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EXPERIENCING OTHERNESS. BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE'S PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM (1432)

Understanding the Christian-Muslim interactions in the Middle Ages is a topic that has stirred an intense debate among historians over the past few decades. The core of the controversy is the "orientalizing" nature of Western representations of Islam and the post-colonial reading of Christian-Muslim medieval relations. In this regard, Edward Said's book on *Orientalism* has been deeply influential in the field of medieval studies.¹ Paradoxically, most medievalists took over Said's main argument, although they refuted his assertions on the medieval period as inexact, stereotyped and over-generalized.² Nonetheless, following Said's "orientalizing" thesis, Western medieval texts on Islam began to be interpreted as expressions of an inherent Eurocentric stance, part of a process of imaginative colonialism that strictly delineated the frontier between the Christian Self and the Muslim Other. European descriptions of other cultures were no longer viewed as genuine attempts, even if failed ones,³ to understand otherness; instead they were interpreted as instruments of forging an identity shared by the authors and their audience.⁴ In this process, otherness was nothing but a projection of the self.⁵ This post-colonial interpretation darkens considerably the previous image of medieval Christian-Muslim interactions. If forty years ago Richard Southern viewed the medieval Christian-Muslim relationship as an evolving one, in which the initial antagonism was being gradually replaced by tolerance and mutual knowledge,⁶ nowadays historians are considerably skeptical. Today's dominant viewpoint is best represented by Jonathan Riley-Smith, who, in an exposé on interfaith medieval relationships, asserts categorically: "any distant vision, we as historians might have, of finding true point of contact, turns out to be a mirage."⁷

This article aims precisely to approach this mirage and to argue that medieval Christian-Muslim interactions were not simply schematic constructions of otherness, through which each part was enforcing and reassuring its own identity. Instead, I will argue that, some of the Western medieval writers engaged in a genuine effort to understand and translate a different culture into their own.⁸ I will develop my argument around a case-study of a fifteenth-century pilgrim, the Burgundian Bertrandon de la Broquière,⁹ who chose a radical method to get to know the Muslim Other. Bertrandon transgressed the frontier that separated him from the Other by turning Turk. Thus, in order to travel throughout Muslims' lands, he disguised himself as a Turk and, while walking in his Muslim travel companions' shoes, he came to be acquainted with their way of life.

This kind of transgression, even if a pretended and a temporary one as Bertrandon's, is rather unusual in Western medieval sources, especially in pilgrimage narratives. Therefore, in the first part of this article, I will compare Bertrandon's account with some other late medieval pilgrimage texts, by investigating how his mundane experience of otherness came to terms with his spiritual journey. Bertrandon's fascination with the Muslims' way of life seems even less comprehensible if we consider that the author played an important role in fifteenth-century crusading. Bertrandon traveled on the expenses of Philippe the Good, the duke of Burgundy, presumably as spy, gathering information for a future crusade,¹⁰ and he wrote his account at the duke's request. Therefore, in the second part of the article, I will analyze *Voyage d'Outremer* in the larger framework of fifteenth-century Burgundian crusading texts. My contention is that although *Voyage d'Outremer* is both a pilgrimage account and a Burgundian crusading text, it does not fit entirely in either of these genres, because it provides a peculiar, highly unusual, interaction with Muslims. Thus, in the third part of the article, I will look for an explanation of Bertrandon's remarkable interest in grasping the Muslims' way of life, by analyzing the author's cultural background and his auctorial intentions, taking into account the intended audience of the text. In this part of the article, I will also tackle the most extraordinary feature of Bertrandon's pilgrimage, his disguise as a "native", looking for similar adventures in medieval texts. In the last section of this article, I will address the central issue of Bertrandon's tolerance, which I will assess by comparing his views against those of sixteenth-century French travelers in the Ottoman Empire. My argument is that, although Bertrandon foreshadowed the ethnographical curiosity of sixteenth-century travelers, his understanding of the Muslim world was substantially different due to his direct experience of otherness.

1. Late medieval pilgrimage and the discovery of the “others”¹¹

“Nous qui sommes les vrais chrétiens, nous ne sommes pas la vingtième partie du monde” (Guillaume Adam)¹²

Most historical writings on medieval pilgrimage comprise a chapter on the representation of the Other, usually structured around three sections: Muslims, Eastern Christians and Jews. Within each section, historians briefly catalogue the most widespread topoi regarding otherness and, occasionally, provide one or two examples of uncommon tolerance among medieval pilgrims. This rather unsophisticated interpretation seems to correspond accurately to most pilgrims’ narratives who often describe the Other in a simplistic, unoriginal, manner. Nonetheless, although this is the prevailing image in medieval pilgrimage literature, it is not the only one. Acknowledging that Latin Christianity was just a minority, as Guillaume Adam did, was an important step towards questioning its centrality. In other words, it became possible that there were only “others” and, paraphrasing Paul Ricoeur, that Latin Christians were just an Other amongst others.¹³ I will come back to this matter in the last part of the article, where I will argue that Bertrandon de la Broquière is an excellent example of switching roles between the Other and the Self. In this section, my aim is to argue that although there was a generally accepted taxonomy of otherness, some pilgrims eluded it and portrayed a far more complex image of other cultures. Thus, the regular, simply to cope with, triangular image – Latin Christians/Muslims/Eastern Christians – was sometimes replaced by a representation whose structure is both complex and fluid, and, as a result, difficult to grasp. I will focus on one case-study, Bertrandon’s *Voyage*, by comparing his representation of otherness with that shared by most pilgrimage accounts. However, firstly, I will situate *Voyage d’Outremer* in the broader framework of medieval pilgrimage literature.

In order to better understand *Voyage d’Outremer* we must bear in mind that the proliferation of pilgrimage accounts in the late medieval period is in stark contrast to the repetitiveness of their content.¹⁴ So frequent are the similarities that Josephie Brefeld even argued that most of these narratives derived from a single source-text, a pilgrimage guide-book.¹⁵ Even if Brefeld’s argument is, overall, unconvincing,¹⁶ the resemblances among these accounts support the idea of a firmly established textual tradition that influenced directly most authors. In other words, it is not an Ur-text that explains the similarities of these texts, but rather the conventions of a

genre. Although the first known Jerusalem pilgrimage account dates from the fourth century, the genre as such was not firmly established until the twelfth century, when the reasons for making the Jerusalem pilgrimage and afterwards narrating it had been literary conventionalized.¹⁷ In the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, almost all pilgrim authors were well acquainted with pilgrimage literature. When preparing for their voyages to Jerusalem, travelers, such as the Dominican Felix Fabri, would read pilgrimage accounts thoroughly and, once arrived in the Holy Land, would filter their actual experience through their bookish knowledge.¹⁸ In addition, the Jerusalem pilgrimage itself became a standardized voyage after the fall of Acre in 1291.¹⁹ Pilgrims abided by a strict itinerary, followed a clear schedule under a rigorous organization established by Venetians, Franciscans and Mamluk sultans.²⁰ The pilgrims' ships departed twice a year from Venice, in the spring and in the autumn. Once arrived in the Holy Land, the pilgrims were taken over by the Franciscans, who guided them at a fast pace through the holy places, in a tour that only took a few days, and then sent them back to Venice by sea.²¹ This double pressure of standardization, both of the narrative genre and of the pilgrimage itself, might explain the resemblances between most late medieval pilgrimage accounts.

Bertrandon de la Broquière managed to escape both constraints, and, without any doubt, this explains to a large extent the originality of *Voyage d'Outremer*. Firstly, after fulfilling his pilgrimage vow, he decided to split from his companions and to return home alone, by taking a different, far more dangerous, route. Thus, instead of the customary returning sea voyage to Venice, he chose to travel by land, across the Ottoman Empire. Bertrandon's choice, due either to his sudden decision, as he himself asserts, or to a carefully premeditated plan, as his modern editor believes,²² allowed him to see regions lying outside the pilgrims' regular itinerary. Secondly, his relation with the pilgrimage genre is rather ambiguous. I will leave aside for the moment the delicate problem of his knowledge of other pilgrims' narratives, which I will analyze in the third section of the article. Nevertheless, even assuming that he was acquainted with such texts, he still disregarded many of the genre conventions. For instance, the incipit of *Voyage d'Outremer* is highly unusual because it combines two different writing motivations, none of which is typical for a pilgrimage account. Bertrandon dedicates his account both to those noble men who want to see the world, as well as to the Christian kings and princes who want to go to Jerusalem by land and to conquer the city. In this way he combines

curiosity, an incentive specific to non-pilgrims travelogues, and the desire to conquer Jerusalem, a reason typical for a crusade memorandum. Thus, he leaves aside the traditional account of the importance of the Holy Land for a Christian that most pilgrims, if not all, placed at the beginning of their narratives. His mentioning of the desire to see the world, which strongly resembles to the motivation invoked by Marco Polo,²³ is highly unusual for a pilgrim.²⁴ Curiosity was considered the sin that threatened pilgrims the most, and medieval authors were usually very careful to highlight their piety and to denounce *concupiscentia oculorum*.²⁵ Another fifteenth-century pilgrim, the Milanese Santo Brasca, emphasizes that the only legitimate purpose of a pilgrimage is the spiritual one, and not a vain desire to see the world.²⁶ In contrast, Bertrandon explicitly appeals to the curiosity of his audience, and throughout his entire account, he never feels the need to justify his interest for earthly matters.²⁷ The purpose of these brief remarks is not to argue that *Voyage d'Outremer* does not follow the conventions of the genre, and therefore it cannot be considered a pilgrimage account; but rather to suggest that Bertrandon himself placed his narrative, either by choice or ignorance, on the fringes of a firmly established textual tradition. To give another example, he describes in great detail the returning journey, which was usually disregarded or briefly referred to by most pilgrimage narratives.²⁸ In addition, Bertrandon makes a subtle distinction between voyage, which is the means, and pilgrimage, which is the purpose.²⁹ In this way, the voyage itself, although subordinate to the pilgrimage, gains certain autonomy. Nonetheless, by constantly referring to his journey as to a pilgrimage, and by considering Jerusalem the focal point of his voyage, Bertrandon remains within the tradition of the pilgrimage accounts. Therefore, although *Voyage d'Outremer* is a traditional medieval pilgrimage narrative, some of its features foreshadow a new genre of travel literature, the Renaissance travel journal.³⁰

The most striking feature that sets apart *Voyage d'Outremer* from the majority of the fifteenth-century pilgrimage accounts is the representation of the Other, not only the Muslim or the Jew, but also the Eastern Christian and even the Latin one. One should remember that medieval pilgrimages played an important role not only in emphasizing the interfaith frontiers, but also in coining and disseminating ethnic stereotypes within Western Christianity.³¹ Since most pilgrims voyaged in multi-ethnic groups, the Other they had to deal with every day was rather the Christian traveling fellow than the Saracen. Hence, the numerous stories of inter-ethnic disputes and prejudices amongst pilgrims in fifteenth-century narratives,

such as the Franco-German quarrel accounted by Felix Fabri³² or Pietro Casola's astonishment in front of the Germans' eating habits.³³ Not only are such anecdotes absent from *Voyage d'Outremer*, but also Bertrandon comes to ignore the ethnic frontiers within Latin Christianity by embracing the Ottoman vocabulary and by calling all Westerners *Francs*.³⁴ In this way, Bertrandon emphasizes the unity of Western Christianity, which is a recurrent idea in his text, stressing, nonetheless, the French leading role.

Furthermore, once again in contrast to most pilgrims' accounts, Bertrandon blurs the borderline that separates Latin from Eastern Christianity. Usually, Western pilgrims were not at all at ease with the Eastern Christians' diversity, which surprised them especially when arriving at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher that was shared by representatives of different Churches. In many pilgrims' view this diversity led to disharmony, and some of them were even accusing the Saracen authorities of mixing true Christians, schismatics and heretics. A typical attitude, of rebuffing Eastern Christians, is that of Pietro Casola, who compares the Armenians he saw in the Church of the Nativity with a flock of pigs.³⁵ This disharmonic image is conveyed to the reader by the enumeration of different types of Eastern Christians, along with their specific errors, which most of pilgrims simply copied from previous writings.³⁶ For the Western pilgrims, the frontier that separated Latin from Eastern Christianity was a clear-cut one, and had to be preserved as such.³⁷ In contrast, the distinction between heretics and schismatics was continually fluctuating, and not all the pilgrims agreed on which Eastern Christians should be labeled in one way or the other.³⁸ However, along with this widespread image, a different, marginal one, emerged, that overlooked the differences among Christians and underscored the fundamental unity of Christianity. Such is the case of the Anonymous pilgrim from Rennes, who looked beyond this disturbing diversity and contemplated the voices of different Christian Churches harmonizing in a single chorus to glorify God.³⁹

Bertrandon's views on Eastern Christians fit into this second approach. Although the distinction between Latin and Eastern Christians still exists in *Voyage d'Outremer*, it is substantially minimized and, even more important, is no longer judgmental. Bertrandon simply refers to the Eastern Christians as "autres manieres de Crestiens," without mentioning their errors, and, even if he finds their rites strange, he reckons them in a dispassionate way. To my knowledge, Bertrandon is the only fifteenth-century pilgrim who describes Latin Christianity itself as another

“maniere de Crestiens.”⁴⁰ Thus, by playing down the central place of Latin Christianity, Bertrandon escapes the traditional dichotomist image that opposed the Western Church to all Eastern Churches and portrays a Christianity whose diversity does not impede its unity.⁴¹

There is, however, an exception: the Greeks, who are the only Eastern Christians negatively portrayed by Bertrandon. In this regard, *Voyage d’Outremer* seems to share the dominant fifteenth-century, pre-1453, Western view of the Byzantines. However, the similarity is only apparent, because Bertrandon does not use the customary topoi in reproving the Byzantines and he fails to mention even once their religious “errors,” not even when he went to Hagia Sofia in order to see “le service a leur maniere.”⁴² His only charge against the Greeks is entirely secular: their manifested hatred towards Latin Christians. Moreover, he seems to justify their attitude when he explains that it derives from a profound misunderstanding and it is perpetuated by malevolent rumors.⁴³ Bertrandon opposed to Latin Christians only the Greeks, and not the entire Orthodox community, a distinction that some scholars failed to notice.⁴⁴ He clearly differentiates Greeks from other Orthodox people, taking care to underline that, although they were following the Greek rite, Bulgarians, Serbians or Wallachians were much more inclined towards the Latins.⁴⁵ Finally, in *Voyage d’Outremer*, it is being described a third category of Christians following the “loy grecquesque,” those who were living in Prester John’s country.⁴⁶ They represent the ideal model of Orthodox-Catholic alliance, combining both military partnership and ecclesiastic harmony. According to Bertrandon, Christians from Prester John’s country preserved their Greek rite while obeying to the Pope⁴⁷ and they were ready to attack the Turks in alliance with a Western crusade.

Thus, Bertrandon differentiates three categories within the Orthodox Church: (1) those who accepted the Union to Rome; (2) those who were willing to support a future Western crusade; (3) the Greeks who were rejecting both. In this way he combines in a single picture all three directions manifested in fifteenth-century Western attitudes towards orthodox – the desire to reunite the Churches, the hope for a joint crusade and the reproach for having rejected the union - by ascribing them in relation to three different communities.

Bertrandon’s view on Muslims is equally multifaceted in comparison with the usually straightforward description of most pilgrimage accounts. Muslim otherness is usually constructed by inversion, as the reverse of Christianity. For instance, Anselme Adorno, another fifteenth-century

Burgundian pilgrim, explicitly describes Muslims' way of life and their religion as an up-side-down Christianity.⁴⁸ Pilgrims constantly used coined phrases such as "perfidious sect," "Muslim monstrosity," "Saracen cruelty," or "Mahomet the seducer," to give only a few examples,⁴⁹ and their accounts played an important role in perpetuating and disseminating these topoi. In the context of the Turkish expansion in the fifteenth century, humanists added another one: "the barbarian at the gate."⁵⁰ In *Voyage d'Outremer* such anti-Islamic and anti-Turkish stereotypes are almost entirely absent.⁵¹ There are only a few negative descriptions referring to Muslims in general, for Bertrandon very carefully distinguishes between different Muslim peoples.⁵² Significantly enough, all these are placed at the beginning of his travel, prior to the period when he lived amongst them. But even in these cases, Bertrandon uses a different vocabulary, constructing a "soft" alterity and not a radical one. In the most injurious description, he calls Muslims "meschans gens et de petite raison,"⁵³ which, in medieval literature, is a language used rather for portraying a Christian peasant than a Saracen.⁵⁴ Furthermore, thorough the entire text there is no explicit condemnation of Islam, which is even more striking than the valorization, in some contexts, of the Muslims. Thus, it is quite common in pilgrimage literature to provide examples of "good" Muslims in order to contrast them with the behavior of sinful Christians.⁵⁵ However, these are simply narrative strategies, having a clear educational aim, and the author always takes care to underline the undeniable superiority of Christianity. In addition, during the fifteenth century, in humanist writings, it slowly emerged the image of the Turk as a worthy adversary.⁵⁶ Therefore, there is nothing unusual for a fifteenth-century pilgrim, such as Bertrandon, to admire Turks' military discipline, nor to praise some Christian virtues that Muslims display, despite their religion.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, Bertrandon goes a step further by avoiding any explicit denunciation of Islam and by manifesting an incessant curiosity in Muslims' way of live. Grasping this ethnographic dimension of the text is the most difficult task for a historian because it is completely at odds, not only with the genre, but also with the historical context in which Bertrandon was writing. *Voyage d'Outremer* was written under the patronage of the Burgundian duke, Philippe the Good, as an explicit crusading text, and it is the last place where one would expect to find detailed descriptions on Muslims' customs, such as recipes of Turkish cuisine. Therefore, before trying to explain this intriguing feature, I will firstly analyze Bertrandon's narrative in the context of the Burgundian crusading texts.

2. Philip the Good's crusading dreams and Bertrandon de la Broquière⁵⁸

"En quant à la conquête de la Terre Sainte [...] il me semble que la chose n'est pas si legiere à faire" (Bertrandon de la Broquière)⁵⁹

The role played by Bertrandon de la Broquière in Philip the Good's crusading projects is fairly ambiguous. On the one hand, he was one of the crusading 'experts' assembled by the duke of Burgundy at his court. On the other hand, he seemed to be less enthusiastic about embarking on a military expedition and, more importantly, he disagreed on some important points with the rest of the group of 'experts.' Thus, some of his views fit perfectly into the Burgundian crusading discourse, while others directly contradict it. In order to assess the originality of his views in the Burgundian context, one must also take into account Bertrandon's position at the ducal court. In this second part of the article, I aim to do both. My contention is that although Bertrandon's view on Eastern Christianity mirrors a general Burgundian attitude, his representation of Islam is distinctive, actually opposing the 'official' position. From this viewpoint, I will reexamine Bertrandon's crusading involvement, arguing that it contributed substantially to his social status and that pious motivation played, at most, a secondary role.

There are endless discussions in historiography whether Philip the Good's crusading interest was determined by his devotion to the Holy Land, by his knightly dreams, by the desire to avenge his father's disastrous adventure at Nicopolis, by a strategic design to avoid French domination or by the influence of his wife, Isabel of Portugal. Nevertheless, all these interpretations seem to agree on an important point: the duke of Burgundy, who took the cross at the famous Feast of the Pheasant, was genuinely interested in going on a crusade. Although his crusading dream failed to materialize, it produced a significant corpus of Burgundian crusade-related texts, of which Bertrandon's *Voyage* is part. Roughly, these sources could be divided in four main categories.⁶⁰ The first one includes Ghillebert de Lannoy's,⁶¹ Bertrandon de la Broquière's, Jehan de Wavrin's,⁶² and, the now lost, Pedro Vasquez's,⁶³ narratives, which are usually labeled as 'travel accounts,' although not all of them are. The second category consists of military projects for a new crusade, written or translated at the Burgundian court.⁶⁴ The third one comprises sermons, elaborated in a Burgundian milieu, whose purpose was to convince the audience

to take the cross.⁶⁵ The last category includes those texts that provided a theological argument for the crusade, such as Jean Germain's anti-Muslim writings.⁶⁶ All these sources do not represent a heterogeneous assemblage, grouped together by the sole reason that they were written in the fifteenth-century Burgundy. Instead, they form an articulate corpus the coherence of which is given by elements they all share: (1) they are directly linked to crusading; (2) they were written in a relatively short interval (1450-1475)⁶⁷ (3) their authors formed what could be called a group of experts on crusade-related issues at the Burgundian court. One cannot be more surprised to repeatedly find the same several names mentioned in most crusade-related activities that were taking place in mid-fifteenth century at the ducal court. Philip the Good's strategy was to constantly use the same people, obviously for fully benefiting from their experience. Ghillebert de Lannoy, Jean Germain, Bertrandon de la Broquière, Walleran de Wavrin, Geoffroy de Thoisy and Pedro Vasquez are the names most often mentioned in Burgundian crusading activities, which included diplomatic missions, pilgrimages and even a few military expeditions.⁶⁸ Next to them could be placed, in a more humble position, Jean Miélot, a scribe and translator specialized in crusading manuscripts at the ducal court.⁶⁹ Although Anselme Adorno was not part of this group, for he was too young at that time, he was definitely influenced by it and two decades later he attained a similar position at the court of Philip the Good's son and successor, Charles the Bold.⁷⁰ These authors' writings constitute the Burgundian framework in which I will analyze Bertrandon's representation of otherness, trying to assess the originality of his views on Eastern Christians and Muslims.

After the disastrous defeat from Nicopolis, where the future duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, had been taken prisoner by the sultan, Philip de Mèzieres wrote a letter addressed to the ruling duke, Philip the Bold, in which he was blaming the schismatics for the result of the campaign. According to Philip de Mèzieres, since schismatics had been separated from the true Church for several generations, they had become the 'rotten apples' that had to be removed from the middle of the 'good ones,' otherwise they would cause them to rot.⁷¹ This letter, largely ignored at the ducal court, seems to have played no role in shaping the Burgundian view on Eastern Christians. On the contrary, Burgundians continued to value Eastern Christians as useful allies in a prospective crusade against the Ottomans. In addition, the religious differences between Eastern and Western Christians were significantly underplayed in the Burgundian crusading discourse.⁷²

At a first reading, the absence of the word “schismatic” in the Burgundian sources is striking. In the writings of Ghillebert de Lannoy, Bertrandon de la Broquière, Jehan de Wavrin or Jean Germain, I could find the word only twice, and in both cases the author used it in a reported speech. Its first occurrence is in *Voyage d’Outremer*, in a passage I have already mentioned, when Bertrandon describes Greeks’ hatred of Latins. According to Bertrandon, one of the reasons for their attitude was a rumor that was circulating in Constantinople about a Latin council, where the pope had decreed that the Greeks were *schismatics* and a *race of slaves*.⁷³ My interpretation of this passage is that Bertrandon was not only blaming such false rumors for turning the Greeks against the Latins, but that he was also emphasizing the negative reactions to the word schismatic. Bertrandon himself constantly avoids using it, naming Orthodox as Christians of “loy grecquesque.” This interpretation is fully supported by a short analysis of the second mention of the word ‘schismatic’ in Burgundian crusading sources.

When the chronicler Jehan de Wavrin accounts Geoffrey de Thoisy’s activities in the Black Sea, including his piracy deeds against Christians, he ascribes to the Burgundian knight this bold statement made in front of the Emperor of Trebizond: “I received the order to fight against all Schismatics who do not obey our Saint Lord, the pope.”⁷⁴ This statement, utterly unusual if we compare it with the overall image of Eastern Christians in Jehan de Wavrin’s chronicle,⁷⁵ was not by chance attributed to Geoffroy de Thoisy. Firstly, we must take into account that Jehan de Wavrin inserted in *Anchiennes croniques d’Engleterre* a book on the Burgundian “Saracen adventures” for the sole reason that the expedition was led by his nephew.⁷⁶ Moreover, throughout the entire book he attempts to settle the rivalry between the two leaders of the Burgundian fleet, Waleran de Wavrin and Geoffroy de Thoisy, to his nephew’s advantage. Thus, the chronicler constantly played down Geoffroy’s role in the entire campaign⁷⁷ and he clearly staged his torments in the Black Sea as a ‘humiliating story.’⁷⁸ In this view, rebuffing the schismatics was nothing but a narrative strategy aiming to vilify Geoffroy de Thoisy. Thus, in both contexts, in Geoffroy de Thoisy’s alleged speech and in the Constantinopolitan rumors recorded by Bertrandon, the word ‘schismatic’ carries the same detrimental meaning and Burgundian authors actually criticize those who used it.

There is, undoubtedly, a direct link between the Burgundians’ restraint to use the word ‘schismatic,’ Philip the Good’s concern for the reunification with the Eastern Church,⁷⁹ and the Burgundian hope for a military alliance with Eastern Christians. Thus, Bertrandon regards all Christians living under

the Ottomans' rule, Greeks included, as potential allies who could support a French-led crusade. In his sermon for a new crusade, Jean Germain describes Eastern Christians as ready to rebel against the Ottomans and to join the crusaders in the event of an expedition.⁸⁰ It should also be underlined that Jean Germain, one of the most important clerics of the Dukedom as bishop of Chalon and chancellor of the Golden Fleece, makes no allusion to the schism. On the contrary, when he enumerates all the Christian lands conquered by Muslims, he emphasizes the long history of Christianity in Oriental Europe. Consistent with this position Jean Germain charts in *Mappemonde spirituelle* a world entirely Christianized by the martyrdom of the saints, ascribing no special place to Latin Europe.⁸¹ The Burgundian bishop overlooks the differences between Christians and emphasizes that the main dividing line is that between Christians and non-Christians, in particular Muslims. On this particular point Bertrandon breaks away from the Burgundian crusading discourse, given that his views on Islam are opposed to those of Jean Germain and of the other 'experts' from Philip the Good's court.

In the previous section of this article I underlined the absence of anti-Islamic *topoi* in *Voyage d'Outremer*, and the neutral tone used by Bertrandon when describing Muslims and their religion. I will give here only a few more examples. When he inquires a Latin priest from Damascus on Muhammad and his history, Bertrandon uses a remarkably neutral tone.⁸² Similarly, when he defines "Alkoran," Bertrandon simply says: "C'est la loy que Machommet leur a laisié."⁸³ Furthermore, Bertrandon ascribes to his travel companion, Mahomet, a statement that places both Christians and Muslim on an equal position in front of God: "Dieu faisoit les Chrestiens comme les Sarazins."⁸⁴ Once returned to Burgundy, Bertrandon presented to the duke "l'Alkoran" together with the book written by the priest from Damascus, comprising *Les faits de Mohamet*. This moment was illustrated in one of the three miniatures of Philip the Good's manuscript of *Voyage*.⁸⁵ The duke gave the book to Jean Germain, and Bertrandon notes with regret that "I never heard of them since."⁸⁶ This ironic remark is highly interesting precisely because Jean Germain and Bertrandon place themselves on opposite positions with regard to Islam. Author of several anti-Muslim treaties, Jean Germain was the main advocate of the crusade in the vivid mid-fifteenth century theologians' debate on Christian-Muslim relationships.⁸⁷ In his correspondence with John of Segovia, he sharply refuted the method of conciliation proposed by the Spanish bishop, insisting that the crusade was the only option to cope with Islam.⁸⁸ In

the only extant, unedited, anti-Muslim treaty written by Jean Germain, there is an extremely interesting passage that might suggest some direct criticism of Bertrandon's views on Islam. The Burgundian bishop blames the ignorance of the pilgrims who were returning from Jerusalem with ideas contrary to the Christian faith: "souvent retourment plains de scrupules et mal ediffiez et par default de cognoissance pensent ou dient reproches contre la sancta foy chrestienne."⁸⁹ Although identifying Bertrandon with one of the pilgrims denounced by the bishop is purely speculative, Jean Germain's remark is revealing. Some of the pilgrims to Jerusalem were being 'corrupted' by a direct contact with Muslims. In some cases, and Bertrandon seems to have been one, the unmediated knowledge of the Other fractured the traditionally established frontiers.

There is a possible objection to this interpretation: Bertrandon's crusading involvement. However, this objection can be overcome by a brief analysis of Bertrandon's motivations, which takes into account his status at the ducal court. There are eighteen references to Bertrandon in the registers of the Burgundian court, all of them published by the editor of *Voyage*, Charles Scheffer, which enable us to roughly reconstruct his career. All these references are to sums of money paid to Bertrandon as a reward for different services carried out for the duke. In contrast to Ghillebert de Lannoy, to whom he is often compared, member of one of the most important Burgundian families and one of first knights of the Golden Fleece, Bertrandon's status was considerably modest. Born in Guyenne, in a family of small nobility, Bertrandon was first mentioned in Burgundian sources in 1421, as "escuier tranchant" of the duke. One year later he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the count of Foix, and in 1428 he received the small castellany of Vieil-Chastel. However, in the 1430's, Bertrandon's ascension at Philip the Good's court seems to take off. In 1436, 1438 and 1440 he was entrusted with important diplomatic missions to the court of France, in 1442 he was married by the duke to an important heiress from Artois, and one year later he was entrusted with the important castle of Rupelmonde. A few years after his marriage, Bertrandon is no longer mentioned in the records of the chancellery, probably because he was no longer living at the ducal court. The year of his death, 1459, is mentioned at the end of one of the manuscripts of *Voyage d'Outremer*. The turning years of his career seem to correspond to his pilgrimage (1431-1432) and one might suppose that his triumphal returning, described in Bertrandon's account and illustrated in the manuscript offered to the duke,⁹⁰ significantly enhanced his prestige at

the Burgundian court. This biographical sketch reveals the importance that Philip the Good's favors played in Bertrandon's social ascension and suggests that his knowledge of crusading matters played a significant role in gaining the duke's confidence.

Therefore, it is most surprising that Bertrandon was never actually a crusader. He never took the cross, not even after the Feast of the Pheasant when the duke, along with several hundred Burgundian knights, did. In comparison, Guillebert de Lannoy, Pedro Vasquez and Geoffroy de Thoisy followed Philip's example and took the cross a few days after the Feast.⁹¹ Nonetheless, Bertrandon's position is entirely consistent if we consider the absence of any personal crusading desire in *Voyage d'Outremer*. Throughout the whole account Bertrandon manifests only twice the impulse to fight Muslims, firstly when his honor was injured and secondly when he was scammed by some guides.⁹² These worldly reasons, which opposed Bertrandon to certain individuals and not to Muslims in general, emphasize even more the absence of a crusading motivation. Again, the contrast with Guillebert de Lannoy's attitude is manifest. When he first saw the Turks near Constantinople, de Lannoy's hasty reaction was to approach them: "esperant qu'il y a auroit bataille."⁹³ Bertrandon's unwillingness to participate to a crusade is clearly revealed by his comments on Torzello's crusading project, quoted at the beginning of this chapter. But nothing reveals better Bertrandon's standpoint than his reversal of a crusading common place: the lamentation for Christian rule of the Holy Land. When the Muslims showed him some ruins of an ancient fortress that had once been ruled by the Franks, Bertrandon, instead of deploring that period, was delighted to be reminded of it.⁹⁴ Undoubtedly, for him, the crusader states were a closed chapter of a glorious history and the desire to re-conquer Jerusalem was rather a literary motif than a genuine hope.

In conclusion, I suggest that Bertrandon's ambivalent role in Philip the Good's crusading dream is mainly due to an underlying tension between the duke's objectives and Bertrandon's viewpoint. Thus, by his journey, Bertrandon directly nourished Philip's crusading dreams, without, however, being himself interested in such a quest. This suggestion is fully supported by a close analysis of the narrative structure of *Voyage d'Outremer*.

The text was written at Philip the Good's request and, as a result, it was fashioned both by Bertrandon's standpoint and by what he expected to please the duke. The account was based on the notes taken by Bertrandon during his journey, and its structure closely follows the itinerary, with only two digressions. The first one is the story of Prester John's land, heard by

Bertrandon at Bursa from a Neapolitan merchant, and the second one is a general description of the Ottoman Empire. The story on Prester John is placed in the text according to a chronological order, and not to a geographical one. Bertrandon accounts the story when he describes Bursa, the place where he wrote it down, which suggests that when writing *Voyage d'Outremer* he followed closely the sequence of events as noted down in his travel journal. The second digression was included in the text at the moment when Bertrandon left the Ottoman Empire and it is the only part of the text that breaks down the chronology of the journey. There are several reasons to consider this digression a late addition that was not part of Bertrandon's "petit livret par maniere de memoire." This parenthesis is nothing but a crusading memorandum that starts by a lamentation for the Ottoman-ruled Christians, then describes the strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire, and ends by providing a plan for a successful crusade. The most puzzling aspect is the almost complete absence of any relationship between this description and the rest of the text. Thus, my suggestion is to consider this digression a concession made by Bertrandon to Philip the Good's expectations to receive a crusading text. This leads us to the main question of this analysis: why did not Bertrandon write a crusading travel account of the Holy Land and of the Ottoman Empire, as Philip was probably expecting, and instead he chose to place himself, or rather his disguise as a Turk, at the centre of his narrative?

3. Bertrandon's returning voyage as a chivalric quest

"J'avois oy dire à aucuns que ce seroyt chose impossible à ung Crestien de revenir par terre jusques au reaulme de France[...] Adonc me deliberey à l'aide de Nostre Seigneur et de sa glorieuse Mere, qui oncques ne faillit à nul qui de bon cueur la requeist, de faire ledict chemin par terre depuis Iherusalem jusques au reaulme de France ou de y demeurer." (Bertrandon de Broquière)⁹⁵

The hypothesis I propose is that *Voyage d'Outremer* can be read not only as a pilgrimage account or as a crusading text, but also as a knightly autobiography. The connection between travel and knighthood was already a well established one in the fifteenth century,⁹⁶ and Oriental voyages played an important part in chivalric biographies such as Boucicaut's⁹⁷ and de Lannoy's. However, in most cases, the voyage was just a setting for

chivalric deeds and the Orient they described was vague and indistinct. In contrast, in *Voyage d'Outremer* there seems to be no chivalric prouesse and the description of the voyage has an almost ethnographic precision. Nonetheless, *Voyage* was a self-fashioning exercise and Bertrandon portrayed his decision to return by land in the realm of France using a vocabulary reminding of a chivalric vow.⁹⁸ This hypothesis is supported by Bertrandon's cultural background, as it can be reconstructed from the few literary references in *Voyage d'Outremer*. In addition, Bertrandon's disguise as a Muslim, singular in the medieval pilgrimage accounts, finds its correspondence in chivalric literature.

The evidence for Bertrandon's cultural background is rather scarce, and consists only of a few references in *Voyage d'Outremer*, most of them indirect. Fortunately, due to Georges Doutrepoint's excellent studies on the library of the dukes of Burgundy,⁹⁹ we have a clear image of the books that were being circulated at the ducal court in the fifteenth century. Thus, by using the inventories of the ducal library, I aim to identify Bertrandon's literary references. Such a method has obvious limits, but my purpose here is not to argue that Bertrandon read or listened to precisely this or that book, but rather to find out what kind of literature he had been exposed to.

The cultural references from *Voyage d'Outremer* can be grouped in four categories: Roman history; Alexander the Great, the Trojan cycle, and the history of crusades. There are several allusions to Roman history in Bertrandon's account, some of them general, others mentioning a precise event, such as the battle between Cesar and Pompei.¹⁰⁰ When he heard some stories about the Emperor Trojan from the Greeks he had met in the Balkans, Bertrandon carefully noted them down,¹⁰¹ which shows a certain interest in the subject. The references to Roman history are too general to be traced back to a certain book,¹⁰² but Bertrandon's interest definitely corresponded to a fifteenth-century Burgundian fashion. The inventories of the ducal library document a great number of manuscripts concerning Roman history, including a beautiful illuminated one that contains a French translation of Tite Live.¹⁰³ Philip the Good was directly interested in this topic and, under his patronage, Jean Mansel compiled a history of the Romans, while Jean du Chesne translated Cesar's *Commentaries*.¹⁰⁴

Although there is a single reference in *Voyage d'Outremer*, Bertrandon seems well acquainted with the Alexandrian legend and expects his audience to be as well. Bertrandon refers to Alexander in order to illustrate the marvels that can be found in Prester John's kingdom.¹⁰⁵ This succinct mention implies that the Alexandrian legend was part of the Burgundian

courtly common knowledge, an assumption confirmed by Sandrine Hériché-Pradeau's recent book, *Alexandre le Bourguignon*.¹⁰⁶ A topic that aroused a similar interest at the Burgundian court was the history of Troy, to which Bertrandon directly refers in a passage of *Voyage d'Outremer*.¹⁰⁷ According to the inventory edited by Georges Doutrepont, Philip the Good had acquired more than a few manuscripts on the Trojan cycle.¹⁰⁸ Burgundians' fascination with the Trojan legend transgressed literary curiosity, and the knights that traveled to the Orient attempted to find and to visit the locations of these adventures. Thus, on his way to fight the Ottomans, Walleran de Wavrin stopped for a while to visit "le havre principal de la grand cite Troyenne,"¹⁰⁹ while during his wanderings in the Black Sea Geoffroy de Thoisy searched for the mythical Colchis.¹¹⁰

Bertrandon acted in a very similar way when he imagined himself following in Godefroy de Bouillon's footsteps, the heroic figure of the first crusade, and undoubtedly, the character that fascinated him the most. Bertrandon mentions four times Godefroy's name and, at some point, he even refers to "le livre de Goddeffroy."¹¹¹ In the inventory of the ducal library there are at least three manuscripts under this heading,¹¹² which might include either a version of William of Tyr's chronicle of the first crusade¹¹³ or the first chanson de geste of the crusade, *Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroy de Bouillon*. Since this chanson de geste includes a similar episode to the one Bertrandon alludes to in *Voyage*, a forest that Godefroy "eust sy grant peïn a passer," I propose to identify "le livre de Goddeffroy" with *Le Chevalier au Cygne*.¹¹⁴ Besides this reference, there is another mention, a biblical one this time, which could be traced back to another chanson de geste.

Among the holy places Bertrandon visited in the Holy Land was Cana of Galilee, where Jesus Christ performed the first miracle at "Archeteclin's wedding."¹¹⁵ Although Cana was a usual halt in pilgrims' itineraries, Bertrandon is the only one who gives in his account the name of the bridegroom, who in the Gospel of John is unnamed. The enigma of Archeteclin is easily solved if we read the corresponding passage in the Vulgate, where "architriclinus" appears twice, designating the "ruler of the feast," as it was translated in King James Bible.¹¹⁶ It is highly unlikely that Bertrandon read the Vulgate himself and misunderstood that passage. His biblical knowledge is scant and, most probably, he did not know any Latin.¹¹⁷ G. Kline's explanation, according to which this passage was frequently misinterpreted in medieval theology, does not find any support either.¹¹⁸ His hypothesis is highly unlikely if we consider that in patristic

literature there has been a debate on the allegorical interpretation of architrclinus, with whom medieval theologians certainly were familiar.¹¹⁹ I suggest a different explanation, taking into account that similar confusions are documented not in medieval theological writings, but in chivalric literature. Two chansons de geste, *Gaydon* and *Guillaume d'Orange*, both well-known at the Burgundian court,¹²⁰ named the bridegroom from Cana Archeteclin. Moreover, *Gaydon* even considered him to be a saint: "As noces fustez le saint Archedeclin/ Quant la fontaine feis devenir vin."¹²¹ Thus, most probably, the source of Bertrandon's misunderstanding had been the distorting account of this biblical episode in chansons de geste.

This conclusion confirms the overall results of this succinct investigation. I suggest that Bertrandon's background, as far as it can be reconstructed from *Voyage d'Outremer*, was composed mainly, if not exclusively, of chivalric literature, either chansons de geste or chivalric romances. Far from representing an exception, this kind of chivalric culture seems to have been a characteristic for most fifteenth-century Burgundian knights.¹²² The absence of any reference to medieval travel literature might surprise, but it helps explaining the differences between *Voyage d'Outremer* and other pilgrimage accounts. Thus, the hypothesis that Bertrandon described his returning journey as a chivalric quest begins to gain ground. Most importantly, Bertrandon's disguise as a Saracen, a deed which has no precedent in pilgrimage literature, fits into the context of chivalric literature.

In medieval Europe, pilgrims had no reason to conceal their status. On the contrary, their position, protected by *lex peregrinorum*, attracted many travelers who, disguised as pilgrims, were hoping for a safer voyage.¹²³ For this reason, in medieval sources, there are few examples of pilgrims hiding their identity. Except for Bertrandon, the only other example I found is Pero Tafur. Tafur, who was more of an errant knight than a pilgrim, dressed himself as a Muslim in order to enter Omar's mosque in Jerusalem. The differences between Tafur's disguise and Bertrandon's are substantial. In contrast to Bertrandon, Pero Tafur pays no attention to the disguise itself, mentioning only that it was a very dangerous thing to do. For Tafur, the disguise, unattractive in itself, is useful because it gives him access to otherwise forbidden places. For Bertrandon, the disguise is far more fascinating, although the end is similar. The difference is best revealed if we compare their attitude towards Saracen clothing. Tafur barely says anything, mentioning only that he had borrowed the clothes from a renegade, without giving other details, while Bertrandon indulges himself in accounting for several pages different pieces of clothing and accessories. Despite this

major difference, it is nonetheless relevant that both Bertrandon and Tafur were pilgrim knights. A further inquiry in chivalric literature reveals some examples of heroic knights pretending to be Muslims, which might have served as a model for Bertrandon's literary account of his disguise.

In medieval French epic there are numerous examples of concealed identity, which usually involved a change of social status or, more often, a hidden lineage. Beside these common examples, there are few, rather less known, cases of knights disguised as Saracens. I will mention here two such examples, both taken from chansons de geste that were well known at the Burgundian court: *Huon de Bordeaux* and *La Prise d'Orenges*.¹²⁴ In *Huon de Bordeaux*, the knight Gériaume, disguised as Saracen in order to enter a Muslim city, pretends that he is emir Yvorin's son, and, to be more convincing, he even publicly displays his hostility against Christians.¹²⁵ Far more elaborate is Guillaume's disguise as Saracen, described in *La Prise d'Orenges*. In this case the disguise, used again by the hero to penetrate a Muslim city, takes an important place in the narrative. The process is meticulously described in the chanson: Guillaume and his friend blackened their skin, knew the language of the enemy, made up Saracen greetings, and invented odd biographies.¹²⁶ Thus, as Catherine M. Jones remarked, the disguise: "contributes to the relationship of complicity between the jongleur and his audience, who share the knowledge that the Saracens are being outwitted."¹²⁷ Outwitting the Saracens is precisely what Bertrandon does in a few episodes of his voyage. Bertrandon recounts how, when arriving in Brusa, he was taken for a Muslim pilgrim returning from Mecca and how the inhabitants kissed his robe. When he had been accused of being a spy, he immediately made up a story to justify his presence in the heart of Muslim territories. Bertrandon's disguise is so accomplished that his true identity is disclosed by somebody else only twice, by an Armenian and by a Greek. In the first case he was discovered due to "sa maniere," and in the second one due to "sa philonomie."¹²⁸ Bertrandon's disguise, although it shares some features with the burlesque model of Guillaume, it is more than just a mockery of Saracens. Firstly, Bertrandon's disguise was approved by the Muslim authority, which reduces considerably the opposition between the Christian knight in disguise and the Saracens. Secondly, in *Prise d'Orenges*, the disguise was just a prelude to the Christian-Muslim battle, a climax that is completely absent from *Voyage d'Outremer*. Thirdly, Bertrandon prolongs his disguise far more than it would have been necessary, and his victims are not only Muslims, but also Christians. Bertrandon was still

wearing Saracen garments in Buda and Vienna, which allowed him to distinguish false friends, as Hungarians, from genuine ones, as Austrians. The last episode of his disguise actually took place in Burgundy, when Bertrandon entered triumphantly in his Turkish clothes at the ducal court.¹²⁹ His appearance seems to have been a total success, considering that his Saracen garments would directly influence the fashion of the ducal court for the next years.¹³⁰ This last episode clearly shows how important the disguise was in Bertrandon's representation of his own travel. Finally, the fourth major difference between Guillaume's literary model and Bertrandon's actual journey is given by their descriptions of the disguising process, and implicitly, by their portrayal of the Saracen. In *Prise d'Orenges* the scene is burlesque; Saracen identity is reduced to a few caricatured features, and the disguise is accomplished in no time. On the contrary, in Bertrandon's case, Saracen identity is far more complex and Bertrandon's camouflage is achieved only through a long and difficult learning process, including that of the language.¹³¹ Thus, while the author of *Prise d'Orenges* played along with the audience's stereotypical image of the Saracen, Bertrandon challenged it, suggesting that there was more to Saracens' way of life than the few well-known clichés.

4. Turning native without turning Turk

"Et là commençay à apprendre à couchier sur la terre et à boire de l'eau sans vin et me seoir à terre les jambes croisiées ce qui me fu un pou dur au commencement. Mais le plus dur me fu le chevalchier aux cours estriers [...] Et apres que je l'eus acoustumé, il me fu plus aisié que nostre maniere." (Bertrandon de la Broquière¹³²)

Up to this last part of the article, I have deliberately left unaddressed the central question a modern reader would ask when reading *Voyage d'Outremer*: is Bertrandon de la Broquière tolerant? Assessing someone's tolerance, especially when that someone lived in the fifteenth century, requires firstly a theoretical framing. Most of the studies of the idea of tolerance begin with the sixteenth century, considering that prior to that, the concept simply did not exist.¹³³ Accordingly, the medieval society is defined as a persecuting society.¹³⁴ Only recently, Cary Nederman convincingly argued that ideas of tolerance existed in medieval period, building his case on writings of medieval theologians, such as John of

Salisbury and Nicholas of Cusa.¹³⁵ To my knowledge, the only one who suggested the existence of a non-theologian concept of tolerance in the Middle Ages was Carlo Ginzburg.¹³⁶ However, his suggestion, based on the fourteenth-century travel account of John Mandeville, seems implausible.¹³⁷ Mandeville, an armchair traveler, and most probable a cleric, aimed to reform Christianity by describing the diversity of religious beliefs throughout the world.¹³⁸ Therefore, his “theoretical tolerance,” as Jean-Pau Rubiés named it, resembles more to that of Nicholas of Cusa’s than to a secular way of thinking. Bertrandon’s statement, ascribed to his Muslim companion, *God made both Christians and Muslims*, conveys the same idea, of a profound unity prevailing over differences, asserted both in Mandeville’s *Travels* and in Nicholas of Cusa’s *De Pace Fidei*. Therefore, Bertrandon’s open-mindedness towards the Muslims shares some common features with fourteenth and fifteenth-century theological ideas of tolerance. For instance, when he praises his Muslim traveling companion, Mahomet, for his love of God and for his good deeds, Bertrandon seems to directly echo Cusa’s ideas.¹³⁹ Nonetheless, as I said, Bertrandon was far from being a theologian and, throughout *Voyage d’Outremer*, he never expands on, and even less conceptualizes, the notion of tolerance. Instead of trying to figure out if Bertrandon could have been tolerant without actually knowing what tolerance means – a problem that resembles the Marxist dilemma whether there can be a class struggle without a class consciousness – I propose to tackle the problem from a different angle.

Tzvetan Todorov, in his typology of the representations of Other, identified three levels of interaction between the Self and the Other: a) axiological, which implies a moral judgment of the Other as inferior/superior or bad/good; b) praxeological, which reflects the distance between the author’s Self and otherness and c) epistemic, which represents the degree of knowledge of the Other.¹⁴⁰ According to Todorov, these three levels, although related to each other, are largely autonomous.¹⁴¹ One might admire the Other, without wishing to assume his identity, and even without actually knowing anything about him. Todorov’s typology was applied to sixteenth-century French travelers’ descriptions of the Ottoman Empire by the historian Frédéric Tinguely.¹⁴² I will summarize here Tinguely’s conclusions. On the epistemic level, French voyageurs were highly interested in knowing the Ottomans; while on the axiological stance, their judgments were often contradictory, sometimes valorizing, sometimes condemning Ottomans’ way of life. The interaction between the French voyageur and the Ottoman Other was most diminished on the praxeological axis. The travelers-authors

did everything to preserve the distance between their own identity and that of the Ottomans. As Tinguely says, Western travelers cannot imagine themselves taking the last step towards the Other and assuming his identity, except in their nightmares of forced conversion and damnation. If we compare Tinguely's conclusions to Bertrandon's standpoint, we notice that his interactions with Muslims, including the Ottomans, largely foreshadowed those of sixteenth-century French travelers. The only exception is on the praxeological level, where Bertrandon acted exactly the opposite. Therefore, the question regarding Bertrandon's tolerance might be reformulated in these terms: why were sixteenth-century travelers so afraid of turning Turk and why was Bertrandon not?

My hypothesis is that Bertrandon felt so much at ease with assuming a Saracen identity, while sixteenth-century travelers never crossed a certain line in the direction of otherness, because he had a different attitude regarding conversion. Certainly, both in the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century, conversion to Islam was a reality that all Christians deplored. Throughout his voyage, Bertrandon referred to this phenomenon and even encountered a few renegades, to whom he freely interacted.¹⁴³ Nonetheless, Bertrandon never expresses any anxiety that he himself might be converted. Moreover, he even underlines that, despite the initial warnings of his pilgrim companions, conversion was the only danger he had never been exposed to.¹⁴⁴ In Bertrandon's view, the danger of conversion, although a genuine one, seemed to have threatened only those Christians living under Muslim rule who could not resist the temptations of the flesh.¹⁴⁵ But the idea of conversion was neither terrifying – not any Christian was exposed to this danger – nor appalling – a renegade was still a person one could relate to. In contrast, in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, there was a far more accusatory and terrifying discourse against renegades and, more importantly, a fear of being accused of 'turning Turk.' This, as Daniel J. Vitkus's suggested, was probably an outcome of post-Reformation anxiety, directly linked to the polemics between Catholics and Protestants concerning conversion.¹⁴⁶ Another cause of this anxiety was the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the sixteenth century, in Hungary and in the Mediterranean Sea. As a result, the attempt to assume a fake, temporary Saracen identity without actually being converted, as Bertrandon did, was no longer an acceptable game. An English bishop's sermon, from 1627, directly accused those many hundreds that "are Musselmans in Turkie, and Christians at home, doffing their religion, as they doe their clothes, and keeping a conscience

for every Harbor where they shall put in."¹⁴⁷ Moreover, in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the Inquisitors stressed the importance of Turkish clothing and habits for disclosing hidden renegades.¹⁴⁸ In such processes, witnesses were often asked whether they had seen the suspect wearing Saracen garments, implying that this was a clear mark of someone who had denounced Christian faith. Thus, due to an increase fear of conversion, whoever adopted Muslims' clothing or lifestyle was immediately suspected of 'turning Turk.' As a result, in the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century, travelers avoided including in their accounts any 'adventures in disguise.'¹⁴⁹

This major difference on the praxeological stance between Bertrandon and sixteenth-century travelers had a significant impact on their description of otherness. By looking at the Muslim world from the inside, Bertrandon acted very much like a modern anthropologist who 'turns native' in order to better "grasp the native's point of view," to use Bronislaw Malinowski's words.¹⁵⁰ Undoubtedly, by turning native, Bertrandon was able to provide a detailed description of Turkish everyday life, of "leur maniere de faire, leur façon de vivre."¹⁵¹ But, even most importantly, Bertandon succeeded in accomplishing Malinowski's task and grasping natives' perspective. Thus, while most fifteenth and sixteenth-century travelers transcribed the Arabic alphabet in their accounts,¹⁵² in order to illustrate its strangeness, Bertrandon noticed that, if one simply changed the point of view, the Latin alphabet was just as bizarre.¹⁵³ This, apparently insignificant remark, reveals a complete reversal between the Self and the Other. By 'turning Turk,' and, as a result, by identifying himself with the Other, Bertrandon moved across cultural boundaries, into a different cultural space. Thus, *Voyage d'Outremer* is not only the account of a geographical travel, but also an attempt of cultural translation.

As François Hartog said, any rhetoric of alterity is, unavoidably, a translating process.¹⁵⁴ However, there are good and bad translations. Most of the rhetoric methods commonly used to construct alterity, scrutinized by F. Hartog in his analysis of Herodotus¹⁵⁵ and by Michèle Guéret-Laferté in her study on medieval travelers,¹⁵⁶ share the same implicit premise: an accurate translation is impossible. Otherness cannot be entirely grasped, and all a traveler can do is to provide an approximate description in order to make it possible for his audience to imagine Others' oddness. Hence, the importance of stylistic figures that rather suggest than actually describe, such as inversions, omissions, negations, superlatives and exotic vocabulary. If we consider this long list of stylistic methods and look for

them in *Voyage d'Outremer*, we notice that Bertrandon constantly used only one, comparison: their fields where cotton grows are planted like our vineyards; the Turkish bread is like a round, rolled up, pointed pancake; the yogurt is like curled milk; for shoeing horses they are using a sickle similar to the ones we use to cut vines; their *cadi* are the equivalent of our bishops, they eat on and keep their food in a tablecloth similar to a handbag; Turkomans carry their merchandise on buffaloes, in the same way we use horses, they pray together as we do on Sunday in the parish church, their coats are like ours, except that they have finer links, they wear helmets that look like French *salades*,¹⁵⁷ and the list could go on for several pages. It seems that, in describing Muslims' culture for a Burgundian audience, Bertrandon's implicit assumption was that anything could be faithfully translated. Nonetheless, it is obvious even from the few examples I quoted that Bertrandon did not attempt to translate everything. Mainly, he left aside Muslims' religion, to which he rarely referred throughout *Voyage d'Outremer*. Although he did not incorporate this subject in his account, Bertrandon brought back all necessary information in the two books he gave to the duke, *L'Alkoran* and *Les fais de Mahomet*; which Philip the Good, in his turn, entrusted to Jean Germain. Thus, Bertrandon directly experienced Muslims' behaviors and translated them, while Jean Germain's interpreted Muslims' religion without actually knowing any Muslim. Therefore, the distinction between these two Burgundian translations of Islam is a double one, regarding not only the subject, behaviors/beliefs, but also the perspective, inside/outside.

This inside view of Islam is, undoubtedly, the most original feature of Bertrandon's *Voyage d'Outremer*. Bertrandon's approach, which resembles to the modern anthropological practice of participative observation, allowed him to transgress cultural boundaries in an attempt to understand the Muslim Other. Once he returned to Burgundy, he conveyed his personal experience, at least partially, to a larger group at the ducal court, which represented the audience of his account.¹⁵⁸ Nonetheless, *Voyage d'Outremer* was not primarily a cultural translation endeavor. When he transformed his travel journal into a narrative, Bertrandon had to take into consideration not only the actual experience of the journey, but also the duke's expectations. In addition, writing *Voyage d'Outremer* was, to a large extent, a self-fashioning process. Thus, the result was a narrative placed in between three different genres, pilgrimage accounts, crusading memoranda and chivalric literature, that engaged its audience in a remarkable experience of otherness.

NOTES

- 1 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). My focus in this short introduction is exclusively on the interpretation of Western medieval sources. For an interpretation of Muslim sources see Roxanne L. Euben *Journeys to the Other Shore. Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 20-45.
- 2 For a Saidian interpretation of travel writing see Mary Campbell, *The Wistness and the Other world: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988). Although L. Pick and J. Tolan criticize Said's methods, they nevertheless accept his main thesis; see Lucy K. Pick, "Edward Said, Orientalism and the Middle Ages," *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999): 265-271 and John V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 283.
- 3 Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1960).
- 4 Tomaz Mastnak, *Crusading Peace. Christendom, the Muslim World and Western Political Order* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). One of the few scholars who managed to escape this static, one-way view and to acknowledge the "transformative power of otherness" is Michael Uebel, *Ecstatic transformation: on the uses of alterity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- 5 Jacques Le Goff, "L'Occident médiéval et l'océan Indien: un horizon onirique," 230-298 in *Pour un autre Moyen Age: temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1977).
- 6 R. W. Southern, *Western views of Islam in the Middle Age* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1962).
- 7 Jonathan Riley-Smith's introduction to the special issue of *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), entitled *Crusades and Interfaith Relations*.
- 8 Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 9 His narrative, entitled by its modern editor, *Voyage d'Outremer*, is preserved in four manuscripts, three of them kept in Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the fourth in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The standard edition is that by Ch. Schefer, *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892 – henceforth quoted as *Voyage*). There are two full English translations of the text, a nineteenth century one – Thomas Writght, *Early travels in Palestina* (London: Henry Bohn, 1848) – and a twentieth century one – Galen R. Kline, *The Voyage d'Outremer by Bertrandon de la Broquière* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988). The text was also published in the tenth volume of the nineteenth century edition of Richard Hakluyt's collection of travel accounts; *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of The English Nation collected by Richard Hakluyt*, ed.

- Edmund Goldsmid, 16 volumes (*Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1884-1890*).
- 10 Ch. Schefer argues, based on a document according to which Bertrandon received a sum of money in order to travel “certain longain voyage secret,” that the duke actually ordered him to embark on this voyage, *Voyage*, XVII.
- 11 Jean Richard, *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), Aryeh Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge* (Bruxelles: De Boeck, 1998), Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le crépuscule du grand voyage: les récits des pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458-1612)* (Paris: 1999) and Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims. Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).
- 12 Quoted by J. Richard, *Les récits*, 83.
- 13 Paul Ricoeur, *History and Truth* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 278.
- 14 For an inventory of medieval pilgrimage accounts see A. Graboïs, *Le pèlerin*, 211-214.
- 15 J. Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994).
- 16 Scott D. Westrem’s review in *Speculum* 72 (1997): 116-119.
- 17 *Voyage, quête, pèlerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévale* (Edition Cueur MA: Aix-En-Provence, 1976), especially the article by Michel Zink, *Pourquoi raconter son voyage?*, 237–254. From the end of the fifteenth century there is a strong tendency to consider that pilgrimage accounts merged into a broader genre of travel literature; see Paul Zumthor, “The Medieval Travel Narrative,” in *New Literary History* 25 (1994): 808-824. See also Joan-Pau Rubiés’s definition of early modern travel literature as a cluster of related narratives, or, as he says, as a “genre of genres” in “Travel writing as a genre: facts, fictions and the invention of a scientific discourse in early modern Europe,” *Journeys* 1 (2000): 5-35.
- 18 Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trad. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1896), 49; M. Margaret Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola’s Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1494* (Manchester: University Press, 1907), especially chapter 12.
- 19 A. Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental*, 45-49.
- 20 R. J. Mitchell, *The Spring Voyage* (London: John Murray, 1964).
- 21 I quote from Felix Fabri’s account: “We did not spend more than nine days in the Holy Land, during which we went the round of all the usual holy places in a great hurry, working day and night at the accomplishment of our pilgrimage, so that we were hardly given any time for rest.”
- 22 Nonetheless, if Bertrandon had been sent by the duke as a spy in the Ottoman Empire, I see no reason for him not mentioning this in his *Voyage*, written two decades later at Philip the Good’s request and dedicated to him. In

- contrast, Bertrandon emphasizes that the choice of the returning route was entirely his, *Voyage*, 25.
- 23 *Le deviselement du monde* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998).
- 24 For a typical incipit see *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. C. W. R. D. Moseley (London: Penguin Classics, 1984).
- 25 Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage. The Literature of discovery in fourteenth century England* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1976).
- 26 Quoted by C. Morris, *The Sepulcher of Christ and the Medieval West: from the beginning to 1600* (Oxford: 2005), 324.
- 27 For a detailed analysis on how fifteenth-century pilgrims manage to cope with the tension between piety and curiosity, see Frédéric Tinguely, "Janus en Terre sainte: la figure du pèlerine curieux à la Renaissance," *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 245 (1997): 51-65. However, in Bertrandon's account, which is not mentioned by Tinguely, this tension is completely absent.
- 28 D. R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims*, 46-47.
- 29 *Voyage*, 2 and 26.
- 30 In this sense, *Voyage d'Outremer* resembles other fifteenth-century pilgrimage accounts, especially that of Arnold von Harff and, to a lesser extent, that of Anselme Adorno.
- 31 Ludwig Schmugge, "Über 'nationale' Vorurteile im Mittelalter," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 38 (1982): 439-459.
- 32 F. Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings*, vol. 1, chapter 1.
- 33 M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, chapter 7.
- 34 *Voyage*, 79.
- 35 M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, chapter 12.
- 36 Jean Richard, "Manières de Crestiens: les Chrétiens orientaux dans les relations de pèlerinages aux Lieux-Saints (XIIe-XVI siècles) in *Francs et orientaux dans le monde des croisades* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
- 37 See for instance Felix Fabri's virulent reaction when he found in a village in Cyprus a single parson for both, the Greek and Latin Churches, *The Book of the Wanderings*, vol. 1, 199-200.
- 38 A. Grabois, *Le pèlerin occidental*, 141.
- 39 Jean Richard, "Manières de Crestiens," 110.
- 40 Bertrandon uses the expression "nostre maniere," *Voyage*, 27.
- 41 It is interesting to compare this image with Pius II's dichotomist representation of Christians elaborated in his letter addressed to the Ottoman Sultan, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Epistola ad Mahomatem II*, ed. Albert R. Baca (New York: Peter Lang: 1990), 121.
- 42 *Voyage*, 155.
- 43 *Voyage*, 149.
- 44 Michael Angold argues that Bertrandon's depreciative view of Byzantium is mainly due to religious differences. However, in my view, none of his

arguments stands an analysis that takes into consideration the entire account written by Bertrandon. M. Angold underlines Bertrandon's statement that he "would sooner trust himself to the Turks than to the Greeks." However, Bertrandon uses almost the same words to characterize the Hungarians: "I would have more faith in the promises of a Turk than of a Hungarian." Similarly, when he comments upon Bertrandon's remarks that Emperor Sigismund didn't trust the Serbs to guard Belgrad fortress, M. Angold omits to say that, also according to Bertrandon, Sigismund equally distrusted the Hungarians and therefore he assigned German mercenaries to defend this fortress; cf. M. Angold, "The decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of western travellers," 213-232 in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. Ruth Macrides (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

45 *Voyage*, 224.

46 Bertrandon narrates, somehow skeptically, the story of Prester John's kingdom, as it had been told to him by a merchant in Pera; *Voyage*, 142-148.

47 We should bear in mind that Bertrandon wrote his account a few years after the Council of Florence.

48 *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-1471)*, ed. Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groer (Paris: ECNRS, 1978), 66.

49 Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West*, passim and Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature (1520-1660)* (Paris: Boivin, 1940), passim.

50 Michael J. Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge and Rethoric against the Turks* (Geneve: Librairie Droz), 1986.

51 The only topos I have found refers to the idea of Muslims' bad odor that can be cleansed only by baptism, *Voyage*, 119.

52 Bertrandon mentions among Sarazins eight different 'nations': Turcz, Mores, Turquemans, Arabes, Persiens, Tartres, Mamelus, Barbares.

53 *Voyage*, 33.

54 Emmanuel Filhol, "L'Image de l'autre au Moyen Age. La representation du monde rural dans le guide du pelerine de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle," *Cahiers d'Histoire* 45 (2000): 347-362.

55 See for instance *Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le Passage en Terre Sainte (1420)*, ed. Pierre-Herman Dopp (Louvain: Ed. Nauwelaerts, 1958), 188.

56 Nancy Bisaha, "New Barbarian or Worthy Adversary? Humanist Construct of the Ottoman Turks in fifteenth-century Italy," 185-205 in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Perception of Other*, ed. Michael Frassetto, David R. Blanks (London: MacMillan, 1999).

57 *Voyage*, 63, 217.

58 From the vast historiography of the Burgundian crusade and I will enumerate here only the works I found relevant for my research: N. Iorga, "Les Aventures sarazines des Français de Bourgogne au XVe siècle," 7-56 in *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, ed. C. Marinescu (Cluj: 1927); C. Marinesco, "Philippe le Bon et le croisade. Première partie (1419-1453)," *Actes du*

- VI *Congres International d'études Byzantine 1948* (1950), vol. 1: 147-168 and "Deuxième partie (1453-1467)," *Bulletin des études portugais et de l'institut français* 13 (1949): 3-28; Y. Lacaze, "Politique Méditerranéenne et projets de croisade chez Philippe le Bon: de la chute de Byzance à la victoire chrétienne de Belgrade," *Annales de Bourgogne* 41 (1969): 5-42 and 81-132; Jacques Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient, fin XIVe siècle- XVe siècle* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003). See also Richard Vaughan's monographs *Philip the Bold* (London: 1962) and *Philip the Good* (The Boydell Press, 2002).
- 59 *Voyage*, 273-274.
- 60 I left aside the literary works, Jean Devaux, "Le Saint Voyage de Turquie: croisade et propagande à la cour de Philippe le Bon (1463-1464)" 53-70 in "A l'Heure Encore de Mon Ecrire." *Aspects de la littérature de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, ed. Claude Thiry. Special issue of *Les Lettre Romanes*, 1997.
- 61 The standard edition is that of Ch. Potvin, Ghillebert de Lannoy, *Oeuvres* (Louvain: 1878).
- 62 There are two editions of Jehan de Wavrin's chronicle. The first one, *Anchiennes croniques d'Engleterre* was edited by Mlle Dupont (Paris: 1863), while the second, *Recueil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nommè Engleterre*, was edited by William Hardy and Edward L.C.P. Hardy and published in 5 volumes in Rolls Series, vol. 39 (London: 1864-1891). The references are to the last edition, vol. 5, henceforth quoted as Jehan de Wavrin.
- 63 The account, now lost, is mentioned in the inventory of Philip the Good's library under the title: *Relation du Voiage messier Pietre Was*, see G. Doutrepoint, 265.
- 64 All these military memoranda were elaborated after the famous Feast of the Pheasant (17 February 1454). The best known is the so-called *The Hague memoir* (19 January 1456); see Jules Finot, "Projet d'expédition contre les Turcs préparé par les conseillers du duc de Bourgogne Philippe-le-Bon (Janvier 1457)" *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences de l'agriculture et des Arts de Lille* 21 (1895): 161-206. For the correct dating see Yvone Lacaze, "Politique méditerranéenne." Simultaneously, Philip the Good asked Jean Miélot to translate several other pieces of 'advice' for crusade. Two of them were written in the fourteenth century, but the most important for this present research is a third one, written by John Torzelo. At Philip the Good's request, Torzelo's memorandum was comment on by Bertrandon de la Broquière. Both Torzelo's text and Bertrandon's commentary were published in Schefer's edition of *Voyage*, 263-274. There are two more unsigned memoranda that are attributed on sound arguments to the most important leaders of the Burgundian naval expedition (1444-1446): Geoffroy de Thoisy and Waleran de Wavrin; Yvonne Lacaze, "Politique," 120-122 and C. Marinescu, "Philippe le Bon," II, 18.

- 65 The most important is the sermon given by Jean Germain in front of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Mons in 1451. Jean Germain's sermon is known in a French version, the one sent to Charles VII, edited by Ch. Schefer "Le discours du voyage d'outremer au très victorieux roi Charles VII, prononcé en 1452, par Jean Germain, évêque de Chalon," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895): 303-343 (henceforth quoted as Jean Germain) and in a Latin one included by Jean Germain himself in his work *Liber de virtutibus Philippi*.
- 66 David J. Wrisley, "Situating Islamdon in Jean Germain's Mappemonde Spirituelle (1449)," *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007): 326-346.
- 67 Ghillebert de Lannoy wrote his account sometimes between 1450 and 1462, Jean Germain delivered his sermon in 1451, Bertrandon de la Broquière annotated Torzelo's memorandum in 1457. The military memoranda have been elaborated in 1456 and 1463-1465, while Jehan de Wavrin wrote the book on the Burgundian expedition in Levant, most probably, between 1471 and 1474. G. Dutrepoint considers that the extant version of *Voyage* dates from 1455-1457, but he speculates that an early version had been written earlier, probably around 1440, see Georges Doutrepoint, *La Littérature*, 260. In my view, Schefer's conjecture regarding an earlier version is unlikely, considering that Philip the Good became genuinely interested in crusading only after 1453, see J. Paviot, *Les ducs*, 149. Thus all the sources can be dated in an interval of maximum 25 years: 1450-1475.
- 68 During Philip the Good's reign, Burgundians were involved in two crusading actions: the naval crusade in Levant (1443-1445) and Antoine's, the Bastard of Burgundy, crusade (1464). The most impressive Burgundian diplomatic action took place in 1451-1452, when the duke sent Jean Germain's crusading sermon to the most important courts of Europe, see J. Paviot, *Les ducs*, 121-122.
- 69 Georges Doutrepoint, *La Littérature*, 262.
- 70 For Adorno's diplomatic mission in Persia see J. Heers's introduction to *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno*.
- 71 Philippe Contamine, "La Consolation de la desconfiture de Hongrie de Philippe de Mezières (1396)," *Annales de Bourgogne* 68 (1996): 35-47 and Kiril Petkov, "The rotten apple and the good apples. Orthodox, Catholics and Turks in Philippe de Mezières' crusading propaganda," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 255-270.
- 72 The necessity of a military alliance does not necessary imply disregarding the differences. During the siege of Belgrade, John Capistrano welcomed the help of Eastern Christians, but placed them among Jews, heretics and pagans; see Norman Housley, "Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456," 94-115 in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century. Message and Impact*, edited by Norman Housley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- 73 *The Voyage d'Outremer*, 95.
- 74 Jehan de Wavrin, 66.

- 75 Jehan de Wavrin never refers to Eastern Christians' schismatic beliefs. For instance, when a dispute started between Wallachians and Burgundians, the chronicler mentions Waleran de Wavrin's sorrow to see such a fight among Christians; Jehan de Wavrin, 85.
- 76 Significantly, Jehan is the only Burgundian chronicler that gives an account of the expedition.
- 77 Fortunately, there is an extraordinary source that allows us to grasp Jehan's attitude towards Geoffrey de Thoisy. Jehan de Wavrin's account of the Burgundians' contribution to the defense of Rhodes is undoubtedly based on a report of Geoffrey de Thoisy's naval expedition in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea. If we compare the two accounts, it is obvious that Jehan deliberately eliminated all the mentions to Geoffrey de Thoisy's valiant deeds, which in the report were fairly numerous. The report, attributed by most historians to Geoffrey himself, was firstly published by M. Dupont, *Anchiennes* and afterwards by N. Iorga, „Aventure.” The most recent edition is that of J. Paviot, *Les ducs*, 300-304.
- 78 Richard Vaughan characterized this account as a “humiliating episode,” *Philip the Good*, 272. Similarly, G. Le Brusque considers that this story includes “details that do not honor the Burgundian knight,” but, nevertheless, he thinks that the account is written on a neutral tone, „Des chevaliers bourguignons dans les pays de Levant. L'expédition de Walleran de Wavrin contre les Turcs ottomans (1444-1446) dans les 'Anchiennes Cronicques d'Engleterre' de Jean de Wavrin,” *Le Moyen Age* 106 (2000): 255-276.
- 79 A. G. Jongkees, “Pie II et Philippe le Bon: Deux protagonistes de l'union chrétienne,” *Publication du centre européen d'études burgundo-médianes* 20 (1980): 103-115.
- 80 Jean Germain, 330.
- 81 D. J. Wrisley, “Situating Islamdom,” 329 and 336.
- 82 *Voyage*, 58.
- 83 *Voyage*, 56.
- 84 *Voyage*, 72.
- 85 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français MS 9087.
- 86 *Voyage*, 261.
- 87 R. Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent. The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453-1517)* (Nieuwkoop, 1967), 107-108; Yvon Lacaze, “Les débuts de Jean Germain,” *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Chalon-sur-Saône* 39 (1968): 1-24.
- 88 Ana Echevarria, *The Fortress of Faith. The Attitude towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leinden: Brill, 1999), 37
- 89 The passage is from Jean Germain's *Le livre du crestien et du sarrasin* and is quoted by Ana Echevarria, *The Fortress of Faith*, 62
- 90 For an analysis of this miniature see Judith-Guérét Laferté, “Le livre et la croisade” 107-114 in *Le Banquet du Faisan*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Caron and Denis Clauzel (Artois Presses Université, 1997)

- 91 Marie-Thérèse Caron, *Les voeux du Faisan, noblesse en fête, esprit de croisade* (Brepols: 2003).
- 92 *Voyage*, 33 and 49.
- 93 Ghillebert de Lannoy, *Oeuvres*, 67.
- 94 *Voyage*, 83.
- 95 *Voyage*, 25-26.
- 96 Pero Tafur's prologue in *Travels and Adventures*, ed. Malcolm Letts (London: George Routledge, 1926). For the connection between chivalric literature and medieval and early modern explorations see J. R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration (1298-1630)* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).
- 97 D. Lalande, *Le Livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut* (Geneva: Droz, 1985).
- 98 As Jennifer Goodman's showed, there are numerous examples of chivalric explorations that fulfilled such vows, see *Chivalry and Exploration*, 54.
- 99 Georges Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la Librairie de Philippe le Bon 1420* (Geneve: Slatkine Reprints, 1977) and *La Littérature Française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1909).
- 100 *Voyage*, 4, 172, 179.
- 101 *Voyage*, 179.
- 102 Nonetheless, from the reference made to the paintings from Caesar's time, one might assume that Bertrandron had seen, at some point, an illuminated manuscript, *Voyage*, 219.
- 103 G. Doutrepoint, *Inventaire*, no. 70, 71, 241, 242.
- 104 G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature*, 136-143 and 180.
- 105 *Voyage*, 144.
- 106 Sandrine Hériché-Pradeau, *Alexandre le Bourguignon. Etude du roman Les Faits et les Conquestes d'Alexandre le Grand de Jehan Wauquelin* (Geneve: Ed. Droz, 2008)
- 107 *Voyage*, 173-174.
- 108 During his reign Philip the Good acquired for his Library sixteenth manuscripts on the legend of Troy, G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature*, 171.
- 109 Jehan de Wavrin, 38.
- 110 Paul Bonenfant, *Philippe le Bon: sa politique, son action* (Paris: De Boeck Université, 1996), 70.
- 111 *Voyage*, 138.
- 112 G. Doutrepoint, *Inventaire*, no. 85, 117 and 177 and G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature*, 20-22.
- 113 G. Doutrepoint identifies one of the books of Godefroy with the History of Heraclius, a French translation of William of Tyr's chronicle.
- 114 *Godefroi de Bouillon*, ed. Jan Boyd Roberts. Vol X. *The old French Crusade cycle* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1996).
- 115 *Voyage*, 45.
- 116 The relevant passage in the Vulgate is John 2:7-10.

- 117 There are only a few biblical episodes mentioned by Bertrandon, as Saint Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus, but he always introduces them by the words "comme l'en dist," *Voyage*, 33. For Bertrandon's ignorance of Latin, see *Voyage*, 261.
- 118 Galen R. Kline, *The Voyage d'Outremer*, 27 footnote 5.
- 119 See Denis Brearley, "The Allegorical Identification of the Architrclinus (Jn 2,9-10) in Early Mediaeval Exegesis," 337-344 in *Papers Presented to the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1987*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1989)
- 120 For manuscripts of these works in the ducal library see G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature*, 113 and 483.
- 121 *Gaydon. Chanson de geste du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Jean Subrenat (Louvain: Peeters, 2007), 1397. See also the editor's endnote from page 712.
- 122 Marie-Thérèse Caron, *La Noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne 1315-1477* (Lille: Presse Universitaires de Lille, 1987), 283-390.
- 123 Yves Dossat, "Types exceptionnels de pèlerins: l'hérétique, le voyageur déguise, le professionnel, p. 207-225 in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, vol. 15.
- 124 For manuscripts containing these chansons de geste attested in the dukes' library see G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature*, 20 and 483.
- 125 *Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. William W. Kibler and François Suard (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), 6294-6302.
- 126 *La Prise d'Orenges*, ed. Blanche Katz (New York: King's Crown Press, 1947), from verse 360 onwards.
- 127 Catherine M. Jones, "Identity and Disguise in a Late French Epic: Hervis de Mes," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 4 (1997): 107-117.
- 128 *Voyage*, 90, 104.
- 129 *Voyage*, 260-261.
- 130 Sophie Jolivet, "Le phénomène de mode à la cour de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Bon: l'exemple des robes de 1430 à 1442," *Revue du Nord* 88 (2006): 331-345.
- 131 Bertrandon asked someone to write for him a small dictionary and, at some point, he even assert that one could easily learn Turkish, *Voyage*, 100-101.
- 132 *Voyage*, 70-71.
- 133 Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton University Press: 2003).
- 134 R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society in Western Europe* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).
- 135 Cary Nederman, *Worlds of Difference. European Discourses of Toleration, c.1100-c.1550* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
- 136 Carlo Ginzburg, *Le fromage et les vers. L'univers d'un meunier du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion: 1980), 88.

- 137 The latest edition of Mandeville's travels is that by Christiane Deluz, *Le Livre des merveilles du monde* (Paris: Ed. CNRS, 2000).
- 138 Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel writing as a genre: facts, fictions and the invention of a scientific discourse in early modern Europe," *Journeys* 1 (2000): 5-35.
- 139 *Voyage*, 120-121.
- 140 Tzvetan Todorov, *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre* (Paris: Ed. Du Seuil, 1982), 233.
- 141 T. Todorov, *La conquête de l'Amérique*, 233-234.
- 142 Frédéric Tinguely, *L'écriture du Levant à la Renaissance. Enquêt sur les voyageurs français dans l'Empire de Soliman le Magnifique* (Geneve: Droz, 2000), 149-151.
- 143 *Voyage*, 111, 131, 137, 206, 219.
- 144 *Voyage*, 39.
- 145 *Voyage*, 117, 206.
- 146 Daniel J. Vitkus, "Turning Turk in Othello: The Conversion and Damnation of the Moor," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48 (1997): 145-176.
- 147 Quoted by Daniel J. Vitkus, "Turning Turk," 152.
- 148 Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Ed. Perrin, 2001), 325-332.
- 149 The only example I am aware of dates from the end of the seventeenth century, see Guillaume Joseph Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris: Pierre Rocolet, 1680).
- 150 Bronislaw Malinowski. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, in Malinowski's *Collected Works*, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 2002), 25.
- 151 *Voyage*, 216.
- 152 *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno*, 92.
- 153 *Voyage*, 63.
- 154 François Hartog, *Le miroir d'Hérodote. Essai sur la representation de l'autre* (Paris: Ed. Gallimard, 1991), 249.
- 155 F. Hartog, *Le miroir d'Hérodote*, 224-270.
- 156 Michèle Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes de l'Empire Mongol. Ordre et rhétorique des relations de voyage aux XIIIe et XIV siècles* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1994).
- 157 I will give the references both to Schefer's edition and to Kline's translation, which I used for the English paraphrases; *Voyage* 46, 61, 67, 71, 86, 89, 119, 219 and G.R. Kline, *The Voyage d'Outremer* 28, 37, 40, 43, 52, 53, 74, 141.
- 158 Unfortunately there is almost no information on this subject. Two of the three extant manuscripts come from the ducal library, while the third one is probably the one copied for Jehan de Wavrin, Antoinette Naber, „Les manuscrits d'un bibliophile bourguignon du XVe siècle, Jean de Wavrin," *Revue du Nord* 72 (1990): 23-48.