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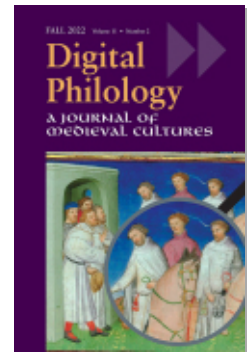
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Marco Polo, the Book, and the Dominicans

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Marco Polo, the Book, and the Dominicans

► The first evident connections between Marco Polo and members of the Dominican order were made when he began traveling to the East with his father, his uncle, and two Dominicans who rapidly turned back. Despite this unlucky episode, the Dominicans have played an important role in the diffusion and reception of the *Divisament dou monde* (i.e., the Book of Marco Polo). The Latin translation made by the friar Francesco Pipino of Bologna became the most disseminated version of the book and the first Latin version to be printed. We can deduce that another version is also of Dominican origin. Archival documents attest to links between Marco Polo and the Venetian Dominicans. Members of the Order of the Preachers, who quickly manifested a strong interest in the book, are also responsible for circulating the text in their preaching and teaching, not only across Italy but also in France and England. This essay highlights the connections among Marco Polo, his book, and the Dominicans by combining approaches based on codicology, diplomatics, history, philology, religion, and art history.

When Marco Polo, his father, Niccolo, and his uncle, Maffeo, set off for China in 1271, they were accompanied by two Dominicans, Niccolo of Vicenza and William of Tripoli. Marco Polo tells us, however, that the two friars did not go further than the port of Laias, turning back when they learned that war was raging in Armenia. The relationship between the Order of the Preachers and the Venetian traveler seemed to be starting badly. However, this anecdote is the first sign of a sort of alliance between Marco Polo and the Dominicans. Their multifaceted relationship had a great impact on the diffusion and reception of the book the traveler wrote after his return to Venice. Dominicans translated Polo's book, the *Divisament dou monde* (*Description of the World*), into Latin; they used it in their own works and they disseminated it—first in Italy, then throughout Europe.

Taken separately, each individual example of a connection between the Dominicans and Marco Polo may seem tenuous and unconvincing.

But taken as a whole, whether through manuscript design, translation and textual adaptation, or direct citation, the friars' activity ends up weaving a relatively dense web around Polo's book. The relationship between the Dominicans and Marco Polo's text is remarkable for many reasons, not the least of which is that a major religious order was crucial to the preservation and dissemination of a text written by a layman.

It is well known that after his return from the East, Marco Polo had the opportunity to write down his travel memoirs while imprisoned in Genoa, in the company of the Pisan Rustichello, in 1298. Once he was back in Venice after his release, signs of a relationship among Marco Polo, his book, and the Dominicans began to emerge. Declarations of interest in the book by Franciscan friars are rarer and do not seem to be related to each other. One can cite the examples of the chronicler Fra Elemosina da Gualdo¹ or of the Franciscan John Ridewall of Oxford (discussed later in this essay). But we cannot find a Franciscan network connected to Polo's book like that of the Italian Dominicans.

One of the clearest and best-known manifestations of Dominican interest in Marco Polo's book is the translation into Latin made by the friar Francesco Pipino of Bologna. This translation (P) has a prologue in which the translator names himself and gives some indications (unfortunately very brief) about the conditions of his work. Francesco Pipino was a Dominican who entered the convent of Bologna before 1289. Most of his career took place in the convents of Bologna and Padua (he was prior in the latter in 1314–15), and at the end of his life he joined the *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum* (Congregation of Friars Pilgrims for Christ), which brought together the Dominican missionaries in the East.² His translation of Marco Polo's book can be dated between 1310 (date of the will of Maffeo Polo; Pipino reported Maffeo's deathbed words to attest to the truthfulness of the book) and 1322 (date of the completion of Pipino's *Chronicon*, which mentions the translation of the *Divisament dou monde*).³ Bologna appears to be the most likely place for the production of this translation, as Francesco Pipino was frequently attested to be there during the period in question.⁴ In addition, the study carried out by Alvise Andreose on the VA version of the *Divisament*, which was used by the Dominican for his translation, shows that this text was in the region of Bologna in the first decades of the fourteenth century.⁵ Bologna was a very important Dominican center at that time, and the Dominican convent had the status of *studium generale*. This probably had an impact on the distribution of the book because friars from all over Europe stayed in this establishment. Moreover, a catalog of this convent's library drawn up in the

1370s mentions a copy of Marco Polo's book whose title is almost identical to that given by Pipino to his translation: "Liber domini Marchi Pauli de Venetiis de conditionibus orientalium regionum."⁶

Francesco Pipino produced a translation that can also be described as a reworking, as was frequently the case in the Middle Ages. He changed the general structure of the work and gave it a new appearance. To begin with, he removed the prologue by Rustichello of Pisa and replaced it with his own prologue, which mentions his activity as a translator: "Librum prudentis et honorabilis ac fidelis viri, domini Marchi Pauli de Veneciis, de condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum [. . .] compellor ego frater Franciscus Pipinus de Bononia, ordinis fratrum Predicatorum, a plerisque primoribus et dominis meis veridica et fideli translacione de vulgari ad latinum reducere" (I, Francesco Pipino of Bologna, of the order of Friars Preachers, am urged by several of my fathers and masters to translate from the vulgar tongue into Latin with a true and faithful translation the book of the wise, honorable, and faithful man, Master Marco Polo of Venice, on the conditions and customs of the Eastern regions).⁷ The official character of this translation has been questioned, notably by Consuelo Dutschke, but Pipino affirmed several times in his prologue that he carried out his work at the request of the authorities of his order: "compellor," "laborem hunc, quem me assumere compulerunt" (this work they urged me to accomplish), "eorum obtemperans iussioni" (obeying their order).⁸ The favor that Marco Polo's book enjoyed among the Italian Dominicans in the first half of the fourteenth century, as we will see, tends to support Pipino's assertions.

Pipino's prologue also states that he wanted to offer a text written in an easy and accessible Latin: "ad latinum planum et apertum transtuli" (I have translated into a clear and accessible Latin).⁹ This desire for an accessible language is reiterated in a colophon that can be found in some of the manuscripts: "Quem librum frater Franciscus Pipini civis Bononie ordinis predicatorum credens et asserens ipsum verum et vera continere omnia in eo scripta de vulgari in grammaticam et bonam et intelligibilem latinitatem transmutavit" (which book friar Francesco Pipino citizen of Bologna, of the order of the preachers, believing and affirming that it is true and that all that it contains written is true, translated it from the vulgar tongue into good Latin, correct and intelligible).¹⁰

Besides the language, a major change made by Pipino concerns the structure of the text, which he divided into three books, themselves divided into chapters. His table of contents appears after his prologue. Book 1 contains the whole first part of the text—that is, the story of

the journey of Marco Polo's father and uncle, then the description of the provinces crossed during the outward journey, and ending with the description of Ciandu, where the summer palace of Kublai Khan is located, and of the nearby monasteries. Book 2 is devoted to Kublai, his court, and his kingdom, including the cities and territories he conquered in southern China. Book 3 opens with the description of the ships of the Indian Ocean, mentions Japan, and then recounts the areas approached during the return journey by sea. The singularity of this third book was already apparent in the other versions, where "the book of India" (as in version F, the oldest surviving Franco-Italian text) opened at this point.¹¹ Pipino, in fact, only accentuated a division suggested in the previous versions. Because of this more apparent structuring of the text, the translator removed many of the rhetorical formulas that act as transitions in the other versions.¹²

Pipino's translation had an exceptional impact on the diffusion of the book. It gave birth to the most widely read version of Marco Polo's text, which was also the most widely distributed. Extant in sixty manuscripts, Pipino's version can be traced throughout Europe: Italy, France, England, the Germanic and Flemish lands, the Iberian Peninsula, and Central and Eastern Europe.¹³ It was printed as early as 1483–84 on the presses of Gherard Leeu in Gouda, which reinforced its success, as indicated by the large number of surviving copies of this incunabula.¹⁴ Pipino's translation was also translated into several languages: French, Gaelic, Venetian, Czech, and Portuguese.¹⁵

Is Francesco Pipino the only Dominican to have translated the *Divisament dou monde* into Latin? It is difficult to answer this question because all of the other translations are anonymous. Yet the role played by the Dominicans in the diffusion of Marco Polo's book was not limited to the translation that one of their friars produced. The order also had an active part in the circulation of this work. Some fifteen years ago, when writing about the diffusion and reception of the *Divisament dou monde*, I highlighted the circulation of this text in the Dominican province of Lombardy in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁶ I would like to summarize here the data I have collected. During the years 1310–40, five Italian Dominicans used the account of the Venetian traveler in their own texts. Four of them belonged to the same province, Lower Lombardy, while the fifth was attached to a neighboring province, Upper Lombardy.¹⁷ Thus, Francesco Pipino, who translated the text into Latin, also used it in his *Chronicon*, composed between 1314 and 1322.¹⁸ Filippino of Ferrara inserted numerous excerpts into his conversation manual, *De introductione loquendi*, completed before

1347.¹⁹ In his *Legendarium* (written between 1332 and 1340), Pietro Calo da Chioggia used an entire passage from Marco Polo's book about Saint Thomas, apostle of India.²⁰ Nicoluccio d'Ascoli quoted it in at least one of his sermons (c. 1330–40).²¹ Jacopo d'Acqui made abundant use of it in his *Cronica ymaginis mundi*, whose completion can be dated to 1333–34.²² Not all of them used the same version of the text: Francesco Pipino used his own translation, of course, but Filippino, Pietro Calo, and Nicoluccio d'Ascoli used the so-called Z version, while Jacopo d'Acqui consulted a third Latin version, the so-called LB.²³ We lack archival documents to help us precisely retrace the career of each of these friars or to attest to their joint presence in the same convents at the same dates. Yet given their presence in the same province in the same years, they certainly crossed paths and met each other. This is all the more probable because most of them occupied important positions as priors.²⁴ It is therefore easy to imagine that they were able to exchange manuscripts and discuss new and interesting texts to read and use.²⁵

Among the versions of the *Divisament* used by the Dominicans of Lombardy, the Z version holds an important place. This version has long seemed enigmatic to Polo specialists and has been the subject of much study. Although preserved in a late manuscript, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century (Toledo, Biblioteca Cathedral, 49.20 Zelada), the Z version could represent a second redaction, revised by the author himself, after his return to Venice. In fact, while the first part of the book is highly abbreviated, it also contains many passages that are unique to Z and absent from all other versions but that can be considered authentic because of the reliability of the information they contain.²⁶ This information is mainly geographical and ethnographical. An additional difficulty in assessing the status of the Z version is that the surviving manuscript contains a Latin translation of a lost Z⁰ text. The latter was written, like the F version, in Franco-Italian, which was the original language of the *Divisament dou monde*. But because it has been lost, it is difficult to know whether the abbreviations noted in Z were already present in its vernacular archetype Z⁰.

Of particular interest here is the evidence for the use of Z by the Dominicans Pietro Calo and Filippino of Ferrara. A close examination of the extensive borrowing by Pietro Calo for his legend of Saint Thomas shows that he had access to a more complete version of Z than the one currently preserved, including a greater number of chapters.²⁷ The same observation can be made in the work of his colleague Filippino of Ferrara: the borrowings he makes from Marco Polo's book are sometimes longer and more complete than the corresponding pas-

sages of the Z manuscript are.²⁸ Thus, the anecdote recounting the marriage of deceased children reported by Filippino is absent from Z, as are two episodes set in the summer palace of the great khan.²⁹ These passages are present in other versions, notably the F version and that of Giambattista Ramusio, who also had access to a manuscript of the Z version (different from the Toledo manuscript). This confirms that the book Filippino used was more complete than the Toledo manuscript and that it represented a better and earlier state than the preserved copy did.

Moreover, among the passages present only in Z, several deal with religious issues. One of the most emblematic is the description of the city of Fugiu (chap. 89), at the end of which Marco and his uncle discover a secret religious community, which they identify as a group of hidden Christians, whom they invite to declare themselves as such to the great khan.³⁰ This episode is added to those also present in the other versions in which the Polos become agents of the papacy. Pope Gregory X entrusted them with official letters and the oil of the lamp of the Holy Sepulcher.³¹ The presence of eastern Christians, in particular Nestorians, was systematically noted by Polo. The Z version reinforces this religious focus by offering additional passages, such as the one on Fugiu and the chapter on “Uyghuristan” (chap. 33, absent from the other versions), where Nestorians are also mentioned: “cuius gentes ydolla colunt, sed multi sunt christiani nestoriam legem sectantes. Sunt et aliqui saraceni. Christiani cum ydolatriis sepius matrimonio coniunguntur” (These people worship idols, but there are many Christians who follow the Nestorian rite. There are also Muslims. Christians often marry idolaters).³²

The *Divisament dou monde*, and especially the Z version, could thus be read as a description of the Christian world that notes the presence of Christians in the various regions of the world. The conclusion of the chapter on Fugiu, which reveals the size of the discovered community, can be understood as an invitation for missionaries to go to that region: “Nam inventum fuit quod, per provinciam Mançi hic et illic, erant familie plures septingentis milibus que regulam huiusmodi sectabantur” (For it was discovered that here and there throughout the province of Mançi, there were more than 700,000 families who followed this rule).³³ The Dominicans, whose missions in the East were then in full development, could not but be interested in this information, which informed them of the presence of other Christians in Asia. The mendicant orders are referred to in a small sentence in the chapter on Kashmir (chap. 23) that is absent from all other versions: “Quorum fratres, artam vitam ducentes, ad modum fratrum Predicatorum et Minorum portant tonsuras”

(And these brothers, leading a humble life, wear the tonsure like the Friars Preachers and Minors).³⁴ It is obvious that the person responsible for this addition had links with the mendicant orders.

This interest in religion is found not only in the text but also in the marginal notes of the Toledo Z manuscript.³⁵ However, these notes are in the hand of the copyist, who copied them at the same time as the text. This point, as well as their layout, suggests that they were already in the model used by the copyist. They deal almost exclusively with the question of the religion of the populations mentioned in the text. The annotator specifies whether they are idolaters (“adorant ydola” [they worship idols]), Muslims (“legem Macometi observant” [they follow the law of Mohammed]) or, in the case of Christians, to which rite they belong.³⁶ For example: “Sunt etiam aliqui christiani sed non observant fidem secundum ecclesiam romanam nam nestorini capiti et armeni sunt” (There are also some Christians, but they do not observe the Roman rite because they are Nestorians and Armenians).³⁷ Several of these annotations relate specifically to religious communities, which the annotator compares to monasteries: “hic est monasterium ydolorum in quo habitant multi fratres et hoc est caput multorum aliorum quod est tanquam quidam archiepiscopatus” (there is a monastery of idols in which many friars live, and it is at the head of many others like an archbishopric).³⁸ These annotations are numerous (there are more than two hundred) and suggest that their author had a strong interest in religious matters, perhaps with a missionary perspective. A member of the Dominican order seems to be an ideal candidate.

The combination of these elements (the early presence of the text in the hands of Dominicans, the text’s own passages on religion, and the numerous marginal annotations on this subject) suggests that the Z version was in a Dominican convent in the fourteenth century—specifically, the Convent of Saints John and Paul in Venice. It is worth remembering that there were already links between Marco Polo and that convent. The establishment is named in the traveler’s will, drawn up on January 9, 1324, as are two friars, Centurio and Benevenuto, to whom Polo made a gift of money.³⁹ Polo also appeared as a witness a year earlier, on March 31, 1323, in a document recording the Dominicans’ acceptance of a gift.⁴⁰

Pietro Calo was among the Dominicans who used the Z version in their works. He was prior of the Venetian convent in 1328, and Filippino of Ferrara also stayed there, notably in 1307–8 as “auditor sententiarum” and in 1325 on the occasion of a general chapter.⁴¹ Both refer in the same way to the book of Marco Polo, giving it the same

title: “Dominus Marcus Paulus Milionis de Venetiis in libro suo” (Pietro Calo) and “Dicit dominus Marcus Milio Venetus in libro suo” (Filippino of Ferrara).⁴² Filippino mentions his confrere as a source of information about Saint Thomas.⁴³ In another place in his text he even cites him as an oral source: “Audivi a fratre Petro Clugensis” (I heard friar Pietro of Chioggia say).⁴⁴ This suggests that the two friars, who knew each other, also had access to the same manuscript—perhaps the one that Giovanni Fallione da Vazzola gave in 1347, among many other books, to the convent of San Niccolo in Treviso, where he had just been appointed prior. In any case, Vazzola’s manuscript is designated by a title that is very close to the one used by Pietro Calo and Filippino of Ferrara: “librum domini Marci Milionis de Veneciis de mirabilibus mundi.”⁴⁵

While it is reasonable to think that a manuscript of the Z version was indeed within the walls of the Dominican convent in Venice, it remains difficult to prove that one (or more) of its members was the author of its translation into Latin, even if the presumption is strong. It is possible that the name of the translator, or at least clues to his identity, disappeared between the creation of the translation and that of the Toledo manuscript. There are nevertheless some elements that allow us to formulate the hypothesis of a Dominican translator for this version.

The question arises as to the relationship between the two translations, Z and P (Pipino’s). Without precise dates for their production, it is impossible to know which came first. P was produced in Bologna, Z in Venice. As Dominican convents in both cities belonged to the same province, it is difficult to imagine that these translations could have been made in total ignorance of each other, especially because the Dominican order exercised strict control over the intellectual work of its members and, in particular, over the works they produced.⁴⁶ It is possible that Pietro Calo and Filippino of Ferrara used the manuscript they had in Venice, knowing that it contained a more complete version of the text. Francesco Pipino, on the other hand, may not have been aware of this manuscript when he was asked to translate the *Divisement dou monde* by the authorities of the order. Finally, while the Z version remained confined to Venice, where it was still used in the fifteenth century by the cartographer Fra Mauro and in the sixteenth century by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Pipino’s version enjoyed the greatest fame.⁴⁷

The manuscript of this version now preserved in Florence and produced in the Florentine convent of the Dominicans, Santa Maria Novella (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi, C. 7. 1170), is a kind of official version of Pipino’s translation.⁴⁸ It is a rather luxurious manuscript, with an elegantly decorated first folio.

The opening page of the manuscript (fol. 1r) features Marco Polo in a historiated initial and a Dominican friar in full length, holding a book, who should probably be identified with Francesco Pipino. The textual and codicological features of this manuscript invite us to see it as a copy destined to preserve the work in one of the greatest houses of the order.

England was among the regions that quickly gained access the Latin translation of Francesco Pipino. Its arrival there was probably due once again to the Dominicans.⁴⁹ Twelve extant manuscripts of the P version (again, out of a total of sixty) were copied in England. They share common characteristics that differentiate them from all of the other manuscripts of this version and suggest that they belong to a specific group, likely arising from a single exemplar that was the origin of all of the English manuscripts. These have in common a certain number of variants, notably in the explicit and the title.⁵⁰ Similar codicological contexts can also be identified, as Marco Polo's book was frequently compiled with other travel narratives (Odoric of Pordenone or Mandeville), descriptions of the Orient (Jacques de Vitry, Guillaume de Tripoli, Hayton), or historical texts. Several of these texts appear in multiple manuscripts in the same version, which suggests that Marco Polo's book did not circulate alone but in a textual ensemble.⁵¹ The examination of the borrowings made from the *Divisament dou monde* in England has allowed me to date its arrival on the island and to propose a hypothesis as to the "carrier" of the text. The two earliest mentions that could be located are in the works of a Franciscan and a Dominican. The first, John Ridewall, a Franciscan from Oxford, cited the passage concerning the capture of Baghdad by the Mongol Hulegu in his *Fulgentius metaforalis*, composed in about 1330–32.⁵² The second, the Dominican Thomas Waleys, used the book of Marco Polo several times in his *Moralitates super Vetus Testamentum*.⁵³ This work, which is not precisely dated, could have been composed from lessons for a course taught over several years, starting in the mid-1320s. In addition to his early use of Marco Polo, Thomas Waleys is particularly interesting because of his stay at the Dominican convent in Bologna. He was appointed reader there in 1326–27.⁵⁴ Francesco Pipino had completed his translation of Polo some years earlier, at the latest in 1322, and we have seen that a copy of Pipino's translation was still in the library of the convent in Bologna in the 1370s. When Thomas Waleys was in Bologna, Pipino's translation was a novelty that the Dominicans of Bologna and Venice seized upon and from which they drew to enrich their texts with new examples.

Several of the works in which the Dominicans inserted excerpts or quotations from Marco Polo's book are similar to exempla or sermon

anthologies. Among them were the sermons of Nicoluccio d'Ascoli and the *De introductione loquendi* of Filippino of Ferrara, which is a collection of anecdotes intended to help his Dominican confreres hold pleasant or edifying conversation. In his chronicle, Pipino inserts miracle stories from the *Divisament* (the mountain moved by the faith of a shoemaker, the column supporting the church of Saint John the Baptist in Samarkand) that he described as “perspicuis exemplis” (clear examples).⁵⁵ The *Moralitates* of Thomas Waleys, because of the large number of anecdotes they contain, are a collection of exempla disguised as biblical commentary.⁵⁶ The Franciscan John Ridewall's approach was similar because his *Fulgentius metaforalis* was intended to provide preachers with material from mythology for their sermons. It is therefore not surprising to find the *Divisament dou monde* among the sources of English sermons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁷

But the Dominicans' interest in Marco Polo's book was probably not only homiletic. Indeed, the friars of this order were also known for their contribution to the development of geographical knowledge at the end of the Middle Ages and, in particular, for their knowledge of the Orient.⁵⁸ This was of course partly related to the order's missionary character, as it sent several of its members to evangelize in Armenia, Persia, India, and elsewhere in the late Middle Ages.⁵⁹ On their return, missionaries either wrote accounts of their travels and of the knowledge they had acquired or reported their experiences orally to the pontifical court or to their convent of origin. We can cite as examples Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, Jordan Catala de Sévérac, Guillaume Adam, and Raymond Etienne.⁶⁰ But one also thinks of the interest that Bartolomeo da San Concordio of Pisa (d. 1347) showed for the letter of another traveler, Giovanni da Montecorvino, to the point of helping ensure its conservation and transmission.⁶¹ The use of geography in the sermons of another Pisan Dominican, Giordano da Rivoalto (d. 1310), is also well known.⁶² The Dominicans therefore recognized that the *Divisament dou monde* was a work of the first rank because of its contribution to geographical knowledge, especially with regard to the regions that they had to travel to in the context of apostolic missions that were then undergoing significant expansion.⁶³

Therefore, one may wonder whether the work done by the Dominicans with Marco Polo's book—in terms of both translation and use and citation—helped to give a certain prestige to the text and to establish it as a reliable work. The use of anecdotes from the Venetian traveler's account in homiletic literature probably reflected a desire on the part of preachers to enrich their material and to offer their audiences

new stories that would attract their attention. In his advice to future preachers (*De eruditione praedicatorum*), the Dominican Humbert of Romans encouraged them to choose a variety of exempla, on the condition that they would be suitable for the edification of the faithful and that the anecdotes would come from authoritative sources.⁶⁴ The very clear and orderly structure that Francesco Pipino gave to Marco Polo's text, as well as its table of contents, allowed preachers, scholars, and those with university educations to use the work more easily. Several manuscripts of this version also have running titles. This apparatus undoubtedly contributed to giving Marco Polo's book a more "scientific" status, which it had probably already acquired through the Latinization of the text. Viewed in this light, Pipino's translation resembles a treatise that mirrored the reading, compositional, and missionary practices of his colleagues, which is also suggested by the title he gave the text: *De conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum*. He provided his contemporaries with a reliable, practical, and authoritative text. He asserted this authority in his prologue by certifying that the author of the text, Marco Polo, was a pious, wise, faithful man of honest morals, just like his father and his uncle.⁶⁵

It is not possible to say that Marco Polo asked the Dominicans to disseminate his book or to conclude that there was a sort of contract between them to this end. However, the Dominican order certainly played a remarkable role in the transmission of the *Divisament dou monde*, and this was probably not totally accidental. The Dominicans were instrumental on several levels. First, they were able to appreciate the value of the work and recognized its exceptional character very early on. Second, they preserved a text that was more complete than the one that was beginning to circulate in the rest of Italy. Third, they translated it into Latin, perhaps twice, and one of these translations led to an explosion in the dissemination of the book, which spread throughout Europe and in all social circles. Finally, they used it, quoted it, and valued it in their own works, thereby helping to make the text a reliable reference and an authority.

Notes

1. Mascherpa, "Gli excerpta."
2. Dutschke, "Francesco Pipino," 100–59.
3. Ibid., 216–17; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 66–67.
4. Ibid., 180–81.
5. Andreose, "La prima attestazione," 665.

6. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili*, 228; Murano, “I libri,” 299.
7. *Marka Pavlova*, 1.
8. Dutschke, “Francesco Pipino,” 216.
9. *Marka Pavlova*, 1.
10. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi, C. 7. 1170, fol. 69.
11. Polo, *Milione, le divisament dou monde*, 529.
12. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, “Les traductions latines,” 199.
13. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 63.
14. “Incunabula Short Title Catalogue,” <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>: fifty-two copies.
15. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 86–91.
16. *Ibid.*, 165–88.
17. Lower and Upper Lombardy were one province until 1303.
18. Dutschke, “Francesco Pipino,” 192–97; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 191–96.
19. Gobbato, “Un caso precoce.”
20. Devos, “Le miracle”; Mascherpa, “San Tommaso.”
21. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 176–77; Macchiarelli, “Unde narrat dominus,” 174–80.
22. Benedetto, *La tradizione manoscritta*, cxcii–cxviii; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 178–79, 210–14.
23. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 178–79.
24. For example, Francesco Pipino was prior of the convents of Padua and Bologna, Pietro Calo prior of Padua and Venice.
25. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 182–84.
26. Benedetto, *La tradizione manoscritta*, clxiii–clxxiii; Polo, *Milione: redazione latina*, 575–77, 611–86.
27. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 174–75, 414–16.
28. *Ibid.*, 172; Gobbato, “Un caso precoce,” 345–52.
29. Gobbato, “Un caso precoce,” 345, 362–63.
30. Polo, *Milione: redazione latina*, 238–42.
31. Laurent, “Grégoire X,” 139–40.
32. Polo, *Milione: redazione latina*, 86.
33. *Ibid.*, 242.
34. *Ibid.*, 72.
35. Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo*, vol. 2; Polo, *Milione: redazione latina*, 594–607.
36. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 100–101.
37. Polo, *Milione: redazione latina*, 595.
38. *Ibid.*, 601.
39. Gallo, “Marco Polo,” 134; Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni*, 692–93; Bartoli Langeli, “Il testamento.”
40. Bolognari, “Marco Polo.”

41. Creytens, "Le manuel," 108; Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, 273; Gobbato, "Un caso precoce," 357; Dutschke, *Francesco Pipino*, 1229.
42. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 180.
43. *Ibid.*, 173.
44. *Ibid.*, 180.
45. Grimaldo, "Due inventari," 148; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 183.
46. Humbert de Romans, *De eruditione*, 266–68.
47. Cattaneo, "Scritture di viaggio"; Cattaneo, *Fra Mauro's mappa mundi*; Benedetto, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 207; Giovanni Battista Ramusio "editor"; Mascherpa, "Sulla fonte Z."
48. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 72; Conte, "Lettori di Marco Polo."
49. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Marco Polo en Angleterre."
50. Dutschke, "Francesco Pipino," 245–47; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Marco Polo en Angleterre," 598–604.
51. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Marco Polo en Angleterre," 605–7.
52. *Ibid.*, 610, 616.
53. Smalley, *English Friars*, 85; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Marco Polo en Angleterre," 611.
54. Smalley, *English Friars*, 85.
55. See the the essay by Klarer and Alisade in this issue. Also see Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 185–86.
56. Smalley, *English Friars*, 84.
57. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age*, 187.
58. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Les savoirs géographiques."
59. Richard, *La papauté*.
60. Monte Croce, *Pérégrination*; Gadrat, *Une image de l'Orient* ; William of Adam, *How to Defeat the Saracens*; *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, 367–517.
61. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Della chondissione," 529–31.
62. Gautier Dalché, "Représentations géographiques," 34–35; Cattaneo, "Cosmographie," 59–61.
63. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Jean XXII."
64. Humbert de Romans, *De eruditione*, 401.
65. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, "Les traductions latines," 195.

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