

# Introduction

## Contact

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The 12th and 13th centuries were a remarkable period for medieval Europe, as the world view of Latin Christians expanded through increased contact with and control over lands that had previously been peripheral zones in their imagination.<sup>1</sup> This expansion, in turn, opened up new avenues for travel (or made existing ones more attractive) and from the 12th century onwards, there was a surge in eastward travel for the purposes of war, trade, missionary endeavors, and pilgrimage. As a consequence, between the 12th and 15th centuries a vast collection of travel narratives composed in Latin emerged. The texts within this genre contributed to increasing geographic and ethnographic knowledge in Europe relating to the Mediterranean world and Asia, and to the development of an ever more empirical world

- <sup>1</sup> For a traditional view of this process of expansion see John Roland Seymour PHILLIPS, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1998. Cf. the historical overview provided by Aryieh GRABOÏS, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au moyen âge*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1998, pp. 21–23. For this background see also Colin MORRIS, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West. From the Beginnings to 1600*, Oxford 2005, with other examples being Moshe GIL, *A History of Palestine 634–1099*, Cambridge 1992; Eckart OTTO, *Jerusalem. Die Geschichte der Heiligen Stadt*, Stuttgart et al. 1980. For the related history of the Crusades see e.g. Andrew JOTISCHKY, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 2nd ed., Abingdon, New York 2017; Nikolas JASPERT, *Die Kreuzzüge*, 6th ed., Dortmund 2013; Jonathan RILEY-SMITH, *The Crusades. A History*, London, New York 2005; Michel BALARD, *Croisades et Orient latin, XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 2001.

view as preconceptions about the world outside Latin Europe's borders were challenged through contact with other cultures and landscapes. However, despite their significance, these Latin travel narratives have not yet received as much scholarly attention as they deserve. Many are still awaiting modern critical editions and commentaries, and were until recently rarely studied in their own right and often reduced to singular aspects.<sup>2</sup> As a result of shortcomings in the area of editing,

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- 2 A different example is Kathryn BEEBE, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri*, Oxford 2014. For research into pilgrimage texts up to 1991 see Ursula GANZ-BLÄTTLER, *Andacht und Abenteuer. Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520)*, Tübingen 1990, pp. 20–35; up to 1996 see Andres BETSCHART, *Zwischen zwei Welten. Illustrationen und Berichte westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg 1996, pp. 9–21. See also the overview provided in Stefan SCHRÖDER, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam. Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten*, Berlin 2009, pp. 32–45, as well as Wolfgang TREUE, *Abenteuer und Anerkennung: Reisende und Gereiste in Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit (1400–1700)*, Paderborn 2014; Nicole CHAREYRON, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. by W. Donald WILSON, New York 2005; GRABOÏS (note 1); Shayne Aaron LEGASSIE, *The Invention of Medieval Travel*, Chicago 2017. For literature regarding descriptions of Jerusalem and for the ways it was imagined see Susanna FISCHER, *Erzählte Bewegung. Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert) (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 52)*, Leiden, Boston 2019; Mary BOYLE, *Writing the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2021; Bianca KÜHNEL, Galit NOGA-BANAI and Hanna VORHOLT (eds.), *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, Turnhout 2014; Annette HOFFMANN and Gerhard WOLF (eds.), *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem*, Amsterdam 2012; Lucy DONKIN and Hanna VORHOLT (eds.), *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, Oxford 2012; Suzanne M. YEAGER, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, Cambridge 2011. A focus of scholarly attention lies on vernacular texts of the late Middle Ages, especially on German pilgrimage narratives. Examples of these can be found in Susanne LEHMANN-BRAUNS, *Jerusalem sehen: Reiseberichte des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts als empirische Anleitung zur geistigen Pilgerfahrt*, Freiburg i. Br. 2010; Carmen SAMSON-HIMMELSTJERNA, *Deutsche Pilger des Mittelalters im Spiegel ihrer Berichte und der mittelhochdeutschen erzählenden Dichtung*, Berlin 2004; Christiane HIPPLER, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem. Untersuchungen zu den Quellen, zum Inhalt und zur literarischen Struktur der Pilgerberichte des Spätmittelalters*, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1987. Regarding Egypt see Aleya KHATTAB, *Das Ägyptenbild in den deutschsprachigen Reisebeschreibungen der Zeit von 1285–1500*, Frankfurt a. M. 1982, as well as Abbas AMIN, *Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus, Ägypten in der deutschen Reiseliteratur (1175–1663). Mit einem kommentierten Verzeichnis der Reiseberichte (383–1845)*, Berlin 2013, who also deals with texts in Latin. Bernhard JAHN, *Raumkonzepte in der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Konstruktion von Wirklichkeit in Pilgerberichten, Amerikareisebeschreibungen und Prosaerzählungen*, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1993, is interested in the *Raumstrukturen* ('spatial structure') of pilgrimage texts. Compared to the broad interest in texts from the late Middle Ages, those pilgrimage texts from the early Middle Ages have only recently been addressed. See for example the monograph concerning Adomnán by Thomas O'LOUGHLIN, *Adomnán and the Holy Places. The Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Locations of the Biblical Drama*, London, New York 2007. The evidential foundation for CHAREYRON (cited above) despite the title 'Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages', is primarily comprised of text written after 1300. Earlier pilgrimage texts are given a short historical overview, up to the 9th-century pilgrimage text of Bernard the Monk, in Verena TÜRCK, *Christliche Pilgerfahrten nach Jerusalem im früheren Mittelalter im Spiegel der Pilgerberichte*, Wiesbaden 2011, as well as Markus SCHAUTA, *Die ersten Jahrhunderte christlicher Pilgerreisen im Spiegel spätantiker und frühmittelalterlicher Quellen*, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 2008. MORRIS (cited above) provides a review of the whole of range of surviving pilgrimage texts. On transmission and reception cf. Anthony BALE and Kathryn BEEBE, *Pilgrimage and Textual Culture in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Production, Exchange, Reception*, in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 51,1, Special Issue (2021), 1–8; Susanna FISCHER,

research is also often based only on the small part of the texts represented by the edited redaction(s). A better understanding of these Latin texts is crucial not only for our understanding of them alone but also of their vernacular counterparts, many of which are co-dependent on these Latin texts. Therefore, the study of the Latin texts is essential for further research.

Moreover, the writers of these texts were often leading theologians, thinkers, and social movers of their time. With many of these individuals coming out of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, who extolled high learning, these travelers were scholars in their own right and contributed a vast amount to the development of Latin literary forms, styles, and strategies during this period. By taking medieval Latin travel literature as a discrete literary genre and analysing the ways in which these travelers and pilgrims formulated their travel experiences in text, we can learn much about the societies in which they lived and traveled, and about the experiences of medieval individuals as they encountered what for them were new worlds and peoples.

Accordingly, this volume intends to explore and suggest some trajectories of current and future research into Latin travel literature from the period c. 1200–1500. The chosen period represents a high point in the field of Latin travel literature with dozens of new works appearing, some of which represent the quintessential expression of the genre. Moreover, it was during this period that these writings began to properly move away from texts which should be seen as purely Holy Land pilgrimage guides (though these continued to be produced) to more expansive travelogues focused on a much broader geographic area which included Central and East Asia as well as the Mediterranean world.

An important aim of this volume is to demonstrate the rich repository of knowledge which this corpus of Latin travel literature represents and highlight ways in which research into this repository can be further advanced. This volume showcases various interdisciplinary approaches to these texts and demonstrates the ways in which discussions around their editing, contents, composition, and creators can yield further fascinating insights into the genre and world in which they were produced. By bringing together historians, literary scholars, and philologists, this volume highlights the different perspectives these various research backgrounds can contribute. It also promotes the idea of interdisciplinary collaboration in any future attempts to gain a greater understanding into the genre of medieval Latin travel literature.

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Zur Überlieferung lateinischer Pilgertexte: Strukturierung, Auswahl und Sammlung der Informationen über das Heilige Land, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 53 (2018), pp. 78–104. Examples of more recent works on travels into East Asia include Kim M. PHILLIPS, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510*, Philadelphia, PA 2014; Marianne O'DOHERTY, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination (Medieval Voyaging 2)*, Turnhout 2013; Marina MÜNKLER, *Erfahrung des Fremden. Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2000.

## 1 Latin Travel Literature c. 1200–1500

This volume addresses Latin travel literature within the timeframe of c. 1200–1500, the so-called ‘late Middle Ages’. Up until the 13th century, the texts which formed the basis of this literary corpus focused mainly on pilgrimage. It began to develop in the fourth century with the rise of pilgrimages to Palestine, with the texts in this genre sometimes referred to as ‘pilgrimage narratives’, though the terms ‘pilgrimage accounts’, ‘guidebooks’, or ‘guides’ are often used.<sup>3</sup> While similar in many regards, in detail there are clear differences in the use, distribution, and reception of the texts that form the component parts of the genre and the term ‘pilgrimage narrative’ in use here serves as a hypernym for an incredibly diverse range of texts. These narratives had several functions: as guides for actual travel; as guides for a mental (re)enactment of a journey; as a medium for the transfer of knowledge (about the sacred and profane); as a source of material which could be used for exegetical purposes (among other things); and as a key part in the processes of documentation, authentication, and memorialization of journeys undertaken for a broad range of reasons.

A basic characteristic of pilgrimage narratives is the narration of a subject’s motion through holy space as well as the narration of the sensory perception.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to a narration about a profane journey, traveled space is marked as holy by connecting it to a biblical event and thus characterizing it as a holy place. The structure of pilgrimage narratives usually follows a (real or imagined) *itinerarium* through the holy places. This structure, in German *Wegstreckenschema*, is a characteristic of pilgrimage narratives: one place is described and connected to the next place, and so on.<sup>5</sup>

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3 For more on the terminology and the debates surrounding their usage see Dietrich HUSCHENBETT, ‘Diu vart hin über mer’. Die Palästina-Pilgerberichte als neue Prosa-Gattung in der deutschen Literatur des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, in: Xenia VON ERTZDORFF (ed.), *Beschreibung der Welt. Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte. Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 8. bis 13. Juni 1998 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, Amsterdam, Atlanta 2000, pp. 119–151; FISCHER (note 2), pp. 29–36; Gerhard WOLF, *Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters*, in: Peter J. BRENNER (ed.), *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*, Frankfurt a. M. 1989, pp. 81–116; Gerhard WOLF, *Deutschsprachige Reiseberichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Formen und Funktionen einer hybriden Gattung*, in: *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter*, vol. 3 (2012), pp. v–xxviii; John Gordon DAVIES, *Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature*, in: Barbara SARGENT-BAUR (ed.), *Journeys Toward God. Pilgrimage and Crusade*, Kalamazoo 1992, pp. 1–30.

4 On characteristics of pilgrimage narratives cf. FISCHER (note 2), pp. 37–92. See Susanna FISCHER, *Latin Orientalism: Travel and Pilgrimage literature*, in: Francesco STELLA, Lucie DOLEŽALOVÁ and Danuta SHANZER (eds.), *Latin Literatures in Medieval and Early Modern Times Inside and Outside Europe. A Millennium History (Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages)*, Amsterdam (forthcoming) for an overview of Latin pilgrimage and travel narratives.

5 For the terminus *Wegstreckenschema* cf. Dietrich HUSCHENBETT, ‘Von landen und ynselen’. Literarische und geistliche Meerfahrten nach Palästina im späten Mittelalter, in: Norbert Richard WOLF (ed.), *Wissensorganisierende und wissensvermittelnde Literatur im Mittelalter. Perspektiven ihrer Erforschung. Kolloquium 5.–7. Dez. 1985, Wiesbaden 1987*, pp. 187–207, here p. 181.

What we read in a pilgrimage narrative is a combination of experience and knowledge gained through reading the Bible, pilgrimage narratives, and other texts. For the most part it is difficult to isolate the two sources from each other.<sup>6</sup> Most pilgrimage narratives only *seem* like first-hand accounts of the actual experiences of an actual traveler. Moreover, the focus is often less on one's own journey than on the description of the journey within the well-known system of Bible and world knowledge. Older texts are not replaced by new ones; rather, information from existing texts is incorporated into the emerging texts, even if the described situations no longer correspond to reality. The journeys recounted in these texts are built into a network of interconnected sources of knowledge of which other pilgrimage texts were an important part. In addition, Bible commentaries, historical, or encyclopedic writings were consulted, incorporated, or reproduced in longer passages. In particular, the writings of Jerome, Isidore of Seville, William of Tyre, and especially Jacques of Vitry represent the key texts which pilgrimage narratives drew upon.<sup>7</sup> As a result, a literary tradition developed and an expectation formed that certain *loca sancta* and certain aspects be treated in these writings.

The sparse nature of surviving texts in the period up to 1099 would, however, fundamentally change in the 12th century following the capture of Jerusalem by the armies of the expedition which we now know as the First Crusade (1095–1099).<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, the 12th and 13th centuries saw a rapid rise in the number of Latin pilgrimage texts related to Holy Land journeys being produced. Many of these, like the 'Tractatus de locis et statu Sancte Terre Ierosolimitane' or Fretellus' 'Descriptio de locis sanctis' (c. 1140), were simply descriptive and directional, aimed at helping individuals navigate their way around the Holy Land.<sup>9</sup> However, there was also

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6 Cf. SCHRÖDER (note 2), pp. 29–32; Michael HARBSMEIER, Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen: Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reisebeschreibungen, in: Antoni MACZAK and Hans Jürgen TEUTEBERG (eds.), Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung, Wolfenbüttel 1982, pp. 1–31, here p. 16.

7 On William of Tyre cf. Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon*, ed. by Robert B. C. HUYGENS (Corpus Christianorum, *Continuatio Medieualis* 63/63A), Turnhout 1986; on Jacques de Vitry cf. *Jacobus de Vitriaco, Historia occidentalis*, ed. by J. DONNADIEU (Sous la règle de Saint Augustin 12), Turnhout 2008.

8 There were several key texts produced in the period up to 1099, for example the 4th-century *Itinerarium of Egeria*: *Egeria, Itinerarium*, ed. by A. FRANCESCHINI and R. WEBER, in: *Itineraria et alia Geographica* (CCSL 175), Turnhout 1965, pp. 35–90. In the second half of the seventh century, Adomnán of Iona wrote 'De locis sanctis' in three books, which is characterized in the prologue as an eyewitness account of a bishop named Arculf: Adomnan, *De locis sanctis*, ed. by L. BIELER, in: *Itineraria et alia Geographica* (Corpus Christianorum, *Series Latina* 175), Turnhout 1965, pp. 219–297. The Venerable Bede adapted Adomnán's writing in 702/3 using it as the main source for his work 'De locis sanctis': *Beda Venerabilis, De locis sanctis*, ed. by I. FRAIPONT, in: *Itineraria et alia Geographica* (Corpus Christianorum, *Series Latina* 175), Turnhout 1965, pp. 245–280. Both Bede's and Adomnán's writings are not based on a real journey undertaken by their authors. See FISCHER (note 2), pp. 93–160.

9 For the complete editorial history of these sorts of texts and for information about the author, who is known as *Innominatus V* and *Innominatus IX*, see Benjamin Z. KEDAR, *The Tractatus*

a proliferation of first-hand narrative accounts of pilgrimage produced during this period, with texts written in Latin by Saewulf (1102–1103), John of Würzburg (1160), Theoderic (1169),<sup>10</sup> and Thietmar (1217–1218).<sup>11</sup> One of the most influential texts, though not a narrative of a pilgrimage in a strict sense, is the 13th-century ‘*Descriptio Terre Sancte*’ by Burchard of Mount Sion (1274–1285).<sup>12</sup> Transmitted in over a hundred manuscripts and later also in printed editions, it quickly became a work of reference for pilgrims and pilgrimage authors. This trend continued, with more and more texts relating to the pilgrimages of specific individuals appearing through the period of the 14th and 15th centuries. Some key texts from this later period include those written by William of Bodensele (1335), Ludolf of Sudheim (1336), Symon Semeonis (1335), Felix Fabri (1484), and Bernhard of Breydenbach (1486).<sup>13</sup>

As well as an increasing number of texts, the traveled area covered by these texts began to extend into Central and Eastern Asia. In turn, this geographical expansion occurred alongside a widening of focus within these texts in which missionary aspects, the presentation of ‘Otherness’, and various what we might call encyclopedic topics came to the fore. Some of these texts, like William of Rubruck’s ‘*Itinerarium*’

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de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane, in: John FRANCE and William G. ZAJAC (eds.), *The Crusades and their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, Aldershot 1998, pp. 111–133, and Paolo TROVATO, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann’s Method: A Non-Standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text*, Padua 2014, pp. 275–287. They are also dealt with briefly in Denys PRINGLE (ed.), *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land 1187–1291*, Farnham 2012, pp. 35–36. For an edition of Fretellus, see Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre sainte. *Histoire et édition du texte*, ed. by P. C. BOEREN, Amsterdam 1980.

- 10 Edited in: *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. by Robert B. C. HUYGENS (*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis* 139), Turnhout 1994. In each instance, the dates provided here reflect dates of travel, which are often more discernible than the date by which the text was produced, which usually occurred an indeterminate period after the pilgrim’s return home.
- 11 Philip BOOTH, *Encountering Miracles and Muslims: The Holy Land Pilgrimage of Thietmar, 1217–1218* (forthcoming).
- 12 Burchard of Mount Sion, *OP, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. by J. R. BARTLETT, Oxford 2019. See also Jonathan RUBIN, *The Manuscript Tradition of Burchard of Mount Sion’s Descriptio Terre Sancte*, in: *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 30 (2020), pp. 257–286, and the contributions of RUBIN as well as FERRO and SCHONHARDT in this volume.
- 13 Guillaume de Boldensele sur la Terre Sainte et l’Égypte (1336). *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra Sancta*. Suivi de la trad. de Jean le Long. Présentation et commentaire par Christiane DELUZ (*Sources d’histoire médiévale* 44), Paris 2018; Ludolphi Rectoris Ecclesiae Parochialis in Suchem, *De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*, ed. by F. DEYCKS, Stuttgart 1851; Symon Semeonis, *Itinerarium ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. by M. ESPOSITO (*Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 4), Dublin 1960; Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, vols. 1–3, ed. by Konrad Dietrich HASSLER, Stuttgart 1843–1849; Felix Fabri, *Les errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre Sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte (1480–1483)*, vols. I–VIII, ed. by Jean MEYERS and Nicole CHAREYRON, Montpellier 2000–2020. There is no modern edition of the Latin text of Bernhard of Breydenbach’s ‘*Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*’, but a reprint of an early modern print can be found in: Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land. Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483 mit 17 Holzschnitten, 5 Faltkarten und 6 Textseiten in Faksimile. Übertragung und Nachwort von Elisabeth Geck*, Wiesbaden 1977.

(1253–1254) or John of Plano Carpini's 'Ystoria Mongalorum' (1245–1247),<sup>14</sup> represent missionary accounts of these individuals' travels in East and Central Asia and appear therefore in very much a different vein to their pilgrimage predecessors. Indeed, they often have more in common with their vernacular counterparts, texts like the infamous 'Il Milione' which recounts Marco Polo's extensive travels and experiences in Asia.<sup>15</sup> But linking travel or missionary texts and pilgrimage texts were those which stood as a hybrid of the two; texts like Odoric of Pordenone's 'Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum' (1318–1329),<sup>16</sup> which recounts not only his travels eastward but also information about the Holy Land, and Riccoldo of Monte Croce's 'Liber peregrinationis' (1288),<sup>17</sup> in which we see a fusion of typical pilgrimage narrative with missionary account.

As the 13th century progressed, and as the scope of Latin travelers extended beyond the Holy Land, the focus of these texts on the purely biblical past, or spiritual present, began to give way to a view of the lands through which they traveled which contained information about the peoples, religions, cultures, and flora and fauna which they encountered, as well as matters that we would call the 'marvels of the East' and greater information about the logistics of travel. A widening of the world view of travel literature was also in part to do with the fact that the Holy Land was no longer as freely accessible in the 14th and 15th centuries as it had been in the 12th and to some extent 13th centuries. This led to pilgrims and travelers seeking further afield for sites connected with a biblical past and consequentially Egypt, and particularly Sinai, became progressively more popular destinations to visit and to describe.

Naturally, accounts of pilgrimage were increasingly recorded in languages other than Latin and even those produced in Latin began to find themselves transmitted in vernacular languages, with texts like William of Bodensele's 'Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra Sancta' and Ludolf of Sudheim's 'De itinere Terre Sancte liber' being amongst the first.<sup>18</sup> By the same token, travel narratives

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14 Guglielmo di Rubruk, *Viaggio in Mongolia*, ed. by Paolo CHIESA, Milan 2011; Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. by E. MENESTÒ, Spoleto 1989.

15 Marco Polo, *Milione*. *Le divisament dou monde*, ed. by G. RONCHI, Milan 1982. The Latin translation by Francesco Pipino da Bologna is only printed in the footnotes of: Marco Polo, *Milione*. *Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským*, ed. by J. V. PRÁŠEK, Prague 1902. On the fortunes of Marco Polo in the Middle Ages see Christine GADRAT-OUERFELLI, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Âge: traduction, diffusion et réception du Devisement du monde*, Turnhout 2015.

16 Odoricus de Pordenone, *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, ed. by A. MARCHISIO, Florence 2016.

17 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre*. Traduction, ed. and tr. by René KAPPLER, (Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge 4), Paris 1997. Cf. Rita GEORGE-TVRTKOVIĆ, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam*, Turnhout 2012.

18 For editions see note 13.

and pilgrimage accounts produced in the vernacular also found themselves being translated into Latin, with texts like John Mandeville's hugely influential 'Travels', originally written in a form of Anglo-French, appearing frequently in a number of Latin redactions.<sup>19</sup> Finally, in the 15th century authors such as Felix Fabri and Bernhard of Breydenbach actively circulated the accounts of their travels to the Holy Land in both Latin and in German versions. Thus, a widespread change of language choices and dissemination practices, aided by the emergence of the printed book, marks the chronological end point of this volume focusing on the heyday of travel and pilgrimage literature written in Latin.

## 2 Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Latin Travel Literature

With this in mind, this volume aims to, on the one hand, profile the approaches which the contributors are currently taking in the study of the Latin travel literature of the late Middle Ages, while highlighting what they expect to be fruitful avenues and approaches for future research. The selection of topics is by no means exhaustive, but nevertheless presents a rich and diverse range of current approaches in both general surveys and case studies. Other approaches not represented in the volume, but which the editors recognize as integral to the future of the discipline, are related to the discussion of ideas of race, gender, monster theory, and the sensory turn. A certain emphasis on the pilgrimage narratives of Burchard of Mount Sion on the one hand and Felix Fabri on the other hand could not be avoided. In accordance with their length, complexity, and influence, these two texts have received increasing scholarly attention in the past decade,<sup>20</sup> which is also reflected in this volume.

Before turning to the contents itself, it is also worth reflecting on some other things not represented in the volume. The origins of this collection find themselves in a workshop held at the University of Innsbruck on 4–5 April 2019.<sup>21</sup> This provided a rich environment where we were able to discuss the various approaches that each of us involved were taking. Since then, the world has obviously changed quite dramatically, and timescales, participants' commitments, and so on have meant that the volume does not represent the full range of ideas and perspectives

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19 Marianne O'DOHERTY, Richard Hakluyt and the 'Vulgate Latin' Version of Mandeville's Travels, in: *Viator* 50,1 (2020), pp. 317–353.

20 On Burchard cf. e.g. Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER, Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land, in: *Peregrinations. Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* 4,1, Special Issue: 'Mapping' (2013), pp. 5–42; Jonathan RUBIN, A Missing Link in European Travel Literature. Burchard of Mount Sion's Description of Egypt, in: *Mediterranea. International Journal for the Transfer of Knowledge* 3 (2018), pp. 55–90; RUBIN (note 12). On Felix Fabri cf. Folker REICHERT and Alexander ROSENSTOCK (eds.), *Die Welt des Frater Felix Fabri*, Weissenhorn 2018.

21 We would like to acknowledge the assistance, financial and otherwise, of the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, the Vice-Rectorate for Research at the University of Innsbruck, and the Department of Classical Philology and Neo-Latin Studies of the University of Innsbruck in organizing this workshop.

presented at the original workshop. Some not involved in this volume have gone on to publish elsewhere and it is worthwhile directing the reader to their excellent work. Andrew JOTISCHKY's work on Latin pilgrim perspectives of Eastern Orthodox monks and monasteries, influenced by ideas of Orientalism, provides a refreshing take on travelers' encounter with an 'Other' by moving away from the usual Christian-Muslim dichotomy to think about how Latin pilgrim authors wrote about their Eastern Christian counterparts.<sup>22</sup> Irene MALFATTO's work on the cognitive experiences of Franciscan travelers has challenged the idea that these religious men were confined by the tradition of authority in what they described and how they described it.<sup>23</sup> Christine GADRAT-OUERFELLI's work on the public of Latin travel narratives, still in development, is breaking new ground as regards questions of audience and participation.<sup>24</sup> Marianne O'DOHERTY's work on the vulgate tradition of Mandeville's travels serves as an excellent case study of the inter-relationship between Latin and vernacular texts, the ways they can and did influence one another, and the way interest in travel narratives produced in Latin persisted into the early modern period.<sup>25</sup> And finally, Michele CAMPOPIANO's work on the Franciscan library on Mount Zion, which has resulted in a book published in 2020, evaluates the role of the Franciscans on Mount Zion in codifying the later medieval pilgrimage itinerary and experience in the Holy Land.<sup>26</sup> While these authors are not represented by chapters in this volume, we would nevertheless like to thank them for their contribution to it and the field.

The volume itself is separated into two sections. Part I, "Texts, Maps, and Manuscripts", deals with codicological approaches and manuscript studies, speaking to the ways in which these can provide valuable insights into reception and afterlife of the texts, consumers, and creators in question. In their respective contributions, Jonathan RUBIN as well as Eva FERRO and Michael SCHONHARDT present the results

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22 Andrew JOTISCHKY, *The Image of the Greek: Western Pilgrims' Views of Eastern Monks and Monasteries in the Holy Land, c.1200–1500*, in: *Speculum* 94,3 (2019), pp. 674–703. For an alternative perspective on this subject see also Nickiforos I. TSOUGARAKIS, *Perceptions of the Greek Clergy and Rite in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Accounts to the Holy Land*, in: Nikolaos CHRISISSI, Athina KOLIA-DERMITZAKI and Angeliki PAPAGEORGIOU (eds.), *Byzantium and the West: Perception and Reality (11th – 15th c.)*, Abingdon 2020, pp. 230–242.

23 Irene MALFATTO, *Authority, Curiosity, and Experience: John of Marignolli and the Power of the Individual in Medieval Franciscan Travel Writing*, *Medieval Globe* (forthcoming). See also Christine GADRAT-OUERFELLI, *The Authority of Written and Oral Sources of Knowledge in Ludolf of Sudheim's De itinere Terre Sancte*, in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 51,1 (2021), pp. 37–48.

24 Christine GADRAT-OUERFELLI, *A quoi servent les récits de voyages ? Réflexions sur les lectures et la réception d'un genre littéraire au Moyen Âge*, in: Ludmilla EVDOKIMOVA and Alain MARCHANDISSE (eds.), *Le Texte médiéval dans le processus de communication*, Paris 2018, pp. 81–93.

25 O'DOHERTY (note 19).

26 Michele CAMPOPIANO, *Writing the Holy Land: The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the Construction of a Cultural Memory, 1300–1500*, London 2020.

of their research focused on the ‘*Descriptio Terre Sancte*’ of Burchard of Mount Sion. Beyond the important advancement of our knowledge of Burchard’s text, manuscripts, and early reception, these case studies also serve as a guide to the ways in which collaborative approaches to these texts can pay dividends, as well as to the problems in editing dynamic texts with diverse manuscript traditions. A possible way of preparing digital editions of pilgrimage narratives is then suggested in the contribution of Susanna FISCHER. In her contribution she addresses a set of short Latin pilgrimage texts dated to the 15th century, each containing a written description of a grid map of Palestine (‘*Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte*’), in which the holy places are located in a grid scheme. The chapter also describes the processes involved in creating a digital edition of these texts.

Part II, “Authors, Audiences, and Concepts”, deals more closely with questions of authorial intent and audience and demonstrates the wide range of people who formed the public for these texts. Thus, it provides further insights into the readership of Latin travel literature, as well as how the genre of travel literature fits into a wider corpus of the Latin literature of the Middle Ages. The different approaches assembled in this section range from literary studies closely engaging with the textual surface all the way to historical and anthropological perspectives looking beyond the text. In her contribution, Jana VALTROVÁ discusses the relation of author and audience on the level of emotions, combining the theoretical approaches of emotional communities and ‘hidden transcripts’ for her interpretations of John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck. Community identities and expectations of the audience also play a significant role in the contribution of Stefan SCHRÖDER, who studies the emergence and the different functions of the ‘Muslim Other’ in late medieval Latin pilgrimage texts from Thietmar to Bernhard of Breydenbach. SCHRÖDER focuses on the way that descriptions of this ‘Other’ are increasingly deployed and constructed to shape an idealized image of the ‘Christian Self’. Philip BOOTH also thinks about the ways in which descriptions of ‘Others’ are utilized in pilgrimage texts, but argues for their being integral parts of pilgrimage narratives and medieval travelers’ perception of themselves. Drawing on theoretical models derived from the anthropology of pilgrimage and tourism studies, BOOTH suggests several new ways that the burgeoning field of pilgrimage studies can help inform our understanding of medieval travel narratives. Martin BAUER provides a Neoplatonic reading of Petrarch’s ‘*Itinerarium ad sepulcrum domini nostri Iehsu Cristi*’, which can explain the peculiarities of this ‘fringe text’ of pilgrimage narratives. The interrelationship of sermons and pilgrimage texts in Felix Fabri’s ‘*Evagatorium*’ is explored by Yamit RACHMAN SCHRIRE, who concludes that the interaction of different literary genres plays a key role for engaging different audiences with the text. Finally, by blending methodological reflection and case studies of Felix Fabri’s writings in her essay dedicated to the memory of Jacob KLINGNER, Kathryne BEEBE re-evaluates the phenomenon of ‘imagined pilgrimage’ and its relevance for the interpretation of medieval travel literature.

In sum, both sections complement each other in speaking to the need to see Latin travel literature as a discrete and fundamentally important facet of medieval Latin literature as a whole, containing material which communicates profound messages about the physical and literary worlds which birthed these texts. Overall, this volume will serve not only as a vital statement on the current state of research into the Latin travel literature of the Middle Ages, but also represents a crucial step forward in identifying new directions for research and collaboration. It is hoped that it will fundamentally enhance our understanding and knowledge of this crucial genre of medieval Latin literature.<sup>27</sup>

Our valued colleague and friend Jacob KLINGNER was sadly not able to attend the workshop in Innsbruck due to his illness. He passed away on 26 May 2020. This volume is dedicated to his memory.

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27 We would like to acknowledge the work of Maria JUDMAIER and thank her for compiling the indices for the volume. Our thanks also to Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER for her generous support throughout the process, as well as the anonymous reviewers, editors, and copy-editors who have done so much to enhance the quality of the volume.