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The Travels of Sir John Mandeville as One of the Sources Forming Images of the Holy Land in Europe of the End of the Middle Ages and the Beginning of Modern Times

The Holy Land – the place of the life, martyr's death and resurrection of Christ and the destination of pilgrimages which are of great importance among religions of late Middle Ages – arose vivid interest among the Europeans.

The large number of works, varying both in terms of their contents and form, which discuss issues relating to the situation in the Holy Land and pilgrimages to the homeland of the Saviour, testifies to a great popularity of this type of literature. Copied many times and translated into many languages, the texts reached readers from various social strata. Worth emphasising is the creation, in late Middle Ages, of quite a large number of interesting, colourful and fully original descriptions of pilgrimages to Jerusalem. These works, together with copies of earlier authors and anonymous guidebooks and literature, formed images of the earthly homeland of Christ.¹

Despite the lapse of years after the fall of Akka, the pilgrimage movement and related literature helped maintain interest in the situation in the Holy Land among the Europeans of the end of the Middle Ages.

It should be remembered, however, that the Bible and the Apocrypha remained the principal source of information. The Protoevangelium, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, the Gospel of Nicodemus, *Liber de ortu Mariae*, *Vita beate virginis Mariae et Salvatoris rythmica*, *Vita Adae et Evae* or *Liber de gestis et translacionibus Trium Regum* were a treasure of stories treated as seriously as those originating in canon writings. This is perfectly understandable if we bear in mind the fact that the borderline between a canon and an apocrypha was not that clearly delineated as it is now. The writings of appreciated authors such as Peter Comestor or Vincent of Beauvais contained many apocrypha legends.²

Inspired texts as well as those regarded as such formed the images of Syria and Egypt to such an extent that even pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem in person, looked at it through the eyes of prophets or evangelists. In their accounts there were numerous references to the text of the Holy Scripture or even literal citations therefrom. It

is quite possible that some of the late medieval pilgrims travelled, like Egeria, with the Bible in hand. It should be remembered, however, that pilgrims went to the Holy Land to recollect and experience biblical events, thus some ignorance of the current situation seems excusable. The Apocrypha texts, forming an integral and fully legitimate part of the revelation, supplemented the account with colourful information, attractive to pilgrims, about the life of Mary or the childhood of Christ, not contained in the Bible.

Among late medieval descriptions of the Holy Land, special attention should be focused on what was known as *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. This work, written in the second half of the 14th century, has a special place in medieval travel literature. It was certainly one of the most popular if not the most popular creation of its kind. Copied and translated many times as early as at the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century into several European languages, it was one of the best sellers of late Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. On the list of the most popular medieval authors of secular prose, compiled by Arnold Kleb, John Mandeville ranked eighth.³ The German researcher R. Röhricht at the end of the 19th century listed approximately 190 preserved manuscripts of Mandeville's work in 10 different languages, and his list was certainly not complete.⁴ For instance, he knew only five Czech copies, while F. Šimek, who in 1911 prepared a philological edition of "*Cestopisu Mandevilla*", used as many as seven different manuscripts in that language.⁵ And G.F. Werner wrote at the beginning of the 1970s about almost 300 copies preserved until our times.⁶ For comparison, according to R. Röhricht, the description of the travel of William of Boldensele (who peregrinated in 1332) is preserved in 23 manuscripts, that of Ludolf of Sudheim (who went on his pilgrimage in the years 1335-41) in 37 manuscripts, and that of Johannes Schiltberger (who made his pilgrimage about the year 1410) in 6 manuscripts.⁷

The numerous printed editions of Mandeville's account certainly contributed to further popularisation of the work. As early as in 1470, its Flemish translation came out in Antwerp, in 1475 in Basil a German text was published, translated by Otto of Diemeringen. In 1480, the Italian and French translations came out in Milan and Lyon. Successive editions included one in Latin (Antwerp, 1481), in English (London, 1503), in Czech (Plzen, 1510) and in Spanish (Valencia, 1521).⁸

We can say little, regrettably, about the person of the author of *The Travels...* Information in the prologue and epilogue to the work indicates that he was a knight from the English town of St. Albans who, on St. Michael's day, 1322, set off on a trip ended in 1356.⁹ Further information comes from Jean D'Outremeuse, a chronicler of Liège (ca 1338 –1339 [1400?]) who in his work *Myreur des Histoires* said that Jean de Bourgogne, also called "*à la Barbe*", revealed on his deathbed in Liège in 1372 that his true name was John Mandeville and that he was a knight from England who had to leave his country in connection with an unfortunate homicide and had gone into exile, the fruit of which was his work.¹⁰

In 1462, Püterich von Reichertshausen described the tomb plaque in the church of the William order in Liege with the inscription: *Hic iacet nobilis Dominus Joan-*

nes de Montevilla Miles, alias dictus ad Barbam, Dominus de Comperdi, natus de Anglia, medicinae professor, devotissimus orator, et bonorum suorum largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui totum orbem peragravit in stratu Leodii diem vitae suse clausit extremum. Anno Dni millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo secundo mensis Februarii septimo. About a hundred years later, the same plaque was described by the well-known geographer Ortelius, and in the 17th century it was mentioned by the English clergyman Edmund Leukner. Unfortunately, during the French Revolution both the church and the plaque therein were destroyed.¹¹

Additional information from the 14th century, about John Mandeville, i.e. the placing of his name among other great travellers in the chronicle of the Meaux abbey, written in the years 1388-96, the 14th-century ring with a sapphire kept at St. Albans and associated with his name, and the crystal apple of Canterbury are not, in my opinion, fully reliable tokens, and may only be a reflection of the fame enjoyed by *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.¹²

The attempts made by I. Jackson and later by K.W. Cameron to clearly identify the author did not solve the issue either, although they resulted in compiling a list of 34 persons bearing such or a similar name. One of them was actually forced, in about 1322, to leave England for having committed a felony.¹³

The work was written probably after 1356, when the author returned from his journey. Some researchers (*inter alia* A. Steiner) are of the opinion that the account was created only after 1365, since the Bulgarian lands of Louis the Great conquered at that very time are described therein. As the text does not mention that Louis the Great was the king of Poland too, it was assumed that the account had originated before 1370.¹⁴ In my opinion we may not take it as a definitive argument, since we do not have, unfortunately, the original version of *The Travels...*. Translated and copied many times, the text was "enriched" with numerous interpolations, such as, for example, a small but very surprising reference to the author's visit to the Pope in Rome, present in some English language versions. This, if authentic, would move the date of the work beyond the year 1377, which is absolutely impossible because we can very accurately date the oldest preserved manuscript.¹⁵ It originated in 1371 and is now kept in Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. It was written in French by the well-known copyist Raul of Orleans and was initially the property of Gervase Chretien, the court doctor of the French King Charles V, and then of the King himself.¹⁶

The research by J.W. Bennet demonstrated that the above mentioned manuscript is certainly not the original version of the text. The texts written in French, in its variety used in England (Norman-French) are probably the closest to the original. The copy made by Raul of Orleans differs clearly from those texts. This indicates that the work was created soon after 1356, since a dozen or so years were needed for the many changes to be made in the original text.¹⁷ The author explained in the prologue that he had written his account in Latin and then translated it into French and English, for all inhabitants of his country to understand it.¹⁸ Unfortunately, all preserved versions of the text are later translations of the copies known earlier. It is

therefore difficult to state clearly in what language the original version was produced. Some researchers are inclined to believe that if the manuscripts in Norman-French are the closest to the original (they contain *inter alia* the smallest number of mistakes and interpolations), then the book was written in that very language.

The work is not a description of a journey. In the clearly expressed concept of the author, it was intended to be a guide for those who would wish to follow in his steps.¹⁹ Many years spent in the East and the experience gathered on the numerous travels, were to make John Mandeville produce his work.

The Travels ... are composed of two distinct parts. The first, approximately 45 percent, is a description of the ways leading from Europe to the Holy Land, the attractions to be encountered, and the sanctuaries and sacred places worth visiting in Constantinople, Syria, Palestine and Egypt.²⁰ Presenting them, the author almost always refers to the events or situations described in the Bible and the Apocrypha and connected with the places visited.²¹ He devotes quite a lot of attention as well to preserved relics, trying to explain, rationally, for example the huge number of preserved relics of the Holy Cross or the crown of thorns. He compares them with the relics kept in Europe and known to him, which, as he claims, he had also seen. He firmly speaks in favour of the authenticity of some and lesser reliability of other relics.²²

However, his colourful and vivid descriptions are not very accurate and rather chaotic. Quite often the author changes the subject and refers back to previously abandoned motifs. Very rarely can the reader find out about the distances between particular towns and cities on the way (they are sometimes expressed in terms of the numbers of days needed to cover them, sometimes in miles or furlongs).²³ It is also rather difficult to reconstruct, based on Mandeville's description, the locations of the shrines in Jerusalem. The author most frequently states that the next described one "is near" the previous one.²⁴ It is absolutely impossible to identify the routes that the author was to take.

There is, regrettably, little information in his account too, about the technical aspect of travelling, really useful from the pilgrim's perspective. Colourful descriptions of the curiosities to be found by a traveller constitute a much bigger portion of the work.

Quite a lot of attention is devoted to historical, natural and geographical curiosities. The author mentions *inter alia* fruit unknown in Europe (such as bananas), tidal flows of the Nile, and finds it purposeful to present the Dead Sea, mountains, deserts and rivers, and even Aristotle's grave in Stagira. He also describes the pyramids and claims that they were certainly the granaries built by Joseph.²⁵ The author challenges the opinion expressed by some that they were to be the tombs of great people of the past. The deciding argument for him, beside the authority of old chroniclers, is that tombs did not have doors, and pyramids (like granaries) did have them, and, after all, no one would build such big tombs.²⁶

We can find in the account quite a lot of information about the life, customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the countries visited – Christians of the eastern rites, and Moslems. What deserves particular emphasis is that the information about Mahomet, his life and the principles of faith as described in the Koran, is surprisingly detailed, true and free from any prejudices.²⁷

The author also takes the trouble to present the Greek “Egyptian” and Arabic alphabets.²⁸ Unfortunately, the result of multiple copying (in this case “re-drawing” rather) of signs unknown and incomprehensible to copyists is that based on the manuscripts known today, we cannot even try to reconstruct the original shape of the letters as given by Mandeville.

The work also includes many legends concerning the localities visited. Next to accounts of the lives of saints, commonly known in late Middle Ages, there are less well known stories, such as the fascinating story of a girl transformed into a dragon, who can be freed from the spell only by a brave man ready to kiss the monster on the mouth.²⁹ In the account there are also phoenixes, satires, fantastic monsters inhabiting deserts, and other motifs known from popular medieval legends. Those mythical, unrealistic fragments add quite a lot of colour to the text of *The Travels...*

The second, clearly distinct part of the work contains descriptions of the lands of Asia, such as Persia, India and China. The number of extraordinary elements, astonishing the reader, and completely untrue at the same time, is immense. We encounter numerous strange creatures, both human and animal-shaped, there is a place for the kingdom of Father John and the lost generations of Israel. This part of the account, not pertaining directly to the issues relating to pilgrimages to the Holy Land, remains outside the scope of our interest in this paper.

The exceptional colourfulness of the narrative, the vivid style, the verve with which John Mandeville wrote his work, and the numerous translations made as early as the 14th century, made *The Travels...* one of the most popular literary works of this type. Its author enjoyed the fame of a great traveller.³⁰ Authors of maps referred to him, Christopher Columbus had his work with him when he set off to seek passage to India, and Mercator and Ortelius considered him an authority.³¹ It was noticed relatively quickly, however, that the work was all too similar in many points to other earlier accounts, and that the extraordinary world full of queer creatures simply did not exist. As early as in the 15th century, attempts were made to explain the similarity between the accounts by Mandeville and those by Odoric of Pordenone by the fact that both authors travelled together in China and other countries of the Far East.³² Opinions emerged in the course of time that the work was in its entirety a compilation of works of other travellers, while in the mid-18th century, J.P. Nicéron wrote that the book was nothing but a combination of many stories of other authors.³³ T. Tobler tried to explain a small percentage of preserved Latin texts with the fact that Mandeville’s work was much more popular among the less educated social strata, fascinated by curiosities, while educated people knowing Latin, did not take it seriously.³⁴

John Mandeville lost the reputation of a great traveller, and his *Travels...* were perceived increasingly critically. The authors whose works were to inspire Mandeville, include, above all, William of Boldensele, Odoric of Pordenone and Vincent de Beauvais. The description of the route through Hungary and Asia Minor was to come from *The History of the 1st Crusade* by Albert of Aix, the knowledge of Islam from *Liber de statu saracenorum* by William of Tripoli, and the descriptions of Asia from *Flos historiarum terre orientis* by Hayton.³⁵ Information originating in the Bible and the Apocrypha, and even the writings of Gervase of Tilbury is also referred to. A total of at least twenty-four texts from which he borrowed knowledge are mentioned.³⁶

It is also considered that John Mandeville did not make any of the described travels but compiled works of other authors, without leaving Liège. Moreover, it was claimed that the name *John Mandeville* was the penname of the author who was not English.³⁷ Next to the doubtless lack of originality of considerable fragments of the work, it was suggested that the author of an unknown name could use the translations, made in 1351 by Jean le Long, of the works by William of Boldensele, Odoric of Pordenone, Hayton and Vincent de Beauvais. The contents of the tomb plaque presenting John Mandeville as a very mysterious person were also referred to. Such opinions can be found even in contemporary literature.³⁸

In the last years of the 19th century, researchers began to point out a clear distinction between the part devoted to the Holy Land and the descriptions of the Far East. Numerous elements were pointed out in the description of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, unknown from other contemporary accounts.³⁹ The opinion prevailing in most recent literature, especially in the works of Ch. Deluz, is that in the part concerning the Holy Land, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* may be an original piece of work created as a result of a pilgrimage actually made by the author who might have come from England.⁴⁰

In my opinion, the work may be mostly a compilation and the author certainly did not make all the travels described. I do not think, however, that it could be concluded that he had never visited at least some of the sacred places in the Middle East. The similarity to other accounts cannot, in my opinion, be an argument deciding about the non-authenticity of his work. We can, after all, point to many examples of works whose authors not only took inspiration from but literally copied fragments of earlier texts. Also the descriptions of fantastic lands and creatures do not give us the right to reject the whole of the work. We do not challenge at present the authenticity of *Description of the World* by Marco Polo, being fully aware that some of the fragments thereof are as colourful as they are untrue.

Regardless, however, of whether we consider *The Travels...* to be an original production or a compilation made in the 14th century, we have to admit that its author was an intelligent man of an open mind and vast knowledge, and also an accomplished man of letters. If we assume that he made at least some of the travels

described, he has to be regarded as a keen and critical observer. He had rich knowledge and must have had access to a very abundant library.

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville reached readers not only by means of the colourful language – some of the manuscripts contained illustrations of the places visited by the author.⁴¹ The same is true of the first editions. The German language edition by Anton Sorg (Augsburg 1481) was particularly richly illustrated with 121 woodcut illustrations faithfully copied in other editions – the English one by Wyd kyn de Werde of 1499 containing 72 illustrations, or the Spanish one by Jorge Castillo (Valencia 1521).⁴²

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville were used and followed by medieval authors. The above-mentioned chronicler Jean d'Outremeuse wrote a colourful travel narrative, making use, to a considerable degree, of Mandeville's work, which became a source of some misunderstandings and attempts to perceive both authors as one person.⁴³ Also the poem by Christine de Pisan (1364 - ok. 1430) *Le livre du chemin de long Estade* (1402) was inspired by his book.⁴⁴ Certain analogies between Mandeville's text and *The Canterbury Tales* by G. Chaucer are also suggested.⁴⁵

A number of factors determined the great popularity of the work by Mandeville. The first and certainly the most important one, was the interest in this type of literature among different strata of the society. Manuscripts of the work were in the possession of both monarchs as townsmen. A strong point of *The Travels ...* was also the fact that the author included various elements therein. Next to descriptions of sacred places, there is true information about the history, heritage sites, nature and people inhabiting remote lands. Many legends known in the late Middle Ages were also cited. All this made the work attractive for readers of diverse interests and expectations. Pious Christians, who for various reasons were unable to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land, had an opportunity to read descriptions of places connected with the life of Christ and the Apostles, splendid shrines and the relics kept therein. Such a reading could replace an actual pilgrimage and yield spiritual benefits. People planning a journey to the Holy Land could find out about the routes leading there and the conditions to be found at their destination. In the first half of the 15th century, at the pilgrims' hospice at Ortenberg (a town between Fulda and Frankfurt am Mein) there was a copy of Mandeville's work.⁴⁶ It is quite likely that pilgrims staying at the hospice used it. *The Travels...* were also used as a reference by people looking for information about distant lands. Even the less realistic part concerning the Far East contained a lot of reliable information taken from the accounts of travellers who had actually been there. Also those who looked for a colourful reading describing the curiosities of the world (both the real and the imagined ones) referring to commonly known images and legends, found many attractive elements in that work.

All this made *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* one of the basic sources forming the images of the earthly homeland of Christ in the Europe of late Middle

Agas and the beginning of modern times, and not only among the lower social strata, as T. Tobler claimed, but also at courts of princes and kings.⁴⁷

Notes:

¹ Extensive references to late mediaeval literature concerning the Holy Land can be found *inter alia* in the work by R. Röhricht *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae. Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878*, Berlin 1890, and a discussion of particular texts *inter alia* in: A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, London 1938.

² S. Runciman, *Średniowieczny manicheizm* [Mediaeval Manichaeism], Gdańsk 1996, pp. 158-159.

³ M.B. Campbell, *The Witness and the other World. Exotic European Travel Writing 400-1600*, London 1988, p. 122; J.K. Malone, *A Literary History of England*, London 1967, p. 267; J.D. Thomas, *The Date of Mandeville's Travels*, *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 72, 1957, p. 168.

⁴ R. R. Röhricht listed 28 English texts, 2 Irish, 9 Italian, 49 French, 1 Spanish, 31 Latin, 62 German, 2 Dutch, 2 Danish and 5 Czech; R. R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca...*, pp. 79 - 85.

⁵ Cestopis t.zv. Mandevilla, ed. F. Šimek, *Sbornik pramenův literarneho života v Čechach, na Moravě a v Slezsku*, Sk.I, Ř. I, Č. 9, Praha 1911, p.III.

⁶ See: John Mandeville – biographical note by G.F. Werner in: *The Compact Edition of the Dictionary of the National Biography*, Oxford 1975, t. I, p. 1308.

⁷ R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca...*, pp. 73, 76-77, 91.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 79 -85.

⁹ *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. The version of the Cotton Manuscript in modern spelling, ed. A.W. Pollard, London 1900, p. 5-6, 208-209. (further quot.: John Mandeville). Out of many editions of *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* I decided to use in this paper the edition prepared by A.W. Pollard and now kept at the British Museum in London (ref. no.: Bibl. Cotton. Titus C.XVI). This choice was dictated by the opinion, shared by many researchers, that it is probably a version closest to the original. See: E. Hoade, *Western Pilgrims. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, vol.18, Jerusalem 1952, p. 93; J.W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*, New York 1954, pp. 169, 172-173, 180.

¹⁰ K.W. Cameron, *A Discovery in John de Mandevilles, Speculum*, vol. 11, 1936, p. 351; Jean de Mandeville, *Voyage autour de la terre*, par Ch. Deluz, Paris 1993, Introduction, p. XI; See also: *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris 1820, vol. XXVI, pp. 464 - 465;

¹¹ *Mandeville's Travels*, ed P. Hamelius, Early English Texts Society vol.154, London 1923, Introduction, p. 1-3; G.F. Werner, *John...*, p. 1308;

¹² G.F.Werner, *John...*, p. 1308.

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- ¹³ K.W. Cameron, *A Discovery...*, p.359; cf. also biographical notes on him in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris 1820, vol. XXVI p. 464-65 and in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th Edition, 1993, vol. VII, pp. 766-767; see also: J. Richard, *Les recits de voyages et de pelerinages*, in: *Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental*, fasc. 38, 1981, pp. 35-36.
- ¹⁴ A. Steiner, *The Date of Composition of Mandeville's Travels*, *Speculum*, vol.9, 1934, p. 146 passim.
- ¹⁵ Ch. Moseley, *Sir John Mandeville's Visit to the Pope. The Implications of an Interpolation*, *Neophilologus*, vol. 54, 1970, p. 77.
- ¹⁶ Ch. Deluz, *Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville. "Une Geographie" au XIVe siecle*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988, p. 26; J.W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery...*, pp. 165-166.
- ¹⁷ J.W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery...*, p. 151.
- ¹⁸ John Mandeville, p. 6.
- ¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 5; H.S.Bennett, *Science and Information in English Writings of the Fifteenth Century*, *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 39, 1944, p. 6.
- ²⁰ John Mandeville, p. 6 passim
- ²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 9 passim
- ²² *Ibidem*, pp. 8-9, 10, 11,19, 23,34-35, 52.
- ²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 21, 22, 23, 39, 43, 48, 49, 76, 78, 82,
- ²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 50-62.
- ²⁵ That belief was common among the Europeans, at least from the time when in the 6th century Gregory of Tours included such information in his work *Libri decem historiarum...*, see: *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria* in 1384 by Frescobaldi, Gucci & Sigoli. ed. T. Bellorini, E. Hoade, B. Bagatti, *Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, No 6, Jerusalem 1948, p. 104.
- ²⁶ John Mandeville, pp. 12, 31, 33, 35-36, 39, 67.
- ²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 79-81, 89-92.
- ²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 15, 36, 96.
- ²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp.17-18.
- ³⁰ J.D.Thomas, *The Date...*, p. 168; A.C. Baugh, *A Literary History of England*, London, 1967, p. 267; H.S. Bennett, *Oxford History of English Literature*, Oxford 1948, p. 199.
- ³¹ D.R. Howard, *The World of Mandeville's Travels*. *The Yearbook of English Studies*, vol.1, 1971, p. 1; M.B. Campbell, *The Wittness ...*,pp. 124-126.
- ³² G.F. Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 1308

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- ³³ Z. Haraszti, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. The Boston Public Library Quarterly, 1950, vol II, p. 308.
- ³⁴ The research by Ch. Deluz showed that in fact most copies of Mandeville's work written in vernacular languages had been in the hands of townsmen. Ch. Deluz, *Le Livre...*, p. 284, Z. Haraszti, *The Travels...*, p. 311.
- ³⁵ G.F. Werner, *John...*, p. 1308; Z. Haraszti, *The Travels...*, p. 311.
- ³⁶ Ch. Deluz, *Le livre...*, 1988, pp. 41, 57-58.
- ³⁷ *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M.C. Seymour, Oxford, 1967, Introduction p. XIII; A.C. Baugh, *A Literary History...*, p. 267.
- ³⁸ *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M.C. Seymour, Oxford 1967, Introduction, p. XIII-XIV; M.B. Campbell, *The Witness...*, p. 9; D.R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims. Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity*. Berkeley 1980, p. 54-58; M.W. Labarge, *Medieval Travellers. The Rich and Restless*, London 1982, pp. 4-5.
- ³⁹ J.J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring life in the Middle Ages (14th Century)*, London 1897, p. 392; J.W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery...*, pp. 55-62.
- ⁴⁰ Ch. Deluz, *Le livre...*, p. 61-62; Jehan de Mandeville..., p. XII-XIII; D. Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England*, New Haven-London 1977, pp. 238-239.
- ⁴¹ Ch. Deluz, *Le livre...*, p. 303.
- ⁴² J.W. Bennett, *The Woodcut Illustrations in the English Editions of Mandeville's Travels*, Paper of Bibliographical Society of America, t.47, 1953, pp. 59-65.
- ⁴³ G.F. Werner, *John...*, p. 1308.
- ⁴⁴ P. Toynbee, *Christine de Pisan and Sir John Mandeville*, Romania, t. 21, 1892, pp. 228-229.
- ⁴⁵ C.W.R.D. Moseley, *Chaucer, Sir John Mandeville, and the Alliterative Revival: A Hypothesis Concerning Relationships*. *Modern Philology*, vol. 72, 1974-1975, p. 182.
- ⁴⁶ Ch. Deluz, *Le livre...*, p. 285.
- ⁴⁷ D.R. Howard, *The World of Mandeville's Travels...*, pp. 1-2.

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