter styles that the other soon copied. Their contributions to the market were more various. According to Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, Pafraet “was guided in his choice [of texts] by the publishers of Cologne,” and he brought out many classics as well as works by medieval theologians and philosophers. De Breda printed on a more modest scale, preferring smaller quarto editions, and thus “introduced into Deventer a type of book that was to characterize this town’s whole printed output.”<sup>143</sup> The degree to which the two printers worked together—or competed—remains somewhat uncertain, but the Hellingas conclude that they were collaborators, at least to some degree.<sup>144</sup> While the four editions of the *Itinerarius* printed at Deventer are, in both size and subject matter, more representative of de Breda’s marketing strategies than Pafraet’s, the interconnections among *fghi* offer textual support to the Hellingas’ claims, which are based on mechanical evidence.<sup>145</sup> Indeed, the two printers appear to have taken turns publishing the book.

In printing the *Itinerarius* for the first time, de Breda worked directly from a copy of Zyryckzee’s third edition of the work: not only do the variants introduced in *d* also appear in *f* but also at least two changes in the latter come about because of obscurity on the printed page of the copy text.<sup>146</sup> Three words are omitted in *f* (and all subsequent editions).<sup>147</sup> De Breda makes Ethiopia a region of *interior*, not *inferior*, India, and he increases the distance from Gadde to Edissa (now a journey of twenty-four

<sup>143</sup>*Fifteenth-Century Printing Types* (n. 136 above), 1:39–40, 108–11; and Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, “Richard Pafraet” and “Jacobus de Breda,” in *Le Cinquième centenaire* (n. 136 above), pp. 403–4 (first citation from p. 403), 307–10 (second citation from pp. 307–8). The edition of Bersuire’s book includes a colophon identifying the printer as “Richardus paffroet de Colonia.” Pafraet possessed a Greek font, a rarity for the late fifteenth century, and although he used it only for words or phrases in texts in other languages, someone in his shop must have been competent to set the type.

<sup>144</sup>*Le Cinquième centenaire* (n. 136 above), p. 310; ten years earlier they wrote that there is “no way of telling if they were collaborators or rivals” (*Fifteenth-Century Printing Types* [n. 136 above], 1:111).

<sup>145</sup>Pafraet also published shorter quarto volumes with more popular appeal: indeed, after around 1488 he seems to have undertaken less ambitious projects, although he remained, like de Breda, remarkably prolific. Pafraet’s edition of the *Letter of Prester John* and two other short works appeared in 1490; see Margaret Bingham Stillwell, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Second Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in the United States, Mexico, and Canada* (New York, 1940), p. 291 (J358).

<sup>146</sup>Lemmata 201, 1071; for explanations see TN VII 76 L201 and 395 L1071. The spelling of two place-names—*beleap* for *heleap* (352) and *amazoma* for *amazonia* (1180)—also may be due to problems in reading edition *d* (the letters *b* and *d* are very similar in Zyryckzee’s font, and the letter *i* in *amazonia* is not dotted).

<sup>147</sup>Lemmata 683, 836, 1139 (the deletion of *venumus* leaves the sentence with a gerundive for its verb).

rather than fourteen days); his other changes in vocabulary appear to be either mistakes or attempts to clarify a puzzling reading in edition *d*.<sup>148</sup> Deventer's humanist atmosphere registers itself in the more classical spellings of Latin words that enter the printed text in *f*, such as *hortus* (for *ortus*), *idola* (for *ydola*), and *imagines* (for *ymagines* or *himagines*).<sup>149</sup>

### *Edition g*

Pafraet changed the text of edition *f* very little when he used it to print *g*, with one notable exception. Minor changes include an omission of *et* (leading to some incoherence), the addition of three words (*signa*, *et*, and *autem* [the first with semantic consequence, the second making better sense]), and two minor changes in vocabulary (not including numerals).<sup>150</sup> Three emendations attempt to make sense of obscure passages in *f*—Pafraet clearly did not attempt to resolve them by examining a copy of *d*—while several others introduce ungrammatical or incoherent readings.<sup>151</sup>

What seems a series of unremarkable revisions may in fact shed light on the most significant change Pafraet makes in *g*. The number of palm trees reportedly growing on the plain of Elim is reduced from seventy-two (*lxxii*) to seventy (*septuaginta*), bringing Witte's observation into line with Holy Scripture (Exod. 15:27); Prester John's eighteen vassal kings are counted even more deliberately (*decem et octo* for *octodecim* or *xviii*); and in almost every instance numbers are spelled out as Latin words rather than given as roman numerals.<sup>152</sup> Given Pafraet's general meticulousness and his unusual attention to matters of measurement, the postdating of this pilgrimage, from 1389 (*M.ccc.lxxxix*) to 1489 (*M.cccc.lxxxix*), in the first line of the narrative is unlikely to be an innocent oversight.<sup>153</sup> It cannot be known whether Pafraet changed the date, in 1499, out of a sincere belief that a European only recently could have succeeded in reaching India by

<sup>148</sup>Lemmata 201, 413 (the voyage is lengthened from "xiiij" to "xxiiij" days, which may be a typographical error [a clear preference for roman numerals in *f* is clear from TN IV]). More obvious mistakes are de Breda's replacement of *sculpti* with *sepulti* without changing the preposition *de* (485), his emendation of *lapides* to *lampades* without correcting resulting grammatical errors in the next two words (965), and his obscure reading *in* for *inde* (1013). All are further emended in *g*; the first and third return in Pafraet's edition *i*. De Breda resolves one semantic problem in *d* (843) and improves or defensibly alters grammar three times (243, 856, 1077). Edition *f* registers only four typographical errors (TN VII 147, 281 L744, 288, 291).

<sup>149</sup>See TN III *passim*. De Breda also adopts the more classical spelling *hierusalem* (8, 1195).

<sup>150</sup>Lemmata 475, 932, 1114 (restoring a word lost in *dft*), 1191, 114, 1005.

<sup>151</sup>For resolutions see lemmata 485, 965, and 1013; for added problems see 826, 848, and 1189. The reading *chorum* for *chorus* (588) is carried over into *h*; *in die*, run together as *indie*, is no doubt a typographical error and appears nowhere else (304).

<sup>152</sup>Lemmata 147, 740; for the presentation of numerals see TN IV.

<sup>153</sup>Lemma 1.

boat (thus concluding that the date in *f* was incorrect) or out of hope that a journey purportedly begun only a decade before his edition appeared would seem more newsworthy (thus meaning to achieve greater commercial success). Whatever the case, de Breda's desire to retain this later date in his edition *h* is less surprising than Pafraet's decision to return the narrative to the fourteenth century when he reprinted it in 1505.<sup>154</sup>

### Edition h

In preparing *h*, his second edition of the *Itinerarius*, published on 24 January 1504, de Breda relied entirely on the text printed by Pafraet in 1499, ignoring his own first edition (*f*) and the copy text he had used to produce it (*d*). He emended the text of *g* only eight times—not always improving it—omitting one word, changing five others, slightly altering the spelling of one place-name, and moving one verb from the subjunctive into the indicative mood.<sup>155</sup> All of these variants recur in edition *j*, and most are found in *k*, proving that *h* was the source for those later publications.

### Edition i

On 26 April 1505 Pafraet published the *Itinerarius* for a second time (*i*), using de Breda's first edition (*f*) as his copy text. Except for one grammatical correction, no changes introduced in *g* and *h* are found in *i*—the pilgrimage occurs once again in the late 1300s—and other emendations are minimal, comprising two omissions, one addition, three changes in vocabulary, one transposition of a word pair, and one alteration in grammar.<sup>156</sup> Although only two copies of edition *i* have been located today, it was known to Gottlieb Heinrich Stuck, who recorded it in his late eighteenth-century index to travel narratives once under the heading, "HESE (I. de)

<sup>154</sup>The later date given in editions *ghj* has led many scholars to treat "Johannes de Hese" mistakenly as a fifteenth-century traveler (see chapter 2, esp. p. 47).

<sup>155</sup>Lemmata 426 (the deletion of *tantum* muddles sense somewhat but nearly restores the text of *A*), 245 (replacing *arena* with *terra*), 341 (a confusing usage of a present-tense verb), 365 (the change from "through which it was necessary for us [*nos*] to sail" to "through which it is not [*non*] necessary to sail" renders harmless a frightening feature of the Indian coast), 394, 418 (ungrammatically using *ad* with the ablative case), 352 (*Beliab* for *beleab*), 718.

<sup>156</sup>Lemmata 965 (a change in *f* introduced an obvious grammatical error that all subsequent editions correct), 383, 618 (the loss of *et audit missam* makes for a muddle), 676, 154 (the nonsensical change from *est* to *et* is probably a typographical error), 330 (styling the great khan "Brandicano"), 485 (the confusing *sepulti* [*de*], an emendation in *f*, returns to *sculpti* [*de*], the reading in *d*, a change dictated by context and the preposition [but misspelled]), 224, 715. The word *et*, missing in *f* in lemma 1114 (with resulting incoherence), remains lost.



*Itinerarium hierosolymitanum &c. Daventriae 1505. 4°.*” and later as “HELT (Io. de) itinerarius in Hierusalem. Daventr. 1505. 4°.” As a result of Stuck’s error, the doubly-fictitious pilgrim “Johannes de Helt” has gained a place in several scholarly studies.<sup>157</sup>

### 10. Edition *j*

ROBERT GOURMONT, who brought out the *Itinerarius* at Paris around 1507 using de Breda’s edition *b* as his copy text, appears to have been the last person to treat this travel narrative as a relatively contemporary book. When Nicholas Mameranus edited it some sixty years later, he presented an ancient document, more valuable for its age than its information. Gourmont was active in the Parisian printing trade between 1499 and 1518, working on assignment for Oliver Senant, who operated between 1505 and 1526 out of a shop in the rue Riche-Jacques under the sign of Saint Barbara. Two different title pages for *j* exist, one with a line break and no hyphen after “Oli” of Senant’s first name, the other (presumably later) one with the name kept integral. In 1507 Senant first used the printer’s device found in edition *j* on sig. D4v; filling a page that follows six generally fanciful treatises about the world from Egypt to Eden, its motto—“En le monde fault bien tirer / Qui en paradis veult monter”—offers a slightly ironic valediction to the reader.

In a sense, Gourmont’s edition marks the transition of Witte’s narrative from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The *Itinerarius* appears here for the first time in roman type with printed initials; the nine previous publications were in Gothic fonts, with the first letter of three key sentences—the very first one, the one beginning the description of Prester John’s palace, and the transition to the church of Saint Thomas—left blank for possible decoration by hand. The typesetter may not have had much Latin, since several perplexing emendations introduced in *b* go uncorrected here—even the typographical error *claditur* for *clauditur* is reproduced, with more than thirty added—and changes that enter the text in *j* generally lead to less coherent readings.<sup>158</sup> Three omissions (two of *et* and one of

<sup>157</sup>Stuck, *Verzeichnis von Aeltern und Neuern Land- und Reisebeschreibungen*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1784–87), 1:244 (number 672) and 2:52 (number 2622). Helt appears, among other places, in F[elix?]. Geisheim, *Die Hohenzollern am Heiligen Grabe zu Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1858), p. 55; Tobler, *Bibliographia*, p. 63; Röhrich, *Bibliotheca*, p. 160 (with reservations); Cyr Ulysse Joseph Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1877–86), p. 1198 (s.v. Jean Hess), with the pilgrimage incorrectly dated 889 (see p. 47, n. 18, above). More misunderstanding followed. Under the heading “ESIUS” in the *Biographie Universelle* (1815), an *Iter Hierosolymitanum*, printed at Deventer in 1505, is attributed to one “Frédéric de Hése.”

<sup>158</sup>For the emendations in *b* see n. 155 above; for *claditur* see TN VII 354 (and TN VII passim for other typographical errors); for problematic changes in *j* see lemmata 394

*directe*), two changes in vocabulary, and the use of a singular verb with “Gog and Magog” are more defensible, if not improving. A defective printing of *facte* in *h* appears *sacre* in *j*, indicating that Gourmont set his text directly from de Breda’s printed page.<sup>159</sup>

## 11. Edition *k*

AFTER GOURMONT’S EDITION appeared around 1507, the *Itinerarius* and its associated texts, having been printed ten times within some fifteen years, were not published again for nearly six decades. By the early sixteenth century, eyewitness accounts by European explorers, sailors, and missionaries—quite a few in a European vernacular rather than in Latin—were coming off presses from Rome to Copenhagen and from Lisbon to Dresden. Some, though not all, called into question Johannes Witte de Hese’s claims about the inhabitants of east Africa, the splendor of Prester John’s empire, and the terrestrial location of Eden and Purgatory. Readers in northern Europe, where the *Itinerarius* enjoyed its principal success, had other reasons to find it a suspect text by the early 1500s. The religious climate had changed significantly during the previous century, and a book whose narrator is a priest and whose subject is a pilgrimage, however bizarre, would have struck many as theologically, not just geographically, unreliable. Josephine Waters Bennett offers this as an explanation of a simultaneous torpor in the publishing history of *The Book of John Mandeville*:

In England and Germany the Reformation seems to have brought the [*Book*], for a time, into disrepute. The scarcity of English editions between 1510 and 1568 is matched by a similar gap in the sequence of German editions between 1507 and 1580. Mandeville’s accounts of saints and relics, his reminiscences of the Crusades, and concern with pilgrimages and miracles would naturally bring him into disfavor in the Protestant countries.<sup>160</sup>

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(*condonantur* may be a typographical error in *h*), 395, 609, 629 (*stellari* cannot be in the genitive, as the grammar requires here). Abbreviations in *j* can be difficult to expand: the same one is used for *qui* and *que*. Turning the “extremely high” (*nimis altus*) Mount Edom into something “less high” (*minus altus* [1036]) robs a sentence of drama as well as sense (the letters *i* in *nimis* are dotted in edition *h*).

<sup>159</sup>Lemmata 528, 598, 1138, 107, 145, 1184; on *facte/sacre* see 474 and TN VII 171 L474.

<sup>160</sup>Bennett, *Rediscovery*, p. 243. In 1604 Heinrich Canisius, a professor at the University of Ingolstadt, brought out the first published edition of William of Boldensele’s pilgrimage account (under the title *Hodoepiricon ad Terram Sanctam*), together with a collection of theological and hagiographical works, calling his work a reaction to the “discord” set in motion by “Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and others of this sort: deceivers as well as imposters”; see *Antiquæ Lectionis*, 5 vols. (Ingolstadt, 1601–4), 5:A4v–B1r (for Boldensele see 5[2]:95–142).

The *Itinerarius* returned to public attention in Nicholas Mameranus's edition *k*. Alone among the early scribes and printers who copied, and sometimes revised, the book, Mameranus wrote a prefatory account, dated 19 January 1565 ("14. Calend. Februarij"), explaining how he discovered the text and why he thought it merited its publication, by Johannes Withagius at Antwerp. In a thirty-line poem and five pages of prose that offer an introduction to the same set of works that appear in editions *b–j* (plus an appended treatise on world geography), Mameranus focuses almost exclusively on Witte's narrative. He reveals his own acquaintance with the ordeal and loneliness of travel by describing a journey of his own through the bitter snow and ice of the Ardennes forest in December 1563. En route he spent Christmas cheered by friends, one of whom tells him about an old book: the autobiographical record by "Ioannes de Hese, a priest from Utrecht" of the "great marvels and stupendous, almost unbelievable things" he saw while on a pilgrimage that took him throughout "Arabia, Egypt, India, and Ethiopia." Mameranus, a cross between Edmund Spenser and the *Gawain*-poet's King Arthur, claims to have developed a yearning for things old and unusual rather than modern and familiar. Furthermore, he delightedly reports, in the *Itinerarius* he has found an ancient text that offers an auspicious beginning to a new year: it is "A new portent for this time, recently dug up from the past," the work of a cleric who "seeks diverse shores / And strives to see much of the world."<sup>161</sup> Witte has become an inspiration.

The book's reverend age presents the single problem of its style. Living in a "barbaric time," the "good priest" who wrote it could not purge his Latin of barbarism, so Mameranus has taken it upon himself to clarify absurd and abstruse passages in the *Itinerarius*. He shows no sign of having seen any version of the narrative except for de Breda's edition *b*, in which the style recorded in the early manuscripts had already been vastly improved; one can only speculate what he would have thought of the Latin text in *A*. Mameranus's idea of barbarism may extend to appearances: he employs a "modern" Roman typestyle in place of de Breda's Gothic, which he may have considered quaint, and he expands almost all

<sup>161</sup>Additional details about Mameranus are in chapter 2. His poem is found in edition *k* on sig. A2r and his prose account on sigs. A2v–A4v (sig. A3r is misnumbered "A5"); citations here are from sigs. A3v, A4r, and A2r. In the poem Mameranus salutes "the priest of Christ / Who had such great love of traveling" [*Christi . . . sacerdos / Quem peregrinandi magnus habebat amor*] for wanting to see so much of the world. The book, he concludes aptly, "has it all" in terms of marvels [*Mira . . . hic cuncta libellus habet*]; see sig. A2r. A list of places visited by "Ioannes de Hese" includes Arabia (sig. A3v), a place-name not mentioned in the actual text but cited repeatedly by scholars.

abbreviations, adds printed initials, and uses diacritical marks and the digraph æ.<sup>162</sup>

Mameranus leaves his mark on the text in other ways as well, although half of his approximately 150 revisions are variations in vocabulary that affect the book's content relatively little. Johann Guldenschaff and Cornelius de Zyrickzee—if they were responsible for the changes in editions *a* and *b*—were far more consequential editors. Despite several references in his introductory poem and essay to the antiquity of the *Itinerarius*, Mameranus neglects to give any date for the journey of "Ioannes de Hese." The resulting temporal vagueness is the most telling effect on the text that any of his omissions have.<sup>163</sup> His meaningful additions are also few, although like interpolations in *CDE* they endorse the text's verity: he has the narrator stipulate that precisely four candles burn in the lighthouse towers at Andranopolis, describe more explicitly the parting of the ocean that enables pilgrims to reach the church of Saint Thomas, give plausibility to this miracle by comparing it to the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, and point out that the Indian patriarch personally offers the eucharist to Prester John.<sup>164</sup> Changes in vocabulary, in contrast, are abundant, yet they also amount to little more than the replacement of one word or phrase with a close synonym: exchanging *multiplicantur* for *quotificantur*, *honorat* for *adorat*, or *altissimus* for *nimis altus* only minimally affects meaning.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>162</sup>Mameranus revised the text of *b*, although since three surviving manuscripts are copies of incunabula, he did not necessarily have it in the form of a printed book.

<sup>163</sup>Lemma 1; that the bridges of Andranopolis are "stone" and the towers atop Prester John's palace are "beautiful" goes unstated here (lemmata 288, 691). Otherwise, as has frequently been the case in the history of this text's revising, omissions arguably improve matters by reducing wordiness: see 44, 48, 186, 199, 204, 219, 224, 237, 255, 320, 394 (a confusing reading in *b*), 525 and 526, 592, 987, and 1040.

<sup>164</sup>Lemmata 313, 821, 826, 891; one addition makes sense of an otherwise absurd reading introduced in edition *b* (365 and 367), and another explains that public meetings in Edissa are held to resolve "lawsuits and controversies" (459). Elsewhere additions are insignificant, even wordy (42, 177, 292, 395, 609, 1060, 1082, 1102). The attachment of *que* as an enclitic makes sense of an obscure reading in *b* (475), but in two other instances it is only a stylistic nicety (851, 943).

<sup>165</sup>Lemmata 495, 682, 1036; emending *lapides* to *lampades* corrects a typographical error that entered the text in edition *c* and restores an original reading (314; other original readings return in *k* at 391 and 413). For similar substitutions, several of which eliminate redundancy, see 35, 126, 161, 168, 238, 246, 278, 306, 322, 368, 376, 389 (fires are "heaped up" rather than "ignited"), 394, 406, 426, 497, 499, 515 (*bibliotheca* for *libreria* is a sign of the increasing influence of Greek), 542, 555, 556, 626, 629, 666, 823, 941, 947, 964, 975, 986, 990, 998 (superlative for positive adjective), 1045, 1048, 1079, 1088, 1099, 1102, 1140, 1146, 1158, and 1199. On the possible difference between *deformes* and *difformes* see commentary 78–84. Mameranus exhibits certain stylistic preferences, including the substitution of an indefinite pronoun (such as *quedam*) for *unus/unal/unum* employed as an indefinite

Grammatical revisions are usually more subtle than substantial.<sup>166</sup>

Mameranus's manipulation of syntax in the *Itinerarius* recalls editorial interventions already described, particularly in editions *ab*. The beginnings of another eleven independent clauses undergo rewording; five of these involve the deletion of the word *et*.<sup>167</sup> Seven word pairs are simply transposed.<sup>168</sup> Somewhat more extensive revisions occur in another six sentences, but they further demonstrate that Mameranus concerned himself with matters of style much more than with content in what would become the narrative's last publication for some three hundred years.<sup>169</sup>

## 12. Variations in the Latin Textual Tradition

A PECULIAR and often threatening animal population inhabits the Asia of Witte's *Itinerarius*. He claims to have seen poisonous fish flying over the Red Sea and, even more outlandishly, to have mistaken a whale for an island, gone ashore to prepare dinner, and nearly drowned when his port of call submerged after he lit a cooking fire. Descriptions of these two perils—they come near the beginning and the end of Witte's journey—appear without meaningful omission in every Latin manuscript and printed edition of the narrative, but variants that enter a couple of sentences in each episode characterize the ways in which scribes and printers produced different versions of the *Itinerarius*. That this book's early audiences did not all read or hear the same story is evident in the following comparison of these sentences as they appear in manuscripts *AB*, with their simple, often

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article (11, 299, 359, 994); a more elegant way of describing intervals of days, especially in measurements of distance (133, 967, 993, 1030, 1068 [but compare 193, 231]); and the usage of *ut* rather than *quod* as a conjunction introducing a substantive clause (235, 257, 370, 384, 550, 555, 811, 822, 861, 1038). This latter choice, in turn, grammatically requires that six verbs in the indicative mood be changed to the subjunctive (235, 371, 385, 552, 825, 1039). He alters *ibidem* to *ibi* once (99) but does the reverse twice (597, 1014). See also spelling changes at 167, 241, 983, 1032, 1180 (the latter three are toponyms); the reading at lemma 1041 is an error (also recorded in TN VII 383).

<sup>166</sup>Most emendations in grammar affect the form of a verb: lemmata 69, 71, 554, 555, 773 (a particularly stylish fine tuning), 862, 930, 1003, 1132, 1182. Several changes from the indicative to the subjunctive mood occur (220, 341, 403) but in contexts that display Mameranus's proficiency in Latin rather than his doubt about the text's claims (several others are necessitated by the change from *quod* to *ut*; see previous note). For grammatical shifts in other parts of speech see 77, 108, 165, 328, 433, 435, 715, 894, and 1189 (correcting a mistake that entered the text in edition g).

<sup>167</sup>Lemmata 16, 48, 54, 114, 282, 295, 533, 585, 608 (adding *Et* and nearly restoring the original reading), 612, 1047.

<sup>168</sup>Lemmata 210, 344, 412, 465, 787, 799, 1071 (some of these occur near the beginning of an independent clause).

<sup>169</sup>Lemmata 70, 223, 289, 527, 555, 986.

pleonastic formulations; in *C*, with its interpolated truth-claims and gratuitous revisions; in *DE*, with their third-person narrative and occasional stylistic improvements; and in the printed editions from *a* to *k*, with their considerable, successive changes in vocabulary and syntax, and with the return of a first-person narrative voice in *b*.<sup>170</sup>

*Passage 1 (lines 11–18)*

<i>A</i>	Et vidi	plura alia rara animalia de quibus	non habeo memoriam.
<i>B</i>	Et vidi	plura animalia rara de quibus	non habeo memoriam.
<i>C</i>	Et vidi ibidem	plura alia animalia rara de quibus	non habeo memoriam.
<i>DE</i>	Et vidit	plura animalia alia rara quibus	non habuit memoriam.
<i>a</i>	Et vidit ibidem	plura animalia rara quorum	non habuit memoriam.
<i>b–j</i>	Et vidi ibidem	plura animalia rara quorum	non habui memoriam.
<i>k</i>	Et vidi ibidem	multa animalia rara quorum	non habui noticiam.

<i>A</i>	Eciam vidi in dicto mari	rubro serpentes volantes ad terram,	revertentes
<i>B</i>	Eciam vidi in dicto mari	rubro serpentes volantes ad terram et	revertentes
<i>C</i>	Eciam vidi in dicto mari	rubeo serpentes volantes ad terram et	revertentes
<i>D</i>	Eciam vidit in dicto mari	scilicet rubro serpentes volantes ad terram,	revertentes
<i>E</i>	Eciam vidit in dicto mari	rubro serpentes volantes ad terram,	revertentes
<i>a</i>	Eciam vidit in dicto mari	serpentes volantes ad terram,	revertentes
<i>b–j</i>	Eciam vidi in dicto mari	serpentes volantes ad terram,	revertentes
<i>k</i>	Eciam vidi in dicto mari	serpentes volantes ad terram et	revertentes

<i>ADE</i>	econverso ad mare rubrum.	Et sunt valde nocivi hominibus eos intoxicando.
<i>B</i>	econtra ad mare rubrum.	Et sunt valde nocivi hominibus eos intoxicando.
<i>C</i>	econverso ad mare rubrum.	Et sunt valde nocivi hominibus eos intoxicantes.
<i>a</i>	econverso ad mare rubrum,	qui sunt valde nocivi hominibus eos intoxicando.
<i>b–j</i>	iterum ad mare rubrum,	qui sunt valde nocivi hominibus eos intoxicando.
<i>k</i>	iterum mare rubrum,	qui sunt valde nocivi hominibus eos intoxicando.

<i>ABCDE</i>	Contra quos habetur cinis de palma combusta, crescens	ibidem et in terra sancta,
<i>a–k</i>	Contra quos habetur cinis de palma combusta, crescente	ibidem et in terra sancta,

<i>Aa</i>	et eciam	herba quedam, choral nuncupata,
<i>B</i>	et eciam	quedam herba, coral nuncupata,
<i>C</i>	eciam habetur contra huius serpentes	quedam herba, coral nuncupata,
<i>D</i>	et equo	herba quedam, choral nuncupata,
<i>E</i>	et eciam	herba quedam, thoral nuncupata,
<i>b–j</i>	et eciam	herba, coral nuncupata,
<i>G</i>	et eciam	herba, que coral nuncupata,
<i>k</i>	Conducit eciam	herba coral nuncupata,

<i>AB</i>	crescens in mari rubro in loco per quem moyses perduxit	populum israeliticum.
<i>C</i>	crescens in mari rubro in loco per quem duxit moyses	populum israeliticum.
<i>DE</i>	crescens in mari rubro in loco per quem moyses duxit	populum israeliticum.
<i>abce</i>	que crescit in mari rubro in loco per quem moyses duxit	populum israeliticum.
<i>dfghijk</i>	que crescit in mari rubro in loco per quem duxit moyses	populum israeliticum.

<sup>170</sup>The second passage is found in the first person in all manuscripts and printed editions. Another section of text that demonstrates the variety within the textual tradition is at lines 300–10 and lemmata 797–827.

*Passage 2 (lines 401–5)*

ADE	Et incenso ibidem igne,	submersit se illa insula, nobis	ad navem
B	Et incenso ibi igne,	submersit se illa insula, nobis	ad navem
C	Et incendimus ibi ignem,	submersit se illa insula, nobis	ad navem
a	Incenso itaque igne,	insula illa se submersit, nobis iterato	ad navem
b–k	Incenso itaque igne,	insula se submersit, nobis iterato	ad navem
ABC		fugientibus, cibaria	nostra cum ollis ibidem relinquendo.
DE		fugientibus, cibaria	nostra cum ollis ibidem relinquentibus.
a	quamcitius	confugientibus, cibariaque	nostra cum ollis ibidem relinquentibus.
b–j	quamcitius	fugientibus, cibaria	nostra cum ollis ibi relinquentibus.
k	quàm celerrimè	fugientibus, cibaria	nostra cum ollis ibi relinquentibus.
ABDEa	Et dicebatur		quod illa insula
C	Et dicebatur nobis ab illis qui huius rei noticiam habuerunt		quod illa insula que nobis talis videbatur
b–k	Et dicebatur nobis		quod illa insula
A	fuit	quidam piscis vocatus Jasconius	qui, percepto igne,
B	fuit	quidam piscis vocatus Jasconius	qui, precepto igne,
C	non fuit insula sed	quidam piscis vocatus iastronius	qui, percepto igne,
DEa–k	fuerat	quidam piscis vocatus iaschonius	qui, percepto igne, <sup>171</sup>
ABDE	se submersit		cum nostris cibariis.
C	se submergit quia sustinere unde potuit		cum nostris cibariis.
a–k	cum nostris cibariis		se submersit.

## 13. Editions O and Z

TWO NINETEETH-CENTURY German scholars printed versions of the *Itinerarius*, which they included as a kind of appendix to studies of the legend of Prester John. In 1864 Gustav Oppert reproduced, almost without error, de Breda's second edition (*b*); he made no changes in the text of the *Itinerarius* in the second edition of his work (1870). In 1883 Friedrich Zarncke printed the text of manuscript *B*, which he called a "trustworthy" and complete version of the original, along with notes that identify some of his emendations and offer occasional alternative readings in "the printed editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," although there is little evidence that he compared *B* to anything but *b* as printed by Oppert. Zarncke silently normalizes many orthographical variants in *B*. In a brief introduction, he dismisses the *Itinerarius* as "fiction from beginning to end" and focuses his attention on its borrowings from the *Letter of Prester John*. Aware that the printed editions revise the original text in "nearly every sentence," Zarncke is content to give five sample comparisons since his principal purpose is to present the text of *B*, and thus "das Küchenlatein des Originals." Neither Oppert nor Zarncke examined Witte's book in the

<sup>171</sup>See lemma 1094 for orthographical variants in the spelling of the whale's name, which is capitalized in manuscripts *AB*.

context of travel narratives, analyzed it as a text in its own right, or presented it in even a limited critical edition.<sup>172</sup>

#### 14. Manuscripts *KLM*

BY THE MID-1400S, the *Itinerarius* was circulating in a Middle Dutch translation. This is unsurprising: the narrative concerns a priest from the Netherlands, and for two centuries it interested scribes and printers in the Lower Rhine region where, according to Walter Hoffmann, the vernacular had already taken hold as a written language by the late fourteenth century. Hartmut Beckers notes a burgeoning interest, starting around 1350 in the vicinity of Cologne, for works in German about Asian geography and culture.<sup>173</sup>

Records exist of three versions of this translation: a transcription from around 1690 (*K*), an edition published in 1845 (*L*), and notes written as recently as 1961 describing a manuscript in a private collection (*M*), although no fifteenth- or sixteenth-century exemplar has been located for this study. At one remove from actual medieval artifacts, these records nevertheless offer insight into the methods of a late medieval translator, reinforce several conclusions about the development of the Latin text, and provide linguistic data.<sup>174</sup> They demonstrate that the *Itinerarius* was composed in Latin and translated into Middle Dutch rather than the reverse. This translation is based on a text very similar but not identical to *A*, and thus it must have been produced from an unrecovered Latin manuscript whose existence cannot be hypothesized from the evidence of *BCDEa-k*. Finally, at least two Middle Dutch manuscripts must once have been in circulation in addition to the three for which there are records: the autograph version of the translation and the copy text for the transcription (*K*).

<sup>172</sup>Zarncke's introduction runs just over three pages ("Der Priester Johannes," pp. 159–62). Errors or alternative readings in Oppert and Zarncke, as well as a record of Zarncke's emendations, are recorded in the Textual Notes to the Latin edition in my dissertation; see "Critical Edition," pp. 505–37.

<sup>173</sup>Walter Hoffmann, "Deutsch und Latein im spätmittelalterlichen Köln," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 44 (1980), 117–47. Hoffmann notes that the vernacular rather abruptly and regularly began to be used after 1395 in and around Cologne for records of commerce. By this time, German was already the language of official city and cloister records (pp. 140, 144). For Beckers see "Der Orientreisebericht Wilhelms von Boldensele in einer ripuarischen Überlieferung des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 44 (1980), 148–66: "Seit rund 1350 läßt sich in Köln ein spürbares Interesse an deutschsprachigen Schriften über die geographischen, völkerkundlichen, wirtschaftlichen, politischen und religiösen Verhältnisse des Orients feststellen" (p. 150 n. 7). Among the many known Middle Dutch texts are translations of works that were popular at Cologne.

<sup>174</sup>I describe the Middle Dutch translation in greater detail in "A Medieval Book's Editors and Translators," pp. 153–80. In that article I employed different manuscript sigla from the ones that appear in this volume.



The considerable differences among the Middle Dutch texts make it unlikely that each was copied directly from the original, indicating that yet more manuscripts in the vernacular must once have been in circulation. These differences do not prove that the *Itinerarius* was translated into Middle Dutch more than once; on the contrary, orthographic, semantic, and syntactical variants result from scribal editorializing (as in the Latin tradition), the unestablished state of late medieval vernacular languages, and the power of dialect.

Of the three records of the Middle Dutch translation, only *K* offers a complete text (albeit with significant omissions); it is the basis for the critical edition printed here. Currently in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin, *K* is a transcription made around 1690 by Antonius Matthaeus (1635–1710), a lawyer and author of books on pilgrimages to the Holy Land and Dutch history. The amount of orthographical variation within *K* recommends it as a trustworthy copy of the unrecovered original, although Matthaeus seems not to have noticed that a date in the first sentence (1398) conflicts with one in the description of a later experience (1391), or that both make it impossible for an earlier copy text to have been produced in 1373, as the colophon states. *K*, appropriately enough, once belonged to the library of a director of the Dutch East India Company in the 1700s.

The second record of the *Itinerarius* in Middle Dutch is *L*, an edition, published in 1845, of a fragmentary manuscript that breaks off before the description of Prester John's capital concludes (Latin line 271). The manuscript was last recorded seen in 1864. Its editor, Mathias [Mathijs] de Vries, was at the beginning of a prolific career as an editor, linguist, and lexicographer. He claims to have produced his text faithfully from five sheets of paper, plainly written in a hand "approximately of the early fifteenth century." The edition seems reliable, although its fairly consistent spellings and "standard," dialectally muted Middle Dutch suggest some editorial manipulation.<sup>175</sup>

The pre-modern copy of the Middle Dutch translation that seems most likely to resurface is *M*. This manuscript, probably copied during the early 1500s, was owned by Dr. J. F. M. Sterck of Aardenhout at his death in 1941, and is known from a careful description of it made by a distinguished professor of paleography at the University of Leiden in 1936, with an additional note by his equally talented successor in 1961. Since then no record has been found despite the efforts of some of the finest contemporary Dutch paleographers and bibliophiles.

<sup>175</sup>De Vries's article appeared while he was working on a three-volume edition, *Jan van Boendale's Der leken spiegel (1330)* (Leiden, 1844–48). One passage of this lengthy poem (III. 15) invokes Lady Grammar to teach her cleric-servants how "to write and spell correctly" and exactly from a text.

Striking similarities among these Middle Dutch texts indicate that they are all copies of a single translation, which was circulating by around 1450.<sup>176</sup> All identify the traveler and narrator as Johan (or Jan) Voet, which rather curiously appears to translate the already Dutch name Witte, and they give 1398 (rather than 1389) as the date of his departure from Jerusalem, even though *K* and (in all probability) *M* place him subsequently in India in 1391.<sup>177</sup> That the three texts descend from a single translation is also obvious from their concordant readings, exemplified in this description of Witte's encounter with flying fish on the Red Sea (lines 7–10 [Latin]; 8–10 [Middle Dutch]):

<i>A</i>	Et in mari rubro predicto	vidi	pisces
<i>K</i>	Ende in den roeden meer, daer die stadt by licht,	daer sach ick ynne	vissche, die
<i>L</i>	Ende inden roeden meer, daer die stat by leghet,	daer sach ick in	vissche, die
<i>M</i>	Ende inden roeden mere daer de stat by lýt,	daer sach ic in	vyschen, de
<i>A</i>	volantes super aquas ad spacium tantum quantum balista posset sagittari;		
<i>K</i>	weren roet van verwen ende		vlogen
<i>L</i>	waren roet van verwen ende waren meer dan twe voet lanck. Die vische		vlogen
<i>M</i>	roet waren van varwen ende		vlieghen
<i>A</i>	et illi pisces sunt rubei coloris, habentes in longitudine ultra duos pedes. . .		
<i>K</i>	boven water wal so veer als men mit enen boghe	sceten mochte, . . .	
<i>L</i>	boeven den meer alsoe verre als men myt enen boeghe	scieten mach; . . .	
<i>M</i>	boeüen dat water wel so veer als men mit j boghe	mocht schyten, . . .	
<i>A</i>	De quibus piscibus comedi.		
<i>K</i>	tende daer van heb ick gegeten.		
<i>L</i>	ende desen visch heb ic af gheten.		
<i>M</i>	ende daer heb ic aff gheten.		

In this passage, an occasional omission (such as that shared by *KM* in the second line) or a slight change in vocabulary (*water* for *meer* in *KM* in the third line) cannot distract from the fact that all three texts construe *predicto* to mean “near which the city lies,” translate the Latin *in* [the sea] twice, and reverse the order in which the flying distance and the color of the fish are described. *KL* also have several passages in common that are not found in any known Latin text: these further explicate the meaning of stones on the Red Sea coast, locate a single productive tree in the balsam garden, explain what happens to the olive branches birds bring to Mt. Sinai, embellish the story of the desert saints Anthony and Paul the Hermit, stipulate

<sup>176</sup>Common, generally consistent orthographical features that distinguish the Middle Dutch of *KL[M]* from Modern Dutch include preferences of *s* for *z* (except for *zee*), *qu* for *kw*, terminal *ch* or *ck* for *g*, terminal *t* for *d*, the suffix *lick* for *ig*, and *r* for *z* in the past participle (*gecoeren/ghekoren* for *gekozen* at Dutch line 39).

<sup>177</sup>A bookseller's catalog from 1926, offering *M* for sale, includes the date 1391 in a description of the manuscript's contents. See Dutch line 337.

that storks kill young pygmies “with their long beaks,” tell more about Prester John’s veronica, place balsam-burning lamps at his bedside, and transform one of the imperial bodyguard giants into a hollow mechanical marvel.<sup>178</sup>

Several characteristics of medieval translation practice further show that Latin was the language of composition for the *Itinerarius*. These include synonymic pairs, Latinisms, and strained syntax that presumably reflects a translator’s difficulty with a foreign language.<sup>179</sup> Representative examples are found in Table 1, in which Latin words and phrases, given in italics, correspond to Dutch renderings in *K* and *L*; at right are line numbers from the editions printed here, Latin first and Middle Dutch between brackets.

The Middle Dutch translation recalls the simple, sometimes monotonous style that characterizes the earliest stage of the Latin text: many sentences begin “Ende daer” or “Voert so wandert men [toe schepe],” echoing similar constructions with “Et ibidem” and “Ulterius [navigando]” in the original. This is the most obvious evidence that the translator worked from a version of the *Itinerarius* very similar to that in manuscripts *AB*, although neither of these can have been the copy text. Of the ten readings described earlier in this chapter (p. 68) as being unique to *A*, only one is definitely rendered into Middle Dutch, which in at least five of the cited passages reflects the wording of *BCDEa-k*; however, variants found in *B* (especially the omissions) seldom figure in the translation.<sup>180</sup> In locating a plaza with sculptures of emperors above (*boven*) hundreds of columns at Edissa, the Middle Dutch follows *B* (*super*) or *C* (*supra*); *A* and all other

<sup>178</sup>The interpolations (at Dutch lines 15–16, 21–22, 50–51, 74–78, 99–100, 251, 269–70, 273–75) are translated into English at lemmata E19, E23, E37, E53, E66, E224, E247, E250. These interpolations may also be in *M*, but the record of it includes only the incipit and explicit. *K* emphasizes the independence of Saint Thomas’s hand in a passage after *L* has broken off (Dutch lines 341–43; E304).

<sup>179</sup>By “synonymic pair” I mean a translator’s use of two words or phrases to render one in the original language, a phenomenon also called “doubling.” The designation is Leslie C. Brook’s, who believes that synonymic pairs “enrich the prose” of an original in that a “translator gives good value to his reader . . . by using two terms to translate one Latin one”; see “The Translator and His Reader: Jean de Meun and the Abelard-Heloise Correspondence,” in *The Medieval Translator II*, ed. Roger Ellis, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies 5 (London, 1991), p. 110. I would not argue so enthusiastically about the virtues of verbal pairing in this Middle Dutch translation.

<sup>180</sup>See nn. 12, 17, 19 above. The reading *alle nacht* (Dutch line 186 and D237) reflects *de nocte* in *A* (Latin line 180) rather than *die ac nocte* or *die et nocte* in *BCDEa-k* (L490). Similarly, the Middle Dutch *pleghen te gaen* (Dutch line 197 and D252) reflects the ambiguous *transeunt* in *A* (also in *C*; *BDEa-k* add a predicate [line 190 L518]). These Middle Dutch readings are in *L* only. Omissions in *B* recorded in lemmata 267, 792, 1027 (the last also missing in *C*) are likewise lacking in the Middle Dutch.

TABLE 1. Markers of Translation in the Middle Dutch Text

## 1. SYNONYMIC PAIRS

## VERBS

<i>ardentes</i>	bernet unde luchtet ( <i>K</i> ); luchten ende barnen ( <i>L</i> )	37 [37]
<i>intoxicant</i>	te valschen unde to fenynen ( <i>K</i> ); te velschen ende te fenijnen ( <i>L</i> )	61 [66–67]
<i>expellendo</i>	toe suveren ende to gansen ( <i>K</i> ); te suveren ende te gansen ( <i>L</i> )	63–64 [69–70]
<i>periclitando naves</i>	die schepen toe hinderen ende toe verderven ( <i>K</i> ); die schepe te hijnderen ende te verderven ( <i>L</i> )	92–93 [111–12]

## NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

<i>ramos</i>	twyge ende rysen ( <i>K</i> ); twigen ende riser ( <i>L</i> )	46 [49]
<i>victoriam</i>	saghe ende winninghe ( <i>K</i> ); seghe ende verwinninghe ( <i>L</i> )	56 [61]
<i>laycorum</i>	weerliker ende leeker luyde ( <i>K</i> ); waerliker luden ende leker luden ( <i>L</i> )	193 [200]
<i>pulchritudinis</i>	sierheyden ende schoenten ( <i>K</i> ); sierheyden ende schoenheyden ( <i>L</i> )	200 [206–7]

## ADVERB

<i>velocissime</i>	snel ende gerade ( <i>K</i> ); sneel ende gheringhe ( <i>L</i> )	141 [159]
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## 2. LATINISMS IN DUTCH

<i>liberia</i>	liberye ( <i>K</i> ); liberie ( <i>L</i> )	189 [196]
<i>dormitorium</i>	dormiter ( <i>K</i> ); dormter ( <i>L</i> )	196, 218 [204, 227]

## 3. DIFFICULTY UNDERSTANDING LATIN TEXT

<i>que regio dicitur inferior India</i>	genoemt dat uterste eylant off dat uterste eynde ( <i>K</i> )	
	ghenoemt dat nederste eylant of dat nederste Indyen ( <i>L</i> )	75–76 [88–89]

Latin texts read *sub*.<sup>181</sup> The translated text thus testifies to the existence of an unrecovered Latin manuscript that cannot be hypothesized from *ABCDEa-k*, but it offers no definitive proof of which variant readings

<sup>181</sup>See Dutch lines 174–75; Latin line 171 and L472. The Middle Dutch does not translate *et per jordanem*, which is omitted in C (L10; E5) and has Witte/Voet entertained for twelve, not seven, days at the great khan's palace (Dutch line 138), a variant also recorded in *CDEa-k* (L345; E111 [scribes might independently mistake "vii" and "xii"]). The reading *und der doctoren* (Dutch line 232) follows the grammar in *BDEa-k* and not AC (L599; E205).

within the Latin tradition are original. In describing Prester John's stone dining table as being "as [light as] if it were of gold," *KL* mistakenly render the original, which compares its weight to a wooden object.<sup>182</sup>

Although *KLM* derive from a common source, their differences suggest that a vernacular text was especially vulnerable to change. Latin scribes and printers made many stylistic emendations in the *Itinerarius*, but copyists of the Middle Dutch translation omitted, added, and revised material in ways that cannot always be attributed to error, misunderstanding, or desire to improve the quality of presentation. To be sure, some differences between *K* and *L*—records of *M* being too fragmentary to include it in this discussion—recall the kind of editorializing that the Latin text underwent. Fourteen usages of *Item* to make a transition in *L* are canceled in *K* (two more disappear in lengthier omissions); *K* also trims many coordinating conjunctions (*and*, *but*), adverbs (*there*), and conventional pieties (*blessed*, *holy*, *Saint*), and on eighteen occasions it leaves out half of a synonymic pair found in *L*.<sup>183</sup> In some twenty instances, however, four or more words that convey a substantial idea in *L* (and the Latin) are missing in *K*. Of these, six passages are lengthy: the descriptions of poisonous flying fish in the Red Sea (69 words), cannibalistic Cyclopes near Ethiopia (65 words), the astronomy tower at Adrianopolis (152 words), statuary outside the imperial palace at Edissa (204 words), Prester John's magic mirror (56 words), and the palace's twenty-four revolving towers (69 words). In addition, *K* lacks information found in the Latin text after *L* breaks off (at Latin line 271), regarding Terra Feminarum, fecundity in Asia, devotion among Indian Christians, the liturgy and miraculous healings on the feast of Saint Thomas, proscribed behavior on the insular Root of Paradise, and

<sup>182</sup>See Dutch lines 211–12 and Latin line 203. The source of the error probably exists within the Middle Dutch tradition. All Latin texts agree that the table is as light as if it were of "wood" (*lignea*), which is difficult to mistake for "gold" (*aurea*). In Middle Dutch, however, *wood* (*hout/hold*) and *gold* (*gout/gold*) might much more easily be confused, probably all the more so if the text were dictated. While "as light as gold" may seem oxymoronic, the following sentence, about the table's reflective quality, makes the metallic simile more plausible; still, the passage does not quite make sense, and so its almost complete omission in *K* suggests that to be a later reading (lemmata D267–68).

In *KL*, the Virgin Mary flees "with her [blessed] child" to Egypt, where she enters a pagan temple; the comparable sentence in Latin makes no mention of Jesus but has her "first" (*primo*) going into the building. Perhaps the translator's Latin text included an abbreviation (*p'o*) that he misunderstood to mean *puero*, resulting in a mistake rather than an interpolation (Dutch lines 26–27 and D38; Latin lines 27–29).

<sup>183</sup>Lemmata D35, D61, D64, D66, D68, D86, D124, D127, D190, D195, D205 (two instances), D218, D230, D287, D288, D299, D324. *K* sometimes reduces prolixity in the Middle Dutch (D27, D31, D303, D313, D353, and the trimming of one element in synonymic pairs). The phrase *als men [daer] seghet (ut dicitur [ibidem])* is left out at least seven times (D42, D84, D91, D231, D329, E268, E324).

the whale Jasconius.<sup>184</sup> The omissions in *K* reveal no clear editorial policy—they affect neither the most nor the least stupendous of Witte's claims—but they do suggest that the transcriber Matthaeus or, more likely, an early scribe was not overly exercised to preserve the integrity of the Middle Dutch narrative.

Substantive lexical discrepancies between *K* and *L* reveal further complications. With unusual frequency the two disagree in reporting numbers—from the tally of lamps that burn at the monastery of Saint Catherine to the distance between Mt. Sinai and Elim. Some of these probably result from the misreading of roman numerals (confusing “IV” and “IX” or “VII” and “XII”); in any event, they indicate that measurements (including the year “1398” found in all three Middle Dutch texts) are especially vulnerable to copying errors in the translation.<sup>185</sup> Other variants must result from mistakes in transcription, but they occur in both texts; thus the original Latin is closer to some readings in *L*:

<i>A</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>L</i>	
maria	manieren	meren	(Latin line 93; D lemma 141; E lemma 76)
raptores	raet	ruteren	(Latin line 120; D lemma 166; E lemma 103)
surditatem	droefheyt	doefheyt	(Latin line 239; D lemma 320; E lemma 222)
artificialiter	costelick	consteliken	(Latin line 244; D lemma 329; E lemma 232)

and others in *K*:

<i>A</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>L</i>	
pilosa	ruwen	graeuwen	(Latin line 70; D lemma 110; E lemma 55)
ducti	gevoert	gheweert	(Latin line 121; D lemma 168; E lemma 105). <sup>186</sup>

<sup>184</sup>For omissions of text found in *L* see lemmata D23, D144, D159, D216, D329, and D348; for omissions after *L* ends see E265, E270, E274 and E283, E306 and E307, E326, and E340. Less extensive but nevertheless substantive omissions in *K* of material found in *L* are at D11 (also missing in *M*), D15, D17, D18, D91, D124, D175, D214, D268, D277, D287, D289, D293, D296, and D318; see also E291, E309, E329, E330, E332, E345, and E356. For its part, *L* omits six passages of four or more words that are found in *K* and in the Latin (D114, D198, D200, D302, D333, D337): the first and third of these are almost certainly eye-slips triggered by word repetition. Some loss of text is owing to a hole de Vries reports in the manuscript (D250).

<sup>185</sup>For cited examples see lemmata D53 (*K* is emended) and D77; see also D182, D215, D300, and D341 (in all these instances, *L* agrees with the Latin text). *K* varies twice from the Latin after *L* breaks off (E316, E319 [E332 records a reading shared with *BCDEa-k*] but not *A*). Three times and in three consecutive sentences, *K* accurately follows the Latin in recording a number that is omitted or misread in *L* (D327, D331, D336); *K* is missing several numbers within larger lacunae (D11 [*M* also omits], D15 [*M* also omits], D214, D329, D348 [twice]). Like *CDEa-k*, *KL* state that the great khan entertained Witte/Voet for “twelve” days, not “seven” as reported in *AB* (L345; D176; E111).

<sup>186</sup>In *L*, the head of flying fish is compared to a barrel (*vat*), no doubt a copying error for *cat* (the Latin reads *cattus*); the sentence is missing in *KM* (Latin line 10, D17).

At times, *K* records a Latinism that would logically be the more original translated reading:

A	K	L	
lapide adamante	adamanten	diamanten	(Latin line 89; D lemma 137; E lemma 72)
benedicta	Benedictus	ghebenedijt	(Latin line 211; D lemma 280; E lemma 191)

but the reverse is also true:

A	K	L	
pavimentata	geschieert	ghepaveydt	(Latin line 236; D lemma 317; E lemma 220).

A passage unique to *K*—emphasizing the ferocity of Prester John’s guardian lions, which tear apart any “Jews and heathens” who approach the imperial palace—is probably an interpolation.<sup>187</sup>

Not only does a comparison of these readings indicate, unsurprisingly, that the unrecovered autograph copy of the translation more accurately and more literally rendered the Latin than does *K* or *L* (or *M*) but also it rules out the choice of either text as the one more likely to record an original reading when variants are synonymous. Such variants may reflect lexical preferences or even caprice—both of which seem to characterize many emendations in the Latin tradition—but no pattern emerges that would allow *K* or *L* reliably to be privileged over the other. Representative examples of such different readings include:

A	K	L	
construxit	getimmer	stichte	(Latin line 50; D lemma 79)
populum [Israel]	die kinderen	dat volck	(Latin line 18; D lemma 26)
fili [Israel]	die kinderen	dat volck	(Latin line 52; D lemma 82)
aquam	dat water	den vloet	(Latin line 61; D lemma 92)
preciosissimis	costelen	duerbaren	(Latin line 180; D lemma 236). <sup>188</sup>

In the second and third examples above, the two consistent readings—“children of Israel” in *K* or “people of Israel” in *L*—cannot both be original: at least one must be a “translation” by a Dutch scribe of *volck* to *kinderen* or vice versa. (Since the original most exactly would have rendered *populum* as *volck* and *fili* as *kinderen*, *K* and *L* may each record such a

<sup>187</sup>Lemmata D228–30 and E160.

<sup>188</sup>The Latin text is occasionally no help in determining which of two semantically different variants is the more original in Middle Dutch: the “cathedris” Prester John’s scholars sit on (Latin line 213) are more than just “chairs,” but whether the translator made them “stately” (*werdelicken* in *K*) or “wide” (*weydeliken* in *L*) cannot be known (D282). In the Latin version, the great khan “esteems” (*diligit*) pilgrims on their way to Saint Thomas (Latin line 124): in *K* he apparently “worships” (*eren*) them, while in *L* he more appropriately “further” (*vorderen*) their cause (D174); the former reading may simply have lost the first four letters in *L* or its copy text.

scribal "translation.") In the fourth example, *vloet* in *L* may represent a copyist's effort to avoid repeating *water*, which appears in the previous sentence, but this parallel to a scribal practice in the Latin textual tradition is at best a surmise.<sup>189</sup> Syntactical variants provide no evidence to prefer *K* to *L* or to do the opposite.

Most of the variants among the three Middle Dutch texts reflect not errors or editorializing by scribes but, rather, dialectal differences.<sup>190</sup> This kind of linguistic variation posed a significant problem for late medieval and Renaissance translators. William Caxton, who in 1490 published his English version of the *Aeneid*, styled the *Eneydos*, recounted the difficulty of his task in prefatory remarks that attribute dialectal disparity—as others did the urge to travel—to stellar influence. His remarks highlight the kind of problem that faced both the Middle Dutch translator of the *Itinerarius* and the scribes who transmitted that work:

[My] lorde abbot of westmynster ded do shewe to me late certayn evydences wryton in olde englysshe, for to reduce it into our englysshe now usid. And certaynly it was wretton in suche a wyse that it was more lyke to dutche than englysshe. I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be understonden. And certaynly our langage now used varyeth ferre from that which was used and spoken whan I was borne. For we englysshe men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, whiche is never stedfaste, but ever waverynge, wexynge one season and waneth and dyscreaseth another season. And that comyn englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another. . . .

<sup>189</sup>On the variants *heydenen* and *lelicken* (D122) for *difformes* see commentary 78–84. In descriptions of two marine passageways through mountains (Latin lines 128–35 and 140–44), six usages of the word *foramen* are consistently rendered *hol* in *L* and *gat* in *K* (D183, D186, D190, D191, D202 [reading *hol ende gat* in *K*], D204).

<sup>190</sup>The discussion below depends especially on these important studies: Eelco Verwijs and Jacob Verdam, et al., *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, 11 vols. (The Hague, 1885–1952); Jacob Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek* (The Hague, 1911); Ludger Kremer, *Mundartforschung im ostniederländisch-westfälischen Grenzgebiet*, Beschreibende Bibliographien 7 (Amsterdam, 1977); Klaas Hanzen Heeroma, "De Taalgeschiedenis van het Oosten," *Driemaandelijke Bladen* NS 2 (1950): 21–32; Heeroma, "Hauptlinien der Ostniederländischen Sprachgeschichte," *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 80 (1957): 51–65; Willy L. Braekman, *Medische en Technische Middelnederlandse Recepten* (Gent, 1975); and Norbert Richard Wolf, *Regionale und überregionale Norm im späten Mittelalter* (Innsbruck, 1975), esp. pp. 18–20 (manuscript descriptions), 77–100 (parallel texts), and 241–67 (philological study). In Wolf's study of dialectally different versions of Francis of Assisi's *Regula bullata* in Low German/Middle Dutch, the text of Breslau Universitätsbibliothek [Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka] MS IV. D. 5 ["Br"; dated 1486; provenance eastern Netherlands] closely resembles Mattheus's transcription in *K* (in orthography, uncontracted syllables, and the frequent appearance of the letter *l* before a dental); the dialect of The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Cod. 75 G 63 [Wolf's MS Hg] is similar to *L* here. For information on late medieval dialectal forms in German and Dutch, I am also much indebted to Prof. Hartmut Beckers at the University of Münster.



[C]ertaynly it is harde to playse every man by cause of dyversite and chaunge of langage. For in these dayes every man that is in ony reputacyon in his countre wyll utter his comynycacyon and maters in suche maners and termes that fewe men shall understonde theym.<sup>191</sup>

Few readers who compare the Middle Dutch texts of the *Itinerarius* will fail to recognize their linguistic diversity. The Middle Dutch in *K* displays distinct markers of eastern Netherlandic (Oostnederlandsch), and Matthaeus's transcription preserves the work of someone who was probably native to Gelderland in the later fifteenth century. Characteristic Oostnederlandsch words that appear in *K* but not in *L* include *gegeten*, *stranck*, *syde* (for *neder*, 'low'), and *woe* (for *wie* or *hoe*, 'how').<sup>192</sup> Vocabulary is less dialectally peculiar in *L*, but even allowing for some normalization of spelling by the editor Mathias de Vries, its orthography and grammar represent the Middle Dutch of the western province of Holland. At present, only the incipit and explicit of *M* are known, but this fragmentary evidence suggests that while the text resembles *K* in its content, its dialect is closer to that of *L* (it may also date from around a century later). Thus, while the precise linguistic character of the original Middle Dutch text remains uncertain, its manifestations in *KLM* reveal medieval scribes not merely copying a work but translating it into their individual dialects. Table 2 shows phonological, semantic, and grammatical markers of eastern and western dialects of Middle Dutch, as well as specific instances of their appearance in *KL[M]*. All numbers designate lines in the Middle Dutch critical edition printed here. While orthography varies in each text of the translation, the phenomena shown here are quite consistent throughout each one.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>191</sup>Caxton produced his *Eneydos* from a French paraphrase of the Latin epic. The citation is from Nellie Slayton Aurner, *Caxton: Mirror of Fifteenth-Century Letters* (London, 1926), pp. 286–87; some punctuation and orthography has been modernized here. Daniel Defoe noted with astonishment the scene of a schoolboy in Somerset, who looked at a copy of the Authorized Version of the Bible and read it out in the local dialect: "How the dexterous Dunce could form his Mouth to Express so readily the Words, (which stood right printed in the Book) in his Country Jargon, I could not but admire"; *A Tour Thro' the whole Island of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London, 1724–27), 3:78.

<sup>192</sup>For the examples cited and the alternative readings in *L* see D18 (for *gegeten* *LM* both read *af[f] g[b]eten*), D68, D86, D189, D250 (*M* replaces *woe* at D365). The *Middel-nederlandsch Woordenboek* defines the words *stranc* (v. *strange*) as "Arm van de zee" (7: col. 2270) and *syde* as *neder* (7: col. 1052); each of these words in the Gelderland dialect has been exactly so "translated" in *L* (D86, D189). Other dialectalisms include *purede* and *march*, but these confuse ideas more accurately conveyed in *L* (D85, D88). Oostnederlandsch words included in text not found in *L* include *stalle*, *alinge ende ongeschoert*, *geschien*, *mynren*, and *oerloff* (Dutch lines 319, 343–44, 347, 356, 366).

<sup>193</sup>Additional examples in each category are recorded in Table 6 in Westrem, "A Medieval Travel Book's Editors and Translators," pp. 170–71.

TABLE 2. Dialectal Markers in the Middle Dutch Texts

## PHONOLOGY

*a and ae*

an ( <i>K</i> ); aen ( <i>L</i> )	14, 54, 73, 85, 88, 106
wal ( <i>K</i> ); wael ( <i>L</i> )	144, 152, 158, 171, 210 +

*a and e*

saghe ( <i>K</i> ); seghe ( <i>L</i> )	61
valschen ( <i>K</i> ); velschen ( <i>L</i> )	66

*a and o*

afgaden ( <i>K</i> ); afgode ( <i>L</i> )	26
adevaren ( <i>K</i> ); odevaren ( <i>K</i> )	98

*e and ee*

belden ( <i>K</i> ); beelde ( <i>L</i> )	176, 210, 263
gewest ( <i>K</i> ); gheweest ( <i>L</i> )	177

*i and ei/ey*

hillighe/r ( <i>K</i> ); heylighe/r ( <i>L</i> )	3 (heijlighen <i>M</i> ), 33, 44, 202, 206, 242, 245, 250, 263
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*oo and oe*

woonde ( <i>K</i> ); woende ( <i>LM</i> )	6
door ( <i>K</i> ); doer ( <i>L</i> )	53, 83

*oo and o*

eenhoorn ( <i>K</i> ); eenhoren ( <i>L</i> )	68
woonen ( <i>K</i> ); wonen ( <i>L</i> )	94, 104, 119, 130
groote/n/r ( <i>K</i> ); groten/r ( <i>L</i> )	116, 117, 133, 135, 153, 172, 196, 206

*u and o*

druncken ( <i>K</i> ); droncken ( <i>L</i> )	65
wulfinne ( <i>K</i> ); wolfinnen ( <i>L</i> )	75
gewulft ( <i>K</i> ); ghewolft ( <i>L</i> )	233, 246, 255

*l before a dental*

golde ( <i>K</i> ); gout/goude ( <i>L</i> )	212, 264
solde ( <i>K</i> ); soude ( <i>L</i> )	214, 272
olders ( <i>K</i> ); ouders ( <i>L</i> )	266

*s and sc*

sloech ( <i>K</i> ); scloech ( <i>L</i> )	47, 64
slept ( <i>K</i> ); scleept ( <i>L</i> )	80
slangen ( <i>K</i> ); sclanghen ( <i>L</i> )	151, 153

*g* for *gh*, especially in prefixes, is general in *K*.

*continued*

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate how multifarious were the versions of Johannes Witte de Hese's *Itinerarius* that reached audiences in two languages during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as readers who were more wary of Turks than of Mongols and more interested in trading with India than investing it with unapproachable exotica sought information about the East. Scribes and editors of the Latin text attempted to improve the work stylistically, even to underscore its reliability, although

TABLE 2. *Continued***GRAMMAR***Third-person singular verb endings in e/en*

Moses leyde (K); Moeyses leyden (L) 13

Paulus woende (K); Paulus woenden (L) 76

*Third-person singular verb endings in t/n*

sint (K); sijn (L) passim (28 instances)

gaet (K); ghaen (L) 183

*Adjective endings in e/er*

IV. groote steyne (K); vier groter steen (L) 14

vele guede crude (K); vele goeder crude (L) 62

*Adjective endings: uninflected/en*

suverlick/wonderlick/verveerlick (K);

suverliken/wonderliken/ververliken (L) 192–93

*Noun Plurals*

kinderen (K); kijnder (L) 13, 65, 99

rysen (K); riser (L) 49

loeven (K); lover (L) 96

duvels (K); duvelen (L) 27

droppels (K); droppen (L) 46

vogels (K); voghele (L) 48, 51

cooplieden (K); coeplude (L) 165

belden (K); beelde (L) 177, 210, 263

graden (K); grade (L) 180

coningen (K); coninghe (L) 262

sanghen (K); sanghe (L) 267

*Contracted Syllables in L*

wasset (K); west/wast (L) 21, 150

steket (K); steecht (L) 68

gecledet (K); ghecleet (L) 81, 82

gevestet (K); ghevest (L) 42

rusteden (K); rusten (L) 57

soeticheit (K); suetheyt (L) 65

lopet (K); loept (L) 159

*Contracted Words in K*

int (K) in dat (L) 69

dats (K); dat is (L) 89

they did little actually to make substantive changes in detail. A translator with access to an early version of the *Itinerarius* rendered it faithfully into Middle Dutch, in which it circulated in different dialects and degrees of completeness. Despite some of Witte's astonishing claims, however, none of his editors, even those who most actively manipulated his language, presented his pilgrimage account as imaginary.

## The Latin Text of the *Itinerarius*

### 1. A Critical Edition of the Latin Text

FOR REASONS set out in chapter 3, the base text for the critical edition of the *Itinerarius* is University of Minnesota, James Bell Ford Library, MS 1424/Co, vol. 2, fols. 177r–187r (A). The following principles apply to the presentation of the text as it appears in A:

- sentence and paragraph boundaries are editorially established;
- all abbreviations are expanded;
- modern punctuation is employed;
- modern style is used in spelling words with the characters *i/j* and *u/v*;
- numerals are represented in the format—roman, arabic, or spelled out—in which they appear in A;<sup>1</sup>
- the foliation of A is given in the text between square brackets following two vertical lines (except in the first line);
- corrections of misspellings and scribal errors appear between square brackets (see chapter 3 on emendations to the text).

The analysis in chapter 3 of the textual development of the *Itinerarius* focuses on the extensive revisions—substantive and stylistic—that scribes and printers introduced into the narrative. In order to facilitate that discussion and to identify particular passages or constructions that were successively or regularly changed—such as interpolations in C, the use of third-person narrative in *DEa*, and the rewording of the beginnings of independent clauses in *a–k*—this edition displays all semantically and

<sup>1</sup>On the importance of representing numbers with roman or arabic numerals see Crosby, *Measure of Reality*, pp. 41–47.

grammatically defensible variants in discrete, brief textual units. The following principles apply to their presentation:

- superscripted numbers in the text, which are also given for each line in the right margin of each page, correspond to numbered lemmata at the foot of the page, which repeat a word or passage in the base text and give the different readings for that lexical unit found in other Latin manuscripts or early editions (thus, lemma 2 indicates that the word *ego* in manuscript *A* is omitted in manuscripts *BDE* and edition *a*; the reader can infer that the word is found in manuscript *C* and editions *b–k*);
- some additions to the text are indicated by the statement that they come “after” a certain word (see 14–15);
- changes in sentence order are specifically identified (see 835, 893, 1033);
- orthography and punctuation in each lemma follow that found in the text, with *i/j* and *u/v* normalized and abbreviations expanded but without other change (see 6);<sup>2</sup>
- multiple variants within a unit of text covered by a single lemma are recorded according to this hierarchy: *ABCDEaFGbcdeHfghijk* (see 426);
- when the same variant occurs in more than one manuscript or edition, orthography and punctuation follow the reading in the first witness according to this same hierarchy (thus lemma 53 records the reading *duxit moyses*, the reading in *C*, although *Moyse*s is capitalized in *hjk*);
- spelling variations in toponyms and personal names (but not *i/j* variants in *Johannes*) are recorded here (see 3–5, 8, 13, 184); all other orthographic variants are found in TN III;
- each manuscript copied from an edition (*FG* from *a* and *H* from *e*) is so exact a reproduction of its copy text that the sigla *FGH* are included in a lemma only when they record readings not found in the copy text;
- when readings in the closely related manuscripts *DE* or editions *a–k* (and manuscripts *FGH*, which are copied from *a* or *e*) differ only in a single word, that variant is indicated between square brackets immediately following the word affected (see 27, 311 [see also one transposition at 1027]);
- some variants in two or more manuscripts or editions are more clearly recorded in multiple lemmata that present different portions of the

<sup>2</sup>Some abbreviations cannot be expanded with assurance (see 337). Printers of editions *a–i* did not set the first letter of the word that begins each of three principal sections of the *Itinerarius*; these letters are supplied between square brackets (1, 411, 797).

same unit of text; all such lemmata are cross-referenced (see 60–61, 304–8, and 893–930).

Scribal corrections, orthographical peculiarities (but not diacritical marks or digraphs in *k*), marginalia, and grammatical mistakes that a reader or copyist would likely have emended—as well as all typographical errors in the editions—are recorded in one of the seven categories of Textual Notes, which follow the Latin critical edition. A lemma that ends with an asterisk (\*) contains a variant that is further described in the section on scribal corrections (TN II); one that ends with a dagger (†) has explanatory material in the list of typographical errors in the early printed editions (TN VII).

- [177r] Anno Domini Mccclxxxnono,<sup>1</sup> ego<sup>2</sup> Johannes<sup>3</sup> Witte<sup>4</sup> de Hese,<sup>5</sup> 1-5  
 presbyter Traiectensis dyocesis,<sup>6</sup> fui<sup>7</sup> in Jherusalem<sup>8</sup> in Maio, visitando ibi- 6-8  
 dem<sup>9</sup> sancta loca, peregrinando ulterius versus Jordanem, et per Jordanem<sup>10</sup> 9-10  
 ad mare Rubrum, ad partes Egipti, ad unam<sup>11</sup> civitatem vocatam<sup>12</sup> Her- 11-12  
 5 mopolis,<sup>13</sup> que dicitur capitalis civitas Egipti,<sup>14</sup> ubi beata Virgo septem annis 13-14  
 morabatur cum filio suo, Domino nostro.<sup>15</sup> 15  
 Et in mari<sup>16</sup> Rubro predicto<sup>17</sup> vidi<sup>18</sup> pisces volantes super aquas<sup>19</sup> ad 16-19  
 spacium tantum<sup>20</sup> quantum<sup>21</sup> balista posset sagittari;<sup>22</sup> et illi pisces sunt rubei 20-22  
 coloris, habentes in longitudine ultra duos pedes,<sup>23</sup> habentes eciam<sup>24</sup> caput 23-24  
 10 rotundum ut<sup>25</sup> cattus<sup>26</sup> et rostrum ut<sup>27</sup> aquila. De quibus piscibus<sup>28</sup> comedi.<sup>29</sup> 25-29  
 Et sunt pisces<sup>30</sup> grossi, propterea<sup>31</sup> oportet ipsos<sup>32</sup> diu bulire.<sup>33</sup> Et vidi<sup>34</sup> 30-34  
 plura<sup>35</sup> alia rara animalia de quibus<sup>36</sup> non habeo<sup>37</sup> memoriam.<sup>38</sup> 35-38  
 Eciam vidi<sup>39</sup> in dicto mari<sup>40</sup> Rubro<sup>41</sup> serpentes volantes ad terram,<sup>42</sup> 39-42  
 revertentes econverso<sup>43</sup> ad<sup>44</sup> mare Rubrum. Et<sup>45</sup> sunt valde nocivi homini- 43-45

<sup>1</sup>Anno Domini Mccclxxxnono] [A]nno domini. M.cccc.lxxxix. *ghj*; omit *k*.

<sup>2</sup>ego] omit *BDEa*.

<sup>3</sup>Johannes] johannis *D*.

<sup>4</sup>Witte] omit *DEa-k*.

<sup>5</sup>Hese] hess *D* (see next lemma).

<sup>6</sup>de Hese, presbyter Traiectensis dyocesis] presbiter de hese dyocesis traiectensis *C* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>7</sup>fui] omit *C*; fuit *DEa*.

<sup>8</sup>Jherusalem] hierusalem *f-k*.

<sup>9</sup>ibidem] ibi *B*.

<sup>10</sup>et per Jordanem] omit *C*.

<sup>11</sup>unam] quandam *k*.

<sup>12</sup>vocatam] nominatam *C*; dictam *a-k*.

<sup>13</sup>Hermopolis] hermipolis *bcefgbhik*; hermi-  
 pollis *dj*.

<sup>14</sup>after Egipti add veni et cetera *C*.

<sup>15</sup>after nostro add ihesu christo *C*.

<sup>16</sup>Et in mari] In mari namque *a-j*; In mare  
 autem *k*.

<sup>17</sup>predicto] omit *a-k*.

<sup>18</sup>vidi] vidit *DEa*.

<sup>19</sup>super aquas] omit *a-k*.

<sup>20</sup>spacium tantum] tantum spacium *Ca-k*.

<sup>21</sup>after quantum add cum *DE*.

<sup>22</sup>sagittari] sagittare *a-k*.

<sup>23</sup>ultra duos pedes] duorum pedum *C*.

<sup>24</sup>habentes eciam] et habentes *DE*; et habent  
*a-k*.

<sup>25</sup>caput rotundum ut] rotunda capita sicut  
*DEa-k*.

<sup>26</sup>cattus] cactus *B/?/C*; catti *a-k*.

<sup>27</sup>et rostrum ut] Et habentes rostra sicut [ve-  
 lut *E*] *DE*; rostra autem velut *a-k*.

<sup>28</sup>piscibus] omit *C*.

<sup>29</sup>comedi] johannes presbyter predictus de  
 hese comedit *DE*; iohannes presbiter pre-  
 dictus comedit *a*; iohannes presbiter pre-  
 dictus comedi *b*; ego iohannes hese predic-  
 tus comedi *cdefgi*; ego Joannes hese  
 predictis comedi *hj*; ego Ioannes Heseus  
 comedi *k*.

<sup>30</sup>pisces] omit *C*.

<sup>31</sup>propterea] propter quod *a-k*.

<sup>32</sup>eos *a-k*; nos *F*.

<sup>33</sup>bulire] bulliri *Ca-k*.

<sup>34</sup>vidi] vidi ibidem *Cb-k*; vidit *DE*; vidit ibi-  
 dem *a*.

<sup>35</sup>plura] multa *k*.

<sup>36</sup>alia rara animalia de quibus] animalia rara  
 de quibus *B*; alia animalia rara de quibus  
*C*; animalia alia rara quibus *DE*; animalia  
 rara quorum *a-k*.

<sup>37</sup>habeo] habuit *DEa*; habui *b-k*.

<sup>38</sup>memoriam] notitiam *b-k*.

<sup>39</sup>vidi] vidit *DEa*.

<sup>40</sup>after mari add scilicet *D*.

<sup>41</sup>Rubro] rubeo *C*; omit *a-k*.

<sup>42</sup>after terram add et *BCK*.

<sup>43</sup>econverso] econtra *B*; iterum *b-k*.

<sup>44</sup>ad] omit *k*.

<sup>45</sup>Et] qui *a-k*.

- 15 bus, eos intoxicando.<sup>46</sup> Contra quos habetur cinis de palma combusta, cres- 46  
cens<sup>47</sup> ibidem et in Terra Sancta, et<sup>48</sup> eciam<sup>49</sup> herba quedam,<sup>50</sup> choral<sup>51</sup> nun- 47-51  
cupata, crescens<sup>52</sup> in mari Rubro in loco per quem Moyses perduxit<sup>53</sup> 52-53  
populum Israeliticum. Et ille<sup>54</sup> locus—seu via<sup>55</sup>—cognoscitur<sup>56</sup> per qua- 54-56  
tuor<sup>57</sup> magnos lapides nigros stantes in ripa<sup>58</sup> maris,<sup>59</sup> duo ab una parte 57-59  
20 maris<sup>60</sup> et duo ab alia parte.<sup>61</sup> 60-61  
Et<sup>62</sup> in civitate Hermopolensi predicta<sup>63</sup> || [<sup>177v</sup>] est ortus in quo mora- 62-63  
batur beata Virgo,<sup>64</sup> et in illo est fons in quo beata Virgo<sup>65</sup> lavit sua<sup>66</sup> nec- 64-66  
cessaria. De cuius fontis<sup>67</sup> aqua<sup>68</sup> dicitur quod<sup>69</sup> ceci vident ipsis accipien- 67-69  
tibus, et infirmi sanantur,<sup>70</sup> et leprosi sanantur.<sup>71</sup> In quo orto eciam<sup>72</sup> crescit 70-72  
25 balsamum.<sup>73</sup> 73  
Eciam in civitate predicta est<sup>74</sup> una<sup>75</sup> ecclesia mire magnitudinis, con- 74-75  
structa<sup>76</sup> in honore<sup>77</sup> sancte Trinitatis et gloriose Virginis,<sup>78</sup> que prius fuerat<sup>79</sup> 76-79  
templum ydolorum, in quod,<sup>80</sup> cum beata Virgo<sup>81</sup> primo<sup>82</sup> venit ex metu<sup>83</sup> 80-83  
Herodis in Egiptum fugiendo,<sup>84</sup> demones fugierunt et ceciderunt ydola in 84  
30 templo, ut dicitur ibidem.<sup>85</sup> 85

<sup>46</sup>intoxicando] intoxicantes C.

<sup>47</sup>crescens] crescente a-k.

<sup>48</sup>et] omit C; Conducit k.

<sup>49</sup>eciam] equo D; after eciam add habetur contra huiusmodi serpentes C.

<sup>50</sup>herba quedam] quedam herba BC; herba b-k; herba que G.

<sup>51</sup>choral] Coral BCb-k; thoral E.

<sup>52</sup>crescens] que crescit a-k.

<sup>53</sup>Moyes perduxit] duxit moyses Cdfghyk; Moyses duxit DEabce.

<sup>54</sup>Et ille] Qui k.

<sup>55</sup>seu via] omit C.

<sup>56</sup>cognoscitur] agnoscitur B.

<sup>57</sup>quatuor] omit a-k.

<sup>58</sup>stantes in ripa] in ripa stantes a-k.

<sup>59</sup>maris] omit DEa-k.

<sup>60</sup>maris] omit C (see next lemma).

<sup>61</sup>parte] omit DEa-k; after parte add maris C (see preceding lemma).

<sup>62</sup>Et] omit dfghyk.

<sup>63</sup>civitate Hermopolensi predicta] civitate hermopolim C; predicta civitate hermopolensi DE; civitate hermopoli [hermipoli b-k] predicta a-k.

<sup>64</sup>beata Virgo] virgo maria E.

<sup>65</sup>beata Virgo] ipsa C.

<sup>66</sup>[lavit sua] sua lavabat C; sua lavit a-k.

<sup>67</sup>De cuius fontis] habens virtutem illam ut C (see next lemma).

<sup>68</sup>aqua] omit BC (see preceding lemma).

<sup>69</sup>dicitur quod] dicuntur k.

<sup>70</sup>vident . . . sanantur] vident infirmi curantur ab infirmitatibus suis aquam ipsam accipiens C; accipientes de ea recipiant visum. infirmi sanantur a; accipientes de ea recipiunt visum. infirmi sanantur b-j; visum recipere, infirmi sanari k.

<sup>71</sup>et leprosi sanantur] et leprosi mundantur BDEb-j; omit C; et leprosi mundantur a; et leprosi mundari k.

<sup>72</sup>eciam] omit B.

<sup>73</sup>crescit balsamum] balsamum crescit a-k.

<sup>74</sup>Eciam in civitate predicta est] Eciam in predicta civitate est Eabce; In predicta civitate est etiam dfghyk.

<sup>75</sup>una] omit C.

<sup>76</sup>constructa] omit C (see 78).

<sup>77</sup>honore] honorem k.

<sup>78</sup>after Virginis add Marie a-k; add marie constructa C (see 76).

<sup>79</sup>fuerat] fuit BCc-k.

<sup>80</sup>quod] qua C.

<sup>81</sup>cum beata Virgo] beata virgo cum b-k.

<sup>82</sup>primo] omit C.

<sup>83</sup>metu] motu bcdefghyk.

<sup>84</sup>in Egiptum fugiendo] fugiens in egyptum a-k.

<sup>85</sup>ceciderunt ydola in templo, ut dicitur ibidem] ydola ceciderunt ut dicitur DEa-k.



- Et de illa<sup>86</sup> civitate Hermopolensi<sup>87</sup> sunt viij diete usque ad civitatem 86-87  
 Amram,<sup>88</sup> que iacet supra<sup>89</sup> mare Rubrum.<sup>90</sup> Et ibidem iterum transnavi- 88-90  
 gatur per directum per mare Rubrum,<sup>91</sup> et transitur pedester septem die- 91  
 bus<sup>92</sup> ad montem Synay, in quo iacet corpus beate Katherine virginis in 92  
 35 clauastro canonicorum regularium devote<sup>93</sup> vivencium et nisi<sup>94</sup> semel in die<sup>95</sup> 93-95  
 comedencium. Quorum sunt<sup>96</sup> 13 in<sup>97</sup> numero, et<sup>98</sup> sunt eciam ibidem<sup>99</sup> 13<sup>100</sup> 96-100  
 lampades ardentes que numquam possunt extingwi, sed<sup>101</sup> absque aliquo<sup>102</sup> 101-2  
 augmento semper vivunt.<sup>103</sup> Sed cum unus<sup>104</sup> canonicorum moritur, tunc 103-4  
 una<sup>105</sup> seipso<sup>106</sup> extingwitur tamdiu donec<sup>107</sup> iterato ad locum alius<sup>108</sup> eliga- 105-8  
 40 tur,<sup>109</sup> et tunc lampas seipso<sup>110</sup> sine aliquo adiuvamento<sup>111</sup> incenditur,<sup>112</sup> 109-12  
 econverso.<sup>113</sup> 113  
 Et illud claustrum<sup>114</sup> est fortissime<sup>115</sup> munitum propter animalia no- 114-15  
 civa.<sup>116</sup> Et<sup>117</sup> || [<sup>178r</sup>] de sepulchro<sup>118</sup> sancte<sup>119</sup> Katherine stillant in qualibet 116-19  
 [sep]timana nisi<sup>120</sup> tres gutte olei quod olim<sup>121</sup> in magna copia<sup>122</sup> stillare con- 120-22  
 45 swevit. Et eciam ibidem est<sup>123</sup> lapis quem Moyses percussit, et fluxerunt aque 123  
 filii Israel. Et ibi sunt volucres portantes in ore<sup>124</sup> ramos olivarum, ponen- 124  
 tes illos infra<sup>125</sup> emunitatem<sup>126</sup> claustrum. Et sunt ille aves ut<sup>127</sup> turtures in<sup>128</sup> 125-28

<sup>86</sup>Et de illa] Et in illa C; De illa vero a-k.

<sup>87</sup>Hermopolensi] hermolim C; hermolim a; hermolim bcd efghik; Hermopolim j.

<sup>88</sup>Amram] tuuram [probably timram] C; vocatam amram a; amram F; vocatam amra b-k.†

<sup>89</sup>supra] super a-k.

<sup>90</sup>Rubrum] rubro C.

<sup>91</sup>Et ibidem iterum transnavigatur per directum per mare Rubrum] omit B; Et ibidem transnavigatur per mare rubrum predictum C; ubi iterum transnavigatur directe per mare rubrum a-k.†

<sup>92</sup>pedester septem diebus] septem dies pedester C; pedester septem dietis DE; itinere pedestri septem diebus k.

<sup>93</sup>regularium devote] regulariter C.

<sup>94</sup>nisi] tantum a-k.

<sup>95</sup>semel in die] in die semel B.

<sup>96</sup>sunt] omit B.

<sup>97</sup>in] omit a-k.

<sup>98</sup>et] omit a-k.

<sup>99</sup>ibidem] ibi BEk.

<sup>100</sup>13] tres C.

<sup>101</sup>sed] que a-k.

<sup>102</sup>aliquo] aliqua ce; aliquo H.

<sup>103</sup>vivunt] ardent C.

<sup>104</sup>unus] aliquis C.

<sup>105</sup>una] versa C.

<sup>106</sup>seipso] seipsa C; de lampadibus DEa-k.

<sup>107</sup>donec] durat j.

<sup>108</sup>ad locum alius] alius DE; alius in loco a-j; alius in locum k.

<sup>109</sup>eligatur] eligitur BCb-k.

<sup>110</sup>seipso] econverso C (see 113); per semetipsam DEa-k.

<sup>111</sup>adiuvamento] adiutorio C; after adiuvamento add iterum a-k.

<sup>112</sup>incenditur] incendetur E.

<sup>113</sup>econverso] econtra B; omit Ca-k (see 110).

<sup>114</sup>Et illud claustrum] Claustrum namque istud abcdefi; Claustrum namque illud ghj; Claustrum autem illud k.

<sup>115</sup>fortissime] fortissimum H.

<sup>116</sup>after nociva add et cetera B.

<sup>117</sup>Et] omit Ba-k.

<sup>118</sup>after sepulchro add autem a.

<sup>119</sup>sancte] beate Ca-k.

<sup>120</sup>nisi] omit C; tantum a-k.

<sup>121</sup>olim] oleum C.

<sup>122</sup>copia] quantitate Ca-k.

<sup>123</sup>Et eciam ibidem est] Eciam ibidem est C; Et eciam ibi est D; Eciam ibi est E; Et est ibidem a-k.

<sup>124</sup>after ore add suo b-k.

<sup>125</sup>infra] ultra C.

<sup>126</sup>emunitatem] munitionem k.

<sup>127</sup>ut] et C.

<sup>128</sup>in] omit b-k.

magnitudine, habentes alba capita et colla.<sup>129</sup>

- Item:<sup>130</sup> De<sup>131</sup> monte Synay sunt quatuor diete<sup>132</sup> per desertum usque<sup>133</sup> 129  
 50 ad campum Helym,<sup>134</sup> in quo Moyses construxit<sup>135</sup> altare Domino, quod 130-33  
 altare<sup>136</sup> iam<sup>137</sup> corrui; et iacent adhuc lapides ibidem<sup>138</sup> de illo. Et in eodem 134-35  
 campo quieverunt<sup>139</sup> filii Israel per xl<sup>140</sup> dies quando Moyses accepit<sup>141</sup> le- 136-38  
 gem. Et<sup>142</sup> in eodem campo sunt duodecim fontes de<sup>143</sup> quibus si quis bi- 139-41  
 berit<sup>144</sup> numquam excecantur eius oculi, ut dicitur.<sup>145</sup> Et sunt etiam ibidem<sup>146</sup> 142-43  
 55 septuagintadue<sup>147</sup> palme quas Moyses ibidem<sup>148</sup> plantavit et cum quibus 144-46  
 semper<sup>149</sup> obtinuit<sup>150</sup> victoriam. Et ad illum<sup>151</sup> campum non possunt venire 147-48  
 animalia venenosa. Et crescunt ibidem multe bone species.<sup>152</sup> 149-51  
 Et prope illum<sup>153</sup> campum est<sup>154</sup> unus<sup>155</sup> fluvius qui dicitur<sup>156</sup> Marach,<sup>157</sup> 152  
 valde amarus, in quem Moyses percussit virga et accepit dulcedinem;<sup>158</sup> de<sup>159</sup> 153-57  
 60 quo filii Israel<sup>160</sup> biberunt. Et adhuc hodiernis temporibus,<sup>161</sup> ut dicitur,<sup>162</sup> 158-59  
 animalia venenosa intoxicant<sup>163</sup> illam aquam post occasum solis,<sup>164</sup> quod 160-62  
 bona animalia exinde<sup>165</sup> bibere non possunt. Et ||<sup>[178v]</sup> de mane<sup>166</sup> post or- 163-64  
 tum solis venit unicornus,<sup>167</sup> ponens cornu suum ad dictum<sup>168</sup> fluvium, 165-66  
 expellendo venenum<sup>169</sup> ex illo,<sup>170</sup> sic quod bona de die<sup>171</sup> accipiunt po- 167-68  
 169-71

<sup>129</sup>capita et colla] colla et capita *DEa-k*.

<sup>130</sup>[Item] omit *b-k*.

<sup>131</sup>[De] in *B*.

<sup>132</sup>diete] dietæ itineris *k*.

<sup>133</sup>usque] postquam *E*.

<sup>134</sup>Helym] helim *Ck*; elÿm *E*; elym *F*.

<sup>135</sup>Moyses construxit] construxit moyses dominus *C* (see next lemma).

<sup>136</sup>Domino, quod altare] quod altare *C*; omit *E*; domino quod *a-k* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>137</sup>iam] omit *C*.

<sup>138</sup>lapides ibidem] ibidem lapides *C*.

<sup>139</sup>quieverunt] convenerunt *B*.

<sup>140</sup>xl] 4<sup>or</sup> *C*.

<sup>141</sup>accepit] acceptavit *B*.

<sup>142</sup>Et] omit *a*.

<sup>143</sup>de] ex *a-k*.

<sup>144</sup>biberit] biberet *a-k*; biberit *F*.\*

<sup>145</sup>numquam excecantur eius oculi, ut dicitur] ut dicitur oculi eius numquam excecantur *C*; nunquam ut dicitur oculi eius excecarentur [excecarentur *Fd*] *a-k*.

<sup>146</sup>Et sunt etiam ibidem] Et sunt ibi etiam *C*; Et sunt etiam ibi *E*; Sunt etiam ibi *a*; Etiam sunt ibi *b-k*.

<sup>147</sup>septuagintadue] lxx *Cghjk*.

<sup>148</sup>ibidem] ibi *BDEa-k*.

<sup>149</sup>semper] omit *a-k*.

<sup>150</sup>obtinuit] habuit *C*.

<sup>151</sup>Et ad illum] Siquidem ad illum *a*; Ad illum vero *b-k*.

<sup>152</sup>campum ... species] omit *C* (see next lemma).

<sup>153</sup>Et prope illum] omit *C* (see preceding lemma); Prope illum namque *a-k*.

<sup>154</sup>est] et *i*.

<sup>155</sup>unus] omit *Ca-k*.

<sup>156</sup>dicitur] vocatur *b-k*.

<sup>157</sup>Marach] marath *Da-k*.

<sup>158</sup>et accepit dulcedinem] omit *DE*.

<sup>159</sup>de] in *C*.

<sup>160</sup>filii Israel] israhel [isr] filij *D*.

<sup>161</sup>hodiernis temporibus] hodierno die *Ck*.\*

<sup>162</sup>ut dicitur] omit *C*; after ut dicitur add Et beginning new sentence *DE*.

<sup>163</sup>intoxerant *D*.

<sup>164</sup>after solis add ita *C*; add sic *a-k*.

<sup>165</sup>bona animalia exinde] alia animalia bona exinde *C*; bona de ea *b-j*; bonam de ea *k*.

<sup>166</sup>Et de mane] De mane vero *a-k*.

<sup>167</sup>unicornus] unus corunus *C*; unicornis *abk*.

<sup>168</sup>ad dictum] ad predictum *b-j*; in prædictum *k*.

<sup>169</sup>expellendo venenum] ad expellendum venenum *B*; venenum expellendo *C*.

<sup>170</sup>ex illo] omit *C*.

<sup>171</sup>sic quod bona de die] sic quod bona animalia de die *B*; et ita bona animalia die *C*; sic quod de die animalia bona *DE*; sic quod in die animalia bona *a*; ut in die cetera animalia *b-k*.

- 65 tum.<sup>172</sup> Et hoc vidi.<sup>173</sup> 172-73  
 Et ulterius<sup>174</sup> per unum<sup>175</sup> magnum miliare est habitacio unius<sup>176</sup> sancti 174-76  
 heremite ubi sanctus Paulus, primus heremita, et sanctus Anthonius habi-  
 tabant. Et idem heremita<sup>177</sup> adhuc<sup>178</sup> hodiernis temporibus pascitur manna 177-78  
 celesti; quem heremitam vidi.<sup>179</sup> Et dormit<sup>180</sup> super lapidem, et est vestitus<sup>181</sup> 179-81  
 70 veste pilosa secundum<sup>182</sup> modum beati<sup>183</sup> Johannis baptiste.<sup>184</sup> 182-84  
 Et ulterius transeundo bene per quindenam<sup>185</sup> per desertum et per 185  
 terram<sup>186</sup> Urcaldeorum,<sup>187</sup> ubi<sup>188</sup> Rubei Judei<sup>189</sup> habitant, veni<sup>190</sup> ad fluvium 186-90  
 Nylus<sup>191</sup> in quo navigavi<sup>192</sup> per unum diem<sup>193</sup> ad unum<sup>194</sup> portum<sup>195</sup> maris<sup>196</sup> 191-96  
 ad civitatem quandam<sup>197</sup> vocatam Damiad. Et ibi intravi<sup>198</sup> navem, navi- 197-98  
 75 gando per mare Oceanum bene<sup>199</sup> per tres menses<sup>200</sup> ad Ethiopiam, que 199-200  
 regio dicitur inferior<sup>201</sup> India,<sup>202</sup> ubi sanctus Bartholomeus predicabat. Et 201-2  
 ibi morantur<sup>203</sup> Ethiopes,<sup>204</sup> nigri homines. 203-4  
 Et<sup>205</sup> ulterius navigando, veni<sup>206</sup> ad Pigmeos. Et sunt parvi homines,<sup>207</sup> 205-7  
 habentes in longum<sup>208</sup> longitudinem<sup>209</sup> unius ulne,<sup>210</sup> et sunt diffformes. Et<sup>211</sup> 208-11

<sup>172</sup> accipiunt potum] potum (?) accipiunt C; sumunt potum *a*; sumant potum *b-k*.

<sup>173</sup> Et hoc vidi] et hoc ipse vidit *DE*; quod idem ipsi vidit *a*; quod idem ipse vidi *b-k*.

<sup>174</sup> Et ulterius] Ulterius autem progrediendo *abdfghijk*; Ulterius autem prodiendo *ce*.

<sup>175</sup> per unum] omit *b-k*.

<sup>176</sup> unius] cuiusdam *a-k*.

<sup>177</sup> Et idem heremita] qui *ak*; omit *b-j*.

<sup>178</sup> adhuc] omit *C*.

<sup>179</sup> quem heremitam vidi] quem heremitam vidit *DE*; omit *a-k* (see 184).

<sup>180</sup> Et dormit] Dormit namque *a-k*.

<sup>181</sup> est vestitus] vestitus est *E*; vestitur *b-k*.

<sup>182</sup> secundum] ad *Cb-k*.

<sup>183</sup> beati] omit *a*; sancti *b-k*.

<sup>184</sup> after baptiste add quem heremitam iohannes presbiter predictus vidit *a*; add quem heremitam iohannes de hese predictus vidi *b*; add quem heremitam ego iohannes de heze [hese *fghijk*; hesen *H*] predictus vidi *c-k* (see 179).

<sup>185</sup> Et ulterius . . . quindenam] Ad quindenam vero ulterius transeundo *a*; Ad quindenam ulterius transeundo *b-k*.

<sup>186</sup> et per terram] per terram *C*; omit *E*; et terram *k*.

<sup>187</sup> Urcaldeorum] hur caldeorum *a-k*.

<sup>188</sup> ubi] ibi *B*.

<sup>189</sup> Judei] indei *B*.\*

<sup>190</sup> veni] venit *DEa*; venimus *b-k*.

<sup>191</sup> Nylus] nylis *B*; unum *C*; nilus *DE*; nilum *a-k*.\*

<sup>192</sup> navigavi] navigavit *DEa*; navigavimus *b-k*; navigamus *H*.

<sup>193</sup> unum diem] unam dietam *DEa-j*; unam diem *k*.

<sup>194</sup> unum] omit *C*; quendam *a-k*; quendam *H*.

<sup>195</sup> portum] portam *C*.

<sup>196</sup> maris] omit *b-k*; after portum add et *dfghijk*.

<sup>197</sup> civitatem quandam] civitatem *C*; quendam civitatem *bce*.

<sup>198</sup> intravi] intravit *DEa*; intravimus *b-k*.

<sup>199</sup> bene] omit *k*.

<sup>200</sup> after menses add Et veni *C*.

<sup>201</sup> inferior] interior *f-k*.†

<sup>202</sup> India] iuda *C*.

<sup>203</sup> ibi morantur] morantur ibi *b-k*.

<sup>204</sup> after Ethiopes add scilicet *b-j*.

<sup>205</sup> Et] omit *a-k*.

<sup>206</sup> veni] venit *DEa*; venitur *b-k*.

<sup>207</sup> Et sunt parvi homines] omit *C*; qui sunt homines parvi *abce*; qui sunt parvi homines *dfghijk*.

<sup>208</sup> longum] omit *B*; longe *C*.

<sup>209</sup> longitudinem] longitudine *B*.

<sup>210</sup> unius ulne] ulnæ unius *k*.

<sup>211</sup> diffformes. Et] diffformes qui *dfghij*; deformes, qui *k*.

- 80 non utuntur domibus, sed morantur in cavernis moncium, et<sup>212</sup> in speluncis, 212  
 et in conchis; nec<sup>213</sup> utuntur pane<sup>214</sup> sed herbis speciebus<sup>215</sup> lacticiiniis<sup>216</sup> ut<sup>217</sup> 213-17  
 bruta. Et dicitur ibidem quod<sup>218</sup> Pigmei<sup>219</sup> pugnant contra syconias sepe,<sup>220</sup> 218-20  
 et syconie interficiunt pueros eorum aliquando;<sup>221</sup> sed hoc non vidi.<sup>222</sup> Et 221-22  
 vivunt ad maius duodecim annis, ut dicitur,<sup>223</sup> et non<sup>224</sup> ultra. || <sup>[179r]</sup> 223-24
- 85 Et<sup>225</sup> ulterius navigando de mari<sup>226</sup> Ethiopie<sup>227</sup> infra<sup>228</sup> maria Iecoreum<sup>229</sup> et Arenosum<sup>230</sup> per quatuor dietas,<sup>231</sup> veni<sup>232</sup> ad terram Monoculorum. 225-28  
 Et mare Iecoreum<sup>233</sup> est talis nature<sup>234</sup> quod attrahit<sup>235</sup> naves<sup>236</sup> propter 229-32  
 ferrum in navibus,<sup>237</sup> quia<sup>238</sup> fundus illius maris dicitur quod sit<sup>239</sup> lapideus 233-36  
 de lapide adamante,<sup>240</sup> qui est attract[ivus].<sup>241</sup> Et ex alia<sup>242</sup> parte est mare 237-39  
 240-42
- 90 Arenosum,<sup>243</sup> et est<sup>244</sup> arena<sup>245</sup> fluens, ut<sup>246</sup> aqua crescens et decrescens. Et<sup>247</sup> 243-47  
 in illo mari<sup>248</sup> capiuntur pisces per Monoculos, qui intrant pedestres.<sup>249</sup> Et 248-49  
 iidem<sup>250</sup> Monoculi transeunt eciam<sup>251</sup> aliquando<sup>252</sup> sub aqua, periclitando 250-52  
 naves. Et propter ista duo maria, infra<sup>253</sup> que navigare oportet, est pericu- 253

<sup>212</sup>after et add etiam e[H].

<sup>213</sup>nec] etiam non a-k.

<sup>214</sup>pane] cibarijs C.

<sup>215</sup>after speciebus add et Ba-k.

<sup>216</sup>lacticiiniis] lacticiens D.

<sup>217</sup>after ut add animalia C.

<sup>218</sup>dicuntur ibidem quod] huiusmodi C.

<sup>219</sup>Pigmei] omit k.

<sup>220</sup>pugnant contra syconias sepe] pugnant sepe contra ciconias BDEabcdghij; semper pugnant contra ciconias C; sepe pugnant contra cyconias e[H]; pugnent sæpe contra Cyconias k.

<sup>221</sup>interficiunt pueros eorum aliquando] interficiunt aliquando pueros eorum C; interficiunt quandoque pueros eorum a; quandoque interficiunt pueros eorum b-k.†

<sup>222</sup>sed hoc non vidi] sed hoc non vidit DE; omit a-k.

<sup>223</sup>Et vivunt ad maius duodecim annis, ut dicitur] Et vivunt ad maius ad xii annos C; Et hy homines vivunt ad maius [magis E] duodecim annis DE; Et hii homines ad maius vivunt ut dicitur duodecim annis a-j; Vivunt autem ut dicitur, duodecim tantum annis k.

<sup>224</sup>et non] non et i; non k.

<sup>225</sup>Et] omit b-k.

<sup>226</sup>mari] mare BC.

<sup>227</sup>Ethiopie] ethiope C.

<sup>228</sup>infra] inter a-k.

<sup>229</sup>Iecoreum] ictoreum B; iccoreum D, yccorium E; iecoreum b.

<sup>230</sup>Arenosum] venosum C.

<sup>231</sup>dietas] dies k.

<sup>232</sup>veni] venit DEa; venit b-k.

<sup>233</sup>Et mare Iecoreum] Et mare ictoreum B; Et jecoreum mare C; Et mare iccoreum D; Et mare yccoreum E; Mare autem iecoreum b-k.

<sup>234</sup>talis nature] nature talis C.

<sup>235</sup>quod attrahit] ut attrahat k.

<sup>236</sup>after naves add ad fundum a; add in profundum b-k.

<sup>237</sup>in navibus] existens in navibus C; in eisdem navibus DE; in eisdem navibus contentum a-j; in eis contentum k.

<sup>238</sup>quia] quod k.

<sup>239</sup>fundus illius maris dicitur quod sit] dicitur quod fundus illius maris sit C; fundus illius navis dicitur quod sit D; fundus illius maris dicitur esse a-k.

<sup>240</sup>lapide adamante] lapidibus adamantinis C.

<sup>241</sup>est attractivus] sunt attractivi C; est attractivus ferri c-j; est attrctivus ferri k.?

<sup>242</sup>Et ex alia] Ex alia vero a-k.

<sup>243</sup>Arenosum] venosum C; arenosam cde.

<sup>244</sup>est] omit B.

<sup>245</sup>arena] mare arena C; terra hjk.

<sup>246</sup>ut] super k.

<sup>247</sup>Et] omit b-k.

<sup>248</sup>mari] mare B.

<sup>249</sup>pedestres] pedester BC.

<sup>250</sup>iidem] eidem BDE; idem C; hi b-k.

<sup>251</sup>transeunt eciam] eciam transseunt C; transseunt b-k.

<sup>252</sup>aliquando] omit C.

<sup>253</sup>infra] per [with] que] C; inter a-k.

	losissimum <sup>254</sup> navigare; et propterea <sup>255</sup> necesse [est] <sup>256</sup> quod <sup>257</sup> habeatur bo-	254-57
95	nus et directus ventus si homo debet <sup>258</sup> salvari. Et illi <sup>259</sup> Monoculi sunt	258-59
	breves, <sup>260</sup> grossi, et fortes; et comedunt alios homines. Et habent <sup>261</sup> ocu-	260-61
	lum <sup>262</sup> in medio frontis, <sup>263</sup> nitidum <sup>264</sup> ad <sup>265</sup> modum <sup>266</sup> carbunculi. Et sunt	262-66
	sub dominio regis <sup>267</sup> Grandicanis. <sup>268</sup> Et laborant semper in nocte.	267-68
	Et ulterius navigando <sup>269</sup> ad mediam Indiam, ubi Grandicanis <sup>270</sup> regnat	269-70
100	sub imperio Johannis Presbyteri, <sup>271</sup> veni <sup>272</sup> ad <sup>273</sup> civitatem magnam que vo-	271-73
	catur Andranopolis, <sup>274</sup> quam sanctus Thomas primo ad fidem converte-	274
	bat. <sup>275</sup> Et in illa civitate morantur boni Christiani et multi religiosi. Et <sup>276</sup> est	275-76
	sita in <sup>277</sup> litore maris, et ibidem est portus ubi <sup>278</sup> multe <sup>279</sup> naves de diversis	277-79
	mundi partibus <sup>280</sup> conveniunt. Et sunt ibidem domus multum <sup>281</sup> alte, et <sup>282</sup>	280-82
105	platee sunt <sup>283</sup> satis stricte sic <sup>284</sup> quod homines [non] <sup>285</sup> senciunt solem,	283-85
	[ <sup>179v</sup> ] neque habent in plateis. <sup>286</sup> Et sunt in eadem civitate ultra <sup>287</sup> quingenti	286-87
	pontes lapidei <sup>288</sup> sub quibus fluunt rivuli. <sup>289</sup> Et ibidem est <sup>290</sup> unum <sup>291</sup> claus-	288-91
	trum <sup>292</sup> minorum, quorum ecclesia facta est <sup>293</sup> de puro alabastro, <sup>294</sup> et ibi-	292-94
	dem <sup>295</sup> sepeliuntur peregrini <sup>296</sup> Christiani. <sup>297</sup>	295-97

<sup>254</sup>navigare oportet, est periculosissimum]  
periculosissimum est *b-k*.

<sup>255</sup>et propterea] et ideo *a-j*; omit *k*.

<sup>256</sup>est] omit *A*; est *BCDEa-k*.

<sup>257</sup>quod] ut *Ck*.

<sup>258</sup>debet] debeat *a-k*.

<sup>259</sup>Et illi] Et idem *D*; Predicti autem *a-k*.

<sup>260</sup>after breves add homines *E*.

<sup>261</sup>after habent add unum *a-k*.

<sup>262</sup>oculum] oculos *BE*.

<sup>263</sup>medio frontis] fronte *b-k* (see 266).

<sup>264</sup>nitidum] lucidum *B* (see 266).

<sup>265</sup>ad] per *DE* (see 266).

<sup>266</sup>frontis, nitidum ad modum] omit *C* (see 263-65).

<sup>267</sup>regis] omit *B* (see next lemma).

<sup>268</sup>Et sunt sub dominio regis Grandicanis]  
omit *a-k* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>269</sup>Et ulterius navigando] Et navigando ulterius *C*; Navigando autem ulterius *ab*; Navigando autem ulterius usque *c-k*.

<sup>270</sup>Grandicanis] grandicanus *C*; talis rex *DE*; brandicanus *a-k*.

<sup>271</sup>Johannis Presbyteri] omit *C*; presbiteri iohannis *a-k*.

<sup>272</sup>veni] venit *DEa*; venit *b-k*.

<sup>273</sup>after ad add unam *DE*.

<sup>274</sup>Andranopolis] andriplis *C*; yndronopolis *DE*; andronopolis *a-k*.

<sup>275</sup>convertebat] convertit *a-k*.

<sup>276</sup>Et] Et ista civitas *Da*; Ista civitas *b-k*.

<sup>277</sup>in] omit *C*.

<sup>278</sup>ubi] ad quem *k*.

<sup>279</sup>multe] multi *BCH*.

<sup>280</sup>naves de diversis mundi partibus] de diversis mundi partibus naves *C*.

<sup>281</sup>Et sunt ibidem domus multum] domus etiam ibidem sunt *a*; domus [domi *H*] etiam ibi sunt *b-k*.

<sup>282</sup>et] sed *k*.

<sup>283</sup>sunt] omit *Ca-k*.

<sup>284</sup>sic] et *C*; omit *b-k*.

<sup>285</sup>non] sunt *A*; non *BCDEa-k*.

<sup>286</sup>solem, neque habent in plateis] solem neque habeant in plateis *B*; solem neque habent solem in plateis *C*; solem in plateis nec habent *DE*; nec habent solem in plateis *a-k*.

<sup>287</sup>ultra] plures quam *C*; ultra quam *a*; plusquam *b-k*.

<sup>288</sup>[lapidei] omit *k*.

<sup>289</sup>sub quibus fluunt rivuli] sub quibus flumen et rivuli *DE*; sub quibus est flumen cuiusdam rivi magni *a*; in quibus est flumen cuiusdam rivi magni *b-j*; super quodam magno fluvio *k*.

<sup>290</sup>Et ibidem est] Est etiam ibidem *a-k*.

<sup>291</sup>unum] omit *DEa-k*.

<sup>292</sup>after claustrum add fratrum *k*.

<sup>293</sup>[facta est] est facta *b-k*.

<sup>294</sup>puro alabastro] alabastro puro *DEa-k*.

<sup>295</sup>et ibidem] et ibi *b-j*; in quo *k*.

<sup>296</sup>peregrini] omit *DEa-k*.

<sup>297</sup>Christiani] christianorum *C*.

- 110 Et in eadem<sup>298</sup> civitate prope litus maris est una<sup>299</sup> turris magne<sup>300</sup> altitudinis et pulchritudinis quam de nocte astronomi et<sup>301</sup> litterati<sup>302</sup> ascendant, futura prenosticando.<sup>303</sup> Et de die<sup>304</sup> domini civitatis<sup>305</sup> et maiores<sup>306</sup> habent eorum consilia.<sup>307</sup> 308 Et in summitate illius<sup>309</sup> turris stant quinque turres de lapidibus preciosis et de auro,<sup>310</sup> quarum media est magis elevata<sup>311</sup> quam relique<sup>312</sup> quatuor, in qua stant candelae<sup>313</sup> et lampades<sup>314</sup> ardentes in nocte<sup>315</sup> sic quod naute remotissime videntes<sup>316</sup> lucem<sup>317</sup> secundum hanc se regunt,<sup>318</sup> applicando se<sup>319</sup> civitati predictae.<sup>320</sup> Et prope illam<sup>321</sup> civitatem est unum claustrum<sup>322</sup> appellat[u]m<sup>323</sup> "Ad Sanctam Mariam," ubi<sup>324</sup> habitant devoti<sup>325</sup> homines.<sup>326</sup> Et ibidem est<sup>327</sup> peregrinatio magna peregrinorum.<sup>328</sup> 329-32
- 120 Et ibi prope<sup>329</sup> eramus capti per raptores Grandicanis,<sup>330</sup> ipso<sup>331</sup> non<sup>332</sup> existente in partibus,<sup>333</sup> et<sup>334</sup> ducti ad<sup>335</sup> castrum unum<sup>336</sup> vocatum Compar- 333-36

<sup>298</sup>Et in eadem] In eadem etiam *a*; In eadem *b-k*.

<sup>299</sup>una] quædam *k*.

<sup>300</sup>magne] mire *a-k*; omit *F*.

<sup>301</sup>et] omit *DE* (see next lemma).

<sup>302</sup>de nocte astronomi et litterati] astronomi et litterati de nocte *b-k* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>303</sup>prenosticando] prenosticando *B*; pronosticando *a-k*.

<sup>304</sup>Et de die] et in die *a*; sed in die *b-k* (see 308).†

<sup>305</sup>domini civitatis] dominio civitates *C* (see 308).

<sup>306</sup>maiores] magnates *k* (see 308).

<sup>307</sup>habent eorum consilia] habent ibi consilia eorum *C*; habent ibi eorum consilia *a*; habent eorum consilia ibi *b-j*; habent sua consilia ibi *k* (see 308).

<sup>308</sup>Et de die domini civitatis et maiores habent eorum consilia] omit *DE* (see 304-7).

<sup>309</sup>illius] omit *C*.

<sup>310</sup>de auro] auro facte *a*; auro *b-k*.

<sup>311</sup>quarum media est magis elevata] et media illarum est magis elevata *DE*; et media illarum est [omit *F*] elevata plus *a*; et media illarum est plus elevata *b-k*.

<sup>312</sup>relique] alie *DEa-k*.

<sup>313</sup>after candelae add quatuor *k*.

<sup>314</sup>lampades] lapades *b*; lapides *c-j* [lampades *ak*].†

<sup>315</sup>in nocte] *n b*; omit *c-k*.†

<sup>316</sup>after videntes add hanc *a-k*.

<sup>317</sup>after lucem add et *dfghjk*.

<sup>318</sup>hanc se regunt] hoc se regunt *B*; hanc se regant *D*; eam se regant *a-k*; eam sic se regant *F*.\*

<sup>319</sup>se] seipsos *b-j*.

<sup>320</sup>predicte] omit *k*.

<sup>321</sup>Et prope illam] Prope illam vero *b-k*.

<sup>322</sup>unum claustrum] aliquod claustrum pulcherrimum quod *b-j*; quoddam Claustrum pulcherrimum, quod *k*.

<sup>323</sup>appellatum] appellatur *b-k*.\*

<sup>324</sup>ubi] in quo *b-k*.

<sup>325</sup>after devoti add et religiosi *b-k*.

<sup>326</sup>after homines add tres *DE*.

<sup>327</sup>Et ibidem est] Et ibi est *C*; ibidem et *D*; ibidem est *E* (see next lemma).

<sup>328</sup>Et ibidem est peregrinatio magna peregrinorum] et ibidem magnus concursus est peregrinorum *a*; in quo [quod *k*] quidem claustrum [claustrum *k*] magnus est concursus et visitatio peregrinorum de longinquis partibus venientium *b-k* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>329</sup>ibi prope] ad parvam ab illo loco distantiam *b-k*.

<sup>330</sup>Grandicanis] Gradicanis *D*; brandicani *abcdfghjk*; Brandicano *i*.†

<sup>331</sup>ipso] ipso vero *C*; illo *DEa*; illo vero *b-k*.\*

<sup>332</sup>non] omit *B*.

<sup>333</sup>after partibus add illis *a-k*.

<sup>334</sup>et] omit *b-k*.

<sup>335</sup>ducti ad] aducti in *B*; ducti eramus ad *a-k*.

<sup>336</sup>castrum unum] unum castrum *C*; castrum *DEa-k*.

- dut,<sup>337</sup> ubi detenti eramus viij<sup>338</sup> septimanis. Sed cum rex Grandicanis veniebat<sup>339</sup> ad partes,<sup>340</sup> eramus liberati eo quod fueramus<sup>341</sup> peregrini sancti Thome, quos diligit quamvis ipse sit<sup>342</sup> paganus, quia<sup>343</sup> maxime timet vindictam sancti Thome. Et cibavit nos<sup>344</sup> vij<sup>345</sup> diebus in eodem.<sup>346</sup> Et postea fecit<sup>347</sup> nobis dari<sup>348</sup> conductum per suos bene xij ll<sup>[180r]</sup> diebus<sup>349</sup> ad unam<sup>350</sup> civitatem magnam,<sup>351</sup> Eleap nuncupatam.<sup>352</sup> Et ibi terminatur media India.<sup>353</sup>
- Et ibidem<sup>354</sup> intravimus navem<sup>355</sup> navigando sub ducatu<sup>356</sup> Grandicanis<sup>357</sup> predicti viij diebus, veniendo<sup>358</sup> ad unum<sup>359</sup> montem altissimum petrosus iacentem in mari, habentem<sup>360</sup> subtus unum foramen<sup>361</sup> per spacium<sup>362</sup> trium miliarium<sup>363</sup> per quod<sup>364</sup> nos<sup>365</sup> transnavigare<sup>366</sup> oportuit.<sup>367</sup> Et illud foramen<sup>368</sup> est<sup>369</sup> ita tenebrosus quod<sup>370</sup> semper oportebat<sup>371</sup> habere candelas ardentis. Et in exitu foraminis oportebat<sup>372</sup> navem descendere nobiscum<sup>373</sup> bene<sup>374</sup> ad spacium viginti cubitorum, quia ibidem mare<sup>375</sup> respectu foraminis est ita bassum.<sup>376</sup> Et<sup>377</sup> maxime ibidem<sup>378</sup> timebamus.

<sup>337</sup>Compardut] Cōparduc B; ꝑeduc C; conperdoth D; conperduth E; compardit a-k.

<sup>338</sup>detenti eramus viij] octo detenti eramus septem B; ducenti eramus viij C.

<sup>339</sup>Sed cum rex Grandicanis veniebat] Sed cum rex grandicanus venit C; Et cum grandicanis rex veniebat DE; Veniente autem brandicano rege a; Veniente autem rege brandicano [brandicano d] b-k.†

<sup>340</sup>ad partes] omit a-k.

<sup>341</sup>fueramus] eramus C; fuimus abcdefgi; sumus hj; essemus k.

<sup>342</sup>quamvis ipse sit] quamquam ipse fuit B; ipse quamvis sit C.

<sup>343</sup>quia] Et C; nam a.

<sup>344</sup>Et cibavit nos] Cibavit etiam nos bene a-j; Cibavit nos etiam bene k.

<sup>345</sup>vij] xij CDEa-k.

<sup>346</sup>in eodem] omit DEa-k (see 349).

<sup>347</sup>Et postea fecit] et fecit DE; faciens a-k (see 349).

<sup>348</sup>dari] omit D; after dari add salvum b-k (see 349).

<sup>349</sup>in eodem . . . xij diebus] omit H (see 346-48).

<sup>350</sup>unam] omit Cb-k.

<sup>351</sup>civitatem magnam] magnam civitatem a-k.

<sup>352</sup>Eleap nuncupatam] vocatam eleab DE; vocatam heleap abcde; vocatam beleab fgi; vocatam Beliab hjk.

<sup>353</sup>India] indea B.

<sup>354</sup>Et ibidem] Et ibi BDE; Ibi C; Ibidem a-k.

<sup>355</sup>navem] novem B.

<sup>356</sup>ducatu] ductu C.

<sup>357</sup>Grandicanis] grandicani C; brandicani a-k.

<sup>358</sup>veniendo] venientes C.

<sup>359</sup>unum] quendam k.

<sup>360</sup>habentem] habentes C.

<sup>361</sup>unum foramen] unum foramen longum ab; foramen unum longum c-k.

<sup>362</sup>spacium] omit b-k.

<sup>363</sup>trium miliarium] tria miliaria c-k.

<sup>364</sup>quod] quem C.

<sup>365</sup>nos] non hjk.

<sup>366</sup>transnavigare] transnavigavimus C (see next lemma); navigare a-k.

<sup>367</sup>oportuit] omit C (see preceding lemma); after oportuit add sine candelis k.

<sup>368</sup>Et illud foramen] illud foramen b-j; quod k.

<sup>369</sup>est] omit d.

<sup>370</sup>quod] ut k.

<sup>371</sup>oportebat] oportebat nos BE; nos oportebat C; oporteat nos D; oportuit nos a-j; oportuerit nos k.

<sup>372</sup>oportebat] oportuit b-k (see 375).

<sup>373</sup>nobiscum] omit DEa-k (see 375).

<sup>374</sup>bene] omit b-k (see 375).

<sup>375</sup>in exitu . . . ibidem mare] omit C (see 372-74, 376).

<sup>376</sup>ibidem mare respectu foraminis est ita bassum] mare respectu foraminis ibidem est ita [omit D] bassum DE; mare ibidem est adeo bassum respectu foraminis ab; mare est ibi adeo bassum [depressum k] respectu foraminis c-k (see preceding lemma).

<sup>377</sup>Et] sic quod DE.

<sup>378</sup>ibidem] ibi a.

- Et ibi<sup>379</sup> prope in terra<sup>380</sup> crescit piper inter<sup>381</sup> duos montes. Et ibidem<sup>382</sup> 379-82  
tot sunt<sup>383</sup> serpentes quod<sup>384</sup> piper colligi non potest<sup>385</sup> absque igne,<sup>386</sup> sed<sup>387</sup> 383-87  
circa festum<sup>388</sup> Michaelis incenditur<sup>389</sup> ignis<sup>390</sup> sic quod serpentes fugiunt,<sup>391</sup> 388-91  
et tunc colligitur piper.<sup>392</sup> Et isti duo montes in fine<sup>393</sup> ubi terminantur prope 392-93  
140 mare coadunantur.<sup>394</sup> Et fit subtus unum<sup>395</sup> foramen tenebrosus ad spacium 394-95  
trium miliarium,<sup>396</sup> et per illud<sup>397</sup> foramen transit rivulus velocissime cur- 396-97  
rens<sup>398</sup> sic<sup>399</sup> quod ducit secum magnos<sup>400</sup> lapides. Et in illo foramine au- 398-400  
diuntur horribiles soni,<sup>401</sup> ut<sup>402</sup> tonitrua et clamores diversi horribiles, sed 401-2  
quid significet nescitur et nullus<sup>403</sup> intelligit.<sup>404</sup> 403-4  
145 Et<sup>405</sup> ulterius navigando<sup>406</sup> per mensem, venit ad unum<sup>407</sup> portum 405-7  
qui Gadde vocatur.<sup>408</sup> || <sup>[180v]</sup> Et ibi<sup>409</sup> stat castrum ubi mercatores dant theo- 408-9  
lonium Presbytero Johanni.<sup>410</sup> 410  
Et<sup>411</sup> ulterius navigando<sup>412</sup> per xiiij dies,<sup>413</sup> venit<sup>414</sup> ad civitatem Ed- 411-14  
issam ubi Presbyter Johannes moratur. Et illa civitas est<sup>415</sup> capitalis tocius<sup>416</sup> 415-16  
150 regni sui, et est<sup>417</sup> sita in<sup>418</sup> superiori India in fine<sup>419</sup> terre habitabilis. Et illa 417-19

<sup>379</sup>Et ibi] Ibidem etiam *a*.

<sup>380</sup>in terra] est terra in qua *DEa*; est etiam terra in qua *b-k*.

<sup>381</sup>inter] in *D*.

<sup>382</sup>Et ibidem] et ibi *a*; Ibidem *b-k*.

<sup>383</sup>tot sunt] sunt tot *DEabcdefghjk*; sunt *i*.

<sup>384</sup>quod] ita quod *a-j*; ut *k*.

<sup>385</sup>colligi non potest] non potest colligi *C*; colligi non bene potest *a*; non colligi bene potest *b*; non bene colligi potest *c-j*; non bene colligi possit *k*.

<sup>386</sup>absque igne] sine igne *C*; omit *a-k*.

<sup>387</sup>sed] Et *b-k*.

<sup>388</sup>after festum add sancti *B*.

<sup>389</sup>incenditur] extruitur *k*.

<sup>390</sup>ignis] omit *D*.

<sup>391</sup>sic quod serpentes fugiunt] sic quod serpentes inde accipiunt fugam *DE*; per quem serpentes fugam accipiunt *a-j*; per quem serpentes fugiunt *k*.

<sup>392</sup>tunc colligitur piper] tunc piper colligitur *a*; piper colligitur *b-k*.

<sup>393</sup>fine] finem *dfghijk*.

<sup>394</sup>ubi terminantur prope mare coadunantur] coadunantur prope mare habentes *C* (see next lemma); terminantur ubi prope mare [mari *j*] coadunantur [condonantur *hj*] *a-j*; ad mare prope terminantur *k*.

<sup>395</sup>Et fit subtus unum] et sit subtus *B*; subtus *C* (see preceding lemma); et fit *b-i*; et sic *j*; et fit ibi *k*.

<sup>396</sup>tenebrosus ad spacium trium miliarium] per spacium trium miliarium valde tenebrosus *C*.

<sup>397</sup>et per illud] per quod *b-k*.

<sup>398</sup>foramen transit rivulus velocissime currens] foramen [omit *b-k*] aqua velocissime currit *a-k*.

<sup>399</sup>sic] omit *b-k*.

<sup>400</sup>ducit secum magnos] secum magnos ducit *a-k*.

<sup>401</sup>horribiles soni] soni horribiles *E*.

<sup>402</sup>ut] et *B*; omit *b-k*.

<sup>403</sup>significet nescitur et nullus] significat nescitur nec nullus *DE*; significant hec [hoc *FG*] nescitur nec aliquis *a*; significant [significant *k*] nescitur nec aliquis *b-k*.

<sup>404</sup>intelligit] intelligat *hj*.

<sup>405</sup>Et] omit *Ca-k*.

<sup>406</sup>after navigando add bene *DEa-j*; add ferè *k*.

<sup>407</sup>unum] omit *a-k*.

<sup>408</sup>Gadde vocatur] vocatur badde *DE*; vocatur gadde *a-k*.

<sup>409</sup>Et ibi] Ibique *a-k*.

<sup>410</sup>dant theolonium Presbytero Johanni] presbytero johanni theolonium dant *C*; after Johanni add indorum imperatori *b-k* (see *TN VI* for rubric in *a-k*).

<sup>411</sup>Et] [*D*]e predicto portu *a-k*.

<sup>412</sup>ulterius navigando] navigando ulterius *k*.

<sup>413</sup>xiiij dies] xiiij dietas *a-e*; xxiiij dietas *f-j*; viginti quatuor dies *k*.

<sup>414</sup>venitur] pervenitur *C*.

<sup>415</sup>illa civitas est] in illa est civitas *C*.

<sup>416</sup>tocius] omit *C*.

<sup>417</sup>sui, et est] omit *a-k*.

<sup>418</sup>in] ad *hj*.

<sup>419</sup>in fine] omit *b-k*.



civitas<sup>420</sup> est maior quam essent<sup>421</sup> xxiii<sup>or</sup> civitates Colonienses. 420–21  
 Et habitacio<sup>422</sup> Presbyteri Johannis est sita in medio civitatis.<sup>423</sup> Et ha- 422–23  
 bet bene<sup>424</sup> in longitudine<sup>425</sup> duo miliaria teutonica, et eciam bene<sup>426</sup> in la- 424–26  
 titudine, quia est quadratum.<sup>427</sup> Et<sup>428</sup> stat supra<sup>429</sup> columpnas, quarum<sup>430</sup> 427–30  
 155 sunt, ut dicitur,<sup>431</sup> ix<sup>c</sup> in numero.<sup>432</sup> Et media inter istas columpnas<sup>433</sup> est 431–33  
 maior<sup>434</sup> aliis, et ad hanc<sup>435</sup> sunt facti quatuor magni gygantes de lapidibus 434–35  
 preciosis et<sup>436</sup> deauratis, stantes inclinatis capitibus<sup>437</sup> subtus palacium ac si 436–37  
 portent<sup>438</sup> totum palacium. Et ad quamdam<sup>439</sup> aliam columpnam sunt eciam 438–39  
 160 facte<sup>440</sup> ymages: ad unam<sup>441</sup> ymago regis et ad<sup>442</sup> aliam ymago regine, ha- 440–42  
 bentes ludos et cyphos deauratos<sup>443</sup> in manibus suis. Videlicet, cum<sup>444</sup> 443–44  
 ymago regis habet ludum in manibus suis,<sup>445</sup> tunc<sup>446</sup> ymago regine habet 445–46  
 cyphum aureum in manibus suis, sibi<sup>447</sup> propinando, et sic<sup>448</sup> econverso.<sup>449</sup> 447–49  
 Et iste ymages sunt<sup>450</sup> de lapidibus preciosis<sup>451</sup> deauratis. 450–51  
 Et ita<sup>452</sup> sub palacio est magnus<sup>453</sup> transitus ad quem populi multitudo 452–53  
 165 convenit.<sup>454</sup> Et ibidem<sup>455</sup> fiunt iudicia spiritualia et secularia<sup>456</sup> omni die, et<sup>457</sup> 454–57  
 consilia dominorum civitatis. Et ibidem<sup>458</sup> est commune<sup>459</sup> forum civitatis.<sup>460</sup> 458–60

<sup>420</sup>illa civitas] omit C.

<sup>421</sup>essent] omit Ca–k.

<sup>422</sup>Et habitacio] Et ibi C; Habitatio vero a–k (see next lemma).

<sup>423</sup>Presbyteri Johannis est sita in medio civitatis] in medio civitatis est palacium ipsius C (see preceding lemma).

<sup>424</sup>Et habet bene] habens Ca–k; Et habet bene habitacio eius DE.

<sup>425</sup>after longitudine add fere a–k.

<sup>426</sup>eciam bene] eciam bene tantum B; tantum C; eciam habet tantum D; eciam tantum habet E; etiam tantum abcdefgi; etiam hj; totidem ferè k.

<sup>427</sup>quia est quadratum] quia quadratum est C; quia est civitas quadrata DE; Nam civitas quadrata est a–k.

<sup>428</sup>after Et add Pallacium a–k.

<sup>429</sup>supra] super B (see 432).

<sup>430</sup>quarum] quare B (see 432).

<sup>431</sup>sunt, ut dicitur] ut dicitur sunt C (see 432).

<sup>432</sup>supra columpnas, quarum sunt, ut dicitur, ix<sup>c</sup> in numero] super nongentis (ut dicitur) columnis a–k (see 429–31).

<sup>433</sup>media inter istas columpnas] in medio inter ista C; media inter istas columna k.

<sup>434</sup>est maior] maior est a–k.

<sup>435</sup>et ad hanc] ad quam a–k.

<sup>436</sup>et] omit a–k.

<sup>437</sup>inclinatis capitibus] capitibus inclinatis C.

<sup>438</sup>portent] portarent DE.

<sup>439</sup>Et ad quamdam] Et ad quamlibet BCDE; Ad quamlibet autem a–k.\*

<sup>440</sup>aliam columpnam sunt eciam facte] aliam columpnam sunt facte C; aliarum columnarum [columniarum H] facte sunt a–k.

<sup>441</sup>ad unam] unam ad D (see 450).

<sup>442</sup>ad] omit DE (see 450).

<sup>443</sup>deauratos] omit DE (see 445, 450).

<sup>444</sup>cum] omit DE (see 445, 450).

<sup>445</sup>Videlicet . . . suis] omit B (see 444, 450).

<sup>446</sup>tunc] omit DE (see 450).

<sup>447</sup>sibi] illi DE (see 450).

<sup>448</sup>sic] omit DE (see 450).

<sup>449</sup>econverso] econtra B (see 450).

<sup>450</sup>ad unam ymago . . . ymages sunt] omit a–k (see 441–49); after sunt add tam C.

<sup>451</sup>after preciosis add et C.

<sup>452</sup>Et ita] Et sic DE; omit a–k.

<sup>453</sup>est magnus] quidem magnus est a–k.

<sup>454</sup>populi multitudo convenit] convenit populi multitudo a–k.

<sup>455</sup>Et ibidem] Ibidem namque acdefghijk; Ibidem namque est transtus [sic] ad quem convenit populi multitudo. Et ibi b.

<sup>456</sup>spiritualia et secularia] secularia et spiritualia Cb–k.

<sup>457</sup>et] omit DE.

<sup>458</sup>Et ibidem] et ibi DE; nam ibi a; quia ibi b–k.

<sup>459</sup>commune] continue C; after commune add causarum et controversiarum k.

<sup>460</sup>civitatis] omit a–k.

- Et || <sup>[181]</sup> in principio<sup>461</sup> cuiuslibet mensis sunt ibidem<sup>462</sup> nundine, sive ded- 461-62  
 icaciones,<sup>463</sup> ad quas homines<sup>464</sup> de diversis mundi partibus conveniunt,<sup>465</sup> 463-65  
 et precipue prima<sup>466</sup> die Augusti.<sup>467</sup> Item: Idem palacium custoditur omni 466-67  
 170 nocte mille viris armatis.<sup>468</sup> <sup>469</sup> Item: In palacio est unus pulcher<sup>470</sup> ambitus 468-70  
 stans eciam<sup>471</sup> sub columnis<sup>472</sup> ad quas<sup>473</sup> sunt facte<sup>474</sup> ymages paparum 471-74  
 et imperatorum<sup>475</sup> Romanorum qui fuerunt,<sup>476</sup> et aliquarum reginarum— 475-76  
 scilicet Helene et cetera.<sup>477</sup> 477  
 Item:<sup>478</sup> Ascendendo palacium sunt quingenti gradus veniendo ad pri- 478  
 175 mam habitacionem, et in quolibet gradu sunt<sup>479</sup> duo vel plures leones vi- 479  
 ventes detenti ibidem.<sup>480</sup> Et<sup>481</sup> si aliqui hereticorum vel paganorum<sup>482</sup> pre- 480-82  
 dictos gradus ascenderent, a leonibus interficerentur, u[t] dicitur.<sup>483</sup> Et 483  
 istud<sup>484</sup> palacium infimum vocatur palacium prophetarum, quia omnes pro- 484  
 phete sunt ibidem facti de<sup>485</sup> lapidibus preciosis et deauratis. Et<sup>486</sup> est or- 485-86  
 180 natum<sup>487</sup> pannis preciosissimis<sup>488</sup> et lanternis<sup>489</sup> de<sup>490</sup> nocte ardentibus. 487-90  
 Item: Ascendendo<sup>491</sup> secundum<sup>492</sup> palacium<sup>493</sup> sunt adhuc<sup>494</sup> plures gra- 491-94  
 dus, quia quanto plus ascenditur tanto plus palacium ampliatur.<sup>495</sup> Et is- 495

<sup>461</sup>Et in principio] In principio autem *a*.

<sup>462</sup>ibidem] ibi *C*.

<sup>463</sup>sive dedicaciones] omit *a-k*.

<sup>464</sup>homines] mercatores *a-k*.

<sup>465</sup>mundi partibus conveniunt] et remotis partibus conveniunt *DE*; et remotis conveniunt partibus *a*; et longinquis conveniunt partibus *b-j*; et longinquis partibus conveniunt *k*.

<sup>466</sup>et precipue prima] Et precipue in principio prima *C*; que tamen et [in *F*] primo *a*; que tamen prima *b-k*.

<sup>467</sup>after Augusti add specialius celebrantur ibidem *a-k*.

<sup>468</sup>viris armatis] armatis viris *C* (see next lemma).

<sup>469</sup>Item: Idem ... armatis] Pallacium vero omni nocte mille viris custoditur armatis *a-k* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>470</sup>Item: In palacio est unus pulcher] In ipso autem pulcher est *a-k*.

<sup>471</sup>eciam] equidem *a*; omit *b-k*.

<sup>472</sup>sub columnis] super calumpnas *B*; supra columnas *C*.

<sup>473</sup>after quas add columnas *DE*.

<sup>474</sup>sunt facte] facte sunt *A b c d e f g h i k*; sacre sunt *j*.†

<sup>475</sup>et imperatorum] imperatorum *ghj*; Imperatorumque *k*.

<sup>476</sup>qui fuerunt] qui fuerint *B*; omit *H*.

<sup>477</sup>et cetera] omit *BCDE*.

<sup>478</sup>Item] In *a*; Et in *b-k*.

<sup>479</sup>sunt quingenti gradus ... gradu sunt] ad primam habitacionem sunt quingenti gradus. in quolibet autem gradu *a-k*.

<sup>480</sup>leones viventes detenti ibidem] viventes leones detenti [dicenti *E*] ibidem *CDE*; leones detinentur *a-k*.

<sup>481</sup>Et] ut *a-k*.

<sup>482</sup>vel paganorum] omit *a-k*.

<sup>483</sup>interficerentur, ut dicitur] ipsis interficerentur ut ibidem dicitur *C*; ut dicitur interficerentur *a-k*.

<sup>484</sup>istud] illud *CDEa-k*.

<sup>485</sup>sunt ibidem facti de] sunt ibi facti de *C*; ibidem sculpti sunt de *a*; ibi sculpti [sculpte *H*] sunt de *b c d e*; ibi sepulti sunt de *f*; ibi sepulti sunt sub *ghjk*; ibi sculpti [sic] sunt de *i*.

<sup>486</sup>Et] Et ipsum pallacium *a-k*.

<sup>487</sup>ornatum] ornatus *DE*.

<sup>488</sup>pannis preciosissimis] preciosissimis pannis *a-k*.

<sup>489</sup>lanternis] faculis *C*; lucernis *a-k*.

<sup>490</sup>de] die ac *BDEa-k*; die et *C*.

<sup>491</sup>Item: Ascendendo] Ascendendo autem *a*; Et ascendendo *b-k*.

<sup>492</sup>after secundum add gradum sive *DE*.

<sup>493</sup>palacium] omit *C*.

<sup>494</sup>adhuc] omit *b-k*.

<sup>495</sup>plus ascenditur tanto plus palacium ampliatur] altius ascenditur tanto amplius [plus *b-k*] gradus quotificantur [multiplicantur *k*] *a-k*.

	tud <sup>496</sup> palacium dicitur palacium patriarcharum, et dicitur quod ibi sit corpus <sup>497</sup> Abrahe. Et in isto <sup>498</sup> palacio sunt plures <sup>499</sup> camere et dormitoria pulcherrime ornata. <sup>500</sup> Et ibidem est <sup>501</sup> orlogium mirabiliter factum, quia si quis <sup>502</sup> alienus ibidem <sup>503</sup> intraverit, orlogium <sup>504</sup> dat sonum horribilem, sic quod ibi fit <sup>505</sup> concursus <sup>506</sup> populi videndo et <sup>507</sup> apprehendendo <sup>508</sup> illos propter quos <sup>509</sup> fit talis <sup>510</sup> sonus.    <sup>[181v]</sup> Et qualiter hoc sit nescio. <sup>511</sup> Item: <sup>512</sup> Dicitur quod ibidem sit <sup>513</sup> una <sup>514</sup> magna liberia <sup>515</sup> in <sup>516</sup> una <sup>517</sup> camera ad quam doctores transeunt. <sup>518</sup>	496 497-99 500-501 502-4 505-8 509-12 513-17 518
190	Item: Ascendendo ad terciam <sup>519</sup> habitacionem, ubi adhuc sunt plures gradus, <sup>520</sup> dicitur habitacio sanctarum virginum. Et ibidem <sup>521</sup> est pulcherrima capella, et <sup>522</sup> ibidem est <sup>523</sup> refectorium laycorum et familiarium.	519 520-21 522-23
195	Item: Ascendendo quartam <sup>524</sup> habitacionem, <sup>525</sup> dicitur <sup>526</sup> habitacio sanctorum martyrum et confessorum. <sup>527</sup> Et <sup>528</sup> ibidem eciam est <sup>529</sup> capella <sup>530</sup> et <sup>531</sup> refectorium dominorum et dormitorium. <sup>532</sup>	524-26 527-30 531-32

<sup>496</sup>istud] illud C.

<sup>497</sup>quod ibi sit corpus] quod sit chorus *a-j*;  
quod ibi fit chorus *G*; esse Chorus *k*.

<sup>498</sup>Et in isto] In ipso autem *a*.

<sup>499</sup>plures] multæ *k*.

<sup>500</sup>ornata] ordinata *dfghijk*.

<sup>501</sup>Et ibidem est] Et ibi est *C*; Est etiam ibidem *ab*; Est etiam ibi *c-k*.

<sup>502</sup>quia si quis] et si aliquis *C* (see 506).

<sup>503</sup>ibidem] omit *B*; ibi *C* (see 506).

<sup>504</sup>orlogium] omit *C* (see 506).

<sup>505</sup>fit] sit *B* (see 506).

<sup>506</sup>quia si quis . . . concursus] dans horribilem sonum ad introitum cuiuslibet alieni excitans sic concursum *a*; dans horribilem sonum [sonitum *k*] ad introitum cuiuslibet alieni excitando concursum *b-k* (see 502-5).

<sup>507</sup>videndo et] videndo aut *C*; omit *DEa-k*.

<sup>508</sup>apprehendendo] comprehendendo *C*; ad apprehendendum *a-k*.

<sup>509</sup>illos propter quos] illum vel illos propter quem vel quos huiusmodi *a-k*.

<sup>510</sup>talis] omit *DEa-k*.

<sup>511</sup>Et qualiter hoc sit nescio] omit *C*; et quomodo hoc sit nescitur *DE*; quomodo autem hoc fiat nescitur *a-k*.

<sup>512</sup>Item] Et *DE*; omit *a-k*.

<sup>513</sup>quod ibidem sit] quod ibi sit *BC*; etiam ibi esse *a-k*.

<sup>514</sup>una] omit *Ca-k*.

<sup>515</sup>liberia] bibliotheca *k*.

<sup>516</sup>in] et *B*.

<sup>517</sup>una] omit *Cb-k*.

<sup>518</sup>after transeunt add ad illam *B*; add studere *DEa-k*.

<sup>519</sup>Item: Ascendendo ad terciam] Item ascendendo 3<sup>am</sup> *E*; Ad terciam vero ascendendo *a-k*.

<sup>520</sup>ubi adhuc sunt plures gradus] ibi sunt adhuc plures habitaciones *D*; sunt ibi adhuc plures gradus *E*; sunt adhuc plures gradus *a-k*; after gradus add et *CDE*; add et hec *a-k*.

<sup>521</sup>Et ibidem] in qua *a-k*; in quam *H*.

<sup>522</sup>et] omit *Cb-k*.

<sup>523</sup>ibidem est] apud quam prope est *C*; omit *E*.

<sup>524</sup>Item: Ascendendo quartam] Item ascendendo ad quartam *BC*; Quartam autem ascendendo *a*; Quartam [Quarta *jk*] vero ascendendo *b-k*.

<sup>525</sup>habitacionem] omit *k*.

<sup>526</sup>dicitur] que dicitur *Ca-j*; Et illa dicitur *D*; illa dicitur *E*; omit *k*.

<sup>527</sup>habitacio sanctorum martyrum et confessorum] sanctorum martirum et confessorum habitatio *b-j*; habitatio sanctorum Martyrum et Confessorum est *k*.

<sup>528</sup>Et] omit *j* (see 531).

<sup>529</sup>ibidem eciam est] ibidem eciam *B*; ibidem est eciam *DE*; habet *a-k* (see 530-31).

<sup>530</sup>capella] capellam pulchram *a-k* (see 529, 531).

<sup>531</sup>Et ibidem eciam est capella et] eiusdem que est *C* (see 528-30).

<sup>532</sup>dominorum et dormitorium] et dormitorium dominorum *a-k*.

	Item: Ascendendo ad quintam habitacionem, ibi <sup>533</sup> est <sup>534</sup> chorus sanc-	533-34
	torum <sup>535</sup> apostolorum. Et ibi est ecclesia <sup>536</sup> mire pulchritudinis, et ibi te-	535-36
	nentur <sup>537</sup> divina <sup>538</sup> officia coram Presbytero Johanne. Et ibidem est <sup>539</sup> refec-	537-39
200	torium Presbyteri Johannis, <sup>540</sup> longum et latum <sup>541</sup> ac mire <sup>542</sup> pulchritudinis,	540-42
	in quo sunt multe <sup>543</sup> preciose ymagines de lapidibus preciosis et deauratis. <sup>544</sup>	543-44
	Et ibi est <sup>545</sup> mensa Presbyteri Johannis. <sup>546</sup> Et est de lapide precioso facta, <sup>547</sup>	545-47
	et tamen est ita levis <sup>548</sup> ac si esset lignea. Et ita pulchra <sup>549</sup> et lucida quod <sup>550</sup>	548-50
	facies <sup>551</sup> speculatur in eadem. <sup>552</sup> Et habet talem virtutem <sup>553</sup> quod si predicte	551-53
205	mense apponerentur cibaria venenosa <sup>554</sup> nulli nocerent. Et si illa mensa fri-	554
	catur digito aut alio instrumento, tunc <sup>555</sup> scintille ardentes saltant ex	555
	eadem. <sup>556</sup>	556
	Et ibi eciam est <sup>557</sup> fons largissime currens. Et ibidem eciam est <sup>558</sup> cam-	557-58
	pana quam sanctus Thomas fieri fecit, quam cum <sup>559</sup> obsessi audiunt, <sup>560</sup> cu-	559-60
210	rantur, <sup>561</sup> et <sup>562</sup> spiritus maligni fugiunt, <sup>563</sup> nec <sup>564</sup> animalia venenosa possunt	561-64

<sup>533</sup>Item: Ascendendo ad quintam habitacionem, ibi] Ad quintam itaque habitacionem ascendendo in qua *a-j*; In quinta autem habitatione ascendendo *k*.

<sup>534</sup>est] dicitur *C*.

<sup>535</sup>sanctorum] omit *DEa-k*.

<sup>536</sup>Et ibi est ecclesia] et ibi habetur ecclesia *C*; et est ibi ecclesia *E*; habens ecclesiam *a-k*.

<sup>537</sup>et ibi tenentur] Et tenentur *B*; Et ibidem tenentur *D*; ubi fiunt *a-k*.

<sup>538</sup>divina] diversa *C*.

<sup>539</sup>ibidem est] ibidem *B*; continet *a-k*.

<sup>540</sup>Presbyteri Johannis] eiusdem *a-k*.

<sup>541</sup>longum et latum] Et est longum et latum *DE*; quod longum et latum est *a-k*.\*

<sup>542</sup>ac mire] et mire *Ck*; admire *E*.

<sup>543</sup>multe] omit *a-k*.

<sup>544</sup>after deauratis add facte *a-k*.

<sup>545</sup>ibi est] ibidem est *C*; est ibi *DE*.

<sup>546</sup>after Johannis add longa et lata *DEa-k*.

<sup>547</sup>Et est de lapide precioso facta] facta de lapide precioso *a-k*.

<sup>548</sup>et tamen est ita levis] Et tamen tabula hec tam levis est *DE*; que tam levis est *a-k*.

<sup>549</sup>Et ita pulchra] et est ita pulchra *a*; que tam pulchra *b*; que tam pulchra est *c-k*.

<sup>550</sup>quod] ut *k*.

<sup>551</sup>facies] omit *D*.

<sup>552</sup>speculatur in eadem] relucet [reluceat *k*] in eam speculantis *a-k*.

<sup>553</sup>talem virtutem] virtutem talem *DE*.

<sup>554</sup>quod si predicte mense apponerentur cibaria venenosa] ut si apponerentur cibaria venenosa in ea *a*; quod si in ea ponerentur cibaria venenosa *b-j*; ut si in ea poneretur cibaria venenosa *k*.

<sup>555</sup>Et si illa mensa fricatur digito aut alio instrumento, tunc] Et si eadem mensa fricaretur alio instrumento, tunc *C*; habet et virtutem illam ut si fricaretur digito vel instrumento quovis alio *a-j*; Habet et virtutem illam, ut si ungue digiti fricetur vel instrumento quovis alio, statim *k*.†

<sup>556</sup>saltant ex eadem] saltent ex eadem *B*; ex ea saltant *C*; saltarent ex eadem *a-j*; ex ea exiliant *k*.

<sup>557</sup>Et ibi eciam est] Et ibidem eciam *B*; Et ibi est *C*; Et ibi est eciam *DE*; Est etiam ibidem *a*; Est ibi etiam *b-k*.

<sup>558</sup>Et ibidem eciam est] Et ibidem *B*; et ibi eciam est *C*; Et ibi est eciam *D*; Et est ibi *E*; et *a-k*.

<sup>559</sup>cum] omit *B* (see next lemma).

<sup>560</sup>quam cum obsessi audiunt] ad cuius sonum obsessi *a*; ad sonum cuius obsessi *b-k* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>561</sup>curantur] orant *E*; after curantur add ibidem habetur *a-j*.

<sup>562</sup>et] xij *B*; omit *Ca-j*.

<sup>563</sup>spiritus maligni fugiunt] omit *C*; Spiritus namque maligni *a*; Maligni spiritus *b-k*.

<sup>564</sup>nec] et *a-k*.

- audire eandem.<sup>565</sup> Et dicitur<sup>566</sup> campana benedicta, et illa pulsatur<sup>567</sup> ante  
prandium Presbyteri Johannis, et in medio prandii, ll <sup>[182r]</sup> et eciam<sup>568</sup> facto  
prandio. Et ibidem sedent<sup>569</sup> in cathedris<sup>570</sup> octo doctores qui legunt in pran-  
dio Presbyteri Johannis<sup>571</sup> diversas materias pulchras<sup>572</sup> valde<sup>573</sup> delectabiles.  
215 Et habet<sup>574</sup> in prandio vasa preciosissima<sup>575</sup> aurea, argentea, et de lapidibus  
preciosis<sup>576</sup> in magna quantitate. Et ibidem sunt vasa quod,<sup>577</sup> si<sup>578</sup> cibaria  
starent per unum<sup>579</sup> diem et amplius in eisdem, numquam<sup>580</sup> putrescerent  
nec sapor mutaretur.<sup>581</sup> Et ibidem est<sup>582</sup> dormitorium patriarche,<sup>583</sup> archi-  
episcoporum,<sup>584</sup> et aliorum prelatorum.  
220 Item:<sup>585</sup> Ascendendo ad sextam habitationem,<sup>586</sup> que dicitur<sup>587</sup> cho-  
rus<sup>588</sup> sancte Marie Virginis<sup>589</sup> et angelorum.<sup>590</sup> Ibidem est<sup>591</sup> capella pul-  
cherrima, et de<sup>592</sup> mane omni die post<sup>593</sup> ortum solis cantatur ibidem<sup>594</sup> missa  
de beata Virgine<sup>595</sup> solempniter.<sup>596</sup> Et ibi est<sup>597</sup> speciale palacium Presbyteri  
Johannis; et<sup>598</sup> doctores ibi<sup>599</sup> tenent consilia. Et illud potest volvi<sup>600</sup> ad  
225 modum rote, et est testudinatum ad modum celi. Et sunt ibidem<sup>601</sup> multi

<sup>565</sup>possunt audire eandem] audire possunt eandem C; possunt audire eandem campanam DE; fugiunt sonum eius a-k.

<sup>566</sup>dicitur] vocatur C; after dicitur add hec a-k.

<sup>567</sup>et illa pulsatur] et semper pulsatur C; que pulsari consuevit a-k.

<sup>568</sup>prandii, et eciam] et in medio et in C.\*

<sup>569</sup>Et ibidem sedent] Et ibi sedent DE; Et sedent ibi a-k.

<sup>570</sup>in cathedris] cathedris D; omit a-k.

<sup>571</sup>after Johannis add alternatim *abcd fghijk*; add alternam e.

<sup>572</sup>pulchras] omit C.

<sup>573</sup>after valde add et a-k.

<sup>574</sup>Et habet] Habet etiam a-k.

<sup>575</sup>vasa preciosissima] suo vasa preciosissima C; suo preciosissima vasa a-k.

<sup>576</sup>preciosis] preciosissimis C.

<sup>577</sup>quod] in quibus C (see next lemma).

<sup>578</sup>Et ibidem sunt vasa quod, si] inter que aliqua sunt in quibus a-k (see preceding lemma).

<sup>579</sup>unum] omit C; unam D; v<sup>m</sup> E (see 581).

<sup>580</sup>diem et amplius in eisdem, numquam] mensem omnino in eisdem non C (see 581).

<sup>581</sup>starent per unum ... sapor mutaretur] nunquam putrescunt nec sapor eorum mutatur quamvis diu in eis contineantur a; nunquam putrescunt nec sapor eorum mutatur quamvis in eis diu contineantur b-k (see 579-80).

<sup>582</sup>Et ibidem est] Item ibidem est D; Ibidem est E; Ibidem est etiam a-k.

<sup>583</sup>patriarche] patriarcharum Da-k; after patriarche add maioris C.

<sup>584</sup>archiepiscoporum] episcoporum Ea-k.

<sup>585</sup>Item] Item ulterius DE; Ulterius a-j; Ulterius vero k.

<sup>586</sup>ad sextam habitationem] sextam habitationem C; est sexta habitatio k.

<sup>587</sup>dicitur] dicta est a-k.

<sup>588</sup>chorus] chorum gh.

<sup>589</sup>Marie Virginis] virginis marie DEab.

<sup>590</sup>et angelorum] omit C.

<sup>591</sup>Ibidem est] Ibidem B; et habet a-k (see next lemma).

<sup>592</sup>capella pulcherrima, et de] capellam pulcherrimam in qua de [omit k] a-k (see preceding lemma).

<sup>593</sup>post] ante C.

<sup>594</sup>ibidem] ibi B (see 596).

<sup>595</sup>after virgine add marie C (see 596).

<sup>596</sup>cantatur ibidem missa de beata Virgine solempniter] missa solempniter de beata virgine cantatur a-k (see 594-95).

<sup>597</sup>Et ibi est] et est ibi C; et ibidem est k.

<sup>598</sup>et] omit j.

<sup>599</sup>doctores ibi tenent] doctorum ubi tenent BDEa-k; doctores tenent ibi C.

<sup>600</sup>Et illud potest volvi] Et illud palacium potest volvi C; Et illud volvitur DE; quod volvitur a-k.

<sup>601</sup>Et sunt ibidem] in quo etiam sunt a; in quo sunt etiam b-k.

lapides preciosi lucentes in nocte ac si esset clara dies. Et iste<sup>602</sup> due ultime habitaciones—scilicet quinta et sexta—sunt maiores et laciores<sup>603</sup> aliis.

- Item: Ulterius ascendendo<sup>604</sup> habitacionem septimam,<sup>605</sup> que est summa,<sup>606</sup> dicitur chorus<sup>607</sup> sancte Trinitatis. Et ibi est capella<sup>608</sup> pulcherrima<sup>609</sup>—pulchrior aliis<sup>610</sup>—et parva.<sup>611</sup> Et ibi<sup>612</sup> celebratur omni die<sup>613</sup> missa de sancta Trinitate mane<sup>614</sup> ante ortum solis, quam<sup>615</sup> semper audit Presbyter Johannes, quia mane<sup>616</sup> post mediam noctem surgit,<sup>617</sup> et postea || [<sup>182v</sup>] audit missam sub<sup>618</sup> de beata Virgine,<sup>619</sup> et postea<sup>620</sup> summam missam, que semper celebratur<sup>621</sup> in choro sanctorum<sup>622</sup> apostolorum.<sup>623</sup> Et ista capella<sup>624</sup> est<sup>625</sup> nimis<sup>626</sup> alte testudinata,<sup>627</sup> et est<sup>628</sup> rotunda ad modum celi stellati,<sup>629</sup> et transit circumeundo ad modum<sup>630</sup> firmamenti. Et est<sup>631</sup> pavimentata de ebureo,<sup>632</sup> et altare est factum<sup>633</sup> de ebureo et de<sup>634</sup> lapidibus preciosis. Et ibi est una<sup>635</sup> parva campana, quam quicumque audit non incurrit illo die<sup>636</sup> surditatem, ut ibidem credunt.<sup>637</sup> Et ibi est eciam<sup>638</sup> facies veronice,<sup>639</sup> quam

<sup>602</sup>iste] ille *DE*.

<sup>603</sup>maiores et laciores] laciores et maiores *DEa-k*.

<sup>604</sup>Item: Ulterius ascendendo] Ascendendo autem ulterius *a-k*; after ascendendo *add* ad *BC*; after ulterius *add* ad *a-k*.

<sup>605</sup>habitacionem septimam] septimam habitationem *a-k*.

<sup>606</sup>est summa] est summa et *C*; et summa est et *a-k*.

<sup>607</sup>chorus] chorum *D*.

<sup>608</sup>Et ibi est capella] et est ibi capella *C*; in qua est capella *a*; in qua capella est *b-j*; Et est capella *k*.

<sup>609</sup>after pulcherrima *add* que est *abce*; *add* qui est *dfghi*; *add* qui et *j*; *add* multo *k*.

<sup>610</sup>pulchrior aliis] omnibus aliis pulchrior *C*.

<sup>611</sup>et parva] *omit a-k*.

<sup>612</sup>Et ibi] in qua *k*.

<sup>613</sup>omni die] quotidie *a-k*.

<sup>614</sup>mane] *omit C*.

<sup>615</sup>quam] et hanc missam *a-k*.

<sup>616</sup>mane] semper *C* (see next lemma).

<sup>617</sup>quia mane post mediam noctem surgit] *omit a-k* (see 616, 623).

<sup>618</sup>et postea audit missam sub<sup>618</sup> et postea audit missam *Cabcdefghjk*; postea *i*.

<sup>619</sup>after Virgine *add* in habitatione sexta *a-k*.

<sup>620</sup>et postea] ac deinde *abcdfghijk*; ac dictum *e.†*

<sup>621</sup>que semper celebratur] que celebratur *C*; *omit DEa-k*.

<sup>622</sup>sanctorum] *omit C*.

<sup>623</sup>after apostolorum *add* omnium *C*; *add* nam [et *b-k*] mane post medium noctis

surgit de strato [stratu *Hk*] suo *a-k* (see 617).

<sup>624</sup>Et ista capella] Capella autem predicta *a-k*.

<sup>625</sup>est] *omit C* (see 627).

<sup>626</sup>nimis] valde *k*.

<sup>627</sup>after testudinata *add* est *C* (see 625).

<sup>628</sup>est] *omit DE*.

<sup>629</sup>stellati] stellari *j*; stellaris *k* (see next lemma).

<sup>630</sup>celi stellati, et transit circumeundo ad modum] *omit B* (see preceding lemma).\*

<sup>631</sup>Et est] et *D*; Est etiam *a-k*.

<sup>632</sup>ebureo] eburneo *CDE*; ebore *a-k*.

<sup>633</sup>et altare est factum] Et altare in ea constructum est *C*; habens altare factum similiter *a*; habens altare similiter factum *b-k*.

<sup>634</sup>ebureo et de] *omit C*; eburneo et de *DE*; ebore et *a-k*.\*

<sup>635</sup>Et ibi est una] Et ibidem est una *BD*; Ibi- dem est etiam *a-k*.

<sup>636</sup>quicumque audit non incurrit illo die] si quis audierit illo die non incurrit *C*; quicumque audit non incurrit *D*; quicumque audierit ut creditur ibidem in illa die non incurrit *a*; quicumque audierit ut creditur ibidem illo die non incurrit *b-k* (see next lemma).

<sup>637</sup>ut ibidem credunt] ut dicitur *C*; et ibidem credunt hoc *DE*; *omit a-k* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>638</sup>Et ibi est eciam] Et ibi eciam est *C*; Et ibidem est eciam *D*; Ibi- dem est eciam *E*; Est etiam ibidem *a-k*.

<sup>639</sup>veronice] veronica *a-k*.

- 240 quicumque illo die videt<sup>640</sup> non deficiet visu, ut dicunt.<sup>641</sup> 640–41  
 Et ibi<sup>642</sup> prope est dormitorium Presbyteri Johannis mire pulchritu- 642  
 dinis et magnitudinis et<sup>643</sup> testudinatam et<sup>644</sup> stellatum ad modum firma- 643–44  
 menti.<sup>645</sup> Et ibidem est<sup>646</sup> sol et<sup>647</sup> luna cum septem speris planetarum te- 645–47  
 nentes cursus suos ut in celo;<sup>648</sup> et hoc<sup>649</sup> est artificialiter factum.<sup>650</sup> Item: 648–50  
 245 Ibi est<sup>651</sup> speculum in quo sunt positi<sup>652</sup> tres lapides preciosi,<sup>653</sup> quorum<sup>654</sup> 651–54  
 unus dirigit et<sup>655</sup> acuit visum, alter<sup>656</sup> sensum, tercius experienciam. Ad quod 655–56  
 speculum<sup>657</sup> sunt electi tres<sup>658</sup> valentissimi<sup>659</sup> doctores qui, inspiciendo spe- 657–59  
 culum, vident omnia<sup>660</sup> que fiunt in mundo, ut ibidem dicitur.<sup>661</sup> 660–61  
 Item: Sunt ibidem<sup>662</sup> artificialiter<sup>663</sup> facti<sup>664</sup> ix chori angelorum, et<sup>665</sup> in 662–65  
 250 hiis choris<sup>666</sup> sunt facte ymages pulcherrime angelorum,<sup>667</sup> patriarcharum, 666–67  
 prophetarum, apostolorum,<sup>668</sup> martyrum, confessorum, Trium Regum, 668  
 atque virginum, de lapidibus preciosis ll <sup>[183r]</sup> et de<sup>669</sup> auro. Item.<sup>670</sup> In su- 669–70  
 premo—scilicet throno<sup>671</sup>—sedet<sup>672</sup> Maiestas, cui serviunt vigintiquatuor<sup>673</sup> 671–73  
 seniores et summi archangeli tenentes in manibus suis rotulos,<sup>674</sup> tam- 674

<sup>640</sup>quicumque illo die videt] quicumque illo die vidit *BDE*; si quis inspexerit illo die *C*; quicumque viderit illo die *a-k*.

<sup>641</sup>non deficiet visu, ut dicunt] in visu non deficiet *C*; ut dicunt visum non amittet *a*; non amittit visum *b-k*.

<sup>642</sup>Et ibi] Ibi autem *a-k*.

<sup>643</sup>mire pulchritudinis et magnitudinis et] preciosum valde *a-k*; *after* [magnitudinis.] et *add* est *C*.

<sup>644</sup>et] ac *a-k*.

<sup>645</sup>ad modum firmamenti] sicut firmamentum *a-k*.

<sup>646</sup>Et ibidem est] sunt etiam ibi *a*; sunt etiam ibidem *b-k*.

<sup>647</sup>et] *omit b-k*; et *H*.

<sup>648</sup>cum septem speris planetarum tenentes cursus suos ut in celo] et alii planete *a-k*.

<sup>649</sup>hoc] *omit C*; *after* hoc *add* nimis *DEa*; *add* mire *b-k*.

<sup>650</sup>est artificialiter factum] artificialiter factum est *DEa-k*.

<sup>651</sup>Item: Ibi est] Item ibidem est *C*; Est ibi etiam *b-k*.

<sup>652</sup>sunt positi] positi sunt *C*; sunt *DE* (*see next lemma*).

<sup>653</sup>in quo sunt positi tres lapides preciosi] tres lapides [lampades *G*] preciosos continens *a*; continens tres lapides preciosos *b-k* (*see preceding lemma*).

<sup>654</sup>quorum] *omit DE*.

<sup>655</sup>dirigit et] *omit a-k*.

<sup>656</sup>alter] aliter *H*.

<sup>658</sup>tres] quatuor *b-k*.

<sup>657</sup>speculum] *omit a-k*.

<sup>659</sup>valentissimi] *omit a-k*.

<sup>660</sup>inspiciendo speculum, vident omnia] intuendo ipsum omnia sciunt *a-k*.

<sup>661</sup>ibidem dicitur] dicitur ibidem *C*; dicitur *a-k*.

<sup>662</sup>Item: Sunt ibidem] Item sunt ibi *BDEa*; Sunt ibi etiam *b*; Sunt etiam ibi *c-k*.

<sup>663</sup>artificialiter] *omit Ca-k*.

<sup>664</sup>facti] *omit D*.

<sup>665</sup>et] *omit b-k*.

<sup>666</sup>hiis choris] quibus *k*.

<sup>667</sup>pulcherrime angelorum] angelorum pulcherrime *C*.

<sup>668</sup>apostolorum] *omit C*.

<sup>669</sup>de] *omit E*.

<sup>670</sup>[Item] *omit a-k*.

<sup>671</sup>In supremo—scilicet throno] in summo scilicet choro *B*; in summo scilicet throno *C*; in supremo choro scilicet in [omit *E*] throno *DE*; In supremo vero choro in throno scilicet *a*; Et in supremo choro scilicet in throno *b-k*.

<sup>672</sup>*after* sedet *add* divina *a-k*.

<sup>673</sup>vigintiquatuor] novem *a-k*.

<sup>674</sup>rotulos] rotulas *BCEa-k*; *omit D*.

- 255 quam<sup>675</sup> cantantes, "Gloria in excelsis,"<sup>676</sup> "Sanctus,"<sup>677</sup> et similia.<sup>678</sup> 675-78  
 Item: Sunt ibi<sup>679</sup> tres cruces preciosissime prope lectum<sup>680</sup> quas Pres- 679-80  
 byter Johannes<sup>681</sup> semper adorat.<sup>682</sup> Et sunt ibi duo fontes, quorum unus 681-82  
 est<sup>683</sup> frigidus, alter calidus.<sup>684</sup> Item: Stat ibi<sup>685</sup> magnus gygas fortiter arma- 683-85  
 tus, et dicitur quod si aliquis<sup>686</sup> inimicus<sup>687</sup> intraret post occasum solis quod 686-87  
 260 gygas illum<sup>688</sup> interficeret.<sup>689</sup> 688-89  
 Item: Supra<sup>690</sup> isto septimo et ultimo palacio sunt 20 turres mire alti- 690  
 tudinis et pulchritudinis<sup>691</sup> deaurate,<sup>692</sup> sub quibus totum palacium conclu- 691-92  
 ditur et tegitur.<sup>693</sup> Et in isto ultimo<sup>694</sup> palacio<sup>695</sup> sunt etiam 24<sup>696</sup> palacia— 693-96  
 seu<sup>697</sup> camere—que possunt circumvolvi ad modum<sup>698</sup> rote.<sup>699</sup> Et ita istud 697-99  
 265 totum palacium habet septem habitaciones prius narratas in quibus<sup>700</sup> adhuc 700  
 sunt<sup>701</sup> plura mirabilia et rara,<sup>702</sup> quibus iam<sup>703</sup> non recordor.<sup>704</sup> 701-4  
 Item: Istud totum palacium<sup>705</sup> est situm super uno<sup>706</sup> flumine quod 705-6  
 dicitur Tigris,<sup>707</sup> veniente<sup>708</sup> de Paradiso<sup>709</sup>; de quo flumine<sup>710</sup> proicitur<sup>711</sup> 707-11  
 aurum.<sup>712</sup> Item:<sup>713</sup> Extra civitatem<sup>714</sup> sunt xij claustra que sanctus Thomas 712-14

<sup>675</sup>tamquam] *omit C.*

<sup>676</sup>after excelsis *add* deo et cetera *C*; *add* et *D*; *add* deo et cetera et *Ei*; *add* et cetera et *abcdefghjk*.

<sup>677</sup>after Sanctus *add* sauctus *a* [sanctus *G*]; *add* sanctus sanctus *F*.

<sup>678</sup>similia] *consimilia a*.

<sup>679</sup>Item: Sunt ibi] Item sunt ibidem *B*; Sunt etiam ibidem *ab*; Sunt etiam ibi *c-k*.

<sup>680</sup>prope lectum] *omit DEa-k*.

<sup>681</sup>quas Presbyter Johannes] presbiteri johannis quas ipse *C*.

<sup>682</sup>adorat] *honorat k*; after adorat *add* Qui optimus christianorum est *C*.

<sup>683</sup>est] *omit f-k*.

<sup>684</sup>frigidus, alter calidus] frigidus et alter calidus *BC*; calidus et alter frigidus *a-k*.

<sup>685</sup>Stat ibi] ibi stat *a*.

<sup>686</sup>aliquis] *omit C* (see 689).

<sup>687</sup>after inimicus *add* ibi *C* (see 689).

<sup>688</sup>gygas illum] illum gygas ille *C* (see 689).

<sup>689</sup>et dicitur . . . interficeret] qui ut fertur interficeret omnem inimicum post occasum solis intrantem *a-k* (see 686-88).

<sup>690</sup>Supra] super *CDEa-k*.

<sup>691</sup>altitudinis et pulchritudinis] pulchritudinis et altitudinis *C*; altitudinis *k*.

<sup>692</sup>deaurate] *omit b-k*.

<sup>693</sup>palacium concluditur et tegitur] concluditur et tegitur pallacium *a*; tegitur et concluditur pallacium *b-k*.

<sup>694</sup>ultimo] *omit E*.

<sup>695</sup>palacio] *omit b-k*.

<sup>696</sup>etiam 24] *xx C*; novem *a-k*.

<sup>697</sup>palacia—seu] *omit C*.

<sup>698</sup>modum] motum *cdefghi*; modum *H*.

<sup>699</sup>after rote *add* mirabili pictura dimite (?) *C.\**

<sup>700</sup>Et ita istud . . . in quibus] *omit a-k* (see 702, 704).

<sup>701</sup>adhuc sunt] adhuc *B*; sunt adhuc *Ea-k* (see 704).

<sup>702</sup>et rara] *omit b-k*; after mirabilia [et rara] *add* in predictis septem [viji *b*] habitacionibus dicti pallacii *a-k* (see 700, 704).

<sup>703</sup>quibus iam] que iam *D*; quorum iam *a*; quorum *b-k* (see 704).

<sup>704</sup>Et ita istud . . . non recordor] *omit C* (see 700-703).

<sup>705</sup>Item: Istud totum palacium] Item illud totum palacium *C*; Pallacium autem ipsum *a*; Pallacium autem *b-k*.

<sup>706</sup>uno] quodam *b-k*.

<sup>707</sup>quod dicitur Tigris] *omit C* (see 709).

<sup>708</sup>veniente] veniens *a-k*.

<sup>709</sup>after Paradiso *add* tigris nuncupato *C* (see 707).

<sup>710</sup>flumine] *omit a-k*.

<sup>711</sup>proicitur] tollitur *C*.

<sup>712</sup>after aurum *add* hec omnia superius scripta per me expresse vidi et hoc ex promociione nobilium cum quibus eramus in peregrinacione sancti thome constituti *C*.

<sup>713</sup>[Item] *omit b-k*.

<sup>714</sup>after civitatem *add* edissam *C*.



- 270 suis temporibus fieri fecit in honore<sup>715</sup> Christi et xij apostolorum. 715  
 Item: Ante palacium Presbyteri Johannis est signatum<sup>716</sup> aureis lit- 716  
 teris<sup>717</sup> quod omni die comedunt<sup>718</sup> ibidem<sup>719</sup> xxx<sup>M</sup> hominum, exceptis in- 717-19  
 gredientibus et egredientibus.<sup>720</sup> Item: Ibidem nisi semel in die comeditur.<sup>721</sup> 720-21  
 Item: Presbyter<sup>722</sup> Johannes transit de mane<sup>723</sup> ante prandium<sup>724</sup> ut 722-24  
 275 papa—scilicet<sup>725</sup> cappa ll <sup>[183v]</sup> longa,<sup>726</sup> rubea, et<sup>727</sup> preciosissima. Et<sup>728</sup> post 725-28  
 prandium transit<sup>729</sup> ut<sup>730</sup> rex,<sup>731</sup> equitando et terram suam gubernando.<sup>732</sup> Et 729-32  
 scribit se<sup>733</sup> in litteris suis:<sup>734</sup> “Johannes Presbyter, divina gracia dominus 733-34  
 dominancium omnium que<sup>735</sup> sub celo sunt,<sup>736</sup> ab ortu solis usque<sup>737</sup> ad 735-37  
 Paradisum Terrestrem.” Item:<sup>738</sup> Sub eo sunt et regnant<sup>739</sup> septuagintaduo<sup>740</sup> 738-40  
 280 reges, quorum sunt undecim<sup>741</sup> Christiani.<sup>742</sup> Item:<sup>743</sup> Homines non utuntur 741-43  
 ibidem vestibibus de lanis factis<sup>744</sup> ut nos, sed vestiuntur<sup>745</sup> pannis factis de<sup>746</sup> 744-46  
 cerico et pelliculis rubicundis.  
 Item: Ibidem non morantur<sup>747</sup> mulieres sed solummodo viri; sed<sup>748</sup> 747-48  
 mulieres morantur remote ultra mare per quatuor dietas navigando<sup>749</sup> in<sup>750</sup> 749-50  
 285 una insula vocata<sup>751</sup> Terra Feminarum, et<sup>752</sup> est<sup>753</sup> fortiter circummurata.<sup>754</sup> 751-54

<sup>715</sup>in honore] ad honorem C; in honorem ik.

<sup>716</sup>signatum] scriptum C.

<sup>717</sup>aureis litteris] omit a-k.

<sup>718</sup>omni die comedunt] omne die comme-  
dunt BE; omni die comedant a; sem-  
per comedant bcdefgi; semper comedunt  
hjk.

<sup>719</sup>ibidem] ibi CDGb-k.

<sup>720</sup>after egredientibus add qui sunt de ipsius  
familia C.

<sup>721</sup>Item: Ibidem nisi semel in die comeditur]  
Et nisi semel ibidem in die comeditur C;  
et ibidem tantum semel in die comeditur  
a; et comeditur ibi tantum semel in die  
b-k.

<sup>722</sup>Item: Presbyter] Presbiter autem a-k.

<sup>723</sup>de mane] omit a-k (see next lemma).

<sup>724</sup>transit de mane ante prandium] ante pran-  
deum de mane incedit C (see preceding  
lemma).

<sup>725</sup>scilicet] omit C; cum a-k.

<sup>726</sup>[longa] omit C.

<sup>727</sup>et] omit B.

<sup>728</sup>Et] omit a-k.

<sup>729</sup>transit] omit C.

<sup>730</sup>ut] vero sicut a-k.

<sup>731</sup>rex] imperator C.

<sup>732</sup>gubernando] regendo DE; regendo in-  
cedit a-k.

<sup>733</sup>after se add idem presbiter johannes C.

<sup>734</sup>after suis add prout legi C; add sic a-k.

<sup>735</sup>que] qui Ck.

<sup>736</sup>sub celo sunt] sunt sub celo b-j.

<sup>737</sup>usque] omit C.

<sup>738</sup>Item] Et b-k.

<sup>739</sup>sunt et regnant] sunt C; regnant a-k; reg-  
nantur G.

<sup>740</sup>septuagintaduo] octodecim abcdefi; de-  
cem et octo ghjk.

<sup>741</sup>sunt undecim] xi sunt Ca-k.

<sup>742</sup>after Christiani add et alii reges sexaginta  
unus sunt pagani DE; add et alii septem  
non christiani a-k; add alii septem non  
sunt christiani H.

<sup>743</sup>Item] Eciam C; omit b-k.

<sup>744</sup>non utuntur ibidem vestibibus de lanis fac-  
tis] non utuntur ibi vestibibus de lanis C;  
ibidem non utuntur vestibibus factis de  
lanis DE; ibidem non vestiuntur pannis  
de lana a; ibidem non vestiuntur de lana  
b-k.

<sup>745</sup>vestiuntur omit C (see next lemma).

<sup>746</sup>vestiuntur pannis factis de] omit a-k (see  
preceding lemma).

<sup>747</sup>Item: Ibidem non morantur] Et ibi est una  
terra ubi non morantur B; ibidem eciam  
non morantur C; Non morantur ibidem  
b-k.

<sup>748</sup>sed] Et C; nam a; quia b-k.

<sup>749</sup>navigando] omit a-k.

<sup>750</sup>in] omit b.†

<sup>751</sup>vocata] que vocatur C; dicta b-k.

<sup>752</sup>et] que a-k.

<sup>753</sup>est] omit C.

<sup>754</sup>circummurata] circummutata B.

	Et ille mulieres tribus vicibus veniunt <sup>755</sup> ad viros pro <sup>756</sup> prole generanda,	755-56
	scilicet ante Septuagesimam, ante festum beati <sup>757</sup> Johannis Baptiste, et ante	757
	festum <sup>758</sup> Michaelis. Et sunt simul <sup>759</sup> tribus diebus et <sup>760</sup> noctibus coeundo, <sup>761</sup>	758-61
	et tunc <sup>762</sup> non intrant ecclesias sed <sup>763</sup> audiunt <sup>764</sup> missas per fenestras. Et	762-64
290	etiam hiis <sup>765</sup> diebus fiunt sponsalia inter ipsos. <sup>766</sup> Et tunc quarta die <sup>767</sup> re-	765-67
	vertuntur ad terram suam. Et si pariunt filium <sup>768</sup> nutriunt <sup>769</sup> per triennium <sup>770</sup>	768-70
	et tunc mittunt patri; <sup>771</sup> si <sup>772</sup> femellam tunc <sup>773</sup> manet cum ipsis. <sup>774</sup>	771-74
	Item: Sunt ibi <sup>775</sup> quatuor flumina Paradisi, <sup>776</sup> quorum <sup>777</sup> Tigris dat au-	775-77
	rum, ut dictum est; et secundum, scilicet <sup>778</sup> Phison, emittit lapides precio-	778
295	sos; <sup>779</sup> et tercium, scilicet <sup>780</sup> Gyon, <sup>781</sup> dat dulcedinem aquarum; et quartum	779-81
	flumen, <sup>782</sup> scilicet <sup>783</sup> Eufrates, dat fertilitatem terre <sup>784</sup>    [184r] semel in quolibet	782-84
	mense, <sup>785</sup> et propterea <sup>786</sup> colligunt ibidem <sup>787</sup> fructum <sup>788</sup> bis <sup>789</sup> in anno.	785-89
	Item: <sup>790</sup> Animalia procurant bis <sup>791</sup> fetum in anno. <sup>792</sup> Et ibidem est <sup>793</sup> finis	790-93
	Indie et <sup>794</sup> terre habitabilis. <sup>795</sup> 796	794-96

<sup>755</sup>tribus vicibus veniunt] tribus vicibus veniunt in anno B; tribus vicibus in anno veniunt E; ter in anno veniunt a-k.

<sup>756</sup>pro] suos C.

<sup>757</sup>beati] omit BDEa-k.

<sup>758</sup>after festum add sancti B.

<sup>759</sup>simul] invicem C.

<sup>760</sup>after et add totidem C; add tribus a-k.

<sup>761</sup>coeundo] omit a-k.

<sup>762</sup>et tunc] et illis DE; in quibus a-k (see next lemma).

<sup>763</sup>tunc non intrant ecclesias sed] non intrant ecclesias tunc sed femine ipse C (see preceding lemma).

<sup>764</sup>audiunt] audiant B.

<sup>765</sup>Et etiam hiis] Et etiam istis B; Etiam hiis C; His etiam a-k.

<sup>766</sup>inter ipsos] inter eos C; omit DEa-k.

<sup>767</sup>Et tunc quarta die] Et sic contra C; quarta autem die a-k.

<sup>768</sup>pariunt filium] pariet filios C.

<sup>769</sup>after nutriunt add ipsos C; add eum a-k.

<sup>770</sup>triennium] biennium C.

<sup>771</sup>et tunc mittunt patri] et tunc dirigunt patribus C; mittentes eum post hoc patri suo a-k.

<sup>772</sup>after si add vero Ca-k; add autem DE.

<sup>773</sup>femellam tunc] pariunt femellas C; femellam peperint a-j; femellam pepererint k.

<sup>774</sup>manet cum ipsis] manebunt apud illas C.

<sup>775</sup>Item: Sunt ibi] Sunt etiam B; Item C; Etiam sunt ibi b-k.

<sup>776</sup>after Paradisi add irrigant totam terram dicti presbiter johannis scilicet omni mense C (see 785).

<sup>777</sup>after quorum add unus veluti b-k (see 785).

<sup>778</sup>et secundum, scilicet] omit a-k (see 785).

<sup>779</sup>emittit lapides preciosos] preciosos lapides emittit a-k (see 785).

<sup>780</sup>et tercium, scilicet] omit a-k (see 785).

<sup>781</sup>Gyon] Geon BDE; Gion k (see 785).

<sup>782</sup>et quartum flumen] omit a-k (see 785).

<sup>783</sup>scilicet] videlicet B; omit a-k (see 785).

<sup>784</sup>terre] omit b-k (see 785).

<sup>785</sup>quorum Tigris . . . in quolibet mense] omit C (see 776-84).

<sup>786</sup>et propterea] et idcirco ak; idcirco b-j.

<sup>787</sup>colligunt ibidem] colligunt ibi CE; ibidem colligunt k.

<sup>788</sup>fructum] fructus C.

<sup>789</sup>after bis add secum B.

<sup>790</sup>Item] Et DE (see 792, 796).

<sup>791</sup>procurant bis] bis producant E (see 792, 796).

<sup>792</sup>Item: Animalia procurant bis fetum in anno] omit Ba-k (see 790-91, 796).

<sup>793</sup>ibidem est] ibi est BDE; est ibi a-k (see 796).

<sup>794</sup>Indie et] in die et B; in die D (see 796).

<sup>795</sup>habitabilis] habitaculis B; after habitabilis add et cetera E (see 796).

<sup>796</sup>Item: Animalia . . . terre habitabilis] omit C (see 790-95).

- 300 Item: Ad visitandum<sup>797</sup> sanctum Thomam,<sup>798</sup> qui iacet<sup>799</sup> quatuor die- 797-99  
tis<sup>800</sup> eundo pedester<sup>801</sup> a civitate predicta<sup>802</sup> in civitate v[o]cata<sup>803</sup> Hulna,<sup>804</sup> 800-804  
iacente<sup>805</sup> per<sup>806</sup> duo miliaria in mari<sup>807</sup> in uno<sup>808</sup> magno monte. Et antequam 805-8  
fiat<sup>809</sup> transitus ad sanctum Thomam,<sup>810</sup> oportet quod<sup>811</sup> homines se pre- 809-11  
parent, ieiunando per quindenam, et abstinendo se<sup>812</sup> a carnibus et piscibus, 812  
305 et omni die confitendo, ieiunando,<sup>813</sup> et devote vivendo.<sup>814</sup> Et fit nisi<sup>815</sup> semel 813-15  
transitus in anno, viij diebus ante festum Thome<sup>816</sup> et viij diebus post, et 816  
per illam<sup>817</sup> quindenam<sup>818</sup> stat mare apertum<sup>819</sup> per illa<sup>820</sup> duo miliaria ante 817-20  
predictam civitatem Hulnam,<sup>821</sup> sic quod<sup>822</sup> Christifideles per mare<sup>823</sup> ad 821-23  
civitatem<sup>824</sup> transeunt siccis pedibus.<sup>825</sup> Et tenet se mare ab utraque parte ut 824-25  
310 duo parietes;<sup>826</sup> per quod eciam mare pagani transire non possunt.<sup>827</sup> 826-27  
Et intrando civitatem predictam,<sup>828</sup> venit<sup>829</sup> ad ecclesiam sancti 828-29  
Thome. Et in vigilia sancti Thome<sup>830</sup> ponitur corpus suum ad cathedram 830

<sup>797</sup>Item: Ad visitandum] Ad visitandum B;  
[V]isitando a-k (see TN VI for rubric in  
a-k).

<sup>798</sup>Thomam] Tho b; after Thomam add  
apostolum cuius corpus habetur in civi-  
tate hulna vocata a-k.

<sup>799</sup>qui iacet] que iacet a; que est sita b-j; que  
sita est k.

<sup>800</sup>quatuor dietis] per 4<sup>or</sup> dietas C.

<sup>801</sup>eundo pedester] omit b-k.

<sup>802</sup>a civitate predicta] a civitate edissa pre-  
dicta Ca-k; ante civitatem predictam DE.

<sup>803</sup>in civitate vocata] ad civitatem vocatam C  
(see 805, 807).\*

<sup>804</sup>Hulna] vlna D; ulua E (see 807).

<sup>805</sup>iacente] iacentem C (see 803, 807).

<sup>806</sup>per] omit DE (see 807).

<sup>807</sup>in civitate vocata Hulna . . . in mari] et iac-  
et ipsa civitas hulna [bulna G] in mari ad  
duo miliaria a; et est ipsa hulna sita in mari  
ad duo miliaria b-k (see 803-6).†

<sup>808</sup>uno] omit Cb-k.

<sup>809</sup>fiat] fiet E (see next lemma).

<sup>810</sup>Et antequam fiat transitus ad sanctum  
Thomam] ad quam civitatem accedendam  
a-k (see preceding lemma).

<sup>811</sup>quod] ut k.

<sup>812</sup>abstinendo se] abstineant b-k.

<sup>813</sup>ieiunando] omit Ca-k.

<sup>814</sup>vivendo] veniendo C.

<sup>815</sup>Et fit nisi] et fit ibidem DE; sicque fit a;  
et sic fit b-k.

<sup>816</sup>Thome] sancti Thome B; Thome apos-  
toli C.

<sup>817</sup>et per illam] Nam per istam a-k.

<sup>818</sup>quindenam] unidecimam C.

<sup>819</sup>apertum] omit DEa-k (see 821).

<sup>820</sup>illa] ista b-k.

<sup>821</sup>Hulnam] omit B; vlnam apertum D;  
Vluam apertum E; hulnam apertum a-j;  
bulnam apertum G; Hulnam, patefacto  
utrinque in transitum et viam fundo aper-  
tum k (see 819).

<sup>822</sup>sic quod] quod b-j; ut k (see 824).

<sup>823</sup>mare] illud k (see 824).

<sup>824</sup>sic quod Christifideles per mare ad civi-  
tatem] omit B (see 822-23, 825).

<sup>825</sup>ad civitatem transeunt siccis pedibus]  
transeunt ad civitatem siccis pedibus C;  
transeunt [transeant k] siccis pedibus ad  
civitatem a-k (see preceding lemma).

<sup>826</sup>Et tenet se mare ab utraque parte ut  
duo parietes] Mare namque ab utraque  
parte ut [ad ghj] duo parietes se tenet a-  
j; Mare namque ab utraque parte ad duos  
instar parietes se tenet (sicut mare rub-  
rum dum filii Israel per illud transie-  
runt) k.

<sup>827</sup>per quod eciam mare pagani transire non  
possunt] Et mare paganos non permittit  
transire B; per quod eciam pagani transi-  
re non possunt C; per quod tamen pa-  
gani transire [ire b-k] non possunt a-k.

<sup>828</sup>Et intrando civitatem predictam] Et in-  
troeundo civitatem predictam DE; Igitur  
intrando civitatem a; Igitur civitatem in-  
trando b-k.

<sup>829</sup>venitur] transsitur C.

<sup>830</sup>Et in vigilia sancti Thome] in cuius vigilia  
festi ab; in cuius festi vigilia c-k.

	magnam deauratam, factam de lapidibus preciosis, <sup>831</sup> ante summum altare, 831
	et stat <sup>832</sup> ibidem <sup>833</sup> a primis vespers usque ad secundas vespers. <sup>834</sup> Et <sup>835</sup> 832-35
315	custoditur plusquam <sup>836</sup> mille viris <sup>837</sup> armatis illis quindecim diebus <sup>838</sup> civitas 836-38
	et ecclesia. <sup>839</sup> Et convenit <sup>840</sup> ibidem <sup>841</sup> populi multitudo <sup>842</sup> vigilantes <sup>843</sup> 839-43
	nocte <sup>844</sup> et orantes. <sup>845</sup> 844-45
	In die <sup>846</sup> sancti Thome venit Presbyter Johannes cum <sup>847</sup> patriarcha, <sup>848</sup> 846-48
	[184v] archiepiscopis, et <sup>849</sup> episcopis ac <sup>850</sup> prelati <sup>851</sup> ad cantandum divina 849-51
320	officia, <sup>852</sup> et cantantur ibidem <sup>853</sup> plures misse antequam summa <sup>854</sup> incipiatur. 852-54
	Et ad summam missam <sup>855</sup> preparat se patriarcha illam cantando; <sup>856</sup> et <sup>857</sup> cum 855-57
	venit ad canonem, <sup>858</sup> discooperitur facies apostoli <sup>859</sup> ita <sup>860</sup> quod <sup>861</sup> ab om- 858-61
	nibus videtur. <sup>862</sup> Et <sup>863</sup> in elevacione <sup>864</sup> facies ipsius <sup>865</sup> triplicem habet <sup>866</sup> ap- 862-66
	parenciam: primo apparet <sup>867</sup> facies <sup>868</sup> pallida ut mortui hominis, <sup>869</sup> 2 <sup>o</sup> <sup>870</sup> alba 867-70

<sup>831</sup> factam de lapidibus preciosis] et variis lapidibus preciosis redimitam C.

<sup>832</sup> et stat] manens a-k.

<sup>833</sup> ibidem] ibi C.

<sup>834</sup> vespers] omit Ba-k.

<sup>835</sup> after Et add corpus apostoli a-k. The order of the two sentences beginning Et custoditur and Et [con]venit in ABCDE is transposed in a-k.

<sup>836</sup> plusquam] postquam C; after plusquam add cum abcde (see 835).

<sup>837</sup> viris] omit b-k (see 835).

<sup>838</sup> illis quindecim diebus] omit Ca-k (see 835, 845, and next lemma).

<sup>839</sup> civitas et ecclesia] omit CDEa-k (see 835 and preceding lemma).

<sup>840</sup> Et convenit] Et venit E; Convenit enim dfg hijk (see 835).

<sup>841</sup> ibidem] ibi C; illic a-k (see 835).

<sup>842</sup> populi multitudo] infinita multitudo christianorum C; populi magnitudo DE (see 835).

<sup>843</sup> vigilantes] vigilā b; vigila cd; vigilia e; vigilans fghijk (see 835).

<sup>844</sup> nocte] omit C (see 835).

<sup>845</sup> et orantes] et orantes illis quindecim diebus a; illis xv diebus b-k (see 835, 838).

<sup>846</sup> In die] Et in die Cb-k; In die vero a.

<sup>847</sup> after cum add suis a-k.

<sup>848</sup> patriarcha] patriarchis Eghjk; after patriarcha add et B; add indie C.

<sup>849</sup> et] omit DE.

<sup>850</sup> episcopis ac] episcopis atque B; aliis C; episcopis et DE; omit a-k.

<sup>851</sup> after prelati add aliis a-j; add aliisque k.

<sup>852</sup> divina officia] divinum officium C.

<sup>853</sup> ibidem] ibi Ca; omit b-k.

<sup>854</sup> summa] summa missa CDa-k; missa summa E.

<sup>855</sup> Et ad summam missam] ad quam a-k.

<sup>856</sup> preparat se patriarcha illam cantando] cantandam preparat se patriarcha illam cantandam [decantandam E] DE; cantandam [cantandum bcde] patriarcha se preparat a-k.

<sup>857</sup> et] qui a-k.

<sup>858</sup> venit ad canonem] venerit ad canonem B; ad canonem venerit a-k.

<sup>859</sup> discooperitur facies apostoli] discooperitur facies ipsius apostoli C; facies apostoli discooperitur a-k.

<sup>860</sup> ita] sic C.

<sup>861</sup> quod] ut k.

<sup>862</sup> videtur] possit videri ak; posset videri b-j.

<sup>863</sup> Et] omit a-k.

<sup>864</sup> after elevacione add corpus christi C.

<sup>865</sup> facies ipsius] faciem ipsius B; facies apostoli prout vidi C; autem facies ipsius a; autem ipsius facies sancti Thome b-k.

<sup>866</sup> triplicem habet] triplicem habuit C; habet triplicem DE.

<sup>867</sup> apparet] apparuit C.

<sup>868</sup> facies] omit a-k; after facies add ipsius B; add sua C.

<sup>869</sup> mortui hominis] hominis mortui a-k.

<sup>870</sup> after 2<sup>o</sup> add apparet DE.

- 325 et viva<sup>871</sup> ut viventis hominis,<sup>872</sup> et<sup>873</sup> 3<sup>o</sup><sup>874</sup> rubicunda<sup>875</sup> ut rosa. Et patriarcha<sup>876</sup> conficit ibi<sup>877</sup> sacramentum in<sup>878</sup> magna copia.<sup>879</sup> 871-75  
876-79
- Et missa finita,<sup>880</sup> accedit ad sacramentum Presbyter Johannes<sup>881</sup> cum 880-81  
archiepiscopis, prelati<sup>882</sup> religiosi, et devoti<sup>883</sup> hominibus,<sup>884</sup> se flexis ge- 882-84  
nibus, inclinando humiliter,<sup>885</sup> et<sup>886</sup> accipiendo<sup>887</sup> sacramentum de<sup>888</sup> manu 885-88  
330 apostoli.<sup>889</sup> 890 Et patriarcha<sup>891</sup> porrigit sibi<sup>892</sup> sacramentum ad digitos.<sup>893</sup> [1] Et 889-93  
stat manus apostoli<sup>894</sup> semiclausa et elevata aliquantulum.<sup>895</sup> [2a] Et accipiunt 894-95  
Christifideles digni sacramentum,<sup>896</sup> [2b] quibus se aperit manus et indignis 896  
retrahat.<sup>897</sup> [3] Et sic omnes<sup>898</sup> accedunt ad sacramentum<sup>899</sup> et<sup>900</sup> de manu 897-900  
apostoli<sup>901</sup> accipiunt<sup>902</sup> cum magna<sup>903</sup> devocione et timore.<sup>904</sup> 901-4

<sup>871</sup>et viva] omit *a-k*.

<sup>872</sup>ut viventis hominis] ad modum hominis viventis *C*; ut viventis hominis facies *DE*; ut hominis vivi *a-k*.

<sup>873</sup>et] omit *CEa-k*.

<sup>874</sup>after 3<sup>o</sup> add apparet *DE*.

<sup>875</sup>rubicunda] rubea *b-k*.

<sup>876</sup>Et patriarcha] Patriarcha vero celebrans *a*; Patriarcha vero *b-k*.

<sup>877</sup>ibi] omit *C* (see 879).

<sup>878</sup>in] cum *B* (see 879).

<sup>879</sup>ibi sacramentum in magna copia] in magna copia sacramentum ibi *DE*; sacramenta [sacramentum *b-k*] in magna copia pro communione fidelium *a-k* (see 877-78).

<sup>880</sup>Et missa finita] Et finita missa *D*; Missa igitur finita *a-k*.

<sup>881</sup>accedit ad sacramentum Presbyter Johannes] accedit presbyter johannes ad sacramentum *C*; presbyter johannes *a-k*.

<sup>882</sup>cum archiepiscopis, prelati] archiepiscopi et ceteri prelati *a-k*.

<sup>883</sup>religiosis, et devotis] et religiosi ac ceteri devoti *C*; religiosi cum ceteris *a*; religiosi cum aliis *b-k*.

<sup>884</sup>after hominibus add christianis *a-k*.

<sup>885</sup>se flexis genibus, inclinando humiliter] flexis genuis inclinando *C*; devote genuculando et humillime se inclinando *a-k* (see 890); after humiliter add et cetera *E*.\*

<sup>886</sup>et] omit *Ea-k* (see 890).

<sup>887</sup>accipiendo] accipiunt *a-k* (see 890).

<sup>888</sup>de] et *e ce[H]* (see 890).

<sup>889</sup>manu apostoli] manibus patriarche *B* (see 890).

<sup>890</sup>accipiendo sacramentum de manu apostoli] sacramentum humiliter de manu apostoli suscipiendo *C* (see 885-89).

<sup>891</sup>Et patriarcha] omit *B*; patriarcha vero ministrat seu *a-j*; Patriarcha vero presbyter Ioan. [presumably Ioannem] ministrat seu *k*.

<sup>892</sup>sibi] beate thome *C*; apostolo *DEa-k*.

<sup>893</sup>In the following passage, each sentence is numbered at its beginning (the second is divided into two phrases). They are rearranged in *DEa-k* as follows: 2a-b, 3, 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 4 *DE*; 2b, 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 4 (2a and 3 omitted) *a-k*.

<sup>894</sup>Et stat manus apostoli] Apostoli namque manus stat *a*; Apostoli autem manus stat *b-j*; Apostolus autem manu stat *k* (see 893).

<sup>895</sup>semiclausa et elevata aliquantulum] aliquantiter elevata et semiclausa *DEa-k* (see 893).

<sup>896</sup>Et accipiunt Christifideles digni sacramentum] Et accipiunt christifideles digne sacramentum *C*; et ministrat ac porrigit sacramentum *DE*; omit *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>897</sup>quibus se aperit manus et indignis retrahat] quibus aperit se manus et indignis retrahet *B*; quibus apperit manum et indignis retrahit *C*; manus apostoli dignis et indignis retrahit *DE*; qui [quo?] dignis tribuit et retrahit indignis *a-k*; qui dignis tribuit et indignis retrahit *H* (see 893).

<sup>898</sup>after omnes add christifideles *DE* (see 893, 904).

<sup>899</sup>ad sacramentum] omit *E* (see 893, 904).\*

<sup>900</sup>et] omit *B* (see 893, 904).

<sup>901</sup>after apostoli add thome *C* (see 893, 904).

<sup>902</sup>accipiunt] omit *B* (see 893, 904).

<sup>903</sup>magna] maxima *DE* (see 893, 904).

<sup>904</sup>Et sic omnes . . . devocione et timore] omit *a-k* (see 893, 898-903).

- 335 <sup>[4]</sup>Et vidi tempore quo ego eram ibi,<sup>905</sup> scilicet anno Domini 905  
Mcccxcprimo,<sup>906</sup> quod manus sancti Thome subtraxit sacramentum tribus 906  
hominibus<sup>907</sup> qui<sup>908</sup>—penitencia<sup>909</sup> ducti flendo amare,<sup>910</sup> et omnibus ibi ex- 907-10  
istentibus<sup>911</sup> pro ipsis orantibus—postea de manu apostoli sacramentum 911  
receperunt.<sup>912</sup> <sup>[5]</sup>Et ob<sup>913</sup> reverenciam duo archiepiscopi apponunt manus 912-13  
340 suas<sup>914</sup> ad brachium sancti Thome,<sup>915</sup> non tamen<sup>916</sup> manum apostoli re- 914-16  
gendo.<sup>917</sup> <sup>[6]</sup>Et iacet ibi corpus<sup>918</sup> integrum et illesum cum crinibus,<sup>919</sup> barba, 917-19  
et vestimentis<sup>920</sup> || <sup>[185-]</sup> suis quibus utebatur vivus,<sup>921</sup> sed est<sup>922</sup> coopertum 920-22  
pannis preciosissimis.<sup>923</sup> <sup>[7]</sup>Eciam ad dictam<sup>924</sup> ministracionem corporis 923-24  
Christi<sup>925</sup> serviunt eciam<sup>926</sup> duo alii archiepiscopi tenentes pathenas sub 925-26  
345 manu apostoli. <sup>[8]</sup>Item:<sup>927</sup> Serviunt<sup>928</sup> duo alii archiepiscopi<sup>929</sup> tenentes map- 927-29  
pam preciosissimam.<sup>930</sup> 930  
Et fiunt ibi<sup>931</sup> miracula varia<sup>932</sup>—leprosi mundantur, ceci vident,<sup>933</sup> in- 931-33  
firmi<sup>934</sup> curantur,<sup>935</sup> et plura alia.<sup>936</sup> 934-36

<sup>905</sup>Et vidi tempore quo ego eram ibi] Et vidit tempore quo ipse scilicet iohannes de hese fuerat ibi *D*; Et vidit quodam tempore quo ipse iohannes de hese fuerat ibi *E*; Tempore igitur quo ipse iohannes de hese fuerat ibidem vidit *a*; Tempore igitur quo ipse iohannes de hese fueram ibidem vidi *b-k*; Tempore igitur quo ego Johannes de hesen fueram ibidem vidi *H* (see 893).

<sup>906</sup>scilicet anno Domini Mcccxcprimo] quod scilicet Anno domini et cetera *M°ccc°xc°* *B*; videlicet Anno domini *M°* 3 [sic] *C*; omit *DEa-k* (see 893).\*

<sup>907</sup>sancti Thome subtraxit sacramentum tribus hominibus] apostoli tribus hominibus venerabile subtraxit sacramentum *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>908</sup>qui] quibus *E* (see 893).

<sup>909</sup>penitencia] statim ad penitenciam *C* (see 893).

<sup>910</sup>flendo amare] flendo amore *B*; flentes amare *C*; amare flendo *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>911</sup>ibi existentibus] ibidem existentibus *BE*; existentibus ibidem *C*; omit *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>912</sup>receperunt] acceperunt *DE*; susceperunt *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>913</sup>ob] ab hoc *B* (see 893).

<sup>914</sup>apponunt manus suas] manus apponunt *C* (see 893).

<sup>915</sup>sancti Thome] apostoli *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>916</sup>non tamen] omit *C* (see 893).\*

<sup>917</sup>manum apostoli regendo] regendo manum eius *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>918</sup>Et iacet ibi corpus] Corpus autem apostoli est *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>919</sup>crinibus] criminibus *H*; after crinibus add et *DEa-k* (see 893).

<sup>920</sup>et vestimentis] vestimentisque *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>921</sup>utebatur vivus] vivus utebatur *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>922</sup>sed est] sed et *E*; est itaque *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>923</sup>coopertum pannis preciosissimis] pannis preciosissimis coopertum *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>924</sup>dictam] predictam *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>925</sup>Christi] domini *b-k* (see 893).

<sup>926</sup>eciam] omit *CEa-k* (see 893).

<sup>927</sup>after Item add adhuc *c-k* (see 893, 929).

<sup>928</sup>Serviunt] omit *DEa-k* (see 893, 929).

<sup>929</sup>tenentes pathenas . . . archiepiscopi] omit *C* (see 927-28).

<sup>930</sup>tenentes mappam preciosissimam] tenent [tenentes *k*] preciosissimam mappam *a-k* (see 893).

<sup>931</sup>Et fiunt ibi] Et sunt ibidem *B*; Et fiunt *C*; Et fiunt ibidem *DE*; Fiunt nempe ibidem *a*; Fiunt ibidem *b*; Fiunt ibi *c-k*.

<sup>932</sup>miracula varia] miracula mira varia *DE*; mirabilia varia et plura nam *a*; mirabilia varia et plura *bcdefi*; mirabilia varia et plura signa *ghjk*.

<sup>933</sup>vident] visum recipiunt *a-k*.

<sup>934</sup>infirmi] et omnia genera languorum *a*; omnia genera languorum *b-k*.

<sup>935</sup>curantur] sanantur *E*.

<sup>936</sup>et plura alia] omit *Ca-k*; after alia add miracula *DE*.

- Et postea secundis vesperis completis,<sup>937</sup> tunc<sup>938</sup> Presbyter Johannes et  
 350 alii prelati ponunt<sup>939</sup> corpus<sup>940</sup> ad locum suum: ad<sup>941</sup> unam magnam<sup>942</sup> cap- 937-38  
 sam preciosissimam mire pulchritudinis<sup>943</sup> factam<sup>944</sup> de auro et de<sup>945</sup> lapi- 939-42  
 dibus preciosis<sup>946</sup> ante<sup>947</sup> unam turrim fortissimam<sup>948</sup> retro<sup>949</sup> ecclesiam ad 943-45  
 unum chorum pulchrum. Et<sup>950</sup> pendet<sup>951</sup> capsam alte in quatuor cathenis au- 946-49  
 reis.<sup>952</sup> Et tunc clauditur turris<sup>953</sup> nec aperitur nisi<sup>954</sup> in vigilia<sup>955</sup> Thome.<sup>956</sup> 950-51  
 355 Et ante capsam sunt<sup>957</sup> continue lampades<sup>958</sup> ardentes que numquam ex- 952-56  
 tingwuntur nec incenduntur nec<sup>959</sup> dirimuntur, ut dicitur.<sup>960</sup> 957-58  
 Et supra<sup>961</sup> istam<sup>962</sup> capellam stant<sup>963</sup> quinque turres alte nimis<sup>964</sup> in 959-60  
 quibus splendent lapides preciosi ita quod videntur<sup>965</sup> in mari per 14<sup>966</sup> die- 961-64  
 tas.<sup>967</sup> Et secundum hoc<sup>968</sup> naute se regunt, applicando se ecclesie<sup>969</sup> sancti 965-66  
 360 Thome predicte.<sup>970</sup> 967-69  
 970

<sup>937</sup>Et postea secundis vesperis completis] Et postea secundis vesperis finitis *E*; Completis igitur secundis vesperis *a-k*.

<sup>938</sup>tunc] *omit a-k*.

<sup>939</sup>prelati ponunt] duo presbyteri reponunt *C*.

<sup>940</sup>after corpus *add* apostoli *CDEa-k*.

<sup>941</sup>ad] scilicet in *C*; in *k*.

<sup>942</sup>unam magnam] *omit C*; magnam *a-k*.

<sup>943</sup>capsam preciosissimam mire pulchritudinis] capsam mirabiliter *C*; preciosissimam capsam *a-j*; preciosissimamque capsam *k*.

<sup>944</sup>factam] *omit C* (see 946).

<sup>945</sup>de] *omit BCa-k*.

<sup>946</sup>lapidibus preciosis] lapidibus preciosissimis *B*; preciosis lapidibus factam *C* (see 944).

<sup>947</sup>ante] ad *BCDEa-j*; in *k*.

<sup>948</sup>unam turrim fortissimam] fortissimam turrim *a-k*.

<sup>949</sup>retro] intra *C*.

<sup>950</sup>ad unum chorum pulchrum. Et] ad unum sepulchrum et *C*; in pulchro choro ubi *a-k*.

<sup>951</sup>pendet] pendit *E*; *after* pendet *add* idem *C*.

<sup>952</sup>capsa alte in quatuor cathenis aureis] capsam in 4<sup>or</sup> cathenis aureis *C*; in quatuor cathenis aureis capsam hec et alte *DE*; cum capsam in quatuor cathenis aureis satis alte *a-k*.

<sup>953</sup>Et tunc clauditur turris] quo facto clauditur turris fortissimis seris et vectibus *a-k* (see 956).

<sup>954</sup>nisi] quousque *E*; *after* nisi *add* elapso anno *a-k* (see 956).

<sup>955</sup>in vigilia] in vigilia sancti *Da-k*; in vigiliam iterum sancti *E* (see 956).

<sup>956</sup>Et tunc clauditur turris nec aperitur nisi in vigilia Thome] *omit C* (see 953-55, 959).

<sup>957</sup>Et ante capsam sunt] Et sunt ibidem ante capsam *C*; Ante enim capsam sunt *E*; Ante capsam autem istam sunt *a*; Ante capsam istam sunt *b-k*.

<sup>958</sup>continue lampades] continue xij lampas *B*; kartine (?) et xij lapides *C*; continue duodecim lampades *D*; xij lampades *E*; xij lampades continue *a-k*.

<sup>959</sup>extingwuntur nec incenduntur nec] extingwuntur nec incenduntur et clauditur turris nec aperitur nisi in vigilia beati thome *C*; incenduntur nec extingwuntur nec etiam *DEa-k* (see 956).

<sup>960</sup>dirimuntur, ut dicitur] deminuuntur ut dicitur *B*; *omit C*; diminuuntur ut dicitur *DEa-k*.

<sup>961</sup>supra] super *a-k*.

<sup>962</sup>istam] illam *C*.

<sup>963</sup>stant] sunt *Cb-k*.

<sup>964</sup>turres alte nimis] turres nimis *C*; turres nimis alte *a-j*; excelsæ turres *k*.

<sup>965</sup>lapides preciosi ita quod videntur] gemme preciose ita quod videntur de nocte *C*; lapides preciosi qui videri possunt *abcde*; lampades preciosi qui videri possunt *f*; lampades preciose que videri possunt *ghijk*.

<sup>966</sup>14] novem *CDEa-k*.

<sup>967</sup>dietas] dierum intervallum *k*.

<sup>968</sup>hoc] has gemmas *C*; *omit F*.

<sup>969</sup>applicando se ecclesie] applicantes se ad ecclesiam *a-k*.

<sup>970</sup>predicte] *omit a-k*; *after* predicte *add* et cetera *E*.

	Item: <sup>971</sup> Ad partem orientalem sunt <sup>972</sup> regna ubi <sup>973</sup> sancti Tres Reges <sup>974</sup>	971-74
	morabantur, et sunt totaliter <sup>975</sup> montosa. Et ibi <sup>976</sup> numquam est hyemps, ut	975-76
	dicitur. Et ibidem <sup>977</sup> homines pugnant <sup>978</sup> contra serpentes <sup>979</sup> et animalia ve-	977-79
	nenosa. <sup>980</sup> Et ibi est <sup>981</sup> mons altissimus    <sup>[185v]</sup> qui <sup>982</sup> vocatur Arabum, <sup>983</sup> ubi	980-83
365	quando ab <sup>984</sup> una parte est nox, <sup>985</sup> ab alia parte est dies, <sup>986</sup> et econverso, <sup>987</sup>	984-87
	ut dicitur. <sup>988</sup>	988
	Et tunc accipiendo <sup>989</sup> licenciam <sup>990</sup> Presbyteri Johannis et aliorum do-	989-90
	minorum, intravimus <sup>991</sup> navem, ulterius navigando <sup>992</sup> per x dietas <sup>993</sup> ad unam	991-93
	insulam <sup>994</sup> pulcherrimam et planam, <sup>995</sup> habentem spacium <sup>996</sup> quatuor mi-	994-96
370	liarium, et <sup>997</sup> plenam arboribus pulchris <sup>998</sup> cum fructibus et aliis diversis	997-98
	speciebus, <sup>999</sup> et <sup>1000</sup> floribus ornatam, <sup>1001</sup> et pluribus <sup>1002</sup> volatilibus dulciter	999-1002
	cantantibus <sup>1003</sup> repletam. <sup>1004</sup> Et exeundo <sup>1005</sup> navem nostrorum <sup>1006</sup> 12 cum <sup>1007</sup>	1003-7
	patrono nostro, <sup>1008</sup> transivimus <sup>1009</sup> in eadem insula, <sup>1010</sup> videndo illa or-	1008-10
	nata. <sup>1011</sup> Et patronus noster inhibuit nobis <sup>1012</sup> ne aliquid inde <sup>1013</sup> abstulere-	1011-13
375	mus. <sup>1014</sup> Et fuimus <sup>1015</sup> ibidem, <sup>1016</sup> ut nobis videbatur, circa <sup>1017</sup> tres horas, sed	1014-17

<sup>971</sup>[Item] Et *b-k*; omit *B*.

<sup>972</sup>after sunt add terra *C*.

<sup>973</sup>ubi] ibi *B*; in quibus *a-k*.

<sup>974</sup>sancti Tres Reges] sancti reges *C*; 3<sup>a</sup> sancti reges *E*; tres magi sive reges sancti *a-k*.

<sup>975</sup>totaliter] penitus *k*.

<sup>976</sup>ibi] ibidem *DE*.

<sup>977</sup>Et ibidem] et ibi *B*; Ibidem *a-k*.

<sup>978</sup>homines pugnant] pugnant homines *b-k*.

<sup>979</sup>contra serpentes] cum serpentibus *B*.

<sup>980</sup>animalia venenosa] aliis animalibus venenosis *B*; alia animalia venenosa *C*.

<sup>981</sup>Et ibi est] Ibique est *a*; Et est ibi *b-k*.

<sup>982</sup>qui] omit *C*.

<sup>983</sup>Arabum] arabs seu arabum *C*; Arabon *k*.

<sup>984</sup>ab] ex *DEa-k*.

<sup>985</sup>after nox add tunc *C*.

<sup>986</sup>ab alia parte est dies] ab alia parte dies *D*; est ab alia parte dies *a-j*; ab altera parte dies est *k*.

<sup>987</sup>et econverso] et econtra *B*; è converso *k*.

<sup>988</sup>ut dicitur] omit *C*; after dicitur add ibidem *DEa-k*.

<sup>989</sup>Et tunc accipiendo] Item iohannes de hese dominus loquitur hec verba in persona sua scilicet: Et tunc accipiendo *D*; Item iohannes de hese dominus meus et cetera tunc accipiendo *E*; Tunc per *a-k*.

<sup>990</sup>licenciam] facultatem *k*.

<sup>991</sup>intravimus] intrantes *a-k*.

<sup>992</sup>ulterius navigando] navigavimus [navigamus *H*] ulterius *a-k*.

<sup>993</sup>dietas] dierum iter *k*.

<sup>994</sup>unam insulam] insulam unam *b-j*; insulam quandam *k*.

<sup>995</sup>planam] plenam *D*.

<sup>996</sup>spacium] omit *a-k*.

<sup>997</sup>miliarium, et] miliaria *a-k*.

<sup>998</sup>pulchris] pulcherrimis *k*.

<sup>999</sup>diversis speciebus] speciebus *C*; speciebus diversis *b-k*.

<sup>1000</sup>et] omit *b-k*.

<sup>1001</sup>ornatam] omit *a-k*.

<sup>1002</sup>pluribus] pulcherrimis *C*.

<sup>1003</sup>cantantibus] canantibus *H*; canentibus *k*.

<sup>1004</sup>repletam] omit *a-k*.

<sup>1005</sup>Et exeundo] Et exivimus *C*; Exeundo itaque *abcdefi*; Exeundo ita *ghjk*.

<sup>1006</sup>nostrorum] omit *C*; nostrum *b-k*.

<sup>1007</sup>12 cum] cum xii personis et *C*.

<sup>1008</sup>nostro] omit *b-k*.

<sup>1009</sup>transivimus] ambulavimus *C*.

<sup>1010</sup>in eadem insula] in eadem *C*; per eandem insulam *DEa-k*.

<sup>1011</sup>illa ornata] ea que ibi erant et visibus nostris satis delectabilia fuerant *C*; predictos ornatus *a-k*.

<sup>1012</sup>nobis] omit *B*.

<sup>1013</sup>aliquid inde] aliquid *B*; inde aliquid *C*; aliquid in *fi*; aliquid ibi *ghj*; aliquid ibidem *k*.

<sup>1014</sup>abstuleremus] subtrahemus *C*; accipere-mus *a*; caperemus *b-k*.

<sup>1015</sup>Et fuimus] Fuimus enim *dfghjk*.

<sup>1016</sup>ibidem] omit *D*; ibi *a-k*.

<sup>1017</sup>circa] per *C*.



	cum rediebamus <sup>1018</sup> ad navem dixerunt <sup>1019</sup> socii nostri in navi <sup>1020</sup> quod ibi-	1018-20
	dem fuimus <sup>1021</sup> tribus diebus et <sup>1022</sup> noctibus. <sup>1023</sup> <sup>1024</sup> Et <sup>1025</sup> ibi non erat <sup>1026</sup> nox,	1021-26
	et ita credo quod numquam ibi fuit nox. <sup>1027</sup> Et vocatur <sup>1028</sup> illa insula Radix	1027-28
	Paradisi.	
380	Et <sup>1029</sup> ulterius navigando per 12 dietas <sup>1030</sup> ad montem <sup>1031</sup> Edom. <sup>1032</sup> Su-	1029-32
	per illo monte <sup>1033</sup> dicitur esse Paradisus Terrestris. <sup>1034</sup> Et ille mons <sup>1035</sup> est	1033-35
	nimis altus <sup>1036</sup> et directus <sup>1037</sup> ad modum turris, ita quod <sup>1038</sup> nullus potest esse	1036-38
	accessus <sup>1039</sup> ad illum montem. <sup>1040</sup> Et circa horam <sup>1041</sup> vespertarum, cum sol	1039-41
	descendit <sup>1042</sup> splendens ad <sup>1043</sup> montem, <sup>1044</sup> tunc videtur <sup>1045</sup> murus Paradisi in	1042-45
385	magna claritate et pulchritudine <sup>1046</sup> ad modum stelle.	1046
	Et prope per <sup>1047</sup> spacium unius miliaris est mons ubi <sup>1048</sup> dicitur	1047-48
	fuisse <sup>1049</sup> Alexander magnus, Romanorum imperator <sup>1050</sup> qui subiugavit	1049-50
	sibi <sup>1051</sup> totum mundum et voluit habere tributum    <sup>[186f]</sup> a Paradiso, <sup>1052</sup> ut	1051-52

<sup>1018</sup>cum rediebamus] nobis revertentibus C; cum reversi fuerimus a; cum reversi fuimus b-k (see 1024).

<sup>1019</sup>after dixerunt add nobis DEa-k (see 1024).

<sup>1020</sup>in navi] omit Ea-k; after navi add existentes C (see 1024).

<sup>1021</sup>ibidem fuimus] ibi fuimus C; fuerimus abce; fuerimus ibi dHfgbijk (see 1023-24).

<sup>1022</sup>after et add totidem C; add tribus Eb-k (see 1024).

<sup>1023</sup>after noctibus add ibidem abce; omit added ibidem H (see 1021, 1024).†

<sup>1024</sup>ut nobis videbatur . . . noctibus] ut dixerunt nobis socii nostri quando rediebamus ad navem tribus diebus et tribus noctibus sed nobis videbatur circa 3<sup>a</sup> horas E (see 1018-23).

<sup>1025</sup>Et] Nam a-k.

<sup>1026</sup>ibi non erat] ibidem non est C.

<sup>1027</sup>et ita credo quod numquam ibi fuit nox] omit BC; et ita credo quod nunquam ibi [ibi nunquam E] fiat nox DE; et credo quod nunquam ibi [ibi nunquam dfgbijk] nox fiat a-k.

<sup>1028</sup>Et vocatur] vocatur autem dfgbijk.

<sup>1029</sup>Et] omit a-k.

<sup>1030</sup>dietas] dietas venimus a-j; dierum iter, venimus k.

<sup>1031</sup>after montem add qui vocatur DEa-k.

<sup>1032</sup>Edom] edum dfgbijk.

<sup>1033</sup>illo monte] quo C; illum montem b-j. The order of the two sentences beginning Super illo monte and Et ille mons in ABCDE is transposed in a-k.

<sup>1034</sup>esse Paradisus Terrestris] paradisus terrestris collocatus C (see 1033).

<sup>1035</sup>Et ille mons] qui a-k (see 1033).

<sup>1036</sup>nimis altus] minus altus j; altissimus k (see 1033).

<sup>1037</sup>et directus] directus a; omit b-k (see 1033).

<sup>1038</sup>ita quod] adeò ut k (see 1033).

<sup>1039</sup>nullus potest esse accessus] nunquam potest esse accessus C; nullus potest esse ascensus DE; non potest esse accessus a-j; prorsus sit inaccessibilis k (see 1033).

<sup>1040</sup>ad illum montem] ad eundem C; ad illum a-j; omit k (see 1033).

<sup>1041</sup>Et circa horam] Circa horam autem abce; Circa horam dfgbijk; Circa horum k.

<sup>1042</sup>descendit] incipit descendere tunc sol C.

<sup>1043</sup>splendens ad] versus illum b-k.

<sup>1044</sup>after montem add illum C.

<sup>1045</sup>tunc videtur] et sic videtur C; apparet k.

<sup>1046</sup>pulchritudine] eciam pulcherrime B.

<sup>1047</sup>Et prope per] Et ibi prope ad C; Et prope ad bce; De prope ad dfgbijk; Non longè illinc, nempe ad k.

<sup>1048</sup>ubi] in quo k.

<sup>1049</sup>fuisse] omit C.

<sup>1050</sup>Romanorum imperator] omit a-k (see 1054).

<sup>1051</sup>subiugavit sibi] sibi subiugabit B (see 1054).

<sup>1052</sup>et voluit habere tributum a Paradiso] volens habere et a paradiso tributum a-k (see 1054).

- dicitur ibidem.<sup>1053 1054</sup> 1053-54
- 390 Modo ad reditum<sup>1055</sup> nostrum ad partes: navigando per mare in<sup>1056</sup> 1055-56  
extremis partibus maris per 34<sup>1057</sup> dietas prospero ventu,<sup>1058</sup> veniebamur<sup>1059</sup> 1057-59  
ad insulam<sup>1060</sup> valde horribilem<sup>1061</sup> lapidosam. Et ibidem dicitur<sup>1062</sup> esse Pur- 1060-62  
gatorium. Et illa<sup>1063</sup> est arida et tenebrosa.<sup>1064</sup> Et prope illam insulam<sup>1065</sup> 1063-65  
fecimus moram<sup>1066</sup> tribus diebus et<sup>1067</sup> noctibus.<sup>1068</sup> Et audivimus clamores 1066-68  
395 varios<sup>1069</sup> et<sup>1070</sup> gemitus animarum. Et legi in navi<sup>1071</sup> tres missas<sup>1072</sup> pro de- 1069-72  
functis illis tribus diebus.<sup>1073</sup> Et tertia die,<sup>1074</sup> finita missa, veniebat<sup>1075</sup> vox 1073-75  
cunctis audientibus, dicens: "Laus Deo omnipotenti de istis<sup>1076</sup> tribus missis 1076  
quia liberate<sup>1077</sup> sunt tres anime de Purgatorio." 1077
- 400 Et<sup>1078</sup> ulterius navigando bene per quatuor<sup>1079</sup> menses, veniebamur<sup>1080</sup> 1078-80  
ad unam<sup>1081</sup> insulam<sup>1082</sup> planam ad spacium unius miliaris. Et ibi<sup>1083</sup> exivi- 1081-83  
mus<sup>1084</sup> preparando nostra cibaria.<sup>1085</sup> Et incenso ibidem igne,<sup>1086</sup> submersit 1084-86  
se illa insula,<sup>1087</sup> nobis ad navem<sup>1088</sup> fugientibus, cibaria<sup>1089</sup> nostra cum ollis 1087-89

<sup>1053</sup> ibidem] omit *a-k* (see 1054).

<sup>1054</sup> Romanorum imperator . . . ut dicitur ibi-  
dem] postulasse tributum a paradiso et  
eius inhabitatoribus *C* (see 1050-53).

<sup>1055</sup> Modo ad reditum] Ad reditum itaque  
*a-k*.

<sup>1056</sup> in] omit *bdefghijk*.

<sup>1057</sup> 34] *xxiiij BCDEa-k*.

<sup>1058</sup> ventu] vento *CEa-k*.\*

<sup>1059</sup> veniebamur] venimus *a-k*.

<sup>1060</sup> insulam] unam insulam *C*; insulam quan-  
dam *k*.

<sup>1061</sup> after horribilem add et *a-k*.

<sup>1062</sup> Et ibidem dicitur] et ibi dicitur *C*; ubi di-  
cebatur *a-k*.

<sup>1063</sup> illa] omit *a-k*.

<sup>1064</sup> after tenebrosa add nimis *C*.

<sup>1065</sup> Et prope illam insulam] ubi prope *a*; circa  
quam *b-k*.

<sup>1066</sup> fecimus moram] moram facimus *C*.

<sup>1067</sup> after et add totidem *C*; add tribus *a-j* (see  
next lemma).

<sup>1068</sup> tribus diebus et noctibus] trium dierum  
et trium noctium *k* (see preceding  
lemma).

<sup>1069</sup> Et audivimus clamores varios] et audi-  
vimus clamores maximos et varios *C*; au-  
dientes varios clamores *a-k*.

<sup>1070</sup> et] omit *C*.

<sup>1071</sup> Et legi in navi] Et legi in mari *DE*; legique  
in mari ibidem *abce*; legiquam [*sic*] in  
mari ibidem *d*; legi quoque in mari ibi-

dem *fghij*; Legi quoque ibidem in mari  
*k*.†

<sup>1072</sup> after missas add successive *C*.

<sup>1073</sup> illis tribus diebus] omit *C*; tribus his die-  
bus *a*; his tribus diebus *b-k*.

<sup>1074</sup> Et tertia die] et die 3<sup>a</sup> *C*; Tercia autem die  
*a-k*.

<sup>1075</sup> finita missa, veniebat] missa finita inso-  
nuuit *a-k*.

<sup>1076</sup> Deo omnipotenti de istis] omnipotenti  
deo de his *a-k*.

<sup>1077</sup> liberate] liberati *BDfghij*.

<sup>1078</sup> Et] omit *a-k*.

<sup>1079</sup> bene per quatuor] per quatuor *C*; per  
quatuor penè *k*.

<sup>1080</sup> veniebamur] venimus *a-k*.

<sup>1081</sup> unam] omit *a-k*.

<sup>1082</sup> after insulam add quandam *k*.

<sup>1083</sup> Et ibi] et *B*; ubi *a-k*.

<sup>1084</sup> after exivimus add navim *C*; navem *a-k*.

<sup>1085</sup> nostra cibaria] cibaria nostra *C*; cibaria  
*DE*; nobis cibaria *a-k*.

<sup>1086</sup> Et incenso ibidem igne] et incenso ibi  
igne *B*; et incendimus ibi ignem *C*; In-  
censo itaque igne *a-k*.\*

<sup>1087</sup> submersit se illa insula] insula illa se sub-  
mersit *a*; insula se submersit *b-k* (see *TN*  
*II*).

<sup>1088</sup> ad navem] iterato ad navem quamcitius  
*a-j*; iterato ad navem quam celerrimè *k*.

<sup>1089</sup> fugientibus, cibaria] confugientibus ci-  
bariaque *a*.

- ibidem<sup>1090</sup> relinquendo.<sup>1091</sup> Et dicebatur<sup>1092</sup> quod illa insula fuit quidam<sup>1093</sup> 1090-93  
 piscis vocatus Jasconius<sup>1094</sup> qui, percepto<sup>1095</sup> igne, se submersit cum nostris 1094-95  
 405 cibariis.<sup>1096</sup> 1096  
 Et ulterius navigando<sup>1097</sup> per quartale<sup>1098</sup> anni, habuimus multa obsta- 1097-98  
 cula pre montibus et ventis.<sup>1099</sup> Et<sup>1100</sup> veniebamur<sup>1101</sup> ad insulam<sup>1102</sup> magnam, 1099-1102  
 magnis<sup>1103</sup> arboribus repletam, ubi<sup>1104</sup> fecimus moram<sup>1105</sup> per diem et noc- 1103-5  
 tem. Et ibi<sup>1106</sup> veniebat niger monachus<sup>1107</sup> diligenter nos ||<sup>[186v]</sup> examinando, 1106-7  
 410 et accepit nostrorum 12,<sup>1108</sup> ducens nos ad claustrum suum, dando nobis 1108  
 sua<sup>1109</sup> cibaria et largiter<sup>1110</sup> nobis ministrando,<sup>1111</sup> et<sup>1112</sup> interrogando<sup>1113</sup> nos 1109-13  
 de sancto Thoma et<sup>1114</sup> aliis diversis.<sup>1115</sup> Et ibidem sunt<sup>1116</sup> oves et capre ita 1114-16  
 magne sicut<sup>1117</sup> boves.<sup>1118</sup> Et ratio quare sunt ita magne<sup>1119</sup> dicitur esse<sup>1120</sup> 1117-20  
 ista: quia<sup>1121</sup> semper transeunt<sup>1122</sup> in pascuis, nec constringat eas<sup>1123</sup> hyemps 1121-23  
 415 neque<sup>1124</sup> estas.<sup>1125</sup> 1124-25  
 Et<sup>1126</sup> ulterius navigando<sup>1127</sup> ad partem septentrionalem, navigavi- 1126-27  
 mus<sup>1128</sup> inter<sup>1129</sup> duos montes fumosos bene per<sup>1130</sup> sex dies. Et ulterius<sup>1131</sup> 1128-31

<sup>1090</sup>ibidem] ibi *b-k*.

<sup>1091</sup>relinquendo] relinquentibus *DEa-k*.\*

<sup>1092</sup>after dicebatur *add* nobis ab illis qui huius rei noticiam habuerunt *C*; *add* nobis *b-k*.

<sup>1093</sup>fuit quidam] que nobis talis videbatur non fuit insula sed quidam *C*; fuerat *DEa-k*.

<sup>1094</sup>Jasconius] iasconius *C*; iaschonius *D*; yasconius *E*; iasconius *a-k*; jasconius *H*  
<sup>1095</sup>percepto] precepto *B*.

<sup>1096</sup>se submersit cum nostris cibariis] se submergit quia sustinere unde potuit *C*; cum nostris cibariis se submersit *a-k*.

<sup>1097</sup>Et ulterius navigando] Navigando autem ulterius *a*; Navigando autem *b-k*.

<sup>1098</sup>after quartale *add* unius *C*.

<sup>1099</sup>pre montibus et ventis] prementibus et ventis *B*; propter montes et ventos *Ck*.

<sup>1100</sup>Et] *omit B*.

<sup>1101</sup>veniebamur] venimus *a-k*.

<sup>1102</sup>ad insulam] in insulam quandam *k*.

<sup>1103</sup>magnis] *omit DE*.

<sup>1104</sup>ubi] ibi *b-k*.

<sup>1105</sup>moram] morem *B*.

<sup>1106</sup>ibi] *omit Ba-k*.

<sup>1107</sup>veniebat niger monachus] veniebat monachus niger *DE*; venit monachus illic niger ad nos *a*; venit illic monachus niger ad nos *b-k*.

<sup>1108</sup>et accepit nostrorum 12] accepitque duodecim nostrorum *a-k*.

<sup>1109</sup>dando nobis sua] deditque nobis *a-k*.

<sup>1110</sup>largiter] optime *DEa-k* (see 1115).

<sup>1111</sup>nobis ministrando] nobis ministravit *a*; ministravit *b-k* (see 1115).

<sup>1112</sup>et] ac *BDE* (see 1115).

<sup>1113</sup>interrogando] interrogavit *a-k* (see 1115).

<sup>1114</sup>et] *omit dfi* (see 1115).

<sup>1115</sup>largiter nobis . . . aliis diversis] examinavit nos super diversis materiis *C* (see 1110-14).

<sup>1116</sup>Et ibidem sunt] et ibi sunt *B*; et fuerunt *C*; Sunt etenim ibi *a-k*.

<sup>1117</sup>ita magne sicut] tam magne sicut in partibus nostris *a-k*.

<sup>1118</sup>boves] *omit C*.

<sup>1119</sup>Et ratio quare sunt ita magne] Et est causa quia ut ibidem *C*; et ratio quod sunt ita magne *D*; Cuius ratio *E*; Et ratio istius magnitudinis *a*; Et ratio magnitudinis *b-k* (see 1120-21).

<sup>1120</sup>esse] *omit Cb-k* (see 1119, 1121).

<sup>1121</sup>ista: quia] *omit C* (see 1119-20).

<sup>1122</sup>semper transeunt] transeunt semper *c-k*.

<sup>1123</sup>nec constringat eas] nec constringit eos *B*; et non constringit illas *C*; nec constringit eas *D*; et non constringit eas *a-k*.

<sup>1124</sup>neque] aut *a-k*; et *F*.

<sup>1125</sup>estas] asperitates aliquas patiuntur *C*.

<sup>1126</sup>Et] *omit b-k*.

<sup>1127</sup>ulterius navigando] ab inde navigavimus *C* (see next lemma).

<sup>1128</sup>navigavimus] *omit C*; venimus *a-k* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>1129</sup>inter] per *DE*.

<sup>1130</sup>bene per] infra *a-k*.

<sup>1131</sup>Et ulterius] Et ex tunc *C*; Unde ulterius *a-k*.

- veniebamus ad unam insulam,<sup>1132</sup> et ibi videbamus<sup>1133</sup> homines silvestres 1132-33  
 pilosos<sup>1134</sup> absque vestimentis<sup>1135</sup> et diversa alia<sup>1136</sup> animalia rara.<sup>1137</sup> 1134-37  
 420 Et ulterius directe<sup>1138</sup> navigando, fuit quedam insula<sup>1139</sup> ubi<sup>1140</sup> mo- 1138-40  
 rantur solummodo symee; et<sup>1141</sup> sunt valde magne<sup>1142</sup> bene ad quantita- 1141-42  
 tem<sup>1143</sup> vituli unius anni. 1143  
 Et<sup>1144</sup> ulterius navigando bene<sup>1145</sup> per<sup>1146</sup> quatuor menses, prope 1144-46  
 unum<sup>1147</sup> montem fumosum et lapidosum<sup>1148</sup> audivimus cantantes Syre- 1147-48  
 425 nes<sup>1149</sup>—proprie Merminnen<sup>1150</sup>—que<sup>1151</sup> semper attrahunt naves suo 1149-51  
 cantu<sup>1152</sup> ad periclitandum.<sup>1153</sup> Et ibidem videbamus<sup>1154</sup> plura monstra hor- 1152-54  
 ribilia,<sup>1155</sup> et fuimus<sup>1156</sup> in magno timore. Et oriebatur ibidem<sup>1157</sup> magna tem- 1155-57  
 pestas proiciens nos<sup>1158</sup> de via recta<sup>1159</sup> ad unum<sup>1160</sup> angulum tenebrosum<sup>1161</sup> 1158-61  
 in montibus.<sup>1162</sup> Et ibi<sup>1163</sup> fuimus quinque diebus non videndo diem<sup>1164</sup> 1162-64  
 430 neque lumen.<sup>1165</sup> Et postea<sup>1166</sup> sexta die<sup>1167</sup> venit ventus<sup>1168</sup> conveniens<sup>1169</sup> 1165-69  
 ducens nos de illo periculo ad ||<sup>[187r]</sup> mare.  
 Et tunc navigando<sup>1170</sup> per mensem ad<sup>1171</sup> partem orientalem<sup>1172</sup> ad mare 1170-72

<sup>1132</sup>veniebamus ad unam insulam] navigando  
 [navigandi *k*] ad insulam unam *a-k*.

<sup>1133</sup>et ibi videbamus] et ibidem videbamus *C*;  
 ubi vidimus *a-k*.

<sup>1134</sup>pilosos] omit *b-k*.

<sup>1135</sup>vestimentis] vestibus *C*.

<sup>1136</sup>alia] omit *BCDEa-k*.

<sup>1137</sup>animalia rara] rara animalia *a-k*.

<sup>1138</sup>Et ulterius directe] Item de inde directe  
*C*; Ulterius directe *abcdeghik*; Ulterius *j*.

<sup>1139</sup>fuit quedam insula] venimus [omit *f-k*]  
 ad quandam insulam *a-k*.

<sup>1140</sup>ubi] in qua *k*.

<sup>1141</sup>morantur solummodo symee; et] solum-  
 modo morantur syrene et *C*; solummodo  
 simee [Simię *k*] morantur que *a-k*.

<sup>1142</sup>valde magne] magne valde *B*; ita magni *C*.

<sup>1143</sup>bene ad quantitatem] sicut *C*; ad quan-  
 titatem *DEa-k*.

<sup>1144</sup>Et] omit *a-k*.

<sup>1145</sup>bene] omit *Ca-k*.

<sup>1146</sup>per] ad *k*.

<sup>1147</sup>unum] omit *b-k*.

<sup>1148</sup>et lapidosum] lapidosumque *a*.

<sup>1149</sup>cantantes Syrenes] syrenes cantantes *C*;  
 cantantes syrenis *F*.

<sup>1150</sup>proprie Merminnen] proprie mermynnen  
*BD*; omit *Ca-k*; proprie mere mÿne *E*.

<sup>1151</sup>que] qui *DG*.

<sup>1152</sup>suo cantu] omit *DE* (see next lemma).

<sup>1153</sup>semper attrahunt naves suo cantu ad pe-  
 riclitandum] solent suo Cantu dulciflue  
 sibi attrahere naves ad periclitandum *C*;

cantu suo solent periclitare naves *a-k* (see  
 preceding lemma).

<sup>1154</sup>Et ibidem videbamus] et ibi videbamus *E*;  
 Ibidem vidimus *a*; Etiam vidimus ibi *b-k*.

<sup>1155</sup>monstra horribilia] horribilia monstra  
*a-k*.

<sup>1156</sup>et fuimus] fuimus tunc *C*; fuimusque  
*a-k*.

<sup>1157</sup>Et oriebatur ibidem] Et oriebatur ibi *BE*;  
 et tunc oriebatur ibidem *C*; nam *a*; quia  
*b-k*.

<sup>1158</sup>tempestas proiciens nos] tempestas per-  
 cutiens nos *C*; tempestate exorta [orta *k*]  
 projecti fuimus *a-k*.

<sup>1159</sup>via recta] recta via *b-k*.

<sup>1160</sup>unum] omit *a-k*.

<sup>1161</sup>angulum tenebrosum] tenebrosum an-  
 gulum *a*.

<sup>1162</sup>in montibus] inter montes *a-k*.

<sup>1163</sup>Et ibi] ibi *B*; ubi *a-k*.

<sup>1164</sup>videndo diem] videntes solem *a-k*.

<sup>1165</sup>lumen] lunam *Ba-k*; lu<sup>m</sup> *C*.

<sup>1166</sup>Et postea] postea autem *a*; postea *b-k*  
 (see 1169).

<sup>1167</sup>sexta die] sexta videlicet die *a*; scilicet vi.  
 [sexto *cdeghjk*] die *b-k* (see 1169).

<sup>1168</sup>venit ventus] veniebat ventus contra-  
 rius nobis que *C* (see 1169).

<sup>1169</sup>Et postea sexta die venit ventus conve-  
 niens] omit *DE* (see 1166-68).

<sup>1170</sup>navigando] navigantes *a-k*.

<sup>1171</sup>ad] versus *a-k*.

<sup>1172</sup>after orientalem add veniebamus *C* (see  
 next lemma).

	Oceanum, veniebamus <sup>1173</sup> ad unam terram <sup>1174</sup> ubi <sup>1175</sup> morabantur <sup>1176</sup> ho-	1173-76
	mines <sup>1177</sup> nigri et quidam valde albi. Et ibi <sup>1178</sup> quievimus octo diebus. Et	1177-78
435	vocatur terra illa <sup>1179</sup> Amosona; <sup>1180</sup> et ibidem est regina sic vocata. <sup>1181</sup> Et di-	1179-81
	citur quod <sup>1182</sup> ibidem <sup>1183</sup> sint <sup>1184</sup> Gog et Magog <sup>1185</sup> conclusi <sup>1186</sup> inter duos	1182-86
	montes, et ibidem sint homines <sup>1187</sup> mirabiliter dispositi, habentes duas facies	1187
	in uno capite, <sup>1188</sup> unam a parte ante, aliam a parte post. <sup>1189</sup> Et ibi <sup>1190</sup> est aer	1188-90
	valde <sup>1191</sup> calidus et terra montosa.	1191
440	Et ulterius <sup>1192</sup> navigando ad partem orientalem per multas insulas bene	1192
	per quartale unius <sup>1193</sup> anni, veniebamus <sup>1194</sup> Jherusalem <sup>1195</sup> unde exivimus. Et	1193-95
	qualiter ibi <sup>1196</sup> sit <sup>1197</sup> dispositum pluribus est notum. <sup>1198</sup> Et sic est finis. <sup>1199</sup>	1196-99

<sup>1173</sup>veniebamus] omit C (see preceding lemma); venimus a-k.

<sup>1174</sup>ad unam terram] omit C; ad terram b-k.

<sup>1175</sup>ubi] ibi D.

<sup>1176</sup>morabantur] morantur C.

<sup>1177</sup>after homines add quidam a-k.

<sup>1178</sup>Et ibi] et B; ibique a-k.

<sup>1179</sup>vocatur terra illa] vocatur illa terra a; dicitur illa terra b-k.

<sup>1180</sup>Amosona] amasonū C; amosana D; amasonia ab; amazonia cdek; amazoma fghij.

<sup>1181</sup>et ibidem est regina sic vocata] omit a-k.

<sup>1182</sup>dicitur quod] dicuntur k.

<sup>1183</sup>ibidem] ibi CDa-k.

<sup>1184</sup>sint] sunt BFbe; fuerunt et sunt C; sit j; omit k (see next lemma).

<sup>1185</sup>Gog et Magog] gog et magoc C; goch et magoch DE; after Magog add esse k (see preceding lemma).

<sup>1186</sup>conclusi] inclusi H.

<sup>1187</sup>et ibidem sint homines] Et ibidem sunt [s't E] homines BDE; et ibidem sunt [s't] eciam homines C; Ibidem etiam homines sunt a; Homines ibi sunt b-k.

<sup>1188</sup>in uno capite] omit C.

<sup>1189</sup>unam a parte ante, aliam a parte post]

unam aperte ante et aliam aperte post B; unam ante et aliam retro C; unam a parte anteriori. aliam autem a parte posteriori [posteriore ghj] a-k.

<sup>1190</sup>ibi] ibidem C.

<sup>1191</sup>est aer valde] est aer nimis DE; aer est nimis abcdefi; etiam aer est nimis ghjk.

<sup>1192</sup>Et ulterius] Ulterius autem a-k.

<sup>1193</sup>unius] omit a-k.

<sup>1194</sup>veniebamus] usque D; venimus usque Ea-k.

<sup>1195</sup>Jherusalem] jerusalem B; ierusalem D; hierusalem fghijk.

<sup>1196</sup>Et qualiter ibi] Qualiter autem ibidem et in locis circumiacentibus a; Qualiter autem ibidem b-k.

<sup>1197</sup>sit] est C; fit G.

<sup>1198</sup>pluribus est notum] plures conscripserunt a-k; after notum add et cetera CE.

<sup>1199</sup>Et sic est finis] omit BC; Et sic est finis / Explicit per me fratrem oswaldum nott proffessum et monachum in tegernse de tittmannig natum -: 1473 D; finis huius deo gracias E; Unde sit deus [dominus k] benedictus in eternum. Amen a-k.

## 2. Textual Notes for the Latin Edition

### *Seven Categories*

The Textual Notes for the Latin critical edition are divided into seven categories in order to focus attention on various textual issues that are not accounted for in the lemmata (except for the toponyms grouped together in TN I).

*Textual Notes I (TN I)* records variants in the spelling of place-names and proper nouns based on place-names (such as *Israeliticum*) mentioned in any copy of the *Itinerarius*, either Latin or Middle Dutch (this is the only section in these Textual Notes in which the Middle Dutch translation is accounted for). TN I thus functions as a complete gazetteer for the work. All texts are accounted for: manuscripts and printed editions that are not identified with a variant reading agree with *A*, as shown in the lemma. The information assembled here calls attention to the difficulty of transmitting geographical data accurately in a manuscript culture, a problem not solved by the invention of the printing press. Relatively minor differences in the value scribes assigned to individual characters (*i/j*, *i/γ*, or *u/v*, for example) and to abbreviatory marks could lead to considerable variation in the recording of toponyms. A scribe also might use multiple spellings for the same word within one text. New knowledge was especially endangered precisely because it was unfamiliar, as the example of *Compardut* (lemma 337) testifies. Variants here (but not elsewhere in the Textual Notes) account for *all* orthographic discrepancies, including distinctions between the letters *i* and *j* (*iordanem* versus *jordanem*) and the letters *i* and *γ* (*sinai* versus *synay*). Typographical errors, shown between brackets at the end of any string of variants, are repeated in TN VII. Abbreviations are expanded when grammar dictates what that expansion must be (*versus jordanē et per jordanē* in *A* at line 3) or when there is no doubt about precisely which letters are missing; they are retained in other cases (see the second entry for line 2). Variants are listed according to this hierarchical order: *ABCDEaFGbcdeHfgbhijkKLM*.

*Textual Notes II (TN II)* lists scribal corrections in the Latin manuscripts of the *Itinerarius*, as well as readings in *A* that have been emended in the presentation of the base text (all emendations are shown between square brackets). Paleographical material contained here reveals scribal habits (such as Johannes of Purmerend's attentiveness in *A* and the copyist's relative carelessness in *B*). The following terminology is used in this section:

- “canceled” designates material that has been lined out on the page in the ink used to record the text, unless otherwise indicated (“canceled in red”);
- “corrected” applies to characters, words, or phrases written over an original reading, which is supplied when it is legible.

*Textual Notes III (TN III)* contains a record of orthographic variants in the manuscripts and printed editions, not including toponyms (found in

TN I) and typographical errors (found in TN VII). The variants include all spelling discrepancies except for these letters, which generally held identical value and, in some scribal hands, are sometimes impossible to distinguish: *c/t* (*eciam* versus *etiam* or *noticiam* versus *notitiam*), *i/j* (*iohannes* versus *johannes*), and *u/v* (*ut* versus *vt*). Differences between *i* and *y* are noted except in the frequently employed (and often abbreviated) word *presbiter/presbyter*. Words in which a consonant is variously single or double are recorded except in the case of *pallacio*, which is consistently spelled *palacio* in *ABC*, *pallacio* (occasionally *pallatio*) in *DEa-j*, and *palatio* in *k*. Orthographical variants generally demonstrate corrupt Latin forms in *BE*, the influence of German especially in *CDE*, and humanist influence in *f* (and its descendant printed editions). TN III also records two other textual phenomena that complicate the editing of any medieval work: 1) sentence boundaries that are clearly different from those established in the base text (such as *C* at lines 15–16); and 2) readings that are uncertain, owing to the condition of a manuscript, a scribe's handwriting, or an ambiguous abbreviation (see notes to lines 10, 16, 18, 23).

*Textual Notes IV (TN IV)* lists variant presentations of numerals to show where principal competing systems of recording a number—with roman and arabic numerals or by spelling out a word—were employed. The notes preserve older forms given arabic numerals: the looped-1 (*ℓ*) is the modern “4” and the upside-down *V* (*Λ*) the modern “7”. Manuscripts *A* and *E* show a marked preference for the arabic system, and *C* may indicate considerable difficulty understanding it; variants throughout the textual tradition highlight the problems inherent in the use of roman numerals. Alfred W. Crosby underscores the importance of a reliable method of quantification for the development of modern science and perspectives.<sup>1</sup>

*Textual Notes V (TN V)* records and describes grammatical errors in the manuscripts and printed texts that a copyist or reader is likely to have corrected; thus, they are not recorded as variants in the lemmata to the critical edition.

*Textual Notes VI (TN VI)* accounts for scribal marginalia, rubrics not found in *A*, and instructions to the reader (especially important in *C* [see p. 72 above]).

*Textual Notes VII (TN VII)* contains an inventory of typographical errors, with occasional explanations of how they result in a variant reading in a descendant text, thereby providing proof that a printer worked from a particular edition.

The following principles apply to the presentation of information throughout the Textual Notes:

<sup>1</sup>Crosby, *Measure of Reality*, pp. 41–47. The letter *j* at the conclusion of some numerals was not a scribal nicety but, he notes, a sign of the “end of the number, ensuring that no one could attach anything more” (p. 41).

- each entry is preceded by a line number from the Latin text printed here and, when the word or passage in question is found only in a variant, the relevant lemma number (abbreviated “L”);
- all abbreviations are expanded unless it is impossible to do so confidently (this is an issue particularly in TN I and TN III, where orthography is at issue);
- orthography and punctuation (including the use of upper-case letters) follow that found in the cited text, with *i/j* and *u/v* normalized (except in TN I);
- multiple variants within a note are recorded according to this hierarchy: *ABCDEaFGbcdeHfghijk*, with *FG* and *H* assumed to follow readings in *a* and *e*, respectively, unless otherwise noted;
- ı denotes a minim (the simple downstroke used in the letters *i*, *m*, *n*, and *u*) in uncertain readings (see TN I 32);
- # denotes an illegible character;
- = denotes a hyphen found at the end of a line in the text in question;
- / denotes the end of a line in the manuscript or printed edition.

### Textual Notes I: A Gazetteer

The notes below account for readings in *L* only until Latin line 271, when its text breaks off, and for *M* only at lines 1–12 and 441–42, which is the sole part of the manuscript currently available.

- 2 Traiectensis] Utrecht *KL*; vtert *M*.
- 2 Jhrl'm] ihrl'm *CEa-eG*; irl'm *D*; Jhrl'm *H*; hirl'm *f*; hierusalem *ijk*; hierusalē *g*; hierl'm *b*; Iherusalem *K*; Jherusalem *L*; jherüsalem *M*.
- 3 {versus} jordanem] iordanem *Da-k*; Jordanem *H*; iordanen *K*; Jordanen *LM*.
- 3 {per} jordanem] iordanem *BDEa-k*; Jordanem *H* [*omit CKLM*].
- 4 Egipti] egypti *Bacdefghij*; egipti *b*; Ægypti *k*; egypten *K*; Egipten *LM*.
- 4–5 hermopolis] hermipolis *bcefgghik*; hermipollis *dj*; hermopolus *M*.
- 5 Egipti] egypti *BDacdefghi*; egipti *bj*; Ægypti *k*; egypten *K*; Egipten *LM*.
- 7 mari rubro] mari rub° *E*; roeden meer ('red sea') *KL*; roeden mere ('red sea') *M*.
- 13 mari rubro] mari rubeo *C*; mari rub° *E* [*omit K*; voernoemen mer {'aforementioned sea'} *L*].
- 14 mare rubrum] *omit KL*.
- 17 mari rubro] mari rub° *E*; roeden meer ('red sea') *L* [*omit K*].
- 18 isrl'iticum] jsraheliticum *B*; israheliticum *CDEabdfgi*; israeliticum *cehk*; Israelticum *j*; kinderen van Israel ('children of Israel') *K*; volck van Ysrahel ('people of Ysrahel') *L*.



- 21 hermopolensi] hermopolim C; hermopoli *a*; hermipoli *b-k*; Hermopolis *L* [*omit K*].
- 29 Egiptum] egyptum *BDGacefghij*; egiptum *F*; Aegyptum *k* [*omit KL*].
- 31 hermopolensi] hermopolim C; hermopoli *a*; hermipoli *bcdefghik*; Hermipolli *j*; Hermopolis *KL*.
- 32 Amram] tiiuram (*probably timram*) C; amra *b-k*; Anyna *K*; Amnam *L*.
- 32 mare rubrum] mare rubro C; roede meyr ('red sea') *K*; rode mer ('red sea') *L*.
- 34 Synay] Synai *BCDa-jK*; sinai *Fk*; synay *H*.
- 46 isr'l] israhel *DFgi*; israel *abfjhjk*; isral' *d*; Israel *K*; Ysrael *L*.
- 49 Synay] Synai *BCDa-k*; sinay *E*; Sinai *K*.
- 50 helym] helim *Ck*; elÿm *G*; Elim *K*; Elym *L*.
- 52 isr'l] israhel *Dgi*; israel *abcdehjk*; Ysrael *L*.
- 58 Marach] Marath *Da-k*; march ('swamp') *K*.
- 60 isr'l] israhel *agi*; isr'l *G*; israel *bcdhjk*; Israels *K*; Ysrael *L*.
- 70 L184 hese *bfgghijk*; heze *cde*; hesen *H* [*interpolation not found in ABCDEaKL*].
- 72 vrcaldeorum] vr caldeorum *DE*; hur caldeorum *acdefghijk*; hurcaldeorum *b*; Ur Caldæorum *K*; Ur Caldeorum *L*.
- 72 Judei] *See TN III*.
- 73 Nylus] nylis *B*; unum C; nilus *DEK*; nilū *abcdfi*; nilum *eghjk*; nylum *H*; Nilus *K* (*see TN II 73*).
- 74 damiad] damaad (?) *B*; Damiaten *K* [*omit L*].
- 75 occeanum] oceanum *f-k*; zee ('sea') *KL*.
- 75 Ethiopiam] Ethyoopiam (?) *B*; Æthiopiam *k*; moerlant *KL*.
- 76 (L201) inferior India] inferior iuda (*less likely inda*) C; inferior india *abcde*; interior india *fghijk*; uterste eynde ('farthest end') *K*; nederste Indyen ('lowest Indyen') *L* (*see TN VII 76*).
- 77 Ethiopes] Ethyopes *B*; Æthiopes *k*; Maren *K*; Moren *L*.
- 85 Ethiopie] Ethyopie *BD*; ethiope C; Æthiopix *k*; moerlant *KL*.
- 85-86 Jecoreum] jctoreū (*or jctoreñ for jctorensis* ?) *B*; iccoreum *D*; ÿccorium *E*; iecoreum *ac-k*; levermeer ('liver sea') *KL* [*ieeo-reum b*].
- 86 arenosum] venosum C; santmeer ('sand sea') *KL*.
- 87 jecoreum] ictoreū (*or ictoreñ for ictorensis* ?) *B*; iccoreum *D*; yccoreum *E*; iecoreum *a-k*; jecoreum *H*; Levermeer ('liver sea') *KL*.
- 90 mare arenosum] mare wenosum C; mare arenosam *cde*; sant meer ('sand sea') *K*; Zantmer ('sand sea') *L*.
- 99 Indiam] indiam *BCDEa-k*; Jndiam *H*; Indien *K*; Yndien *L*.
- 101 Andranopolis] andriplis C; yndronopolis *DE*; andronopolis *abcefgghijk*; ādrionopol' *d*; Adrianopolis *K*; Andropolis *L*.

- 121–22 Compardut] Cōparduc *B*; 9peduc *C*; conpdoth *D*; conperduth *E*; cōpardit *abcdefghi*; compardit *jkH*; Canwaduck *K*; Campaduck *L*.
- 127 Eleap] eleab *DE*; heleap *abcde*; beleab *fgi*; Beliab *hjk*; Cleap *KL*.
- 127 Jndia] jndea *B*; india *CDa–k*; Jndia *H*; Indien *KL*.
- 146 Gadde] badde *DE*.
- 148–49 Edissam] Edissa *KL*.
- 150 jndia] Jndea *B*; india *CDa–k*; Indien *K*; Yndien *L*.
- 151 Colonienses] Coelen *L* [*omit K*].
- 172 Romanorum] rhomanorum *abce*; romanorum *dfghijkFH*; Romen *KL*.
- 268 (L707, 709) tigris] tǃgrīs *E*; tygris *a–kK*.
- 268 paradiso] paradyso *Dcdefghijk*; paradiso *H*; paradyse *K*; paradise *L*.
- 269 L714 after civitatem add edissam *C*.
- 279 paradisum terrestrem] paradysum terrestrem *Db–j*; paradisum terrestrem *H*; Paradyse *K* [paradysum terrstrem *c*].
- 293 paradisi] paradysi *b–j*; Paradyse *K*.
- 293 tigris] tygris *Ea–k*; tigris *H* [*omit C*].
- 294 phison] phǃson *E*; physon *cehjk*; Physeen *K* [*omit C*].
- 295 gyon] Geon *BDEK*; gǃyon *F*; Gion *k* [*omit C*].
- 296 Eufrates] *omit C*.
- 299 (L794) Jndie] in die *BDA–k*; Jndie *H*; Indien *K*.
- 300 L798 add hulna *a–k*.
- 301 L802 add edissa *Ca–k*.
- 301 (L804, 807) hulna] vl̥na *D*; ulua *E*; bulna *G*.
- 308 hulnam] vl̥nam *D*; Vluam *E*; bulnam *G* [*omit BK*].
- 335 L905 hese *DEa–k*] hesen *H*.
- 364 Arabū] arabs seu arabū *C*; arabum *DEaghiij*; arabū *FG*; Arabon *k*.
- 379 paradisi] paradysi *cefgb*; paradisi *H*; Paradyses *K* [padysi *i*; paradyysi *j*].
- 380 Edom] edum *dfghij*.
- 381 paradisus] pd̥d̥ysus *c*; paradysus *efghik*; paradisus *H*; Ertsche ('Earthly') Paradys *K* [parad̥vsus *j*].
- 384 paradisi] paradysi *Dceghij*; Paradyses *K*.
- 387 Romanorum] Romen *K* [*omit a–k*].
- 388 paradiso] paradyso *cefgbijk*; paradiso *H*; Paradyse *K*.
- 392–93 purgatorium] Vegevuyr *K*.
- 433 oceanum] oceanum *f–k*; zee ('sea') *K*.

- 435 Amosona] amosōna (amosonna?) *B*; amasonū *C*; amosana *D*;  
 amasonia *ab*; amazonia *cdek*; amazoma *fg hij*; Amatoria *K*.  
 436 gog et magog] *See TN III*.  
 441 Jhrl'm] jerl'm *B*; ihrl'm *CEabcde*; ierusalē *D*; hierusalem  
*fg hijk*; Iherusalem *K*; jerusalem *M*.

*Textual Notes II: Scribal Corrections and Emended Readings*

- 10 L29 predictus comedit] "comedit" predictus *with hatch marks signalling word reversal F*.  
 15–16 crescens follows *c canceled at end of previous line A*.  
 21–22 morabatur corrects morebatur *B*.  
 25 L73 balsamum followed by caret signaling crescit above caret in outer margin *F*.  
 26 mire follows mag (*g lacks descender*) canceled *E*.  
 27 fuerat follows *f* (*ascender for f*) canceled *G*.  
 29 ceciderunt ydola corrects in darker ink tenderunt ydolo *B*.  
 31 vsque corrects by erasure vfque *D*.  
 37 lampades follows lapides canceled *G*.  
 42–43 nociua follows nocua canceled *G*.  
 44 septimana follows sep *uncanceled at end of previous line A*.  
 46–47 ponentes follows po(t?) canceled *F*.  
 48 alba follows magna canceled *G*.  
 51 altare corrects adtare *B*.  
 51 ibidem de illo] "de illo" ibidem *with hatch marks signaling word reversal A*.  
 53–54 L144 biberet corrects biberit *G* [biberit *F*].  
 54 excecantur follows exs canceled *C*.  
 58 unus corrects by erasure unius *A*.  
 61 aquam corrects aquem *B*.  
 63–64 L169 ad added superscript over caret *B*.  
 64 potum follows bonum dotted beneath to signal deletion *F*.  
 70 veste pilosa follows p(?) canceled *E*.  
 72 rubei corrects rubri *G*.  
 72 L189 indei appears to correct original iudei by extending the right stroke of the second character below the line *B* (see 76 below).  
 73 nilus in outer margin emends nyli in body of text *D*.  
 74 vocatam corrects vacatam *B*.  
 74 intravi corrects navi = / gavi canceled in red *C*.  
 75 Occeanum] oceanum *with a superscript over caret F*.  
 76 india corrects indea *with i over e dotted beneath for deletion (see 72 L189 above) B*.  
 78 parvi corrects perui *with a over e dotted beneath for deletion B*.  
 81 conchis] conchis corrects c?nchis *B*; contis *E*; chonchis *F*.  
 81 lacticiiniis corrects lac?ecinijs *B*.

- 82 quod *superscript over caret E.*  
 83 pueros *added below line in bottom margin D.*  
 85 Ethyopie *corrects Ethyopee B.*  
 87 et *corrects est D.*  
 87 L236 fundum propter *follows propter canceled in red F.*  
 89 attractivus] attractativus *A.*  
 90 crescens et decrescens *corrects cre(s?)ens et defrescens F.*  
 91 Monoculos *corrects monosculos E.*  
 91 pedestres *corrects pedestre(r?) A.*  
 92 transeunt *follows in = / trant canceled A.*  
 97 frontis *corrects frontes E.*  
 98 dominio *corrects domineo B [domineo C].*  
 103 portus *follows corpus canceled in red and black F.*  
 105 quod *corrects quo with uo erased and abbreviatory sign added B.*  
 108 ecclesia *follows eciam canceled G.*  
 109 peregrini *corrects peregeini B.*  
 110 turris *corrects through erasure turri#s B.*  
 113 quinque *follows tuit (after stant = at end of previous line) canceled C.*  
 115 relique] reliqua *with e over a neither canceled A.*  
 115 candele *corrects candale G.*  
 116–17 eam sic se regant] sic *appears on the page directly below sic*  
 L318 [quod naute] *F.*  
 118 appellatum] appellatam *A.*  
 119 L325 et *superscript H.*  
 120 (L331) non *in inner margin signaled by caret following ipso vero C.*  
 124 thome *follows tl or th (?) canceled C.*  
 124 L342 quamquam] quājiā [quamqueiam?], *the apparent, meaningless reading may be quāquā poorly corrected B.*  
 127 terminatur *corrects terminantur C.*  
 128 navem] navem navem *neither canceled H.*  
 128 ducatu *corrects by erasure ducatus B.*  
 129 unum *corrects mon (?) B.*  
 129–30 petrosum] pe = / tr#trosum *with tr# canceled A.*  
 133 descendere *corrects dēscendere with abbreviatory mark canceled D.*  
 134 ibidem *corrects ibidēm with abbreviatory mark canceled B.*  
 137 piper *follows per canceled D.*  
 141 foramen *corrects foramine B.*  
 143 et *added above line A.*  
 143 diuersi *corrects diuersa B.*  
 146 castrum *corrects through erasure claustrum B.*  
 149 presbyter *follows pb canceled in red F.*

- 150 {sui} et] et *superscript over caret B.*
- 150 sita *follows ita with three dots beneath to indicate deletion B.*
- 150 superiori] supiori *indistinctly (and unnecessarily) corrected*  
*supe'iori B.*
- 150 habitabilis] habitaculis (?) *with cu (?) dotted three times be-*  
*neath for deletion, leaving habitalis B.*
- 151 ciuitates *follows illegible canceled word D; civitates corrects*  
*ciuitastes with first s canceled in red and black and ast un-*  
*derscored in black F.*
- 153–54 latitudine *corrects longitudine with u rewritten in red B.*
- 156 ad *added above line signaled by caret A.*
- 159 ymago regine *follows yg (y3?) canceled C.*
- 163 lapidibus *corrects lapibibus G.*
- 165 ibidem fiunt *follows f(?) canceled D.*
- 166 est *added above line D.*
- 167 mensis *corrects menses E.*
- 168 ad quas *follows q canceled C.*
- 174 Ascendendo] ascendo [*sic*] *follows asf canceled F.*
- 177 ut] vi *A.*
- 179 lapidibus *corrects lapedibus B; lapidibus follows p canceled*  
*E.*
- 191 terciam *follows terram canceled C.*
- 199 Johann# *with final letter corrected indistinctly (Johanni?) B.*
- 200 longum *superscript over caret B.*
- 200 latum *follows altum canceled G.*
- 202 lapide *corrects lapidibus following de added above line C.*
- 205 illa *follows obscure letter (f? f?) uncanceled D.*
- 209 obsessi *corrects obcessi B (see TN III 209).*
- 212 L568 et in medio prandii, et eciam] et in medio et in medio et in  
*uncanceled C.*
- 212 prandium *follows ante far into inner margin (on verso page)*  
*B.*
- 214 delectabiles *corrects delectatiles B.*
- 215 preciosissima *corrects preciosum B.*
- 215 lapidibus *corrects lapedibus B.*
- 223 ibi *corrects ubi B.*
- 224 tenent *corrects tenentur with abbreviatory mark canceled G.*
- 225 L601 eciam sunt *follows sunt canceled G.*
- 229 dicitur *corrects an erased, illegible six-letter word B.*
- 230 pulchrior] pulcherior (*with e above line*) *B.*
- 235 testudinata] testuinata *with dot over u as if one minim were*  
*a second i G.*
- 235 rotunda ad *followed by caret with no words following or*  
*added (see omission in L630) B.*

- 237 lapidibus *with l correcting e (?) and a (see omission in L634) C.*
- 242 testudinatem *corrects through erasure tes##udinatam F.*
- 244 ut *superscript over et canceled C.*
- 244 celo *follows down stroke of f, h, l, or s canceled E.*
- 253 cui *follows m s canceled in red and black C.*
- 258 frigidus *corrects frigidus A.*
- 259 aliquis] a's *may abbreviate alius A.*
- 263 palacia *corrects palacio A.*
- 264 modum *corrects molui (?) F.*
- 267 flumine *follows v# (for vno?) v erased and fl written over original B.*
- 269 xij *corrects v(?)ij A.*
- 277 divina *corrects devina B.*
- 287 festum *added above line, signaled by caret G.*
- 288 simul *follows simil canceled F.*
- 292 femellam *corrects famellam A.*
- 295 gyon *corrects Seon with g above S canceled and y written over e A.*
- 296 fertilitatem *corrects facilitatem with r added above line B.*
- 300 visitandum *corrects vi#itandum D.*
- 301 vocata] vacata *A.*
- 302 iacente *follows ia canceled A.*
- 306 transitus *follows semel far into outer margin (on recto page) B.*
- 313 preciosis *follows prefis canceled G.*
- 324 palida *corrects palidi B.*
- 328–29  
L885 genuis *follows genibus canceled C.*
- 331 semiclausa *corrects semiclausi B.*
- 333 retrahat *follows s (for sacramentum?) canceled A.*
- 333 et de manu *follows ad canceled in red with two vertical strokes in black (see L899 for omission of ad sacramentum) E.*
- 336 L906 Mcccxcprimo] M° ccc° xc° *corrects M° ccc° x#i with carets following ccc° in text and beneath xc in red in center margin B.*
- 338 de manu *follows [orantibus postea] orantibus with the latter word canceled D.*
- 339 duo *follows sacramenti canceled in red and black C.*
- 340 manum *follows tamen canceled (see L916 for omission of non [!] tamen) C.*
- 352 ecclesiam *corrects eccllesiam B.*
- 358 splendent *corrects spendent B.*
- 358 ita quod *written over illegible word erased B.*

- 361 sancti *superscript over caret B.*  
 362 hyemps] hiemps *follows y canceled in black and red D.*  
 365 dies *follows dūs (?) canceled C.*  
 369 habentem *in outer margin (of recto page) superscript over caret with second caret in text following planam B.*  
 370 pulchris] pulcher *followed by horizontal mark in darker ink connected to following word B.*  
 376 rediebamur *follows d canceled twice in black, once in red B.*  
 380 dietas *follows diebus canceled C.*  
 383 illum montem] "montem" illum *with hatchmarks signaling word transposition D.*  
 390 partes *follows illegible erasure beginning par (paradiso?) D.*  
 391 dietas *corrects diebus (?) B.*  
 391 ventu] ventu *corrects vento D (see TN V 391); vento (?) E.*  
 394 noctibus *follows tertia die finita missa (see line 396) canceled A.*  
 395–96 profunctis *with de superscript before f C.*  
 396 veniebat *corrects venieba# B.*  
 400 planam *corrects plauam with u canceled and n superscript F.*  
 401 preparando *follows prepatam canceled in red C.*  
 401 cibaria *follows r## erased B.*  
 401 L1086 incendimus ibi *follows incenco ibi canceled in red C.*  
 403 ibidem *corrects ibibem F.*  
 403 relinquendo *follows relinquentibus canceled in red (see L1091) C.*  
 404 submersit *follows igne sub with the latter word canceled and followed by caret signaling se in inner margin E.*  
 409 monachus *corrects monichus B.*  
 409 examinando *corrects ex#minando E.*  
 412 capre *follows b####s (boves?) canceled B.*  
 417 fumosas (mis) *corrects fumosos F (see TN V 417).*  
 424 lapidosum *corrects lapid#sum (lapidam?) B.*  
 427 timore *corrects tim#re B.*  
 430 L1167 videlicet die *follows d canceled F.*  
 431 illo *follows l canceled B.*  
 437 L1183, 1184 ibi *follows canceled downstroke (first character of sunt?) and precedes sunt superscript over caret F.*  
 438 a parte] apte *in both instances AB (a vertical line follows a in both instances in A).*  
 439 montosa] monstosa *with first s canceled E.*  
 441 quartale *written over qrl# C; quartale follows quartalle canceled F.*  
 442 L1196 autem *written twice, second instance canceled F.*  
 442 notum *followed by et cetera canceled in red C.*

*Textual Notes III: Orthographic Variants, Alternative Punctuation, and Uncertain Readings*

- 2 dyocesis] diocesis *Bcdeghij*.  
 2 Maio] mayo *CDEH*.  
 8 rubei] rubii *E*.  
 9 caput] capud *C*.  
 10 rotundum] rotondum *B*.  
 10 cattus] cactus *B(?)C*.  
 10 L27 rostra] rustra *E*.  
 10 comedi] 9medi (*probably* commedi) *BC*.  
 10 L29 comedit] commedit *D*.  
 11 oportet] oportet *G*.  
 11 L33 bulliri] buliri *Ffghij* [bulilri *d*].  
 15 intoxicando] intoxsecando *M*.  
 15–16 crescens ibidem et in Terra Sancta] crescens ibidem. Et in Terra Sancta *C*.  
 16 Choral] Coral *BCb–k*; thoral *E*.  
 16–17 nuncupata] nunccupata *E*.  
 18 cognoscitur] 9g<sup>o</sup>sci<sup>2</sup> (*probably* congnoſcitur) *C*.  
 19 ripa] rypa *E*.  
 21 ortus] hortus *f–k*.  
 23 cuius *has one minim too many* (cuius) *B*.  
 24 orto] horto *f–k*.  
 28 ydolorum] idolorum *hjk*.  
 29 ydola] idola *f–k*.  
 33 transitur] transſitur *C*.  
 34 Katherine] katharine *C*; Catharinæ *k*.  
 36 comedencium] commedencium *BCDE*.  
 37 numquam] nūquā *B*; nūq3 *Ccdef*; nunq3 *abghij*; nunquam *k*.  
 37 extingwi] extigwi *E*; extingui *BCa–k*.  
 39 extingwitur] extigwitur *E*; extinguitur *BCa–k*.  
 43 Katherine] katharine *C*; Catharinæ *k*.  
 44–45 conswevit] consuevit *BCDEa–k*.  
 46 olivarum] olyvarum *B*.  
 47 emunitatem] immunitatem *ab*.  
 54 numquam] nūq3 *CbcdHf*; nunq3 *aeghij*; nunquam *k*.  
 60 L161 hodierno *may read* hodierna (*but scribe construes dies as masculine noun at line 73*) *C*.  
 63 L167 unus corunus *given the pattern of minims two words later in cornu C*; vnicornis *abk*.  
 65 hoc] oc *E*.  
 66 miliare] milliare *C*.  
 71 transeundo] transseundo *C*.



- 72           rubei Judei] rubei indei *B*; rubei iudei *Ca-k*; rubij iudei *E*  
(*see TN II 72 L189, 76*).
- 73 L194      quendam] quandam *H*.
- 74           navem] nauim *CE*.
- 81           conchis] contis *E*; chonchis *F*.
- 82           syconias] ciconias *BCD*; cyconias *Ea-k*.
- 83           syconie] ciconie *BCDb*; cyconie *Eac-k*.
- 84 L223      hii] hi *eHh*.
- 84 L223      maius] magis *E* (*see 151*).
- 85-86       ictoreū *may read* ictoreñ [ictorensis] *B* (*see 87*).
- 87           ictoreū *may read* ictoreñ [ictorensis] *B* (*see 85-86*).
- 87           attrahit] adtrahit *D*.
- 89 L241      attractivus] attractiui *C*; adtractiuus *D*; actractivus *F*; attra-  
tius *b* [attractatius *A*; attrectiuus *k*].
- 89           alia] allia *C*.
- 92           transeunt] transseunt *C*.
- 96           comedunt] ɣmedunt (*probably* commedunt) *BCDE*.
- 97           carbunculi] caruunculi *E*.
- 98           dominio] domineo *C* (*see TN II 98*).
- 99           Grandicanis] grandicanus *C* [brandicanus *a-k*; talis rex *DE*].
- 102          Christiani] cristiani *B*.
- 103          litore] littore *BCDEa-k*; litore *H*.
- 107          lapidei] lapidij *B*; lapidee *H*.
- 107          rivuli] rivoli *C*.
- 109          sepeliuntur] sepiliuntur *B*.
- 109          Christiani] cristiani *H* [christianorum *C*].
- 110          litus] littus *Ea-k*.
- 111          pulchritudinis] pulcritudinis *G*.
- 111          astronomi] astronimi *BD*.
- 111          litterati] lrāti *ACDEafi*; literati *k*.
- 112          prenosticando] prenosticendo *B*; pronosticando *acdefghij*;  
pnosticādo (*probably* prenosticando) *H*; prognosticando *k*  
[prnosticando *b*].
- 113          consilia] concilia *k*.
- 120          Grandicanis] Gradicanis *D*; brandicani *abcdefghjk* [Brandi-  
cano *i*].
- 120 L330      Brandicano *is punctuated as part of following sentence, thus*  
*disassociating the raptores from the khan* ("captured by ban-  
dits, that same Brandicanus not being in the area") *i*.
- 122          Grandicanis] grandicanus *C*; brandicano *abcefgijk* [bradi-  
cano *d*].
- 128 (L355)   navem] navim *C*; navem navem *H* [novem *B*].
- 128-29       Grandicanis] grandicani *C*; brandicani *acdefghijk* [brandidi-  
cani *b*].
- 138          Michaelis] michahelis *CD*.

- 141 transit] transsit C.  
 141 rivulus] rivulus B.  
 146–47 theolonium] theoloīū C; thelonium E; theoloneum *abcdefghij* (see TN VI 147 L410); telonium *k*.  
 151 maior] magor E (see 84 L223 above).  
 153 teutonica] teutunica CE; theutonica *acde* [reutonica *j*].  
 154 (L432) columpnas] calumpnas B; [super] columnis *a–k* with ut dicitur *between parentheses in aF but not G* [columpnis D].  
 155 columpnas] calumpnas B; colupnas G; columnas *a–j*; columna *k* [omit C].  
 156 gygantes] gigantes BCD*k*.  
 156 lapidibus] lapedibus B.  
 158 (L440) columpnam] calumpnam B; colupnam E; columnarum *a–j*; columniarum H.  
 159 ymagines] hymagines *a*; ymagines *b*; himagines *ce*; ymagines H; imagines *dfghijk*.  
 160 cyphos] ciphos CD [omit *a–k*].  
 162 cyphum] ciphum CD [omit *a–k*].  
 163 lapidibus] lapedibus B.  
 164 transitus] transsitus C.  
 166 consilia] concilia B.  
 170 pulcher] pulcer *b*.  
 171 columpnis] [super] calumpnas B; columnis *a–k*.  
 171 ymagines] hymagines *ab*; himagines *cde*; imagines *f–k*; ymagines H.  
 177 ut dicitur *between parentheses aF (not G)*.  
 185 orlogium] orilogium B; horalogium CDE*bcd*ef*g*; horologium *aghjk* [omit C].  
 186 orlogium] horalogium DE [omit *Ca–k*].  
 189 liberia] libraria Cai; liberaria DE*cdefghj*; liberia *b* [bibliotheca *k*].  
 190 transeunt] transseunt C; transiunt E.  
 193 capella] cappella H.  
 193 laycorum] laicorum D*abce*k.  
 195 martyrum] mīm AGH; martirum BCDE*b*ei.  
 198 apostolorum] appostolorum E.  
 198 pulchritudinis] pulcritudinis G.  
 199 coram] choram *b*.  
 200 pulchritudinis] pulcritudinis H.  
 201 ymagines] hymagines *ab*; himagines *ce*; imagines *dfghijk*; ymagines FH.  
 206 scintille] sintille BC*bcd*efgh*j*.  
 208–10 [campana] quam . . . curantur *within parentheses aF (not G)*.  
 209 obsessi] obcessi Cab*cde* (see TN II 209).  
 214 pulchras] pulcras *f*.

- 127 unum] unam *D*; *v<sup>m</sup>* *E*.  
 127 numquam] nunq *afghjk*; nūq *cde* [namquam *G*].  
 223 solempniter] solepniter *E*; solemniter *a-j*; soleimiter  
 [soleimniter ?] *H*; solenniter *k*.  
 224 consilia] concilia *Bk*.  
 224 potest] p̄t (potest? posset? possit?) *C*.  
 229-30 pulcherrima] pulcerrima *Gh*.  
 230 pulchrior] pulcherior *B*; pulcrior *Gh*.  
 230 parva] perua *B*.  
 230 L613 quotidie] cotidie *bcde*; quottidie *fghij*.  
 236 transit] transsit *C*.  
 238 quicumque] quicūq *abcefgghij*; quicumque *H*; q'cūq *d*; qui-  
 cunque *k*.  
 240 quicumque] quicūq *adfhij*; q'cūq *d*; quicunque *cekG* [qui-  
 cumque *g*].  
 246 experienciam] experigenciam *D*.  
 250 hiis] his *a-j*.  
 250 ymagines] hymagines *ab*; himagines *ce*; imagines *dfghijk*;  
 ymagines *FH*.  
 250 pulcherrime] pulcerrime *G*.  
 251 martyrum] martirum *BCD**b**H*; m̄rm *EG* [matyrum *a*].  
 253 throno] trono *E*.  
 254-55 tamquam] tanq *aghiH*; tāq *bcdef*; tanquam *jk*.  
 258 calidus] callidus *hj*.  
 258 gygas] gigas *Cb*.  
 260 gygas] gigas *DE* [omit *a-k*].  
 262 pulchritudinis] pulcritudinis *GH*.  
 264 modum] motum *cdefghi*; modum *H*.  
 264 L699 dimite *may read* divinite, Odimite, *or even* Averimite *C*.  
 268 proicitur] proiicitur *a-k*.  
 272 comedunt] comedunt *BCDE*; cōedant *a* [comedant  
*bcdefgiG*].  
 273 comeditur] comeditur *BDE*; comeditur *ACacdefghijkZ*  
 [coeditur *b*].  
 274 prandium] prandeum *C*.  
 275 rubea] rubia *D*.  
 276 prandium] prandeum *C*.  
 280 Christiani] xpistiani *b*.  
 282 cerico] serico *CDEa-k*.  
 288 Michaelis] michahelis *C*.  
 303 transitus] transsitus *C*.  
 306 transitus] transsitus *C*.  
 308 Christifideles] cristifideles *H*.  
 309 transeunt] transiunt *E* [transeant *k*].

- 309 ab] vb *D*.  
 310 transire] transsire *CD*.  
 311 L829 transsitur *C*.  
 312 cathedram] kadhedram *C*; kathedram *E*.  
 324 pallida] palida *C*.  
 326 sacramentum] sac<sup>2</sup>ramentum (= sacramentum?) *B*.  
 328 L884 christianis] xpistianis *b*; xpianis *H*.  
 328–29 genibus] genubus *E*.  
 329 L885 humillime] humilime *b f g h j H*.  
 332 aperit] apperit *C*.  
 337 penitencia] penetenciam *B*.  
 344 pathenas] patenas *BDEa–k*.  
 350 corpus] cor<sub>9</sub> [= corus?] *C*.  
 353 catenis] catenis *bk*.  
 354 L953 seris] ceris *bcdefghj*.  
 355 capsam] cappsam *C*.  
 355 L958 kartine *may possibly read* kontinue *C*.  
 355 lampades] lampas *B*.  
 355 numquam] nūq<sub>3</sub> *Ccdfe*; nunq<sub>3</sub> *abghij*; nunquā *k*.  
 355–56 extingwuntur] extinguuntur *BCabcdefghik*; extigwuntur *E*;  
 extinguntur *j*.  
 356 incenduntur] incenguntur *B*.  
 356 dirimuntur] demi / müüntur *B*.  
 357 capellam] cappellam *B*; cāpellā (= campellam?) *b*.  
 362 montosa] montuosa *Ca–j*.  
 362 numquam] nūq<sub>3</sub> *Ccdef*; nunquam *abghijk*.  
 362 hyemps] hiemps *D*; yems *E*; hyems *abfghijk*; hÿems *F*; hyēs  
*ce*; hyemps *H*; hiēs *d*.  
 363 pugnant] pungnant *B*.  
 365 alia] allia *C*.  
 368 navem] navim *E*.  
 369 pulcherrimam] pulcerrimam *G*.  
 370 pulchris] pulcris *H*.  
 374 inhibuit] in ibuit *C*.  
 374 aliquid] aliquit *B*.  
 376 dixerunt] dixernnt *G*.  
 378 numquam] nunq<sub>3</sub> *abghijk*; nūq<sub>3</sub> *cde*.  
 383 L1039 nunquam] nūq<sub>3</sub> *C*.  
 384 splendens] spendens *B*.  
 385 pulchritudine] pulcritudine *G*.  
 387 Alexander] Allexander *BCE*.  
 393 arida] arrida *F*.  
 401 L1084 navem] navim *C*.  
 401 submersit se] submerse *B*.

- 402 navem] navim C.  
 404 Jasconius] iascronius C; iaschonium D; ĵasconius E; iasconius *a-k*; Jasconius H.  
 406 L1097 autem] aut *j*.  
 406-7 obstacula] obstaculo B.  
 408 L1105 moram] morem B.  
 413 sicut] sicut C.  
 414 transeunt] transseunt C; transiunt E.  
 414 hyemps] hiemps D; yemps E; hyēs *acde*; hyēps *b*; hyems *fgbjhkGH*.  
 416 septemtrionalem] septentrionalem *DakZ*; septētrionalem *CEbcdefghiG*; septemtrionalem H.  
 418 silvestres] sylvestres *k*.  
 421 Symee] syrene C; simee *Dabj*; sȳmee E; Simię *k*.  
 422 L1143 sicut C.  
 424-25 Syrenes] sirenes D; syrenis F.  
 425 Merminnen] mermynnē B; mermȳnen; D; mere mȳne E [*omit Ca-k*].  
 426-27 horribilia] horribilia *h*.  
 436 Gog et Magog] gog et magoc C; goch et magoch DE.  
 439 montosa] montuosa *a-j*.

*Textual Notes IV: Numerals*

- 1 Mccclxxxnono] M° ccc° lxxxix° BDE; M° ccc° 89 C; M.ccc.lxxxix. *abcdefi*; M.cccc.lxxxix. *ghj*; *omit k*.  
 5 septem]  $\Lambda^{\text{tem}}$  E; vij *fī*.  
 18-19 quatuor]  $\ell^{\text{or}}$  C.  
 31 viij] octo BCDEa-k.  
 33 septem] Atem D; vij *b*.  
 36 13] xii CD**bc**defi; tredecim Eaghjk.  
 36 13] tres [!] C; xii Db**c**defi; tredecim Eaghjk.  
 44 tres] 3<sup>s</sup> CE.  
 49 quatuor]  $\ell^{\text{or}}$  CDEF; iiij H [quatuor *h*].  
 52 xl]  $\ell^{\text{or}}$  [!] C; quadraginta DEaghjk.  
 53 duodecim] xij *bcdefi*; 12 F.  
 55 (L147) septuagintadue] lxxij B**bc**defi; lxx [!] C;  $\Lambda^{\circ}$ . due E; septuaginta duo F; septuaginta [!] *ghjk*.  
 75 tres] 3<sup>s</sup> CE.  
 84 duodecim] xij BC**f**h.  
 86 quatuor] 4<sup>or</sup> CEF; iiij *i* [quatuor *with upsidedown a h*].  
 106 quingenti] cccccc D.  
 115 quatuor]  $\ell^{\text{or}}$  CE.  
 119 L326 tres] 3<sup>s</sup> E.  
 122 viij] septem [!] B; octo DEa-k.

- 125 (L345) vij] septem *B*; xij [!] *CDbcdef*; 12 [!] *E*; duodecim [!] *aghi*k;  
duocī [!] *j* [omit *H*].
- 126 xij] duodecim *DEghjk*.
- 129 viij] octo *BDEa-k*.
- 134 viginti] xx *Dbcdefi* [omit *C*].
- 148 L413 xiiij] quatuordecim *E*; xxiiij [!] *fi*; vigintiquattuor [!] *ghj*; vi-  
ginti quattuor *k*.
- 151 xxiiij<sup>or</sup>] xxiiij *Cbcdefi*; viginti *ℓ<sup>or</sup> DE*; vigintiquattuor *ak*; vi-  
gintiquattuor *ghj*.
- 155 (L432) ix<sup>c</sup>] nonaginta *CE*; xc *D*; nongentis *a-k*.
- 156 quattuor] *ℓ<sup>or</sup> CDE*; iiiij<sup>or</sup> *H*.
- 174 quingenti] cccccc<sup>i</sup> *D*.
- 181 secundum] 2<sup>m</sup> *C*.
- 191 terciam] 3<sup>m</sup> *DE*.
- 194 quartam] *ℓ<sup>iam</sup> D* [quarta *jk*].
- 210 L562 xij *B*.
- 228 septimam] *Λ<sup>am</sup> C*; vij *b*.
- 245 tres] 3<sup>s</sup> *E*.
- 246 tercius] 3<sup>us</sup> *CDE*.
- 247 (L658) tres] 3<sup>s</sup> *C*; quattuor [!] *b-k*.
- 249 ix] novem *BCDEac-k*; ix *G*.
- 253 (L673) vigintiquattuor] xxiiij<sup>or</sup> *BD*; xxiiij *C*; novem *a-k*.
- 256 tres] 3<sup>s</sup> *C*.
- 261 20] xx *BCDbcdefi*; viginti *Eaghjk*.
- 263 (L696) 24] xxiiij *B*; xx [!] *C*; xxiiij<sup>or</sup> *D*; viginti 4<sup>or</sup> *E*; novem [!] *a-k*.
- 266 (L702) septem] vij *CDdefi*; *Λ<sup>em</sup> E*; viij [!] *b*; septem *H*.
- 269 xij] duodecim *Eaghjk*.
- 270 xij] duodecim *CEaghjk*.
- 272 xxx<sup>M</sup>] triginta milia *CEabcde*; triginta millia *ghjk*; xxx milia  
*fi*.
- 279 (L740) septuagintaduo] lxxij *BCD*; octodecim [!] *abcde*; xviiij [!] *fi*;  
decem et octo [!] *ghjk*.
- 280 undecim] xj *BCbcdefi*.
- 280 L742 sexaginta *DE*.
- 280 L742 septem *abcdeghjk*; vij *fi*.
- 284 quattuor] *ℓ<sup>or</sup> CDEF*.
- 293 quattuor] iiiij *B*; *ℓ<sup>or</sup> CE*.
- 294 secundum] 2<sup>m</sup> *E* [omit *C*].
- 295 tercium] 3<sup>m</sup> *DE* [omit *C*].
- 300 quattuor] *ℓ<sup>or</sup> C*; iiiij *bcde*.
- 306 viij] octo *BCDEa-k*.
- 306 viij] octo *BCDEac-k* [octa *b*].
- 310 duo] due *B* (see *TN V 310*).
- 314 secundas] 2<sup>as</sup> *CE*.
- 317 (L845) quindecim] xv *bcdefi*.

- 324 2°] Secundo *Ba-k*.  
 325 3°] tercio *Ba-k*.  
 336 L906 Mcccxcprimo] M° ccc° xc° *B*; M° 3 [*with a red slash running vertically through 3*] *C* [*date omitted DEa-k*] (see *TN II 336 L906*).  
 349 secundis] 2<sup>s</sup> *CE*.  
 353 quatuor] 4<sup>or</sup> *CEF*.  
 355 L958 xij *BCEabcdefi*; duodecim *Dghjk*.  
 357 quinque] v.<sup>s</sup> *H*.  
 358 (L966) 14] xiiij *B*; novem [!] *CDEa-k*.  
 361 Tres] 3<sup>s</sup> *E*.  
 368 x] decem *BCDEghjk*.  
 369 quatuor] 4<sup>or</sup> *CDE* [*quatuor h*].  
 372 12] xij *BCFbcdefi*; duodecim *DEaghjk*.  
 375 tres] 3<sup>s</sup> *E*.  
 377 L1022 tribus] iij *b*.  
 380 12] xij *Bbcdefi*; duodecim *CDEaghjk*.  
 391 34] xxiiij [!] *BCDabcdefi*; viginti quatuor [!] *Eghjk*.  
 395 tres] 3<sup>s</sup> *CE*.  
 396 tercia] 3<sup>a</sup> *CD*.  
 398 tres] 3<sup>ss</sup> *C*; 3<sup>s</sup> *E*.  
 399 quatuor] 4<sup>or</sup> *CEF*.  
 410 12] xij *BCbcdefik*.  
 423 quatuor] 4<sup>or</sup> *CDE* [*quattuar d*; *quattuor i*].  
 430 sexta] vj: *bfi*; sexto *cdeghjk*.

*Textual Notes V: Errors Not Recorded in the Critical Edition*

- 19 una] uno *F*.  
 23 aqua] aq̄ (aque?) *D*.  
 29 fugierunt] fugerunt *a[FG]* (*perhaps mistaking the third conjugation verb fugio for a fifth conjugation verb*).  
 47 ille] illi *B* (*misconstruing avis as masculine noun*).  
 60 filii] filiis *F*.  
 63 ponens] pones *F*.  
 64 L172 potum accipiunt] potunt (?) accipiunt (*a nonsensical reading*) *C*.  
 103 multe] multi *BCHZ* (*misconstruing navis as masculine noun*).  
 104 L281 in copying domi for domus, the scribe of *H* acceptably construes the word as a second declension noun.  
 104 alte] alti *B* (*misconstruing domus as masculine noun*).  
 112 L305 civitatis] civitates in *C* may stand for citizens ("on [each] feast day, the citizens and leaders hold their counsels"); see *TN VII 112 L305*.  
 128 ducatu] ductu *C*; ducato *D* (*presumably misconstruing ducatus, a fourth declension noun, as a second declension noun*).

- 129 predicti] predictam *D*.
- 131 L364 quem in *C* is an awkward construction that presumably takes masculine *mons* rather than neuter *foramen* as antecedent.
- 133 navem] novem *B*.
- 154 columpnas] columpnis *D* (not recognizing that *supra* takes the accusative?).
- 167 mensis] menses *F* (see *TN II* 167).
- 171 facte] facti *BZ* (misconstruing *ymago* as masculine noun).
- 176 L480 detinentur] detnientur or detninetur *F*.
- 180 lanternis] laternis *E*.
- 187 L508 apprehendendum] apprehendum *F*.
- 197 L533 qua] quo *H*.
- 201 multe] multi *C* (misconstruing *ymago* as masculine noun); see next note.
- 201 preciose] preciosi *Ca* (misconstruing *ymago* as masculine noun and omitting *multe*); see previous note.
- 202 precioso] preciosa *BC*.
- 217 numquam] namquam *G*.
- 219 aliorum] alium *H*.
- 250 facte] facti *B* (misconstruing *ymago* as masculine noun).
- 253 cui] sui (?); initial letter is not scribe's *c* *C*.
- 286 generanda] generando *C* (misconstruing *prole* as masculine noun).
- 291 pariunt] pareunt *B* (incorrectly making *pario* follow the conjugation of *eo*).
- 294–95 preciosos] preciosa *H* (misconstruing *lapis* as neuter noun in the accusative plural).
- 310 duo] due *B*.
- 315 armatis] armatibus *H* (misconstruing *armatus* as a third declension adjective).
- 316 vigilantes] vigilantis *D*.
- 323 facies] faciem *B*.
- 329 sacramentum] sacrament' (= sacramentis?) *B*.
- 353 L951 pendet] pendit *E* (acceptable third-person singular form of *pendo*; all other texts record a form of the more common *pendeo*).
- 354 L953 fortissimis] fortissinis *F*.
- 354 L955 vigilia] vigiliam is a pedantic use of accusative after *usque* *G*.
- 362 morabantur] morebantur *B* (misconstruing *moror* as a second conjugation deponent verb).
- 371 ornatam] ornatum *B* (forgetting the antecedent *insulam* in line 369?).
- 391 ventu] vento *C*; vento (?) *E* (see *TN II* 391).
- 407 pre montibus] prementibus *B*.
- 417 fumosos] fumosas corrects fumosos [!] *F*.
- 424 fumosum] fumosam *B*.



- 428 angulum] angelum *B.*  
 436 duos] duo *H* (*final character of duos imperfect in e*).  
 437 duas] duos *B* (*misconstruing the feminine noun facies as masculine*).

*Textual Notes VI: Marginalia, Added Rubrics, and Instructions to the Reader*

- 6–7 De hermopoli ciuitate *in margin E.*  
 9–10 De piscibus volantibus *in margin E.*  
 33–34 de monte sȳnai *in margin E.*  
 42–43 L116 et cetera *followed by underscored rubric* De sepulchro sancte katherine *B.*  
 49 Elym *in margin E.*  
 78 De pigmeis *in margin E.*  
 90–91 De monoculis *in margin E.*  
 99 De ciuitate Jndronopoli *in margin E.*  
 121–22 Castrum conperduth *in margin E.*  
 128–31 de monte alto et foramine tenebroso *in margin E.*  
 136–37 De terra ubi crescit piper *in margin E.*  
 147 L410 indorum imperatori] iñdorum imperatori *b* (*this addition not found in a*). *These rubrics follow:* De pallacio presbiteri iohannis in superiori india. et de eius septem mansionibus et diuerso ornatu earundem *a* (*as a separate paragraph*), *F* (*as the last sentence in a paragraph before the large heading DE*), *G* (*as a sub-heading with generous indentation and spacing*); De pallacio presbiteri iohannis in superiori india. et eius vii mantionibus et diuerso ornatu earum *b*; De pallacio presbiteri iohannis in superiori india. et eius septem mansionibus [mansioinbus *f*] et diuerso ornatu *c–j*; De Palatio Presbyteri Ioannis in superiori India, et septem mansionibus eius diuersoque ornatu *k*.  
 148–50 Edissa ciuitas presbyteri iohannis *in margin E.*  
 149–50 nota hec bene vsque post duo folia *added by scribe in left margin of fol. 109v D.*  
 174–76 Nota de intersticiis pallacij iohannis presbyteri et de primo *in margin E.*  
 181 de 2° *in margin E.*  
 191 de 3° *in margin E.*  
 194 de 4° *in margin E.*  
 197 de v° *in margin E.*  
 202 de mensa iohannis presbyteri *in margin E.*  
 208–9 de campana sancti thome *in margin E.*  
 220 de vij° *in margin E.*  
 228 de vij° Intersticio et ultimo *in margin E.*

- 245 de speculo quodam *in margin E.*  
 271–73 de numero edencium in pallacio iohannis presbyteri *in margin E.*  
 277–79 tytulus iohannis presbyteri *in margin E.*  
 277–79 Johannes . . . terrestrem *underscored B; underscored in red F.*  
 283–84 De terra feminarum siue jnsula *in margin E.*  
 283–92 *The passage Item ibidem . . . cum ipsis is underscored; a left hand, forefinger raised, adjacent to lines 283–84, in outer margin G.*  
 293 de iiij<sup>or</sup> fluminibus paradisi *in margin E.*  
 300 Modus visitandi sanctum thomam *in margin E.*  
 300 L797 *The following rubrics precede Visitando in the printed editions: De ciuitate et ecclesia in qua est corpus sancti Thome apostoli a; De ciuitate [ciuitate b] et ecclesia in qua est corpus beati [beatī i] Thome in magna reuerentia b–k.*  
 307–8 Ulua ciuitas Nota *in margin E.*  
 323 Nota *in margin E.*  
 348–49 Nota *in margin E.*  
 355 *after ardentes (on fol. 200vb) this note: reuerte sex folia ubi tale habes figuram VIY et incipit que nunquam [nūq3] et cetera; the symbol, above the words que nunquam [nūq3] is found on the fourth line of fol. 194vb C.*  
 361–62 De mora trium regum *in margin E.*  
 380 *after navigando (on fol. 194vb) this note: Et vero ulterius de eadem materia in a eadem sexterna ubi last four [sic] words canceled invenies tale figuram ⊕ secunda columpna proxima; the symbol, and text, beginning per duodecim, is found at the top of fol. 195rb C.*  
 380–81 locus paradisi *in margin E.*  
 391–92 locus purgatorij *in margin E.*  
 394–96 quod anime liberauit per missas *in margin in a later hand E.*  
 398–99 Nota *in margin E.*  
 404–5 yasconius piscis *in margin E.*  
 406 *after anni (on fol. 195vb) this note: verte folium et ubi inveni[e]s tale signum ≡ et lege habuimus; the symbol, beside the word habuimus is found in mid-column on fol. 196ra C.*

*Textual Notes VII: Typographical Errors and Oddities in the Early Editions*

In the notes below, typographical errors in *a* and *e* are corrected in *FG* and *H*, respectively, unless otherwise noted.

- 10 L29 Joannes] Joāēs *b.*  
 11 L33 bulliri] bulilri *d.*

- 18 Israeliticum] Israelticum *j*.  
 21–22 morabatur] morobatur *d*.  
 27 Trinitatis] trinitatatis *j*.  
 31 civitatem] ciuita = / etm *a*.  
 32 L88 amra] *in some copies of incunable b, a dot of ink over final a suggests that the type was set to read amrā (= amram), but that the abbreviatory bar did not adequately print.*  
 33 L91 directe] direccte *a* (*Guldenschaff's typeface included a ct ligature, which is occasionally—and mistakenly—set after a c; see also 66, 234 L624, 266 L702*)  
 36 eciam] itiam *g*.  
 38 cum] cō *h*.  
 39 tamdiu] cam diu *h*.  
 40 adiuuamento] adiumento *j*.  
 45 Moyses] noyses *a*.  
 49 quatuor] quartuor *h*.  
 50 campum] cā / pō [campom] *j*.  
 57 bone] boue *e*.  
 59 dulcedinem] dulnedinem *b*.  
 63 solis] sollis *b*.  
 63 fluvium] fluuiñ *d*.  
 66 L176 cuiusdam] cuiudam *d*.  
 66 sancti] sanccti *a* (*see note to 33 L91*).  
 69 L181 vestitur] vestit *without abbreviatory mark i*.  
 73 L194 quendam] quēda *b*.  
 74 L197 quendam] qudā (queudam?) *b*.  
 76 L201 inferior] *the imperfect ascender on f in inferior causes indistinct impression resembling a t in edition d; interior f–j [inferior O]*.  
 77 homines] honines *b*.  
 81 speciebus] fpeciebus *d*.  
 83 L221 quandoque] qñq; *with liberally inked ñ resembling fi [quasi] d*.  
 84 ultra] vlra *b*.  
 85 navigando] nauiganda *i*.  
 85–86 Iecoreum] ieeoreum *b*.  
 86 ad] ed *g*.  
 87 L236 profundum] profuddum *b*.  
 88 L239 esse] cē *d* (*at line 94, necesse is abbreviated nccē in d*).  
 89 L241 attractivus] attratiuus *b*.  
 90 fluens] fliuēs *b*.  
 92 periclitando] periditando *eH*.  
 93 propter] propier *b*.  
 93–94 periculosissimum] pericuiosissimum *j*.  
 100 Presbyteri] presbyterij *j*.

- 100 L272 venit] veint *a*.  
 100–101 vocatur] vacatur *b*.  
 104 mundi] mudi *b*.  
 107 L289 in quibus est flumen] iu quibus est flumen *b*.  
 112 prenosticando] prnesticando *b*.  
 112 L304 in die] indie *g*.  
 112 civitatis] civitates *i* (*this reading also in C; see TN V 112*).  
 112 maiores] moiores *a*; maioresi *b*.  
 113 quinque] quiuque *b*.  
 114 lapidibus] alpidibus *b*.  
 114 preciosis] pciosis *b*.  
 115 quam] quem *k*.  
 115–16 lapades ardentes n *b* (*a dot of ink over the first a of lapades*  
 L314–15 *suggests that Zyrickzee set lāpades but that the abbreviatory*  
*bar did not print adequately*); the reduction of in nocte to n  
*explains lapides c–j*.  
 117 L318 regant] regnāt [regnant] *e*.  
 117 applicando] appllcando *a*.  
 119 L328 visitatio] visitato *b*.  
 119 L328 longinquis] longi nquis *b*; loginquis *H*.  
 120 eramus capti] eramuscapiti *with first i making only faint im-*  
*pression in edition i*.  
 122 eramus] eramns *b*.  
 122–23 brandicano] brādicao *with first abbreviatory mark especially*  
 L339 *faint b*; bradicano *d*.  
 126 L347 faciens] facieus *e*; omit *H*.  
 128 intravimus] intrau mus *b*.  
 128–29 brandicani] brandidicani *b*.  
 L357  
 129 montem] mō / rem *i*.  
 130 foramen] foromen *a*.  
 133 candelas] candellas *j*.  
 133 foraminis] foraniīs [foraninis] *a*.  
 133 descendere] descenaere *b*.  
 136 crescit] erescit *b*.  
 139 colligitur] collgitur *b*.  
 145 navigando] nauigā *b*.  
 146–47 theolonium] theoloniuu *b*.  
 147 L410 indorum] iñdorum *b*.  
 147 mansionibus *in added rubric*] mansioinbus *f* (*see TN VI 147*).  
 148 ulterius] vltertus *b*.  
 153 teutonica] reutonica *j*.  
 156 facti] facta *hj*.

- 157 preciosis] preciosiis *a*, with *si* [fi] *a* ligature; preciosus *F*;  
 preciosiis with final *i* superscript over caret *G*.
- 163 lapidibus] lapidbus *b*.
- 164 L453 quidem] quidam *j*.
- 165 convenit] eonvenit *j*.
- 165 L455 transtus *b* (in *a* phrase that repeats the preceding one).
- 166 consilia] consila *j*.
- 167 principio with final *i* above line (the last several characters  
 in the top two lines on sig. A4r show type to be unstable) *e*.
- 167 cuiuslibet] cuiuslibet *h*.
- 169 Augusti] angusti *e*.
- 171 sub] snb *j*.
- 171 L474 facte] in some copies facte is overinked and slightly defective  
 (resembling *f*), and *t* is broken at top in edition *h*; hence sacre  
*j*.
- 175 leones] leōnes *a*.
- 176 hereticorum] herecticorum *j*.
- 177 ascenderent] ascenderet *h*.
- 179 L485 sculpti or sepulti] scuplti *i*.
- 179 L486 pallacium] pallcium *b*.
- 188 L509 {illum} vel] ve *e*.
- 188 L509 huiusmodi] hmōi *bcde*; huiōi *h*.
- 196 dormitorium] dormicorium *a*.
- 202 Presbyteri] prespyteri *j*.
- 204 facies] faices *b*.
- 206 instrumento follows (inexplicable) *n* in space between lines  
 following vel (see L555) *k*.
- 206 L555 fricaretur] frica ends sig. A4r; ret' follows at the top of sig.  
 A4v in *e*; fricatur with *re* superscript *H*.
- 206 L555 quovis] quo vis *d*; quo / vis *i*.
- 206 ardentes] aroentes *e*.
- 211 benedicta] bndica *b*.
- 218 L581 contineantur] contineautur *e*.
- 222 cantatur] cantatut *j*.
- 223 solempniter] solenniter *k*.
- 229–30 pulcherrima] pchl'errīa *b*.
- 232 audit] aubit *c*.
- 233 L620 deinde] deiñ *acdf*; dcīī *e*; dictū *H*.
- 234 L624 predicta] prediccta *a* (see 33 L91).
- 235 testudinata] testubinata *a*; testidunata *e*.
- 236 firmamenti] firmameuti *e*.
- 243 luna] luūa *b*.
- 244 artificialiter] artifitialiter *a*.
- 246 experienciam] experientitiam *b*.
- 249 in] io *b*.

- 250 chori] choei *b*.  
 251 martyrum] matyrum *a*.  
 255 excelsis] excesis *a*.  
 255 L677 sanctus sauctus *a*.  
 258 alter] altir *g*.  
 259 occasum] oceasum *h*.  
 260 interficeret] interficiret *g*.  
 261 mire] mirre *j*.  
 264 circumvolui] circumuolui *i*.  
 266 L702 predictis] predicctis *a* (*see note to 33 L91 above*).  
 266 recordor] recodor *a*.  
 273 comeditur] coeditur *b*.  
 274 Presbyter] Prebiter *a*.  
 279 Terrestrem] terrstrem *c*.  
 281 L744 vestiuntur] vestuntur *f*.  
 282 pelliculis] pellculis *d*.  
 284–85 una *begins a line following dietas at end of line, perhaps explaining omission of in in edition b*.  
 L749–50  
 285 circummurata] cir cūmmurata *b*; circum murata *k*.  
 286 veniunt] veinunt *a*.  
 287 Johannis] Jahannis *d*.  
 288 diæbus *f*.  
 291 per] pei *f*.  
 293 L777 veluti] vøluti *h*.  
 297 L786 idcirco] idcrco *g*.  
 297 in] ni (*first word on sig. B1v*) *j*.  
 300 Thomam] Tho *b*.  
 301 Hulna] *Guldenschaff employs a type font in which h and b are very similar; hence bulna in G (see L807)*.  
 304 carnibus] caruibus *d*.  
 305 confitendo] confitedo *b*.  
 306 diebus {ante}] diehus *b*.  
 306 festum] festnm *j*.  
 306 viij for octo] [et] octa *b*.  
 306 diebus {post}] die- / dus *b*.  
 308 civitatem] eiuitatem *b*.  
 309 siccis] siccīt *b*.  
 312 ponitur] ponitnr *k*.  
 316 L843 vigilantes] vigilā *b*; vigila *cd*; vigilia *e*; vigilans *f–k*.  
 321 L855–56 ad quam cantandum] ad qua cantandum *b*.  
 326 copia] eopia *b*.  
 326 L879 communione] eommunione [eō / munione] *b*.  
 327 Presbyter] presbīter *b*; presbxter *c*.  
 327 Johannes] Ioanues *j*.

- 329 sacramentum] sacramentm *b*.  
 330 porrigit] porrgit *b*.  
 330 L890 apostolo] aoostolo *j*.  
 332 indignis] indigns *d*.  
 333 sacramentum] sacramentm *b*.  
 336 manus] mauns *e*.  
 337 ducti] ductus *b*.  
 341 L918 apostoli] apoftoili *d*.  
 345 apostoli] apostoi *b*.  
 346 preciosissimam] preciocissimam *e*.  
 354 clauditur] claditur *hj*.  
 354 vigilia] vigilio *j*.  
 359 sancti] saucti *j*.  
 367 Johannis] Joānes *i*.  
 367 licenciam] licentitam *j*.  
 374 aliquid] alliquid *b*.  
 374–75 caperemus] capereemus *b*.  
 L1014  
 376 cum] cñ *j*.  
 377 L1021, fuerimus ibi tribus diebus et noctibus *in H*, a reading also  
 1023 found in *dfghijk* but not in edition *e*, may result from the fact  
 that *ibidem* is the first word on sig. *A6v* in *e*.  
 378 credo quod] credo q<sub>3</sub> (= credoque?) *b*.  
 379 Paradisi] padysi *i*; pararadysi *j*.  
 381 Paradisus] paradvsus *j*.  
 382 altus] alta *d*.  
 383 accessus] accessns *j*.  
 383 horam] horum *k*.  
 386 unius] vnns *j*.  
 388 mundum] mndum *b*.  
 392 ad] ab *e*; ad *H*.  
 394 clamores] cltmores *k*.  
 395 L1071 legique] legi q̄; [legiquam] *d*; legi q°q<sub>3</sub> *f*; legi q°; [= quoue?] *i*.  
 395 missas] imssas *a*.  
 401 cibaria] cibarea *b*.  
 402 L1088 quamcitus] quam sitius *j*.  
 408 magnis] mgnis *b*.  
 409 diligenter] dilgigenter *j*.  
 414 semper] sempet *j*.  
 416 navigando] nouigando *c*.  
 420 directe] dercē *f*.  
 423 ulterius] Vltirius *b*.  
 426 L1153 periclitare] periclitari *i*.  
 421–22 quantitatem] quāttē *b*; q̄ti = / tem possibly quantitem *j*.

- 423            quatuor] quattuar *d*; quatttuor *i*.  
 434            quim<sup>9</sup> (queuimus) *j*.  
 435 L1179    dicitur] d'rġ [= diciturtur] *b*.  
 436            duos] *final character imperfect in e*; duo *H*.  
 437            mirabiliter] mirabilitet *d*.  
 437            facies] faces *j*.  
 438 L1189    posteriori] postteriori *b*; posteriore *ghj*.  
 440 L1192    autem] aut *i*.  
 440            orientalem] orietalem *d*.  
 440            insulas] ĩefulas [= inesulas] *d*.  
 441 L1194    venimus] veuimus *b*.





## The Middle Dutch Translation of the *Itinerarius*

### 1. A Critical Edition of the Middle Dutch Translation

THE BASE TEXT for the critical edition of the fifteenth-century translation of the *Itinerarius* into Middle Dutch is Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Phillipps 1981, fols. 1r–11v (*K*). The reasons for the choice of *K* are laid out in chapter 3. A transcription from the late seventeenth century, *K* follows many modern conventions of punctuation and the establishment of sentence boundaries, probably indicating that its copyist, Antonius Matthaeus, did some editing as he worked. The text printed here is little changed except for the institution of consistent capitalization and paragraphs.<sup>1</sup> The following principles apply to the presentation of the text:

- orthography, including the presentation of numerals, has been reproduced as exactly as possible, but because Matthaeus's hand is sometimes impossible to make out definitively—*a*, *e*, and *o* are at times nearly indistinguishable, as are *t* and *r*—letters that cannot be confidently read in *K* are placed between parentheses; see “R(oe)den” in line 8;
- emendations are placed between square brackets, with the reading in *K* given at the foot of the page or in the Middle Dutch Textual Notes;
- foliation in *K* is given in the text between square brackets following two vertical lines (except in the first line).

<sup>1</sup>A diplomatic edition of the Middle Dutch text, recording the punctuation of *K*, may be found in my dissertation (Westrem, “A Critical Edition”).

The rationale for presenting semantically and grammatically sensible variants in other Middle Dutch texts follows that employed in the Latin critical edition:

- superscripted numbers in the text and in the right margin of the page correspond to lemmata at the foot of the page, which repeat a word or passage in the base text and give the different readings for that unit of text found in another Middle Dutch record (thus lemma 6 indicates two versions of a phrase in *K* that are recorded in *L* and *M*);
- variant spellings of place-names are reported, but other orthographical discrepancies—of which there are hundreds—are not shown;
- quite a few additions to the text are indicated by the statement that they come “after” a certain word in *K* (see 8, 11 [note that the spelling of the prompt duplicates that of *L* or *M*, not *K*]), thus calling attention to the many omissions in *K* (see also chapter 3, nn. 183–84);
- occasional lemmata note discrepancies in sentence order (see 128);
- multiple variants within a unit of text covered by a single lemma follow the hierarchy *LM*;
- a lemma that ends with an asterisk (\*) contains a reading that is further described in the Middle Dutch Textual Notes;
- because the current whereabouts of *LM* are unknown, recorded readings from them come at secondhand; and because available records are fragmentary, variants from *L* can be given only up to Middle Dutch line 280, and from *M* only for Middle Dutch lines 1–11 and 423–28 (see lemmata 21, 356, 364, 368).

The generally trivial nature of these variants—most record omissions and rearrangements of nearly identical clusters of words—provides ample evidence that, despite their differences, *KLM* are all versions of a single translation.

- <sup>[11]</sup> In den<sup>1</sup> jaer ons Heeren M.CCC. ende XCVIII. ick Heer Iohan<sup>2</sup> 1-2  
 Voet<sup>3</sup> van Utrecht<sup>4</sup> heb geweest toe Iherusalem in den Mey,<sup>5</sup> umme daer te 3-5  
 visiteren<sup>6</sup> die hillige stede, ende oick tat<sup>7</sup> mynre bedevaert ter Iordanen,<sup>8</sup> 6-8  
 5 voert toe den Roeden Meer an dat lant van Egypten, tot eynde stadt ge- 9  
 heyten Her(m)opolis,<sup>9</sup> dat is eyn hoveystadt van Egypten. In der stadt 10-12  
 woonde onse lieve<sup>10</sup> Vrouwen<sup>11</sup> met hoeren lieven kynde<sup>12</sup> Iesum Chris- 13  
 tum[.]<sup>13</sup>  
 Ende in den R(oe)den Meer, daer die stadt by licht, daer sach ick ynne  
 vissche, die weren roet<sup>14</sup> van verwen ende<sup>15</sup> vlogen boven water wal so veer<sup>16</sup> 14-16  
 10 als men mit enen boghe sceten mochte,<sup>17</sup> ende daer van heb ick gegeten.<sup>18</sup> 17-18  
 Voert<sup>19</sup> heb ick daer gesien vele seltsame<sup>20</sup> dieren<sup>21</sup> ende fenyne dier- 19-21  
 en,<sup>22</sup> die den menschen hinder[en] unde schaden<sup>23</sup> in der selver stadt, daer 22-23  
 Moses die kinderen van Israel door leyde. Ende den wech kentmen by IV.  
 groote steyne die daer staen by den over<sup>24</sup>—twie an die eene syde, ende 24  
 15 twee an die ander syde—tot eyn teyken dat<sup>25</sup> die stadt is van den Roden 25  
 Meyr dat die kinderen<sup>26</sup> van Israel doer wandelden. 26  
 Daer<sup>27</sup> is eyn hof, dair had onse lieve Vrouwe<sup>28</sup> gewoont. In den hof<sup>29</sup> 27-29  
 is eyn fonteyn,<sup>30</sup> daer onse lieve Vrouwe haer dick in plach te wasschen. 30

<sup>1</sup>In den] In dem namen ons herren ende in-  
den M.

<sup>2</sup>Heer Iohan] Johan L; er Jan M.

<sup>3</sup>after Voet add priester uten ghesticht L.

<sup>4</sup>Utrecht] vtert M.

<sup>5</sup>Mey] mere M.

<sup>6</sup>umme daer te visiteren] toe vanden eynde  
te visiteren daer L; om te visiteren daer M.

<sup>7</sup>oick tat] oeck voert L; oec voert tot M.

<sup>8</sup>after jordanen add ende M.

<sup>9</sup>Hermopolis] hermopolus M.\*

<sup>10</sup>lieve] omit M.

<sup>11</sup>after vrouwe add seven jaer L.

<sup>12</sup>lieven kynde] ghebe[ne]diden kynde, on-  
sen lieven here L.

<sup>13</sup>Christum] omit M.\*

<sup>14</sup>weren roet] roet waren M.

<sup>15</sup>after ende add waren meer dan twe voet  
lanck. Die vische L.

<sup>16</sup>water wal so veer] den meer alsoe verre L;  
dat water wel so veer M.

<sup>17</sup>sceten mochte] mocht schÿten M; after  
scieten mach add ende si hadden een ront  
hoeft, recht als een vat, ende enen beck als  
een aer L.

<sup>18</sup>daer van heb ick gegeten] desen visch heb  
ic af gheten, ende sijn al hart, ende daer om  
moet mense langhe sieden L; daer heb ic  
aff gheten M.

<sup>19</sup>after Voert add soe L; add so M.

<sup>20</sup>seltsame] selsenre L; wonderliker M.

<sup>21</sup>dieren is the last word in G. I. Liefstijck's  
transcription of the incipit of manuscript M;  
the following notes refer only to manu-  
scripts K and L (see 356, 364 below).

<sup>22</sup>ende fenyne dieren] omit L.

<sup>23</sup>die den menschen hinderen unde schaden]  
daer ick alle gheen memorie af en heb.  
Oeck soe heb ic inden voernoemden mer  
ghesien slanghen vlieghende op die erde  
ende weder comende in dat mer. Ende  
sy sijn te mael hinderliken den luden, al-  
soe dat sy die lude dicwile venijn ende  
scade aen doen. Daer teghen heeft men  
asschen ghebrant van palmen bomen, die  
daer wassen inden heylighen lande. Ende  
een, gheheyten Goral, is daer oec goet  
toe, dat pleghe te wasen inden roeden  
meer L.\*

<sup>24</sup>by den over] aenden over des meers L.

<sup>25</sup>dat] dat dat L.

<sup>26</sup>dat die kinderen] daer dat volck L.

<sup>27</sup>Daer] Voert inder stat van Hermopolis  
voirsz. L.

<sup>28</sup>after vrouwe add in L.

<sup>29</sup>In den hof] Ende daer L.

<sup>30</sup>after fonteyn add in L.

- Daer sechtmen dat die blinde af siende worden.<sup>31</sup> Die sieken ende die  
 20 melaetsche worden daer af gesont als sie van den water nemen of sie<sup>32</sup> hem 32  
 daer mede wasschen. Ende in den selven hof wasset<sup>33</sup> balsam, || <sup>[1v]</sup> die men 33  
 daer wynnet uytten boem, die in den hoff stiet.
- In den selven<sup>34</sup> hof stiet eyne kercke getimmert van wonderlicke 34  
 grootte<sup>35</sup> in die eere der<sup>36</sup> Drievuldicheit ende der Ioncfrouwen<sup>37</sup> Marien, 35-37  
 25 die moeder Gods. Ende die kercke plach in voertyden te wesen een tempel  
 der afgaden. Mer doe onser lieve Vrouwe quam in den tempel, doe si vloen  
 was om Herodes willen mit hoeren kinde,<sup>38</sup> doe vloen<sup>39</sup> alle de duvels uit<sup>40</sup> 38-40  
 ende ruemden hoer alle<sup>41</sup> den tempel.<sup>42</sup> 41-42
- Voert<sup>43</sup> wandertmen van Hermopolis voersz. binnen VIII. dagen<sup>44</sup> tot 43-44  
 30 eynre stadt geheyten Anyna,<sup>45</sup> die gelegen is op den Roeden Meyr. Van  
 der<sup>46</sup> stat wandert men voirt toe schepe an<sup>47</sup> dat Roede Meyr vorsz., ende 45  
 dan geetmen vort<sup>48</sup> binnen VII. daghen to den<sup>49</sup> berch van Synai. Daer licht 46-47  
 sinte Katherinen lichaem in den kloester der Regulieren. Dat sint hillige 48-49  
 lude,<sup>50</sup> ende leven geystelicke(n), und<sup>51</sup> en eten niet dan eyns des dages. 50-51  
 35 Ende die broeders<sup>52</sup> sint XIII. int getal. Ende in den clooster sint oick 52  
 [XIII.]<sup>53</sup> lampen, de alle tyt bernen unde luchten<sup>54</sup> unde nummer en gaen<sup>55</sup> 53-55  
 uyt, mer se bernet unde luchtet<sup>56</sup> sonder enich to doen. Unde wan eyn 56  
 broder<sup>57</sup> sterft, so gaet der lampen eyn uit, die<sup>58</sup> en bernet noch en luchtet<sup>59</sup> 57-59  
 sie en hebben eynen anderen<sup>60</sup> in die selve stede<sup>61</sup> gecoeren. Also vroe als 60-61  
 40 dat gesciet is, so ontsenget<sup>62</sup> die lampe<sup>63</sup> voer den gecoeren broeder ende 62-63  
 bernet, sonder enich to doen,<sup>64</sup> also lange als die broeder levet. 64

<sup>31</sup>af siende worden] vanden water siende  
 plaghen te worden, als sy daer af ont-  
 fingen; ende L.

<sup>32</sup>sie] die L.

<sup>33</sup>after wasset add oeck L.

<sup>34</sup>selven] voirsz. L.

<sup>35</sup>after groetten add ende sierheyden L.

<sup>36</sup>after eer der add heyligher L.

<sup>37</sup>Ioncfrouwen] heyligher joncfrouwen Sunte  
 L.

<sup>38</sup>vloen was om Herodes willen mit hoeren  
 kinde] mit hoeren lieven kijnde ghevloen  
 was om Herodes wille L.

<sup>39</sup>after doe vloen add daer L.

<sup>40</sup>after uyt add den beelden L.

<sup>41</sup>hoer alle] omit L.

<sup>42</sup>after tempel add als men daer seghet L.

<sup>43</sup>after Voert add soe L.

<sup>44</sup>dagen] dachvaerden L.

<sup>45</sup>Anyna] Amnam L.\*

<sup>46</sup>der] deser L.

<sup>47</sup>an] over L.

<sup>48</sup>dan geetmen vort] dat gheet men dan voert  
 te voet L.

<sup>49</sup>to den] opten L.

<sup>50</sup>lude] brueder L.

<sup>51</sup>after gheesteliken ende add die L.

<sup>52</sup>die broeders] der heyligher brueder L.

<sup>53</sup>XIII.] VIII. K [derthien L].

<sup>54</sup>de alle tyt bernen unde luchten] alle wege  
 bernende ende luchtende L.

<sup>55</sup>nummer en gaen] die en gaen nummer-  
 meer L.

<sup>56</sup>mer se bernet unde luchtet] ende sy lu-  
 chten ende barnen L.

<sup>57</sup>Unde wan eyn broder] Mer als een vanden  
 bruederen L.

<sup>58</sup>die] voer hem, ende L.

<sup>59</sup>after luchtet add niet meer L.

<sup>60</sup>after anderen add brueder weder L.

<sup>61</sup>stede] stat gheset ende L.

<sup>62</sup>ontsenget] ontsteckt L.

<sup>63</sup>after lampe add weder L.

<sup>64</sup>after doen add ende luchtet L.

- Ende II <sup>[2r]</sup> dat<sup>65</sup> cloester is toe mael sterckelick gevestet omme die  
schadelike serpente ende<sup>66</sup> dieren wil, de daer omtrent sint. Voert is te  
weten dat van der hilliger joncfrouwen<sup>67</sup> Katherinen grave plach vele olye  
45 uit te lopen hier voermaels, dan nu ter tyt en vlieten daer niet meer uyt dan  
ter weken drie droppels.<sup>68</sup> Ock is dair die selve [stien]<sup>69</sup> daer Moses mit  
synre roeden den volcke van Israel water uyt sloec(h)<sup>70</sup> daer si alle by  
worden gesterct, gevoedet,<sup>71</sup> ende gelavet. Ende in den lande syn vogels,  
die plegen twyge ende rysen van ollybomen<sup>72</sup> mit hoeren munde te vaeren<sup>73</sup>  
50 op den hof des cloesters. Ende daer plegen de broeders<sup>74</sup> vele olys af toe  
krygen, die sy besighen. Ende dat syn vogels recht als tortelduyven, ende  
si sint wyt omt havet ende um den hals.
- Voert<sup>75</sup> wandert men van den berch<sup>76</sup> Sinai door die wildernisse binnen  
drie dagen,<sup>77</sup> ende comet an eyn velt geheten Elim,<sup>78</sup> daer Moyses in die  
55 eere Gods eyn altaer getimmert hadde,<sup>79</sup> und dat licht daer nu<sup>80</sup> neder  
gefallen, also dat die steyn noch daer<sup>81</sup> omtrent liggen. Ende in dat selve  
velt rusteden oock die kinderen<sup>82</sup> van Israel XL. dage doe Moses die X.  
gebode ontfenck. Ende in den selven velde sint oock XII. fonteynen. So  
wie daer af drincket, den en verblinden nimmermee[r]<sup>83</sup> syn oghen.<sup>84</sup> Ende  
60 daer sint II <sup>[2v]</sup> oock die LXXII. palmen die Moses pu(r)ede,<sup>85</sup> dair hi altoes  
saghe ende winninghe mede hielt.<sup>86</sup> Ende den<sup>87</sup> vorsz. velde en mogen ghene  
fenyne wormen noch dieren genaken. Ende daer wassen vele guede crude.
- Ende by desen velde ligt eyn vloet daer vloeyt march uit,<sup>88</sup> die to male  
bitter was. Dair sloech Moses in mit synre roeden ende waert verwandelt  
65 in<sup>89</sup> grooter soeticheit des waters. Daer af druncken die kinderen<sup>90</sup> Israels  
in der tyt.<sup>91</sup> Maer die fenynen dieren plegen altoos dat water<sup>92</sup> te valschen  
unde to fenynen na der sonnen opganck,<sup>93</sup> dat die guede dieren daer niet

<sup>65</sup> dat] dit L.<sup>66</sup> after ende add quader L.<sup>67</sup> after joncfrouwen add Sinte L.<sup>68</sup> plach vele olye . . . drie droppels] eermaels vele olys uyt te lopen ende te vlieten plach, daer nu ter tijt niet meer dan drie droppen inder weke uyt en lopen L.<sup>69</sup> stien] stirn K.<sup>70</sup> roeden den volcke van Israel water uyt sloech] gaerden sloech, daer den volck van Ysrael vele waters uyt liep L.<sup>71</sup> gevoedet] omit L.<sup>72</sup> ollybomen] oljif bomen L.<sup>73</sup> vaeren] werpen op die veste off L.<sup>74</sup> after brueders add dan L.<sup>75</sup> Voert] Item voert L.<sup>76</sup> after berch add van L.<sup>77</sup> drie dagen] vier dachvaerden L.<sup>78</sup> eyn velt geheten Elim] dat velt van Elym L.<sup>79</sup> getimmert hadde] stichte L.<sup>80</sup> und dat licht daer nu] Daer leghet nu ter tijt L.<sup>81</sup> die steyn noch daer] daer noch die steen L.<sup>82</sup> die kinderen] dat volck L.<sup>83</sup> nimmermeer] nimmermeet K.<sup>84</sup> after oghen add als men daer seghet L.<sup>85</sup> purede] daer plantten L.<sup>86</sup> winninghe mede hielt] verwin[n]inghe by ende mede behielt L.<sup>87</sup> den] in desen L.<sup>88</sup> eyn vloet daer vloeyt march uit] die vloet Marach L.<sup>89</sup> ende waert verwandelt in] daer verwandelde die bitterheyt in een L.<sup>90</sup> after kijnder add van L.<sup>91</sup> after tijt add ende noch huden des daghes doen, als men seghet L.<sup>92</sup> dat water] den vloet L.<sup>93</sup> opganck] onder ganc L.

- uit en doren drincken.<sup>94</sup> Ende<sup>95</sup> daerna komet dat eenhoorn ende steket syn  
 hoorn int water,<sup>96</sup> dat fenyn daer mede to vurdryven, ende dat water toe  
 70 suveren ende to gansen, also dat<sup>97</sup> die guede dieren ende die veltbeesten  
 komen<sup>98</sup> ende drincken dan van den voirsz. water des dages. Dat<sup>99</sup> heb ick  
 gesien. 94-95  
 Daer na an eyne<sup>100</sup> myle weghe comet men an eyne woninghe daer<sup>101</sup> 100-101  
 Paulus, die eerste heremyte, te wonen plach, en<sup>102</sup> die guede<sup>103</sup> Antonius 102-3  
 75 visiteerde die wildernisse, die<sup>104</sup> den wulfinne volgede, die den rechten wech  
 ginck daer Paulus woende. Ende daer stiet ene<sup>105</sup> fonteyne, daer sunte 104  
 Pauwel ende sunte Antonius by seten als sie eten,<sup>106</sup> dair alle wege eyn rave 105  
 quam ende bracht hem dat hemelsche broet. Ende noch woent daer<sup>107</sup> een 106  
 heremyte, die(r)<sup>108</sup> n(o)ch huden des dages || <sup>[37]</sup> comet dat hemelsche 107  
 80 broet.<sup>109</sup> Und den heb ic gesien. Ende hie slept des nachtes up eynen stien, 108  
 ende hy is gecledet mit eynen ruwen<sup>110</sup> clede recht als sunte Iohannes 109  
 Baptista was gecledet. 110  
 Voert so wandert men wal XIV. nachte doer die wildernisse, ende door  
 dat lant geheiten Ur Cald(æ)orum, daer die roede Ioden in<sup>111</sup> wonen. Ende 111  
 85 men<sup>112</sup> comet an eyn vloet geheyten Nilus: dat is eyn stranck<sup>113</sup> van der 112-13  
 zee. Daer vaert men toe schepe ende comet binnen eynen daghe oen die  
 haven van der stat van Damiaten. Daer gietmen<sup>114</sup> in to schepe ende vaert<sup>115</sup> 114-15  
 binnen drie maenden aver die zee, ende comet an dat Moerlant, genoemt  
 dat uterste eylant off dat uterste eynde.<sup>116</sup> Ende dats terselve<sup>117</sup> lant daer 116-17  
 90 sunte Bartholomeus predicte. Daer wonen die M(a)ren; dat sint<sup>118</sup> swarte 118  
 lude.  
 Daer gietmen<sup>119</sup> to schepe ende comt voert int<sup>120</sup> lant daer die Pygmeen 119-20  
 wonen, ende<sup>121</sup> dat sint cleyne lude, ende sint eynre ellen lanck. Ende si sint 121  
 heydenen,<sup>122</sup> ende si<sup>123</sup> en woonen in gienen huysen, mer si wonen in holen, 122-23

<sup>94</sup>en doren drincken] drincken en moghen *L.*

<sup>95</sup>after Ende *add* des merghes *L.*

<sup>96</sup>after water *add* om *L.*

<sup>97</sup>after dat *add* dan *L.*

<sup>98</sup>die veltbeesten komen] ander wilde bees-  
ten comen daer na *L.*

<sup>99</sup>Dat] Ende dat *L.*

<sup>100</sup>an eyne] over een grote *L.*

<sup>101</sup>after daer *add* Sunte *L.*

<sup>102</sup>en] die *L.*

<sup>103</sup>after goede *add* Sunte *L.*

<sup>104</sup>die wildernisse, die] inder wildernissen,  
daer hy *L.*

<sup>105</sup>ene] oeck die *L.*

<sup>106</sup>after eten *add* souden *L.*

<sup>107</sup>noch woent daer] daer woent noch *L.*

<sup>108</sup>after heremijt, die[n] *add* oec *L.*

<sup>109</sup>comet dat hemelsche broet] dat hemelsche  
broet coemt van daer boven *L.*

<sup>110</sup>ruwen] graeuwen *L.*

<sup>111</sup>in] *omit L.*

<sup>112</sup>men] *omit L.*

<sup>113</sup>stranck] arm *L.*

<sup>114</sup>toe schepe . . . gietmen] *omit L.*

<sup>115</sup>after vert *add* daer *L.*

<sup>116</sup>uterste eylant off dat uterste eynde] ne-  
derste eylant of dat nederste Indyen *L.*

<sup>117</sup>terselve] dat *L.*

<sup>118</sup>after sijn *add* alle *L.*

<sup>119</sup>after gaet men *add* oec *L.*

<sup>120</sup>voert int] in een *L.*

<sup>121</sup>ende] *omit L.*

<sup>122</sup>heydenen] lelicken *L.*

<sup>123</sup>si] *omit L.*

- 95 berghen gateren, ende kuilen, in scholpen onder die erde.<sup>124</sup> Ende<sup>125</sup> si en 124-25  
eten gien vleysch noch<sup>126</sup> broot, meer cruyt, loeven, und andere blade.<sup>127</sup> 126-27  
End si leven als beesten. Ende<sup>128</sup> en leven niet langher dan XII. jaer ten 128  
alrelangesten. Ende men secht dat si tegen die adevaren plegen te stryden  
|| <sup>[3v]</sup> ende te vechten. Ende si<sup>129</sup> plegen hem die kinderen af<sup>130</sup> toe dooden 129-30  
100 mit haren langen snebben, waer si si<sup>131</sup> vinden, meer des<sup>132</sup> en heb ic niet 131-32  
gesien.  
Voert so wandert men toe scheppe veer<sup>133</sup> van dat meer by dat Moerlant, unde ligget by dat Levermeer of -zee<sup>134</sup> ende dat Santmeer, ende comet 133  
binnen IV. dagen<sup>135</sup> daer die<sup>136</sup> ogighe luden woonen. Ende dat Levermeer 134  
105 is van die natueren, dattet die schepen na hem trecket om des yzers wil dat 135-36  
an den schepen is, want men secht dat die gront des meers is vul dierbaer  
steents, als adamanten<sup>137</sup> und ander gesteente, die na hem treckende sint. 137  
An die ander syde is dat Santmeer gelegen, und dat is vlietende sant, und  
dat vloyt und ebbet als water wast.<sup>138</sup> In den [meer]<sup>139</sup> vanget die ogighe 138-39  
110 lude die vissche,<sup>140</sup> ende gaen daer in to voete, ende si plegen oick onder 140  
dat meer te gaen, unde plegen dicwyl die schepen toe hinderen ende toe  
verderven. Ende om deser twier manieren wil doer men daer niet doer  
seygelen, meer<sup>141</sup> toe schepe ist sonderlinge anxtelyck daer<sup>142</sup> doir te varen. 141-42  
Ende het is den schepluden noet dat sy gueden wint hebben geringe daer  
115 do(or)<sup>143</sup> te comen.<sup>144</sup> 143-44  
Voirt wandert men toe schepe daer die Groote Chaan woont und  
regneert, an dat middelste Indien,<sup>145</sup> ende comet an eyne groote stadt ge- 145

<sup>124</sup>gateren, ende kuilen, in scholpen onder die erde] in gateren ende in culen onder der erden, in scolpen ende in groten moschelen *L.*

<sup>125</sup>Ende] noch *L.*

<sup>126</sup>vleysch noch] *omit L.*

<sup>127</sup>after bladeren *add* oft mollen *L.*

<sup>128</sup>*The sentences beginning* Ende en leven and Ende men secht *are transposed in L,* which reads Ende si en leven *L.*

<sup>129</sup>si] die odevaren *L.*

<sup>130</sup>hem die kinderen af] haer kijnder *L.*

<sup>131</sup>waer si si] soe waer sy die *L.*

<sup>132</sup>after dies *add* soe *L.*

<sup>133</sup>veer] *omit L.*

<sup>134</sup>by dat Moerlant, unde ligget by dat Levermeer of -zee] dat by Moerlant leghet, tusschen dat Levermeer *L.\**

<sup>135</sup>dagen] dachvaerden aen dat lant *L.*

<sup>136</sup>after die *add* een *L.*

<sup>137</sup>adamanten] van diamanten *L.*

<sup>138</sup>als water wast] ende west recht als water *L.*

<sup>139</sup>meer] men *K.*

<sup>140</sup>ogighe lude die vissche] een ogighe lude visschen *L.*

<sup>141</sup>manieren wil doer men daer niet doer seygelen, meer] meren wil, daer men doer seylen moet *L.*

<sup>142</sup>daer] *omit L.*

<sup>143</sup>wint hebben geringe daer door] rechten wijnt hebben, om gheringhe van daer *L.\**

<sup>144</sup>after comen *L adds* oft die lude solden behalden waerden inden schepe. Ende dese lude mitten enen oghe sijn corte ende te mael gheringhe ende sterck. Si pleghen oec ander menschen te eten. Sy en hebben niet dan een oghe int middelste vanden hoofde, schinende als een carbunkel steen. Ende sy sijn gheseten onder dat ghebot ende conincrike des groten Caens. Ende des nachts soe pleghen si te arbeyden.

<sup>145</sup>daer die Groote Chaan woont und regneert, an dat middelste Indien] aen dat middelste Yndien, daer die grote Caen regneert *L.*



- heyten Adrian(o)polis.<sup>146</sup> Die stadt bekeerde sunte Thomas tot den geloove. 146  
 Ende in der stadt woonen vele<sup>147</sup> Kerstene luden unde vele geestelike || 147  
 120 <sup>147</sup>gueder<sup>148</sup> lude. Ende die stadt is gelegen op den oever des meers, ende 148  
 daer is een havenynge daer menighe luden in havenen<sup>149</sup> van menigen lan- 149  
 den.<sup>150</sup> In die stadt sint die husen toe male hoge und die straten toe male 150  
 eynghe, so<sup>151</sup> dat die luden selden die sonne gevoelen konnen<sup>152</sup> want si op 151-52  
 der straten<sup>153</sup> niet schynen<sup>154</sup> en kan. In der selver<sup>155</sup> stadt sint<sup>156</sup> meer dan 153-56  
 125 vyf hondert bruggen, van stienen gemaket, daer die revieren onder hen<sup>157</sup> 157  
 lopen. Ende in der stadt stiet eyn clooster daer mynrebroeders in woo-  
 nen.<sup>158</sup> Ende die kercke is gemaket van pueren albasterstiene, ende daer  
 plachmen te graven de Kersten pelgrims.<sup>159</sup> 159  
 Ende by der<sup>160</sup> stat stiet oick eyn closter geheiten "Toe onser Vrouwen 160  
 130 Marien";<sup>161</sup> dair woonen guede<sup>162</sup> innighe lude, ende daer is eyne sonder- 161-62  
 linghe<sup>163</sup> groete bedevaert.<sup>164</sup> 163-64  
 Ende daer was ick, Iohan Voet, Preyster,<sup>165</sup> gevangen mit mynre ge- 165  
 selschap overmits den raet<sup>166</sup> des Grooten Caens, doe hie niet in den lande<sup>167</sup> 166-67  
 en was. Und wy worden gevoert<sup>168</sup> up eyn sloet geheiten Canwaduck<sup>169</sup>; 168-69  
 135 daer weren wy wel achte weken.<sup>170</sup> Doe die groote coninck doe to huys 170  
 quam,<sup>171</sup> doe worden wy al verloest, want wy pelgrims weren<sup>172</sup> des groten 171-72

<sup>146</sup>Adrianopolis] Andropolis L.

<sup>147</sup>after vele add goeder L (see next lemma).

<sup>148</sup>gueder] omit L (see preceding lemma).

<sup>149</sup>menighe luden in havenen] vele schepe  
aen pleghen te comen L.

<sup>150</sup>after lande add ende L.

<sup>151</sup>und die straten toe male eynghe, so]  
maer die straten sijn sunderlinghen enghe,  
alsoe L.

<sup>152</sup>konnen] omit L.

<sup>153</sup>der straten] die straet L.

<sup>154</sup>schynen] gheschinen L.

<sup>155</sup>selver] voersz. L.

<sup>156</sup>after stat sijn add oec L.

<sup>157</sup>hen] omit L.

<sup>158</sup>daer mynrebroeders in woonen] vander  
Minrebrueder orden L.

<sup>159</sup>te graven de Kersten pelgrims] die kersten  
pelgrim te graven L. Then L adds: Inder  
selver stat is oec een toren van groter  
schoenheyden ende hoecheyden. Daer  
pleghen die Astronomy ende wise meys-  
teren op te ghaen, om te sien in dat ghe-  
sterte, ende die toecomende dinghen daer  
te bekennen; mer des daghes soe gaen die  
heren ende die overste vander stat daer op,  
om haren heymeliken raet daer te hebben.

Ende desen toren is alsoe groet ende wijt,  
dat boven den toern staen vijf toren van  
gueden ghesteynte, wael ghemaect van  
goude, ende van duerbaren ghesteinte ri-  
keliken ghesiert. Ende die middelste toren  
vanden vyven is voel hogher dan die ander  
vier, die om den middlesten staen. In desen  
middelsten toren staen lampen ende kersen  
alle weghe bernende des nachs, also dat die  
sciplude, die varen op die zee, hem moghen  
regeren na den lichte, dat si des nachs sien  
op den middelsten toren, dat si dan der stat  
naken ende slaen daer aen, als noet is.

<sup>160</sup>der] deser voersz. L.

<sup>161</sup>after Marien add ende L.

<sup>162</sup>guede] rechte L.

<sup>163</sup>eyne sonderlinghe] sunderlinghe een L.

<sup>164</sup>after bedevaert add der pelgherimen L.

<sup>165</sup>after prister add voersz. L.

<sup>166</sup>raet] ruteren L.

<sup>167</sup>niet in den lande] inden lande niet L.

<sup>168</sup>gevoert] gheweert L.

<sup>169</sup>Canwaduck] Campaduck L.

<sup>170</sup>after weken add mer L.

<sup>171</sup>doe to huys quam] Caen quam int lant L.

<sup>172</sup>want wy pelgrims weren] daer om dat wy  
waren pelgherim L.

- heren,<sup>173</sup> sunte Thomas, den plach die Groote Caen sunderlinge toe eren.<sup>174</sup> 173-74  
 Omme sunte Thomas willen<sup>175</sup> gaf hy ons toe eten op dat slot XII. dage.<sup>176</sup> 175-76  
 Dar na || <sup>[4v]</sup>verwerff hy ons geleyde<sup>177</sup> by synen luden XII. daghe toe 177  
 140 wanderen toe eyne groter stadt<sup>178</sup> geheyten Cleap, und daer eyndet dat 178  
 [overste]<sup>179</sup> Indien. 179  
 Ende daer sloegen wy voert toe<sup>180</sup> schepe unde voeren by geleyde des 180  
 Grooten Caens,<sup>181</sup> ende quamen tot eynen groten steynberch gelegen in 181  
 den mare. Die berch heft onder eyn gat wal eyne<sup>182</sup> mylen lanck; daer 182  
 145 mosten wy doer varen. Meer dat gat<sup>183</sup> is [so]<sup>184</sup> duyster, dat wy altyt<sup>185</sup> 183-85  
 bernde kersen by ons hebben mosten. Ende in den uitganck des gates<sup>186</sup> 186  
 most dat schip mit ons nedergaen<sup>187</sup> XX. cubiten lanck, so<sup>188</sup> dat dat meer 187-88  
 daer sonderlinge syde<sup>189</sup> is und licht umme des gates willen, dat<sup>190</sup> daer so 189-90  
 vele te hoghe uytgiet. Ende in den ga(t)<sup>191</sup> hadden wy<sup>192</sup> grooten anxt. 191-92  
 150 Und daer by in den lande wasset<sup>193</sup> piper tusschen twee bergen. Ende 193  
 daer sint so vele fenynder dieren,<sup>194</sup> wormen, ende slangen, datmen den 194  
 peper niet wal gekrygen en can sonder vuer.<sup>195</sup> Maer om sunte Michiels 195  
 misse so<sup>196</sup> maectmen daer omtrint vele groote vueren also dat die slangen 196  
 ende wormen<sup>197</sup> vlien van daer. Ende dan ligget daer vele pepers, den leset 197  
 155 men dae(r) op.<sup>198</sup> Ende desse twee berghen an den<sup>199</sup> eynde daer sie kieren 198-99  
 op den meer, daer gaen si an eyn (u)nde werden eyn berch, ende die berch 200-202  
 is sonderlinge groet. Und<sup>200</sup> daer geit under<sup>201</sup> een hol ende ga(t)<sup>202</sup> door— 200-202  
 daer ist toe male duyster in—ende dat is wal drie mylen lanck. || <sup>[5r]</sup>Daer 203  
 lopet eyn rivier daer toe mael snel ende gerade dat<sup>203</sup> groote stiene mede 203  
 160 do(er)lopen. Ende in den gate<sup>204</sup> hoortmen verveerlyck<sup>205</sup> geluyt recht alse 204-5

<sup>173</sup>groten heren] goeden *L.*

<sup>174</sup>eren] vorderen *L.*

<sup>175</sup>after Thomaes wil *add* des heylighen Apostels, die hi seer ontsiet ende vreset om der wraken wil des heylighen Apostels; ende *L.*

<sup>176</sup>gaf hy ons toe eten op dat slot XII. dage] hi gaf ons opten voersz. scolet twelf daghe teten, ende *L.*

<sup>177</sup>na verwerff hy ons geleyde] soe warf gheleyde hi ons *L.*

<sup>178</sup>toe wanderen toe eyne groter stadt] tot eenre groter stat toe wandelen *L.*

<sup>179</sup>overste] middelste *L.\**

<sup>180</sup>toe] in een *L.*

<sup>181</sup>after Caens *add* voersz. *L.*

<sup>182</sup>eyne] drie *L.*

<sup>183</sup>dat gat] dit hol *L.*

<sup>184</sup>so] *omit K*; also *L.*

<sup>185</sup>altyt] alle weghe *L.*

<sup>186</sup>gates] hols *L.*

<sup>187</sup>after neder gaen *add* wael *L.*

<sup>188</sup>so] alsoe *L.*

<sup>189</sup>syde] neder *L.\**

<sup>190</sup>und licht umme des gates willen, dat] om des hols wil *L.*

<sup>191</sup>gat] hol *L.*

<sup>192</sup>after wij *add* sunderlinghen *L.*

<sup>193</sup>after wast *add* die *L.*

<sup>194</sup>dieren] *omit L.*

<sup>195</sup>gekrygen en can sonder vuer] sonder vuer en can ghewinnen noch ghelesen *L.*

<sup>196</sup>so] *omit L.*

<sup>197</sup>slangen ende wormen] worme ende die slanghen *L.*

<sup>198</sup>ligget daer vele pepers, den leset men daer op] leestmen den peper *L.*

<sup>199</sup>an den] inden *L.*

<sup>200</sup>daer gaen si an eyn . . . Und] *omit L.*

<sup>201</sup>under] *omit L.*

<sup>202</sup>ende gat] *omit L.*

<sup>203</sup>gerade dat] gheringhe, alsoe dat daer *L.*

<sup>204</sup>gate] hol *L.*

<sup>205</sup>verveerlyck] sunderlinghe ververlijke stemmen ende gruwelike *L.*

donre ende ander geruchte, meer wattet beduyt,<sup>206</sup> dat en weet<sup>207</sup> niemant, 206-7  
 noch niemant en kan des<sup>208</sup> verstaen. 208

Voirt wandert men toe schepe binnen eenre maent ende comt in<sup>209</sup> 209  
 eyn haveninge gehieten Gadde. Daer stiet eyn berch,<sup>210</sup> daer plegen die 210  
 165 coopliden Pape Iohanne tellen te gheven.

Voirt wandertmen<sup>211</sup> XIV. daghen ende comet in<sup>212</sup> eyn stat geheiten 211-12  
 Edissa, daer Pape Iohan woont. Ende dat is eyn hoof(e)tstadt syns ganses  
 landes ende<sup>213</sup> rykes, ende is gelegen in dat overste Indien in den eynde van 213  
 ertrycke datmen bewonen mach.<sup>214</sup> 214

Ende Pape Iohans wooninge ende pallas is gelegen mids in die stadt, 170  
 ende is wal twie Duyssche mylen lanck ende breed, want dat is eyn viercant  
 casteel, ende stiet op grooten pylernen, und der is IV.<sup>c</sup><sup>215</sup> int getal, alsmen 215  
 secht.<sup>216</sup> 216

Ende<sup>217</sup> dat vorsz. pallas wort<sup>218</sup> gewaert mit dusent gewapenen. In 217-18  
 175 den pallas is<sup>219</sup> eyn schoen ummeganck<sup>220</sup> boven den pylernen. In den 219-20  
 ommeganck sta(en) belden der Pausen ende der keyseren van Romen die  
 in voertyden<sup>221</sup> hebben gewest. Ende daer sint oec sommige belden na<sup>222</sup> 221-22  
 Coninginnen gemaket, als na<sup>223</sup> Helenen unde andere.<sup>224</sup> 223-24

In desen<sup>225</sup> pallas sint D. graden op te gaen eermen comet ||<sup>[5v]</sup> op die<sup>226</sup> 225-26

<sup>206</sup>beduyt] beteykent *L.*

<sup>207</sup>after weet *add* daer *L.*

<sup>208</sup>des] dat *L.*

<sup>209</sup>in] tot *L.*

<sup>210</sup>berch] boerch *L.*

<sup>211</sup>after wandelt men *add* te schepe bin-  
 nen *L.*

<sup>212</sup>in] aen *L.*

<sup>213</sup>landes ende] *omit L.*

<sup>214</sup>after mach, *add* ende die stat is meerdere  
 dan .XXIII. Coelen *L.*

<sup>215</sup>IV.<sup>c</sup>] neghen hondert *L.*

<sup>216</sup>after seghet *L add*: maer die middelste  
 pylerne is meerdere dan der ander enighe.  
 Ende aen desen pylernen sijn vier groeter  
 roese gheweghet ende ghemaect van coes-  
 teliken ghesteenten, ende sijn buten vergul-  
 t. Ende si staen aen die pilerne mit  
 neyghenden hoefden onder den palaes,  
 recht oft sy den pilern [*De Vries emends*  
*palaes*] droeghen ende hielden. Ende aen  
 een yghelijck ander pilerne sijn oec beelde  
 ghewecht ende ghemaect; aen die een py-  
 lerne een beelt des conincs, ende aen die  
 ander een beelt der conincinen. Ende heb-  
 ben in horen handen vergulden nappen  
 ende ander spele. [Wer] des conincs beelt  
 heeft een spil in sijne hant, daer heeft der

coninginen beelt enen vergulden nap. In  
 sulker manieren steet oec des conincs  
 beelt, als der conincinen beelt helt dat spil  
 in hore hant. Ende dese beelde sijn van  
 costeliken stenen ghemaect, ende sijn al  
 buten vergult. Ende onder dat palaes is  
 een uytganc, daer al dat volck gheet ende  
 steet. Ende daer richtmen alle daghe inden  
 gheestelijken rechte ende inden werliken  
 rechten. Ende daer hebben die heren van-  
 der stede horen raet. Ende daer is oeck een  
 ghemeine mercht der stat voersz. Ende  
 inden yersten daghe van elker maende soe  
 sijn daer oec jaermerchten oft kermissen  
 ghelegghen, ende daer comen dan coeplude  
 ende ander lude van menighen lande, als  
 opten yersten dach van Augusti des maens.

<sup>217</sup>Ende] Item *L.*

<sup>218</sup>after wort *add* alle nacht ghehuet ende *L.*

<sup>219</sup>after is *add* oec *L.*

<sup>220</sup>after omganc *add* ghemaect *L.*

<sup>221</sup>in voertyden] voertijds *L.*

<sup>222</sup>sommighe belden na] beelde na som-  
 mighen *L.*

<sup>223</sup>after na *add* Sinte *L.*

<sup>224</sup>after andere *add* conincinen *L.*

<sup>225</sup>In desen] Item inden voersz. *L.*

<sup>226</sup>op die] totter *L.*

- 180 eirste woninghe. Ende op den graden sint levendighe lewen,<sup>227</sup> die men dair 227  
holt, dat ghenen ongelovige luyden daer toe doeren comen,<sup>228</sup> meer den 228  
Kerstenen luden en doen sy niet. Ende die Ioden ende die heyden<sup>229</sup> worden 229  
daer afgescheert die op dese voersz. trappen—of<sup>230</sup> graden—gaet.<sup>231</sup> Ende 230–31  
dit [onderste]<sup>232</sup> pallas het der propheten pallas,<sup>233</sup> want al der propheten 232–33  
185 belde sint daerin gemaket van costeliken gestiente ende vergult. Und dit<sup>234</sup> 234  
pallas is versien<sup>235</sup> mit costelen<sup>236</sup> lakenen ende lanternen die daer op<sup>237</sup> 235–37  
bernende sint.
- Voirt op dat ander pallas toe clymmen, so sint daer<sup>238</sup> noch vele meer 238  
graden, want hoe men daer hoger op climmende is, hoe dattet<sup>239</sup> wyder is. 239  
190 Ende dat<sup>240</sup> het der Princen<sup>241</sup> pallas, want men secht dat daer Abrahams 240–41  
lichaem licht. Ende op desen pallas sint vele cameren ende [dormiteren]<sup>242</sup> 242  
toe male suverlick gesiert. Ende daer is oick syden<sup>243</sup> werck op, und eyn 243  
orgel<sup>244</sup> toe male wonderlick gesyrt<sup>245</sup> und [gevet]<sup>246</sup> verveerlick geluyt als 244–46  
daer ymant vremds<sup>247</sup> comet, ende dat volck<sup>248</sup> te samen cumpt omme<sup>249</sup> te 247–49  
195 vernemen woe em dit is te begrypen.<sup>250</sup> Ende woe dit werck te stemen<sup>251</sup> 250–51  
comet, des en weet ick niet. Oick secht men, dat dair ene groote liberye is,  
daer die doctores plegen op te comen in eynre camer.<sup>252</sup> 252  
Opwert<sup>253</sup> te gaen to der derder woninghe: daer sint noch meer graden. 253  
Ende in dat pallas der<sup>254</sup> joncfrouwen daer is een schoon || <sup>[6r]</sup> uytermaten<sup>255</sup> 254–55  
200 capelle, ende is<sup>256</sup> een reventer der weerliker<sup>257</sup> ende leeker luyde, ende des 256–57  
gesins.

<sup>227</sup>levendighe lewen] leuwen levendich *L*.

<sup>228</sup>dat ghenen ongelovige luyden daer toe doeren comen] Waert sake, dat daer eninghe heyden oft onghelovighe op ghinghen *L* (see next two lemmata).

<sup>229</sup>meer den Kerstenen . . . Ioden ende die heyden] omit *L* (see preceding and next lemmata).

<sup>230</sup>worden daer afgescheert die op dese voersz. trappen—of] die souden werden ghestoert vanden leuwen, die opten voersz. *L* (see two preceding lemmata).

<sup>231</sup>after ghaen add als men seghet *L*.

<sup>232</sup>onderste] overste *K*.

<sup>233</sup>der propheten pallas] dat palaes der propheten *L*.

<sup>234</sup>dit] dat *L*.

<sup>235</sup>versien] ghesiert *L*.

<sup>236</sup>costelen] duerbaren *L*.

<sup>237</sup>op] alle nacht in *L*.

<sup>238</sup>op dat ander pallas toe clymmen, so sint daer] te climen op dat ander palaes sijn *L*.

<sup>239</sup>climmende is, hoe dattet] coemt, soe dat palaes *L*.

<sup>240</sup>dat] dit *L*.

<sup>241</sup>Princen] patriarchen *L*.

<sup>242</sup>dormiteren] omit *K* (leaving ende dangling); dormiteren *L*.

<sup>243</sup>syden] seygher *L*.

<sup>244</sup>und eyn orgel] of een hoerlodium *L*.

<sup>245</sup>gesyrt] ghemaect *L*.

<sup>246</sup>gevet] omit *K*; ghevet sunderlinghen *L*.

<sup>247</sup>daer ymant vremds] yemont vremer daer *L*.

<sup>248</sup>ende dat volck] alsoe dat dat volck dan daer *L*.

<sup>249</sup>omme] omit *L*.

<sup>250</sup>woe em dit is te begrypen] wie die is, om te begripen daer dat werck (remainder of sentence lost due to a hole in the manuscript, according to de Vries) *L*.

<sup>251</sup>dit werck te stemen] dat gheschiet ende toe *L*.

<sup>252</sup>is, daer die doctores plegen op te comen in eynre camer] in eenre cameren is, daer die doctores toe pleghen te gaen *L*.

<sup>253</sup>Opwert] Item voert opwaert *L*.

<sup>254</sup>in dat pallas der] dat heytet dat palaes der heyligher *L*.

<sup>255</sup>schoon uytermaten] utermaten schoen *L*.

<sup>256</sup>is] daer is oec *L*.

<sup>257</sup>after waerliker add luden *L*.

- Opwert te gaen ter<sup>258</sup> vierder woninghe der hilliger martelaren und  
confessoren: daer is oock eyn capelle end eyn revente(r) der heeren, ende  
eyn schoon dormiter.
- 205 Opwert te gaen ter<sup>259</sup> vyfter woninghe: daer is eyn schoen choer der 259  
hilliger apostelen. Und daer is eyn kercke van grooter sierheyden ende  
schoenten,<sup>260</sup> daer doetmen alle weghe dat godlike sacrament van<sup>261</sup> Pape 260-61  
Iohanne, und daer is Pape Iohans reventer van grote[r]<sup>262</sup> breeten ende 262  
wyten unde van<sup>263</sup> wonderliker syrheyden. Ende daer inne staen vele 263  
schone belden van costeliken gestiente, wal gemaket unde vergult.<sup>264</sup> Unde 264  
daer is Pape Iohans tafele, ende die<sup>265</sup> is van dierbaren gesteente,<sup>266</sup> meer si 265-66  
is<sup>267</sup> recht of si van golde gemaket weer.<sup>268</sup> Die taeffele heft<sup>269</sup> alsulcke 267-69  
macht<sup>270</sup> ende doeghede, dat daer fenynde spyse op worde gebracht, si<sup>271</sup> 270-71  
en solde niemant schaden noch hinderen. Of weert dat daer ymant<sup>272</sup> op 272  
wreve mit synen vingeren, daer solden terstont<sup>273</sup> voncken uyt springen. 273
- 215 Ende daer is eyne<sup>274</sup> schoene fonteyne<sup>275</sup> lopende. Ende daer is die 274-75  
selve clocke die sunte Thomas dede maken. Wan<sup>276</sup> si die beseten luyden 276  
hoerden, so worden si genesen unde gesont.<sup>277</sup> Ende<sup>278</sup> die fenyne wormen 277-78  
en mogen<sup>279</sup> der clocke niet hoeren want sy is genoemet "Benedictus,"<sup>280</sup> 279-80  
220 ende || [<sup>6v</sup>] men luydet si voer den eten ende na den eten Pape Iohanne,<sup>281</sup> 281  
ende daer sitten die doctores op werdelicken<sup>282</sup> stoelen.<sup>283</sup> Der doctoren is 282-83  
VIII., ende lesen daer van menigerhande saken unde<sup>284</sup> materien unde 284  
suverlike dingen und lustelike punten alle weghe wan<sup>285</sup> Pape Iohan syget 285  
und etet.<sup>286</sup> Ende hi heeft vele costelike silvere vaten und guldene nappen,<sup>287</sup> 286-87
- <sup>258</sup>Opwert te gaen ter] Item voert te gaen op die L.  
<sup>259</sup>Opwert te gaen ter] Item te gaen op die L.  
<sup>260</sup>after schoenheyden add ende L.  
<sup>261</sup>sacrament van] ampten voer L.  
<sup>262</sup>groter] groten K.  
<sup>263</sup>van] omit L.  
<sup>264</sup>gemaket unde vergult] vergult ende ghemaect L.  
<sup>265</sup>die] omit L.  
<sup>266</sup>after ghesteynte add ghemaect L.  
<sup>267</sup>after sy is add alsoe licht L.  
<sup>268</sup>golde gemaket weer] gout wer ghemaect, ende blincket ende ghelinstert, dat een sijn aensicht daer claerliken in beschouwewet L.  
<sup>269</sup>after heeft add in hoer L.  
<sup>270</sup>macht] craft L.  
<sup>271</sup>gebracht, si] gheset, die L.  
<sup>272</sup>schaden noch hinderen. Of weert dat daer ymant] hijnderen noch scaden. Ende oec waert sake, dat yemont daer L.  
<sup>273</sup>synen vingeren, daer solden terstont] enen vingher of mit enen anderen dinghen, soe solden daer ter stont bernende L.  
<sup>274</sup>after is een add sunderlinghe L.  
<sup>275</sup>after fonteyn add overvloedeliken L.  
<sup>276</sup>Wan] Soe wanneer L.  
<sup>277</sup>hoerden, so worden si genesen unde gesont] horen, die worden alle ghesont ende verlost, ende die bose gheesten vlien ganseliken der clocken gheluyt, wanneer men se ludet L.  
<sup>278</sup>Ende] Noch L.  
<sup>279</sup>after moghen add oeck L.  
<sup>280</sup>Benedictus] ghebenedijt L.  
<sup>281</sup>ende na den eten Pape Iohanne] priester Johans, inden eten ende na den eten L.  
<sup>282</sup>werdelicken] weydeliken L.  
<sup>283</sup>after stoelen add ende L.  
<sup>284</sup>menigerhande saken unde] menigherleyde saken L.  
<sup>285</sup>wan] als L.  
<sup>286</sup>syget und etet] sittet in synen eten L.  
<sup>287</sup>hi heeft vele costelike silvere vaten und guldene nappen] daer heeft hi tot sijnre tafelen vele suverliker vaten, nappen ende cruesen van golde ende van duerbaren ghesteynte L.

- 225 wal gemaket mit groter eren.<sup>288</sup> Ende daer sint sulke (v)aten, wat spyse daer 288  
in comet, sy en vuyt nicht, noch en stincket, ende verluyst horen smaeck  
nicht.<sup>289</sup> Ende daer is eyn dormiter der doctoren und<sup>290</sup> patriarchen, der 289-90  
ertsbisschoppen und ander prelaten.
- Op to gaen to der<sup>291</sup> sester woninghe, genoemt onser Vrouwen 291  
230 choer:<sup>292</sup> daer is eyn utermaten schoen capelle, daer men alle daghe misse 292  
holt,<sup>293</sup> to male hoechlick und oetmoedelick. Ende dat is sonderlinghe eyn<sup>294</sup> 293-94  
pallas Pape Iohans und der doctoren, und daer holden si<sup>295</sup> sonderlinge 295  
heymelike raet,<sup>296</sup> und dat is gewulft runt na des hemels manieren.<sup>297</sup> Daer 296-97  
sint to male dierbaer gestiente<sup>298</sup> in gewracht,<sup>299</sup> und de stienen schynen<sup>300</sup> 298-300  
235 des nachts also lecht alse des dages die sunne schyne op den rechten 301-2  
middach,<sup>301</sup> want in die cameren ist numm(e)er nacht.<sup>302</sup> Und dese leste 303  
woninghen sint meere ende wyder<sup>303</sup> dan die andere. 304
- Te gaen op die<sup>304</sup> sevenste woninghe, genaemt die alre overste wo- 304  
ninghe unde<sup>305</sup> geheiten dat choer der hilliger<sup>306</sup> Drievoldicheyt: daer is eyn 305-6  
240 uytermaten<sup>307</sup> schoon capelle, die schoonre is dan alle die andere, mer si is 307  
wat mynre dan die vornsten.<sup>308</sup> Ende daer doet men alle daghe misse van 308  
der || <sup>[7]</sup> hilliger Drievoldicheyt des morgens voer der sonnen opganc.<sup>309</sup> 309  
Die hoert Pape [Iohan]<sup>310</sup> aller weghe, wan hi vroe op stiet ter<sup>311</sup> mytnachte. 310-11  
Daerna hoert hi die misse<sup>312</sup> beneden van onser liever Vrouwen. Ende hie 312  
245 hoort oock die homisse diemen daer doet<sup>313</sup> in den choer der hilliger 313  
apostelen. Ende dese vorsz.<sup>314</sup> capelle is toe male hoege gewulft, ende is 314  
recht ront<sup>315</sup> omme gaende als dat gesternte und<sup>316</sup> firmament, und is ge- 315-16

<sup>288</sup>gemaket mit groter eren] ghesiert ende  
doer maect in groter groetten L.

<sup>289</sup>sulke vaten . . . horen smaeck nicht] oeck  
alsulke vaten, soe wat spisen dat daer in  
steet dach ende nacht ende vele langher,  
die spise en soude nummermeer stincken  
noch moghen vuelen, noch hoeren smaeck  
verwandelen L.

<sup>290</sup>doctoren und] *omit* L.

<sup>291</sup>Op to gaen to der] Item te gaen op die L.

<sup>292</sup>after choer *add* der heyligher joncfrou-  
wen L.

<sup>293</sup>misse holt] des merghens van onser liever  
vrouwen misse in doet L.

<sup>294</sup>dat is sonderlinghe eyn] daer is een sun-  
derling L.

<sup>295</sup>after si *add* oec horen L.

<sup>296</sup>after raet *add* Ende dat palaes machmen  
om wijnden, recht als een rat L.

<sup>297</sup>des hemels manieren] maniere des hem-  
els L.

<sup>298</sup>gestiente] steen L.

<sup>299</sup>after ghewracht *add* ende ghevest L.

<sup>300</sup>stienen schynen] schinen ende maken dat  
palaes L.

<sup>301</sup>alse des dages die sunne schyne op den  
rechten middach] recht of die sonne daer  
in scheen des middaghes L.

<sup>302</sup>want in die cameren ist nummermeer  
nacht] *omit* L.

<sup>303</sup>dese leste woninghen sint meere ende  
wyder] die leste woninghe, als die vijfte  
ende die seste woninghe, is meerdere L.

<sup>304</sup>Te gaen op die] Item voert op te ghaen  
totter L.

<sup>305</sup>after ende *add* is L.

<sup>306</sup>hilliger] *omit* L.

<sup>307</sup>after utermaten *add* sunderlinghe L.

<sup>308</sup>dan die vornsten] *omit* L.

<sup>309</sup>after opghanc *add* ende L.

<sup>310</sup>Iohan] *omit* K; Johan L.

<sup>311</sup>vroe op stiet ter] steet alle weghe vroe  
op na L.

<sup>312</sup>die misse] misse daer L.

<sup>313</sup>hie hoort oock die homisse diemen daer  
doet] daer na hoert hi homisse, die duet  
men op dat palaes L.

<sup>314</sup>vorsz.] *omit* L.

<sup>315</sup>after ront *add* ende L.

<sup>316</sup>und] *omit* L.

- schieert<sup>317</sup> van pueren elpenbeenen.<sup>318</sup> Ende daer is oock eyn clocke. So wie  
 250 si<sup>319</sup> des daghes hoert, die en compt des dages in giene droefheyt, so wie  
 dat gelovet.<sup>320</sup> Ende in desser vorsz.<sup>321</sup> capelle der hilliger Drievoldicheyt is  
 oick<sup>322</sup> Veronikes angesicht, dat si van onsen lieven Heere ontfenck. So wie  
 dat des dages ans(i)et,<sup>323</sup> den en moghen des daghes syn oghen niet ver-  
 dunckeren noch verblinden, so wie des gelovet.<sup>324</sup>
- Ende daer is oock Pape Iohans dormiter van groeter wonderliker syr-  
 255 heit unde schoenten, ende dat is gewulft unde<sup>325</sup> gehemelt unde gesternet<sup>326</sup>  
 als dat firmament des hemels. Ende daer is oock die sonne ende die mane  
 gemaket mit VII.<sup>327</sup> circulen unde gengen der planeten und hoelden oick  
 hoeren loop na den planeten des throens, mer datis<sup>328</sup> behedelick unde  
 costelick gemaket.<sup>329</sup>
- 260 Ende<sup>330</sup> daer sint oock costelic getymmert IX.<sup>331</sup> choren der<sup>332</sup> engelen.  
 Daer staen oic costelike belden ande suverlick<sup>333</sup> der patriarchen,<sup>334</sup> apos-  
 telen, martelaren, (e)nde<sup>335</sup> confessoren, der hilliger Drie<sup>336</sup> Coningen,  
 ende der hilliger ioncfrow(iw)en.<sup>337</sup> Ende die belden sint gemaket van  
 edelen gesteente ende van golde. In desen oversten ||<sup>[7v]</sup> choer ende<sup>338</sup> throen  
 265 deser woninge [sittet]<sup>339</sup> die coninlike majestat Gods, den dienen<sup>340</sup> XXIV.  
 olders. Ende die overste Ertsche engelen holden die rulle in horen handen,  
 al singende, "Gloria in excelsis Deo," "Sanctus," ende andere sanghen.
- Ende by Pape Iohans bedde sint IV. dierbaer crucen,<sup>341</sup> die hi alle  
 270 weghe anbedt. Und altoes hangen daer lampen und barnen mit balsam des  
 nachtes.<sup>342</sup> Ende daer sint twee fonteynen: die eene is warm ende die ander

<sup>317</sup>geschieert] costelijck ghepaveydt *L*.

<sup>318</sup>after elpen benen *add* ende dat altaer is  
 oec elpen benen ende edeliken ghewracht  
 van duerbaren ghesteunte *L*.

<sup>319</sup>si] die *L*.

<sup>320</sup>des dages in giene droefheyt, so wie dat  
 gelovet] in gheen doefheyt des daghes, soe  
 si daer gheloven *L*.

<sup>321</sup>vorsz.] *omit L*.

<sup>322</sup>is oick] daer is oec een *L*.

<sup>323</sup>des dages ansiet] siet des daghes *L*.

<sup>324</sup>moghen des daghes . . . so wie des gelovet]  
 mach sijn oghen des daghes niet verblin-  
 den, soe si daer gheloven ende oec seg-  
 ghen *L*.

<sup>325</sup>unde] *omit L*.

<sup>326</sup>after ghesternt *add* recht *L*.

<sup>327</sup>VII.] selven *L*.

<sup>328</sup>dat is] dit is *L*.

<sup>329</sup>costelick gemaket] consteliken luchtende  
 steinen. Item daer is oec een spiegel, daer  
 staen drie duerbaer steen in. Die een richt  
 ende scaerpt dat ghesicht, die ander sijn,  
 die dorde die onderkenninghe. Tot desen  
 spiegel sijn vercoren drie sunderlinghe

wyse, dulghende doctoen, die als sy den  
 spiegel inschuende sijn, vernemen sy  
 ende sien alle dinghen, die inder werelt  
 gheschien, als men segget *L*.

<sup>330</sup>Ende] Item *L*.

<sup>331</sup>IX.] *omit L*.

<sup>332</sup>after der *add* heyligher *L*.

<sup>333</sup>Daer staen oic costelike belden ande su-  
 verlick] *omit L*.

<sup>334</sup>after patriarchen *add* propheten *L*.

<sup>335</sup>ende] *omit L*.

<sup>336</sup>Drie] *omit L*.

<sup>337</sup>ende der hilliger ioncfrowiwen] *omit L*.

<sup>338</sup>In desen oversten choer ende] Item inden  
 oversten *L*.

<sup>339</sup>sittet] sint *K*; sittet *L*.

<sup>340</sup>after dienen *add* die *L*.

<sup>341</sup>Ende by Pape Iohans bedde sint IV. dier-  
 baer crucen] Item daer sijn drie duerbaer  
 crucen by paep Johans bedde *L*.

<sup>342</sup>altoes hangen daer lampen und barnen mit  
 balsam des nachtes] daer hanghen vele  
 bernende lampen mit balsam, die alle  
 weghe des nachts daer bernende sijn *L*.

- is coelt.<sup>343</sup> Daer steyt eyn ross sterck gewapent, ende man secht genge enich  
quaet mensche of vyant daer in na der sonnen onderganck, so solde [hem]<sup>344</sup>  
die ross tersont<sup>345</sup> slaen. Ende dese<sup>346</sup> ross is wonderlick gemaket und steyt  
op een ommelopende werck. Ende hy is gegaten van metale ende<sup>347</sup> gecyirt  
275 mit edele gesteente, und hie is binnen hol.<sup>348</sup>
- Ende<sup>349</sup> dit ganse pallas is gelegen binnen<sup>350</sup> eynre vloet, die daer comt  
uit den Paradyse ende is geheten Tygris. Ende uit deser vloet wintmen  
sonderlinge guet gelt.<sup>351</sup> Ende<sup>352</sup> buten deser vorsz. stadt sint XII. clooster,  
die sunte Thomas dede maken<sup>353</sup> in die ere Godes ende der XII. apostelen.  
280 Ende<sup>354</sup> voor Pape<sup>355</sup> Iohans pallas steyt geschreven<sup>356</sup> mit gulden let-  
teren dat daer alle daghe eten XXX. dusent menschen, uitgenomen die daer  
in- ende uitgaen, und daer en eten si niet dan eyns des daghes.
- Ende Pape Iohan genck des morgens voer den eten als een Paewes,  
gecladet mit eynre costeliker roeder cappen. Maer na den eten, so giet hi  
285 als een coninck, ridende door syn lant toe regieren || <sup>[8r]</sup> unde to bewaren.  
Ende he scrijft sick in eynen brief: "Iohannes, van der genaden Gods  
preyster ende heere aller heren der dinghen die onder den hemel sint, van  
der sonnen opganck tot den Ertschen Paradyse toe Ende." Onder hem sint  
regerende LXXII. coninghen, der sint XI. Kersten. Ende die luden en ge-  
290 bruken ghiene cleder van wullen, maer si dragen syden cleder of van roeden  
vellen.
- Voirt to seggen van den rivieren, die uit den Paradyse comen: der is  
vier. Dat erste rivier het Tigris, unde werpet dat golt op. Dat ander het  
Physeen, ende werpet die edel gestienten op. Dat derde het Geon, unde  
295 gevēt alle soeticheit des waters. Unde die vierde is geheten Eufrates, ende  
gift vruchtbaerheit der erden; und elker maent so ist eyn. Und daeromme  
hevet men des jaers twie vrucht in den lande. Ende daer is dat eende van  
Indien ende der werlt die men daer genoemen mach.
- Van deser stede machmen voert wanderen toe sunte Thomas, toe eynre  
300 stadt geheiten Hulna, dat licht twe mylen inden meer in eynen grooten  
berge dar sunte Thomas licht. Und eerman [toe]<sup>357</sup> sunte Thomas geit, soe

<sup>343</sup> die eene is warm ende die ander is coelt]  
daer is een af cout ende die ander werme *L.*

<sup>344</sup> [hem] *omit K*; hem *L.*

<sup>345</sup> *after* ter stont *add* doet *L.*

<sup>346</sup> dese] die *L.*

<sup>347</sup> *after* ende *add* is *L.*

<sup>348</sup> *after* hol. *L. adds*: Item boven deser sev-  
ender woninghe oft palaes sijn .XX.  
toerne te mael hoghe, schoen ende al ver-  
gult, daer dat ganse palaes mede wort be-  
schloten ende regeert. Ende in desen lesten  
palaes sijn oec .XXIIII. palasen ende cam-  
eren, diemen om wijnt als radere; ende  
soe heeft dat ganse palaes seven won-

inghen, die te voeren ghenoeemt sijn, daer  
noch wonderlike dinghen in sijn, daer ic  
alle gheen ghedechtenisse af en hebbe.

<sup>349</sup> Ende] Item *L.*

<sup>350</sup> binnen] boven *L.*

<sup>351</sup> gelt] gout uyt *L.*

<sup>352</sup> Ende] Item *L.*

<sup>353</sup> dede maken] daer dede maken binnen si-  
nen tiden *L.*

<sup>354</sup> Ende] Item *L.*

<sup>355</sup> Pape] priester *L.*

<sup>356</sup> ghescreven is the last word in *L.*

<sup>357</sup> toe] *omit K.*



ist noet, dat hem die luden daer te bereyden toe vasten ende inlick toe leven. Ende men en giet daer niet dan des jaers eyns, als achte dagen voor of ||  
 [8v] na Sunte Thomas Daghe. Binnen dissen voirsz. virtyn nachte s[t]iet<sup>358</sup>

358

305 dat meyr apen binnen den twee mylen, also dat die Kersten luyde dan gaen door dat meer mit drogen voeten, und dat meer stiet an beyden syden als eyn muyre. Ende door dat meer en moghen die heyden niet gaen.

Ende an die stadt toe gaen, komt men an sunte Thomas kercke, ende up synen avent siet men syn lichaem ootmoedelick ende hoechlick up  
 310 eynen stoel, die is groot ende vergult ende mit dierbaren gestiente wal gemaket, ende dien stoel setmen voer dat groote altaer mit synen lichaem ende blivet daer sta(ne) van der eirster vesper tot der lester. Ende daer sint meer [dan]<sup>359</sup> dusent gewapent, die dat lant ende kercke ende die stat  
 315 wyslick bewaren. Ende daer vergadert eyne groote manichvoldicheyt des volckes.

359

Op Sunte Thomas Dach comet Pape Iohan mit der prelaten, ertsbis-  
 schoppen, ende anderen aen te heffen ende to singen dat hoechlike ampt, unde dair werden vele myssen gesongen eermen die hoemisse singet; be-  
 reytmen daer toe eyn prelate die die singet. Ende eer hi an die stalle comet,  
 320 ontdecket hi dat angesicht sunte Thomas, dat alle die lude, die daer sint, dat beschouwen mogen. Ende in die oprichtinge des hilgen sacraments, apen||[9v]baert sick dat angesicht tot drie schynen: ten eirsten verschynt dat also bleeck als eyn doode, ten anderen als eyn mensche die levendich is, ten derden roet als eyn roese. Ende die prelate maket eyn groot deel  
 325 sacramenten.

Ende toe die misse ute was, doe genck Pape Iohan toe den hilligen sacramente ende ontfenck dat ootmoedelike mitten ertschenbisscoppen ende prelaten ende geisteliken luden. Ende die vellen neder op hoeren knyen ende nygeden ootmoedeliken toe den hilligen sacramente toe ont-  
 330 fangen van der hant des hilligen apostels, sunte Thomas. Ende die prelate giff hem dat hillige sacrament tusschen syne vingeren. Ende die hant des hilligen apostels stiet half geslaeten ende een weynich opgereict. Ende daer ontfangen die luden dat hillige sacrament: die des werdich sint, so luyket hie die hant op, ende die des niet werdich en sint, so holt hi die hant vaste  
 335 toe ende ontmydet hem. Ende die ander luyde ontfangen dat eerweerdlike.

In der tyt dat ick, Iohan Voet, preyster, dat sach, was in den jaer ons Heeren M.CCC.XCI, dat die hant des hilgen apostels twee luden ontoech dat hilge sacrament, meer terstont vellen si op horen knyen || [9v] in be-  
 340 kentenisse ende penitentien ende screyden voer sunden. Ende dat volck was voor hem biddende, ende doe ontfengen si dat hillige sacrament van des priesters hant. Ende die prelaten holden sunte Thomas die armen, meer des en behoevet hi niet, want sunte Thomas is dat al selve doende toe geven ende toe ontrecken dat hillige sacrament. Ende dat lichaem licht daer alinge

<sup>358</sup>stiet] sciet K.<sup>359</sup>dan] dar K.

ende ongeschoert mit synen clederen gecledet, als hi gecleet was levendich.  
 345 Meer dat is al bedecket mit costelen gewade. Voirt sint daer twee ertsbis-  
 schoppe, die dat hillige licham den pelgrims toenen.

Ende dair geschien menige miraculen, als dat die melaetschen gesont  
 worden unde die blinden siende.

Ende voirt als die vesper ute is, so settet Pape Iohan dat licham weder  
 350 in syn stad mitter hant mit grooter eerweerdicheit in eyne groote costelike  
 casse, vergelt ende vercyrt mit costeliken gestiente binnen der kercken.  
 Ende die casse henct in vergulden ketenen, die daerna gemaket sint. Ende  
 desse toern en doet men nummermeer op dan wan dat comet Sunte Thomas  
 Dach, als vorsz. is. Ende voer den toern hangen alle weghe VII. brandende  
 355 lampen, die nummermeer uyt en gaet unde die en werden nummermeer  
 ontsienget noch en mynren || <sup>[10r]</sup> niet, als men seyt.

Ende boven disser capellen sint oick vyff toerne toe male hoghe, und  
 dair barnet men oick alle weghe lampen op, datmen si siet eyn dachvaert  
 in die zee, und daer regieren hem die scheplude na, toe comende tot der  
 360 kercken van sunte Thomas.

Voirt sint daer die conincrycken, daer die hillige Drie Coninghen  
 woonden; und sint vul bergen, und daer en is nummermeer winter, als  
 men secht. Und vechten die luden tegen die quade serpente unde fenynde  
 dieren. Daer is eyn sonderlinge hoge berch, geheyt Arabum; alst an die  
 365 eyne syde des berges is dach, so ist an die ander syde nacht.

Doe wy doe oerloff hadden van Pape Iohan und andere heeren, doe  
 gengen wy toe schepe ende voeren binnen X. dachvaerden an eyn suverlick  
 eylant dat toe male slecht was, IV. mylen wyt, unde omme vul vruchten  
 ende suverlicker bloemen und cruden und mit menigerhande vogelen, die  
 370 toe male suverlick sungē. Und toe gengen wy uit den schepe XII. <sup>[mit]</sup><sup>360</sup>  
 unser oversten omme te sien die seyringe des eylandes. Unde wy meynden,  
 dat wy drie uren daer hadden geweest, meer doe wy weder aen dat scip  
 quemen, doe seyden onse gesellen, dat wy uit hadden geweest drie daghen  
 ende drie nachten. Unde dair en wast gien nacht, || <sup>[10v]</sup> so dat ick wal gelove,  
 375 dat dit eylant was eyn wortel des Paradyes.

Item: voirt te wandere to schepe binnen XII. dagen to eynen berch,  
 het Edom. Op den berch is dat Ertsche Paradyse gelegen. Und die berch is  
 toe male hoghe unde opgaende als eyn toern, also dat men daer niet op  
 comen en mach. Dan op vespertyt, als die sonne neder giet ende schynt  
 380 weder den berch, so suytmen die muren des Paradyes in grooter claerheyt.

Unde voirt bi eyne milen licht die berch dair groite Alexander <sup>[was]</sup><sup>361</sup>  
 doe hy keyser van Romen was unde wolde hebben tyns van den Paradyse,  
 als men secht.

<sup>360</sup>mit] omit K.

<sup>361</sup>was] omit K.

Ende doe kierden wy weder toe lande doir dat meer in den utersten  
 385 lande des meers, ende quemen binnen XXIV. daghen in eyn haveninghe  
 gehieten dat Vegevuyr, als men secht, und daer bleven wy drie daghe und  
 drie nachte. Und daer hoirden wy menich geruchte, schreyen, und kermen  
 der sielen. Und ic las drie sielmissen in den schepe drie daghen. Des derden  
 390 dages, doe die missen ute weren, doe quam een stemme unde seyde: "Die  
 Almechtige God sy eer und lof in der missen"—und dat hoirden wy—  
 "want dair sint drie sielen verloest uit den Veghevier."

Voirt toe wanderen toe schepe binnen vier maenden quemen wy toe  
 eynre haveninghe, unde die was slecht van eynre mylen groit || <sup>[11r]</sup> unde  
 breet. Unde daer genghen wy op omme onse spyse te bereyden. Doe wy  
 395 doe onse vuyr geboet hadden, quam een swart monyck ende verhoerde ons  
 vlytelick, unde [nam]<sup>362</sup> unser XII. unde leyde uns in syn cloester unde gaff  
 uns syne spyse unde diende ons mynn(e)tlick, und vraghede uns na sunte  
 Thomas ende van menigerhande saken. Ende in der insulen weren schapen  
 unde geiten die weren also groet als ossen. Ende die reden waeromme dat  
 400 si so groot sint, want si en hebben geen vorst noch hede und si gaen in  
 guede weyden.

Voirt toe noirden-waert toe wanderen toe schepe tusschen twee  
 roeckerighe bergen wal VI. daghe. Doe quemen wy toe eynre insulen, dair  
 seeghen wy ruwe wilde luden sonder cleder unde menigerhande zelsen  
 405 dieren.

Voirt recht to wanderen an eyn ander insul, dair seeghen [wy]<sup>363</sup>  
 apen—meerkatten—die weren summige wal also groot als eyn calff van  
 eynen jaer.

Voirt toe schepe to wanderen binnen IV. maenden an eynen grooten  
 410 steenberch, doe hoirden wy die Meerminnen singen, die dicwyl mit hoeren  
 sange die schepen neder trecken und verderven. Dair seghen wy oick wal  
 ander wonderen, und daer weren wy in groeten anxte, want daer quam eyn  
 groot || <sup>[11v]</sup> storm und warp ons uyt den rechten wech in eyn duyster winkel  
 under dat geberchte, und daer weren wy vyff dage, dat wy ghien lucht en  
 415 saghen. Meer an den VI. dach quam eyn wint und warp uns op dat meer.

Ende toe weren wy weder oestwaert toe der zee und quemen in eyn  
 lant daer weren swarte luyde, und sommige synt daer toe male wit. Und  
 daer roesteden wy achte dagen. Und dat lant heet Amazorina, unde daer is  
 eyne coninginne also geheten. Unde men segt dat Gog en Magog weren  
 420 besloten tusschen den tween berghen unde bewracht. Und daer sint luyde  
 toe male wonderlic gedaen, und hebben twie angesicht an eynen hoofde,  
 und daer is dat lucht toe male hiet und dat ertrycke is vul berghe[.]

Und toe wanderen oistwert door vele insulen binnen<sup>364</sup> eynen quartier

<sup>362</sup>nam] na K.

<sup>363</sup>wy] omit K.

<sup>364</sup>binnen is the first word in *Lieftinck's* transcription of the explicit of *M* (see D368).

425 van cynen jaer, quemen wy weder toe Iherusalem. Ende woe dattet<sup>365</sup> daer 365  
gestalt is,<sup>366</sup> weten wel vele<sup>367</sup> luyde, et cetera.<sup>368</sup> 366-68

Item: Geschreven ende geeyndet vermits Heerick van Rhemen, in den jare unses Heeren M.CCC.LXXIII. up Sinte Valentinus daghe, in den verveerliken koelden wint die doe was, et cetera.

<sup>365</sup>woe dattet] hoe dat *M*.

<sup>366</sup>after is add dat *M*.

<sup>367</sup>after vele add goeder *M*.

<sup>368</sup>et cetera is the last word in *Liefstinck's* transcription of the explicit of *M*.

## 2. Textual Notes for the Middle Dutch Translation

THESE TEXTUAL NOTES, with line numbers from the Middle Dutch translation printed in this volume, record cancelations and scribal errors in *K*, as well as orthographical variants for proper names in *KLM*. The gazetteer in the Latin Textual Notes (TN I) records all orthographically different records for place-names in the Latin and Middle Dutch texts. The symbol # stands for individual characters that are illegible.

- 2 Utrecht] vtert *M*.  
 5 Her(m)opolis] *K* may read Herenopolis; hermopolus *M*.  
 6–7 Christum, ende an den roden meer. Ende in den R(oe)den meer  
*no words canceled K*.  
 10 sceten *corrects* scetten (?) *K*.  
 12 hinder en eennen eyte (?) *latter three words canceled followed*  
*by unde above line K*.  
 13 Israel] Ysrael *L*.  
 16 Israel] Ysrahel *L*.  
 30 Anyna *corrects* Anna *K*; Amnam *L*.  
 35 oick *above line signaled by caret K*.  
 60 pu(r)ede *may read (or correct)* putede *K*.  
 63 velde *corrects* vloet *K*.  
 67 guede *above* quade *canceled K*.  
 87 van *above line signaled by caret K*.  
 90 Bartholomeus] Bertholomeus *L*.  
 90 M(a)ren] Moren *L*.  
 92 Pygmeen] Pigme *L*.  
 97 leven *corrects* beesten *K*.  
 103 zee *follows* sant (?) *canceled K*.  
 115 do(or) *may read* doet *K*.  
 116 Chaan] Caen *L*.  
 117 stadt *corrects* stede *K*.  
 118 Thomas] Thomaes *L*.  
 129 geheiten *corrects* gheiten *with e above h K*.  
 137 Caen *corrects* Coni (?) *K*.  
 140 toe eynre *follows* (o)p dat slot *canceled (see previous sentence)*  
*K*.  
 141 overste *above uncanceled* underste *K*; middelste *L*.  
 148 Syde Sic *in Matthaeus's hand in outer margin K*.  
 152 sunte *corrects* sinte *K*.  
 159 mael *corrects* male *K*.  
 160 do(er)lopen *may read* doetlopen *K*.  
 163 wandert men *corrects illegible original K*.  
 163 eenre *written over ee### K*.  
 163 maent *follows* ment *canceled K*.

- 170 ende pallas *corrects* in den (?) ee# *K.*  
 193 wonderlick *corrects* suverlick *with* wonder *above* suver *K.*  
 193–94 geluyt als daer ymant] *Matthaeus punctuates* geluyt. Als daer ymant *K.*  
 208 Iohanne] Johan *L.*  
 210 schone *added above line signaled by caret K.*  
 211–12 meer si is recht of si van golde *written above* wal gemaket unde vergult *canceled K.*  
 217 Thomas] Thomaes *L.*  
 219 hoeren *corrects* y####n *K.*  
 251 Veronikes] Veronica *L.*  
 254 E of Ende *is missing middle bar and appears like modern I K.*  
 258 throens *follows* hemels *canceled K.*  
 261 ande suverlick *written as one word K.*  
 264 throen *above* woninghe *canceled K.*  
 281 dusent *above line signaled by caret K.*  
 294 Dat *corrects* dat *K.*  
 295 Eufrates *follows* Ef *canceled K.*  
 298–99 mach *followed by* Van *canceled; Van in next line begins new paragraph K.*  
 300 meer *follows* indenm *with final character canceled K.*  
 312 stane *may read* staen *K.*  
 397 mynn(e)tlick *appears to read* mynnntlick *because Matthaeus's pen slipped after y K.*  
 412 want *corrects* wand *K.*  
 422–23 Und toe wanderen oistwert *follows* Voirt toe wanderen oistwert. *uncanceled K.*  
 426 Heerick *corrects* ####rick.



## A Modern English Translation of the *Itinerarius*

PART OF THE DISCUSSION in chapter 3 focuses on the efforts of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century scribes and printers to produce a stylistically more sophisticated version of the *Itinerarius* than was found in the autograph copy or than is preserved in *A*, the base text for the critical edition presented here. Over the course of a century and a half, editors significantly reduced the redundancy, pleonastic constructions, ambiguity, and jejune narrative structure that characterize the book in its earliest state. A translator may be similarly tempted to render the *Itinerarius*, as it is recorded in *A*, with greater grace and range of vocabulary than can honestly be coaxed out of the Latin in that manuscript. Although the results may annoy some modern readers, every attempt has been made here to withstand the temptation to edit while translating, and to represent fairly such features of the text as *Et* used to begin many sentences (polysyndeton), *Item* inserted to effect a transition, and a gerundive employed as the sole verb of an independent clause. No attempt is made to disguise other kinds of redundancy (*eciam* in lines 24 and 26; *fugiendo . . . fugierunt* in line 29) or wordiness (fish in the Red Sea flying “over the water,” as if there were an alternative [line 7]). The word *ibidem* is consistently translated “in that place” rather than “there,” as if the Latin text read *ibi*, which scribes and editors increasingly make it do.

Place-names retain their Latin spellings (in the nominative case) except for toponyms that identify geographical locations essentially unchanged since the Middle Ages, which are given their modern English forms (hence *Jerusalem* for *Jherusalem* and *Egypt* for *Egiptus* but transliterated Latin names for the Four Rivers of Paradise that flow through Edissa [lines 293–97]). Names of seas are translated (*Red Sea* for *mare Rubrum*), as are proper



names (*Prester John* for *Presbyter Johannes*), except for the obscure *Grandidicanis*, whose name is carried over verbatim (reputable historical sources style the great khan *Canis magnus* [orthography varies]).

This English translation also attempts to accommodate the fifteenth-century Middle Dutch translation of the *Itinerarius*. Although it renders a Latin text that is very similar to the one found in *A*, the Middle Dutch *Itinerarius* contains a fair number of readings that are substantially different; these include passages found in no known Latin version, as well as omissions, changes, and probable mistakes. This English translation is principally a rendering of the Latin in *A*; but when the corresponding passage in the Middle Dutch text(s) warrants a substantially different English version, it is provided. The procedure for identifying these alternative readings resembles the one used to identify variants within the Latin and Middle Dutch texts. Superscripted numbers in the text, which are repeated in the right margin of each page, correspond to lemmata at the foot of the page that repeat a word or passage in the English translation; the identical unit of text in Middle Dutch is then rendered in English or, alternatively, is noted as omitted or added to. When *KLM* vary among themselves, English translations of each are supplied. Occasionally, differences among the Middle Dutch texts are best represented by overlapping lemmata (see 10–11, 12–13, 14–16) or by including a reading within square brackets that records the omission or a replacement of the single word before it (see 22, 32, 36). Some additions and word transpositions are most economically shown by this same means (see 30, 32, 33).

The purpose of this double translation is twofold. First, it means to enable readers unfamiliar with Middle Dutch to recognize in these records of its usage some common features of medieval translation practice, such as synonymic pairs used to render a single Latin word, as well as problems the translator had rendering the Latin or a scribe had recording it (see lemmata 14, 36). Second, since the translation into Middle Dutch was made from a Latin text very similar to—but not identical with—*A*, it may preserve some readings that were in the autograph copy but are not found in *A*. Thus, the translation does not identify each and every interlanguage or intralanguage variation, only substantive ones, and lemmata do not record pronoun-for-noun replacements or vice versa (*he* for *Prester John* or *Saint Thomas* for *he*), the use of alternative names (*Holy Apostle* for *Saint Thomas*), various beginnings of sentences (*And*, *Also*, or *Item*), and transpositions, unless one occurs in *K* and *L* in a passage that contains a substantive variant (see lemma 248).

In<sup>1</sup> the year of our Lord 1389,<sup>2</sup> I, Johannes Witte de Hese, a priest in the diocese of<sup>3</sup> Utrecht, was in Jerusalem, in May,<sup>4</sup> visiting the holy sites in that place, then continued my pilgrimage toward the Jordan, and along the Jordan<sup>5</sup> to the Red Sea, to the land of Egypt, to a city called Hermopolis, said to be the<sup>6</sup> capital city of Egypt, where the blessed Virgin lived for seven years<sup>7</sup> with her son, our Lord.

And on the aforementioned Red Sea<sup>8</sup> I saw fish flying over the water as far as a crossbow can shoot an arrow. And these fish are red in color, having a length of more than two feet,<sup>9</sup> also having a round head like a cat<sup>10</sup> and a beak like an eagle.<sup>11</sup> I had some of these fish to eat. And the fish are big,<sup>12</sup> so it is necessary to boil them for a long time.<sup>13</sup> And I saw many other unusual animals of which I have no memory.

On this same Red Sea I also saw serpents flying toward land and returning again to the Red Sea. And they are very harmful to humans, poisoning them.<sup>14</sup> Ash of burnt palm, which grows in that place and in the Holy Land, is effective against them, as well as a certain plant named choral, it growing<sup>15</sup> in the Red Sea at the place<sup>16</sup> where Moses brought the people of Israel across. And this place—or<sup>17</sup> passage—is identified by four large black<sup>18</sup> stones standing on the seashore, two on one side of the sea and two on the other side.<sup>19</sup>

And in the aforementioned city of Hermopolis is the garden<sup>20</sup> in which the blessed Virgin lived, and in it is the spring in which the blessed Virgin washed her things. It is said of the water of this spring that the blind see when they get some of it,<sup>21</sup> and the sick are cured, and lepers are

<sup>1</sup>In] In the name of our Lord and in *M*.  
<sup>2</sup>1389] 1398.

<sup>3</sup>Johannes . . . diocese of] master Johan Voet from *K*; Johan Voet, a priest from the diocese of *L*; master Jan Voet from *M*.

<sup>4</sup>May] the sea *M*.

<sup>5</sup>along the Jordan] *omit*.

<sup>6</sup>said to be the] That is a.

<sup>7</sup>for seven years] *omit KM*.

<sup>8</sup>after Sea *add* near which the city lies.

<sup>9</sup>having a length of more than two feet] *omit KM*.

<sup>10</sup>cat] barrel *L* (see next lemma).

<sup>11</sup>also having a round head like a cat and a beak like an eagle] *omit KM* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>12</sup>big] tough *L* (see next lemma).

<sup>13</sup>And the fish are big, so it is necessary to boil them for a long time] *omit KM* (see preceding lemma). *Lemmata 14 to 258 refer only to K and L*.

<sup>14</sup>poisoning them] they poison them now and then, and do them harm *L* (see 16).

<sup>15</sup>a certain plant named choral, it growing] a thing named Goral, which grows *L* (see 16).

<sup>16</sup>animals of which I have no memory . . . at the place] animals and poisonous animals that annoy and harm people at the same place *K* (all else omitted; see two preceding lemmata).

<sup>17</sup>place—or] *omit*.

<sup>18</sup>black] *omit*.

<sup>19</sup>after other side *add* as a sign that the place is on the Red Sea, which the children of Israel crossed through *K*; *add* as a sign that that is the place on the Red Sea where the people of Israel crossed through *L*.

<sup>20</sup>And in the aforementioned city of Hermopolis is the garden] There is a garden *K*.

<sup>21</sup>It is said of the water of this spring that the blind see when they get some of it] It is said that from [the water] there, the blind become sighted people *K*; It is said there that the blind become sighted people from the water when they receive some of it *L*.

25 cured.<sup>22</sup> Balsam also grows in this garden.<sup>23</sup> 22–23

Also in the aforementioned city<sup>24</sup> there is an extraordinarily large<sup>25</sup> 24–25

church, built in honor of the holy Trinity and the glorious Virgin, which originally was a temple of idols, in which—when the blessed Virgin, fleeing

30 into Egypt out of fear of Herod, first entered—the demons fled and the temple idols fell down,<sup>26</sup> it is said in that place.<sup>27</sup> 26–27

It is an eight-day journey from this city of Hermopolis to the city of Amram,<sup>28</sup> which lies on the Red Sea. And at that place one sails straight

back across the Red Sea and proceeds by foot for seven days to Mount 28

35 Sinai, where the body of the virgin Saint Katherine lies in a cloister of canons regular,<sup>29</sup> who live devout lives and eat only once a day. There are 29

thirteen of them, and there are also thirteen lamps burning there, which can never be put out but which always keep going without any increase<sup>30</sup> 30

[in the amount of oil]. When one of the canons dies, however, a lamp goes out all by itself<sup>31</sup> until another one has been elected to take his place, and 31

40 then the lamp is lit again by itself without any assistance, and so on.<sup>32</sup> 32

And this cloister is strongly protected against harmful animals. And every week just three drops of oil ooze from the tomb of Saint Katherine,

which once used to ooze in great abundance.<sup>33</sup> And there also is the rock 33

that Moses struck, and waters flowed for the children of Israel.<sup>34</sup> And 34

<sup>22</sup>and the sick are cured, and lepers are cured] and [omit *K*] the sick and the lepers are cured when they get some of that water or when they wash themselves with it.

<sup>23</sup>after garden add [balsam,] which is obtained from a tree that stands in the garden.

<sup>24</sup>aforementioned city] same garden *K*; aforementioned garden *L*.

<sup>25</sup>after large add and decorated *L*.

<sup>26</sup>in which . . . fell down] but when our blessed Lady came in the temple, when she had fled, because of Herod, with her child, then all the demons fled out and they all evacuated the temple *K*; but when our blessed Lady came in the temple, when she, with her blessed child, had fled because of Herod, then all the demons all fled out of the images and evacuated the temple *L*.

<sup>27</sup>it is said in that place] omit *K*.

<sup>28</sup>Amram] Anyna *K*; Amnam *L*.

<sup>29</sup>after regular add These are holy people *K*; add These are holy monks *L*.

<sup>30</sup>burning there . . . increase] in the cloister, which burn and shine [shine and burn *L*] all the time, and they never go out, but they burn and shine without anything being done.

<sup>31</sup>one of the canons . . . by itself] one monk dies, one of the lamps goes out; it neither burns nor shines *K*; one of the monks dies, however, one of the lamps goes out for him and neither burns nor shines any more *L*.

<sup>32</sup>and then the lamp . . . and so on] As soon as that happens, the lamp lights [rekindles *L*] for the chosen monk and burns without anything being done [add: and shines *L*] as long as the monk lives.

<sup>33</sup>against harmful animals . . . in great abundance] on account of the harmful serpents and [add: evil *L*] animals that are around there. It should also be known that in former times a lot of oil used to run [add: and flow *L*] from the grave of the holy virgin [add: Saint *L*] Catherine, but nowadays no more than three drops a week come from it [syntax varies between *K* and *L*].

<sup>34</sup>And there also is the rock . . . Israel] And there is the very rock where Moses struck out water with his rod for the people of Israel whereby they were all strengthened, nourished, and cleansed *K*; And there is the very rock that Moses struck with his staff when many waters rushed out for

45 there<sup>35</sup> are birds there that carry olive branches<sup>36</sup> by mouth and place them 35-36  
within the cloister close.<sup>37</sup> And these birds are the size of turtledoves; they 37  
have white heads and necks.

Next item: it is a four-day<sup>38</sup> journey through the desert from Mount 38  
Sinai to the plain of Elim, in which Moses built an altar to the Lord; this  
50 altar is now in ruins, and the stones from it still lie in that place. And in  
this same plain the children of Israel rested for forty days when Moses  
received the law. And in this same plain there are twelve springs: anyone  
who drinks from them will never go blind, it is said.<sup>39</sup> And seventy-two 39  
palm trees are also in that place, which Moses planted in that place and  
55 with which<sup>40</sup> he was always able to secure victory. And poisonous animals 40  
are unable to come to<sup>41</sup> this plain. And many good spices grow in that 41  
place.

And near this plain is an extremely bitter river that is called Marach;<sup>42</sup> 42  
Moses struck it with his rod and got<sup>43</sup> sweet water, from which the children 43  
60 of Israel drank.<sup>44</sup> And up to the present day, it is said,<sup>45</sup> venomous animals 44-45  
poison that water after sunset<sup>46</sup> so that good animals cannot drink from it. 46  
And in the morning after sunrise,<sup>47</sup> a unicorn comes and puts his horn into 47  
the said river to drive the poison out of it<sup>48</sup> so that the good [animals] get<sup>49</sup> 48-49  
water during the day. And I saw this.

65 And one great mile<sup>50</sup> farther on is the dwelling of one saintly hermit<sup>51</sup> 50-51  
where Saint Paul, the first hermit, and Saint Anthony<sup>52</sup> used to live.<sup>53</sup> And 52-53  
to the present day this hermit is nourished with manna from heaven;<sup>54</sup> I 54

the people of Israel, whereby they were  
strengthened and cleansed *L*.

<sup>35</sup>there] in that country.

<sup>36</sup>olive branches] twigs and branches from  
oil [olive *L*] trees.

<sup>37</sup>after close *add* And there the monks get a  
lot of oil that they make use of.

<sup>38</sup>four-day] three-day *K*.

<sup>39</sup>it is said] *omit K*.

<sup>40</sup>planted in that place and with which]  
tended (?), whence *K*; planted there, near  
and with which *L*.

<sup>41</sup>come to] come near.

<sup>42</sup>extremely bitter river that is called Marach]  
river that flows out of a swamp that was  
very bitter *K*.

<sup>43</sup>got] it was transformed into very *K*; there  
the bitterness transformed into very *L*.

<sup>44</sup>after drank *add* at that time; but *K*; *add* at  
that time and still do today, it is said; but  
*L* (see next lemma).

<sup>45</sup>And up to the present day, it is said] *omit*  
(see preceding lemma).

<sup>46</sup>sunset] sunrise *K*.

<sup>47</sup>in the morning after sunrise] afterward *K*;  
in the morning afterward *L*.

<sup>48</sup>after of it *add* and to purify and cleanse  
the water.

<sup>49</sup>good animals get] good animals and do-  
mesticated [wild *L*] beasts come and drink  
from the aforementioned.

<sup>50</sup>one great mile] one mile *K*; over one great  
mile *L*.

<sup>51</sup>of one saintly hermit] *omit*.

<sup>52</sup>and Saint Anthony] *omit* (see next lemma).

<sup>53</sup>after live *add* whom the good [*add*: Saint  
*L*] Anthony visited in the wilderness when  
he followed the she-wolf who went the  
correct way to where Paul was living. And  
there [*add*: also *L*] is a [the *L*] well there,  
near which Saint Paul and Saint Anthony  
sat when they ate [would eat *L*]; a raven  
always came and brought them heavenly  
bread (see preceding lemma).

<sup>54</sup>And to the present day this hermit is nour-  
ished with manna from heaven] And a

saw this hermit. And he sleeps on a stone and is dressed in a hair shirt<sup>55</sup> in the fashion of blessed John the Baptist. 55

70 And proceeding farther for a good fifteen days<sup>56</sup> through the desert and through the land of Ur of the Chaldeans, where the Red Jews live, I came to the Nile river,<sup>57</sup> on which I sailed for one day to a seaport, to a certain city called Damiad.<sup>58</sup> And there I boarded<sup>59</sup> a ship, sailing for a good three months on the Sea-Ocean to Ethiopia, the kingdom called Lower India,<sup>60</sup> where Saint Bartholomew preached. And there live Ethiopians, black men. 58-59 60

And sailing farther, I came to the Pygmies.<sup>61</sup> And they are small people, being in height one ell tall, and they are misshapen.<sup>62</sup> And they have no houses but live in grottoes in the mountains, and in caves, and in shells;<sup>63</sup> nor do they have bread, but rather [eat] sorts of lactiferous plants,<sup>64</sup> just like beasts. And it is said in that place that the Pygmies frequently fight<sup>65</sup> with storks. And the storks sometimes kill their young boys,<sup>66</sup> but this I did not see. And they live for twelve years at most, it is said,<sup>67</sup> and no longer.<sup>68</sup> 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68

85 And sailing farther from the Sea of Ethiopia below<sup>69</sup> the Liver- and the Sandy seas for four days, I came<sup>70</sup> to the land of the One-Eyes.<sup>71</sup> And the nature of the Liver Sea is such that it attracts ships on account of the iron in the ships because the bottom of this sea is said to consist of rocks of lodestone, which has<sup>72</sup> attractive power. And off to the other side is the 69 70-71 72

hermit still lives there, to whom heavenly bread comes [*add: from above L*] still today.

<sup>55</sup>hair shirt] coarse garment *K*; gray garment *L*.

<sup>56</sup>fifteen days] fourteen nights.

<sup>57</sup>I came to the Nile river] one comes to a river, named the Nile: that is an inlet [estuary *L*] of the sea.

<sup>58</sup>on which I sailed . . . to a certain city called Damiad] There one travels by ship and comes within one day to the harbor of the city of Damiaten *K*; omit *L*.

<sup>59</sup>And there I boarded] There one boards.

<sup>60</sup>the kingdom called Lower India] named the remotest island or the remotest end *K*; named the lowest island or Lowest India *L*.

<sup>61</sup>And sailing farther, I came to the Pygmies] One goes by ship and comes forth [*omit L*] to the land where the Pygmies live.

<sup>62</sup>misshapen] heathens *K*.

<sup>63</sup>and in shells] and pits, in shells under ground *K*; and in pits under ground, in shells, and in large [shells of] mussels *L*.

<sup>64</sup>nor do they have bread, but rather eat sorts of lactiferous plants] and they eat no meat or bread, but herbs, foliage, and other greens, and they live *K*; nor do they eat bread, but herbs, foliage, and other greens or dairy products, and they live *L*.

<sup>65</sup>fight] struggle and fight (*see 68*).

<sup>66</sup>And the storks sometimes kill their young boys] And they [the storks *L*] often kill their children, wherever they find them, with their long beaks (*see 68*).

<sup>67</sup>it is said] omit (*see 68*).

<sup>68</sup>The last three sentences in this paragraph appear in order 3-1-2 in *K*, and in order 1-3-2 in *L*.

<sup>69</sup>from the Sea of Ethiopia below] far from the sea by the Moorland, and lies near *K*; from the sea that lies by Moorland, between *L*.

<sup>70</sup>I came] one comes.

<sup>71</sup>One-Eyes] eyed people *K*; one-eyed people *L*.

<sup>72</sup>consist of rocks of lodestone, which has] be full of precious stones, such as adamant [diamonds *L*] and other stones, which have.

- 90 Sandy Sea, and it is shifting sand, ebbing and flowing like water.<sup>73</sup> And in that sea fish are caught by the One-Eyes, who go in on foot. And these same One-Eyes sometimes<sup>74</sup> walk about under water as well, imperiling ships.<sup>75</sup> And on account of these two seas,<sup>76</sup> below which it is necessary to sail,<sup>77</sup> it is extremely dangerous<sup>78</sup> to navigate [there], and thus it is essential that one have a favorable, direct<sup>79</sup> wind if a person is to be saved.<sup>80</sup> And these One-Eyes are short, stocky,<sup>81</sup> and strong; and they eat other humans. And they have an eye in the middle of their forehead, shining like a carbuncle. And they are under the authority of King Grandicanis.<sup>82</sup> And they always work at night.<sup>83</sup> 73 74 75-76 77-78 79-80 81 82 83
- 100 And sailing farther to Middle India, where Grandicanis<sup>84</sup> rules under the imperial authority of Prester John,<sup>85</sup> I came<sup>86</sup> to a great city called Andranopolis,<sup>87</sup> which Saint Thomas first converted to the faith. And good Christians and many<sup>88</sup> members of religious orders live in that city. And it lies on the seacoast, and a harbor is in that place where many ships from various parts of the world come together.<sup>89</sup> And the buildings there are very tall, and the streets are so narrow that the people cannot<sup>90</sup> feel the sun, nor do they get any of it<sup>91</sup> in the streets. And there are in this same city more than five hundred stone bridges under which rivers flow. And a Franciscan monastery<sup>92</sup> is in that place; its church is made of pure alabaster, and Christian pilgrims are buried in that place. 84 85-86 87 88 89 90 91 92
- 110 And in this same city near the seashore<sup>93</sup> is a tower of great height and beauty, which astronomers and scholars climb at night in order<sup>94</sup> to gain knowledge of the future. And during the day the lords and elders of 93 94

<sup>73</sup>like water] like water rises *K*; and rises just like water *L*.

<sup>74</sup>And these same One-Eyes sometimes] And they frequently.

<sup>75</sup>imperiling ships] often obstructing and destroying ships.

<sup>76</sup>seas] characteristics [i.e., obstructing and destroying?] *K*.

<sup>77</sup>below which it is necessary to sail] one does not venture to sail through there, but *K*.

<sup>78</sup>it is extremely dangerous] on board ship there is unusual anxiety.

<sup>79</sup>direct] *omit K*.

<sup>80</sup>after saved *add* or [if] people are to stay safe and sound on the ships *L*.

<sup>81</sup>stocky] quite slight (*see 83*).

<sup>82</sup>of King Grandicanis] and domain of the Great Khan (*see 83*).

<sup>83</sup>And these One-Eyes are short . . . work at night] *omit K (see two preceding lemmata)*.

<sup>84</sup>Grandicanis] the Great Khan [*add: lives and K*].

<sup>85</sup>under the imperial authority of Prester John] *omit*.

<sup>86</sup>I came] one comes.

<sup>87</sup>Andranopolis] Adrianopolis *K*; Andropolis *L*.

<sup>88</sup>good Christians and many] many Christian people and many good *K*; many good Christian people and many *L*.

<sup>89</sup>ships from various parts of the world come together] people from many countries make port *K*; ships come in from many countries *L*.

<sup>90</sup>cannot] seldom are able to *K*; seldom *L*.

<sup>91</sup>nor do they get any of it] because it is unable to shine.

<sup>92</sup>Franciscan monastery] monastery where Franciscans live *K*; monastery of the Franciscan order *L*.

<sup>93</sup>near the seashore] *omit L (see 100)*.

<sup>94</sup>after order *add* to look into the stars and there *L (see 100)*.

- the city hold their<sup>95</sup> councils [there]. And atop this tower<sup>96</sup> stand five towers 95–96  
 115 of precious stones and of gold,<sup>97</sup> of which the one in the middle is higher 97  
 than the other four;<sup>98</sup> in it are candles and lamps that burn during the night 98  
 so that sailors<sup>99</sup> great distances away, seeing the light, can get their bearings 99  
 from it as they approach the aforementioned city.<sup>100</sup> And near that city is 100  
 a cloister named Saint Mary's, where devout people live. And pilgrims  
 120 make an important pilgrimage in that place.<sup>101</sup> 101  
 And not far from there we were<sup>102</sup> taken prisoner by brigands<sup>103</sup> of 102–3  
 Grandicanis<sup>104</sup>—he not being in the country—and were led to a castle 104  
 called Compardut,<sup>105</sup> where we were detained<sup>106</sup> for eight weeks. But when 105–6  
 King Grandicanis<sup>107</sup> came back to the country, we were set free because we 107  
 125 were pilgrims of<sup>108</sup> Saint Thomas, which [pilgrims] he esteems greatly al- 108  
 though he is reputedly a pagan, for he very much fears the vengeance  
 of Saint Thomas.<sup>109</sup> And<sup>110</sup> he entertained us in this same [castle] for seven<sup>111</sup> 109–11  
 days. And afterward he had his men conduct us for a good twelve days to  
 a large city named Eleap.<sup>112</sup> And there Middle<sup>113</sup> India ends. 112–13  
 130 And in that place we boarded a ship, and, sailing with the aforemen-  
 tioned Grandicanis's<sup>114</sup> escort for eight days,<sup>115</sup> we came to an extremely 114–15  
 high, rocky mountain lying in the sea, having at its base an opening three  
 miles<sup>116</sup> long, through which we had to sail. And this opening is so dark 116  
 that we had to have candles burning all the time. And in leaving the open-

<sup>95</sup>after their *add* secret *L* (see 100).

<sup>96</sup>And atop this tower] And this tower is so tall and wide that atop the tower *L* (see 100).

<sup>97</sup>of precious stones and gold] of goodly stones, well crafted of gold, and richly arrayed with precious stones *L* (see 100).

<sup>98</sup>after four *add* that stand around the middle one *L* (see 100).

<sup>99</sup>after sailors *add* who are sailing on the sea *L* (see 100).

<sup>100</sup>as they approach the aforementioned city] which they see at night in the middle tower, so that they can then aim for and reach the city, as needed *L*. *This entire paragraph to this point is omitted in K* (see 93–99).

<sup>101</sup>And pilgrims make an important pilgrimage in that place] And there is an unusually large pilgrimage [*add*: of pilgrims *L*] there.

<sup>102</sup>not far from there we were] there I, Johan Voet, [*add*: the above-named *L*] priest, with my companions, was.

<sup>103</sup>brigands] the council *K*; knights *L*.

<sup>104</sup>Grandicanis] the Great Khan.

<sup>105</sup>led to a castle called Compardut] led to a castle called Canwaduck *K*; kept at a castle called Campaduck *L*.

<sup>106</sup>detained] *omit*.

<sup>107</sup>King Grandicanis] the great king [*add*: Khan *L*].

<sup>108</sup>after of *add* the great lord *K*; the good *L*.

<sup>109</sup>he esteems greatly . . . Saint Thomas] the Great Khan especially worships *K* (see next lemma); the Great Khan especially furthers for the sake of Saint Thomas, the holy apostle, whom he respects and fears very much because of the vengeful will of the holy apostle *L*.

<sup>110</sup>And] For Saint Thomas's sake *K* (see preceding lemma).

<sup>111</sup>seven] twelve.

<sup>112</sup>Eleap] Cleap.

<sup>113</sup>Middle] Upper (?) Lower (?) *K*.\*

<sup>114</sup>aforementioned Grandicanis's] Great Khan's *K*; aforementioned Great Khan's *L*.

<sup>115</sup>for eight days] *omit*.

<sup>116</sup>three miles] one mile *K*.

- 135 ing, the ship—along with us—had to drop down a good<sup>117</sup> twenty cubits 117  
because the sea on the far side lies so low<sup>118</sup> relative to the opening.<sup>119</sup> And 118–19  
we were greatly terrified in that place.<sup>120</sup> 120
- And in the land near there pepper grows between two mountains.  
And so many serpents<sup>121</sup> are in that place that the pepper cannot be gathered 121  
140 without fire; around the Feast of Saint Michael, however, fire is ignited<sup>122</sup> 122  
so that the serpents<sup>123</sup> flee, and then the pepper is gathered.<sup>124</sup> And these 123–24  
two mountains are joined together<sup>125</sup> on the far side where they abut the 125  
sea. And at their base<sup>126</sup> is a dark tunnel three miles long, and through this 126  
tunnel flows a river, running so quickly<sup>127</sup> that it carries huge rocks with 127  
145 it. And in that tunnel are heard horrible<sup>128</sup> sounds like thunder and various 128  
horrible cries,<sup>129</sup> but what it all may mean is<sup>130</sup> unknown and nobody un- 129–30  
derstands it.
- And sailing farther for a month, one comes to a port called Gadde.  
And there stands a castle<sup>131</sup> where merchants pay duty to Prester John. 131
- 150 And sailing farther for<sup>132</sup> fourteen days, one comes to the city of Edissa 132  
where Prester John lives. And this city is the capital of his entire<sup>133</sup> realm, 133  
and it is located in Upper India at the end of the inhabited earth. And this  
city is more than twenty-four times the size of the city of Cologne.<sup>134</sup> 134
- And the residence<sup>135</sup> of Prester John is located in the center of the city. 135
- 155 And it is a good two German miles long and the same in width as well, for 136–37  
it is square.<sup>136</sup> And it stands atop<sup>137</sup> columns, of which there are said to be 138–39  
nine<sup>138</sup> hundred. And<sup>139</sup> the central column is larger than the others, and at  
this [column] four large giants have been made<sup>140</sup> out of precious stones 140  
and gilded; they stand<sup>141</sup> with bowed heads beneath the palace as if they 141  
160 were supporting the whole palace.<sup>142</sup> And at certain other columns images 142

<sup>117</sup>a good] *omit K.*

<sup>118</sup>lies so low] low is and lies [low] *K;* is low *L.*

<sup>119</sup>after opening *add* which [omit *L*] exits there so very high up.

<sup>120</sup>in that place] in that opening.

<sup>121</sup>serpents] poisonous animals [omit *L*], vipers, and snakes.

<sup>122</sup>fire is ignited] people set many large fires around there.

<sup>123</sup>serpents] snakes and vipers.

<sup>124</sup>the pepper is gathered] a lot of pepper lies there, which people gather there *K.*

<sup>125</sup>are joined together] come together and become one single mountain, and this mountain is exceedingly large *K;* omit *L.*

<sup>126</sup>And at their base] *omit L.*

<sup>127</sup>after quickly *add* and straight *K;* *add* and so briskly *L.*

<sup>128</sup>horrible] especially horrible voices and ghastly *L.*

<sup>129</sup>various horrible cries] other noises *K;* other cries *L.*

<sup>130</sup>mean is] betoken is there *L.*

<sup>131</sup>castle] mountain *K.*

<sup>132</sup>for] within *L.*

<sup>133</sup>after entire *add* country and *K.*

<sup>134</sup>And this city is more than twenty-four times the size of the city of Cologne] *omit K.*

<sup>135</sup>after residence *add* and castle.

<sup>136</sup>square] a square castle.

<sup>137</sup>after atop *add* great.

<sup>138</sup>nine] four *K.*

<sup>139</sup>And] but *L* (see 150).

<sup>140</sup>after made *add* and fashioned *L* (see 150).

<sup>141</sup>after stand *add* on the column *L* (see 150).

<sup>142</sup>supporting the whole palace] supporting and holding up the column *L* (*De Vries emends* columns to palace; see 150).



- have been made<sup>143</sup> as well: at one the image of a king and at another the image of a queen, holding baubles and golden goblets<sup>144</sup> in their hands. That is to say, when<sup>145</sup> the image of the king has the bauble in its hands, the image of the queen has the golden goblet in its hands taking a drink, and so back and forth.<sup>146</sup> And these images are made of precious stones and gilded. 143 144 145
- 165 And thus there is a great mall<sup>147</sup> beneath the palace in which crowds of people gather. And in that place the courts of justice—both ecclesiastical and civil—and the councils of the lords of the city take place every day. 147
- 170 And the<sup>148</sup> city's main marketplace is in that place. And on the first day of every month there are fairs or commemorative feasts in that place to which<sup>149</sup> people come from various countries of the world, and particularly on the first day of August.<sup>150</sup> Next item: this same palace is guarded<sup>151</sup> every night<sup>152</sup> by one thousand armed men. Next item: in the palace is<sup>153</sup> a beautiful plaza, also standing beneath<sup>154</sup> columns on which are fashioned<sup>155</sup> images of popes and Roman emperors who once were, and of certain queens<sup>156</sup> such as Helena, et cetera.<sup>157</sup> 148 149 150–51 152–53 154–55 156 157
- 175 Next item: going up to the<sup>158</sup> palace are five hundred steps leading to the first dwelling, and two or more living lions are stationed on every step in that place.<sup>159</sup> And if any heretics or unbelievers were to climb the aforementioned stairs, they would be killed by the lions, it is said.<sup>160</sup> And this lowermost<sup>161</sup> palace is called the Palace of Prophets because in that place all the prophets are fashioned out of precious stones and gilded. And it is 158 159 160 161

<sup>143</sup>after made *add* and fashioned *L* (see 150).

<sup>144</sup>baubles and golden goblets] golden cups and other baubles *L* (see 150).

<sup>145</sup>That is to say, when] But *L* (*De Vries emends* But to When; see 150).

<sup>146</sup>taking a drink, and so back and forth] The image of the king stands the same way when the image of the queen holds the bauble in its hands *L* (see 150).

<sup>147</sup>mall] exit *L* (see 150).

<sup>148</sup>after the *add* abovementioned *L* (see 150).

<sup>149</sup>after which *add* merchants and other *L* (see 150).

<sup>150</sup>And the central column . . . first day of August] omit *K* (see 139–49).

<sup>151</sup>after guarded *add* and protected *L*.

<sup>152</sup>every night] omit *K*.

<sup>153</sup>after is *add* also made *L* (see next lemma).

<sup>154</sup>also standing beneath] above (see preceding lemma).

<sup>155</sup>on which are fashioned] In the plaza stand.

<sup>156</sup>of certain queens] there are also some images there of queens *K*; there are also images there of some queens *L*.

<sup>157</sup>Helena, et cetera] Helenen and others *K*; Saint Helenen and other queens *L*.

<sup>158</sup>after the *add* aforementioned *L*.

<sup>159</sup>two or more living lions are stationed on every step in that place] living lions, which are kept there, are on the steps.

<sup>160</sup>And if any heretics . . . it is said] so that no unbelieving people venture to go through there, but they do nothing to Christian people; and Jews and heathens who go up these aforementioned steps—or stairs—would be torn apart there *K*; Rest assured that any heathen or unbeliever going up there would be destroyed by the lions that walk about on the aforementioned stairs, it is said *L*.

<sup>161</sup>lowermost] uppermost (*original reading, emended to lowermost*) *K*.

- 185 decorated with priceless fabrics and with lanterns that burn<sup>162</sup> during the night.<sup>163</sup> 162 163
- Next item: going up to the second palace there are still more steps because the higher up one goes, the larger<sup>164</sup> the palace gets. And this palace is called the Palace of Patriarchs, and<sup>165</sup> it is said that the body of Abraham is there. And in this palace there are many beautifully furnished rooms and sleeping quarters.<sup>166</sup> And a clock is in that place,<sup>167</sup> marvelously made: for if any foreigner enters that place, the clock makes a horrible noise so that people flock together there in order to see and to apprehend the ones responsible for such noise.<sup>168</sup> And how this may come to pass,<sup>169</sup> I do not know. Next item: It is said that a large library is in that place in a room to which scholars go [to study]. 166-67 168-69
- 195 Next item: going up to the third dwelling, where there are yet more stairs: it is called the Dwelling of Holy Virgins. And in that place<sup>170</sup> is a very beautiful chapel, and the dining room for the laity and the<sup>171</sup> household servants is in that place. 170 171
- 200 Next item: going up to the fourth dwelling: it is called the Dwelling of Holy Martyrs and Confessors. And in that place too is a chapel and a dining room for the nobles, and<sup>172</sup> sleeping quarters. 172
- 205 Next item: going up to the fifth dwelling: the Choir<sup>173</sup> of Holy Apostles is there. And a church of extraordinary<sup>174</sup> beauty is there, and the Divine Office is held there in the presence of Prester John.<sup>175</sup> And in that place is Prester John's dining room—long and wide, as well as wondrously beautiful<sup>176</sup>—in which there are many priceless<sup>177</sup> images made of precious stones and gilded. And Prester John's dining table is there. And it is made<sup>178</sup> 173 174 175 176-77 178

<sup>162</sup>after burn add up there K; add in there L.

<sup>163</sup>during the night] omit K.

<sup>164</sup>[larger] wider.

<sup>165</sup>Patriarchs, and] Princes, because K; Patriarchs, because L.

<sup>166</sup>sleeping quarters] omit K.

<sup>167</sup>a clock is in that place] silkwork is up there and an organum, very K; a blessed work [mechanism?] or a clock, very L.

<sup>168</sup>made: for if any foreigner . . . for such noise] decorated and [it makes a] frightful noise when anyone foreign comes there, and the people gather together in order to learn what they are to make of it K; crafted, and it makes an exceedingly frightful noise when anyone foreign comes there, so that the people then come together there to find out who that is, in order to understand the mechanism there L (a hole in the manuscript, noted by DeVries, renders the sentence obscure).

<sup>169</sup>this may come to pass] this work [the silkwork?] comes to be K; that occurs and happens L.

<sup>170</sup>it is called the Dwelling of Holy Virgins. And in that place] And in that Palace of the Virgins there K.

<sup>171</sup>laity and the] worldly [add: people L] and lay people and their.

<sup>172</sup>after and add beautiful.

<sup>173</sup>the Choir] a beautiful choir.

<sup>174</sup>after extraordinary add decoration and.

<sup>175</sup>and the Divine Office is held there in the presence of Prester John] there is always held the divine sacrament of Prester John K.

<sup>176</sup>long and wide, as well as wondrously beautiful] of great length and width and of [omit L] wonderful decoration.

<sup>177</sup>priceless] beautiful.

<sup>178</sup>made] omit K.

- of precious stone, and yet it is as light<sup>179</sup> as if it were of wood.<sup>180</sup> And it is 179-80  
 210 so beautiful and clear that one's face is reflected in it.<sup>181</sup> And it has such 181  
 extraordinary power<sup>182</sup> that if poisoned food is served at the aforemen- 182  
 tioned table, it will harm<sup>183</sup> no one. And if<sup>184</sup> this table is rubbed with a 183-84  
 finger or with some sort of tool,<sup>185</sup> glowing<sup>186</sup> sparks leap from it. 185-86  
 And a<sup>187</sup> fountain, bountifully<sup>188</sup> flowing, is there as well. And a bell 187-88  
 215 that Saint Thomas ordered made is in that place too. When the demon-  
 possessed hear it, they are cured,<sup>189</sup> and the evil spirits flee<sup>190</sup>; nor are ven- 189-90  
 omous animals able to hear it either. And the bell is called blessed,<sup>191</sup> and 191  
 it is rung before Prester John's meal, in the middle of the meal,<sup>192</sup> and also 192  
 when the meal is done. And eight scholars sit in that place on thrones<sup>193</sup> 193  
 220 reading various charming, very delightful things<sup>194</sup> during Prester John's  
 meal.<sup>195</sup> And at the meal<sup>196</sup> he has, in great quantity, utterly priceless 194  
 dishes—gold, silver, and of precious stones.<sup>197</sup> And there are dishes in that 195-96  
 place in which food, even if it sits for a day or more,<sup>198</sup> will never spoil<sup>199</sup> 197  
 or lose<sup>200</sup> its flavor. And the sleeping quarters of the patriarch,<sup>201</sup> the arch- 198-99  
 225 bishops, and the other prelates are in that place. 200-201  
 Next item: going up to the sixth dwelling, which is called the Choir  
 of the Holy Virgin Mary and of the Angels.<sup>202</sup> A very beautiful chapel is in 202

<sup>179</sup>as light] *omit K*.

<sup>180</sup>wood] gold.

<sup>181</sup>And it is so beautiful and clear that one's face is reflected in it] *omit K*; and glitters and glistens so that one can clearly view one's face in it *L*.

<sup>182</sup>after power *add* and virtue.

<sup>183</sup>after harm *add* or hurt.

<sup>184</sup>And if] or should it be that *K*; And should it also be the case that *L*.

<sup>185</sup>or with some sort of tool] *omit K*; or with some other thing, then *L*; *K* and *L* *add* immediately.

<sup>186</sup>glowing] *omit K*.

<sup>187</sup>after And a *add* beautiful *K*; extremely beautiful *L*.

<sup>188</sup>bountifully] *omit K*.

<sup>189</sup>after cured *add* and healed *K*; *add* and redeemed *L*.

<sup>190</sup>and the evil spirits flee] *omit K*; and the evil spirits utterly flee the sound of the clock, whenever it is rung *L*.

<sup>191</sup>And the bell is called blessed] because the bell is called [named] "Benedictus" *K*; because the bell is called blessed *L*.

<sup>192</sup>in the middle of the meal] *omit K*.

<sup>193</sup>thrones] stately chairs *K*; wide chairs *L*.

<sup>194</sup>charming, very delightful things] various issues and matters and pure things and delightful items the whole time.

<sup>195</sup>during Prester John's meal] when Prester John drinks and eats *K*; when Prester John sits at his meal *L*.

<sup>196</sup>at the meal] *omit K*.

<sup>197</sup>utterly priceless dishes—gold, silver, and of precious stones] priceless silver cups and gold goblets, well made with great reverence *K*; at his table priceless cups, goblets, and pitchers of gold and precious stones, well ornamented and made there in great size *L*.

<sup>198</sup>even if it sits for a day or more] *omit K*; placed for a day and a night and much longer *L*.

<sup>199</sup>after spoil *add* nor stink.

<sup>200</sup>[lose] alter *L*.

<sup>201</sup>patriarch] scholars and the patriarchs *K*; the patriarchs *L*.

<sup>202</sup>the Holy Virgin Mary and of the Angels] Our Lady *K*; Our Lady, of the Holy Virgins *L*.

- that place, and every day, in the morning just after sunrise, the Mass of the Blessed Virgin is sung<sup>203</sup> solemnly<sup>204</sup> in that place. And the private palace of Prester John is there, and scholars hold councils<sup>205</sup> there. And it is able to rotate like a wheel,<sup>206</sup> and it is vaulted like the heavens. And many precious stones are in that place, glowing in the night as if it were bright day.<sup>207</sup> And these last two dwellings—that is,<sup>208</sup> the fifth and sixth ones<sup>209</sup>—are larger and wider<sup>210</sup> than the others.
- Next item: going up to the seventh dwelling, which is the very top,<sup>211</sup> called the Choir of the Holy<sup>212</sup> Trinity. And a very<sup>213</sup> beautiful chapel is there—more beautiful than the others—and small.<sup>214</sup> And every day the Mass of the Holy Trinity is celebrated there in the morning before sunrise. Prester John<sup>215</sup> always hears this mass because he gets up in the morning after<sup>216</sup> midnight, and afterward, [on the level] below, he hears the Mass of the Blessed Virgin and afterward<sup>217</sup> High Mass, which is always celebrated<sup>218</sup> in the Choir of the Holy Apostles. And this chapel [in the seventh dwelling] has a incredibly high vaulted ceiling, and it is domed like the starry heavens, and it revolves like the firmament.<sup>219</sup> And its flooring is of<sup>220</sup> ivory, and the altar is made of ivory and of precious stones.<sup>221</sup> And a small bell is there; anyone who hears it will not go deaf<sup>222</sup> that day—so they

<sup>203</sup>in the morning just after sunrise, the Mass of the Blessed Virgin is sung] Mass is held K; in the morning, the Mass of Our Dear Lady is said L.

<sup>204</sup>after solemnly add and humbly.

<sup>205</sup>is there, and scholars hold councils] and the scholars is that [the sixth dwelling], and they hold especially secret council K; and the scholars is there, and they also hold their especially secret council L.

<sup>206</sup>And it is able to rotate like a wheel] omit K.

<sup>207</sup>are in that place, glowing in the night as if it were bright day] are set in [the vaulting] there, and the stones shine as brightly at night as by day the sun shines at high noon, so that in these rooms it is never night K; are set and placed in [the vaulting] there, and they shine and make the palace as bright at night just as if the sun were shining in there at noon L.

<sup>208</sup>And these last two dwellings—that is] This last dwelling—like L (see next two lemmata).

<sup>209</sup>that is, the fifth and sixth ones] omit K (see preceding lemma).

<sup>210</sup>are larger and wider] is larger L (see 208).

<sup>211</sup>which is the very top] named the very top dwelling.

<sup>212</sup>Holy] omit L.

<sup>213</sup>after very add remarkably L.

<sup>214</sup>and small] but it is somewhat smaller than the principal ones K; but it is somewhat smaller L.

<sup>215</sup>John] omit K.

<sup>216</sup>in the morning after] early, at K; always early, after L.

<sup>217</sup>afterward] omit K.

<sup>218</sup>after celebrated add within the palace L.

<sup>219</sup>like the starry heavens, and it revolves like the firmament] it is completely round, revolving like the stars and the firmament K; it is completely round and revolving, like the starry firmament L.

<sup>220</sup>its flooring is of] it is decorated in pure K; it is splendidly paved in pure L.

<sup>221</sup>and the altar is made of ivory and of precious stones] omit K; and the altar is also ivory and is nobly fashioned of precious stones L.

<sup>222</sup>go deaf] suffer any sadness K.

believe there.<sup>223</sup> And a veronica<sup>224</sup> is there<sup>225</sup> as well; anyone who sees it will not suffer vision loss<sup>226</sup> that day—so they say.<sup>227</sup>

And there nearby are Prester John's incredibly beautiful and spacious<sup>228</sup> sleeping quarters, vaulted<sup>229</sup> and studded with stars like the heavens. Also in that place there is [a model of] the sun and the moon with the seven<sup>230</sup> planets holding their courses just as they do in the heavens<sup>231</sup>; and this is skillfully made.<sup>232</sup> Next item: a mirror is there in which three precious stones are set: the first directs and sharpens vision; the second, perception; the third, discernment. Three extremely worthy<sup>233</sup> scholars are chosen for this mirror: by gazing into the mirror, they<sup>234</sup> see everything going on in the world, it is said in that place.<sup>235</sup>

Next item: nine ranks of<sup>236</sup> angels are skillfully<sup>237</sup> fashioned in that place, and within these ranks very beautiful images of angels,<sup>238</sup> patriarchs, prophets,<sup>239</sup> apostles, martyrs,<sup>240</sup> confessors, the Three Kings,<sup>241</sup> as well as virgins,<sup>242</sup> are fashioned with precious stones and with gold. Next item: at the top—that is, on the throne<sup>243</sup>—sits Christ in Judgment,<sup>244</sup> served by the twenty-four elders and the highest archangels, holding scrolls in their hands, as if they were<sup>245</sup> singing "Gloria in excelsis," "Sanctus," and the like.

Next item: three<sup>246</sup> priceless crosses are there, near Prester John's bed, which he always worships.<sup>247</sup> And two fountains—of which the one is cold, the other hot<sup>248</sup>—are there. Next item: a large, heavily armed giant stands

<sup>223</sup>so they believe there] whoever believes [that] *K*.

<sup>224</sup>veronica] Veronica-face, which she received from our dear Lord.

<sup>225</sup>there] in this aforementioned [omit *L*] Chapel of the Holy Trinity.

<sup>226</sup>loss] loss or failure *K*; failure *L*.

<sup>227</sup>so they say] whoever believes this *K*; as they believe, and also say, there *L*.

<sup>228</sup>spacious] decorated.

<sup>229</sup>after vaulted *add* and [omit *L*] domed.

<sup>230</sup>seven] seven [same *L*] orbits and movements of the.

<sup>231</sup>just as they do in the heavens] according to [modeled on] the planets in the firmament.

<sup>232</sup>skillfully made] skillfully and exquisitely made *K*; skillful and artificially shining stones *L*.

<sup>233</sup>worthy] wise, virtuous *L* (see 235).

<sup>234</sup>after they *add* learn about and *L* (see 235).

<sup>235</sup>Next item: a mirror . . . it is said in that place] omit *K* (see 233–34).

<sup>236</sup>nine ranks of] ranks of holy *L*.

<sup>237</sup>skillfully] exquisitely.

<sup>238</sup>and within these ranks very beautiful

images of angels] Standing there too are exquisite images—and pure—of *K*; omit *L*.

<sup>239</sup>prophets] omit *K*.

<sup>240</sup>after martyrs *add* and *K*.

<sup>241</sup>Three Kings] holy Three Kings *K*; holy Kings *L*.

<sup>242</sup>as well as virgins] and the holy virgins *K*; omit *L*.

<sup>243</sup>Next item: at the top—that is, on the throne] In this uppermost choir and level of this dwelling *K*; In the uppermost level of this dwelling *L*.

<sup>244</sup>sits Christ in Judgment] sits [original reading are emended in *K*] the royal Majesty of God.

<sup>245</sup>as if they were] all.

<sup>246</sup>three] four *K*.

<sup>247</sup>after worships *add* and lamps always hang there and burn with balsam at night *K*; And many burning lamps with balsam hang there, which always are there burning at night *L*.

<sup>248</sup>cold, the other hot] warm, and the other is cold *K*; cold, and the other warm *L*.

- there, and it is said that the giant would kill any<sup>249</sup> enemy who were to get  
 270 in after sunset.<sup>250</sup> 249 250
- Next item: above this seventh and uppermost<sup>251</sup> palace are twenty  
 251 extraordinarily lofty, beautiful, gilded towers, which surround and protect  
 the whole palace. And also in this uppermost palace are twenty-four pal-  
 252 aces—or rooms—that can be rotated like a wheel.<sup>252</sup> And so this entire  
 275 palace has seven dwellings, already described, in which there are yet more  
 marvels and wonders that I do not recollect just now.<sup>253</sup> 253
- Next item: this entire palace is located on<sup>254</sup> a river that is called Tigris,  
 254 which comes from Paradise; gold is cast up from this river.<sup>255</sup> Next item:  
 255 outside the<sup>256</sup> city are twelve monasteries that Saint Thomas ordered built  
 280 during his lifetime<sup>257</sup> in honor of Christ and the twelve apostles. 256 257
- Next item: it is clearly indicated in golden letters in front of Prester  
 John's palace<sup>258</sup> that thirty thousand people—not including [servants] go-  
 258 ing in and out—eat in that place every day. Next item: only one meal per  
 day is eaten in that place.
- 285 Next item: Prester John goes around in the morning before the meal  
 like a pope—that is, in a long,<sup>259</sup> priceless red cope. And after the meal he 259  
 goes around like a king, riding his horse and governing<sup>260</sup> his country. And 260  
 in his letters<sup>261</sup> he styles himself, "Prester John, by divine grace lord of all 261  
 dominions<sup>262</sup> that are under heaven, from the rising of the sun as far as the 262  
 290 Terrestrial Paradise."<sup>263</sup> Next item: under him rule seventy-two kings, of 263  
 which eleven are Christians. Next item: people in that place do not wear  
 woolen clothes, as we do,<sup>264</sup> but they are clothed in fabrics made of silk 264  
 and in reddish hides.
- Next item: no women live in that place, but exclusively men; but the  
 295 women live far away over the sea, four days' sailing distance, on an island  
 called the Land of Females, and it is securely ringed by a wall. And these  
 women come three times [a year] to the men in order to conceive chil-  
 dren—namely, before Septuagesima, before the Feast of blessed John the

<sup>249</sup>after any add evil person or.

<sup>250</sup>after sunset add: And this [the L] giant is marvelously crafted and stands on a revolving mechanism. And he is cast in metal and is decorated with precious stones, and he is hollow inside.

<sup>251</sup>and uppermost] dwelling or L (see 253).

<sup>252</sup>a wheel] wheels L (see 253).

<sup>253</sup>The entire paragraph is omitted in K (see 251–52).

<sup>254</sup>on] within [as on an island?] K; over L.

<sup>255</sup>gold is cast up from this river] out of this river one can obtain remarkably fine money [gold L].

<sup>256</sup>the] this previously mentioned.

<sup>257</sup>during his lifetime] omit K.

<sup>258</sup>it is clearly indicated in golden letters in front of Prester John's palace] in front of Prester John's palace is written L, which breaks off here. All notes below, until 357, refer only to K.

<sup>259</sup>that is, in a long] dressed in a.

<sup>260</sup>after governing add and protecting.

<sup>261</sup>his letters] a letter.

<sup>262</sup>Prester John, by divine grace lord of all dominions] John, by the grace of God priest and lord of all lords of things.

<sup>263</sup>after Paradise add at the End [of the earth].

<sup>264</sup>as we do] omit.

Baptist, and before the Feast of Michael. And they are together for three  
 300 days and nights, copulating, and during this time they do not enter  
 churches, but they hear masses through the windows. And their marriage  
 ceremonies are also held during these days. And then, on the fourth day,  
 they return to their own country. And if they give birth to a son, they nurse  
 him for three years and then send him to the father; if to a daughter, then  
 305 she remains with them.<sup>265</sup>

Next item: the four rivers of Paradise are there.<sup>266</sup> Of these, the Tigris  
 provides<sup>267</sup> gold, it is said;<sup>268</sup> and the second, namely the Phison, issues forth  
 precious stones; and the third, namely the Gyon, provides fresh water; and  
 the fourth river, namely the Euphrates, brings fruitfulness to the earth once  
 310 each month,<sup>269</sup> and as a result they harvest their crops twice a year there.  
 Next item: animals have two litters a year.<sup>270</sup> And the farthest extreme of  
 India and of the inhabited earth<sup>271</sup> is in that place.

Next item: on making a visitation to Saint Thomas, who lies [in his  
 shrine] four days, traveling on foot, from the aforementioned city [of Ed-  
 315 issa] in<sup>272</sup> a city called Hulna, which lies two miles out to sea on a large  
 mountain.<sup>273</sup> And before the crossing to Saint Thomas may be made, people  
 must prepare themselves by fasting for fifteen days, and by abstaining from  
 meat and fish, and by making confession every day, fasting,<sup>274</sup> and leading  
 devout lives. And the crossing takes place only once a year—from the  
 320 eighth day before the Feast of Thomas to the eighth day afterward—and  
 during this fifteen-day period the sea is parted<sup>275</sup> for those two miles out  
 to the aforementioned city, Hulna,<sup>276</sup> so that the Christian faithful walk  
 with dry feet through the sea over to the city.<sup>277</sup> And the sea holds itself  
 back on both sides like two walls;<sup>278</sup> furthermore, unbelievers are unable  
 325 to cross through the sea.

And entering the aforementioned city [of Hulna], one comes to the  
 Church of Saint Thomas. And on the vigil of Saint Thomas, his body is

<sup>265</sup> *The entire paragraph is omitted.*

<sup>266</sup> Next item: the four rivers of Paradise are there] To go on to talk about the rivers that come out of Paradise—there are four [of them].

<sup>267</sup> Of these, the Tigris provides] The first river, named Tigris, issues forth.

<sup>268</sup> it is said] *omit.*

<sup>269</sup> once each month] and every month there is one [flood?].

<sup>270</sup> Next item: animals have two litters a year] *omit.*

<sup>271</sup> inhabited earth] world that people may take possession of there.

<sup>272</sup> Next item: on making a visitation . . . Ed- issa in] From this place people may go farther to Saint Thomas, to.

<sup>273</sup> after mountain *add* where Saint Thomas lies [in his shrine].

<sup>274</sup> for fifteen days, and . . . fasting] *omit.*

<sup>275</sup> this fifteen-day period the sea is parted] these aforementioned fourteen nights the sea stands open.

<sup>276</sup> out to the aforementioned city, Hulna] *omit.*

<sup>277</sup> over to the city] *omit.*

<sup>278</sup> holds itself back on both sides like two walls] stands on both sides like a wall.

- placed<sup>279</sup> on a large gilded throne made of precious stones<sup>280</sup> before the high altar, and it stays in that place from first vespers until second vespers.<sup>281</sup>
- 330 And the city and church are guarded for these fifteen days<sup>282</sup> by more than one thousand armed men. And a crowd of people gathers in that place, watching and praying during the night.<sup>283</sup>
- On the Feast of Saint Thomas, Prester John—along with the patriarch, the archbishops, and the bishops and prelates<sup>284</sup>—comes to the church<sup>285</sup> for the singing of<sup>286</sup> the Divine Office, and many masses are sung in that place before the High [Mass] is begun. And the patriarch readies himself for the High Mass, which he sings;<sup>287</sup> and when he gets to the Canon, the face of the apostle is uncovered<sup>288</sup> so that it can be seen by everybody. At the Elevation [of the Host] his face takes on three different appearances: first, the face looks pallid like a dead man's; second, white and lifelike like a living man's; and third, reddish like a rose. And the patriarch<sup>289</sup> consecrates great quantities of the Sacrament there.
- At the conclusion of the Mass, Prester John goes forward to the Sacrament,<sup>290</sup> along with the archbishops, prelates, members of religious orders, and devout people,<sup>291</sup> kneeling, humbly bowing their heads, and receiving the Sacrament<sup>292</sup> from the hand of the apostle.<sup>293</sup> And the patriarch offers the Sacrament to himself<sup>294</sup> from the fingers [of Saint Thomas]. And the hand of the apostle remains half-closed and raised up a bit. And worthy Christians<sup>295</sup> receive the Sacrament: to them<sup>296</sup> the hand opens itself, and it retracts from the unworthy.<sup>297</sup> And thus everyone goes forward to the Sacrament, and they receive [it] with great devotion and fear from the hand of the apostle.<sup>298</sup>

<sup>279</sup>is placed] is seen, humbly and solemnly.

<sup>280</sup>after stones add and the throne with his body is placed.

<sup>281</sup>second vespers] the last [one].

<sup>282</sup>the city and church are guarded for these fifteen days] that country and church and the city are wisely guarded.

<sup>283</sup>watching and praying during the night] omit.

<sup>284</sup>along with the patriarch, the archbishops, and the bishops and prelates] with the prelates, archbishops, and others.

<sup>285</sup>to the church] omit.

<sup>286</sup>for the singing of] to intone and to sing.

<sup>287</sup>And the patriarch readies himself for the High Mass, which he sings] For that [High Mass] a prelate is readied, who sings it.

<sup>288</sup>when he gets to the Canon, the face of the apostle is uncovered] And before he gets

to the designated place, he uncovers the face of Saint Thomas.

<sup>289</sup>patriarch] prelate.

<sup>290</sup>Sacrament] holy Sacrament and receives it humbly.

<sup>291</sup>and devout people] omit.

<sup>292</sup>kneeling, humbly bowing their heads, and receiving the Sacrament] And they fall down on their knees and bow humbly to the holy Sacrament to receive [it].

<sup>293</sup>apostle] holy apostle, Saint Thomas.

<sup>294</sup>himself] them.

<sup>295</sup>worthy Christians] the people.

<sup>296</sup>them] those who are worthy.

<sup>297</sup>and it retracts from the unworthy] to those who are not worthy, the hand remains shut and rejects them.

<sup>298</sup>And thus everyone goes forward . . . from the hand of the apostle] And the other people receive it piously.



- And the time when I was there—namely,<sup>299</sup> in the year of our Lord 299  
 1391—I saw that the hand of Saint Thomas withdrew the Sacrament from  
 355 three<sup>300</sup> men, who, being led to repentance through bitter weeping and 300  
 with<sup>301</sup> everyone else there praying for them, later received the Sacrament 301  
 from the hand of the apostle.<sup>302</sup> And two archbishops<sup>303</sup> place their hands 302–3  
 on the arm of Saint Thomas out of reverence, not maneuvering the apostle’s  
 hand in the slightest.<sup>304</sup> And his body lies there whole and intact, 304  
 360 with hair, beard, and<sup>305</sup> his clothes that he wore when alive, although he is 305  
 [now] shrouded in priceless fabrics. In addition, two other archbishops also  
 assist in this same administration of the Body of Christ, holding the patens  
 under the apostle’s hand. Next item: two other archbishops assist, holding  
 a priceless napkin.<sup>306</sup> 306  
 365 And various miracles take place there: lepers are cleansed, the blind  
 see, the sick are healed, and much more besides.<sup>307</sup> 307  
 And after this, when second<sup>308</sup> vespers is over, Prester John and the 308  
 other prelates<sup>309</sup> put the body<sup>310</sup> in its appointed place: in a large, priceless, 309–10  
 wondrously beautiful<sup>311</sup> reliquary made of gold and<sup>312</sup> priceless stones in a 311–12  
 370 beautiful choir in front of a very strong tower at the back of the church.<sup>313</sup> 313  
 And the reliquary hangs high up from four golden chains.<sup>314</sup> And then the 314  
 tower is shut up, nor is it opened except at the Vigil of Thomas.<sup>315</sup> And 315  
 lamps<sup>316</sup> are in front of the reliquary,<sup>317</sup> burning constantly; it is said that 316–17  
 they never go out, nor are they lit, nor do they waver.  
 375 And atop this chapel stand five exceedingly high towers in which  
 precious stones gleam so brightly<sup>318</sup> that they can be seen from [a distance 318  
 of] fourteen days<sup>319</sup> out to sea. And by this means sailors get their bearings 319

<sup>299</sup>I was there—namely,] I, Johan Voet, priest, saw this, was.

<sup>300</sup>three] two.

<sup>301</sup>being led to repentance through bitter weeping and with] immediately fell on their knees in confession and penitence and wept for their sins. And [they, with].

<sup>302</sup>apostle] priest.

<sup>303</sup>two archbishops] the prelates.

<sup>304</sup>out of reverence, not maneuvering the apostle’s hand in the slightest] but they do not need to do so, since Saint Thomas is doing it all himself, giving and refusing the Holy Sacrament.

<sup>305</sup>intact, with hair, beard, and] undestroyed, with.

<sup>306</sup>holding the patens . . . holding a priceless napkin] *omit*.

<sup>307</sup>the sick are healed, and much more besides] *omit*.

<sup>308</sup>second] *omit*.

<sup>309</sup>and the other prelates] *omit*.

<sup>310</sup>put the body] with great reverence puts the body, with the hand.

<sup>311</sup>wondrously beautiful] *omit*.

<sup>312</sup>made of gold and] gilded and decorated with.

<sup>313</sup>in a beautiful choir . . . the back of the church] within the church.

<sup>314</sup>high up from four golden chains] in [a net of] gilded chains, which are made for that.

<sup>315</sup>And then the tower . . . Thomas] And this tower is never opened except when the Feast of Saint Thomas comes, as is noted above.

<sup>316</sup>lamps] seven lamps.

<sup>317</sup>reliquary] tower.

<sup>318</sup>precious stones gleam so brightly] lamps are lit all the time so.

<sup>319</sup>fourteen days] one day’s journey.

as they make their way towards the aforementioned<sup>320</sup> Church of Saint Thomas. 320

380 Next item: in the East are<sup>321</sup> the kingdoms where the holy Three Kings 321  
[Magi] used to live, and they are completely mountainous. And there is  
never winter there, it is said. And the people in that place fight with<sup>322</sup> 322  
serpents and poisonous animals. And a very high mountain is there called  
Arabum, where when it is night on one side, it is day<sup>323</sup> on the other, and 323  
385 vice versa, it is said.<sup>324</sup> 324

And then, having obtained authorization from Prester John and other  
lords, we boarded a ship and sailed farther for ten days to a very beautiful,  
level island, four miles across and full of beautiful trees, with fruits and  
other kinds of vegetation, and adorned with flowers, and replete with a  
390 great many sweetly<sup>325</sup> singing birds. And twelve of us, along with our cap- 325  
tain, got off the ship and passed through this island looking at this splendor.  
And our captain forbade us to take anything away from there.<sup>326</sup> And we 326  
were in that place—so it seemed to us—for around three hours, but when  
we got back to the ship, our shipmates said that we had been in that place  
395 for three days and nights. And there was no night there, and indeed I believe  
that there never has been night there. And this island is called the Root of  
Paradise.<sup>327</sup> 327

And sailing farther for twelve days [we came] to Mount Edom.<sup>328</sup> The 328  
Earthly Paradise is said to be atop this mountain. And this mountain is  
400 extremely high and sheer like a tower, so that there can be no access to that  
mountain. And around the hour of vespers, when the sun goes down and  
shines on the mountain, the wall of Paradise can be seen in great clarity  
and beauty, like a star.<sup>329</sup> 329

And nearby, a mile away, is the mountain where Alexander the Great,  
405 the Roman emperor, is said to have been; he made the entire world subject  
to himself<sup>330</sup> and wanted to exact tribute from Paradise, it is said in that 330  
place.<sup>331</sup> 331

Now, as for our return to [these] parts: sailing on the sea, in the re-  
motest parts of the sea, with a good wind for thirty-four days, we came to  
410 a rocky, utterly horrible island. And Purgatory is said to be in that place.

<sup>320</sup> [aforementioned] *omit.*

<sup>321</sup> Next item: in the East are] Farther, there  
are there.

<sup>322</sup> after with *add* evil.

<sup>323</sup> night on one side, it is day] day on one  
side, it is night.

<sup>324</sup> and vice versa, it is said] *omit.*

<sup>325</sup> sweetly] very beautifully.

<sup>326</sup> And our captain forbade us to take any-  
thing away from there] *omit.*

<sup>327</sup> there never has been night there. And this  
island is called the Root of Paradise] this  
island was a root of Paradise.

<sup>328</sup> Mount Edom] a mountain called Edom.

<sup>329</sup> and beauty, like a star] *omit.*

<sup>330</sup> Alexander the Great . . . subject to him-  
self] great Alexander [was *supplied by*  
*emendation*] when he was emperor of  
Rome.

<sup>331</sup> in that place] *omit.*

And it is arid and gloomy.<sup>332</sup> And we paused for three days and nights near this island.<sup>333</sup> And we heard various<sup>334</sup> cries and the groaning of souls. And aboard ship during these three days I said three Masses for the Dead. And on the third day, at the conclusion of the mass,<sup>335</sup> there came a voice, heard by everyone,<sup>336</sup> saying, "Praise<sup>337</sup> be to Almighty God for these three masses, for three souls have been freed from Purgatory."

And sailing farther for a good four months, we came to a level island, one mile across.<sup>338</sup> And there we got out to prepare our food. And the fire being lit<sup>339</sup> in that place, this island sank, so we took off for the ship leaving our food behind with the cooking pots in that place. And it is said that this island was a particular fish called Jasconius, which submerged with our food when it felt the fire.

And sailing farther for a quarter of a year, we met many obstacles due to the mountains and winds. And we came to a large island full of large trees where we paused for a day and a night. And<sup>340</sup> a black monk came there, questioning us earnestly, and having picked twelve of us, he led us to his cloister where he gave us his food and took very good care of us and asked us about Saint Thomas and various other things. And the sheep and goats in that place are as big as oxen. And the reason they are so big is said to be this: because they are always out to pasture, and neither winter nor summer would constrain them<sup>341</sup> [to be tethered in a barn].

And sailing farther to territory in the north, we sailed between two smoking mountains for a good six days. And farther on we came to an island, and there we saw wild, hairy people without any clothes and various other<sup>342</sup> strange animals.

And sailing<sup>343</sup> farther straight ahead: there was a certain island where only apes live; and they are extremely large—at least the size of yearling calves.<sup>344</sup>

And sailing farther for a good four months, we heard Syrens—or, more accurately,<sup>345</sup> Merminnen—singing near a smoky and<sup>346</sup> rocky moun-

<sup>332</sup>Now, as for our return . . . arid and gloomy] And then we returned to land through the sea in the farthest land [area] of the sea, and in twenty-four days came to a harbor named Purgatory, as is said.

<sup>333</sup>near this island] there.

<sup>334</sup>after various *add* noises.

<sup>335</sup>mass] masses.

<sup>336</sup>heard by everyone] —and we heard it— [placed in the middle of the quotation, after masses; see preceding lemma].

<sup>337</sup>after Praise *add* and glory.

<sup>338</sup>level island, one mile across] harbor, and it was level, one mile in length and width.

<sup>339</sup>the fire being lit] we had built our fire (see next lemma for lengthy omission).

<sup>340</sup>this island sank . . . a day and a night. And] *omit* (*K reads*: When we had built our fire there, a black monk came up . . .).

<sup>341</sup>they are always out to pasture, and neither winter nor summer would constrain them] they [the islanders] have no forests or [boundary] hedges, and they [the animals] move about in good pastures.

<sup>342</sup>other] *omit*.

<sup>343</sup>sailing] traveling.

<sup>344</sup>only apes . . . yearling calves] we saw apes—monkeys—some of which were about as big as a yearling calf.

<sup>345</sup>Syrens—or, more accurately] *omit*.

<sup>346</sup>smoky and] *omit*.

- tain; with their song they always draw ships into peril.<sup>347</sup> And in that place we saw more horrible monsters,<sup>348</sup> and we were in great fear. And<sup>349</sup> a great storm arose in that place, driving us off course into a dark gulf surrounded by mountains. And we were there for five days, never seeing day or<sup>350</sup> light. 347  
348-49  
350  
445 And then, on the sixth day, a fair<sup>351</sup> wind came up, taking us out of that danger<sup>352</sup> into the sea. 351  
352  
And then sailing for a month to territory in the east,<sup>353</sup> to the Sea-Ocean, we came to a land where black people and some very white people were living. And we rested there for eight days. And that land is called 353  
450 Amosona,<sup>354</sup> and that is what the queen in that place is called. And it is said 354  
355 that Gog and Magog are in that place, imprisoned<sup>355</sup> between two mountains, and that extraordinarily shaped people are in that place, having two faces on one head—one on the front side and one on the back side.<sup>356</sup> And 356  
455 the air there is extremely hot and the land mountainous. 357  
And<sup>357</sup> sailing farther toward the territory in the east past many islands for a good quarter of a year, we came to Jerusalem where we had started out.<sup>358</sup> And how<sup>359</sup> things may be laid out there is known to many.<sup>360</sup> The 358-60  
end.<sup>361</sup> 361

<sup>347</sup>draw ships into peril] draw down and destroy ships.

<sup>348</sup>more horrible monsters] other marvels.

<sup>349</sup>fear. And] fear because.

<sup>350</sup>day or] omit.

<sup>351</sup>fair] omit.

<sup>352</sup>taking us out of that danger] and drove us.

<sup>353</sup>sailing for a month to territory in the east] we were again [sailing] eastward.

<sup>354</sup>Amosona] Amatoria.

<sup>355</sup>are in that place, imprisoned] were imprisoned and confined.

<sup>356</sup>one on the front side and one on the back side] omit.

<sup>357</sup>In this final paragraph, lemmata record readings in *K* and *M*.

<sup>358</sup>where we had started out] again *KM*.

<sup>359</sup>how] where *K*.

<sup>360</sup>after many add people *K*; add good people *M*.

<sup>361</sup>The end] et cetera *KM*. *K* adds: Written and completed by Hendrick of Rhemen in the year of our Lord 1373 [*sic*] on Saint Valentine's Day in the terribly cold wind that occurred then, et cetera.



## Commentary

JOHANNES WITTE DE HESE's *Itinerarius* does not require Singletonian explication. By the end of the fifteenth century this book had attracted the serious attention of a modestly sized audience, particularly in northern Europe. By 1400, the travel narrative as a distinct genre enjoyed a growing popular appreciation, and thus literary historians today ought not to dismiss the *Itinerarius* as either hoax or folly. It contains information drawn from at least three written works, lore characteristic of fables and romances, details and stylistic features found in other medieval works describing travel outside Europe, and geographical data whose confusion points to the limitations of the author's knowledge and the problems of transmitting unfamiliar facts within a manuscript culture.

In treating these matters of content, this commentary seeks to avoid three perils. The first is the suggestion that a consistent, unified *Weltanschauung* existed in late medieval Europe, or that pilgrimages, pygmies, India, and the queen of the Amazons were topics of general concern. The second is the impression that in treating a work like the *Itinerarius* a scholar's duty is to expose "error," with the tacit message that medieval people were uninformed or misinformed, prey "to the gullibility of the age in which they lived" (as some of the book's critics, cited in chapter 2, have argued). The third is the temptation to see a text in authorial terms only, with little concern for how an early audience might have received it or how different versions of it might promote different readings. Efforts to avoid these perils—citing several sources on a single subject, suggesting causes for misunderstanding, considering an early reader's response, and noting discrepancies within the textual tradition—foster a detailed commentary.

This commentary seeks to establish a context for the *Itinerarius* through references to other medieval texts, primarily accounts of journeys. Most of these are treated in the "thumbnail sketch" at the end of chapter 1.

Here they are identified by full name and placed in a temporal context on first mention only. Readers may find Table 3 helpful when they encounter subsequent, abbreviated references: arranged chronologically by date of composition, it offers basic information about each of the most frequently cited travelers (his “vocation” as a traveler, the area of the world he describes, the date of his journey [the date of his text’s composition is given between brackets], and the approximate number of known manuscript copies of his work (based on documentation in critical editions, Reinhold Röhrich’s census [*Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*], and my own library searches).

The following guidelines pertain to data and documentation presented in the commentary.

- Each paragraph-style entry begins with line numbers that correspond to texts of the *Itinerarius* printed here: the first to the Latin edition, and the second [between brackets] to the English translation. References to specific variants within the textual tradition designate lemma number(s) from the Latin edition printed here (references to a Middle Dutch variant give a lemma number preceded by “D”).
- Citations from primary sources are given, sometimes paraphrased, in English, from a published translation (or, where none exists, my own). A reference to a published version of this work in the language of composition is always included, but passages in the original are *quoted* only when: 1) the translation does not fully render the sense of the original; 2) the original contains a specific linguistic feature that is pertinent to an argument; or 3) place-names in the translation vary from the original (except for standard toponyms, such as *Hierusalem*, *Egyptus*, and [*mare*] *Mediterraneum*). Documentation is abbreviated, limited to name and page number(s); a complete entry for each source is found in the bibliography. For authors who have multiple entries in the bibliography, a short title is included only when the context does not make obvious which work is cited. The bibliography lists primary sources under the author’s name, with cross-listings for editors and translators.
- Citations from *The Book of John Mandeville* in the original language, Anglo-Norman, or the French employed by Britons after the Conquest, are from Christiane Deluz’s edition of the so-called Insular version based on London, British Library, MS Harley 212 (late 1300s). Cross-references are provided for Malcolm Letts’s edition of the Continental version as found in the “Paris Text” of 1371 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS franç. nouv. acq. 4515). A later Interpolated Continental (Liège) version is also known. (In all, some sixty copies in French are recorded.) Translations and paraphrases are my own, but I regularly cross-reference corresponding passages in the Middle English translation from ca. 1400 known as the Cotton

TABLE 3. Summary of Travelers' Accounts

NAME AND VOCATION	TERRITORY DESCRIBED	DATES OF TRAVEL AND COMPOSITION	NUMBER OF KNOWN MANUSCRIPTS
John of Plano Carpini Papal emissary (Franciscan)	Eastern Europe to central Asia	1245-47 [1247/1250]	Version 1: 10 Version 2: 4 (also incorporated into Vincent of Beauvais, <i>Speculum historiale</i> )
William of Rubruck Missionary (Franciscan)	Constantinople to central Asia	1253-55 [1255]	7
Burchard of Mount Zion Pilgrim (Dominican)	Holy Land	ca. 1274-85 [ca. 1283]	ca. 105† (see ch. 1, n. 85)
* Marco Polo Merchant [text written by Rustichello of Pisa]	All Asia and east Africa	1271-95 [1298]	ca. 105† (see ch. 1, n. 80)
Ricold of Monte Croce Pilgrim/missionary (Dominican)	Holy Land and Near East (esp. Tabriz and Baghdad)	1288-ca. 1301 [after 1301]	15
Marino Sanudo [Torselli] Pilgrim (spy?)	Holy Land, Sinai, Egypt	?-1306 [1307-22]	ca. 21
* Odoric of Pordenone [Odoricus de Foro Iulii] Missionary (Franciscan) [text dictated to William of Solagna; another version by Henry of Glaz/ Glarz, ca. 1340]	India and China	1314/1316?-1329 [May 1330]	ca. 111† (see ch. 1, n. 93)

These symbols are used in this chart:

\* an asterisk identifies writers whose words were recorded by someone else—not an amanuensis taking dictation in the conventional sense—and who thus may not have exercised editorial control over his work (as noted in chapter 1, Mandeville himself is likely a fiction);

† a dagger identifies accounts that had been translated into Dutch or German by around 1400.



TABLE 3. *Continued*

NAME AND VOCATION	TERRITORY DESCRIBED	DATES OF TRAVEL AND COMPOSITION	NUMBER OF KNOWN MANUSCRIPTS
Jordan of Sévérac [Jordanus Cathala/ Jordanus Catalani] Missionary; bishop of Quilon (after ca. 1329) (Dominican)	East Asia, esp. (modern) India and southeast Asia; probably east Africa ("Asia Tercia")	ca. 1318–29 [ca. 1330]	1
Jacopo of Verona Pilgrim (Augustinian)	Holy Land and Sinai	1335 [1335/1340]	3†
William of Boldensele [Otto von Neuhaus/ Nyenhusen] Pilgrim (Dominican)	Mediterranean, Egypt, Sinai, Holy Land, Syria	probably 1334–35 [1336]	30†
Anonymous German Merchant?	Holy Land to Baghdad	ca. 1338–ca. 1348 [ca. 1348]	1† (composed in Low German)
Ludolph of Suchen Pilgrim (parish priest)	Mediterranean, Egypt, Sinai, Holy Land, Syria	1335–40 [1350]	ca. 54†
Sir John Mandeville Pilgrim/Mercenary	The world (esp. Holy Land and east Asia)	1322–56 [ca. 1360]	ca. 300†
John of Marignolli [Marignola] Papal emissary (Franciscan)	Asia, particularly India, Sri Lanka, and Mongol China	ca. 1338–53 [ca. 1360]	1

Version (London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus c. xvi) because it is probably the "original" form of the *Book* known to most readers today (I have used Michael Seymour's edition).

As a prelude to the commentary, which focuses on discrete passages of the *Itinerarius*, Table 4 offers a summary of Johannes Witte de Hese's movement from Jerusalem to India and back; according to the book's

TABLE 4. Summary of Johannes Witte de Hese's Itinerary

DEPARTURE POINT	ARRIVAL POINT	VIA (IF RELEVANT)	ELAPSED TIME
Jerusalem	Hermopolis	Jordan/Red Sea	begins May 1389 (1489 in <i>ghj</i> ); duration of journey unspecified
Hermopolis	Amram (on Red Sea)	——	8 days
Amram	Mt. Sinai	——	across Red Sea, plus 7 days by foot
Mt. Sinai	hermit in Sinai desert	Helym, Marach	4 days, plus "near," plus 1 mile
hermit in Sinai desert	Nile river	Land of "Urcaldeorum," home of Red Jews	15 days
Nile river	Damiad	——	1 day
Damiad	Ethiopia, or "inferior India"	on "mare Occeanum"	3 months
Ethiopia	Land of Pygmies	——	unspecified
Land of Pygmies and "mare Ethiopie"	Land of Monocolorum	below "mare Iecoreum" and "mare Arenosum"	4 days
Land of Monocolorum	Andranopolis, in "media India"	——	unspecified
near Andranopolis	Compardut	——	unspecified; detained for 8 weeks; entertained by Grandicanis for 7 days [12 days in <i>CDEa-k</i> ]
Compardut	Eleap (border of "India superior")	——	12 days
Eleap	3-mile-long seaway tunnel through mountain	——	8 days
seaway tunnel	3-mile-long river channel through mountain	pepper fields	unspecified
river channel	Gadde	——	1 month
Gadde	Edissa and palace of Prester John	lengthy description of Edissa	14 days [24 days in <i>f-k</i> ]

*continued*

TABLE 4. *Continued*

DEPARTURE POINT	ARRIVAL POINT	VIA (IF RELEVANT)	ELAPSED TIME
Edissa	Hulna and church of Saint Thomas	lengthy description of church	4 days, plus 2 miles through parted sea, plus at least two days at church, in 1391 [1390 in <i>B</i> ; obscure in <i>C</i> ; date omitted in <i>DEa-k</i> ]
Hulna or Edissa	Radix Paradisi	———	10 days, plus 3 days on the island
Radix Paradisi	Mount Edom and Terrestrial Paradise	glorious sunset	12 days
Edom	Purgatory	mountain where Alexander was and fair winds	1 mile, plus 34 days [24 days in <i>BCDEa-k</i> ], plus 3 days at Purgatory
Purgatory	Jasconius	———	4 months
Jasconius	island home of "black monk" with huge sheep	many obstacles due to wind and mountains	"one-quarter year," plus 1 full day
black monk	smoky mountains	———	northerly course; 6 days in mountains
smoky mountains	wild men/women	———	unspecified
wild men/women	Symee	———	unspecified
Symee	near a smoky and rocky mountain	Syrenes (Merminnen) audible; monsters visible	4 months
smoky mountain	gloomy gulf amid mountains	———	becalmed 6 days in dark
dark gulf	Amosona	———	easterly course; 1 month to the "mare Oceanum," plus 8 days
Amosona	Jerusalem	many islands	easterly course; "one-quarter year"

internal references to elapsed time, the journey that began in May 1389 took some two-and-one-half years to complete. The chart accounts for variants within the textual tradition regarding travel time, but it does not give variants of place-names (they are recorded in TN I and "identified" in the commentary).

1–3 [1–3] Witte’s first sentence, a simple claim (“I was in Jerusalem”) linked to a series of rather puzzling dependent clauses, is treated in three separate notes. See chapter 2 for a discussion of Johannes Witte de Hese (Johan/Jan Voet), the diocese of Utrecht, and the date of this journey.

During the fourteenth century pilgrims traveled to the Holy Land in uneven numbers, in part due to the political vagaries of the time. For much of the century, in the wake of the fall of Acre in 1291, anyone who traded with the Muslims was subject to papal excommunication. Jacopo of Verona, William of Boldensele, and Ludolph of Suchen all traveled with evident freedom throughout the territory during the 1330s, a period when key figures at the papal curia (at Avignon) pressed for a crusade. Peter I of Cyprus besieged Alexandria in 1365, yet around this same time shrines associated with John the Baptist came into the hands of Latin Christians, mainly Franciscans, and Saint Brigid of Sweden made a famous pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1372 (Lemmens, pp. 37–56; Conrad Aerts, pp. 17–18; Golubovich, 5:173–74). Dutch women appear to have traveled in relatively large numbers, sometimes dressed as men; fifteenth-century sources suggest that pilgrims from the Netherlands did not enjoy a very good reputation (Röhrich, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 9, 17–18 [the negative comments, it should be noted, do not come from Dutch writers]).

While Witte’s first sentence has some ambiguity (see next note), his use of the word *peregrinando* reflects an exact usage: writers refer to various “pilgrimages” in the Holy Land and adjacent territory. Hence the plural form in the title of several different guidebooks—*Peregrinationes Terrae Sanctae*—from ca. 1400 (Röhrich, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 198–201, items 251, 263–67 [he lists thirty-three copies of the last of these]). In Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. 485, the fifteenth-century text *Peregrinationes totius Terre Sancte* has sixteen chapter headings, the last of which is “Iste sunt peregrinationes terre Egypti” (fol. 144r [edited by Golubovich 5:350–55, item 285; citation from p. 355]). The Latin word was carried over into Dutch (as *pilgrimaetse*, synonymous with *bedevaert*) to describe these focused holy journeys, among other places to the valley of Jehosaphat, Hebron, Nazareth, Damascus, and the Sinai (for usages in an anonymous account from 1482 see Conrady, pp. 124, 159, 160, 62, 164).

3–4 [3–4] Witte’s extension of his pilgrimage from Jerusalem “toward the Jordan” follows the order of many pilgrimage accounts, in which this move east comes near the end of the journey; Boldensele’s is a good example (Grotefend, pp. 275–76). Large numbers of Christian pilgrims bathed at the site where John baptized his cousin Jesus, returning home with *locus sanctus* memorabilia, including bottles of water and death shrouds that had been immersed in the river of rebirth (Cynthia Hahn, “Loca Sancta Souvenirs,” in Ousterhout, pp. 86, 91). But Witte’s journey to the Red Sea “per Jordenem” is more problematic, even allowing for the fact that medieval travelers (like modern tourists) included the gulfs of Suez

and Aqaba under the general heading “Red Sea.” Texts that were disseminated widely by 1400 clearly depict the Jordan river as terminating in the Dead Sea: Honorius Augustodunensis, in his *Imago mundi*, says it is “absorbed” there (Flint, p. 57), a verb repeated by Boldensele (Grotefend, p. 275), who passes the idea but not the vocabulary to John Mandeville (he says it stops there and runs no farther [Deluz, p. 228; Letts, 2:284; Seymour, p. 75]). Burchard of Mount Zion describes the Jordan as “swallowed up” into the ground (Laurent, p. 60; Stewart, p. 60). Even the book of Exodus would seem to make Witte’s route improbable.

Witte could have obtained his misinformation from other texts, however. Marino Sanudo reports that “some think [the Dead Sea] is a continuation of the Red Sea,” although he seems to side with “experts” who hold that the Jordan is “drunk up by the earth” after it reemerges south of the large salt lake (Bongars, 2:252; Stewart, p. 33). The maps of the Holy Land that accompany Sanudo’s book show the Jordan ceasing at the Dead Sea, however. Mandeville believes that the river “Albane” (Abana in 2 Kings 5:12; today the Barada) flows from Damascus to the Red Sea, which he describes as extending to the coast of Arabia and Palestine (“Celle mer court jusques as confines d’Arrabe et de Palestine”; Deluz, pp. 263, 163–64; Letts, 2:299, 259; Seymour, pp. 92, 42). Some maps show the Jordan entering the Red Sea (for example, the twelfth-century *mappamundi* from northern France in a copy of Isidore’s *Etymologies* [Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10058, fol. 154v; reproduced in Gautier Dalché, p. 82]). Fourteenth-century illustrations of the baptism of Christ depict the Jordan emptying into a harbor studded with ships or merging with a vague, watery background (see the Hague Bible of 1371 [The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 B 23, fol. 468r]).

On the other hand, Witte’s Latin simply may be imprecise. While the toponym “Jordanis” almost always refers to the *river*, it occasionally was applied to the *region* east and south of Jerusalem. Ricold de Monte Croce refers to both when he recalls making “quick progress for four miles into Jordan,” arriving at the place “near the Jordan” where John lived: “festinantes quatuor miliaria in *Iordanem* inuenimus iuxta Iordanem locum, vbi habitabat beatus Iohannes baptista” (Laurent, p. 109 [his emphasis]). Even if Witte did mean that he traveled toward (*versus*) the river and through (*per*) the land, however, he would have followed an unusually serpentine and rugged route to northern Egypt.

4–6 [4–6] Early manuscripts identify Witte’s first stop in Egypt as “Hermopolis,” which the printed editions (beginning with *b*) style “hermipolis” or “hermipollis” (lemma 13). The ancient city of Hermopolis Magna, modern El Ashmûnein, lies west of the Nile in Upper Egypt; it was an early pilgrimage site, visited by Egyptians wanting to venerate the tomb of the noble priest Petosiris. From the context, however, Witte means Heliopolis, a city that Mandeville mentions (“Eliopole”), adding the etymology “that

is to say, city of the sun” (Deluz, p. 151; Letts, 2:253; Seymour, p. 34). Heliopolis was also a holy city, the location of the ancient temple of Ra, the chief cosmic deity of ancient Egypt, whose sacred bird was the phoenix. Cairo, founded by the Fatimids around 969, once lay approximately ten miles to the southwest, but urban sprawl gradually enveloped the temple and its surroundings. Today Heliopolis is the location of Kubba Palace, home of the Egyptian president.

Many medieval Europeans referred to the entire metropolitan area as Babylon or New Babylon (Babylonia [Nova]). The analogy between the sultan of Egypt’s capital and that of Nebuchadnezzar became a cliché in medieval Europe, although some writers were discriminating. Boldensele distinguishes between “Cadrum” and “Babylonia,” the latter being the site of the sultan’s “very beautiful palace”; although both cities boast many beautiful Christian churches, Babylonia is particularly famous for its “ecclesia beate Virginis,” built on the site where, according to Matt. 2:13–14, the Holy Family took refuge from King Herod (Grotefend, pp. 245, 247). Mandeville follows Boldensele carefully, but in speaking of “Babiloigne la meindre” he omits any reference to Jesus or Joseph the carpenter (mentioning instead the son of Jacob), although he does state that Mary lived there for seven years. He describes the temple and sacred “Fenix” of Heliopolis in detail (Deluz, pp. 133, 144, 133, 151; Letts, 2:246, 251, 246, 253; Seymour, pp. 23, 32, 24, 34). Sanudo places “Kayrum” on the bank of the Nile south of the large, walled city of “Babyloni,” with “Eliopoli” seven leagues (“leucas”) away; in these last two cities, he observes, without elaboration, “the glory of the Virgin and her son are made manifest” (Bongars, 2:260; Stewart, p. 58). Witte, too, speaks only of the Virgin and Child, but he uniquely has them living for seven years at “Hermopolis . . . the capital city of Egypt.” He continues to describe the town after being distracted by aquatic marvels of the Red Sea (see commentary 21–25, 26–30).

7–11 [7–11] Ludolph describes several species of fish he saw en route to the Holy Land, including remarkable ones that “lift themselves a long way up out of the water, but level with it” and fly great distances “like bats,” although he neither describes their appearance nor locates them specifically in the Red Sea (Deycks, p. 14; Stewart, p. 18). An Italian traveling in the late 1340s claims that his “companion saw a fish, which had a head like a man’s, with face, mouth, teeth, nose, eye, hair, and ears, and likewise a bit of a neck; these he had exactly like a man’s, and all the rest like those of a fish” (Bellorini and Hoade, p. 100). Witte’s method of communicating what an exotic animal looks like is employed still today: science writer Natalie Angier calls the aye-aye of Madagascar “a creature that can be described only by comparing it piecemeal with other things. It is the size of a cat, has the ears of a bat, the snout of a rat . . .” (“Bizarre Baby Raises Hope for an Endangered Primate,” *The New York Times*, 19 May 1992, late ed., C1).

In this passage, Witte cleverly combines a moderately interesting observation about animal behavior (reports of flying fish and dolphins in the Mediterranean are common) with a description of grotesquerie, bringing boldness to his remark that he ate some of the catch. Such truth-claims can be found in most medieval travel narratives, although some of them are added by scribes and translators (C. W. R. D. Moseley calls this phenomenon “the asseverating interpolation”). In the Bodley and Egerton (Middle English) versions of Mandeville’s *Book*, for example, “I, Iohn Maundevile” insists on having sampled fish from “a gret see of gravel,” although the original French reports only the existence in “la mer Arenouse” of delicious fish (Deluz, pp. 435–36; Letts, 2:384–85, 464–65 [Bodley]; Moseley, *Travels*, p. 169 n. [Egerton]; cf. Seymour, p. 197).

Witte’s precise standard of measurement is uncertain. From the context, his two-foot-long fish probably exceeded twenty-four inches. Because units of length varied throughout medieval Europe, many travelers approximated shorter distances by describing them in terms of projectiles, such as a stone’s throw or a bow shot. Even his “balista” is ambiguous. It could be the giant crossbow, outfitted with cords and thongs, that was capable of hurling stones some two hundred feet (the OED records John Wyclif’s usage of *balistis* in 1382 to refer to an instrument used “for to cast shaftis and stoonys”). It also may be the hand-held variety Conrady identifies in glossing an anonymous fourteenth-century pilgrim’s measurement of a street near the church of the Holy Sepulcher (“in spacio sagitte baliste” [p. 23 and n. 28; the text is Röhricht, p. 99, item 259]).

Witte’s language is echoed in the report of a Dutch sailor who crossed the equator along the west coast of Africa on 29 March 1502 and reported seeing fish the size of a mackerel—or a herring or a sardine—flying with birds about as far as men can shoot a crossbow (or arbalest): “In dese zee sagen wi visschen vliegen met vloghelen also verre als men met een armboist mach schieten ende zijn groot ghelijc een makereel of een harinc of een sardijn” (*Calcoen*, sig. A2r; on this important “newsletter” see Lach, 1:160). This Dutch sailor “borrows” from Witte again; see commentary 300–60.

**11–12 [11–12]** Medieval writers employed the rhetorical device of *occupatio* (in many literary genres) to call attention, more or less artfully, to an abridgement or omission of subject matter. Burchard declines to describe the battle of Jericho because it is “well-known, and therefore I forbear to write it down” (Laurent, p. 58; Stewart, p. 58). The Anonymous German’s report on the East cuts short many descriptions to avoid boring the reader: “da were lanck af zo sagen” (Röhricht and Meisner, p. 10 and *passim*). Many of Odoric of Pordenone’s vignettes of Asian societies conclude with a reference to the “many things” he is *not* writing. Witte may seem disingenuous in bringing his discussion of “unusual animals” to a conclusion by invoking simple forgetfulness (see commentary 261–66), but Hernán Cortés (in the 1520s) abandoned his attempt to describe the market in

Mexico City because the variety of goods there was so great that he could not “remember many of them, nor do I know what they are called” (Cortés, p. 104). The often-cited comment that Marco Polo told “only what little he was able to remember” is an interpolation in an early Latin translation (Benedetto, p. 4b; Moule and Pelliot, 2:v; Latham, p. 34.)

**13–15 [13–15]** Other medieval travelers report on poisonous flying reptiles. Sailors told Ludolph a variation of the Celtic legend of the barnacle goose. Along the English and Irish coasts grows a fruit containing serpents (“vermes”) that fly out as the ripe fruit falls to the ground. They become aerial or aquatic animals depending on whether they first touch land or water; both maintain their ability to fly (Deycks, pp. 14–15; Stewart, p. 18). Odoric alludes to such a story but considers “it best to pass to other matters” (Wyngaert, pp. 482–83; Yule and Cordier, 2:241–43). Mandeville, copying Odoric, thinks otherwise and tells his own version of the legend: the fruit is transformed into a flying creature if it falls in water but dies and is eaten if it drops to earth (Deluz, pp. 427–28; Letts, 2:380; Seymour, p. 191).

**15–17 [15–17]** Witte’s antidotes to poison are evidently his alone. (In another wondrous context, ashes of ferns are used to make glass [Chaucer, *The Squire’s Tale*, V.254].) The sentence is grammatically flawed in the original, since the *palms* and not the ashes grow in the Holy Land (edition *a* corrects the problem, emending *crescens* to *crescente* [lemma 47]); my English translation attempts to convey this). During the Middle Ages, coral was thought to be a tree that petrified when it came in contact with the air. It was considered effective against pestilence, poison, and the evil eye; red coral branches, worn around the neck and arms, warded off epilepsy and apoplexy (Thorndike, 5:455; Kenseth, pp. 263–64, fig. 38). Ludolph explains that corals, originally white, turn red at the bottom of the sea and are cast up on land in great quantities where they are gathered and sold (Deycks, pp. 11–12; Stewart, pp. 14–15). In the 1490s, Arnold von Harff saw white, red, blue, yellow, and black corals on Red Sea beaches (Letts, p. 152).

**17–20 [17–20]** According to Exod. 14:9, Moses led the people of Israel through the Red Sea “beside Pihahiroth, before Baalzephon.” Pilgrims—including Boldensele (Grotefend, p. 253), Ludolph (Deycks, pp. 63–64; Stewart, p. 84), and Mandeville (Deluz, p. 163; Letts, 2:259; Seymour, p. 42)—mention the site, but Witte alone sees stones there (perhaps he is thinking of the twelve memorial markers in the middle of the Jordan river, which are “there unto this day” according to Josh. 4. 9). This ancient system of demarcating territory still has political ramifications in the Middle East (Joel Brinkley, “Taba Journal: In Battle Over Beach, It’s Time to Draw the Line,” *The New York Times*, 26 Sept. 1988, late ed., A4).



21–25 [21–25] Witte's account of the miraculous properties of water from the Hermopolis garden recalls Isa. 35:5–6. John of Hildesheim, in *Historia Trium Regem*, a work on the magi and an important hagiography in the Cologne area, writes that Jesus and his mother lived for seven years in the vicinity of New Babylon and Cairo ("circa ciuitates Babiloniam nouam et Alkayr") in a garden with seven fountains, in which Mary bathed her son, washed herself, and cleaned their clothes, a place that later became a balsam grove (Horstmann, pp. 246, 247). Almost every medieval traveler who writes about Cairo mentions this garden. Sanudo describes the place where Mary washed Jesus's things (Bongars, 2:260; Stewart, p. 59); according to Boldensele, she bathed Jesus and washed her own clothes there (Grotefend, p. 250; the passage is copied by Ludolph [Deycks, pp. 52–54; Stewart, p. 70]). Mandeville refers to Jesus playing in seven fountains but says nothing about laundry, then details a method for detecting adulterated balsam (Deluz, pp. 153–55; Letts, 2:254–56; Seymour, pp. 35–37). The balsam garden (El Matariyeh) may be seen today outside Cairo. Burchard says that Cleopatra moved it from En-Gedi (on the Dead Sea) to Cairo to demonstrate her loathing for Herod the Great and love for Marc Anthony; upon arriving in Egypt, Burchard persuaded the sultan to let him bathe there (Laurent, p. 61; Stewart, p. 62).

26–30 [26–30] Sanudo claims that when the Virgin Mary entered the temple at Heliopolis, all 365 idols fell down; he does not, however, note the church's particular dedication to the Holy Trinity (Bongars, 2:260; Stewart, p. 58). This literal iconoclasm was thought to fulfill the prophecy of Isa. 19:1 (the prototype for the miracle may be the destruction of the Philistine god Dagon by the Ark of the Covenant in 1 Sam. 5:1–4). The fifteenth-century Middle English poem *The Storie of Asneth*, following its Latin source, sets the scene for the romance between Joseph and Potiphar's daughter Asneth in "the cuntré of Helinpoleos." Marian imagery surrounds Asneth: she signals her acceptance of Joseph's God by flinging the household gods from her tower window in an action that presages the Virgin's miraculous influence here (Russell A. Peck, ed., *Heroic Women from the Old Testament in Middle English Verse* [Kalamazoo, Mich., 1991], pp. 23 [l. 38], 32 [ll. 311–20], 14).

Witte balances his own truth-claims (see commentary 7–11) with thirteen distancing locutions ("as it is said in that place" [*ut dicitur ibidem*] or "so they believe there" [*ut ibidem credunt*]), common features of medieval travel writing. While such usage sometimes suggests that an author is remembering or citing another text, as when Witte reports on Alexander near Paradise (lines 386–89), it frequently enables one to report information without necessarily endorsing it (see John of Plano Carpini's report of monstrous people in central Asia [Wyngaert, pp. 73–75; Dawson, pp. 30–31]).

31–34 [31–34] Amram is unidentified. Two possible sources of the name—Amran (north of the Yemenite capital of Sana) and Al’ Hamra (near Medina)—lie inland on the east side of the Red Sea and cannot be the port city identified here. Even relatively familiar place-names lacked uniform spelling during the Middle Ages (Alamania/Allemania; Hispania/Yspania). When recording a toponym required some understanding of a non-Western language and character system, the problem became much worse. (The names Polo employs for many locations in east Asia are Turkish.)

Several Egyptian harbors on the Red Sea handled the heavy pilgrim traffic (to Mecca and Medina) and merchant business (to Yemen and India), the most prominent of which was ‘Aydhab, reached by sailing up the Nile from Cairo to Aswan and crossing a relatively brief stretch of desert. Ibn Jubair was here in June 1183, and although he found it “one of the most frequented ports of the world,” he has nothing good to say about the city and advises other pilgrims to travel with the Baghdad caravan. The sultan of Egypt destroyed ‘Aydhab in 1422 (Broadhurst, pp. 63–66 and 371 n. 35). The distance from Cairo to the Red Sea could be covered comfortably in Witte’s eight days of travel time, but his route and means of transportation are peculiar. He *sails* to the Sinai peninsula and then *walks* for a week to the monastery of Saint Catherine (printed edition *k* subtly emends *pedester* to *itinere pedestri* [lemma 92], which puts Witte on a foot-path but would allow him a beast of burden). Most medieval pilgrims who undertook this arduous trip rode camels all the way from Cairo, except for Boldensele, who calls attention to the fact that he amazed the monks at Mt. Sinai by arriving on horseback (Grotefend, p. 252). Mandeville disputes his own source here, maintaining that camels are the sole means of transportation on the twelve-day journey “de Babiloigne au mont de Sinay” (Deluz, p. 164; Letts, 2:259–60; Seymour, p. 42).

34–41 [34–40] Not many medieval pilgrims to the Holy Land were able to visit the monastery of Saint Catherine at Mt. Sinai: the way was grueling and dangerous, access usually required the permission of Muslim authorities and thus depended on political stability, and package tours that originated at Venice or Genoa seldom included this time-consuming and unprofitable side trip. The site’s holiness is at least as ancient as the Ten Commandments, which Moses received there (Exod. 19, 32). A monastic community has been on the mountain since the early days of Christianity; angels are said to have brought the body of Saint Catherine there after her martyrdom at Alexandria in the fourth century (the legend in fact is based on the life of the pagan scholar Hypatia, who apparently was murdered by her Christian antagonists [see Dzielska]). Saint Catherine was the patroness of pilgrims and curators of shrines in the Holy Land; a fourteenth-century chapel was dedicated to her at Walsingham, the popular pilgrimage site in England, which drew many visitors from the Low Countries (Turner and Turner, pp. 176, 182).

The monks of Saint Catherine were renowned for their piety. According to Boldensele, there were quite a few of them, mostly Arabs with a few Greeks; he extols their devotion, ascetic behavior, and obedience to authority (Grotefend, p. 254). Ludolph, echoing this language, counts more than 400 religious (Deycks, p. 65; Stewart, p. 84). Mandeville also expands on Boldensele, noting that the monks “are very devout, living, in poverty and simplicity, on dates, in great abstinence and penitence.” He adds that each monk has a lamp that goes out when he dies, the abbot’s rekindling itself when the monks choose a successor (Deluz, pp. 165–67; Letts, 2:260–61; Seymour, pp. 43–44). Mandeville’s outline, minus most of the details, recurs in Witte, whose monks are canons regular (clerics living in community within a cloister or cathedral precinct who had renounced private property). He also severely limits their number to just thirteen, allows them only one meal a day, gives every lamp the capacity to relight itself, and displays no knowledge of local topography.

Figure 3 shows what is perhaps the earliest surviving map of Mt. Sinai (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library, MS 1424/Co, vol. 2, fol. 130v). It illustrates text from Jacopo of Verona’s *Liber peregrinationis* and is the work of Johannes of Purmerend, who finished Jacopo’s book on 12 August 1424 (it precedes his copy of the *Itinerarius*, the base text for the Latin edition printed here). The map corresponds to specific sites Jacopo saw there in September 1335, when the community of monks numbered around 100 (Monneret de Villard, pp. 72–77). At the lower left, a building with a tower topped by a cross is identified as the “Monastery of Saint Catharine” (“Monasteria beate Catharine”). Immediately above it is the “Chapel of Saint Mary, where she herself appeared to the monks” (“Capella beate marie ubi apparuit ipsa monachis”), shaped more like a tower. Above this in turn is the “Church of Saint Elias [Elijah]” (“Ecclesia sancti helye”), with a cross at either end of its roof; to its right is a circular area designated “garden” and “fountain” (“ortus” and “fons”). Directly above this church stands a “Mosque of the Saracens” (“Mosceta saracenorum” [nothing on the map portrays it as the “execrabilis” place Jacopo describes on p. 76]), but a pathway leads from it to an unnamed “Church” (“Ecclesia”), to the left of a quadrant labeled “Mountain where the law [Ten Commandments] was given to Moses” (“Mons ubi lex moysi data est”). At the upper right corner of the page is a design representing a second mountain, with a zigzag path leading to the top, where, a legend says, “the body of Saint Catherine was carried [by angels]” (“portatum erat corpus beate Catherine”). For Mt. Sinai on the Hereford Map (and a depiction of Moses receiving the commandments) see Westrem, *Hereford Map*, pp. 120–23.

**42–45 [41–43]** The monastery of Saint Catherine was traditionally believed to enjoy divine protection from noxious creatures. Some writers increase the miracle’s poignancy by listing the banned vermin; for example,



Boldensele specifically mentions flies, fleas, and such filthy vermin (Grotefend, p. 255), and Mandeville expands on his source by adding gnats. Mandeville's list grows in the hands of translators and scribes ("n'y entrent musches ne muscherouns ne puces ne autre tiele ordure" [Deluz, p. 167; Letts, 2:261]; "no flye ne todes ne ewtes ne such foul venymouse bestes ne lyzs ne flees" [Seymour, p. 44]). Tradition held that oil oozed from Saint Catherine's remains. Boldensele, watching the prelate rub her bones with a silver instrument, sees liquid emerge like sweat ("liquorem exeuntem . . . per modum sudoris" [Grotefend, p. 255]), a comparison borrowed by Ludolph ("oleum sicut sudor ex poris erumpit" [Deycks, p. 66; Stewart, p. 86]) and Mandeville ("un poy de oille auxi come une suour" [Deluz, p. 166; Letts, 2:260; Seymour, p. 44]). Witte alone reports that Saint Catherine is drying up.

45–46 [43–44] According to Exod. 17:1–7, Moses struck a rock with his rod and produced water for the murmuring people of Israel to drink at Rephidim, near Mt. Sinai (Exod. 19:2). Boldensele saw and possibly tasted some of this very water in the monastery ("aqua quam, percussione virge, . . . iussit Moyses emanare . . . est optima et sanissima ad bibendum" [Grotefend, p. 255]); Mandeville goes his source one better, reporting that the "fontaine" stands just outside the gate (Deluz, p. 168; Letts, 2:261; Seymour, p. 45). Witte alone sees the actual rock (see commentary 58–60).

46–48 [44–47] Witte's story of the birds echoes a passage in which Mandeville (not copying Boldensele) reports the "great miracle" of the area's ravens, crows, and choughs, which gather once a year and fly to the monastery, as if on a pilgrimage, each one carrying in its beak as an offering an olive tree branch, from which the monks extract oil (Deluz, p. 165; Letts, 2:260; Seymour, p. 43). The last phrase is not found in Witte's Latin text (where the assiduous birds toil for no stated purpose), but it appears in the Middle Dutch translation (lines 50–51). Witte is unique in having the birds bring their gifts into the cloister close: the phrase suggests the author's monastic vocation or, at least, his familiarity with a cathedral precinct. Witte does not name them (as Mandeville does) and by comparing them to turtledoves suggests that they are not a European species. Mandeville does not need to say that his birds are black; Witte's have white markings.

49–57 [48–56] Medieval pilgrims who describe visits to Sinai almost invariably pass by Marah (more commonly spelled *Marath*, *Marach*, or *Morach*), where Moses made bitter water potable (see commentary 58–60), then proceed past Elim (Hebrew, 'terebinths'; the spelling *Helym*/*Helim* is common), on their way to the holy mountain. Their reports thus follow the sequence of events in Exod. 15:23–27 and 19:1–2, an order that Witte exactly reverses. According to the biblical account, the field of Elim provided the Israelites with an attractive encampment because of its seventy palm

trees and twelve wells, details repeated by Jacopo (Monneret de Villard, p. 78), Boldensele (Grotefend, p. 254), and Ludolph (Deycks, p. 65; Stewart, p. 84). Mandeville follows the traditional order of sites but, like Witte, counts seventy-two trees (Deluz, p. 163; Letts, 2:259; Seymour, p. 42). Witte alone attributes their planting—and the building of an altar, described plausibly as “now in ruins”—to Moses, and he uniquely reports the local water’s capacity to preserve eyesight. Jacopo states that monks from Mt. Sinai cultivated a grove there, which by his day had produced over 10,000 date palms; he washed his hands and sampled the water, detecting a lingering hint of bitterness (pp. 78–79). Witte’s reference to the trees’ talismanic power in war may be a confused recollection of Exod. 17:8–16, where Moses ensures the defeat of Amalec “in Raphidim” by holding the rod of God (“virgam Dei”) aloft, and where he *did* build an altar.

57 [56–57] From the context, *species* must mean ‘spices’ or ‘herbs’; the Middle Dutch *crude* (Dutch line 62) supports this translation. The word had a wide range of meanings in medieval Latin and Italian, however. In *La pratica della mercatura* (*The Practice of Commerce*), a handbook for merchants written around 1340, the Venetian trader Francesco Balducci Pegolotti distinguishes between *spezierie minute* (or *sottili*), which correspond generally to the modern English ‘spices’, and *spezierie grosse*, which include such diverse goods as cotton thread, indigo, wax, ivory, honey, quicksilver, copper, and salt meat (Pegolotti, p. 24, *passim*, and Index, p. 431).

58–60 [58–60] Moses sweetened the bitter water at Marah by throwing a tree into it (see Exod. 15:23–25 and commentary 49–57). Boldensele (Grotefend, p. 254), Ludolph (Deycks, p. 63n.; Stewart, p. 84), and Mandeville (Deluz, p. 163; Letts, 2:259; Seymour, p. 42) mention the site with little detail. Witte has Moses “strike” the water, as he did the rock in line 45 (*percussit* in both instances).

60–65 [60–64] The unicorn’s horn has “from the earliest times has been associated with curative and generative powers,” and its reputation for detecting poison was so long-lived that “unicorn-horn” utensils still were being used in 1789 to test food at the French court (Rowland, pp. 152–57). The examination must have been ceremonial: already in 1615, the Spanish scientist Francisco Fernández de Córdova had cited this very passage to denounce the *Itinerarius* as a book of lies and fables (see chapter 2, n. 40). Modern scholars often try to explain medieval sightings of the unicorn by asserting that the beast in question was in fact a rhinoceros; certainly this appears to be the beast Polo describes in the shadowy land of “Basman” (Benedetto, p. 171; Latham, p. 253). However, Jordan of Sévérac, a bishop and marvel-monger, saw among the wonders of India “another animal, which is called *Rhinoceros*, as big as a horse, having one horn long and

twisted; but it is not the *unicorn*” (Yule, p. 18 [emphasis in original]). A unicorn *and* a rhinoceros are depicted on the Hereford Map adjacent to each other near the Nile (Westrem, *Hereford Map*, pp. 132–33, 182–83). Witte’s idea that the beast can be found in the Sinai may be based on Isa. 34:7 (Vulgate: “Et descendent unicornes cum eis”), a passage describing slaughter in Edom, which biblical testimony locates in the desert south of the Dead Sea and east of Mt. Sinai.

Ludolph chooses not to list all the poisonous animals and dangers of the Sinai because it would take him too long to do so (Deycks, p. 70; Stewart, p. 91). The image of the unicorn detoxifying water so that other animals can drink is achieved memorably in the second of the tapestries portraying the Hunt of the Unicorn (ca. 1500), on permanent exhibit at The Cloisters (Metropolitan Museum of Art) in New York City. For a discussion of the scene and this passage in the *Itinerarius* see Freeman, pp. 18, 27, 29.

66–70 [65–69] Christian monks in the Sinai and Arabian deserts trace their eremitic heritage, as this passage states, to Paul the Hermit (not Saint Paul, despite Gal. 1:17), who (according to Saint Jerome’s *Vita Pauli*, the historicity of which is questioned) entered the wilderness to escape persecution in Egyptian Thebes during the fourth century. He lived in a cave near a well and a date tree, where a raven miraculously brought him half a loaf of bread (not quite the manna Witte sees) every day. A well-known (and sometimes depicted) medieval legend states that Saint Anthony (abbot), himself ninety years old, followed the call of a voice from heaven and discovered the ninety-eight-year-old Paul. The two remained together, sustained by the raven’s daily gift of a full loaf of bread, until Paul’s death; two lions assisted Anthony in burying the body. While Witte only alludes to this story in the Latin text, an interpolation in the Middle Dutch translation (lines 75–78) has a she-wolf guide Anthony into the desert where the two saints eat manna together at the “fonteyne” (illustrations of Anthony commonly show him attended by an animal, usually the image of his conquered temptations). While on his way through the desert to Mt. Sinai, Ludolph inspected the unoccupied cave of Saint Anthony and a nearby well (Deycks, pp. 61–62; Stewart, p. 80). Witte’s hermit only sleeps on a stone, suggesting that he is no stylite; the so-called pillar saints spent their entire lives (not just nights) atop a column.

The miraculous feeding of holy men and women—such as Saint Roch (Rocco), who enjoyed great popularity during the later fourteenth century—is a staple in medieval hagiographies. The *topos* has its earliest Judeo-Christian expression in the story of Elijah and the ravens (1 Kings 17:1–6). Saint Brendan and his crew also meet Paul the Hermit, who has survived for thirty years on a barren island by eating fish brought to him by an otter (water from an island spring sustained him for another sixty years). Paul

wears only a hair shirt, in the fashion of the archetypical hermit John the Baptist, in both the *Navigatio* and the *Itinerarius* (Selmer, pp. 74–76; O'Meara, pp. 60–65).

71–74 [70–73] The designation “Red Jews” dates from the thirteenth century and is derived from the Middle High German “roten Juden” (adj. *rôt* ‘deceitful’, ‘cunning’). It has nothing to do with coloration and everything to do with pejorative portrayals of Jews, since the designation (in vernacular German sources) links the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel with Gog and Magog and, thus, with Antichrist (Rev. 20:8). Andrew Colin Gow believes the portrayal of Red Jews to be “the most virulent form of [medieval] antisemitic apocalypticism” (*The Red Jews*, p. 3). See also Andrew Runni Anderson, pp. 68, 72–74; Baron, 5:126; and DiMarco, pp. 69–90, esp. p. 80 and n. 37.

Witte's reference to “Red Jews” appears to be one of only a few in Latin texts (Gow's sources are mostly vernacular [pp. 189–293]). “Roten Juden” or “Judei ruffi” appear in northwest Asia in a set of map legends and on several *mappaemundi*, all from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Durand, pp. 182, 197, and pl. X; Gow, “Gog and Magog”; and Westrem, “Against Gog,” p. 74 nn. 29–30). Witte locates his “Rubei Iudei” most literally in the “land of the Ur-Chaldees.” By contrast, Mandeville distinguishes between the *city* of “Hur” and the *country* “Caldee” (Deluz, pp. 300–301; Letts, 2:316; Seymour, p. 112), placing Chaldea east of Syria in conformity with standard medieval geographies (such as Honorius's *Imago mundi* [Flint, p. 56]). Archeologists and historical atlases have taught us to think of Ur the way Mandeville did, but Witte probably read his Bible more literally (Abraham and his brothers were born in “terra . . . Ur Chaldaeorum” [Gen. 11:28]).

Traveling from the Sinai desert to Mesopotamia to the Nile (in fifteen days) would not be difficult for a geographical imagination influenced by a *mappamundi*; Ebstorf and Hereford are two famous exemplars that show the Nile flowing into Egypt from east Asia (as one of the four rivers of Paradise [see commentary 293–99] it had to). Witte does not indicate that he considers “Damiad,” which he reaches after a day's sailing, to be back in Egypt. The city of Damietta [Dimyat] lies, of course, on the Nile, but before the opening of the Suez Canal it would have been impossible to embark from there on a voyage due south to Ethiopia. Damietta was hardly an obscure place-name for medieval Europeans: the city was taken by crusaders on 6 November 1219 and again on 5 June 1249; it became synonymous with the failure of the crusading mission after the capture of France's Louis IX (1226–70) at El Mansûra (5 April 1250). The return of Damietta to the Muslims was part of the price for the king's release; according to report, it nearly led him to abdicate (Riley-Smith, pp. 147–49, 160–61; Jordan, pp. 125–30).



74–77 [73–76] During the later Middle Ages Ethiopia was increasingly identified with part of the vast land area called “India.” It was believed to be a land populated by black Christians converted by the apostle-martyr Bartholomew, who was flayed alive there (hence his iconographic association with a knife). Jordan of Sévérac distinguishes among “India inferior” (east of Persia), “India superior” (the subcontinent and southeast Asia), and “India tercia” (imprecisely located, but with characteristics usually associated with Africa; its black inhabitants are described unflatteringly (Yule, pp. 11–25 [inferior], 26–41 [superior], 41–45 [tercia]). Mandeville places all three regions of India beyond “Ethiope,” which has an eastern and a western (in some manuscripts, a southern) “partie”; the latter is also known as “Moretane,” whose inhabitants are blacker than people in any other country. Beyond is uninhabitable land and “la mer Oceane”—the great body of water that surrounds the landmass of the three known continents (Deluz, p. 304; Letts, 2:317–18; Seymour, p. 114). This is the “mare Oceanum,” or great Sea-Ocean, on which Witte sails during his three-month voyage to Ethiopia. A legend on a map of the inhabitable world in John of Westphalia’s edition of Pierre d’Ailly’s *Imago mundi* (Louvain, 1480?) states that it would take at least six months to sail the length of the Red Sea, although one modern scholar believes that in the early fifteenth century this distance could be covered in around thirty-five days (Crawford, p. 46).

78–84 [77–84] Advancing Trojans are compared to cranes bringing destruction to pygmies in the opening simile of *Iliad* 3; however old the poem is—it dates at least to the seventh century B.C.—the myth of miniature humans (or humanoids) fighting off attacking birds has an ancient place in the western imagination. Jerome gave them a kind of Christian authority when he translated an obscure Hebrew word as “Pigmaei” in Ezek. 27:11 (the Authorized Version reads “Gammadims”; “men of Gamad” in the Revised Standard Version). Medieval commentaries on the verse and discussions of the dwarfish “monsters” are complex (see Friedman, pp. 79 [plate 29c], 143 [a brief discussion of this passage in the *Itinerarius*], and 190–96).

Although readers today will find nothing strange about Witte’s location of pygmies in modern Africa, most medieval sources place them in eastern Asia. In his *Imago mundi*, Honorius states that two-cubit-tall “Pigmeos” inhabit the mountains of India, fighting cranes, giving birth at the age of three, and entering old age when they are eight (Flint, p. 53 [see also chapter 1, pp. 19–20 above]). Polo unsuccessfully debunked the whole notion, claiming that little monkeys, with their hair plucked out, were dressed up like humans to fool foreigners (Benedetto, pp. 171–72; Latham, pp. 253–54). Although he was well acquainted with Polo’s book, Abraham Cresques, the chief cartographer of the Catalan Atlas, displays pygmies battling birds in central Asia (Grosjean, plate 6A, p. 90). Mandeville too

situates the “terre des Pigmeinz” on the border of the great khan’s territory (Deluz, pp. 364–65; Letts, 2:347–48; Seymour, p. 152). The Anonymous German’s description of the East locates people only one ell tall in the southeast near India; they are captured and sold by merchants who must be careful to bring an ample supply of the only food that sustains them: seeds rather like those of hemp. Traders say that these people and their neighbors suffer great harm from cranes. Later in this same text they appear as subjects of the great khan (Röhricht and Meisner, pp. 12, 62).

Witte’s discussion of the pygmies’ short life span, cave dwellings, and small size (complete with measurement) is traditional (Gregor, p. 50 and n. 88). Unique to the *Itinerarius* are their high-lactose diet, domestic use of conch shells, and enmity for storks (“syconie”) (rather than cranes [*grues*]). Storks were common in medieval Holland and are still on the coat of arms of The Hague (van Oostrom, p. 20). Pliny identified the tribe “Ciconas” in Scythia (6.20.55), but Witte seems more wide-eyed than widely read. Mandeville says that storks, called “ibis” (“sigoines qe ils appellent ibes”), frequent the Nile along its route from Paradise through Ethiopia to Egypt [Deluz, p. 145; Letts, 2:252; Seymour, p. 31]). Witte’s pygmies’ eating habits resemble those of giants near the end of Mandeville’s book (Deluz, pp. 448–49; Letts, 2:393; Seymour, p. 205). On a mid-eleventh-century map included in Beatus of Liébana’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8878), a legend at the western extreme of Africa (below the Atlas mountains) refers to a people that eat no bread (“Gens aulolum que panem non comedunt”), a description that Konrad Miller claims is unique to this exemplar (1:56).

As Friedman’s discussion makes clear, medieval theologians debated whether or not pygmies were rational human creatures. By calling them *difformes*, Witte uses a Latin word that often indicated aberrant faith (*de-formes*, the reading in edition *k* [lemma 211], more precisely means to be physically misshapen). The Middle Dutch translation is here uncharacteristically divided (see line 94 and lemma D122): *K* calls them heathens (“heydenen”), while *L* describes them as ugly (“lelicken”).

85–89 [85–89] Witte, now sailing on what he calls the Ethiopian Sea, experiences a novel version of Scylla and Charybdis: the *mare Iecoreum* and the *mare Arenosum* (literally, the ‘liver-like’ and the ‘sandy’ seas). Several medieval geographical treatises and travel books mention as marine obstacles areas of dense water (like the coagulated blood of a liver) and a sea of sand, perhaps distorted descriptions of the Arctic and of a great desert. Only Witte confronts these geographical extremes together. The “Meregarto,” an Old High German geographical poem that dates from no later than 1100, warns against curdled (and, thus, liver-like) waters in the western reaches of the great Sea-Ocean; ships are driven to that place by strong winds and (“alas!”) are unable to return from there, so that sailors simply rot unless God frees them:

Ein mere ist giliberôt,  
 in demo wentilmere uuesterôt.  
 sô der starche wint  
 giwirffit dei skef in den sint, . . .  
 ah, ah denne!  
 sô ni chomint sî danne.  
 sini welle got lôsan,  
 sô muozzin sî dâ fûlon.

(Müllenhoff and Scherer, 1:93–100, esp. 94–95; and 2:199–97, esp. 190, where *lebirmere* is said to be first recorded in an eleventh-century gloss on Isidore.) A similar threat arises in *Herzog Ernst*, and the results are as dire as the “Meregarto” promises (Bartsch, B-version, line 1173). Brendan and his crew also encounter a “mare coagulatum” (Selmer, p. 39; O’Meara, p. 34). In some sources, the winds are replaced by a magnetic power the island itself exerts to attract ships with iron aboard (this was offered as an explanation for the absence of nails on Asian boats). Mandeville mentions such a place twice, locating “rocks of adamant” (“roches des aymant”) in the vicinity of “Orynes” (Hormuz?), as well as in the distant seas off Prester John’s shores, where he saw so many trapped, decaying vessels that he first mistook the sight for a forested island (Deluz, pp. 313–14, 433–34; Letts, 2:321–22, 383–84; Seymour, pp. 120, 195–96).

Witte’s *mare Iecoreum* appears to be even more menacing: its adamantine lure is reportedly the sea bottom itself, a characteristic of the “Lever meere” in the Middle Dutch version of the Brendan legend (Gerritsen and Oppenhuis de Jong, ll. 425–45 [renamed the “Lever zee” at lines 1165–75]). His Latin is equivocal, however: “dicitur quod sit” combines verbs in the passive voice and the subjunctive mood, and thus he reports a detail that “is said” by an unidentified informant and “may be” the case. The use of the subjunctive probably does not register extreme doubt (as in a contrary-to-fact formulation), however, but shows how strongly Witte’s Latin is influenced by his native Dutch or German, which require that “indirect speech” be reported in the subjunctive. This grammatical construction recurs—not always in the context of marvels—at lines 183–84, 189–90, 435–36.

89–98 [89–99] Threatening waves of sand make a *mare Arenosum* dangerous for several medieval travelers. Odoric locates such a place one day’s journey from Iesd (Yezd) in central Iran (Wyngaert, p. 419; Yule, 2:107–8); the passage is copied by Mandeville, whose “Mer Areneuse” is one “jornee” from Geth and who later returns to the subject after describing the dangerous magnetic rocks near Prester John’s lands. This sea cannot be navigated, but fish and other sea creatures nevertheless are found along its shore (Deluz, pp. 295, 435–36; Letts, 2:314, 384–85; Seymour, pp. 110, 197). In the second instance, Mandeville may derive some information from

the *Letter of Prester John*, which reports a waterless but fish-producing sea that cannot be crossed (“mare sine aqua . . . [quod] nullo modo transire potest”) except by the emperor, who allows himself to be transported by griffons (Zarncke, 7:914). Chaucer’s “Drye Se,” where everyone travels hooded, is clearly the Gobi (*The Book of the Duchess*, l. 1028). Magoun thinks it is unusual for Chaucer to translate Latin place-names into English (pp. 62–63), but the Liver and Sandy seas were usually referred to in the vernacular. Witte’s need to get “below” (“infra”) this hazard evidently caused conceptual confusion among his readers; all the printed editions, as well as Middle Dutch *L*, have him sail “between” (“inter” and “tusschen”) the seas (L228; D134).

As if two natural dangers were not enough, Witte adds the monstrous “Monoculi.” Mythically as old as Odysseus’s Cyclopes, Witte’s one-eyed creatures can be found in many sources. They are sometimes menacing (the hideous lovers of raw food who head Mandeville’s list of “diverses gentz” [Deluz, p. 357; Letts, 2:343; Seymour, p. 147]) and sometimes peaceful (the Arimaspians in *Herzog Ernst*, who have nothing to do with the Liver Sea episode [Bartsch, B-version, lines 4518–21]); see also Friedman, pp. 18, 143. Inhabitants of the remotest regions of Mandeville’s earth get increasingly inimical and hungry. He writes as if he had seen one community of giants—“grantz . . . geantz,” twenty-eight to thirty feet tall—who wade into the sea prowling for sailors. They were enough for the intrepid knight: he has no desire to catch sight of even larger (forty-five or fifty feet tall) residents of a more distant island who are often witnessed grabbing people on the sea (“Et ad homme veu mointefoiz ces geantz prendre des gentz en la mer”) and carry them to shore, two in each hand, eating them completely raw, despite the presence of many sheep the size of oxen, which Mandeville did observe (Deluz, pp. 448–49; Letts, 2:393–94; Seymour, p. 206). Witte adds to the suspense with some characteristics of his own: their small but powerful build, *underwater* attacks, unsettling nocturnal labor, and carbuncular eyes (like Satan’s when he spies Eve; *Paradise Lost*, 9.500). Some of the details in Mandeville’s description appear elsewhere in Witte’s account: see commentary 78–84 and 412–15.

99–109 [100–110] Witte, entering “Middle India,” makes two unusual claims. First, he gives his Grandicanis authority over territory between Ethiopia and Prester John’s empire; eyewitnesses writing between 1238 and 1360 located the great khan in east Asia (Guéret-Laferté, *passim*). Witte may be under the geographical influence of Mandeville, who describes Mongol Cathay at length and then proceeds to lands and countries “beyond there” (“d’ascuns pays et d’ascunes isles qe sont par dela”) in “upper India” (“la haute Ynde”) where Prester John reigns at Pentoxoire (Deluz, pp. 427, 433; Letts, 2:380, 383 [*Pentoxoire* is not found in the Paris Text; nn. 1, 3]; Seymour, pp. 191, 194). Mandeville’s Asia lacks distinct borders, however: he sees the relics of Saint Thomas en route from Jerusalem to “Tartarie,”

then places the patriarch of Saint Thomas at Prester John's court, which he locates west of "Taprobane," a name for Ceylon but imagined farther east, corresponding to Java or Borneo [Deluz, pp. 326–27, 439–40, 465; Letts, 2:327–28, 387, 403; Seymour, pp. 127–28, 200, 218]].

Second, Witte is unusual in granting political superiority to Prester John, whose reputation had been slipping for 150 years (he would regain some of his legendary importance in the 1400s, when the search for his kingdom fueled Henry the Navigator's explorations and led to major advances in Europe's geographical knowledge of Africa [Allen, p. 54]). Pragmatic William of Rubruck writes that the Prester John story was nine parts legend and one part truth (Wyngaert, p. 206; Dawson, p. 122). Polo describes how Chinggis khan killed the emperor in battle (Benedetto, pp. 50–52; Latham, pp. 93–96). Even Mandeville considers Cathay to be richer than Pentoxoire and the khan superior to Prester John (Deluz, pp. 433, 416; Letts, 2:383, 375; Seymour, pp. 195, 177; the latter claim is not in all versions [Moseley, *Travels*, p. 156]). Witte's hierarchy may owe something to political reality; the Ming dynasty had replaced the Mongol khanate in 1368. The Middle Dutch translator evidently had some knowledge about the East: recognizing *canis* as a Latin transliteration of the Mongol imperial office, he renders it *caen* rather than *hund*, the canine title found in many German texts and translations (the Anonymous German explains that "der groisse hunt" had earned his name by biting every other oriental lord [Röhricht and Meisner, p. 57]). The translation is not so bizarre as it might seem: texts such as the Hereford Map place dog-headed people in the Far East (Westrem, *Hereford Map*, pp. 40–41), and Columbus may have believed the Caribs to be cannibals because he understood them to have canine heads (Todorov, p. 30).

The location of Andranopolis is uncertain. Graesse's *Orbis Latinus* lists Déraa in Syria (Adraa and Adranensis in medieval sources) and several cities in Turkey, among them Edirne (Adrianopolis), but these are orthographical rather than geographical possibilities. The latter town has the longest and most evocative history: built on an existing Thracian settlement around A.D. 125 by the emperor Hadrian, who named it for himself, Adrianopolis is the site where the Turkish sultan Murad I scored a major victory in 1361. It appears on early printed maps in Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* (on the ninth map of Europe); in an anonymous annotated index appended to Johann Reger's 1486 edition, "Adrianopolis" (in "Thratia") is identified as the place where the apostle Thomas worked miracles, the saint now being removed to European soil ("Registrum Alphabeticum," sigs. A3rb, D6vb). Witte is not alone in thinking the city to be considerably farther to the east. The Hereford Map locates "Andripolis" on the Persian Gulf amid toponyms associated with India (Westrem, *Hereford Map*, pp. 64–65). The locale's narrow and shadowy streets, Franciscan monastery, and pilgrim traffic appear to be Witte's invention.

The large number of bridges in Asian cities particularly interested medieval European travelers. Polo saw them in the thousands at Sindufu

(Ch'êng-tu-fu), Sugiū (Su-chau), and Quinsai (Kinsai or Hangchow); his fondness for myriads is one possible source of his book's nickname "Il Milione" (Benedetto, pp. 109, 142–43, 144; Latham, pp. 169, 212, 214). The cities of Camsay (Kinsai or Hangchow) and Chilenfo (Nanking) are graced by 12,000 and 360 bridges, respectively, in Odoric (Wyngaert, pp. 464, 468; Yule and Cordier, 2:195, 205) and, copying him, Mandeville (Deluz, pp. 361–62, 364; Letts, 2:346, 347 [the French texts read "60" for "360"]; Seymour, pp. 150, 151).

The "Mongol Mission," which was both a political and an evangelical effort from its initiation around 1245, was primarily carried out by Franciscans, but it had lost momentum already in the early fourteenth century. Thus a minorite monastery in Andranopolis would not be implausible, although by 1400 it was becoming anachronistic. According to Polo, wonders occur at the monastery of Saint Leonard in Asian Georgia; his monastery of Saint Barsamo in Tabriz, whose monks resemble Carmelites, is an interpolation (Benedetto, pp. 17, 23 n. b; Latham, pp. 49–50, 58). See also commentary 117–19.

110–17 [111–18] Medieval astronomers measured the movement of stars and planets in the sky, attentive to the influence of these celestial bodies on human lives and affairs. Arab science set the pace for astronomical discovery in western Europe until the fifteenth century. Hülegü khan (Kublai's brother and founder of the Ilkhanate of Persia [r. 1256–65]) took the famous astronomer Nasir ad-Din Tusi (1201–74) into his service in March 1257 and sponsored the building of a famous observatory on a hill outside his capital at Maragha, now in Azerbaijan (Saunders, pp. 109–10, 230 n. 72; Morgan, p. 153). Witte's fancy for architectural structures of unusual shape and height becomes even more evident when he describes Prester John's palace (lines 152–273). Another five towers function as lighthouses at the church of Saint Thomas, but these, employing candlelight and lamps, are more conventional (commentary 357–60).

117–19 [118–20] Almost all medieval travelers to central and east Asia mention Christian institutions there (see commentary 99–109 and 267–70). Most of the surviving records are by monks, so this is unsurprising. According to Jean Richard, the Roman Church encouraged the impression that the East was inhabited by Christians who were dominated by infidel tyrants (*Papauté*, p. 7). The text as punctuated makes "ad sanctam Mariam" the name of this monastery and follows Zarncke (p. 165); the sense of the passage also could be "named after Saint Mary," which the printed editions convey (lemma 323).

120–22 [121–23] Witte's shift here to the first-person plural is the first indication that he is not traveling alone. In claiming that he and his companions were captured and placed under house arrest, he contributes to travel writing a new, exciting theme; it would become a key element of

several fifteenth-century accounts and a cliché of Elizabethan adventure narratives. It has at least one, quite obscure, precedent in John of Marignolli's rambling account of his journey to China. In Ceylon, on 3 May 1347 or 1348, Marignolli was detained "with all politeness" by "a certain tyrant, by name Coya Jaan, a eunuch," who over the course of four months borrowed 60,000 marks worth of treasure before letting him go (Wyngaert, pp. 537–38; Yule and Cordier, 3:231–32). Hans Schiltberger, captured by the Turks at Nicopolis in 1396, wrote a book about his thirty years of servitude in the Near East and eventual escape; Prince Dom Pedro of Portugal claims that the king of "Perona" imprisoned him for forty days during the 1420s, even though he and his companions said they wanted to go to Mt. Sinai (Rogers, p. 134 [on pp. 181–82 he notes historical problems in this whole section of Dom Pedro's book]).

Witte's Compardut is doubtless a variant form of Khanbaliq ('imperial city', Persian for Beijing, where Kublai Khan transferred the Mongol capital, from Karakorum, in 1264 (thus, sources written before this date do not mention it). Spellings vary greatly among the sources and within individual manuscript traditions. Polo describes it at length, paying particular attention to the khan's palace (Benedetto, pp. 74–76 [printing "Cambalu"]; Latham, pp. 124–27); as does Odoric (Wyngaert, p. 475 [printing "Cambalec"]; Yule and Cordier, 2:227–28), whom Mandeville copies (Deluz, p. 397 [printing "Camaalech"]; Letts, 2:364 [printing "Cambaleth"]; Seymour, p. 173 [printing "Camaalech"]). All three point out that the city functions as a winter capital. Thus Witte's application of the name to a castle from which the Grandicanis is absent for at least two months at a time, while it may suggest casual government, is not unprecedented, nor would it have seemed peculiar to a medieval reader accustomed to the peripatetic habits of European rulers.

**122–25 [123–28]** The great khan's respect for Saint Thomas reflects a standard element in the apostle's hagiography: his capacity to inspire awe in people of all faiths, including King Gondophorus of India, whom he converted. Polo reports that even Muslims make pilgrimages to this tomb, which they regard to be that of an "*avariun*, that is to say 'holy man'," who was a prophet of Islam (Benedetto, p. xxx; Latham, p. 274).

**125–27 [128–29]** Being given an official escort by the khan may enhance Witte's reputation, but it also returns him to the status of the Franciscan missionaries of the mid-1250s, who noted, and often bemoaned, their dependence on Mongol officials to get them to the official court. Later writers—including Polo, Odoric, Boldensele, Jacopo, Ludolph, and Mandeville—take pains to stress their freedom to move around independently. The destination of this escort is confusing. Witte's border city Eleap appears to be corruption of Aleppo, a major commercial center in Syria during the Middle Ages. The city was famous during the Crusades (all sides

wanted to control it; Saladin captured it in 1183). Mandeville refers several times to the kingdom of “Halape” (Deluz, pp. 129, 134, 191, 462; Letts, 2:245, 246, 270, 402; Seymour, pp. 23, 25, 57, 216). Jacopo calls “Aleph” a city of Assyria and describes it four times as being at the margin of Mongol territory (Monneret de Villard, pp. 67, 82–83, 89, 91). Thus, Witte’s depiction of it as a “great city” on the border between Middle and Upper India makes sense. If Eleap is Aleppo, however, and Compardut is Beijing, they cannot lie just twelve days apart. The Latin and Middle Dutch texts record seven variant spellings of this place-name (see lemmata L337 and D169).

**128–35 [130–37]** Witte describes here the first of two precarious waterways, which in fact may be vaguely described straits or channels (see commentary 139–44). This obstacle is a natural, three-mile-long tunnel through a mountain that lies in the sea; the passage is dark and ends in a surprise waterfall. Witte’s references to candles and general fear underscore the truth of his account by implying his presence on board, a more subtle technique than saying “I saw this unicorn.” The natural phenomenon has no parallel in medieval travel narratives, although Odoric (and, copying him, Mandeville) traverse perilous valleys on horseback (Wyngaert, pp. 491–92; Yule and Cordier, 2:262–66; Deluz, pp. 445–48; Letts, 2:389–93; Seymour, pp. 203–5). Instead, the sequence of events (including the description of Prester John’s palace, beginning at line 152) is more reminiscent of romance. In Marie de France’s *Yonec*, for example, a princess incarcerated in a tower seeks her lover: she leaps twenty feet from her prison, follows a road that tunnels through a hill (in which she finds no light), reaches a walled city with buildings that appear to be made of silver and with a harbor boasting some three hundred ships, and enters a castle in which she passes through two chambers before finally discovering her knight (Rychner, pp. 112–14 [ll. 337–92]; Ferrante, pp. 78–79).

Witte’s boat plunges “twenty cubits,” but the reader must determine how far that is. Honorius Augustodunensis puts the height of pygmies at “.ii. cubitorum” (Flint, p. 53), which may accord with the biblical cubit, a unit equal to approximately eighteen inches; Noah’s ark was thirty cubits high, as was Solomon’s temple (Gen. 6:15; 1 Kings 6:3). By this measurement, the boat would plunge some thirty feet as it returns to open water. According to Latham’s *Word-List*, English sources (by A.D. 700) record the use of *cubitus* to mean ‘fathom’ (p. 124), which, measuring six feet, brings greater drama to Witte’s adventure (twenty fathoms would equal 120 feet).

**136–39 [138–41]** For medieval Europeans, pepper functioned as digestive, aphrodisiac, and food preservative; their abiding interest in its source and cultivation is therefore understandable (Gregor, pp. 72–73). Isidore (*Etymologies* 17.8.8) explained that fire was used at harvest time to drive away poisonous snakes; in the process, naturally white pepper turned black.



These authoritative words echo in other works that circulated widely during the Middle Ages, including Honorius's *Imago mundi* (Flint, p. 53) and the *Letter of Prester John* (Zarncke, 7:912). Late medieval travel writers strove for greater accuracy. Polo speaks briefly of planting and watering pepper trees (Benedetto, p. 197; Latham, p. 287), and Odoric describes a method of desiccation (Wyngaert, pp. 439–40; Yule and Cordier, 2:133–34). Mandeville nearly apologizes for challenging a popular idea with a practical objection: he acknowledges the claim that people, when they want to gather pepper in the forest of “Combar,” set fire to the base of the trees to make the serpents and snakes flee, but he counters that, “saving the grace of those who say so,” if they lit fires around the pepper-bearing trees, they would burn up, or at least dry out, the trees along with everything else (Deluz, pp. 318–20; Letts, 2:324, 325; Seymour, p. 124).

Polo reports correctly that the Indians gather pepper between May and July (Benedetto, p. 197; Latham, p. 287). Witte's association of the harvest with the feast of Saint Michael (29 September) coincides better with the agricultural calendar of northern Europe (still remembered, though rarely, in such terms as *Michaelmas onions*).

**139–44 [141–47]** This dark and dangerous strait resembles its predecessor (see commentary 128–35) except that it flows through two adjoining mountains, its swift current sweeping rocks along with it; its incessant din will echo at Purgatory (see commentary 390–98). Witte does not specifically claim to have negotiated this hazard, although he somehow knows it to be three miles long. His unapologetic bafflement by this and other puzzles (see lines 143–44) contrasts sharply with Mandeville's systematic efforts to leave no oddity unexplained. For example, after copying a passage from Odoric in which the “*phylosophi et sapientes*” at the great khan's court act like automatons (Wyngaert, pp. 480–81; Yule and Cordier, 2:237–40), Mandeville introduces a sensible but entirely invented analysis of the “*significacioun*” of this behavior (Deluz, pp. 391–92; Letts, 2:361; Seymour, pp. 169–70). Patch reviews many instances of the river and mountain motif in “other world” descriptions, although he does not mention the *Itinerarius* (pp. 108–9, 116–17, 129–30, 162–63).

**145–47 [148–49]** Witte again describes a plausible site but locates it obscurely. Polo, a merchant, is understandably concerned with the customs houses of Asia, of which he names several, and he asserts that the great khan taxes merchandise imported by sea at 10% of its value (Benedetto, p. 153; Latham, p. 228). Goitein observes that Indian duties were so reasonable that cheating was uncommon (pp. 51–52).

The name “Gadde” may be a corruption of “Baghdad.” Pegolotti, in his handbook for merchants (ca. 1340), refers to a precious dye from this city as “Indago di Gabbadeo”; a Pisan ordinance dated 1323 also mentions “Indico di Bagade.” Other derivations are possible. Pegolotti lists toll sta-

tions from Ayaz to Tabriz, the seventh of which is the unidentified Gadue (Evans, pp. 207 and n. 11 [see also p. 204 and n. 1], 389–91). Polo notes that salt blocks with the khan's official stamp are minted in a Sichuan region called "Gaddi" in a Latin version of the *Divisament* and "Gagdy," "Gagadi," and "Gaddyte" in various manuscript copies of the medieval German (Bavarian dialect) translation from Latin (Tscharner, p. 32 and n. 7; Benedetto reads "Gaindu" [pp. 113–15]; Latham translates "Kaindu" [pp. 174–76]). Jan te Winkel believes that Witte's Gadde is Aden (1:571), a well-known port of call whose sultan levied what Polo considers to be "heavy duties" (Benedetto, p. 213; Latham, p. 308).

**148–50 [150–52]** Several cities named Edissa (Edessa) were part of the medieval world, the most prominent of which is modern Urfa, in southeastern Turkey, an ancient center of Syriac Christians that was a crusader state from 1098 to 1144. According to the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, the relics of the doubting apostle were transferred here from India; the move probably took place in or before A.D. 233. In the late fourth century, Egeria visited the apostle's shrine, observing that most pilgrims who reached Jerusalem also made the twenty-five day journey to Edissa (Franceschini, p. 59; Gingras, pp. 15, 76, 77–81, 202–3 and nn. 194–95, 205–7 and nn. 204–18). Ludolph believes that "Edissen" was an earlier name for Damietta and that Thomas was buried in Egypt (Deycks, p. 62; Stewart, p. 81), but Mandeville says he was martyred in India and his body carried off by Assyrians to "Edisse," the city from which it later was returned to the site of his death at "Calamie" [Mailapur, a city once south of modern Madras] (Deluz, p. 325; Letts, 2:327; Seymour, p. 127). See commentary 300–60.

Witte alone thinks that Edissa is Prester John's capital, and he is one of only a few late medieval writers to presume that capital to be glorious. Polo provides a tepid account of "Tanduc," where Prester John ruled before his defeat by the Mongols (Benedetto, pp. 51–52; Latham, pp. 105–6). Odoric scornfully observes that "even Vicenza is better than the city of Cosan, [Prester John's] capital" (Wyngaert, p. 483; Yule and Cordier, 2:246). Mandeville, whose estimation of Prester John is higher, calls "Nyse" (also "Nise") the better ("meilleur") city of Pentoxoire; it is the site of a lovely palace, but its air is less favorable than that of "Suse," where the emperor resides more commonly at his "principal palays" (Deluz, pp. 433, 439, 438; Letts, 2:383, 387, 386; Seymour, pp. 195, 199, 198). John of Hildesheim locates Prester John's palace at "Seuwa" or "Suwella" (Horstmann, p. 110). Prester John first appears on European maps around 1307, as a ruler in Ethiopia, and cartographers found a place for him in Africa or Asia until the late sixteenth century. He is depicted in modern India on the Vesconte-Sanudo *mappaemundi*, drawn ca. 1321 (Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," pp. 333, 363–64). On the Catalan Atlas (ca. 1375) the king of "Núbia" is said to be under the dominion of Prester John, but the emperor himself is missing from the map (Grosjean, plate 4B, p. 80).

150–51 [152–53] Witte's comparison of cities in Europe and Asia is a common feature of medieval travel writing, enhancing the grandeur of the Orient (a rare exception is Odoric's comment in the previous note) and establishing a link between "here" and "elsewhere," an element of Guéret-Laferté's "rhetoric of alterity" (pp. 235–41). Tellenbach points out that the practice became more frequent in the fifteenth century (p. 76).

Twenty-four Colognes would have been quite a metropolis. Late medieval Cologne, restricted to the west bank of the Rhine, had a population of around 35,000 (about the size of London). Between 1180 and 1220, a wall, seven kilometers long and studded with numerous towers, was built to protect the city (Hagen, "Territorium und Geschichte," in *Rhein und Maas*, 1:33). Rudolf von Ems more modestly makes Cologne equal in size to an important Arab harbor town (*Der guote Gêrhart*, ed. John A. Asher, 2nd ed. [1962; repr. Tübingen, 1971], lines 1276–77). When the relics of the magi were transferred to Cologne from Milan in 1164, the city's status as a major pilgrimage site was guaranteed (see Röhricht and Meisner, pp. 2–3). See commentary 249–55. Chaucer's Wife of Bath slept here (General Prologue, I. 465–66).

Cologne figured in the lives of several medieval travelers: John of Plano Carpini was one of the first Franciscans in the city; friar Arnold left here to join John of Monte Corvino in China in 1303; William of Boldensele evidently died in Cologne around 1340 (Wyngaert, pp. 4, 347; Grotefend, p. 234). A cleric like Witte, who says he grew up in the Utrecht area, would most likely have gone to Cologne for formal education (see chapter 2).

152–63 [154–66] The *Letter of Prester John* includes a description of the emperor's palace that pays more attention to such materials as decorative gems and woods than to size and organization, which is Witte's focus (Zarncke, 7:917–18). The structure in the *Itinerarius* is dazzling, but no more so than the residence of the great khan in accounts by Polo (Benedetto, pp. 62–63, 74–76; Latham, pp. 108, 124–27), Odoric (Wyngaert, pp. 471–74; Yule and Cordier, 2:217–24), and Mandeville (Deluz, pp. 370–72; Letts, 2:349–51; Seymour, pp. 155–56). That a building measuring four square "German" miles should stand on only nine hundred columns—even with giant atlantes in the center—constitutes imaginative engineering. Once again, the distance measured by a "mile" varies. According to Durand (pp. 156, 168–69), one German mile was generally comparable to four Italian miles, and eighteen German miles equaled the distance of one degree of latitude (thus, it would approximate 4.4 English miles [7.1 kilometers]). Whatever the case, as a structure Witte's palace far outstrips the noblest "theatre . . . in this world," the *mappamundi*-like tournament grounds built to Theseus's strict specifications in *The Knight's Tale*, with its circumference of just one (English) mile (I. 1885–87).

Witte's reference to a mechanical king and queen who pass two objects back and forth, possibly an image of harmony, is obscure and apparently mystified scribes. Part of the passage is missing in *B*, and it is omitted entirely in all the printed editions and *K* (lemmata L445, 450; D216). The queen's ball may be a metal or crystal sphere thought to have magical power (Kenseth, pp. 265–66 and fig. 41; Thorndike 6:498). Mechanical contraptions whose purpose is more spectacular than practical convey a sense of the East's exoticism in medieval travel writing from the time of Luidprand of Cremona, who marveled at the emperor's elevator throne at Constantinople in 949 (Frederick Wright, p. 208). Marvelous technology underlies the plot of Chaucer's *The Squire's Tale*. Various of the khan's machines impressed Polo (Benedetto, pp. 80–81; Latham, p. 136), Odoric (Wyngaert, p. 473; Yule and Cordier, 2:222), and Mandeville (Deluz, pp. 373–74; Letts, 2:352; Seymour, p. 157). William of Rubruck seemed pleased to point out that an elaborate fountain in the palace of Möngke khan, equipped to spurt out four different alcoholic drinks simultaneously, was actually the work of the Parisian master goldsmith William Buchier (Wyngaert, pp. 276–77; Dawson, pp. 175–76).

164–70 [167–74] Edissa's bustling international society, described in this passage, turns out to be restricted to men; we learn later that women are permitted only three annual visits (see commentary 283–92). Although Persians and Armenians celebrated the new year on 1 August, no other medieval traveler mentions this date. Witte, whose mind is on crowds and circuses, may be thinking of festivals in Europe that coincide with the consecration of the first ripe grain at the beginning of August (Lammas-tide).

170–73 [174–77] Polo describes a gallery on the ground level of the palace of the (deposed) king of Manzi that is “adorned with paintings and with gilded columns, . . . [with] pictures of beasts and birds, knights and ladies, and scenes from the history of past kings, portrayed with consummate artistry” (Benedetto, p. 150; Latham, p. 225). Mandeville, borrowing from the *Letter of Prester John*, mentions columns at Prester John's palace but no images (Deluz, p. 438; Letts, 2:386–87; Seymour, p. 199). Witte decorates this Asian palace with art that portrays secular and sacred authorities in Western history. According to tradition, Helena, the saintly mother of Constantine I, found the true cross and the location of Jesus's sepulcher in 327; in a sense, she corresponds to Prester John as a female emblem of both religious and political power.

174–80 [178–85] Gaining access to the first story of Prester John's palace—a 500-step climb—is less demanding than getting to the upper floors,

to which the way is even more arduous (see lines 181–82). The palace is thus taller than any building ever built. (By way of comparison, the Washington Monument's interior has a total of 900 stairs.) Lions (*leones* may refer to tigers) threaten several travelers, including Polo, who also reports that an unchained lion prostrates itself before the khan (Benedetto, pp. 155, 156, 85; Latham, pp. 230, 232, 141). In claiming that myriad lions guard the palace against heretics and unbelievers, Witte gives them discrimination in the area of faith, which is unique to this travel book. The Palace of Prophets itself is fairly unremarkable, decorated with statuary of *all* the prophets (limited to the Judeo-Christian tradition, presumably), fabrics, and lamps.

According to manuscript *A*, the lamps burn “at night” (“*de nocte*”); all other Latin manuscripts and printed editions read “day and night” (“*die ac nocte*” or “*die et nocte*” [lemma 490]). While an eye-slip might cause an error (copying *de* for *die ac*), an eager scribe might be responsible for the opposite change in the text. Throughout the *Itinerarius* Witte shows himself to be especially concerned about things that happen at night (see lines 98, 111, 115–16, 169–70, 226, 316–17 [for a nightless place, see 377–78]). The phrase in Middle Dutch manuscript *L* (“*alle nacht*” [lemma D237]) strongly suggests that the translator worked from a Latin manuscript reading *de nocte*.

**181–90 [186–95]** Only after Witte describes the first of seven palaces does he pause to explain the shape of Prester John's colossal palace, but the image is blurry since it is hard to know what he means by “the higher one goes, the larger [it] gets.” Successive levels of the building may become loftier rather than wider, although lines 226–27 suggest that the building resembles an upside-down ziggurat. The three stories of the side chambers surrounding Solomon's temple broaden as they get higher (1 Kings 6:5–6); Witte may have this in mind, or he may be thinking of depictions of the tower of Babel as an expanding spiral (Kenseth, p. 272).

Whatever the palace actually looks like, the enlarged space of each level reflects the increasingly greater holiness of what is commemorated there (in order, prophets, patriarchs, virgins, martyrs, apostles, the Virgin Mary and all angels, and the Holy Trinity). This Christian hierarchical arrangement of an Asian structure is not found in other travel narratives. It also falls short of the models for spiritual transit found in works of mystical or contemplative literature and in the *Paradiso*. Nor does there seem to be any consistent connection between one level's practical function in palace life with the entity to which it is dedicated (lay people and household servants, for example, eat in the Dwelling of the Holy Virgins [lines 192–93]). The whole resembles an architectonic version of the Adoration of the Holy Lamb, such as the center panel of the Gent (or Ghent) altarpiece by the brothers van Eyck at Saint Bavon's (1432).

The source of Witte's report that Abraham's body "is said" to be in Prester John's Palace of Patriarchs is unknown (on constructions that combine passive voice and subjunctive mood see commentary 85–89). Medieval and modern Christian, Jewish, and Muslim pilgrims consistently locate it at Hebron, south of Jerusalem. Perhaps Witte is thinking of Adam, whose body Polo says the "Saracens" ("Le sarain") believe is buried on a mountain in "Seilan" (Ceylon); he offers other points of view but makes God the ultimate arbiter (Benedetto, pp. 192–95; Latham, pp. 281–84). Odoric mentions a mountain on the island of "Silam," where Adam wept over the murder of Abel for one hundred years; a small, deep lake on the mountain was formed by the tears of Adam and Eve (Wyngaert, p. 454; Yule and Cordier, 2:171). Mandeville refers to this same "Silha" but disagrees with Odoric, his source, claiming that Adam and Eve spent that time bemoaning their own expulsion from Paradise (Deluz, pp. 352–53; Letts, 2:341; Seymour, pp. 144–45). John of Marignolli was for four months at the lake "in montem Seyllanum" where Adam and Eve were transported from Eden by an angel; he did some investigation there with a Spanish Muslim, one of many who make "the pilgrimage to Adam" (Wyngaert, p. 535 ["vadunt multi ad peregrinacionem Ade"]). Only the Latin and Middle Dutch manuscripts of the *Itinerarius* raise a difficulty here: all Latin printed editions read "chorus Abrahe" (lemma 497), giving this second "palacium" an alternative name rather than a problematic relic.

That a palace would have a tolling clock during the late 1300s is not implausible. The narrator of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* seems unsurprised to have heard the chimes at midnight "in the castell" (lines 1321–23), although a rooster still might make a more dependable timepiece than an "abbey orlogge" (The Nun's Priest's Tale, VII.2853–54). Mandeville reports golden "oralogles" at the khan's court (Deluz, pp. 391–92; not in Letts, p. 361; Seymour, p. 169). Only Witte observes an alarm clock.

Western visitors to Asia do not usually mention libraries. William of Rubruck records the sensation his books caused when the Mongols saw them—for him, another sign of their philistinism (Wyngaert, pp. 204, 259; Dawson, pp. 120, 162). However, the Anonymous German's report praises the Egyptian sultan's "schone liberye," whose holdings include the entire Bible and the Gospels (Röhricht and Meisner, p. 47). For the use of *transeunt* to mean 'going to study' see Latham, *Word-List*, p. 491.

191–93 [196–99] Witte begins many sentences with an ablative form of a gerund, employed as a present participle; here for the first time the gerund ("Ascendendo") dangles in the absence of a subject. Some attempts to improve the grammar are evident in the Latin textual tradition (lemma 520), although the Middle Dutch translation preserves the rather infelicitous, presumably original, reading (Dutch line 198). This formulation is repeated as Witte climbs to each subsequent level of the palace.

194–96 [200–202] Witte uses precise ecclesiastical terminology in dedicating the fourth dwelling to martyrs (who die for the faith) *and* confessors (who are persecuted, even tortured, but not killed).

197–219 [203–25] Much of Prester John's palace—the third, fourth, and fifth levels—is given over to dining facilities, which are segregated according to class. Medieval travelers frequently report on eating habits in distant lands. As subject matter this is both understandable, since food consumption often occurs publicly, and significant, since writers can influence reader response by describing appealing or disgusting cuisine. Early Franciscan missionaries, finding Mongols repellent, encouraged readers to think similarly by mentioning foods and table manners their audiences would consider obnoxious (see John of Plano Carpini [Wyngaert, pp. 47–49, 117–19; Dawson, pp. 16–17, 62–63] and William of Rubruck [Wyngaert, pp. 176–80; Dawson, pp. 97–100]). By contrast, the great khan's gorgeous utensils and convivial feasts receive respectful attention from Polo (Benedetto, pp. 80–84; Latham, pp. 135–41), Odoric (Wyngaert, p. 474; Yule and Cordier, 2:224–26), and Mandeville (Deluz, pp. 375–76; Letts, 2:353–54; Seymour, pp. 156–58). Witte includes elements of his own in describing Prester John's refectory: the graphite-like tabletop, the brimming fountain, the entertaining lecturers, and the preservative serving dishes—but says nothing about actual food or drink. Witte's claim that Prester John's dishes keep their contents fresh and tasty for one day gets remarkable embellishment in manuscript C, in which they exert preservative power for a month (lemma 580). The table's detoxifying virtue has analogs in other travel reports: according to the Anonymous German, a cup containing poison will explode if served to the Egyptian sultan while he is dining (Röhricht and Meisner, p. 39).

Bells, which may have originated in Asia, are employed in some way in all the world's major religions except Islam. In Christianity, a bell is rung during the rites of excommunication and exorcism (one is included as a warning to demons in many representations of Saint Anthony); the bell that sounds before, halfway through, and after Prester John's meal (lines 211–13) may be meant to recall the one rung three times at the consecration of the eucharist. Tower bells were telling the hours in Europe by the thirteenth century, and they became widespread in the Low Countries. In stating that the bell "*dicatur . . . benedicta*," Witte may be distancing himself from the reputed sanctity of the instrument (it is only "said to be blessed") or he may be giving its name ("it is called 'Blessed'"). If the latter is the case, *appellatur* would have been clearer, but the Middle Dutch translator assumed this to be the meaning of the Latin ("[die] clocke . . . is genoemet benedictus" [lines 218–19]), hence the punctuation here ("genoemet 'Benedictus'"). Each bell in the Utrecht cathedral tower has a name, although none there today predates 1400.

220–27 [226–34] On the palace's sixth level Prester John enjoys private ("speciale") space, where his counselors meet as well, according to manuscripts AC (all other manuscripts, the Middle Dutch texts, and the printed editions have Prester John *and* these counselors meeting together (lemma 599; Dutch lines 231–32). The association between scholars and towers is longstanding: in Boldensele's description of the pinnacle of the Templum Domini, an interpolation in one manuscript (from ca. 1450) notes that "this is where the learned men are found" ("pinnaculum . . . quod locus doctorum erat" [Tongerlo, Abdijarchief, MS 139, fol. 292r]). On revolving palaces or castles in fourteenth-century Arthurian romances, Guillaume De-guillleville's *Pèlerinage de vie humaine*, and the *Pèlerinage de Charlesmagne* see Patch, pp. 278, 316–17.

On Witte's observation that the fifth and sixth levels of the palace "are larger and wider than the others" see commentary 181–90.

228–40 [235–48] The choir of the Holy Trinity here may be called "summa," but Witte must be thinking of the part of the building given over to normal human activity, since he later will state that twenty towers rise above this seventh level (lines 261–62). Prester John's daily participation in three morning masses is consistent with reports of his piety and with his palace's organization. Dressed in ecclesiastical garb (lines 274–75), he works his way gradually down from the seventh level to the fifth, where, presumably, he eats at his remarkable table after worshipping in the choir of the Holy Apostles. The chapel on this seventh story has a rotating ceiling that is less elaborate than the one in Prester John's sleeping quarters.

Early Church tradition held that Saint Veronica's kerchief or veil received the image of Jesus's face when she used it to wipe away his sweat as he was led to crucifixion. Medieval Europeans knew that it was one of the most sacred relics in Rome, where it was shown at Saint Peter's Church on special occasions, because medals imprinted with an image of the cloth were worn as badges by pilgrims to the holy city (Sumption, pp. 222, 249–56). On Chaucer's Pardoner the emblem takes on more cynical meaning (General Prologue, l. 685). According to Dante, people traveled great distances to see the Veronica (*Vita nuova*, 40.1–7), and he compares himself, catching sight of Bernard of Clairvaux in heaven, to a Croatian hick gazing at this relic (*Paradiso*, 31.103–11).

In locating the "facies veronice" in Prester John's capital city, Witte is not necessarily challenging church tradition since the phrase could apply to *any* true image of Christ's face on fabric, the one at Rome being only the most famous (the word is capitalized in Middle Dutch manuscript K, a late transcription), suggesting that this is *the* Veronica). The "Registrum Alphabeticum" (sigs. B8vb–C1rb) recalls a story told by Eusebius of Caesarea (in *Ecclesiastical History* 1.15–16): King Abgarus of Edissa, whose correspondence with Jesus led him to become a believer, later asked



Thomas and two other apostles for a picture of Christ, only to discover that such an “*imago seu effigies aut veronica*” (my emphasis) had appeared miraculously on his linen gown. Thus, a “*veronica*” was associated with an Asian Christian ruler by the early fourth century.

241–48 [249–57] Prester John’s “*dormitorium*” is a model of the medieval European geocentric, domed universe in motion, a cosmology depicted in a famous passage in Lewis’s *The Discarded Image* (pp. 98–100).

The stones in Witte’s magic mirror focus both ocular and mental vision: it thus promotes reflection in more than one sense. In the *Letter of Prester John*, the emperor’s thirteen-story tower contains such a mirror (Zarncke, 7:919–20, 931); Slessarev believes this to be a “trace of possible Oriental influence” in the work’s composition (p. 49). The function of both of these looking glasses resembles that of a gift that the “*kyng of Arabe and of Inde*” sends to Canacee, the daughter of Cambyuskan in Chaucer’s *The Squire’s Tale*—a “*mirour*” that reveals any problem throughout the kingdom, any treason at court, and any unfaithfulness in a lover (V.132–41). Specular insight occurs in Western contexts as well. A mirror that magnifies small things would have enabled Mars and Venus to avoid the trap set for them by Vulcan, according to Jean de Meun, who describes the advantages of a knowledge of optics in the *Roman de la Rose* (ll. 17993–18298). In Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, Genius teaches Amans about three philosophers’ stones, including the *lapis animalis*, which keeps the five senses safe and keen (4.2450–2580). In Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzifal*, Gawan gazes into a mirror-pillar found in Marvel Castle (“*Schastel marveil*”), itself in “*Terre marveille*,” and believes that he can see the entire land (“*in dûhte daz im al diu lant / in der grôzen siule wærn bekant*”), although later we learn that the viewing range is limited to a radius of around six miles (ll. 12.557.6–9, 12.590.7–8 and 1–4, 13).

By *experientiam* (line 246), Witte apparently means the capacity to make judgments informed by observation. The Latin word entered European vernaculars, although the Middle Dutch translator shows no sign of it (lemma D329). Chaucer, using an astrolabe to measure the sun’s height at midday in December, claims to have had “the ful experience” of his calculation (*Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 2.1.24–25). In the moralized geography of Dante’s world, Ulysses persuades his companions to enjoy “*l’esperienza*” of the forbidden world of the Antipodes, which leads to their shipwreck (*Inferno*, 26.116–17).

249–55 [258–65] The principal object of religious art in Prester John’s palace is an iconographically complicated (or perhaps confused) representation of the *Maiestas Domini*. The nine orders of angels share their ordained spaces with human representatives from most of the six spiritual ranks commemorated on lower levels of the palace. There are some strange discrepancies, however: the Virgin Mary is not mentioned here (but “*vir-*

gins” are); the magi appear for the first time; martyrs now form a separate group from confessors; and the list in lines 250–52 does not follow the hierarchical organization of the building. The high point of this image is, literally, Christ, seated in majesty on a throne, surrounded by archangels and the twenty-four elders, a scene based on Rev. 4:2–5:14 and 19:1–4 (minus the four “living creatures”). (The printed editions reduce the number of elders to nine, possibly misunderstanding *seniores* and thinking of the nine orders of angels [lemma 673].) The scrolls that evidently display the texts of angelic songs, which are ordinaries of the Latin mass, suggest that Witte is visualizing, in India, a European church portal, a manuscript illustration, or even part of a book binding (such as the embossed cover of Münster, Staatsarchiv, MS VII, 1315 [late eleventh century], repeating an illumination on fol. 88v). Pilgrims entering the cathedral at Santiago de Compostela passed through the Portico of Glory, the central typanum of which features a *Maestas Domini* sculpted between 1168 and 1188, supervised by master Mateo.

The presence of the magi among the images Witte sees would have resonated with the *Itinerarius*’s audience around Cologne, where the relics of the three kings were enshrined after 1164 (see commentary 150–51). John of Hildesheim mentions a “common prophecy” that the body of Saint Thomas one day would join theirs in the cathedral there (Horstmann, pp. xvii–xxi, 132). On the Catalan Atlas, the Wise Men are seen on horseback in central Asia, riding westward; an accompanying legend states they are buried at Cologne, “a two-day journey from Bruges” (Grosjean, plate 5B, p. 86). Polo, on the other hand, after considerable inquiry concludes that certain kings buried near the Persian town of Sava [Saveh] are in fact the magi (Benedetto, p. 24; Latham pp. 58–60).

**256–58 [266–68]** The Saint Thomas Christians are said to have venerated the cross with particular intensity, so Prester John’s “adoration” here reflects, perhaps accidentally, actual practice (Atiya, *History*, pp. 385–86). According to Brunetto Latini in his *Li Livres du Trésor* (ca. 1265), a fountain in Ethiopia produces water that is ice cold by day and boiling hot by night (p. 171); the passage is borrowed by Mandeville (Deluz, p. 304; Letts, 2:317–18; Seymour, p. 114). Witte dilutes the marvel by describing two separate wells.

**258–60 [268–70]** In what may be an interpolation by the editor Giambattista Ramusio in his version of the *Divisament* (1559), Polo reports that two huge men are stationed at the doorway of whatever chamber the great khan is in, not so much to protect him as to ensure that no one steps on the threshold, which the Mongols revered. Far from killing offenders, as Witte’s giants do, these guards just take away their clothes (Benedetto, p. 81, n. e; Latham, p. 137). Evidently Prester John remained vulnerable, after sundown, to an enemy who was neither a heretic (see lines 176–77) nor a

stranger (see lines 185–88), although Witte seems generally suspicious of the dark (see commentary 174–80). The Middle Dutch translation turns the giant into a revolving hollow mechanism (Dutch lines 273–75).

261–66 [271–76] Prester John's topheavy penthouse, with its twenty gilded towers and twenty-four revolving rooms, so recalls Atlantic City that few modern readers will regret Witte's memory loss here (see commentary 11–12). Mandeville describes two golden balls ("deux reondez pomeaux d'or") above the principal tower of Prester John's palace, each of which contains two enormous carbuncles that shine very brightly at night (Deluz, p. 438; Letts, 2:386; Seymour, p. 199).

267–70 [277–80] Witte follows standard medieval geographers in naming the Tigris as one of the four rivers of Paradise, but he alone has it flow through Prester John's capital. Honorius Augustodunensis followed and sustained tradition in making it the eastern border of Mesopotamia (Flint, pp. 52, 55). The riches of gold that Witte attributes to the Tigris more commonly characterize the Phison (variously identified as the Amu Darya [Oxus], the Indus, and the Ganges), which Mandeville locates in India and makes synonymous with the "Ganges," carrying with it many precious gems and gold nuggets (Deluz, p. 469 [see also pp. 144, 286–87, 423]; Letts, 2:405 [see also 2:251, 309, 378]; Seymour, p. 220 [see also pp. 30, 105, 189]). Indeed, in these two sentences Witte echoes for the first time the twelfth-century treatise *De adventu Patriarche Indorum* (see commentary 300–60), which specifically states that the Phison—not the Tigris—flows through Hulna, Prester John's capital, located near the church of Saint Thomas and its twelve surrounding monasteries (Zarncke, 7:839). (The early fifteenth-century Portuguese infante Dom Pedro claims that the Phison is found in Panfibian, the chief city of a mighty elephant-hunting king [Rogers, pp. 135, 181–82].) Witte seems oblivious to the hubris implicit in Saint Thomas's foundation of twelve monasteries "in honor of Christ and the twelve apostles," thus including himself in the dedication.

271–73 [281–84] In what seems an odd qualification—that thirty thousand people eat daily in Prester John's palace "except for people going in and out" (presumably serving food)—Witte is nearly quoting the *Letter of Prester John*: "In mensa nostra quotidie comedunt triginta millia hominum preter [egredientes et] ingredientes" (Zarncke, 7:919). The passage appears in Mandeville, who mentions thirty thousand diners "sanz alanz et venantz," but he undercuts the extravagance by stating that guests of Prester John and the great khan eat only as much as do twelve thousand Europeans (Deluz, p. 439; Letts, 2:387; Seymour, p. 200). Polo claims that six thousand people could dine at the khan's palace at Cambaluc (Khanbaliq), later adding that forty thousand people can be served outside the main hall; by contrast, the king of Manzi, when he held power, served only ten thousand,

but his palace was the most beautiful in the world (Benedetto, pp. 75, 80, 151; Latham, pp. 125, 136, 225). Prester John's advertisement of his hospitality—in golden letters—appears only in the *Itinerarius*.

274–76 [285–87] The *Letter of Prester John* mentions the emperor's frequent hunting trips and great popularity, but its author complains of a lack of horses in Asia, a common (not altogether mistaken) belief in medieval Europe, which was otherwise eager to imagine India as a zoo. Witte, in describing Prester John "ut rex equitando" seems deliberately to contradict the *Letter* (Zarncke, 7:915–16). Polo describes the khan's love of hunting but not his costume (Benedetto, pp. 87–88; Latham, pp. 141–44).

276–80 [287–91] Prester John's salutation echoes the confidence of Güyük khan's letter to Pope Innocent IV, which John of Plano Carpini brought back to Europe in 1247 (Wyngaert, pp. 142–43; Dawson, pp. 85–86). Mandeville reports that the khan, in his title and his seals, claims dominion over the entire earth; Prester John, for his part, has sovereignty over seventy-two kings (Deluz, pp. 386–87, 435; Letts, 2:359, 384; Seymour, p. 166, 197). Both Witte and Mandeville appear to obtain their information from the *Letter*, which points out that only a few of these rulers are Christians (Zarncke, 7:911). The printed editions of the *Itinerarius* make Prester John lord over only eighteen other rulers (lemmata 740, 742). One possible explanation of the change connects to a medieval belief that the peoples of the world speak a total of seventy-two languages, implying a roughly equal number of *nationes*; Prester John, while he might be powerful, could not be lord over all of them.

Witte's usage of *usque* in line 278 is puzzling (unless it is a deliberate joke). The context seems to demand that Eden be moved far to the west, since from the standpoint of traditional European geography "from the rising of the sun as far as the Terrestrial Paradise" is in effect a single point on the earth and not an expanse of territory. The problem is exacerbated by the facts that all four rivers of Paradise flow through Edissa and Witte approaches Eden some four weeks after he sails east from Prester John's capital (lines 293–97, 380–81). The phrase may simply be inelegant: it could be translated "from the rising of the sun—that is, all the way [east] to the Terrestrial Paradise," but this leaves the sentence dangling.

280–82 [291–93] Almost every medieval European who describes Asia mentions clothing style (like eating, this is a kind of public behavior that can be readily observed). According to John of Plano Carpini, all Mongols wear identical unisex tunics of reddish buckram and brocade (Wyngaert, pp. 33–34; Dawson, p. 7), while William of Rubruck noticed class distinctions among the khan's people—silk-lined furs for the rich, and dog or goat skins with a cotton lining for the poor (Wyngaert, pp. 181–82; Dawson, p. 101). Mandeville describes only opulent attire; some manuscripts

include a passage underscoring the inexpensiveness of Chinese fabrics: “clothes of gold and of sylk ben gretter chep there a gret del than ben clothes of wolles here” (Deluz, p. 390; Letts, 2:360 n. 3 [the phrase is not in all French texts]; Seymour, p. 168). According to a letter written by John of Monte Corvino in 1292 or 1293 from the vicinity of the actual church of Saint Thomas, local Indians went about barefooted, dressed only in loin-cloths owing to the hot weather (Wyngaert, pp. 345, 343; Yule and Cordier, 3:64). Witte transfers Chinese fashion to the Coromandel coast.

283–92 [294–305] Several secular medieval travelers report a place where women live autonomously. No male claims to have been there, but all agree that cohabitation is rigidly controlled and that offspring are separated at an early age, with sons either killed or sent to live with their fathers. Polo locates Male Island (“Le yslé que est apellé masle”) and Female Island (“ysle, que est apellé femeles”) off the coast of India, some thirty miles apart. The men join the women from March to May, sowing grain and raising their adolescent sons (Benedetto, p. 203; Latham, pp. 295–96). Writing ca. 1420, the infante Dom Pedro claims that Christian women, subjects of Prester John, let men into “Sonterra” three times a year—in “March and April and May” (Rogers, p. 143). The island “Illa Iana,” also called “regio femarum” [*sic*], appears on the Catalan Atlas, emblemized by a seated woman holding an orb and a raised sword (Grosjean, plate 6A, p. 91). The Sawley, Ebstorf, and Hereford maps also demarcate territories where women are sovereign (Westrem, *Hereford Map*, pp. 56–57). The Anonymous German’s report about the East mentions a central Asian community of martial women who lose much of their strength when they are pregnant (Röhrich and Meisner, p. 62). Mandeville’s inhabitants of “Amazoine,” or “la terre de Ffemynie,” are the most independent women in any of these accounts. When they “desire the company of a man,” they make their way to a border and stay with their “amis” for around ten days before returning home. Boys must join their fathers as soon as they can feed themselves and walk. Mothers cauterize the left breasts of aristocratic daughters to enable them to carry a shield; those whose mothers are foot soldiers (“femme de pié”) lose their right breasts so that they can better shoot a bow (Deluz, pp. 302–3; Letts, 2:316–17; Seymour, pp. 113–14). This distinction reflects the social divisions of a medieval European army.

The only clerics who describe a “terra feminarum” in the context of their journeys in the East are Witte and Jordan of Sévérac: his marvels of India include “islands of women only, and of men only, such that the men cannot live long on the islands of the women, and *vice versa*” (Yule, p. 44). As he does elsewhere, Witte combines elements of several stories and appears to add details of his own: women, who inhabit an island ringed by a protecting wall, sail three times a year to the all-male society in Edissa. In keeping with his priestly vocation, Witte portrays these women as pious Christians whose three annual visits to men are tied to holy days—Sep-

tuagesima (the third Sunday before Lent), the feast of Saint John the Baptist (24 July), and the feast of Saint Michael (29 September). It is not unusual for a medieval European to date events using the ecclesiastical calendar, but Witte gives no indication that the Christians of Asia might not calculate Lent according to the calendar of the Latin Church. The respect that men and women show for the holy sanctuary and the institution of marriage somewhat offsets the indelicacy of Witte's need to stipulate that, when not getting married or listening to masses outside church windows, they spend their time copulating (*coeundo* is omitted in the early printed editions [lemma 761]; in *C* only the women do not enter churches [lemma 763], while this act of communal piety is reported more tentatively in the subjunctive mood in *B* [lemma 764]).

These secular and clerical descriptions do not call the women Amazons, although the name has been used to designate independent warrior women since Homer (Witte will later visit Amosona, which is governed by a queen [see commentary 432–39]). Most strands in the widespread network of stories surrounding Alexander the Great include them. Walter of Châtillon relates how their queen, Talestris, spent thirteen nights with the king, hoping to produce a daughter to succeed her; she promised to return a son, if she bore one, to his father (*Alexandreis*, 8.41–43 [pp. 200–201]). Vernacular treatments of the Alexander legend often place Amazons in disturbing contexts. They fight among the twenty-two nations of Gog and Magog (*Kyng Alisaunder*, ll. 6036–45 [some twenty thousand “maydens” are bold in battle and “comelich in bed”]). The counterpart to Talestris is Queen Candace, who is associated not with “Amazonia” but Sheba (“Saba” in *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 7616 [see Acts 8:27]). Chaucer's knight makes Hippolyta the queen of “Femenye” and twice rhymes her name with “Scithia” (even after calling it an anachronism [The Knight's Tale, l. 866–85]), a toponym nearly always associated with (for men) aberrant social behavior.

293–99 [306–12] The four rivers of Paradise have their textual basis in Gen. 2:11–14 and were frequently mentioned in world histories. Isidore's brief account of each river's characteristics in the *Etymologies* (13.21.8–10) became traditional, although later sources indebted to this encyclopedia vary on specific details. According to Isidore, the Tigris flows swiftly, even “tiger”-like, an etymology Mandeville repeats (he also derives Phison from “assemblee,” Gyson from “trouble,” and Euphrates from “bien portant,” or “Wel Berynge” in the Cotton Version [Deluz, pp. 468–69; Letts, 2:405–6; Seymour, p. 220–21]). Witte has already identified the Tigris as a source of gold (see commentary 267–70). The Phison (Amu Darya, Indus, or Ganges) was known especially for its many tributaries; Mandeville mentions its gold and, like Witte, its precious stones (Deluz, p. 468; Letts, 2:405; Seymour, p. 220). The Gyon (or Nile), tradition held, flowed underground through much of Asia and reemerged in Africa, where its annual flooding was vital to agriculture. That Witte refers specifically to its “fresh water”

is thus unremarkable; Ludolph claims that it caused Egyptian sheep and goats to have two litters per year, usually of twins (Deycks, p. 62; Stewart, p. 81), a fecundity that Witte attributes here to the Euphrates, which for Isidore is a gem-producing river. In his identification of the four rivers, John of Marignolli depicts the Phison as flowing from India into Cathay, where it becomes the “Caramora,” a source of much gold, precious stones, sweet water, and fertility. Thus, one single river acquires the attributes of all four in Isidore, and the Hwang-ho (possibly confused with the Yangtze) entered Western geography (Wyngaert, pp. 532–33; Yule and Cordier, 3:222–26).

300–360 [313–79] Witte’s description of his visit to the church of Saint Thomas derives from the treatise *De adventu patriarche Indorum*, but his borrowings are not verbatim or necessarily faithful, as the following summary indicates. The *Itinerarius* locates the apostle’s shrine in the city of Hulna, on a mountainous island that is a four-day walk from Edissa, Prester John’s capital. In *De adventu*, however, Hulna is the chief city of India, with a circumference of four miles; the Phison (not the Tigris [267–70]) runs through it. The church of Saint Thomas stands atop a nearby mountain in the middle of a lake whose shore is dotted with twelve monasteries, in honor of the twelve apostles (see commentary 267–70). Once a year, from eight days before to eight days after the feast of Saint Thomas, the lake’s waters part, allowing the patriarch to lead a crowd of Christians *and* non-Christians to the shrine, where everyone fervently expects miracles to happen. In the church the apostle’s body remains incorrupt, with the hair, beard, and ruddy face of a live man. At the celebration of the eucharist, the patriarch consecrates the host, which is distributed from a gold patens by Thomas’s right hand to reverent communicants, who believe that it is alive. The hand withdraws from sinners and heathens, who either repent—and so are immediately offered the host—or die when they leave. After the patriarch and pilgrims depart the island, the waters return (Zarncke, 7:839–43).

Witte replaces the voice of the Indian patriarch, the narrator of *De adventu*, with his own. He also is responsible for key additions to the account: the dramatic passage through a parted sea, one thousand armed guards (even though non-believers cannot make the crossing), the ranks of priests (who would need to choreograph their movements), the carefully described mass (a liturgical hybrid of Latin and Eastern practices [see chapter 1, n. 15]), an interest in vespers (314, 349), the changing face of the apostle, and the opulent reliquary. Witte’s most significant embellishment, however, is his guarantee of personal testimony (see commentary 335–39). On the entire passage see Thorndike, 2:236–45.

Certain elements of the story can be found also in other sources. Polo claims that Saint Thomas’s body imparts such virtue to the site of his shrine in Maabar that no descendant of the saint’s killers [the *gavi*] can come near the burial place (Benedetto, pp. 187–89, 181–82; Latham, pp. 274–76, 265).

He offers testimony of his own, relating a miracle that took place there in 1288. A legend on the Catalan Atlas states that the apostle's body is guarded by the Christian king "Steve," who is shown looking toward the city of "butifilis," but neither Thomas nor his church are depicted (Grosjean, plate 6A, p. 90).

A Dutch sailor who accompanied Vasco da Gama on his second voyage to India (1502–3) published in Dutch a brief account of his experience one year after his return: in his *Calcoen* he borrows from this passage in the *Itinerarius*. According to the report, Calicut (the "Calcoen" of the title [Kozhikode]) lies six days away from the city of Lapis, near which, for two weeks each year, people are able to cross the sea with dry feet to the island shrine of Saint Thomas, who distributes the sacrament to the worthy and retracts it from the unworthy. All of this takes place only four days away from Edissa, "where he [Saint Thomas] made the great palace" ("daer hi dat grote pallaes maecte" [*Calcoen*, sig. A5r]). The sailor repeats details unique to the *Itinerarius*—a crossing through the sea, the opposition of "worthy" and "unworthy" congregants—and he clearly locates the shrine on the west (Malabar) coast of India; Witte's geography is ambiguous, but other medieval travelers place the shrine on the east (Coromandel) coast. See commentary 7–11 for another echo of the *Itinerarius* in *Calcoen*.

305–10 [319–25] The western Church celebrates the feast of Saint Thomas on 21 December, but Indian Christians commemorated the event on 6 October. Slessarev notes that this comes in the middle of the dry season, suggesting that the connection between the saint's day and a passage through what is normally a body of water may be based in fact (p. 20). Saint Thomas's martyrdom is 3 July in the Syriac calendar (Brown, p. 55 [see chapter 1, n. 54]).

318–26 [333–42] The procession and liturgy at this Indian church would be familiar to most medieval European Christians—especially monks—reading the *Itinerarius*. The subtle formulation "episcopis ac prelati" (319) correctly makes "bishops" and "prelates" essentially synonymous. The patriarch "readies himself" ("preparat se") for the High Mass, by which Witte may mean that he vests himself properly. The Canon, which is the portion of the mass between the Preface and the Lord's Prayer ("Pater noster"), includes the words of consecration of the bread (host) and the wine, the eucharistic elements. It would be spoken or sung by the officiant, who would ritually lift (elevate) the host for all to see. According to Witte, Saint Thomas's face is unveiled when the patriarch begins the Preface, and its appearance changes during the Elevation. The patriarch consecrates "great quantities" ("magna copia") of the sacrament, consisting of the host only (not wine).

327–34 [343–52] Saint Thomas's hand has acquired such virtue—and thus receives such attention—presumably because he was the only disciple



who insisted on manually inspecting the nail holes and the wounded side of Jesus before he would believe in the resurrection (John 20:24–29). Reliquaries in the shape of an arm or hand are common; the Cologne workshop that produced the shrine for the magi made at least two arm reliquaries during the 1220s (*Rhein und Maas*, p. 345).

**335–39 [353–57]** Witte’s truth-claim—that he saw Saint Thomas’s hand refuse the host to three men on the festival day in 1391—constitutes the kind of “witness” that “gives the strength of truth to the traveler’s discourse,” an instance of “témoignage” found in other reports of journeys (Guéret-Laferté, pp. 171–79 [amply documented]). Medieval readers recognized this to be a stylistic feature of travel books as well, since first-person interruptions of this kind were sometimes added by scribes, especially after 1300 (see commentary 7–11 and a third-person testimonial in *E* at lemma 989). The assertion here lost force over time: it is related in the first-person singular in *ABC* (and in Middle Dutch *K*), although the year (1391) is corrupt in *BC* (see description of *M* in the appendix for the date’s probable presence in that text). All other Latin manuscripts and early printed editions omit the date and employ the third-person singular (except *H*, which shifts to the first-person singular [see lemmata 905–6]).

**349–56 [367–74]** The exact disposition of Saint Thomas’s actual shrine is variously described in the Latin manuscripts. The reliquary is “in front of” (“ante”) a tower in *A* but “at” (“ad”) or “in” (“in”) it in *BCDEa–k* (lemma 947). These texts also more specifically state that “twelve” lamps burn there constantly (lemma 958); Middle Dutch manuscript *K* counts “seven” (Dutch line 354).

**357–60 [375–79]** The five towering lighthouses atop the church of Saint Thomas recall the five found in Grandicanis’s city of Andranopolis (see commentary 110–17), except that these radiate light from precious stones and can be seen by sailors on vessels some two weeks’ distance away. Even with contrary winds, a ship might make fifty English miles per day: if this lighthouse were set up on Manhattan, its beacon could be sighted, theoretically, by a boat that had just left Savannah. (Medieval mariners would have known that the curvature of the earth makes such a feat impossible.) Since Witte has implied that access to the island is limited to Christian pedestrians (300–10, 314–16), ship captains presumably use the lights only to get their bearings.

**361–66 [380–85]** According to the gospel of Saint Matthew (2:1–12), three wise men, or magi, came “from the East” (“ab oriente”) bringing gifts to the infant Jesus; their royal status is based on an interpretation of Ps. 72 [71]:10 (“Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent”). The latter verse explains the name of the mountain in Witte’s account but not other elements of the

description: Arabum's extraordinary height and its status as a dividing line between night and day, which requires a geocentric universe. A warm climate and poisonous beasts in many sizes are staples of descriptions of Asia in medieval—and modern—geographies (Honorius's is a typical example [Flint, pp. 54–55]); travelers encouraged the connection. (On the magi and Cologne see commentary 249–55.)

367–79 [386–97] In receiving Prester John's "licenciam" to depart from Edissa, Witte comes as close as he ever does to claiming that he actually saw the fictional emperor (the word for "official permission" is the same that Boldensele uses to assure his reader that his pilgrimage to Jerusalem had the equivalent of a visa from the pope [Grotefend, p. 260]); on the need for such a license see chapter 1, n. 87. The Portuguese infante Dom Pedro (ca. 1420) is even more forthcoming: he supposedly knelt in front of Prester John and requested his blessing before his entourage exited a land they found attractive in many ways yet unsuitable for "the people of these [European] nations" (Rogers, p. 153).

Moving ten days "farther"—the direction is unspecified but is presumably east—from Prester John, Witte leaves behind the landscape of Asia and finds himself in the setting of stories inspired by travel in the Atlantic. His visit to the "Root of Paradise" recalls a scene at the opening of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* in which the abbot Barrind tells young Brendan about his experience on an island called "terra repromissionis sanctorum," where every plant is in flower, all trees bear fruit, and each stone is precious. Barrind and his companion Mernóc wander around for what they think is fifteen days (there has been no night) before meeting a man, splendid in appearance, who explains that they have in fact been on the island for one year without food, drink, or sleep. Near the end of the *Navigatio*, Brendan and his men, after seven years of sailing, are able at last to penetrate this same island's surrounding mists and discover for themselves its cornucopia of fruit and light. In the original Latin, Brendan has fourteen companions, but in the Middle English version two of them are lost to sin in early episodes, so that the group, like Witte's, recalls Jesus and the disciples or heroic bands of a dozen men in Alexander and Charlemagne legends. Unlike Witte, however, Brendan and his men stay for forty days and are invited by their guide (the same angel who hosted Barrind) to take with them any fruits or gems they want (Selmer, pp. 4–8, 78–81; O'Meara, pp. 2–6, 67–69). All versions of the Brendan story focus on the saintly leader, but Witte is just a hand on deck under the command of a *patronus*. The toponym "Radix Paradisi" seems to be Witte's invention, perhaps based on the vignette that follows; the Middle Dutch translator, in rendering *radix* "wortel" took the word to mean "root"; the sense is perhaps "starting point."

The collapsing of time in the *Itinerarius* is wittily transposed by Cervantes. When Don Quixote emerges from the enchantments of the cave of

Montesinos, Sancho Panza tells him that he has been gone a little over an hour, to which the fantastical knight replies: “That cannot be . . . [for] by my reckoning, I have been three days in these remote regions hidden from the upper world” (Part II, ch. 23).

380–85 [398–403] Witte’s report of the setting sun’s splendid illumination of the wall around the Terrestrial Paradise on Mt. Edom at vespers cleverly intimates—but does not state overtly—that he witnessed something no other traveler is so bold or righteous to have seen. Mandeville, whose claims to experience are ample, draws the line here, admitting that he cannot speak responsibly about “Paradis terrestre” because he was not worthy enough to go there. He can, as usual, offer some information: it is the highest place in the world, located at the easternmost piece of land on earth and surrounded by a wall, apparently of moss or dense undergrowth, whose single gate is sealed with fire—altogether a more gothic setting than Witte’s crystalline Eden reflecting a gorgeous sunset as if it were a star. Mandeville’s Paradise is, furthermore, a dangerous place. He warns that no one can traverse the savage deserts and dangerous seas that surround it, although he notes that many have tried; all who do, however, drown, go blind, or lose their hearing from the roaring of the waves. Even garrulous Mandeville loses his voice, concluding his rather detailed description with an apology for being unable to say or explain anything about the place, and determining to keep still or at least to return to geography he *can* speak of from experience (“Si que de cel lieu ne vous savoroie jeo plus qe dire ne deviser et pur ceo me taray atant et me retorneray a ceo qe j’ay veu” [Deluz, pp. 468–70; Letts, 2:405, 406; Seymour, pp. 220, 222]). John of Marignolli believes that Paradise is a walled area of Ceylon, which he thinks has the world’s highest elevation (Wyngaert, pp. 531–32; Yule, 3:220).

A respectable number of medieval texts preserve *visions* of Paradise. Some of their motifs—the four rivers, “negative” descriptions (an absence of winter or cold), concentration on abundance—enter the *Itinerarius* elsewhere. Writers of such visionary works often mention sounds or features of the landscape, such as bells and bridges, and many contrast the joys of heaven with the tortures of purgatory or hell; Witte includes none of these (Patch, pp. 134–74). “Giovanni de Hese” joins Brunetto Latini and the Alexander Legend as a medieval source that treats the Terrestrial Paradise in the linguistic context of such mystical visions in Tardiola, p. 32.

Belief that the Terrestrial Paradise is a geographical reality continued well into the early modern period. Christopher Columbus maintained that it was not on a mountain but formed the summit of the entire earth, whose shape he compared to a pear rather than the more traditional ball mentioned by Honorius and others (Flint, p. 49); on his third voyage (1498–1500) he concluded that the strong currents in the Gulf of Paría resulted from Eden’s proximity. It is one of Columbus’s most medieval moments (Jane, 2:34–42

[odd pages Spanish, even pages English]). The respected cosmographer Pedro de Medina included Paradise in his *Coloquio de cosmographia* (1543) but called its location “unknown” (Lamb, pp. 19–20, 214 n. 31).

386–89 [404–7] Alexander’s adventures in Asia offered medieval European poets a popular and challenging subject: the story required battle scenes, speeches, romance, and exoticism, while the general’s drive east kept the plot moving. In the late 1250s, Jacob van Maerlant brought the legend into Middle Dutch. Witte alludes here to a story that exists in most versions in which the heroic warrior decides, as Walter of Châtillon’s personification of Nature puts it, to “surround and lay siege to Paradise” (10.97–98). In other texts, Alexander, having conquered kingdom after kingdom, sends an ultimatum for surrender to a defenseless island of simple, morally upright people. They respond to the emperor’s challenge by insisting that they are poor and that all he can take from them is their peace. Another popular legend has Alexander demand tribute money from a strange Asian city whose inhabitants, condemning his ambition, present him with a precious stone in the shape of a human eye. Puzzled, Alexander discovers a wise Jew who explains its meaning: he weighs the eye, which at first is heavier than any amount of gold, then scatters dust on it, after which even a thin bezant can tip the scale. Alexander learns that mortality will eventually conquer him and is sufficiently humbled (Ross, pp. 264–65). In most of these stories, Alexander’s uncontrolled desire for power leads to his undoing, although Mandeville depicts the hero as sufficiently humbled to stop harassing these people of “Bragmey” (Deluz, pp. 456–58; Letts, 2:397–98; Seymour, p. 213). Witte’s reference to Alexander as a “Roman emperor” is deleted in manuscript C and all printed editions (lemmata 1050, 1054).

390–98 [408–16] The Earthly Paradise functions as *terra ne plus ultra* in a moral sense for Mandeville, who is (eventually) rendered speechless by its sanctity, and in a literal sense for Witte, who begins his return here, although he says nothing about turning around. A world in which Purgatory lies a month or more away from Eden shows little sign of Dante’s geography: Ulysses’s “mad flight” was westward (*Inferno*, 26.125), but this general sense of space, if not this text, may underlie Witte’s continued progress *east* on his return. The dry, dreary island of the *Itinerarius*, with its rugged coastline and dolorous noises, also lacks the vivid tortures that characterize monastic visions and imaginative forays into Purgatory, which Jacques Le Goff calls a new genre of storytelling in the thirteenth century (pp. 177–208, at p. 177). Purgatory received official status as a doctrine of the Church at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. Witte’s claim to have effected the release of three souls *in situ* is unprecedented. Moreover, because his masses appear to be generic, rather than said on behalf of specific relatives or fellow clerics, they conform to liturgical entreaties that the

faithful pray for the souls of all the departed, yet as a result they do not represent a Purgatory that, in Le Goff's view, supports a social system of "bonds between the living and the dead" (pp. 237, 304, 293).

399–405 [417–22] That ancient foe, the satanic sea-monster, suggested itself as a sinister worker of woe to medieval writers of bestiaries, fables, sermons, and plays (Rowland, pp. 17–20; Wahlund, pp. 239–43 [citing Christian writers from Ambrose to Brunetto Latini]). Brendan and his companions pay an annual visit to a whale that resembles a rocky island (one "with few trees," the text reads ironically). On their first visit, when the monks have said mass and brought their breakfast to a boil, they feel the earth move like waves beneath them; leaving everything behind, they scramble back to the boat where Brendan, who has remained on board, rescues them and explains, somewhat tardily, that they had anchored on a fish named Jasconius. The company returns to this whale every Holy Saturday for seven years; on their second visit, they find the lost cooking pot (Selmer, pp. 20–21, 42; O'Meara, pp. 18–19, 36).

Of all Witte's stories, this one is most demonstrably derived from a written source since the name of the monster, found also in vernacular versions of the Brendan story, is preserved here; the whale is *Jasconius* in Old Norse, *Jascom* in [metrical] Middle English. The Middle Dutch *Reis van Sint Brandaan* lacks this name, however, as well as the detail of the cooking pots, and it has Brendan go ashore with his monks (ll. 293–342). Selmer calls this the most famous episode in the legend, one that has entered "world literature," and he notes that *iasc* is Irish for 'fish' (pp. 86, 100–101). Witte adds a flourish of his own: his leviathan is a mile long; the Middle Dutch translation nearly drops the story altogether, eliding it with the episode with the monk (Dutch lines 392–94; see commentary 406–12).

406–12 [423–28] Witte's story of the hospitable monk recalls Brendan's experience on the island of Ailbei, where he and his companions are met by an old, white-haired abbot who leads them to his cloister and treats them courteously (Selmer, pp. 31–32; O'Meara, pp. 25–32). Witte's host, who is eager to learn about Saint Thomas, appears to be black, although "niger monachus" may be a play on words, identifying him as a Benedictine. If Witte is here referring to the monk's appearance and *not* his order, he does not necessarily imagine himself in Ethiopia once again (line 77). Medieval Europeans did not follow modern racial stereotypes that associate a specific skin color exclusively with a particular part of the world. The Anonymous German, in describing the realms of the magi, states that Melchior came from "Nubien" (in Africa) and Balthazar from "Tartarien" (in east Asia) but he does not identify them by color. The orthodox Christian people of Jaspas's realm of "Tharsi" (in central Asia), however, are as black as Moors ("as swartze as Moir"), and in all their church sculptures and

paintings they represent God and the saints as black but color the devil white (Röhrich and Meisner, pp. 13–14).

**412–15 [428–31]** Witte's observation of huge sheep and goats recalls a scene in the *Navigatio*—near the beginning of the work, before the Jasconius episode, and not after “many obstacles” (lines 406–7)—in which Brendan and his men happen upon an island so full of sheep that they cannot see the ground, a convenient occurrence because it is Maundy Thursday. A man who appears periodically during the seven-year voyage (not the host on Ailbei) explains to the monks that the sheep grow to be as large as cows because they are never milked or tied up, even in winter; thus, he says, they are larger than animals “in your countries.” The Latin of the *Navigatio* is echoed, though not quoted, in the *Itinerarius*: “Interrogabat quoque sanctus Brendanus illum quomodo potuissent oues esse tam magne. . . . Erant enim maiores quam boues. Cui ille dixit: ‘Nemo colligit lac de ouibus in hac insula, nec hiemps dstringit illas, sed in pascuis semper commorantur die noctuque. Ideo maiores sunt hic quam in uestris regionibus’” (Selmer, pp. 19–20; O'Meara, pp. 15–17). The island somehow offers ample pasturage even though Witte describes it as heavily forested. Mandeville locates giants at the end of the world, on an island with ox-sized sheep (Deluz, pp. 448–49; Letts, 2:393; Seymour, p. 206). See commentary 89–98. An island of sheep (“Insula arietum”) and islands of Saint Brendan (“insule sancti brandani”) appear on the Hereford Map (Westrem, *Hereford Map*, pp. 300–301, 388–89).

**416–22 [432–38]** Witte's naked, hairy humans presumably descend from the conventional wild men of northern European folk lore (see Husband and Bartra). Witte specifically claims to have seen the wild people (“homines silvestres”) and various rare animals; manuscript A (alone) calls their humanity into question by including the adjective *alia* (“various other rare animals”). Mention of apes, or “Symee,” dwelling on the next island further blurs the distinction between humans and non-humans.

The belief that wild men and women inhabit remote places in Asia has proved resilient. Signs posted in 1990 by scientists in Sichuan province (China) display a standing, hirsute creature alongside the words: “Have You Seen It, the Wildman?”; see Malcolm W. Browne, “On the Trail of a ‘Wildman,’ and Creatures Nearly as Elusive,” *The New York Times*, 19 June 1990, late ed., C1, 12.

**423–26 [439–41]** Mermaids—such as Ino, Cadmus's daughter, who saves Odysseus—and mermen were originally sea-dwelling creatures who did not sing humans to their deaths the way cliff-dwelling sirens did (Rowland, pp. 139–41). By the Middle Ages, however, they were thought to pose a real threat, and Witte obviously regards “Syrenes” and “Merminnen” to be

synonyms. In Lazamon's *Brut* (ca. 1199–1225), the “merminnen” are animals of particular cunning who ensnare sailors off the Iberian peninsula in the Atlantic (Brook and Leslie, 1:34 [ll. 661–77]). In translating *The Consolation of Philosophy*, Chaucer calls Boethius's sirens “mermaydenes” (*Boece* 1 pr. 1, 69). The “sarenes”—half-female and half-fish—appear in the southeast corner of the Catalan Atlas (Grosjean, plate 6B, p. 94); here, too, are the “sirene” on the Hereford Map (Westrem, *Hereford Map*, pp. 382–83). Mermaids are more frequently associated with seas *west* of Europe, however, which suggests that Witte is imagining a nearly completed circumnavigation of the globe: he has sailed for four months since his most recent landfall.

426–31 [441–46] Medieval travel writers did not find the drama in storms at sea that their successors would in the sixteenth century, when the phenomenon became something of a cliché (see *Othello* I.iii.131–44). Ludolph describes the treacherous Gulf of Antalya in the eastern Mediterranean (Deycks, p. 10; Stewart, p. 13), and Jacopo of Verona prayed all night during a tempest that threatened the galley on which he and other pilgrims had just embarked from Venice on 29 May 1335 (Monneret de Villard, p. 14). But these are exceptions to a medieval “rule” for which Arnold von Harff, who crossed the Mediterranean to the Holy Land in the spring of 1497, offers some explanation: “I will not describe all the dangers and adventures which befell us by day and night on the sea, since another [person] sailing the same course over the sea at the same time or place might have better or worse weather than I had. I will therefore describe the towns and several harbours which lie on the left hand on land.” A few pages later, Arnold tests his own resolve in a passage that is a liminal moment in the move from medieval to early modern travel writing (Arnold does not cross the threshold): “[W]e all gave ourselves up for lost, as in the middle of the night during a thunderstorm the mast above the top-castle caught fire, but that would take too long to describe” (Letts, pp. 72, 75–76).

Witte recounts not the experience of the storm itself but, rather, its effect: he and his companions are caught in a tenebrous gulf, where they see no light at all for six days (the darkness evidently does not interfere with their ability to tell time). In the *Navigatio*, Brendan and his companions were caught in a storm that blinded them for three months (Selmer, p. 28; O'Meara, p. 25).

432–39 [447–54] Witte's final port of call might be called the objective correlative of the *Itinerarius's* geography. The land of Amosona, like the book itself, is home to a pastiche of places and data from a variety of texts. The name, of course, recalls the ancient Greek tradition of an Asian kingdom inhabited, ruled, and defended by women. Although Witte puts Amosona under the governance of a queen, however, he does little else to feminize the land; his Terra Feminarum is far more clearly a matriarchy (see

commentary 283–92). Amosona's curious society includes black and albino and Janus-faced people and Gog and Magog: Witte's fondness for polysyndeton obscures just how many population groups actually reside here.

Writers from the time of Pliny (6.15.36) place the land of Albania vaguely in central Asia, later attributing the name to a heterogeneous tribe of white people; Isidore (14.3.34) and Honorius (Flint, p. 58) speak of their white hair, and Mandeville, who says that inhabitants of "Albanie" are whiter than anyone else in the region, has the country border "Amazonie, . . . la terre de Ffeminye" (Deluz, p. 287; Letts, 2:310; Seymour, p. 105). No source links these "Albanians" with their opposites in skin color, although a black-and-white people appear in a mountainous landscape in *Kyng Alisaunder* (lines 4896–4904). Odoric travels eighteen days from Fuço (Fuchow) to a mountain where animals (but not humans) are black on one side and white on the other (Wyngaert, pp. 461–62; Yule and Cordier, 2:187–88; the passage is not in Mandeville). People who look forward and backward are not among the *monstruosi populi* on Mandeville's list or on the Ebstorf or Hereford *mappaemundi*.

Gog and Magog are conjoined in a variety of sources, which usually focus on their apocalyptic role based on interpretations of Ezek. 38–39 and Rev. 20:8. According to the Qur'an (sura 18.83–108), Allah assisted Alexander the Great [Dhul-Qarnain] in walling up these two evil nations, an incident that enters into many literary treatments of the hero's life (but not Walter of Châtillon's great epic). The *Letter of Prester John* identifies "Gog et Magog" as a cannibalistic tribe (Zarncke, 7:913). While their ubiquity in medieval geography and cartography—as well as their fixedness as a concept or an ethnic group—has been exaggerated, their association with Antichrist (in the book of Revelation) and disgusting habits (in the Alexander legend) gave them a decidedly negative reputation. That is not evident in Witte's account (see also his treatment of the Red Jews at commentary 71–74). On the tradition generally see Anderson, *passim*; Gow, "Gog and Magog"; and Westrem, "Against Gog."

440–41 [455–57] The redundancy of Witte's transitions ("Et ulterius navigando") may lull the reader into a state of inattention about the direction in which he sails "farther." Although he has changed course to the north once (line 416), his continuing progress eastward (lines 432, 440) implies that he is circumnavigating the earth, but one with only three continents. He has returned to the Sea-Ocean, or "mare Oceanum" (lines 432–33), that surrounds the *oikoumene*, waters he last mentioned when sailing from Damiad to Ethiopia (line 75). Now, after traveling for another three months, Witte finds himself back in Jerusalem. Medieval geographers did not seriously question the earth's sphericity, but they certainly doubted that anyone could sail around it. Mandeville mentions a European who did so by accident, and he longed to find companions who would accompany him on such a voyage (Deluz, pp. 337–38; Letts, 2:333–34; Seymour, pp.



135–36). Witte's tone throughout the *Itinerarius* is understated, even droll, and several times he seems to be quite geographically confused: one or both of these may explain why he calls no attention to his singular achievement.

440–42 [455–58] Witte brings his medieval audience full circle to a Jerusalem whose shrines—in particular, the church of the Holy Sepulcher—could be found in replica or miniature at many locations in Europe, often functioning as pilgrimage chapels (Ousterhout, pp. 108–24; a small version of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in a side chapel of the cathedral at Constance and the Jerusalemkerk at Bruges are further examples). Witte perhaps does not exaggerate when he assumes that many people know “how things may be laid out” in the Holy Land. He is correct in a literal sense as well: pilgrimage accounts about actual voyages to Jerusalem also were appearing in greater numbers by 1400. Aryeh Graboïs observes that later medieval visitors to the holy sites—traveling in organized groups, limited to certain geographical areas of Palestine, and forced to keep strict schedules—developed a radically different concept of the pilgrimage. As spiritual attachment to a sacred past gave way to the pragmatic tourism of a busy present, they saw the Holy Land with a “reality mingled with the imagining of exoticism” (“réalité mêlée à l'imaginaire de l'exotisme” [“Les pèlerins,” pp. 46, 48]). Witte proves that such a point of view could be obtained independently.

Having brought us geographically back to the *Itinerarius*'s starting point, Witte concludes with an abruptness and tone that recall not Dante's speechlessness as he seeks to recollect his vision (*Paradiso*, 33.55–75) but an interpolation at the end of an early fourteenth-century Tuscan version of Polo's *Divisament*, in which the reader is returned only as far as the shores of the Black Sea and left there without a guide: “[I]t seems to me that it would be tedious to recount what is neither needful nor useful and what is daily recounted by others. For there are so many who explore these waters and sail upon them every day—Venetians, Genoese, Pisans and many others who are constantly making this voyage—that everybody knows what is to be found there. Therefore I say nothing on this topic” (not in Benedetto; Latham, p. 344).

## Appendix

### Latin Manuscript Copies of Witte's *Itinerarius* and Records of the Middle Dutch Translation

PUBLISHED DESCRIPTIONS of manuscripts that include a copy of Witte's *Itinerarius* range considerably in detail. The summaries below provide basic information about the date, provenance, scribe, size, and contents of each Latin and Middle Dutch manuscript (or record of one) discussed in chapter 3 and included in the critical editions printed in this volume. The purpose of these summaries is to give a sense of the book's early audiences and the contexts in which they heard or read it. Works bound with the *Itinerarius* are identified by author and title; in the case of travel books, incorrect or alternative attributions and titles found in the manuscript also are recorded, and fragments are noted as such. Incipits and/or explicits are given when they identify an otherwise obscure geographical or travel-related text or when they contain a colophon relevant to the discussion of an *Itinerarius* text; in these cases, orthography and punctuation follow the manuscript reading exactly. A bibliography at the end of each summary lists catalogs, some of which provide more comprehensive paleographical details.

#### 1. Manuscript A

MS 1424/Co [Phillipps 6650]  
The James Ford Bell Library  
472 Wilson Library  
The University of Minnesota  
309 19th Avenue South  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

#### *Description*

Manuscript A consists of twin volumes that have shared the same shelf number since at least the 1830s; the *Itinerarius* appears in the second of

them. They are in identical modern bindings with 222 and 218 paper folia, respectively, which measure 204/209 mm x 136/139 mm, with occasional parchment folia in the first volume. They have no scribal hand or watermark in common. On the basis of the latter, volume 1 can be dated ca. 1437–55, and volume 2 ca. 1418–27.<sup>1</sup> In the second volume, separate colophons indicate that two texts were copied in 1424. Both are in the hand of “Johannes de Purmereynde,” who alone among the five scribes in A identifies himself; he was also responsible for the *Itinerarius*, although he did not sign or date his work (half of the last page of text is blank).<sup>2</sup> (Figure 4 reproduces the first page of Johannes’s copy of the *Itinerarius*.) Separate title pages written in the same fifteenth-century hand, as well as two series of pagination, strongly suggest that the contents of the two volumes were never bound together in a single codex but that they have long been paired. By at least 1450, volume 2 was at the Benedictine abbey of Saint Heribert at Deutz, on the east bank of the Rhine opposite Cologne, an important foundation whose church was completely renovated in the Gothic style in 1390.<sup>3</sup>

The two volumes of MS 1424/Co originally may have been linked because both are anthologies of material largely devoted to Asia, particularly the Holy Land. Volume 1 includes some crude illustrations, accompanying stories associated with Chinggis khan, as well as occasional drolleries. In volume 2, the text of Jacopo of Verona’s *Liber peregrinationis* was designed to include spatial diagrams. An illustration of the Holy Sepulcher is announced in captions at the bottom of fols. 99v and 100r, but none

<sup>1</sup>In volume 1, the grape cluster watermark on fols. 2–112 closely resembles Briquet 13034 (1438 [Düsseldorf]; 1442 [Zeeland]); another on fols. 137–60 is similar to Briquet 12998 (ca. 1450 [Bamberg]). In volume 2, the crossed keys watermark on fols. 1–172 is very like Briquet 3867 (1420 [Mainz]), Briquet 3868 (1427 [Freiburg-im-Breisgau]), Piccard III 311 (1417 [south Germany]), and Piccard III 314 (1418–19 [Aschaffenberg]). See C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, ed. Allan Stevenson, 4 vols. (1907; repr. Amsterdam, 1968), 2:649, 2:647, 1:245 (for text); and Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Schlüssel*, vol. 8 of *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 25, 95.

<sup>2</sup>Johannes is not recorded in the University of Cologne *Matricula* (see chapter 2, nn. 15, 30) or in the inventory by the abbey monks of Saint-Benoit de Port-Valais at Bouveret (Switzerland) in *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 6 vols. (Fribourg, 1965–79). Part of the fifteenth-century diocese of Utrecht, the small town of Purmerend is situated around 12 miles (20 kilometers) north of Amsterdam.

<sup>3</sup>At the head of fol. 1r in volume 2 is the inscription “Liber sancti heriberti in Tiutio”; a strip at the head of the vellum title page of volume one, following the words “Liber domus,” has been cut away and repaired with paper. The two title pages, which are separate from any gathering and not included in either manuscript’s foliation, are not numbered in the “Contents” section below. Manuscripts from Deutz were dispersed after the monastery was secularized in 1803; few have been identified. See Ladislaus Buzas, *Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte des Mittelalters*, *Elemente des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 26; and John H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, Publications of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 18 (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 221, 230–61.

**A**lmo dñi apothoromono Ego Iohes virte  
 de hese pñi Cuiusdē dñor fui i Iherlm  
 in anno distado ibide stā loca pgnado  
 solius vers⁹ iordanē et p iordanē ad mārē ru  
 bīū ad pñes Egipti ad vñā Cuitatē vocatā  
 hermapolis que dī capitalis Cuitas Egipti  
 ubi beat⁹ Ego septē ann⁹ morabar⁹ cu filio suo  
 dño nro. Et in mari rubro pñito vidi pñes  
 volantes sup aquas ad spaciū tān qñ dī  
 lista pñes fignat⁹ et illi pñes sūt rubri  
 coloris hñtes in longitudine sūt duos pedes  
 hñtes etiā caput rotundū et cart⁹ et rāstrū  
 et aquila de quib⁹ pñes comedi Et sūt pñes  
 grossi pñes ex pñe dñi bulne Et vidi pla  
 alia rara animalia de quib⁹ nō hēo mēoria Et  
 vidi in dño mārē rubro spñes volantes ad vñā  
 reuētes egīso ad mārē rubrū et sūt valde  
 nocui hñtib⁹ eos introitudo cor⁹ quos hēo  
 omis de palma gñsta crescit ibid⁹ et in tra  
 scā Et etiā herba qñā Choral mēupara et  
 crescit in mārē rubro in loco p que moyses per  
 duxit pñm istititū Et ille loc⁹ seu via cog  
 noscitur p qñor magnos lapides mgnos statos  
 in rpa maris dño ab vñā pñe mārē et duo  
 ab alia pñe Et in cuitate hermapolen pñā

Figure 4. First page of the *Itinerarius* in the hand of Johannes of Purmerend (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library, MS 1424/Co, vol. 2, fol. 177r).

appears.<sup>4</sup> Half of fol. 137v and all of fol. 138r have been left blank after words that suggest a map was to be included, showing the triangular geographical relationship of Gaza, Cairo, and Mt. Sinai.<sup>5</sup> The drawing of Mt. Sinai on fol. 130v may be the first map of the holy place (see Figure 3). Occasional drolleries resemble those of volume 1 and may be the work of a single reader.

The volumes presumably remained at Deutz until Napoleon's secularization of the monasteries in the Rhineland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were sold in 1834 by the London bookseller John Payne (active 1825–50 in partnership with Henry Foss) to Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), the cantankerous and obsessive bibliophile who amassed one of the great private libraries of modern times. He assigned the two volumes the common shelf number 6650.<sup>6</sup> (He also owned the Middle Dutch manuscript *K* but appears to have been unaware of the coincidence.) After Phillipps's death, the London antiquarian firm of W. H. Robinson Ltd. began selling the enormous collection, a dispersal that continued under H. P. Kraus of New York after 1978.<sup>7</sup> James Ford Bell (1879–1961) acquired Phillipps MS 6650 probably in the early 1950s. It was among the six hundred rare books and manuscripts that Bell gave to the University of Minnesota on 30 October 1953. Ten years later, the Associates of the James Ford Bell Library was established, an incorporation that oversees a special collection currently holding over 15,000 titles, in addition to maps and manuscripts, that relate to the expansion of Europe between 1400 and 1800.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup>"Et ut possint intelligere legentes describam cum modo quo sciam et postea explanabo et ultra per ordinem designatur" (fol. 99v, bottom) and "Hic ego descripsi sepulchrum domini" (fol. 100r, bottom).

<sup>5</sup>"Et sic sciendum est quod tantum distat gazara a monte Synay quantum mons Synay a kayro et kayrum tantumdum a gazara et sic modo triangulari se habent" (fol. 137v).

<sup>6</sup>On Phillipps and his library see two works by A. N. L. Munby: *The Catalogues of Manuscripts and Printed Books of Sir Thomas Phillipps*, Phillipps Studies 1 (Cambridge, Eng., 1951); and *The Family Affairs of Sir Thomas Phillipps*, Phillipps Studies 2 (Cambridge, Eng., 1952).

<sup>7</sup>The manuscript was advertised in Robinson's undated Catalog 49 (entry 14). The identification there of the scribe Johannes of Purmerend with "Witten on the Ruhr" is spurious. The last remaining volumes in the Phillipps collection became part of the Grolier Club library in New York City in 1996.

<sup>8</sup>[Carol Urness, ed.,] *James Ford Bell and His Books: The Nucleus of a Library* (Minneapolis, 1993). Among the six essays collected here, the most informative about the contents of this fine library is by John Parker, its first curator (from 1953 to 1991), "Remembering the Early Years," pp. 52–83.

## Contents

## VOLUME 1 (FIRST SCRIBE)

- 2r–63v Hayton [Heytum] of Armenia. *Flos historiarum terre Orientis*.
- 64r–88v William of Boldensele [here identified as “Guilhelmi belopen”]. *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus* [here styled: *Itinerarius in partibus ultramarinis*].<sup>9</sup>
- 89r–119r Theoderic. *Libellus de locis sanctis*.
- 120r–21v An anonymous report of an earthquake in Catalonia in 1427.  
*inc:* Anno domini M° cccc° xxvij° In toto regno Cathalonie  
*exp:* quare preparemus nos in occursum iusti indicis.
- 124r–24v A Latin poem in hexameters.  
*inc:* Roma potens. reuerenda rauenna. britania pauper.  
*exp:* Hispania (?) bella gerit et pacis federa querit.
- 125r–71v Fulcher of Chartres. *Gesta Godefridi de Boulyon*.
- 172r Repetition of description of Holy Land territory (from fol. 119r) and short notes in two hands comparing Lombardy miles and mile-measurements in *The Book of John Mandeville*.

## (SECOND SCRIBE)

- 173r–221v *The Book of John Mandeville* [Latin Vulgate version; here styled: *Itinerarius Terre Sancte et ulteriorem partium Orientalium*].
- 221v–22r Odoric of Pordenone. *Relatio* (fragment).  
*exp:* hanc est mons salis et sufficit toti patere et recipit inde qui wlt.<sup>10</sup>

## VOLUME 2 (THIRD SCRIBE [“JOHANNES DE PURMEREYNDE”])

- 1r–85v *The Book of John Mandeville* [Latin Vulgate version; here styled: *Itinerarius Terre Sancte et ulteriorum partium Orientalium*].  
*exp:* finitus Anno domini MCCCC°xxquarto in profesto beate cecilie virginis [21 November] in opido Bunensis [Bonn] per me Johannem de purmereynde.

<sup>9</sup>This text of William’s discursive pilgrimage account was copied directly from Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3529, compiled at the Benedictine monastery at Wydersbach, near Cologne, between 1407 and 1437, as my forthcoming edition of William’s book will demonstrate.

<sup>10</sup>The text of Odoric’s *Relatio* runs only to chapter III.3 in van den Wyngaert’s edition (pp. 413–18), or less than 5% of the whole; there are many variants.

- 87r–92v *Peregrinaciones et indulgencie Terre Sancte* and two brief meditations [Ugo Monneret de Villard treats these as part of Jacopo of Verona's pilgrimage account, which follows].
- 93r–173r Jacopo da Verona. *Liber peregrinationis*.  
*exp:* Explicit . . . per me johannem de purmereynde Anno domini M<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xxquarto Jn crastino Tiburcij martyris [12 August].
- 177r–87r Johannes Witte de Hese. *Itinerarius*.
- (FOURTH SCRIBE)
- 187v Unidentified text.  
*inc:* Anathema seu  
*exp:* Et sancti nostri ecclesie satis sciavit autem fiat fiat fiat.
- (FIFTH SCRIBE)
- 188r–204r Alexander of Roes [attributed to Jordan of Osnabruck].  
*Memoriale*.
- 204v–10v Henry of Spain [here identified as Henricus de Hispania].  
*De locis Terre Sanctis*.  
*inc:* De locis terre sancte et vestigijs eiusdem. Hec sunt loca terre sancte in partibus ultramarinis. Jn primis de mari descendendo in Joffa et inde ad xij. miliaria est Roma [sic] vbi dicitur adam fuisse  
*exp:* hoc per annum magno labore curis et expensis frater henricus de yspania perlustravit.
- 211r–17r Alexander [of Tralles]. *De quatuor complexionibus hominum*.
- 217r–18r Notes concerning the archdiocese of Cologne.  
*inc:* Audi fabulam et non fabulam sed veram gestam quod accidit temporibus illis in quibus eram in obsequiis domini domini mei Wilhelmi de Genepe  
*exp:* virtutes suas non sufficio [illegible word] surressit Theodericus de moerssa comes.

### *Bibliography*

- Faye, C. U., and W. H. Bond. *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York, 1962. P. 300.
- The James Ford Bell Library: An Annotated Catalog of Original Source Materials Relating to the History of European Expansion 1400–1800*. Minneapolis, 1994. P. 92 (entry C416).
- Phillipps, Sir Thomas. *The Phillipps Manuscripts*. 1837. Repr. with introduction by A. N. L. Munby. London, 1968.

## 2. Manuscript B

MS lat. fol. 245

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz [Haus 2]

Potsdamerstraße 33

D-10772 Berlin

Federal Republic of Germany

*Description*

Manuscript *B* is a single gathering of twelve paper folia with double columns, measuring 268 x 195 mm, plus one final paper folio, measuring 266 x 119 mm. It was bound during the nineteenth century in brown paper held together with coarse twine. The folia are numbered 1 to 12 in a nineteenth-century hand (the last, fragmentary leaf is unnumbered); fol. 12 is mistakenly bound between fols. 1 and 2.<sup>11</sup> An earlier (sixteenth-century?) foliation, numbered 60 to 71 (in arabic numerals), in the upper right-hand corner of recto leaves indicates that the *Itinerarius* was once part—most likely the sixth gathering—of a larger codex. The provenance of *B* is unknown, but watermarks and textual evidence indicate that it was produced in the Rhineland during the 1460s.<sup>12</sup> Many Rhineland manuscripts went to Prussia as spoils of the Napoleonic Wars. The text closely resembles that of *A*, part of which was copied at Bonn in 1424 and all of which was across the Rhine from Cologne in the mid-1400s. Both manuscripts must descend from the same, or very similar, manuscript(s) also presumably found in that area. The single hand in *B* is fifteenth-century bastarda; the scribe shows signs of carelessness and employs several idiosyncratic spellings (see TN II and III). The number of lines per page is inconsistent, varying between 31 and 38.

A colophon to the last of the three texts linked in *B*—all of which treat matters related to Asia—identifies “Angelus de d” as the translator into Latin, from an unspecified language, of a treatise on the Egyptian sultan’s territories. If, as he seems to claim, Angelus presented his work during the reign of Pope John XXII (1316–34), he cannot be the scribe of

<sup>11</sup>On the manuscript’s wrapper is a note, in a nineteenth-century German hand, pointing out the incorrect sequence of folia and the correctness of the “old foliation”: “falsch gebunden! die alte blattzählung ist richtig: das jetzt zweite blatt ist vielmehr das vorletzte (12).”

<sup>12</sup>The letter-*P* watermark on fols. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, and 11 is a near match to Piccard IV 511 (1469 [Cologne]), IV 513 (1469 [Cologne]), and IV 523 (1466 [Heidelberg]). See *Wasserzeichen Buchstabe P*, vol. 4[1–3] of *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1977), 4[1]:42, 4[2]:129.



*B*. Moreover, since the *Itinerarius* itself has dates in *B* of 1389 and 1390, a note at the bottom of fol. 13ra in an eighteenth-century (?) hand ("Conscriptus anno 1382") ignores internal evidence unless it refers only to the third item.

Manuscript *B* was in Berlin by the 1820s: it appears in the early nineteenth-century handwritten catalog assembled by the librarian Carl Immanuel Kiessling, with the notation "Acc. Cat. N. 36" (fol. 26v). He makes no mention of fol. 12 being out of sequence or of the third text.

### Contents

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1ra–8va   | Johannes Witte de Hese. <i>Itinerarius</i> .  |
| 8va–12ra  | <p><i>Epistola Presbyteri Johannis</i>.<sup>13</sup></p> <p><i>inc</i>: Hec est epistola quam misit presbiteri johannes dominus tocius jndie ad dominum Manuelem papam Rome. . . . Per potenciam et virtutem domini</p> <p><i>exp</i>: Qui est Benedictus in secula seculorum sibi deo gracias Amen.</p>  |
| 12ra–13ra | <p><i>Informacio provinciarum quas obtinet Soldanus</i>.</p> <p><i>inc</i>: Hec est informacio seu expressio prouinciarum vltra mare consistencium quas obtinet Saldanus [<i>sic</i>] dominus Sarracenorum</p> <p><i>exp</i>: Jtem in tali loco ad interficiendum talem incontinenti vadunt et interficiunt eis demonstratum nescientes quid faciunt sine timore.</p> <p>Ego angelus de d<sup>e</sup> fidelis sancte matris ecclesie hanc informationem transumptam in Romana ligwa [<i>sic</i>] do et presento excellentissimo viro domino Petro de via dignissimo nepoti sanctissimi domini nostri et patris domini johannis pape—xxij—</p> |

### Bibliography

Kiessling, Carl Immanuel. *Manuscripta Latina*. Handwritten documentation for the Königliche Bibliothek [forerunner to the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin], Berlin, ca. 1820.

<sup>13</sup>The incipit in *B* identifies this work as "The Letter of Prester John to Pope Manuel." The original *Letter* was addressed to the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus (1143–80); some versions also include the "emperor of Rome" Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90) in the salutation. This copy of the *Letter* turns Manuel into "the pope of Rome," although no pontiff ever has had this name.

## 3. Manuscript C

Cod. 17

Stadtarchiv und Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Soest  
Jacobistraße 13  
D-59494 Soest  
Federal Republic of Germany

*Description*

The 221 paper folia of manuscript C measure 290 x 215 mm, and most have double columns. The entire volume is the work of a single scribe, Lambertus Brocker, a member of (and probably lector at) the Dominican monastery at Soest, a significant commercial center in medieval Westphalia. Brocker, who identifies himself twice in notes at the back of the manuscript (fols. 216r and 219r), is known to have been active in the Soest region in 1471. Watermarks include seven varieties of the letter P, all of which are dated between 1467 and 1470. Some additions, in Brocker's hand, are later and record events that occurred between 1472 and 1481; a few remarks are in the Westphalian dialect of Low German. Thus, this copy of Witte's *Itinerarius* almost certainly was produced between 1470 and 1472 in or around Soest, although C has no specific mark of original ownership.<sup>14</sup>

The several works assembled in the manuscript are for the most part theological treatises and chronicles, consisting largely of excerpts that do not always run consecutively in the traditional order of a book. For example, the *Itinerarius* appears in the middle of a history of the world, its text broken into four sections; the first three that a reader comes to while leafing through the volume from front to back contain the final quarter of the narrative, starting with the last sentences in the description of Prester John's palace, and only after the explicit (on fol. 196rb) does Witte's account actual begin (on fol. 198ra).

The municipal library that currently possesses the manuscript has its origins in a collection established in 1532 that for many years was overseen by Protestant civic leaders. If C was indeed among the holdings of the Dominican foundation at Soest, it would have been acquired by the Stadtbibliothek with the rest of that monastic library in 1826.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>See Bernd Michael's careful description of the manuscript in the catalog listed in this section's bibliography.

<sup>15</sup>*Das Stadtarchiv und die wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Soest*, ed. Gerhard Köhn, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Soest 3, 2nd ed. (Soest, 1980), pp. 7–10.

*Contents*

- 1r–1v Blank (except for title and shelf listing in a modern hand).  
 2ra–23rb Johannes de Monte Nigro. *Defensorium mendicantium* [here styled: *Tractatus contra impugnantes privilegia fratrum mendicantium*].  
 23va–25vb Excerpts from theological works, including a *Tractatus de Antichristo* (?).  
 26ra–99vb Jacobus de Jüterbog [Jacobus de Clusa]. *Opuscula*. Arranged as follows: *Tractatus de malis huius mundi* (26ra–50va, 57ra–63va, 82vb–84rb, 88ra–91va); *Tractatus de statu et officio ecclesiasticarum personarum* (50vb–56ra, 68vb–81rb, 84rb–87vb, 92ra–98rb, 99ra–99vb); *De missis votivis pro defunctis* (63va–65rb); *De comparatione religionum* (65rb–68vb); Excerpts from the Venerable Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (81rb–82vb); Notice by Bocker and table of contents for the foregoing (98rb–98b).  
 100ra–61ra Johannes Herolt. *Promptuarium exemplorum discipuli*.  
 161v–64v Letters, brief notices, and verses on events between 1457 and 1475.  
 165ra–76ra Johannes Friburgensis. *Confessionale*.  
 177ra/214va Gobelinus Person. Excerpts from *Cosmidromius*. [On foliation, see next entry.]  
 194vb/200vb Johannes Witte de Hese. *Itinerarius*. [Text begins fol. 198ra–200vb, then proceeds to fol. 194vb, 195rb, and 196rab, where it concludes.]  
 215r–20rb Verses, excerpts, historical notices by Lambertus Bocker.

*Bibliography*

Michael, Bernd. *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Stadtbibliothek Soest*. Wiesbaden, 1990. Pp. 118–25.

4. Manuscript *D*

Clm. 18770 [Tegernsee 770]  
 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek  
 Ludwigstraße 16  
 D-80328 Munich  
 Federal Republic of Germany

*Description*

Most of manuscript *D*'s 309 folia measure 219 x 160 mm, although the last third of the codex contains many single leaves of all sizes; fifteen

blank leaves, located throughout, are unnumbered (the catalog reports “294 f.”). The binding is from the late fifteenth century, with simple tooling and brass bosses. *D* was compiled at the Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee, located some 30 miles (50 kilometers) south of Munich, in 1473; the date and place are noted on the manuscript’s spine and in the colophon to the *Itinerarius*. *D* appears in the inventory of 1,103 books assembled by the monastery’s librarian, Ambrosius Schwerzenbeck, between 2 July 1483 and 2 August 1484.<sup>16</sup> An extensive table of contents on both sides of fol. 2 is in a hand of the late fifteenth century and may date from this cataloging process. Witte’s account—identified on fol. 166r as *Narrationes . . . de transmarinis et utrem in finem*, the only title to appear in a manuscript not copied from an incunable—is one of eight texts found throughout *D* that are the work of Oswald Nott, a native of Tittmannig. He identifies himself several times in *D* as a monk and, perhaps, a teacher (“monachus et professum”) at Tegernsee; he takes credit for having been the scribe of a good many texts produced at the monastery between 1446 and 1474.<sup>17</sup>

The relative modernity suggested by Schwerzenbeck’s catalog and Nott’s self-crediting colophons typifies late medieval Tegernsee. According to Curt Bühler, abbot Konrad V so “actively encouraged the production of manuscripts in the years 1461 to 1492” that the monastery rivaled printing presses. Ladislaus Buzas ranks its library as one of the more important in the German-speaking world during the later Middle Ages. A cloister bindery was operating by 1468, and manuscript *D* was probably an early product of it.<sup>18</sup> When Napoleon secularized Tegernsee in 1803, the 60,000 volumes then in its collection were dispersed; 1,500 manuscripts went to what is now the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at Munich.

*D* is a miscellany of historical, theological, and geographical works, most of which were copied during the second half of the fifteenth century by at least twelve scribes; two sections of the manuscript (fols. 215–40 and 261–81) combine many hands. Oswald Nott’s contributions make up approximately one-third of the manuscript’s contents. In addition to the *Itin-*

<sup>16</sup>Schwerzenbeck entered the monastery in 1455 and became librarian, it appears, in 1481. His catalog includes separate entries for individual texts in codices. The *Itinerarius* is listed under the letter “I/J” as follows: “Iohannis Hess presbiteri / Narraciones eius de transmarinis partibus quere ibi, O 34.” I cannot find this shelf number in the manuscript. See Glauche in this section’s bibliography.

<sup>17</sup>Nott’s six explicit to the eight texts he copied in *D* are reproduced in the “Contents” section below. Only the *Itinerarius* is dated (1473). Tittmannig, a small town in the Bavarian Alps near Germany’s current border with Austria, was first recorded (as “Tittmoning”) in 1313; see Hermann Oesterley, *Historisch-Geographisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Mittelalters* (Gotha, 1883), p. 688. On Nott’s colophons in other Tegernsee manuscripts see Benedictins de Bouveret, *Colophons*, 5:348–50 (n. 2 above).

<sup>18</sup>Bühler, *The Fifteenth-Century Book* (Philadelphia, 1960), p. 27; and Buzas, *Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte* (n. 3 above), pp. 38–39.

*erarius*, they include an account of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, a Latin version of Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde* (entitled *Narraciones . . . de partibus transmarinis*), Udalric Binder's treatise on a comet that appeared in 1472, and copies of bulls by Antipope Calixtus III (1168–78) and Pope Paul II (1464–71). In the following list of contents, Nott's contributions, which are distributed throughout the last two-thirds of the manuscript, are marked with an asterisk. Incipits or explicits are given only for the two works of travel and Nott's colophons.

### Contents

1r–49v	<i>Flores temporum</i> [here styled: <i>Cronica Romanorum regum et imperatorum</i> ].
51r–84v	<i>Flores temporum</i> [a repetition of portions of the previous text].
85r–91r	<i>De origine Noricorum et ducatu Bavarorum et successionem eorum</i> .
*92r–96v	Isidore Sabinensis [Bishop of Lago d'Iseo in Brescia]. <i>Epistola destructione urbis Constantinopolitana</i> . <i>exp</i> : scriptam per me fratrem oswaldum nott monachum et professum in tegernsee.
97r–107v	Roderick [Bishop of the Palatinate]. <i>Epistola super expugnatione insulae Negropontis</i> [a letter dated 1469].
108r	Unidentified text beginning: Item liceat servitore dei ad orandum deum . . .
*109r–66r	Marco Polo. <i>Divisament dou monde</i> [here styled: <i>Narraciones ex libro marci polo revertensi de partibus transmarinis</i> ]. <i>inc</i> : Narracionem morum operationum sive occupationum et rituum diversarum gentium <i>exp</i> : frigiditas quia vix possunt ibi vivere homo vel animal. [Text ends at chapter 220 in Benedetto's edition, p. 233 and n. b; Latham, p. 332.] Explicit libellus per me fratrem oswaldum nott de tittmaning monachus et professum in tegernsee.
*166r–76r	Johannes Witte de Hese. <i>Itinerarius</i> [here styled: <i>Narraciones domini Johannis de hess presbyteri traiectensis dyocesis de transmarinis et utrum in finem</i> ; listed in the table of contents on fol. 2r after the <i>Narraciones</i> of Marco Polo as: <i>Narraciones alie johannis hess presbyteri traiectensis dyocesis de partibus transmarinis</i> ]. <i>inc</i> : Anno domini M° ccc° lxxxix° johannis de hess <i>exp</i> : Et sic est finis/ Explicit per me fratrem oswaldum nott proffessum et monachum in tegernsee de tittmaning natum etc. -:1473:-

- \*177r-83r Udalric Binder. *De nature et effectibus comete* [on the comet of 1472].  
*exp:* Explicit per me fratrem oswaldum nott de tittmaning.
- 184r-88v Martinus Budensis [Martin of Buda, Sora, and Zagreb]. *Indicium de comete qui apparuit Anno Domini 1472.*
- 189r-89v Theobertus Anglicus and Jeronimus Herfordie [here styled: Jeronimus Erdfortiensis]. *De comete.*
- 190r-91v Notes on a comet that appeared in January 1472.
- 192r-92v *Litterae ad Venetos de Ozancazan rege.*
- 193r-202v *De parentela et origine sanctissimi Benedictis abbatis primis nostris* [dated 1474].
- 203r-14v Guido the Carthusian [Guido de Pisis]. *Tractatus de forma servanda circa electionem abbatis.*
- 215r-17r *Decretum electiones proxime* [at Tegernsee in 1453].
- 217v-18v *Forma decreti dandi super electione novi prelati* [after 1452].
- 219r-20r Notes on elections at Tegernsee [in 1492].
- \*220v-31v *De inquisitione monasterium.*  
*exp:* Explicit per me fratrem oswaldum nott professum in tegernsee. Sic nota eius benedictum in seculam.
- 232r-35v Notes on elections in a monastery.
- \*236r-38v On elections at the synod of Basel [unsigned by Nott].
- \*239r-40v Antipope Calixtus III. *Effectus mandati sive bulle secum de Domini Apostoloci* [sic] *in facto Turcorum* [unsigned by Nott].
- 241r-42r Pope Pius II. *De indulgentiis ad edificandam ecclesiam Sancti Ciriaci in Nuhusen.*
- 243r-43v Pope Paul II. *Bulla de Bohemis.*
- 244r-48r Pope Paul II. *Bulla de Bohemis.*
- \*248v-51v Pope Paul II. *De publicatione anni iubilei incarnationis Dominice M<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxxv.*  
*exp:* Explicit bulla per me fratrem oswaldum nott de tittmannig monachum et professum in tegernsee.
- 252r-54v *De indulgentiis Fratribus Minoribus concessis.*
- 255r-56r Miscellaneous notes.
- 257r-59r *Modus disponendi se ad mortem.*
- 259v Miscellaneous notes.
- 261r-81v *Computus Nurnbergensis.*
- 282r-94v Miscellaneous sermons and stories about the Virgin Mary.

### Bibliography

- Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*. Vol. 4[3]. Munich, 1878; repr. Wiesbaden, 1969. P. 207, entry 1665.
- Glauche, Günter. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. Vol. 4[2]. Munich, 1981. Pp. 751-53, 812 (lines 1943-44).

5. Manuscript *E*

MS 718  
 Universitätsbibliothek Giessen  
 Otto-Behaghel-Strasse 8  
 D-35394 Giessen  
 Federal Republic of Germany

*Description*

Manuscript *E* has 203 paper folia measuring 210 x 145 mm. Fols. 91–135 contain the text of two incunables printed between 1476 and 1480 (these comprise 46 leaves: fol. 95 is overlooked in the pagination). A note, in a fifteenth-century hand, fastened to fol. 91r and reading “Liber capituli ecclesie sancti Marci in Butzbach,” identifies the manuscript as having once belonged to the monastery of Saint Mark at Butzbach, some 12 miles (20 kilometers) south of Giessen. Originally a Benedictine foundation, Saint Mark’s was run by the Brethren of the Common Life after 1483; the last priest there died in 1550. Although their piety is sometimes characterized as anti-intellectual, the Brethren were decidedly bookish: the establishment at Rostock insisted that its members preach by means of both the written and the spoken word. Each chapter house had a librarian who supervised and inspected copying, as well as a rubricator and a binder. The books produced were known for their clean, legible handwriting and approachable format.<sup>19</sup>

With its neat orthography and many marginal glosses, *E* is certainly an accessible text, although it probably was compiled by the Benedictines rather than the Brethren. Three texts in *E* include dates in the second half of the fifteenth century for information they record—1462 (fol. 72v), 1468 (fol. 76r), and 1480 (fol. 87v)—and since the latter two are in the hand of the scribe of the *Itinerarius*, which is unsigned and undated, this copy of Witte’s narrative probably was made around 1480. A poem describing a fire that devastated Erfurt in 1472 follows the conclusion of the *Itinerarius* on fol. 191v, in the hand of a different scribe. Texts in *E* cover a variety of subjects from anti-Judaic treatises to practical aids for priests. In general they seem designed to strengthen or confirm readers in their faith. Witte’s book is the only travel account in the codex.

<sup>19</sup>Founded by Gerard Groote (died 1384), the Brethren of the Common Life united laity and clergy in a community that shared property and emphasized spiritual concentration on the next world. Manuscript *E* was copied at about the time that Erasmus was beginning his education at the school Groote founded at Deventer. The Rostock community sought “Fratres non verbo, sed scripto predicantes.” One of the chapter’s larger houses was at Cologne; it had printing presses at Marienthal in the Rhineland (1474) and Rostock (1476). See Buzas, *Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte*, pp. 84–85 (n. 3 above); and Hermann Schüling, *Die Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen* (Giessen, 1966), pp. 2–4.

Ludwig IX, Landgraf of Hessen-Darmstadt, deposited two hundred manuscripts—*E* among them—and 308 early printed books in the library of the University of Giessen in 1771. Andreas Böhm, the library's director from 1757 to 1790, gave *E* the shelf listing "B.G.XVI.56." It had acquired its current designation by 1840, when Johann Valentin Adrian cataloged it.<sup>20</sup>

In the following list of the contents of *E*, asterisks precede folio numbers of texts written by the scribe who copied the *Itinerarius*; the very poor quality of the ink on fols. 83–90 makes positive identification of the hand impossible.

### Contents

1r–1v	<i>Versus de festis per circulum anni.</i>
2r–64v	Adam of Aldersbach [Teutonicus]. Excerpts from <i>Summula de summa Raymundi de Pennaforte cum commento et glossa interlineari.</i>
65ra–71va	Theobald of Saxony. <i>Pharetra fidei contra Judaeos.</i>
72ra–72rb	Theobald of Saxony. Excerpts from <i>Objectiones in dicta Thalmut seductoris Judaeorum.</i>
72v	Latin and German marginal glosses; <i>Versus de ruina urbis cum commento</i> ; <i>Versus de ruina Moguntiae</i> [on events at Mainz in 1462].
*73r–76r	<i>Tractatus contra pestilentiam secundum Johannem Jacobi.</i>
*76v–78v	Various medicinal preparations to counteract the plague, in Latin and German. Glosses on 77v–79v.
*79r–80v	Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux. <i>Epistola de cura rei familiaris.</i>
*80v–82v	Pope Paul II. <i>Bulla de reductione anni sancti ad annum vigesimum quintum</i> [bull regarding the Jubilee year 1475].
*82v–84r	Pseudo-[Pope] Clement VI. <i>Bulla de anno Jubilaeo</i> [counterfeit bull regarding the Jubilee year 1350].
*84v–87r	Theoderic [of Erpach], Archbishop of Mainz. <i>Mandatum de festivitate Bonifatii</i> [dated 1434].
*87v–90v	Francis of Assisi. <i>Oratio pro defensione fidei Christianae.</i>
91r–119v	<i>Directorium pro celebratione missarum secundum frequentiorem cursum diocesis Moguntinensis</i> [printed at Mainz, 1476; Hain 4833].

<sup>20</sup>Adrian, then the University of Giessen's librarian, described the *Itinerarius* briefly: "Incip. A.D. 1489 Johannes dehese [sic] presbiter etc. Explic. *Est notum.*" His error in the date suggests that he was working not from the manuscript but with bibliographical material that gives the erroneous date for Witte's journey found in printed editions *ghj*. The library had acquired a copy of printed edition *a* by 1735, but it has the correct date of 1389.



120r–135v	Hermannus Schilditz. <i>Speculum manuale sacerdotum</i> [printed at Mainz, 1476/1480; Hain-Copinger 14519].
*136v–186v	<i>Gesta Romanorum moralisata</i> .
*186v–191v	Johannes Witte de Hese. <i>Itinerarius</i> .
191v	An eighteen-line hexameter poem on a fire that ravaged Erfurt in 1472.
192r–200v	Hugo de Sancto Caro. Excerpts from <i>Tractatus super missam seu speculum Ecclesiae</i> .
201r–202v	Blank.

### Bibliography

- Adrian, Johann Valentin. *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Academicæ Gissensis*. Frankfurt, 1840. Pp. 217–18.
- Bayerer, Wolfgang Georg. *Die Handschriften des ehemaligen Fraterherrenstifts St. Markus zu Butzbach*. Vol. 4 of *Handschriftenkataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen*. Wiesbaden, 1980. Part I, pp. 113–17.

## 6. Manuscript *F*

Cod. lat. 4758 [Theol. 692]  
 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek  
 Josefsplatz 1  
 A-1015 Vienna  
 Austria

### Description

Manuscript *F* consists of 175 paper folia, measuring 204 x 141/143 mm, the last of which is blank and unnumbered.<sup>21</sup> The initial gathering is missing the first folio, which may have been a table of contents, and the eighteenth-century foliation begins with what was originally the second leaf. No early mark of ownership is evident. A watermark in the latter part of the codex, including the *Itinerarius*, indicates that the text was copied in the early 1500s.<sup>22</sup> The binding is also early sixteenth-century. Hugo Blo-tius (d. 1608) assigned *F* the shelf mark “O 4419”; it thus belonged to the Austrian Court Library (which later became the Nationalbibliothek) by

<sup>21</sup>The library’s published catalog erroneously reports 147 (presumably transposing 174) folia in the manuscript; it also incorrectly locates the beginning of the sultan’s letter to Pope Pius II (on fol. 148v).

<sup>22</sup>The letter *P* with a florid crown found throughout the latter part of *F* resembles Briquet 8680 (1514 [Sassenberg]); see *Les Filigranes*, 2:466.

1576. Tenknagel, the court librarian from 1608 to 1636, identified the manuscript as N° 240.<sup>23</sup>

The work of a single scribe, much of manuscript *F* is copied from incunable editions, two of which, printed in the later 1490s, comprise three-quarters of the codex. The *Itinerarius* and the three texts Johann Gulden-schaff published with it in *a* are found, meticulously copied, in a single gathering (fols. 140r–51v). They are rather anomalous among books that address spiritual and practical matters associated with the priestly vocation. In his late eighteenth-century catalog of the library, Michael Denis singled out the *Itinerarius* as a narrative that “manifests pure fabrication.”<sup>24</sup>

### Contents

1r–123r	Jacobus Gruitroede [Dionysius Rickel de Leuwis/de Rickel or Denis le Chartreux]. <i>Specula omnis status humana vite</i> [a copy of Peter Wagner’s edition, printed at Nuremberg in 1495]. Contents: <i>Speculum prelatorum</i> (fols. 1r–21r), <i>Speculum subditorum</i> (fols. 21r–68v), <i>Speculum sacerdotum</i> (fols. 69r–80v), <i>Speculum secularium</i> (fols. 81r–106r), <i>Speculum penitencie</i> (fols. 106v–19v), <i>Speculum peccatorum agonisantis</i> (fols. 119v–23r).
123r–25r	Berengarius, Archbishop of Turin. <i>De vita abstracta</i> .
125r–32r	Petrarch. <i>Epistola consolatoria ad quendam monachum Cisterciensem</i> .
132r–35r	Peter Damian. <i>Opusculi ad Leonem eremitam</i> [fragment of chapter 19].
135r–39v	Blank.
140r–46v	Johannes Witte de Hese. <i>Itinerarius</i> . <i>inc:</i> Incipit tractatus [ <i>canceled</i> ] itinerarius Johannes de hese presbiteri traiectensis dyocesis ad iherusalem per diversas mundi partes [ <i>all in red</i> ]. ANno domini M:ccc.Lxxxix. Johannes de Hese presbiter
146v–48r	<i>Tractatus de decem nationibus Christianorum</i> .
148v–49v	<i>Johannes Soldanus epistola ad Pium II Papam</i> .
149v–51v	Pope Pius II. <i>Epistola responsoria Pij ad Soldanum</i> .
151v–54v	Pseudo-Augustine. <i>Liber beati Augustini episcopi de contemptu mundi</i> .
154v–55v	St. Jerome. <i>Epistola ad Paulinum presbiterum</i> .

<sup>23</sup>*Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, 4th ed., Biblos-Schriften 50 (Vienna, n.d. [3rd ed. dated 1964]), p. 6.

<sup>24</sup>“Prodiit fabulosa haec Naratio” (col. 2473); see this section’s bibliography.

- 155v–62v St. Bonaventure. *Tractatus eximii de Corpore Christe et de preparacione ad eius devotam suscepcionem ritamque celebracionem misterij misse* [Deventer: Jacobus de Breda, 1499; Copinger \*3549].
- 163r–73v *Manuale parochialium sacerdotum.*
- 173v–74r *De allocucione sacerdotis.*
- 174v–75v Blank.

### *Bibliography*

- Denis, Michael. *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis Latini aliarumque Occidentis linguarum*. 5 vols. Vienna, 1793–1800. 1[2]: cols. 2470–75.
- Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis asservatorum*. 10 vols. Vienna, 1864–68; expanded repr. Graz, 1965. 3:378.

## 7. Manuscript G

MS VI. E. 21  
 Národní knihovna České republiky  
 Klementinum 190  
 CS-110 01 Prague 1  
 Czech Republic

### *Description*

Manuscript G, which measures 165/180 x 110 mm, is one gathering of 16 folia. The single watermark, an ox-head with crown and cross, is known from paper used in the region around Bayreuth and Innsbruck ca. 1490–93.<sup>25</sup> The hand dates from ca. 1500 and is marked by tails and flourishes characteristic of the new humanist style of that time. The manuscript's current binding dates from around 1800. It has been hastily stitched between simple paper boards; an outer wrapper, which functions as a fly-leaf, has a watermark very similar to one attributed to an unknown mill and papermaker in "Outer Austria" in 1791.<sup>26</sup> Thus, G once may have been part of a larger codex, although there is no direct evidence of this. Its contents now are the four constituent texts of printed edition *a*, carefully reproduced.

<sup>25</sup>The watermark matches Piccard, XV 321 in *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen*, vol. 2[1–3] in *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard* (Stuttgart, 1966), 2[3]:734, 2[1]:231.

<sup>26</sup>Georg Eineder, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their Watermarks*, *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia* 8 (Hilversum, 1960), plate 130, number 447 (text on p. xvi).

Nothing certain is known about the origins or early whereabouts of G, but it may have been part of a monastic library. By the early 1800s it was in the Royal Academic Library of Prague (today the National Library of the Czech Republic), where it was assigned its current shelf number, VI. E. 21. Forulus VI consists of manuscripts the library acquired from Bohemian monasteries that were secularized after 1782.<sup>27</sup>

### Contents

1r–8v	Johannes Witte de Hese. <i>Itinerarius</i> .
9v–12r	<i>Tractatus de decem nationibus Christianorum</i> .
12v–14r	<i>Epistola Soldani ad Papam</i> .
14r–16v	<i>Epistola responsoria Pii ad Soldanum</i> .

### Bibliography

Truhlář, Joseph. *Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis Asservantur*. 2 vols. Prague, 1905–6. 1:xiv, 459 (entry 1137).

## 8. Manuscript H

MS 13  
Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent  
Rozier 9  
B-9000 Gent/Ghent  
Belgium

### Description

A vellum codex measuring 505 x 380 mm, with 158 double-columned folia, H is a strikingly handsome manuscript prepared for the library of Raphael de Marcatellis (1437–1508), abbot of the monastery of Saint Bavon at Gent. Its precise, archaized orthography—the work of two scribes—as well as elegant initials and occasional floral marginalia give H the appearance of an opulent book from an earlier century. Most of the manuscript's texts, however, are copies of incunables. Their subject matter is largely geographical, and some texts—such as the alphabetical index of place-names in Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* printed by Johann Reger in 1486—display Europe's increasingly sophisticated interest in the surrounding world at the end of the fifteenth century. The text of the *Itinerarius* here is copied directly from Govaert Bac's printed edition e, which appeared at Antwerp

<sup>27</sup>See the introduction to Truhlář's catalog (p. xiv), cited in this section's bibliography.

between 1497 and 1499. Copying errors prove the scribe to have been more neat than careful. The manuscript and its contents are fully described in Albert Derolez's exacting study of the long-dispersed Marcatellis library and its contents.<sup>28</sup>

### Contents

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| 1r–27r   | <i>Auctoritates Aristotelis et aliorum philosophorum</i> [published many times between 1487 and 1491; see Stillwell A1048–59, 1061–64].  |
| 27r–42r  | Pseudo-Aristotle. <i>Problemata</i> [probably copied from Paris: Antoine Chappiel for Denis Roce, ca. 1500].   |
| 43r–45v  | Johannes Witte de Hese. <i>Itinerarius</i> [copied from Antwerp: Govaert Bac, 1497–99].  |
| 45v–52v  | <i>Tractatus de decem nationibus, Epistola Johannis soldani ad Pium papam secundum, Epistola responsoria eiusdem Pii pape ad soldanum, Johannis presbyter . . . epistola ad Emanuele, Tractatus pulcherrimus de situ et dispositione . . . totius Indie</i> [copied from Antwerp: Govaert Bac, 1497–99]. |
| 54r–60v  | <i>Distantiae locorum mundi</i> [a table indicating distances to cities on trade routes originating at Bruges].  |
| 61r–82r  | Ludolph of Suchen. <i>De Terra Sancta et itinere Ierosolimitano</i> [copied from Gouda: Gerard Leeu, 1484].  |
| 83r–113v | Marco Polo. <i>De consuetudinibus et conditionibus Orientalium regionum</i> [copied from Gouda: Gerard Leeu, 1485].  |
| 114r–23v | <i>Peregrinatores totius Terrae Sanctae</i> [followed by a table indicating distances between specific sites in the Holy Land].  |

### (SECOND SCRIBE)

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| 125r–57v | Johannes Reger. <i>Registrum alphabeticum super octo libros Ptolemaei</i> [copied from Johann Reger's edition of Ptolemy's <i>Cosmographia</i> printed at Ulm in 1486]. |
| 157v–58v | Julius Caesar. <i>Commentarii de bello Gallici</i> [topographical extracts].  |

### Bibliography

Derolez, Albert. *The Library of Raphael de Marcatellis*. Gent, 1979. Pp. 268–72.

<sup>28</sup>Of the *Itinerarius* Derolez comments: "One may wonder whether the highly imaginative author, who develops typically medieval traditions, . . . ever visited the East" (*Library*, p. 271).

———. *Inventaris van de Handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent*. Gent, 1977.

Saint-Génois, Jules de. *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville et de l'Université de Gand*. Gent, 1849. 1:8–10.

## 9. Manuscript K

MS Phillips 1981 [Meerman 1055]  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz [Haus 1]  
Unter den Linden 8  
D-10102 Berlin  
Federal Republic of Germany

### *Description*

Manuscript *K* is made up of twelve paper folia that measure 205/206 x 162/165 mm, with a partial leaf (205 x 116 mm) at the front and back. Text fills most of the space on any one page, running to the right margin. It was copied around 1690 by Antonius Matthaeus the younger (1635–1710), a professor of law at the University of Leiden who wrote extensively on Dutch historical figures and pilgrims to the Holy Land.<sup>29</sup> Although Matthaeus offers no information about the source for his transcription, *K* appears to be an accurate copy of an early manuscript text of the *Itinerarius* in Middle Dutch: vocabulary and morphology display fifteenth-century linguistic features, and spellings are inconsistent throughout, suggesting that he did not attempt to normalize readings in his copy text.<sup>30</sup> In Witte/Voet's dramatic encounter with a frightful marine obstacle in India, the Middle Dutch of *K* (at line 148) describes the sea as being very "low," using the word *syde* (an archaism by the late 1600s, when a reader might expect

<sup>29</sup>An erasure in the upper left-hand corner of fol. 1r is decipherable under ultraviolet light: "NB Descripsit Ant. / Matthaeus juris / antecessor Leidae." No other identifying marks can be found in the manuscript. Matthaeus's works include the four-volume *De Nobilitate, de Principibus, de Ducibus, de Comitibus, de Baronibus, de Militibus, Equitibus, Ministerialibus, Armigeris . . . de Advocatis Ecclesiae, de Comitatu Hollandiae et Diocesi Ultraiectina* (Amsterdam, 1686) and *Veteri Aevi Analecta . . . Historiam Universalem, Expeditiones in Terram Sanctam* (Leiden, 1698).

<sup>30</sup>For example, the English word *and* appears as Middle Dutch *ende* 226 times, *und* 85 times, *unde* 42 times, *end* twice, and *ande* once. The same is true of frequently used words such as *comet* (spelled seven different ways), *oick* (four spellings), and *maer* and *giet* (three spellings). Corrections noted in the Middle Dutch Textual Notes, such as *sunte* for *sinte* and *mael* for *male* (lines 152, 159), also indicate Matthaeus's attentiveness, since his changes introduce Middle Dutch spellings that are less standard. Matthaeus's hand presents difficulties since terminal letters (especially *t*, *d*, and *n*) often appear as a mere point and the vowels *a*, *e*, and *o* are sometimes nearly indistinguishable.

*wyde* [*wijd*]); Matthaeus wrote “Syde Sic” in the adjacent margin, underscoring the accuracy of his own reading and further testifying to his scrupulousness as transcriber. A colophon identifies Heerick van Rhemen as the scribe who finished writing out the work “in the year of our Lord 1373 on Saint Valentine’s Day in the terribly cold wind that occurred then.” The date is certainly an error, although Matthaeus appears not to notice the inconsistency within *K*, which has Witte leave Jerusalem in 1398 [*sic*] in the first sentence and arrive at the church of Saint Thomas in 1391.<sup>31</sup>

Manuscript *K* once belonged to Gerard Meerman (1722–71), a director of the East India Company and author of a treatise on the discovery of the printing press, *Origines Typographicae*, published at the Hague in 1765.<sup>32</sup> The library passed to his son Johan (1753–1815), general director of fine arts for the Kingdom of Holland, after whose death it was auctioned off, between 8 June and 3 July 1824. Sir Thomas Phillipps purchased *K* on the last day of the sale. (A decade later he acquired manuscript *A*, and for nearly forty years the oldest recovered copy of the Latin text and this version of the Middle Dutch translation were in the same collection.) When Phillipps died in 1872, his great library began to be dispersed; *K* and many other medieval vernacular manuscripts were purchased in 1887 by the Königliche Bibliothek at Berlin, later the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, and now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

### *Bibliography*

*Bibliotheca Meermanniana: sive Catalogus Librorum Impressorum et Codicum Manuscriptorum, quos maximam partem collegerunt viri no-*

<sup>31</sup>A note on the verso side of the half sheet at the beginning of the manuscript, not in Matthaeus’s hand, gives a title (“Reyze van Johan Voet van Utrecht”) and the year 1398, then the end of the colophon, adding, “in one or the other date there is possibly an error” (“in’t eene of ander iaergetal mogelyk een fout is”). The colophon presents other problems: Matthaeus’s Roman numerals are seldom precisely written (here “M.CCC.LXXIII.” might read “M.CCC.LXXVI.”); and Heerick’s name somewhat indistinctly corrects an illegible original. The reference to the writing of the work “in the terribly cold wind” (“in den verveerliken koelden wint”) might reflect some copyist’s misreading of the word *winter*, but the phrase is not senseless: in Jan Veldenar’s Dutch translation of Werner Rolewinck’s *Fasciculus temporum* (Utrecht, 1480), “a great storm of wind” is reported to have caused great damage in Holland on 16 January 1362 (“op sinte marcellus dach wast een alte grote storm van wijnde die alte grote scade dede” [fol. 267v]).

<sup>32</sup>The Meerman collection included important humanist manuscripts that came from the Jesuit College of Clermont when the order was suppressed in France in 1764; see Horst Kenze (et al.), *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek 1661–1961*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1961), 1:344–46. *Origines Typographicae* was translated into Dutch by Jacob Visser, who made it the introduction (entitled “Uitvinding der Boekdrukkunst”) to his inventory of incunables printed in the Netherlands, many of which were in the Meerman library; see *Naamlyst van Boeken, die in de XVII Nederlandsche Provinciën geduurende de XV. Eeuw Gedrukt Zyn* (Amsterdam, 1767). Meerman’s book also appeared in French and English.

*bilissimi Gerardus et Joannes Meerman; morte dereliquit Joannes Meerman.* 4 vols. The Hague, 1824. 4:175.

Ippel, Eduard. *Die Niederländischen Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Philipps in der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.* Berlin, 1892. 1:13.

## 10. Manuscript L

Current whereabouts unknown

### Description

The edition of the Middle Dutch *Itinerarius* published by Mathias de Vries in 1845 is based on a manuscript (L) that, according to his introduction, he found in the form of five loose paper leaves at the back of a book belonging to his father, Abraham (1773–1862), who was director of the Haarlem municipal library after 1821. The volume united incunable editions of Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus temporum* in the original Latin (Louvain: Veldenar, *recte* 1475) and in Dutch (Utrecht: Veldenar, 1480); it thus would have been an ample and, given the many woodcuts in the Dutch printing, valuable artifact even without the inserted manuscript.<sup>33</sup> When Abraham de Vries's library was sold at auction between 16 and 26 March 1864, the twin copies of Rolewinck, along with the Middle Dutch manuscript, were purchased by Hendrik Willems Willems (1821/1822–9 May 1881), who operated a bookstore at Koningsplein 7 in Amsterdam from at least 1851 until his death.<sup>34</sup> Records in the Dutch Book Trade Association, housed in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, offer no further information about this volume.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup>The Dutch text alone has 338 pages (8 are unnumbered). De Vries dates the Louvain publication 1476, but the title page reads "MCCCCLXXVI quarto kalendas ianuaris," or 29 December 1475. I adopt de Vries's (and, in the United States, the more common) spelling *Veldenar*; other sources style him *Veldenaar*, *Veldener*, and *Weldenaar*.

<sup>34</sup>In my dissertation I incorrectly reported that the Stadsbibliotheek Haarlem had acquired de Vries's book, which no longer contained the manuscript; the library does own the 1475 and 1480 editions, but they came from the collection of Jacobus Koning.

<sup>35</sup>I am extremely grateful to Dr. Marja Keyser, librarian of the Association (known in the Netherlands as the Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels) for assistance in using this invaluable collection. Among its holdings are the annotated auction catalog for the de Vries library sale, *Catalogus der zeer fraaije godgeleerde, letterkundige en typographische Bibliotheek . . . Abr. de Vries* (also entitled *Catalogue de la belle Bibliothèque Théologique, Littéraire et Typographique . . . Abr. de Vries*), printed in 1864 by the antiquarian firms of Frederik Muller (Amsterdam) and A. C. Kruseman (Haarlem). Entry 1895 (p. ix) lists the two editions of Rolewinck (the first incorrectly dated 1467) and the fragment of the *Itinerarius*, along with a summary of Mathias de Vries's description of the manuscript from his edition; in the margin of p. 89, adjacent to a French version of the



Given its value and contents, it is unlikely to have been lost through negligence.<sup>36</sup>

Mathias de Vries states that the Middle Dutch text was written, distinctly, in a hand “of approximately the early fifteenth century.” Since the manuscript is missing, it is impossible to verify or expand on de Vries’s testimony; his scholarship was excellent and prolific—as a professor at the University of Leiden he edited many medieval Latin and Dutch works—but mid-nineteenth-century paleographical information can be unreliable. The narrative itself, he states, is “full of marvelous and unheard-of information, but described with a fascinating simplicity and naïvete of expression that makes the reading very entertaining.”<sup>37</sup>

De Vries knew the Latin *Itinerarius* from Gourmont’s printed edition *j*, and in occasional notes he points out the more obvious deviations from the original, such as omissions and interpolations. He also uses the early sixteenth-century publication to resolve some obscure readings in the Middle Dutch. Several of his observations, while correct for the Latin text of *j*, are untrue of *A*, which is much closer to the unrecovered Latin version that the translator used. Because the printed editions refer to the author only as “Johannes de Hese,” omitting the surname Witte, de Vries suggests that the Middle Dutch reading “Johan Voet” may be a clever pseudonym (in which *Voet*, ‘foot,’ playfully evokes *voetreiziger*, ‘pedestrian’) or, alternatively, was the name by which Johannes was known in his cloister (he does not explain why he imagines Witte in such a setting). De Vries also cites the Latin in disputing the date (1398) and the reference to the diocese

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same information, is the notation “35.—[guilders] Willems.” H. W. Willems (not to be confused with at least two contemporaneous booksellers with the same surname) bought 99 of the 5,459 items up for sale; this was his second most expensive purchase (he paid more than ten guilders for only three books). Mathias de Vries was among the participants in the auction but evidently was uninterested or outbid when it came to this volume. Willems’s own collection was sold on 29 November 1881, but the auction catalog produced by H. G. Bom lists neither Rolewinck nor the *Itinerarius* (*Catalogue eener exquisite partij Boeken en Plaatwerken . . . van wijlen den Heer H. W. Willems* [Amsterdam, n.d.]). Dr. H. J. Duijzer, librarian at the Stadsbibliotheek Haarlem, also provided me with information about the sale of de Vries’s library.

<sup>36</sup>I have examined at least forty exemplars of the *Fasciculus temporum* in either of Veldenar’s editions but have found no trace of the manuscript or of de Vries’s ownership (his volume might have been broken up). Laviece Cox Ward has generously shared with me her research into known copies of the work.

<sup>37</sup>On de Vries’s edition see this section’s bibliography. He describes the manuscript as displaying “eene duidelijke letter ongeveer uit het begin der XVe eeuw beschreven” and the text as being “een verhaal vol wonderbare en ongehoorde berigten, doch geschreven met eene boeiende eenvoudigheid en naïveteit van uitdrukking, die de lezing zeer onderhoudend maken” (p. 5). He also claims that the *Itinerarius* is among the original sources of medieval Netherlandic travel narratives (p. 11).

of Utrecht found in the Middle Dutch.<sup>38</sup> In a passage referring to the scholars who oversee Prester John's miraculous mirror as "virtuous," de Vries includes the word *dulghende* with a note certifying it as the manuscript reading but not one he understands. Since the corresponding word, *valentissimi*, is omitted in all the printed editions, he was not prompted to consider a late medieval form of the modern Dutch *deugdzaam* or *deugdelijk*.<sup>39</sup> While this indicates de Vries's willingness to print a word he finds puzzling, it is no guarantee that he published the text exactly as he found it in the manuscript: spellings throughout are suspiciously consistent, far more so than in *K*, suggesting at least some normalization.

### *Bibliography*

de Vries, Mathias, ed. "Fragment eener Nederlandsche Vertaling van het Reisverhaal van Joannes de Hese." *Verslagen en Berigten uitgegeven door de Vereeniging ter Bevordering der Oude Nederlandsche Letterkunde* 2 (1845), 5–32.

## 11. Manuscript M

MS 13 (Current whereabouts unknown)  
Records at Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden—Bibliotheek  
Witte Singel 27  
NL-2311 BG Leiden  
The Netherlands

### *Description*

Manuscript *M* is an early copy of the Middle Dutch translation that surfaced in 1926, when a "Low German Manuscript of the XV century, written on paper by a flowing hand" and attributed to "Jan Voet van Utrecht" was advertised by the Viennese booksellers Gilhofer and Ransch-

<sup>38</sup>De Vries, pp. 8–10. He recognizes the date in *j* (1489) to be an error (calling it typographical rather than intentional); assumes that Witte/Voet translated (and mistranslated) the work himself, probably in 1398; and believes the author to have been a priest in the diocese of Maastricht, which he evidently was unaware did not exist in the late fourteenth century (pp. 8–10, 12; see also chapter 2, nn. 25, 28).

<sup>39</sup>In the note to *dulghende*, de Vries observes: "Zoo staat er duidelijk in het HS., doch het woord is mij duister" (p. 31 n. 4). See lemmata L659 and D329 (*K* omits the entire sentence). De Vries's lapse was pointed out by Georg Penon, "Dulgen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 9 (1890), 11–12.

burg.<sup>40</sup> Technical details about the manuscript are given as follows: “2 cols. of 33 lines, 22: 15 1/2 cm, 12 leaves.” Its text is judged a “[v]ery interesting narration of Jerusalem and other Holy Places, which has never been in print [boldface in the original].” A summary of the narrative indicates that the text was complete, although its first sentence—“In 1391 the author leaves Jerusalem”—must be a mistake or, more probably, a confused recollection of the date Witte gives for his visit to the church of Saint Thomas in manuscripts *A* and *K* (with variants in *BC*).<sup>41</sup>

Manuscript *M* was in the library of Dr. J. F. M. Sterck (1859–1941) of Aardenhout by 10 July 1936, when it was carefully described on two pages of paper by Willem de Vreese, a distinguished professor of paleography at the University of Leiden.<sup>42</sup> He notes that Sterck purchased it from Gilhofer and Ranschburg but offers no date. His recorded incipit and explicit confirm that the text is complete rather than fragmentary, like *L*, although *M* omits material early in the narrative that is also lacking in *K* and so may share some of the latter text’s larger gaps. De Vreese hesitated to determine the manuscript’s age—at the beginning of his report he wrote “circa” and then left a blank—but when Sterck put *M* up for auction in November 1936, the catalog dated it “ca. 1540,” although the source of this estimation is unknown (in any event, Sterck withdrew it from sale, for unstated reasons). On 22 February 1941, shortly after his eighty-second birthday, Sterck wrote to G. I. Liefstinck, who succeeded de Vreese at Leiden following the latter’s death in 1938, stating that he “still owned” the

<sup>40</sup>*An Important Collection of Incunabula and XVI Century Books partly from a Monastery Library and in their original Gothic Bindings*, Catalogue 190 (Vienna, n.d. [11 March 1926]), p. 114 (item 227, the last listing).

<sup>41</sup>The description reads exactly as follows: “In 1391 the author leaves Jerusalem to visit the Red Sea, Hermopolis in Egypt; Adrianopolis, where he was detained for 8 weeks, Edissa, which he placed in India and the end of the world, the mount Edom, which was the First Paradise, the Tigris and the Town Hülna. He told of numerous islands of their miracles, their wild men and animals, monkeys and songs of sirens. Then he was, on account of stress of weather, at Amasona, which was ruled over by a Queen. Finally he returned to Jerusalem and wrote this booklet, ending with the praise of God.” The paleographical details are consonant with what is known about *M* (see description reproduced below), but the reported explicit is a mystery. In *M* (which ends “many good people know how things are arranged there, etc.”) a brief penitential text follows the Middle Dutch *Itinerarius*—this is unmentioned in the catalog—and its last words, while not particularly praiseful, are certainly pious. The catalog also refers to “Röricht [*sic*] 95, 233”; this is a citation of Reinhold Röhrich’s listing of manuscript *K* in *Bibliotheca*, p. 95, item 234 [*sic*]. Röhrich did not know of de Vries’s edition of the Witte/Voet narrative, so the booksellers probably believed genuinely that the work had never been printed even though de Vries’s had published his edition eighty years before.

<sup>42</sup>I am greatly indebted to Prof. Pieter Obbema, former Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the University of Leiden, for many courtesies and bibliographical lessons, beginning in 1983. He gave me access to the library’s archival material relating to the Sterck collection, including Willem de Vreese’s description (fully transcribed and translated below), and gave me valuable assistance in my search for this manuscript.

manuscript and requesting a copy of Mathias de Vries's edition of *L. Sterck* died a few weeks later. What happened to *M* is uncertain, but when Lief-tinck himself examined it, on 26 October 1961, possibly in answer to a request from Beijers, the Utrecht antiquarian establishment, he noted at the end of de Vreese's description that "The manuscript now has on the back end paper" as a mark of ownership "ex libris Dr. A. J. Henneman (Nijmegen)."<sup>43</sup> The word "now" suggests that Henneman owned *M* sometime after Sterck's death (a less likely explanation is that de Vreese overlooked what is presumably a bookplate). Unfortunately, Henneman's identity is uncertain and the current location of *M* unknown. Beijers catalogs from the 1960s offer no clue in tracing it (many records were destroyed when the firm moved in 1969).<sup>44</sup>

Willem de Vreese's description of *M* is given below in an English translation, except for incipits and explicits found in the manuscript, which remain in Middle Dutch. De Vreese's original Dutch is found in the footnotes; specific information about his record appears in italics between square brackets (with notations such as "underscored" or "above line" referring to the immediately preceding word). The order of de Vreese's citations of incipits and explicits suggests that he had finished his report before realizing that the Middle Dutch *Itinerarius* is followed by a second, penitential, text, which required him to add a second explicit and incipit (in that order). The lengthy citation from Reinhold Röhricht and several lines of quotation from the penitential text are omitted here.

Paper, ca. [9 mm blank], one sextern = 12 leaves; measured across the middle: 214 x 290 mm; margins on all sides. Two columns, with the middle

<sup>43</sup>The archives of the University of Leiden contain de Vreese's annotated auction catalog from the sale of certain Sterck manuscripts on 9–12 November 1936 by the Amsterdam firm Menno Hertzberger (*Auctie-catalogue van Dr. J. F. M. Sterck*, Part 2), in which *M* (Item 1356) is identified as "teruggenomen"; Hertzberger's confirmation of this withdrawal (without explanation) in a letter to de Vreese on 23 November 1936; and Sterck's letter in 1941, stating "Het Reisverhaal bezit ik nog." Sterck's relationship with de Vreese goes back at least to 30 August 1912, when the latter confirmed his receipt of a late fifteenth-century manuscript from the former, presumably for purposes of inspection. On the date "ca. 1540" see n. 47 below.

<sup>44</sup>Several people, in addition to Pieter Obbema, deserve particular thanks for their assistance in my attempt to identify Henneman and to locate *M*: Prof. B. J. Buansters at the University of Nijmegen; Dr. Elly Cockx-Indestege at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I (Brussels); Mr. Edgar Franco at Beijers Antiquariat (Utrecht); Prof. Philip E. Webber at Central College (Pella, Iowa); and Dr. Helen Wüstefeld of Het Catharijneconvent (Utrecht). An "Adr. Jac. Henneman" completed a dissertation in the natural sciences at the University of Utrecht in 1923, and "A. J. Henneman" wrote a book on the landing of American troops in Holland in 1944. Obbema thinks a more likely candidate is Jacobus Henneman (1897–1954), who studied church history in seminary and served as curator of the Bisschoppelijk Museum at Haarlem; he edited a late sixteenth-century manuscript in the library of the University of Nijmegen.

blank: 51/57 x 183/186 mm (distance of the pinpricks). No lineation evident. On 1r: 33 lines; on 9r: the same. No signatures or catchwords. In a pale, faded rose wrapper [*above line*] paper cover, on which at the front [is] pasted a clipping from Cat. [7 mm blank] of Gilhofer & Ranschburg, to indicate from whom Dr. Sterck bought the manuscript. Included is a letter, dated 12 July 1935, from their firm to Dr. Sterck, with information about the manuscript and reference to: Röhricht [*underscored*], Bibl. biogr. palestinae, p. 95, #233 [*sic; see n. 41*]. . . . [*the passage, which follows in its entirety, is omitted here*].

(Travel Narrative of Johannes de Hese) [*the entire title underscored*. Then, added in G. I. Lieftinck's hand, extending into the right margin:] See the letter of 22 February 1941 from J. F. M. Sterck: the author is Jan Voet [*in the margin below this, in de Vreese's hand:*] fol. 7a jc er jan voet [*the last four words in a deliberately archaized hand of the early sixteenth century, and below this, also in Lieftinck's hand, a reference to Mathias de Vries's edition of L*].<sup>45</sup>

1r [*in left margin, marking the incipit*] In dem namen ons heeren ende inden iaer ons heeren 1398 jc er Jan voet van vterb heb ghewest te jherusalem jnden mere om te visenteren daer de heijlighen steden ende oec voert tot mijnder bedeuert totter jordanen ende voert totten roden mere aen dat lant van egipten tot eender stat gheheten hermopolus datz i hoeffstat van egipten jn dier stat woende onse vrouwe mit hoeren lieuen kinde ihum ende inden roeden mere daer de stat bij lijt daer sach ic in vijschen de roet waren van varwen ende vlieghe boeuen dat water wel so veer als men mit j boghe mocht schijten ende daer heb ic aff gheten voert so heb ic daer ghesijen vele wonderliker dieren. . . . . [*ellipsis marks in original*]

9v [*in left margin, marking explicit to the second, penitential text, the first six of nine lines omitted here*] Nye en ontsach jc dat oerdel gods als jc merckede dat mij de selue oerdelen soude de mij mit sijnen heyligen duyrbieren blode cochte an den heyligen cruyce amen  
explysit

9v°–12v° blank.

<sup>45</sup>"Papier, ca. [9 mm blank], een sextern = 12 bladen; maat van't middelstevl: 214 x 290; overall zelfkant. Twee kolommen, met de drooge naald afgeschreven: 51/57 x 183/186 (afstand van de gaatjes). Blijkbaar niet gelijnd; op 1a 33 rr., op 9a: idem. Signaturen noch reclamen. In een verbleekte, verschoten rose inpak [*above line*] papieren kaft, waarin vooraan geplakt een uitknipsel uit Cat. [7 mm blank] van Gilhofer & Ranschburg te weenen, van wie Dr. Sterck het hs. gekocht heeft. Inliggend een brief van dere firma, dd. 12 Juli 1935, aan Dr. Sterck, met inlichtinge over het hs., en verwijzingen naar: Röhricht [*underscored*] Bibl. biogr. palestinae, s. 95, nr. 233 [*sic; see n. 41*] . . . . [*passage omitted here*].

(Reisverhaal van Johannes de Hese) [*the entire title underscored*] [Added by Lieftinck:] Zie brief J. F. M. Sterck 22. 2. 41: Jan Voet is de auteur [*below this de Vreese writes:*] bl. 7a jc er jan voet [*in an archaized hand, below which Lieftinck adds:*] Zie Versl. en Berigten 3, 5 [*a reference to de Vries's edition of L although the numbers are enigmatic. The note that the archaized text appears on "fol. 7a" seems to indicate that the self-reference at Middle Dutch line 340 in K recurs in M.*]"

Written with a small, firm, clear, regular cursive hand, without punctuation, with the usual abbreviations, among them regularly d [*with a tail*] for *den* at the end of a word. No decoration whatever.

Watermark: a small [letter] p.<sup>46</sup>

8v [*in left margin, marking explicit to Middle Dutch text of the Itinerarius*] binnen j quartier van j jare quamen wij weder tot jerusalem ende hoe dat daer ghestelt is dat weten wel veel goeder luden etc.

9r [*in left margin, marking incipit to second, penitential text, omitting eleven of fourteen lines*] Het quam j deuoet engel goeds van der hemelrijke tot eenen deuoten mensch ende leerde hem j leüen mede te comen in hemelrijke ende sprac tot hem ende leerde hem dese gode puynten. . . .

[*After de Vreese's description ends, Lieftinck adds:*] "Inspection 26. October 1961 for Beijers Utrecht. The manuscript now has on the back endpaper ex libris Dr. A. J. Henneman (Nijmegen)."<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup>"Geschreven met een kleine, vaste, duidelijke, regelmatige cursieve hand, zonder interpunctie, met de gewone verkortingen, daaronder geregeld: d [*with a tail*] = *den* aan't eind der woorden. Geenerlei versiering.

Watermark: een kleine p.

<sup>47</sup>"Opzicht 26 Oct. 1961 / van Beijers Utrecht. Het hs. heeft nu op laaste schutbl. ex libris Dr. A. J. Henneman (Nijmegen)."

Below this note by Lieftinck is a tracing of the letter-P watermark. It is a near match to Piccard VII 651 (1511 [Kleve]) and is quite close to several others: VII 505 (1509 [Mechelen]), VII 530 (1507 [Xanten]), VII 540 (1515 [Utrecht]), VII 538 (1528 [Wesel]), VII 1032 (1516 [Xanten]), VII 1042 (1507 [Utrecht]). Thus the manuscript can reliably be said to have been produced in the lower Rhine territory during the first two decades of the sixteenth century. See *Wasserzeichen Buchstabe P*, vol. 4[1-3] of *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard* (Stuttgart, 1977), 4[1]:58, 57, 63 and 4[2]:211, 205, 206, 226.



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# Index

The following principles apply to entries in this index:

- names and concepts found in Witte's *Itinerarius* follow each entry word in bold-face type between square brackets giving, in order: Latin edition page number(s)/Middle Dutch edition page number(s)/English translation page number(s);
- related texts are identified by author's name according to the alphabetization in the bibliography; references to "Mandeville" and "Polo" do not indicate a conviction that John Mandeville or Marco Polo had any control over the texts associated with them;
- within each main entry, explanatory information is usually alphabetized by the first key word. Thus, under "Adam," subentries follow, in order, based on *Asian*, *body*, *Eve*, *mourned*, and *pilgrimage*. Occasionally another system is followed, such as the sequential order of books (under "Bible") or chronology (under "Chaucer" and "crusades").

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