A SMALL CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ODORIC

BY

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Through the great kindness of the respective Librarians, Sir Geoffrey BUTLER and the Reverend G. A. SCHNEIDER, I have lately been able to look at the manuscripts of Odoric which are kept in the libraries of Corpus Christi College and Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge. In the YULE-CORDIER bibliography in *Cathay and the Way thither*, vol. II, 1913, the C.C.C. manuscripts are numbered 1. and 2., their library marks being 275 and 407 respectively; and the Caius College manuscript is numbered 3., and has the marks 83:162. All three are mentioned by CORDIER in his great French edition (*Les Voyages en Asie* etc., 1891); and two of them by GOLUBOVICH in *Archivum Franciscanum Hist.*, X, p. 25; and by earlier editors of Odoric¹).

1) Cf. G. Venni, *Elogio storico* &c., 1761, p. 40: "Due altri esemplari... custoditi in Cambridge in Inghilterra nel Collegio di San Benedetto, e nella Libreria del Barone Lumley." and Domenichelli, *Sopra la via* &c., 1881, p. 362: "7. Cambridge — Biblioteca del Collegio del Corpus Christi... Man. num. 407... Porta la data dell' anno 1448 [?]. . . 8. Cambridge — Collegio Gonville e Caius. Numero 162."

Cordier, for some reason, has not repeated in *Cathay* the more detailed information about the date of the C.C.C. MS. 407 which he gave, on the authority of H. Bradshaw and S. S. Lewis, in 1891.

I. No. 407 is described in *Cathay* II, p. 40 as "end of xivth cent." This date, derived I think from Nasmith's Catalogue¹⁾, is repeated by CORDIER and GOLUBOVICH, while BEAZLEY says it is "of the earliest XVth century"²⁾. The well known modern catalogue by M. R. JAMES, now Provost of Eton, omits "end of", and remarks that the book formerly belonged to Simon, Prior of Norwich, 1344–1352. This is the case. At the top of the first page is clearly written, *liber fratris symonis Prioris Norwicensis. or A book of brother Symon, Prior of Norwich.* Not only so, but the volume appears in a contemporary list of Symon's books: *Libri fratris Symonis Bozoun. . . . [26.] Liber itinerariorum precij .xl.^{d.} 3)*

1) J. Nasmith, *Cat. Libr. Man. quos C.C.C. et B.M.V. in Ac. Cantab. legavit etc.* 1777, pp. 384, 385: CCCCVII. *Codex membranaceus in 8^{vo}, exeunte seculo xiv scriptus, in quo continentur*, 1. *Itinerarium fratrum Symonis Semeonis et Hugonis illuminatoris, ordinis fratrum minorum professorum ad terram sanctam A.D. 1322.* 2. [William of Rubruquis.] 3. *Itinerarium fratris Odoriei ordinis fratrum minorum de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum. . . .* The earlier Catalogue by Stanley gives no date or description, but may be quoted: *Cat. Lib. Man. in Bib. Coll. C. C. in Cantab.*, 1722, p. 21: G. VI. 1. *Iter Fratris Symonis Prioris Norwic. ab Hibernia per Angliam, Franciam, Italiam, Ægyptum, Babyloniam, Terram Sanctam, &c.* 2. [William of Rubruquis.] 3. *Itinerarium Fr. Orderici Ordinis Minorum, de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum. Ille obiit an. 1331.* This volume is No. 72 in T. James *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantab.*, 1600, p. 76, and No. 1349.72. in *Cat. Lib. MSS. Angliæ*, 1697, p. 134.

For Symon Semeonis, a different man from Symon, Prior of Norwich, with whom Stanley confuses him, see Golubovich, *Itinerarium Fratrum Symonis etc.*, Florence, 1918.

2) C. R. Beazley, *John de Plano Carpini etc.*, 1903, p. xviii: "no. 407 in the Corpus collection. It is of the earliest XVth century, is written in a small, close, and difficult late-mediæval hand, abounding in abbreviations." The writing of the first three pieces in the volume is in one hand and of nearly the same date. Mr Beazley's experience of mediæval MSS. must have been fortunate, if he calls this writing difficult.

3) *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Rolls ed.) vol. V, Pref. p. xxxix. Referring to the British Museum Royal MS. 14 C. xiii, the editor writes: "On the top margin of f. 14, before the beginning of the *Polychronicon*, is a note stating that this volume belonged to Simen Bozoun, prior of Norwich; and on the opposite page, f. 13*l*, is a catalogue of his library, consisting of thirty-one volumes, with their prices affixed. . . . Accordingly this volume must have been written somewhere between 1327, when the *Polychronicon* ends, and 1352, when Simon Bozoun ceased to be prior. Had its date not have been thus certainly fixed, I should have placed it as a manuscript of some fifty years later date." This last sentence is interesting in connexion with the later date which has been ascribed to No. 407.

DUGDALE's *Monasticon*, vol. IV, 1823, p. 7, has this entry: "SIMON BOZOUN, or BOHON, was confirmed prior Aug. 25th, 1344, and installed Aug. 27th. He resigned in April, 1352." The book belonged therefore to a Prior of Norwich before April, 1352, and takes its place among the early MSS. of Odoric, written probably within twenty years of the author's death.

At the end of the notice of Odoric in this No. 407, M. R. JAMES' Catalogue says "Printed *Acta SS.* 1 Jan., p. 986." This might be misleading. The text of 407 is quite unlike that in the *Acta Sanctorum* (1st ed., Jan. I., (14 Jan.) pp. 986b—992; new ed., Jan. II., (14 Jan.) pp. 268b—274), as will be seen by the following example, the date of Odoric's death. No. 407, fol. 90 v^o, 91 r^o has: Anno igitur (?) domini .m^o. CCC^{mo}. xxxj^o. Cumque esset in Conuentu accepta communione ipsoque ad dominum disponente eciam corpore existens incolumis; in domino requieuit. Anno domini m^o. ccc^{mo}. xxxj^o. xiiij. die mensis Januarij obiit in xpisto beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum minorum. The *Acta SS.*, p. 992, has: anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCCCXXXI postridie Idus Ianuarij de huius mundi naufragio transiit in gloriam Beatorum. And it seems to be worth while to draw attention to this, as in the case of another MS. a similar remark seems actually to have led editors astray. In the Bibliography in *Cathay* II, p. 53, is a Latin MS. numbered "39—39—5— Saint-Omer, *Library*, No. 737." of which CORDIER writes "This itinerary of Odoric has been published by the Bollandists. v. *Acta Sanctorum*, Januar., t. I, p. 986, col. 2." In his French edition CORDIER says the same, in the form of a quotation from *Cat. des Ms. des Bib. des Dép.* GOLUBOVICH (*op. cit.*, pp. 28, 33)

Which of the Prior's 31 books was the volume in which the list occurs is not stated, but I know no reason to doubt the Provost of Eton's identification of *Liber itinerariorum* with No. 407 rather than with the Museum MS. No. 407 has also on fol. 1 r^o the marks S. xxij. (? 15th century) and G. 6. (? 18th century). For a further account of Royal MS. 14 C. xiii. and its relation to No. 407, see pp. 309—311 below.

repeats the same in Italian (*È questo il codice di cui si servirono i BOLLANDISTI*), copying probably from CORDIER, and also classifies the Saint-Omer MS. as containing the recension of Henry of Glatz, while both the C.C.C. MSS. (275 and 407) are said to have the William of Solagna text. The *Acta SS.* has in fact the text of Henry of Glatz. But, strangely enough, the beginning and end of the Saint-Omer MS.¹⁾ are not only verbally but almost literally identical with the beginning and end of 407, and quite unlike the beginning and end of the text in *Acta Sanctorum*. How is it that each of these two MSS. in turn has been said to be the original of the Bollandist text? Most probably the author of the Catalogue of the Saint-Omer MSS. in 1861, and the Provost of Eton more recently, meant nothing more than that *Odoric* would be found printed in the *Acta SS.*, without intending it to be understood that the particular MSS. with which they were respectively dealing had been reproduced there²⁾.

We may conclude then with regard to the Corpus Christi College MS. 407 (1) that it was written between January, 1331, and April, 1352, and (2) that it is not printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. It is, as will be seen later, a good example of the text printed by Hakluyt. And it seems also to be open to question, until more evidence is available, whether the Saint-Omer MS. 737 really contains the text of Henry of Glatz, or is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

1) *Cat. gén. des MSS. des Bib. publ. des Dép.*, III, 1861, pp. 328, 329: "737. In-folio sur papier. — Incipit Itinerarium fratris Oderici, ordinis fratrum Minorum, de Mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum. "Licet multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus, etc." — Desinit: "Innumerabilia et mihi difficilia ad scribendum." — XV^e SIÈCLE. Abbaye de Saint-Bertin. — Cahier de 18 feuillets en mauvais état, mouillé, écrit en gothique mixte, ... [written by 'ego Michael de Lira scriptor' at Mechlin, 21 Feb. 1448.] Cet Itinéraire d'Oderic a été publié par les Bollandistes. (Voy. *Acta Sanctorum*, Januar. t. I, p. 986, col. 2.)"

Another MS. which, to judge from the extracts given in *Cathay* II, pp. 52, 53, must be very much like 407, is "37—37—3—Paris, *Bib. Nat.*, Dupuy Collection No. 686."

2) The Provost assures me that this is the case, as far as he is concerned.

II. No. 275. Here again there is a question of date. CORDIER writes (*Cathay* II, p. 40) of this MS.: "The present MS. is probably one to which Yule refers, p. 30, No. 4, in these words: 'Asquini in his life of Odoric says that the old MS. . . . was sold in his own day to an English gentleman . . . and he understood that it was preserved in St Benet's College [i. e. Corpus Christi College], Cambridge. The MS. in question, however, only dated from 1448 (see *Venni*, p. 38).' " This *probability* is accepted as fact by GOLUBOVICH, who infers that 275 is the copy made in 1448 by Alberto di Udine from an old codex which he (GOLUBOVICH) assumes to have been the autograph of William of Solagna and believes now to be at Assisi (MS. 343). But both CORDIER and GOLUBOVICH should have reflected that Asquini's Life of Odoric was published in 1737, and that a book written at Udine in 1448 and sold in Italy in Asquini's "own day" could not be 275, which "is No. 21 of the collection of books left to *Corpus Christi College* by Thomas Markaunt, of Cambridge, in 1439." (*Cathay* II, p. 39). The College possesses a precious volume (MS. No. 232) which contains (1) the will of Thomas Markaunt, dated 4 November, 1439; (2) the formal acceptance of the bequest of books by the Master and Fellows, dated 1 August, 1440; (3) a list of the 76 volumes bequeathed, with the contents of each; (4) a second list of the same books, arranged according to their subjects, with the price of each.¹⁾ The entry relating to 275 is

1) The following are extracts from these four sections:— Fol. 1 r^o: In dei nomine Amen. Ego Thomas markaunt Clericus de villa Cantabriggie Eliensis Diocesis compos mentis et bone memorie existens. Die quarto mensis Nouembris Anno Domini millesimo CCC^{mo}. tricesimo nono; Condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti Beate marie Virgini et omnibus sanctis corpusque meum ecclesiastice sepulture. Item lego omnes libros meos Collegio corporis xpisti et sancte Marie Cantabriggie predictæ. sub ista condicione videlicet quod ponentur et custodiantur in quadam cista seu cistis infra dictum Collegio deputata vel deputatis secundum modum et formam cistarum de Gotham & lyak ad vsum duntaxat sociorum Collegii supradicti. . . . Insuper volo quod socij Collegii corporis xpisti & sancte marie predicti; sub tali modificatione ante dictos libros possideant. quod orent pro anima mea & animabus parentum

on fol. 5 v^o, 6 r^o as follows: “¶Liber diuersorum tractatum. De oracione dominica. De officio misse et regula fratrum minorum De vita prothoplasti Epistola Methodij de inicio et progressu mundi et de die iudicij De speculo mundi Purgatorium sancti patricij. Item oracio eiusdem. Itinerarium domini Johannis Maundeuyte militis Tractatus de presbitero Johanne Itinerarium fratris Odorici ordinis fratrum minorum Tractatus francisci petrarche De Waltero Marthione et Grisilda vxore eius. De tribus magis Regibus De secundo philosopho. De vita et passione Sancte Thome. De sarasenis et eorum obseruacionibus De Machameto et eius legibus Cuius secundum folium incipit *in enigmate*. et penultimum folium incipit *iudicij Machameto*. 21.” In *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantab.*, Liber Secundus, 1600, p. 70, this volume is: 4. 1. Tractatus de oratione domini. 2. . . . 11. Itinerarium *Fratris Odorici*, ordinis Fratrum minorum.; and in *Cat. Lib. MSS. Ang.*, 1697, p. 131, it is No. 1280. 4. Stanley, *Catal.*, 1722, p. 2, has: A. IV. . . . [fol.] 149. Itinerarium Fratris Oderici Minoritæ de Mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.; and Nasmith, *Catal.*, 1777, p. 316: CCLXXV. *Codex membranaceus in folio minor. seculo xv scriptus, in quo continentur, 13. Itinerarium fratris Odorici ordinis fratrum minorum de mirabilibus orientalium*

meorum velut orent pro alijs benefactoribus suis. . . Fol. 3 r^o: ET nos Iohannes Tyteshale. Magister siue Custos Collegij Corporis xpisti et sancte Marie Cantabriggie Eliensis diocesis. vnanimi consensu. . . eandem librorum legacionem. . . admittimus. . . Datum nostra conclauis primo Die Mensis Augusti Anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo. Fol. 5 r^o: Hic incipit Registrum. magistri. Thome Markaunt de numerositate librorum suorum cum eorum contentis quos contulit ad vtilitatem sociorum Collegii corporis xpisti studencium Each book is numbered in the right hand margin with Arabic numerals in red. The list ends with 76. on fol. 8 v^o. Fol. 9 r^o: hic inseruntur omnes libri Magistri T. markaunt cum eorum precijs The books are arranged in groups according to their subjects, and each has its proper number from the first list in red in the left hand margin. Under Libri theologie (fol. 9 v^o) we find on fol. 10 r^o: 21. liber diuersorum tractatum. De oracione dominica &c — viij. 8. See also *Camb. Antiq. Society, Miscellaneous Communications* Pt I, pp. 15—20. William de Gotham was Chancellor in 1366, 1376, and Robert de Lynge in 1345, 1352; and both were benefactors of the University. Cf. *Masters Hist. C.C.C.*, p. 41.

Tartarorum, fol. 149. *Ultimum capitulum deest*. It is thus reasonably certain that this volume has been in the College library from August, 1440, to the present time. Regarded as a copy of the Assisi codex 343, No. 275 might prove to be disconcertingly inaccurate; but as a fact it seems to be an English manuscript of the early 15th century, giving a well written but sometimes careless copy of the same text as is found in 407, and coming to a sudden conclusion after the story of the *Terrible Valley* with the words: *hec de visis certitudinaliter Ego frater Odoricus hic inscripsi. & multa mirabilia omisi ponere quia homines non credidissent nisi vidissent*

Explicit itinerarium fratris Odorici &cetera. The following are short examples of the relation between the two texts, 407 and 275:—

407. *Inde transiui per ciuitates multas & veni ad ciuitatem nomine kaitan in qua fratres minores habent duo loca ad que portauit de ossibus fratrum nostrorum pro fide xpisti interfectorum*

275. *Inde transiui ad ciuitates multas & veni ad ciuitatem nomine kaxtan In qua fratres minores duo habent loca ad que portauit de ossibus fratrum minorum pro fide xpisti interfectorum*

407. *nam quilibet ignis soluit vnum balis .i. v. cartas bombicis qui vnum florenum cum dimidio valent & .x. vel .xij. superlectiles facient vnum*

275. *nam quilibet ignis soluit vnum .i. quinque cauas bombicis qui vnum florenum cum dimidio valent & 10 vel .13. superlectiles faciant vnum*

III. The third Cambridge MS. of Odoric is in the library of Gonville and Caius College, in the volume marked 83:162. This is one of the books bequeathed to the College by William Moore in 1659,¹⁾ but its history before that date does not seem to be

1) J. Venn, *Gonville and Caius College*, vol. I, p. 192. See also U.L.C. MSS. Dd. IV. 36. (a contemporary catalogue of Moore's books) fol. 5. "Class. B. 14, 4 Odoricus de ritibus Orientalium"; and *Cat. Lib. MSS. Ang.*, 1697, p. 122, No. 1110. 46.

known. The volume contains 213 leaves, of which fol. 141 r^o—213 v^o are in neat 13th century hands, and fol. 1 r^o—140 r^o in an untidy but legible English hand, or hands, of the early 15th or very late 14th century. Odoric (*Trattatus Odorici de Ritibus orientalium Regionum.*) occupies fol. 87 r^o—105 v^o. The text, *as far as I have examined it*, is that of William of Solagna, agreeing very nearly and often exactly with that printed in *Cathay* II, Appendix I, from the Paris MS. lat. 2584 (Yule-Cordier No. 35). It does not call Odoric a Bohemian (*Boemus*), as he is called in the Paris MS., but in some places it seems to me to give perhaps the better text of the two. It begins: Licet multa & varia de ritibus & condicionibus huius seculi enarrentur a multis; tamen sciendum est quod ego frater Odoricus de foroiuli de portu nahonis volens transfretare. . . fol. 93 r^o: in Polumbo ad portum ascendimus aliam nauim nomine conchum vt in Indiam superiorem sicut dictum est iremus ad quandam Ciuitatem nomine Caytan. In qua sunt duo loca nostrorum fratrum. . . fol. 99 v^o: hec ciuitas posita est in aquis lacunarum que mauet & stat vt Ciuitas veneret. Ipsa etiam habet plures quam .12. milia poncium. . . fol. 105 v^o: esse demones infernales sit nomen domini benedictum ¶ Ego frater Odoricus de foroiuli de portu nahonis de ordine fratrum minorum testificor & testimonium perhibeo meoque ministro respondeo cum ab eo requisitus fuerim per obedienciam salutarem, quod hec omnia que scripta sunt aut propriis oculis ego vidi aut audiui ab hominibus fidedignis Multa etiam alia dimisi que scribi non feci quia ipsa apud aliquos quasi incredibilia viderentur nisi illa propriis oculis vidissent, Ego autem de diem in diem me preparo ad illas contratas accedere in quibus me mori dispono, & viuere vt illi placeat qui sine fine viuunt & regnat. A·M·E·N — *Explicit Trattatus Odorici de Ritibus Orientalium.*

These three appear to be the only MS. copies of Odoric which have been catalogued in Cambridge.¹⁾ The two at Corpus Christi College represent, one very accurately, the other more carelessly and imperfectly, the Hakluyt text; while the Caius College MS. gives what seems to be a good form of the text translated and printed by YULE in *Cathay*. The transcript made in 1448 from an old codex at Udine can no longer be identified *évidemment* or even *probably* with any one of these Cambridge MSS., which were all, I think, written in England and have been in England at least since 1352, 1439, and 1659, respectively. Incidentally, too, it is curious to think that Simon, Prior of Norwich, possessed two almost identical copies of the Hakluyt text (C.C.C. 407 and Royal MS. 14. C. xiii (Yule's *Mus.*)) within twenty years of Odoric's death, and it may not be out of place to give some further account of these two MSS. (407 and *Mus.*) and of their relation to Hakluyt's printed text.

For obvious reasons I have not been able to place the two MSS. side by side, but my impression is that they were written by the same scribe. The writing, if by two, is at least by two very similar hands, and so are the delicate red and blue initials. Capital letters in the text are much more often touched with blue or red in *Mus.* than they are in 407. As will be seen from the printed Catalogues, 407 is a small book (Nasmith: *in* 8^{vo}) while *Mus.* is a fair-sized Folio. At the beginning of *Mus.* are 14 leaves of parchment not included in the ancient numeration. Of these the first is blank except for a few words and letters scribbled on the *verso*, 2 r^o has the Arabic numerals 1—20 in their 14th century form, 2 v^o

1) Golubovich (*op. cit.*, p. 26) has "*Cambridge*, un quarto codice segnato 1549 (73) § 3". But this is obviously C.C.C. No. 407 (see note 1, p. 302 above); and one cannot help thinking that others of the *twenty-seven* MSS., which are recorded as having eluded Cordier, may be accounted for perhaps in a similar way, though several of them seem really to be new.

has the contents of the volume in a 14th or 15th century hand, 9 items of which Odoric is the fifth, 3 r⁰—10 v⁰ contain the Index (? to the *Polychronicon*), 11 r⁰ blank, 11 v⁰—12 v⁰ Introduction and Contents of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Introitus ad recitationem historiæ Giraldi Cambrensis*), 13 blank, but ruled and lettered for use (omitted from the modern pencil numeration), 14 r⁰ blank (13 in the modern numeration), 14 v⁰: *Libri fratris Symonis Bozoun*. and the titles and prices of 31 books. On the 15th leaf, numbered 1 in the contemporary ink numbering, and 14 in modern pencil, the *Polychronicon* begins, and at the top of the page is written ¶ *liber fratris Symonis Bozoun Prioris Norwicensis* and the library mark P. lxj.

Odoric begins at the top of fol. 205 (216) r⁰ and ends on fol. 213 (224) v⁰. The comparison of a few short passages will show (1) that 407 and *Mus.* may have been copied from a common original, or (2) that *Mus.* was copied from 407, (3) that 407 was not copied from *Mus.*, (4) that Hakluyt, as is well known, copied *Mus.*, and, though he mentions other texts, seems sometimes at least, when in difficulty, simply to have emended the text of *Mus.*; and for this purpose I have chosen generally words or phrases where one or both of the MSS. are clearly wrong.

407, fol. 82 v⁰ *hospitabar*; *Mus.* fol. 210 (221) r⁰ *habitabar*; *Hak.* p. 48 *habitabā*. 407 and *Mus.* ib. *de inde vbi sol oritur*; *Hak.* *de inde vbi sol occidit*. 407, ib. *portulam*; *Mus.* ib. *perclusam* (?); *Hak.* *perclusam*. 407, ib. *apparuit*; *Mus.* ib. *aparuit*; *Hak.* *aparuit*. 407 and *Mus.* ib. *decenderunt*; *Hak.* *descenderunt*. 407, fol. 83 r⁰ *per aspidem*; *Mus.* ib. *per aspidem* (*margin parapsidem*); *Hak.* *pa-rapsidem*. 407, ib. *mihi dicens quod*; *Mus.* ib. *mihi quod*; *Hak.* *mihi quod*. 407 and *Mus.* ib. *animalis in tota*; *Hak.* *animalis intrat*. 407, fol. 90 v⁰ *sicut ipse narrabat ita scribebat ad hoc*; *Mus.* fol. 213 (224) r⁰ and *Hak.* p. 53 *sicut ipse narrabat ad hoc*. 407, ib.

testatur esse vera; *Mus.* and *Hak.* testatur esse. 407, ib. alia ego dimisi que scribi non feci cum ipsa quasi incredibilia videntur; nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissent; *Mus.* ib. alia ego dimisi nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissent; *Hak.* alia ego dimissem, nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissem. In this last instance *Mus.* has simply dropped out one line, and Hakluyt has emended to make good grammar, and has exactly reversed the sense.

If I have added a little to the stock of accurate knowledge about three of the many manuscripts of Odoric, I have also convinced myself that an extraordinary uncertainty still pervades the subject. YULE in both editions of *Cathay* divides the texts into "four distinct types", viz. (1) The recension of Henry of Glatz, represented by the extracts in the *Acta Sanctorum* and by a MS. at Venice (*Cathay* II, No. 47); (2) The recension of William of Solagna, who originally wrote the narrative down from Odoric's dictation at Padua in May, 1330. YULE thought that this was not the best text, but the text of the best Latin and Italian MSS.; (3) The text printed and translated by Hakluyt. This is represented by three MSS. in the British Museum and two at Cambridge (*Cathay* II, No. 5, 7, 8, 1, 2), and apparently by one at the Bodleian, besides one at least at Paris (*Cathay* II, No. 37) and, possibly, one at Saint-Omer (*Cathay* II, No. 39); (4) The *Minor Ramusian* text, represented by Ramusio's second and shorter printed text and by some Italian MSS.

GOLUBOVICH, the latest contributor to the subject, divides the Latin texts into two recensions, (1) William of Solagna, (2) Henry of Glatz. In (2) he places only three MSS., viz. Saint-Omer 737, Berlin 141, and Munich 903 (*Cathay* II, No. 39, 13, 32); and all the rest, including the known Hakluyt texts, are put in (1). The most elaborate bibliographer of Odoric is CORDIER, both in his French edition, and in the second edition of *Cathay*; and of one

of GOLUBOVICH's second recension — Berlin 141¹) — he writes "it includes also the text of Odoric's Itinerary published by Hakluyt; ...it is the version of Henry of Glatz." But "the version of Henry of Glatz" is quite different from the "Itinerary published by Hakluyt"!

Very little has been done to determine the relationship of these three or four different forms of the text. YULE regarded the Henry of Glatz text as representing (if we had but a good copy of it) the nearest approach to Odoric's own words, but he gave no reason for this opinion. Unless there is truth in the note added to the lost MS. at Mentz (*Cathay* II, No. 16) that William of Solagna was only one of several writers at Padua, Henry of Glatz must have copied from William's text. Neither YULE, CORDIER, nor GOLUBOVICH tell us wherein Henry really differs from William (except in the little notes they have added to their respective texts: *Hec predicta frater Guillelmus* and *Et ego frater hinricus de Glarz*), nor do they seriously attempt to trace the source of the *Acta Sanctorum* text. Of GOLUBOVICH's three examples of Henry of Glatz, one seems, as we have seen, to be doubtful; but the Munich text, as printed by DOMENICHELLI, and Berlin 141 (*Cathay* II, No. 32 and 13) are certainly of this type. CORDIER has published beautiful facsimiles of the last two and a half pages of the Berlin MS. from which it is clear that the text is very nearly but not exactly that of the *Acta SS.* And the same is true of the Munich text.²) The Bollandists themselves tell us that they got their text from an

1) Domenichelli and *Cathay*, 131; Cordier (1891) and Golubovich (rightly), 141.

2) For example *Berlin 141* omits *Scripsi autem hec anno Domini trescentesimo quadagesimo* (*Munich*, 1340) in *Pragā, circa festum omnium Sanctorum, & copiosius ea* (*Munich*, *omit ea*) *audieram in Auenione*. with which *Acta SS.* ends. And *Munich* reads *vno cymbalo* for *Acta SS.* *vno tintinnabulo*; *cum convenissent et comedissent* for *cum comedissent*; *vellet huius ciuitatis magnitudinem* for *velit huius ciuitatis magna*; etc. My knowledge of the Munich text is derived at second, if not at third, hand from Domenichelli.

ancient codex copied for them, or given them, by John Gamans S.J., and that the story of the four martyrs of Thäna was copied by Gamans from a MS. *Passionale* in the Augustinian monastery of St Meinulph at Bodickheim. They assume that the martyrdom had been originally copied from the same old codex of Odoric, and they are careful to note that the two MSS. agreed in such a curious detail as the date 1 April, 1322, for the martyrdom; but unfortunately they do not say where the Odoric codex was kept,¹⁾ and it does not seem as if many efforts had been made to trace its subsequent history. Three other manuscripts in CORDIER's bibliography (*Cathay* II, No. 19, 23, 36) look as if they might possibly have

1) *Acta SS.*, Jan. I, p. 984 col. 1: *In peruetusto Codice MS. quem beneficio Ioannis Gamansij nostri obtinuimus, extat ea historia sub hoc titulo: Descriptio terrarum Fr. Odorici de Foro-Iulij. cum appendice rerum ab eo narratarum* Fr. Marchisino de Bayadon Ordinis Minorum. *Quae omnia vñ cum breui relatione obitus & miraculorum descripsit in hoc nostro Codice* Fr. Henricus de Glats ord. Minorum Pragæ an. Ch. 1340. *ab obitu B. Odorici 9. Præcipua solùm decerpimus, quæ B Odorici zelum demonstrent in Christianæ religionis propagatione indefessum.*

April. I., pp. 50, 51: *Hanc peregrinationis ejus historiam, seu librum de Mirabilibus mundi, habuimus in codice valde antiquo, quem Fr. Henricus de Glats Ord. Minorum Pragæ, anno Christi MCCCXI, descripsit. Historia martyrii horum Beatorum Fratrum, inde olim excerpta, extat in Passionali MS. insigni cænobii Bodecensis Canoncorum Regularium S. Augustini in diœcesi Paderbonensi, quam inde descriptam nobis transmisit Ioannes Gamansius noster, cum hoc titulo: Incipit passio Sanctorum quatuor Fratrum Minorum, quæ est Kalendis Aprilis: qui dies infra num. 6. [p. 54, par. 6] confirmatur his verbis: Compleverunt autem gloriosi viri martyrium suum anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo secundo, Kalendis Aprilis, ante Palmas. Ita Odoricus utroque manuscripto.*

For Bodickheim or Bodiken see *Gen. totius sacri ordinis cler. canon. historia* by Gabr. Pennotius, 1630, p. 405: In Bodiken oppido eiusdem diœcesis Paderbornensis monasterium sancti Meynulphi, eiusdem congregationis Windesimensis. ex eodem [sc. congregationis Wind.] Catalogo. This monastery of Augustinian Canons may have succeeded a nunnery which was founded A.D. 804 or 840; for which see Meibom *Rerum Germ.* I, p. 240: Hic Meinulphus... monasterium monialium, seu canonicarum regularium, in villa Bodieken Paderbornensis diœcesis, fundavit & dotavit, quod usque ad tempora nostra [c. 1418] perduravit: nunc verò non hostium incurso forinseco, sed tineæ attenuatum intrinseca, desolationi proximum est. I have been unable to find out anything about the library there.

For much kind help in finding these and other references I am indebted to the staff of the University Library at Cambridge, and especially to Mr A. Rogers and Mr Charles Sayle.

the Henry of Glatz text. The first of these has the date 1340; the second has the *exact* beginning of the *Acta SS.* text; and the third was believed by YULE to be "after Henry of Glatz". This last manuscript has not, I believe, been printed, as seems accidentally to be said in *Cathay* II, p. 52, by the Société de Géographie.

Hakluyt's text, on the other hand, YULE regarded with suspicion as having been "tampered with", but he does not attempt to trace its history. It is manifestly a clearly defined text, early popular, and ultimately derived from Udine with the notary's attestation, — from a copy, that is to say, finished after Odoric's death. It forms then a second distinct type of text current before 1352.

Of the third Latin type, that of Paris Bib. Nat. latin 2584; Assisi 343; or Caius College 162, no example seems to be dated in the bibliographies as early as 1352. Assisi 343 was indeed regarded by SBARALEA¹) and (more doubtfully) by GOLUBOVICH as the actual

1) *Supplementum ad Scriptores O.F.M.*, p. 330: Hujus codex autographus, quem nuperus Illustrator *Historiæ B. Odorici* Inquisitor Utinensis pag. 39. ait, nesciri quæ fata subierit, nunc asservatur Asisii in Archivio nostri sac. Conventus ms. pergam. in 4. asseribus ligneis coopertus, & num. 20. signatus.

It is advisable to repeat what Venni (the *nuperus Illustrator*) really says. In his *Elogio storico* etc., 1761, p. 38 we read: [Besides the copy by Henry of Glatz] there was another copy in the convent at Udine, as is shown by the original catalogue of the books kept by him in his library written out at large by the Custos of the Friulan Custodia, Brother John Senior of Udine, in the year 1369 [fol. 11. ter.]: *Item liber B. Fratris Odorici*, and more clearly in another catalogue of 1410 [fol. 14. ter.]: *Item Ystoria B. Odorici cum tabulis, & corio rubeo ad ligaturas*. This *Story* was a volume distinct from that of the miracles which was kept in the Sacristy among the relics: *Item unus quadernus de papyro, in quo sunt miracula Beati Odorici probata*. In the year 1448 Brother Albert of Udine made a copy in one volume of the said *Story* and of the Patriarch's schedule of the miracles, together with the account of the death of the Blessed man, of his funeral, of the beginning of his worship, and of certain miracles which had been left out of the schedule; and authenticated the copy with his signature: *Hic liber scriptus est per manus Fratris Alberti de Utino die VII. Septembris an. 1448*. Worn out by time Albert's copy was renewed in the following century at the expense of a gentleman of Udine Jerome Montaniani, Sindaco of the convent, with the note (*Consumata dal tempo la copia d'Alberto nel secolo susseguente fu rinnovata a spese del....con la memoria*): *Beati Odorici devotus Hieronymus Montenianus D. Utin. Patri. hujus, & Sacri Coenoby Conventualium Francis-*

autograph of William of Solagna written at Padua in May, 1330, but until this most interesting MS. has been more fully examined

canorum Syndicus Itiner. & Mirac. ejusdem Beati Librum hunc omni ornatu nudatum, & vetustate corruptum in hanc pristinam formam cum omni cultu sua impensa restituit Anno Domini MDCCCCII. Die xv. Mens. viibris. [p. 39] Of the three examples which used to be in the Convent at Udine the third, Montaniani's, is still preserved, the other two are lost; likewise (or just as) there is no trace [to show] what fate may have befallen the original which the Blessed one dictated at Padua in the year 1330 (*conforme non v'è traccia, qual sorte sia toccata all' originale, che il Beato dettò in Padova l'anno MCCCXXX*).

The value of Venni's opinion is probably considerable, since he was presumably very familiar with the library at Udine, and seems to write in a careful and scholarly manner, but at the same time his last paragraph, on p. 59, is not quite easy to understand, and I should have been glad to compare with it Asquini's statement, if the latter's Life of Odoric had been available in the British Museum or at Cambridge. It seems to me that Venni thought that the Convent at Udine had possessed (1) a copy of the Itinerary (which he does not seem to identify with the autograph of 1330), which was entered in the Catalogues of 1369 and 1410; (2) a copy *on paper* of the schedule (*processo*) of Miracles, which was kept in the Sacristy, and appears in the catalogue of 1410; (3) a transcript of (1) and (2) in one volume, with some other miracles, etc. added, made by Albert in 1448, and restored or re-bound by Montaniani in 1542. In his day (1761) (1) and (2) had disappeared, but (3) survived. It will be noticed that Venni gives the words of Albert's subscription (*Hic liber scriptus* etc.) although, according to Golubovich's interpretation of the passage, his transcript had left Udine many years before. Golubovich understood that there had been at Udine (1) the autograph of 1330, which was afterwards at the Holy Convent at Assisi (No. 20) and is now in the Communal Library there (No. 343); (2) a transcript of (1) made by Albert in 1448, which was sold to an Englishman in the 17th or early 18th century; (3) a transcript of (2) made for Montaniani in 1542. That Montaniani did anything more than *repair* Albert's transcript is not stated by Venni; but a new copy made in 1542 is required if we accept Asquini's alleged statement that Albert's transcript had been sold before 1737. Asquini was certainly wrong in saying that that transcript was at St Benet's College, Cambridge (unless it may have been there for a short time between 1722 and 1777), and his whole story may be a mistake. As has been said, very little is known of Assisi 343. Sbaralea says it is written *on parchment*, and this (if it is the whole truth) forbids us to guess that it is Venni's (1) and (2) bound up as one volume. He adds that the book used certainly to be at Udine, because there is a note on the last page which says, *& etiam est hic cingulus ferreus prope reliquias, quem portavit ad carnem.*, and the iron girdle has been and is preserved at Udine. Until more is known of the date and handwriting of this note, it is not necessary to think that it means more than that the book was copied at Udine by a conscientious and not too officiously intelligent scribe, who if his original said "here" did not change it to "at Udine". Assisi 343 is, apparently, the most complete of all the manuscripts of Odoric. It contains the Thāna martyrdom with separate *incipit* and *explicit*, the Itinerary, the attestations of

and described, the early date cannot be regarded as certain. The attestation of William of Solagna (sometimes in the first person, *ego . . . redegi*), which is characteristic of this as well as of the Hakluyt text, makes it of course likely that both these texts were derived in the first instance from the original copy at Padua.

I add the passage chosen as an illustration by YULE himself (*Cathay* II, pp. 28—30), giving the texts of the C.C.C. MS. 407, the Caius MS. 162, Hakluyt, vol. II, 1599, p. 48, and of the *Acta Sanctorum*, l. c. p. 990, col. 2.

407. IN illa ciuitate quatuor fratres nostri conuerterant vnum po-

162. Hic etiam est ciuitas regia in qua Mancij Rex olim morabatur

Hak. IN illa ciuitate 4. fratres nostri conuerterant vnum po-

A.S. In eâ nostri Fratres quatuor paëdicti ad fidem Christi vnum

407. tentem ad fidem xpisti in cuius hospicio continue hospitabar

162. & in ea 4^{or}. fratres minores ad fidem nostram vnum potentem

Hak. tentem ad fidē Christi, in cuius hospitio continuē habitabā,

A.S. potentem hominem conuerterunt, in cuius domo continuē hospi-

407. dum fui ibi qui semel dixit mihi ara .i. pater vis tu venire

162. hominem conuerterunt in cuius domo continue hospitabantur.

Hak. dum fui ibi, qui semel dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire

A.S. tabar, & ille mihi aliquando dixit: Ara, id est, Pater, vis venire

Odoric, and of William of Solagna (in the first person), the death of Odoric, the letter of the Patriarch about the miracles, the schedule of the miracles, etc., etc. If it is the Padua autograph of 1330, it has obviously had large additions, for while the Martyrdom and Itinerary occupy, I think, 24 leaves, the extra matter, which can only have been written after January, 1331, and at Udine, fills about 33 leaves more. And again if it is, as Sbaralea suggests, the *Ystoria* of the 1410 catalogue, then Venni must be wrong in saying that that *Ystoria* contained only the Itinerary and not the Miracles. It is to be hoped that before long the full text of Assisi 343 may be published with facsimiles and competent notes.

407. & videre ciuitatem istam & dixi quod sic & ascendimus vnam
 162. vnde mihi dicebant aliquando. ara .i. pater vis tu venire videre
 Hak. & videre ciuitatem istā; & dixi quòd sic, & ascendimus vnā
 A.S. ad perdeductionem conspiciere ciuitatem? Tunc consentiente me,

407. barcham & iuimus ad vnum monasterium maximum de quo
 162. terram cui respondebam quod sic vnde ascendimus vnam
 Hak. barcham, & iuimus ad vnū monasterium maximū, de quo
 A.S. ascendimus simul in vnam barcham, & iuimus ad quoddam

407. vocauit vnum religiosum sibi notum. & dixit sibi de me Jste
 162. barcam & iuimus ad vnum magnum illorum monasteriorum
 Hak. vocauit vnū religiosum sibi notū, & dixit sibi de me, Iste
 A.S. magnum monasterium religiosorum, qui sunt illic. Et euocato

407. raban francus. i. religiosus venit de inde¹⁾ vbi sol oritur &
 162. que ibi erant, ad quod cum iuissemus, vocauit illorum vnum
 Hak. Raban Frācus, i. religiosus venit de indè vbi sol occidit, &
 A.S. ad se vno ex illis, dixit: Vides hunc Rabi Francum, id est,

407. nunc valit kambalech vt deprecetur vitam pro magno kane &
 162. Religiosorum & dixit ei vides hunc Raban francum .i. virum
 Hak. nunc vadit Cambaleth, vt deprecetur vitā pro magno Cane,
 A.S. virum religiosum? Iste venit à regionibus vbi sol occidit, &

407. ideo ostendas sibi aliquid quod si reuertatur ad contratas suas
 162. religiosum. Iste venit inde vbi ponitur & hinc iuit Kambalec
 Hak. & ideò ostendas sibi aliquid, quòd si reuertatur ad contratas
 A.S. nunc vadit Cambalech, vt roget pro vitā magni Can. Ideò ali-

1) 275 reads india vbi sol oritur Mus., inde vbi sol oritur.

407. possit referre quod tale quid nouum vidi in Canasia ciuitate
 162. vt roget vitam pro magno cane· ideoque sibi ostendas aliquid
 Hak. suas possit referre quòd tale quid nouū vidi in Canasia ciui-
 A.S. quid sibi ostendas, vt si aliquando reuersus fuerit . . . nouum
407. tunc sumpsit ille religiosus duos mastellos magnos repletos
 162. vt si reuertatur· ad suas contratas posset dicere tale nouum
 Hak. tate: tunc sumpsit ille religiosus duos mastellos magnos repletos
 A.S. & rarum in Chamsana ego vidi. Ille autem respondit se velle
407. reliquijs que supererant de mensa & duxit me ad vnam por-
 162. quod vidit in Cansaye: Tunc iste dixit quod libenter vellet
 Hak. reliquijs quæ supererant de mensa, & duxit me ad vnā per-
 A.S. aliquid libenter demonstrare. Deinde magnas duas sportas
407. tulam paruam quam aperuit cum claue & apparuit viridarium
 162. ostendere sibi aliquod nouum, & tunc iste duos magnos mastelos
 Hak. clusam paruam, quam aperuit cum claue, & aparuit viridarium
 A.S. accepit plenas, quæ mensæ superfuerant fragmentorum, & apertâ
407. gratiosum & magnum in quod intrauimus & in illo viridario
 162. accepit plenos hijs que superfuerunt in mensa & tunc statim
 Hak. gratiosum & magnū in quod intrauimus, & in illo viridario
 A.S. portâ nos in quoddam viridarium introduxit. Erat autem in eo
407. stat vnus monticulus sicut vnum campanile ¹⁾ repletus amenis
 162. aperuit cuiusdam viridarij portam per quam intrauimus viri-
 Hak. stat vnus monticulus sicut vnū campanile, repletus amœnis
 A.S. monticulus quidam plenus arboribus amœnis: acceptoque vno

1) This may be a confused reference to the pagoda which stands at the foot of the *monticulus* and marks the grave of the founder of the monastery. It is very unlikely to be a mere interpolation, to say that the *hill* was "like a bell-tower"

407. herbis & arboribus & dum staremus ibi ipse sumpsit cymbalum
 162. darium illud, nunc autem in eo est vnus monticulus plenus
 Hak. herbis & arboribus, & dum staremus ibi, ipse sumpsit cymbalū,
 A.S. tintinnabulo cœpit pulsare. Ad cuius sonitū mox animalia
407. & incepit percutere ipsum sicut percutitur quando monachi
 162. arboribus amenis & dum sic in eo essemus ipse cimbalum vnum
 Hak. & incepit percutere ipsum sicut percutitur quandō monachi
 A.S. multa & diuersa de illo monticulo descenderunt, sicut essent
407. intrant refectorium ad cuius sonitum multa animalia diuersa
 162. accepit, & illud incepit pulsare, ad cuius sonitum multa animalia
 Hak. intrant refectoriū, ad cuius sonitū multa animalia diuersa
 A.S. simiæ, cati, . . . & plura alia, & quædam quæ faciem hominis
407. decenderunt de monte illo aliqua vt Symie aliqua vt kati
 162. diuersa de illo monticulo descenderunt sicut essent simie gatti.
 Hak. descenderunt de monte illo, aliqua vt simiæ, aliqua vt Cati,
 A.S. videbantur habere. Et cū videremus de bestiis vsque ad tria
407. maimones & aliqua faciem hominis habencia & dum sic starem
 162. Maimones similiter & multa alia animalia que facies hominis
 Hak. Maymones, & aliqua faciem hominis habentia, & dum sic starem
 A.S. millia circa ipsum ordinatè conuenisse, ille paropsides posuit,
407. congregauerunt se circa ipsum circa .iij^m. de illis animalibus
 162. habebant ¶ & dum vidissemus sic illa animalia bene circa tria
 Hak. congregauerunt se circa ipsum, 4000. de illis animalibus,
 A.S. & illis sportis secundū naturæ suæ . . . distribuit illis cibum.

407. & se in ordinibus collocauerunt coram quibus posuit par aspi-
 162. milia circa ipsum se aptauerunt ad se inuicem ordinata, & cum
 Hak. & se in ordinibus collocauerunt, coram quibus posuit paropsi-
 A.S. Et cū comedissent, iterum cymbalum pulsans, animalia ad

407. dem¹⁾ & dabat eis comedere. & cum comedissent iterum cym-
 162. circa ipsum sic essent posita & ordinata. ipse parapsides posuit
 Hak. dem & dabat eis comedere, & cum comedissent iterum cym-
 A.S. loca propria remeabant. Ego autem multū ridens illi seni

407. balum percussit & omnia ad loca propria redierunt tunc ad-
 162. ante illa & cum sic competenter comedere sibi dederit ea que
 Hak. balum percussit, & omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc ad-
 A.S. dixi: Edissere mihi, quid ista significant. Ait ille: Istæ sunt

407. miratus inquesiui quid essent animalia ista; & respondit mihi
 162. sic comedissent; ipse cimbalum pulsare cepit & sic cuncta hec
 Hak. miratus inquisiui quæ essent animalia ista? Et respondit mihi
 A.S. nobilium virorum animæ, quas nos hic pascimus amore Dei.

407. dicens quod sunt anime nobilium virorum quas nos hic pascimus
 162. animalia ad loca propria remeabant, Dum autem vidissem ista
 Hak. quod sunt animæ nobilium virorū, quas nos hic pascimus
 A.S. Ad quod ego: Ista animalia non sunt animæ, quæ spirituales

407. amore dei qui regit orbem & sicut vnus homo fuit nobilis;
 162. multum cepi ridere dicens Tu mihi dicas quid hoc indicare
 Hak. amore Dei, qui regit orbē, & sicut vnus homo fuit nobilis,
 A.S. sunt, sed solū bestiæ corporales. Respondit ille: Non sunt

1) 275. *reads* par apsides *and below* & respondit mihi quod essent anime

407. ita anima eius post mortem in corpus nobilis animalis in tota ¹⁾

162. velit tunc ipse respondit dicens, Hec animalia sunt anime

Hak. ita anima eius post mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat.

A.S. animalia, sed animæ defunctorum. Et adiecit: Sicut hîc quilibet

407. Anime vero simplicium & rusticorum. corpora vilium anima-

162. nobilium virorum que nos hic pascimus amore dei, ei autem

Hak. Animæ verò simplicîũ & rusticorũ, corpora vilium animalium

A.S. nobilior fuit, sic anima eius in nobilius animal transformatur:

407. lium intrant Incepi istam abusionem improbare set nichil

162. sic respondi dicens, Hec anime non sunt, set solum bestie mihi

Hak. intrant. Incœpi istâ abusionē improbare, sed nihil valuit sibi,

A.S. animæ verò rusticorum vilibus animalibus se coniungunt. Et

407. valuit sibi non enim poterat credere quod aliqua anima

162. autem respondebat dicens, verum non est quod hec animalia sunt,

Hak. nō enim poterat credere, quòd aliqua anima posset sine cor-

A.S. licet multò sibi dicerem & predicarem, nūquam tamen ipsum

407. posset sine corpore manere. Jude transiui ad quamdam ciui-

162. set solum ista sunt anime nobilium virorum, vnde sicut vnum

Hak. pore manere. Indè transiui ad quamdam ciuitatem nomine

A.S. ab hac perfidiâ potui reuocare. Si quis velit huius ciuitatis

407. tatem nomine chilemso

162. illorum fuit nobilis homo; sic eius anima in aliquid istorum

Hak. Chilenso

A.S. magna & mirabilia, quæ in eâ sunt, scribere, vix vnus quater-

1) 275. reads intrat

162. nobilium animalium ipsa intrat, Anime vero Rusticorum in
A.S. nio possit omnia continere. 18. De hac recedens

162. animalia vilia intrant & inhabitant sic autem hoc modo poteram

162. sibi dicere multa, set tamen aliud nunquam credere volebat /

162. siquis autem vellet