

Francigena

1 (2015)

Marco Polo's *Devisement dou monde*
and Franco-Italian tradition

ALVISE ANDREOSE
(eCampus University, Novedrate)



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI PADOVA

Direzione / Editors-in-chief

GIOVANNI BORRIERO, Università degli Studi di Padova
FRANCESCA GAMBINO, Università degli Studi di Padova

Comitato scientifico / Advisory Board

CARLOS ALVAR, Universidad de Alcalá
ALVISE ANDREOSE, Università degli Studi e-Campus
FURIO BRUGNOLO, Università degli Studi di Padova
KEITH BUSBY, The University of Wisconsin
ROBERTA CAPELLI, Università di Trento
DAN OCTAVIAN CEPRAGA, Università degli Studi di Padova
CATHERINE GAULLIER-BOUGASSAS, Université de Lille 3
SIMON GAUNT, King's College London
MARCO INFURNA, Università di Trento
GIOSUÈ LACHIN, Università degli Studi di Padova
LUCA MORLINO, Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, CNR
GIANFELICE PERON, Università degli Studi di Padova
LORENZO RENZI, Università degli Studi di Padova
ZENO VERLATO, Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, CNR
PETER WUNDERLI, Universität Düsseldorf
LESLIE ZARKER MORGAN, Loyola University Maryland

Redazione / Editorial Staff

ALESSANDRO BAMPA, Università degli Studi di Padova
FLORIANA CERESATO, Università di Roma Tre
RACHELE FASSANELLI, Università degli Studi di Padova
STEPHEN P. MCCORMICK, Washington and Lee University
SERENA MODENA, Università degli Studi di Padova
MANUEL NEGRI, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
FABIO SANGIOVANNI (*redattore capo / managing editor*), Università degli Studi di Padova

Francigena is an International Peer-Reviewed Journal

ISSN 2420-9767

Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari
Piazzetta Gianfranco Folena, 1
35137 PADOVA

info@francigena-unipd.com

INDICE

LUCA MORLINO	
<i>Spunti per un riesame della costellazione letteraria franco-italiana</i>	5
CHARMAINE LEE	
<i>Letteratura franco-italiana nella Napoli angioina?</i>	83
MARTA MATERNI	
<i>Le chevalier Guiron in Italia: un portolano bibliografico per le coste pisano-genovesi</i>	109
PHILIP E. BENNETT – LESLIE ZARKER MORGAN	
<i>The Avatars of Orable-Guibourc from French chanson de geste to Italian romanzo cavalleresco. A Persistent Multiple Alterity</i>	165
ANDREA BERETTA	
<i>Per un riesame della scripta del ms. Venezia Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana fr. IV (con nuovi spunti per la localizzazione)</i>	215
ALVISE ANDREOSE	
<i>Marco Polo's Devisement dou monde and Franco-Italian tradition</i>	261

Marco Polo's *Devisement dou monde* and Franco-Italian tradition*

Alvise Andreose
(eCampus University, Novedrate)

ABSTRACT

The manuscript BNF fr. 1116 (*F*) is the best surviving witness of the *Devisement dou monde* both for the quality of its reading and because it offers the closest version to the original form of the text. The book was written by Marco Polo, who had travelled for 24 years in Asia in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and Rustichello da Pisa, an Arthurian romance writer, while both were prisoners in Genoa in 1298. The language in which the work was first written – an Old French heavily sprinkled with morphological as well as lexical Italianisms – is considered as a representative example of «Franco-Italian». The great heterogeneity of the texts usually included within this category, however, might provide an incorrect impression as regards both the original linguistic form of the *Devisement* and the audience to whom it was originally addressed. The language of the MS BNF fr. 1116 does not display strong similarities to the hybrid language used in Northern Italy for chivalric literature, which is traditionally called «Franco-Italian» or «Franco-Venetan». Some linguistic correspondences enable us to connect the MS BNF fr. 1116 with the group of Old French manuscripts copied by Pisan scribes while incarcerated in Genoa prison, following the battle of Meloria (1284). The fragment of the *Devisement* recently discovered by C. Concina appears to be very similar to *F*. Both graphic and phonetic evidences suggest that this witness, too, has to be localised to Tuscany.

KEYWORDS

Marco Polo – Rustichello da Pisa – *Devisement dou Monde* – Franco-Italian – Old Pisan

1. *The «Franco-Italian» version of Marco Polo's Devisement dou monde*

A description of the world, travel record, geographic and ethnographic treatise, book of marvels, trade manual for travellers to China and more, Marco Polo's *Devisement dou Monde* is difficult to classify. Its singularity among medieval texts concerns not only its contents and its structure, but also its linguistic features. As is well known, the circumstance which gave rise to the book was the encounter between a traveller and a writer in prison in Genoa in 1298: Marco Polo and Rustichello da Pisa. The former had travelled for twenty-four years in Asia and especially in Mongol China in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, whereas we have little information about the latter. He had written an Arthurian romance in Old French roughly twenty-five years before meeting Marco Polo in Genoa. Around 1270-1272, he came in contact with Edward I of England, who was passing through Italy in order to take part

* Acknowledgements. Many people have helped improve this essay. I am especially grateful for the valuable comments of Craig Baker, Alfredo Hamill, Tom Roper and an anonymous reviewer.

in the crusade launched by Louis IX, king of France, in 1270. At this time, he compiled (*treslaités*) a romance from a book (*livre*) in the possession of the English monarch, as we learn from the Prologue of his romance:

Et sachiez tot voirement que cestui romainz fu treslaités dou livre monseigneur
Odoard, li roi d'Engleterre, a celui tenz qu'il passé houtre la mer en servise nostre Sire
Damedeu pour conquister le saint Sepoucre¹.

Rustichello's romance met with considerable success in Europe in the later Middle Ages². Greater still was the success of the work which Rustichello wrote on the basis of Marco Polo's travel account. The work was first composed in Old French, a language of prestige which Rustichello wielded with no little ability. It was, however, soon translated into the major vernacular languages of medieval Italy (Tuscan and dialects of northern Italy). Furthermore, it was turned into Latin several times and finally translated into various languages of Europe (Catalan, Castilian, Czech, Gaelic, German, Portuguese)³. In France, it was rewritten in a more correct Old French a few years after its original composition (1310-1311)⁴. Most of these translations enjoyed such popularity that the original version (generally called the «Franco-Italian» version) was almost completely forgotten. It is significant that only two manuscripts of the «Franco-Italian» text have survived. The manuscript Paris BNF fr. 1116 – which is usually indicated by the letter *F* – is the best surviving witness of the *Devisement dou monde* both for the quality of its readings and because it remains closest to the original linguistic form⁵. The fragment of four folios recently discovered by Chiara Concina⁶ and studied by Philippe Ménard⁷, designated *f*, appears to be very close to *F*⁸. The language which characterizes both *F* and *f* – an Old French heavily sprinkled with orthographic, phonological, morphological as well as lexical Italianisms⁹ – raises the issue of the relationship (especially from a linguistic standpoint) between the *Devisement dou monde* and the production of Francophone texts in northern Italy which is

¹ Ed. Cigni 1994: 233 [1 2]. See also *ivi*: 9-10.

² Cf. Cigni 1994: 365-368. See also Løseth 1890: 423 ff.

³ On the manuscript tradition, see Benedetto 1928: IX-CCXXI; Casella 1929; Peretti 1930; Terracini 1933; Reichert 1992: 169-181; Barbieri 2004c²; Burgio – Eusebi 2008.

⁴ Cf. Benedetto 1928: XXXIV-LXXIX; Ménard 2001-2009 (see especially Ménard 2001).

⁵ Cf. Benedetto 1928: XI-XXXI; Ménard 2003.

⁶ Cf. Concina 2007.

⁷ Cf. Ménard 2012.

⁸ One fragmentary manuscript now preserved in London (BL Cotton Otho D v) was considered by Luigi Foscolo Benedetto to be a second witness to the Franco-Italian redaction (Benedetto 1928: XXXI-XXXIII), but Philippe Ménard has proven that it is an Anglo-Norman redaction of the *Devisement*, independent from other branches of the tradition (Ménard 2000).

⁹ Cf. Kaiser 1967; Gossen 1975; Capusso 1980; 2008; Ineichen 1989; Ménard 2009a: 233-239.

usually called the «Franco-Italian» (or the «Franco-Venetan») tradition¹⁰. We immediately come up against a problem of definition. The language of manuscripts *F* and *f* is traditionally viewed as an example of «Franco-Italian». The meaning of this term, however, is far from obvious.

Lorenzo Renzi proposes to distinguish an «[Old] French of Lombardy» and a «Franco-Lombard» (also called «Franco-Italian» or «Franco-Venetan»)¹¹. The first denomination concerns the moderately Italianised French employed in several texts copied or written in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The second refers to the hybrid language used in north-eastern Italy especially for epic literary production during the fourteenth century. This distinction, mainly based on linguistic features, does not seem to have been very successful. The most widely used expression is that of «Franco-Italian»¹², which is also the most ambiguous. Several scholars apply this term to all French texts produced in Italy in the Middle Ages, and distinguish a subset characterised by specific features as regards geographical area of production (north-eastern Italy), contents (epic-chivalric literature), language (systematic hybridism between French and North Italian varieties) and chronology (fourteenth century). Other scholars distinguish this subset by labelling it «Franco-Venetan» (or «Franco-Venetian») literature¹³.

Almost every introduction to «Franco-Italian» or «Franco-Venetan» literature devotes a paragraph to Marco Polo's work. There is, however, a certain difficulty in including the *Devisement* within this literary production. Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, the first scholarly editor of the text, considers it impossible to compare and confuse («affratellare e confondere») the *Devisement* with the other products of contemporary Franco-Italian literature, since its author shows considerable knowledge of the French language¹⁴. Aurelio Roncaglia claims that the linguistic hybridism of the *Devisement* does not reach the level which defines the «Franco-Venetan» literature in the proper sense of the term¹⁵. According to Lorenzo Renzi, Marco Polo's work, as well as Martin da Canal's *Estoires de Venise*, needs to be considered separately because of its

¹⁰ Cf. Roncaglia 1965: 730-731; Gossen 1975: 135-136; Renzi 1976: 575; Holtus 1977: 88; 1979b; 84-85; Ineichen 1989: 66-67; Capusso 1980: 6; 2007: 165; 2008: 268; Segre 1995: 633; Holtus – Wunderli 2005: 31-32. In order to avoid confusion, I will use the term «Venetan» to indicate the group of Italian dialects spoken in Veneto and «Venetian» to refer to the linguistic variety spoken in Venice.

¹¹ Renzi 1976: 574. See also Morlino 2010: 36. The label of «Franco-Lombard» had already been proposed by Contini 1964: 112.

¹² Capusso 2007: 159-160. See, for instance, Rajna 1870-1872; Meyer 1885-1887; Bertoni 1907, 1921; Zingarelli 1932; Viscardi 1941; Holtus 1979a, 1979b, 1988; Holtus (*et alii*) 1989; Holtus – Wunderli 2005; etc.

¹³ Cf. Ruggieri 1962, 1966; Folena 1964; Roncaglia 1965; Rosellini 1977-1980; Limentani 1981: 334; Cremonesi 1983; Bologna 1987; Segre 1995; Cigni 2000: 72; Infurna 2003.

¹⁴ Cf. Benedetto 1928: XXX

¹⁵ Cf. Roncaglia 1965: 731.

literary singularity and on the basis of linguistic considerations¹⁶. Both texts exhibit particular phenomena of interference when compared to other French texts composed in Italy in the Middle Ages¹⁷. Carl Theodor Gossen considers the *Devisement* a «special case» within the framework of Franco-Italian literature¹⁸. Gustav Ineichen rules out the inclusion of the French of Marco Polo and Rustichello's book among examples of the «Franco-Venetan» language, since a substantial difference separates it chronologically and linguistically from «Franco-Venetan» literature proper¹⁹. According to Cesare Segre and Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, the *Devisement* displays a very peculiar linguistic mixture of Italian and French, which proves to be much different from the artificial mixed language (*Mischsprache*) known as «Franco-Italian» or «Franco-Venetan»²⁰. Philippe Ménard refuses the label of «Franco-Venetan» to describe the language of *f*, in favour of the more general designation «Franco-Italian»²¹. In Maria Grazia Capusso's opinion, the linguistic status of the *Devisement* is «indefinable and, in any case, highly original» in the framework of Franco-Italian production²². Günter Holtus and Peter Wunderli consider the *Devisement* a typical example of a Franco-Italian variety depending on spoken French of the time, and, accordingly, place it in a secondary sector of the Franco-Italian literature²³. Recently, Simon Gaunt has observed that «Franco-Italian» is in some respects a misleading designation for the language of *F*²⁴.

A first peculiar element which distinguishes the *Devisement dou monde* from other French texts composed in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is its process of elaboration: the work was composed by two authors who spoke two distinct linguistic varieties, greatly different from one another, and who decided to use in their book a third language which neither knew as a mother tongue²⁵. The italianisms in the text reflect two vernacular varieties of medieval Italy: Tuscan and Venetan²⁶.

The deep hybridism of the manuscripts *F* and *f* leads us to wonder about the specific contribution of both coauthors in the elaboration of such a composite work²⁷. The prevailing view among scholars at present is that Marco Polo knew French and used it to communicate his travel memories to

¹⁶ Cf. Renzi 1976: 570.

¹⁷ Ivi: 575.

¹⁸ Cf. Gossen 1975: 133.

¹⁹ Cf. Ineichen 1989: 66. Ineichen adapts to the *Devisement* a concept developed by Limentani referring to *Estoires de Venise* (Limentani 1972: CV).

²⁰ Segre 1983: 10; Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011b²: 86.

²¹ Ménard 2012: 260.

²² Cf. Capusso 2007: 165.

²³ Cf. Holtus – Wunderli 2005: 31-32. See also Holtus 1977: 88.

²⁴ Cf. Gaunt 2013: 15.

²⁵ Cf. Gossen 1975: 133.

²⁶ On the meaning of the term «Venetian», see note 10.

²⁷ Capusso 2008: 268.

Rustichello, orally or in writing. Accordingly, it makes sense to think that four distinct languages interacted in the composition of the book: the French of Marco Polo and his native language, Old Venetian; the French of Rustichello and his native language, Old Pisan. The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the linguistic problem of the *Devisement dou monde* turns out to be very complex because it involves various key issues.

The final aim of the linguistic analysis is to distinguish the respective responsibilities of the two coauthors and to shed new light on the process of drafting (*mise en écrit*). Such a result, however, cannot be obtained without first clarifying which, among the significant linguistic features of *F* and *f*, might stem from the original, and which ones might be attributed to scribal intervention. In this regard, it must be noted that at least three linguistic strata combine in the extant manuscripts of the «Franco-Italian» version: the Marco Polo language layer (Venetian or maybe French with Venetian traits); the Rustichello language layer (a literary French permeated with western Tuscan traits); and the scribe's (or more likely, the scribes') language layer²⁸. This peculiar linguistic situation requires a global approach to the problem. In order to answer the question about Marco's and Rustichello's roles in the process of elaboration, one must first address two distinct and complementary issues here. Firstly, we need to tackle the problem of the relationships between the orthographic and linguistic characteristics of *F* and *f* and those of the other work composed by Rustichello, his Arthurian compilation. Secondly, we will have to consider whether the hybridism of these manuscripts reflects the characteristics of the original version, or if it has been modified by the work of scribes²⁹.

2. Marco Polo, Rustichello da Pisa and the Pisan-Genoese scriptorium

An important factor in the linguistic problem of the *Devisement dou monde* is represented by the context in which the work was created. It is well known that the book was composed in Genoa prison in 1298. Since the 1990s, several studies on the circulation of Arthurian prose romances in Italy (*Tristan*, *Lancelot-Graal*, *Guiiron le Courtois*) have identified a group of over thirty French manuscripts copied by Italian scribes which date back to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and can be localised in Genoa³⁰ on the basis of material features (script, parchment and decoration)³¹. Furthermore, a few linguistic peculiarities which can be found in the notes for the illuminator written in the margins of some manuscripts allow us to say that

²⁸ Cf. Gossen 1975: 136.

²⁹ Cf. Segre 1983: 13.

³⁰ Cf. Benedetti 1990; Cigni 1992, 1993, 1994, 2000, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2013.

³¹ Cf. Avril – Gousset 1984; Gousset 1988. For other hypotheses see Cigni 1993: 424-425.

this group of French manuscripts was copied by Pisan scribes³². These considerations lead to the hypothesis that all these manuscripts were produced by Pisan prisoners while incarcerated in Genoa. In fact, several sources confirm that quite a number of writers and scribes were held in the Genoese prison following the battle of Meloria (1284): Nerio Sanpante, Bondie Testario, Rindolfi Ridolfi Pungolini, Bacciameo di Baccone and a Taddeo³³. The *Devisement*'s prologue enables us to add Rustichello's name to the preceding list:

Le quel [= Marco Polo] puis, demorant en la charchre de Jene, fist retraire toutes cestes chouses a messire Rustaciaus de Pise, que en celle meissme chartre estoit, au tens qu'il avoit .MCCXCVIII. anç que Jeçucrit nesqui (*Prologue 4*)³⁴.

Arthurian prose romance is the most favourite genre among the works contained in the Pisan-Genoese French manuscripts, but other types of text are also found: «Matter of Rome» romances, universal and ancient history, hagiography, didactic literature, moral philosophy, allegorical and encyclopedic literature³⁵. The results achieved by recent research demonstrate the vital role played by Pisa in the reception and diffusion of French medieval literature in Tuscany and northern Italy in the late thirteenth century³⁶. This was the cultural milieu in which the *Devisement dou monde* was probably conceived and composed. The problem of its language requires first the analysis of the *scripta* used in the Pisan-Genoese manuscripts, since it appears necessary to establish which ones – among the «Italianising» features of *F* and *f* – are reflected in the texts copied in the Genoese *scriptorium*³⁷.

It is significant that the most ancient and important witness to Rustichello's Arthurian romance, the MS Paris BNF fr. 1463, usually designated by the letter *A*, belongs to the group of French manuscripts copied by Pisan prisoners in Genoa³⁸. Paul Meyer was the first scholar who noticed linguistic similarities between this codex and *F*³⁹. Additional correspondences between the two manuscripts were pointed out by Luigi Foscolo Benedetto. He aimed to demonstrate that the «maistre Rusticiaus de Pise»⁴⁰ who signs the Arthurian compilation at its beginning is the same as the «messire Rustaciaus de Pise»⁴¹ mentioned in the first lines of the *Devisement dou monde*. Accordingly,

³² Cf. Benedetti 1990; Cigni 1993: 428-429; 1994: 18.

³³ Cf. Cigni 1993: 429; 1994: 9, 14 n. 7; 2006.

³⁴ We follow the edition of *F* by Eusebi 2010. See also Benedetto 1928, Ronchi 1982. For more on the prologue, see Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011d².

³⁵ Cf. Cigni 2007a: 14-15; 2010: 188, 192.

³⁶ Cf. Cigni 1994: 9.

³⁷ Cf. Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011b²: 95.

³⁸ Cf. Cigni 1992; 1993: 424; 1994. See also Meyer 1904: 25 n. 2.

³⁹ Cf. Meyer 1904: 24-25. See also Capusso 2008: 269.

⁴⁰ Cigni 1994: 233 [1 3].

⁴¹ Eusebi 2010: *Prolog.* 4.

his analysis was mainly focused on the style and phraseology of both works, rather than on orthographic and linguistic phenomena⁴². Today, thanks to the critical edition of Rustichello's romance by Fabrizio Cigni, it is possible to confirm the similarity between *F* and the MS *A* (Paris BNF fr. 1463) also from the point of view of spelling and language⁴³. However, at this stage of the research, we cannot say with certainty whether such specific characteristics reflect the *usus scribendi* of Rustichello or are to be attributed to the *scripta* used in the Genoese *scriptorium*. Only a linguistic study of the whole group of French manuscripts copied by Pisan copyists will allow us to address these issues more specifically. So far, the analysis has only considered a small number of texts, and the data in our possession does not permit even an approximate generalisation⁴⁴.

The ultimate objective of the comparison is to isolate the peculiarities that distinguish Rustichello's works from one another. Previous analyses of the *Deisement's* language have identified a significant set of differences between *F* and the MS *A*, which concern first vocabulary, then morphology (especially verbal morphology) and finally phonology and spelling⁴⁵. As shown by several scholars (Benedetto, Terracini, Kaiser, Gossen, Ineichen, Capusso)⁴⁶, MS *F* appears to be characterised by a considerable number of Venetisms. The problem is whether they stem directly from Marco Polo himself, or have been inserted in the text by a Venetan copyist. This is where the second dimension of the linguistic problem of the *Deisement dou monde* comes in: namely the localisation of the «Franco-italian» manuscripts *F e f*.

3. *The language of F and f*

3.1. Previous analyses on the language of *F* (Paris BNF fr. 1116) have not led to a definite conclusion. Two alternative hypotheses have been proposed in literature. Some scholars localise *F* in central Italy and more precisely in Tuscany. Others suggest that the manuscript was copied by a north Italian, perhaps Venetan scribe.

⁴² Cf. Benedetto 1928: XIX-XXVII.

⁴³ Cf. Cigni 1994: 372-377. See also Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011b²: 89; 2011c²: 111-114; 2011d²; Capusso 2008: 270; Cigni 2008: 228-230.

⁴⁴ See Hasenohr 1995 (MS Paris BNF fr. 354); Cigni 2010: 208 (MSS Tours BM 1008; Modena BEU α .T.4.14; Lyon BM 886); Cigni 2013: 120-121 (MS Firenze BML Ashb. 1076); Cigni 2000: 88 (MS Oxford BL Douce 189). See also Cigni 2009: 172; Lagomarsini 2014: 162 ff.; Zinelli 2015.

⁴⁵ Cf. Bertoni 1928; Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011c²: 113-114; Capusso 2008: 270.

⁴⁶ Cf. Benedetto 1928: XXX; Terracini 1933: 422; Kaiser 1967; Gossen 1975; Capusso 1980; 2008; Ineichen 1989.

The first opinion on the date and localisation of *F* was advanced by Benedetto⁴⁷. According to him, *F* is the most ancient extant manuscript of the *Devisement*, dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was written by a copyist originating from central Italy. It should be stressed, however, that this localisation is not based on a systematic study of the matter. First of all, Benedetto draws attention to a marginal note on folio 82r, which might confirm the central Italian provenance of the manuscript: «qui diviça quine uve lo chor di sancto tomeo» ('Here it is explained where Saint Thomas' body lies')⁴⁸. Then he points out two orthographic and phonological features which could be attributed to a Tuscan scribe: the lengthening of the initial consonant after certain words ending in a vowel (*e ssez*, *e lla*, *a ccelui*, *a cchief*, etc.) – the so-called «raddoppiamento sintattico»; and the sporadic use of the grapheme «x» representing [z], which is, instead, typical of the north Italian *scripta*.

Benedetto's deductions were accepted by Carl Theodor Gossen⁴⁹. His analysis, based on the dissertation of his student Elgrid Kaiser⁵⁰, mainly focuses on the vocabulary. He identified a small number of Tuscanisms in the language of *F*, and a much more consistent amount of Venetisms⁵¹. Gossen does not draw any conclusion from this, but seems to ascribe the Venetan terms to the direct contribution of Marco Polo. He does not specify whether the Tuscanisms are to be attributed to Rustichello or to the copyist of *F*. Elgrid Kaiser, too, agrees with Benedetto's localisation, but her view is more nuanced⁵². She considers the typically Venetan spellings found in *F* as proof that Rustichello translated into French a Venetian original (namely Marco Polo's travel notes), but does not rule out the possibility that the manuscript might have been copied by a Venetan scribe⁵³.

Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, too, concurs with Benedetto's opinion and believes *F* to have been written in central Italy or, more specifically, in Tuscany⁵⁴. A considerable agreement with this position is expressed in a recent study by Maria Grazia Capusso, who notices the clearly Italian traits contained in the rubrics of the manuscript⁵⁵. It should be noted that the previous analysis conducted by Capusso on verbal morphology almost thirty years earlier (1980), did not provide any useful evidence for the localisation of *F*. This study substantially confirmed the results of the analysis conducted by Kaiser and Gossen on vocabulary. At the morphological level, the cases of hybridism

⁴⁷ Cf. Benedetto 1928: XI, XXVII.

⁴⁸ Ivi: XI.

⁴⁹ Cf. Gossen 1975: 136.

⁵⁰ Cf. Kaiser 1967.

⁵¹ Cf. Gossen 1975: 136-142. On Gossen's analysis see Ménard 2012: 260.

⁵² Cf. Kaiser 1967: 33.

⁵³ Ivi: 174-175.

⁵⁴ Cf. Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011b²: 86.

⁵⁵ Cf. Capusso 2008: 264-265.

attributable to the influence of Venetan or northern Italian are far more numerous than the hybrid forms due to the influence of Tuscan⁵⁶.

The theory sustaining the northern localisation of *F* is mainly based on codicological evidence. Some material peculiarities (especially the pen-flourished decoration) have allowed Marie-Thérèse Gousset to date the manuscript to the beginning of the fourteenth century (1320-1330), as Benedetto had proposed. Unlike Benedetto, though, she localises the origin of *F* in Veneto rather than in central Italy. Gousset manages to decipher a barely readable note on folio 1 *recto*, which could refer to an owner of the manuscript («quelque riche bourgeois italien, peut-être un marchand lui-même intéressé par l'Orient»). The annotation, written by a non-professional thirteenth-century hand, seems to display northern Italian linguistic features: «Pogio andrea Zorgel»⁵⁷. An analogous localisation of *F* has recently been suggested also by Mario Eusebi. On the basis of some linguistic forms contained in the rubrics and in the text, he suggests that the manuscript was copied in northern Italy, perhaps in Venice or more likely in Padua⁵⁸.

From this short review it may easily be seen that no analysis has been particularly focused on the problem of localising *F* and *f* until now. The research project I have recently undertaken aims to fill this gap. In this section I will briefly summarize the most important results of the investigation.

My analysis will focus on the formal features of the text which appear to be most susceptible to the influence of scribe's usage and, hence, may offer interesting indications on his provenance: spelling and phonology. I will leave out phenomena relating to more abstract levels of grammar which are generally less affected by scribal habits, namely vocabulary, syntax, morphology. As mentioned above, previous analyses in these fields have not provided evidence useful for the localisation of *F*⁵⁹.

Several characteristics are typical of Tuscan (and central Italian) *scripta*, and rule out the northern varieties. The most significant are:

- [1] the retention of final /-e/ in the infinitive: *ballere* LVIII-7; *conbatere* CCXXVI-3; *contere* CXV-7 etc. (11 instances); *corere* CCI-8, CCVIII-4; *creere* XLI-4; *durere* CXCII-17; *entere* CXCII-16, CXCVI-6; *fallire* CCXXIX-6; *jungere* XXV-8; *lavere* LIX-12, CCXXVI-3; *mandere* XLII-4; *mangere* XXIV-13; *oc(c)ire* XXV-10 etc. (19 instances); *parlere* LVI-12, LXV-11; *pasere* XXII-5, LVI-5; *passere* XXII-4, CXCII-20; *pechere* XXVI-11, XXVI-11, CLXXVI-22; *recevere* CXCVIII-26; *retornere* X-6; *revelere* LXXXIV-5; *servire* CLXXVII-8; *sonere* CXCVIII-22; *trovere* CXCVIII-18; *vincere* CC-4, CC-9; *vivere* XXI-5; etc.

⁵⁶ Cf. Capusso 1980: 35-36. See also Capusso 2008: 271.

⁵⁷ Gousset 1996: 354.

⁵⁸ Cf. Eusebi 2010: XII.

⁵⁹ Cf. Kaiser 1967; Gossen 1975; Capusso 1980; Ineichen 1989.

- [2] the raising of /e/ to /i/ in unstressed position: *dismiçuremant* XXXIV-7; *divient* CXCI-12; *divisarai* XLV-14, *divise* XLIII-1, LXXV-1, LXXXVIII-1, *divisé* LXVII-5, LXXXVIII-20, XCVIII-6, *divisee* XXXV-7, *divisent* CXIX-25, *diviserai* LXXIII-26 etc. (5 instances), *diviseron* CLXXIII-3, *divissé* CLIX-15, *divissement* CXC-16; *in* I-3 etc. (22 instances); *inavrés* CCXXXI-6; *incantamant* XLVII-3, XLVIII-3, XLVIII-3, *incanter* XLVIII-4; *incarnasion* XXV-3, CXCVIII-14; *incontre* CCXXIX-4; *infant* XXXI-2; *inimis* LXIX-22 etc. (5 instances); *inpindre* CLXXV-19; *inpoindre* CLXXV-19; *instrumenti* LVI-13; *intendés* CLXXVI-20; *introit* XL-10; *inver* XXI-5, XXI-5; *inverno* CCXVI-10; etc.
- [3] the high-mid vowel raising in blocked syllable before [ŋk] and [ŋg] (the so-called «anaphonesis»): *vincere* CC-4, CC-9, *vincre* LXVI-5 etc. (5 instances); *lunc* CXIV-8, CXXXVIII-9, CLIII-11; *lunge* XLV-6; *ungent* CLVII-8 (also *ungle* CXCVIII-8, CCXII-2, CCXII-4);
- [4] the prothesis of [j] before initial /s/ followed by a consonant: *iscrivre* CLVI-17, *iscrivre* CXXXVIII-14; *ysnellemant* CXCVIII-15;
- [5] the frequent consonant lengthening in forms corresponding to Tuscan words with gemination: *abbaïes* CLI-11; *abbee* CLVII-4; *accater* CLXXII-6; *accer* XXXVIII-5; *acchatent* CLXXVI-7, *acchatte* CLXXVI-6; *becche* CLXXIV-11, *becchés* CLXXIV-12; *bocconç* CXCIV-6; *cacciar* XCIII-21; *occir* XXVIII-5 etc. (5 instances), *occire* XXV-10 etc. (14 instances), *occirent* LXI-9, CXLIX-9, *occis* XLI-13 etc. (17 instances), *occise* LXI-9, *occist* CCXXVII-2, *occistrent* CCVIII-8, *occit* LXIX-22; *pecchiés* LXI-13; *sece* LXIX-20, *seccete* XXXVII-5, *secchité* XXXIX-2; *succar* CLIV-18, CLIV-18, CXCIV-3, *succare* CXXV-6; *tocchast* LXVI-8; etc. *affer* VI-1, CCXXII-5; *affere* CCXXII-6; *ballere* LVIII-7; *belle(s)* XVIII-15, etc. (86 instances), *bielle(s)* XVII-5 etc. (31 instances), *bolle* LXXXIV-3, *boller* LXIX-28; *campanelle* CXXIV-5; *canelle* CLXXXII-8, *cannelle* CXVI-14, CXVI-17; *castelle* CXCII-15; etc.
- [6] the retention of intervocalic voiceless stops: *vite* XXVI-6, XXVI-9, LXXXVII-5, CXCII-6 'life';
- [7] the lengthening of a word-initial consonant after unstressed monosyllables *e* 'and', *a* 'to', *qe* 'that' (Tusc. *che*) and the stressed monosyllable *qui* 'who' (Tusc. *chi*): *e lle mer de Rocelle* CLX-15, *e lles greingnor moutonç dou monde* CLXXIV-14, *e sseç neveu* LXXXV-5; *a ccelui point* II-3, *a lles u[saj]es* LXIX-24, *a lles qelç ydules* CLXXIII-53, *de lonc a llonc* CIV-4, *a sseç homes* LXV-11, *a ssezç filç* LXIX-4; *qui lle tient* XCIII-7; *tant tost qe lle malaide* CLXXV-4;
- [8] the gemination of final /n/ in the preposition *en* 'in' (Tusc. *in*) before a vowel-initial word: *ala enn oste* LXIX-13; *por metre enn escripture* LXIX-36; *des quelç voç en conterai enn'avant* XXI-7;
- [9] the use of the graphemes ⟨g⟩ and ⟨gi⟩ (both representing the phoneme /dʒ/) in words which originally contained the phoneme /dʒ/: *giamiaus*

XXI-8, XXXV-8 'camel' (OVen. /dz-/ < OFr. /ʃ-/), *giambellot* LXXII-6, LXXII-6, *gianbelot* CXV-5 'camlet' (OVen. /dz-/ < OFr. /ʃ-/), *geb(b)eline(s)* XCIII-28, CCXVII-2, CCXVII-4 'sable' (from MHG **zēbelē* < OSlv. **sāběl'ŕ*).

Certain features exhibited by *F* are specific to western Tuscany (Pisa, Lucca), particularly to Pisa:

- [A] the change of the Latin consonant cluster /ps/ to /ʃ:/ in the form *cascie* LVII-19, *cassie* LVII-18 = *cascia* 'chest' [→ Pisa, Pistoia]⁶⁰;
- [B] the change of Late Latin [tj] (< lat. -tī-) to [s]: *contenanse* LXXX-11; *creense* LXXXV-15; *mension* CXCI-14; *proense* XXXV-4; *renonse* XVI-1, *renunse* XVI-2; *semense* CLXVIII-5; *uçanse* CLXVII-8; *usanse* LVIII-12 [→ Pisa, Lucca]⁶¹;

(Less certain but still probable is the change of Late Latin [ttj] to /ss/ in *abitasion* XLV-12 etc. (5 instances); *ancarnasion*(z) IX-2 etc. (16 instances), *incarnasion* XXV-3, CXCVIII-14; *benedision* XII-3; *condision* CLXIII-8; *destrusion* CCXXXI-2; *generasion* Prol-2 etc. (7 instances); *generasions* LXXIV-26, *generasion*z LIX-5, LXXIX-7, LXXXII-7, *gersions* LXXIII-13, *jenerasion(s)* Prol-1 etc. (9 instances), *jenerasion*z CLXXV-14; *habitasion* XXXIII-5 etc. (6 instances), *habitasion* XXXIV-8, XXXIV-10; *nasion* LVII-16; *orasion*(z) LXXXVII-5 etc. (4 instances), *orassion* LXXXVIII-12; *resuresion* XCI-35, XCI-41) [→ Pisa, Lucca];

- [C] the use of the grapheme ⟨ç⟩ representing [z]: *aaiçemant* CLVII-5; *abeçoigne* XCVI-4, CLXXXIV-5, *abeçoingnoit* CXXXVIII-5, *abeçoigne* LXIX-9; VIII-2, CXCII-3; *aplaçir* CCII-6; *beçant* XCIII-28, etc. (6 instances), *beçanz* CXIII-17, *beiçant* CXCIV-7, *biçanç* LXXXVI-4, *biçans* LVII-14, *biçant* XCV-9, XCV-12, *biçanz* LXIX-34; *beçoignables* LXXXIII-6, XCVI-2, *beço(n)gne(s)* LXXXI-10 etc. (11 instances), *beçoignent* CVI-3, *beçoignes* CLVI-10, *beçoingne* XCIV-5, *beçoignables* LXXXVIII-9, *beiçoignables* XCVII-19, *beiçoigne(s)* LXIX-10 (7 instances), *beiçoigne* CXIX-7, *beiçoignent* CX-7, *beçoingne* CX-7, *beiçoingnoit* VIII-2, XVIII-12, *beiçon*z XCVII-19, *beinçoignables* XCIV-15, *beinçoigne(s)* LXXIII-21 etc. (4 instances), *beinçoingnes* CXIX-6, *biçoignables* XVIII-12, *biçoigne* XLII-2, LXIX-9, *biçong* XVIII-12, *biçongne(s)* XVI-5, XVIII-10; *cuiçin*z CXCVIII-14; *deçers* XLVIII-11, XLIX-16, *deçert* II-11 etc. (22 instances); *deviçon* CLXV-12; *dismiçureemant* XXXIV-7; *doç(e)* XXII-11 etc. (11 instances), *douçe* XLIX-2; *eçoie* LVI-12; *façan* CIX-5, *faiçain* LXXI-17, LXXI-19; *faiçon* CLXV-13, CCXXII-5, CCXXXI-3, *faiçon*z CCX-3; *faiçonomie* CLXXIII-47; *greçois* XX-5, XXII-3, *greçoys* CCXVIII-2; *Jeçucris(s)t* Prol-4 etc. (6 instances); *Jeruçalem* X-5, *Jeruçalen* X-4; *maiçonnet* CXIII-14; *meçen* XXX-10; *meçure* XXXV-8, CXCVIII-29; *oçe*

⁶⁰ Cf. Castellani 2000: 336.

⁶¹ Ivi: 295.

LXXXIV-12, *oçoit* CLXXVII-8, *oiçent* CLXXXIII-36; *oiçeler* XCIII-3, *oiçelle* LXXIII-25; *poiçon* CXVI-12, CXCI-9; *preçent* LXXXVIII-15, *preçentent* XIV-4; *roçe* LXXXIII-32; *saraçin* XXV-3 etc. (14 instances), *saraçinç* XXV-5, *saraçins* LI-3, LI-8, *saraçinç* LI-13 etc. (8 instances); *teçor* XXIV-10 etc. (4 instances), *treçor(s)* XXIV-7 etc. (23 instances); *uçance* LIV-8 etc. (12 instances), *uçançe(s)* XXXIV-5, LXXI-24, CLXXIII-41, *uçanse* CLXVII-8; *uçent* XXXVI-11 etc. (5 instances), *uçés* CCXXIII-3; *vaiçellemant* LXXXV-14; *veneiçonç* CXXXIV-2 [→ Pisa, Lucca]⁶²;

- [D] the use of the adverb of place *u* ‘where’: XIII-1 etc. (10 instances) [→ Pisa, Lucca, but also Siena, Arezzo]⁶³.

On the contrary, the characteristics of spelling and phonology which may be considered as typical of northern Italy, are rather few:

- [i] the use of the graphemes ⟨ϕ⟩, ⟨j⟩ or ⟨g⟩ instead of the French ⟨ll⟩ (= /ʎ/): *meravoie* XXXI-2, LXVIII-5, *mervaie* XXII-9, *mervoie* IX-5 etc. (29 instances), *mervoies* LXXV-2; *moiere* LXIX-3, CCXVI-3; *paie* CCXVI-10; *recoient* LVII-7, *recoire* CXC VII-3, *regogent* XVIII-5⁶⁴;
- [ii] the use of the graphemes ⟨z⟩ or ⟨ç⟩ instead of the French ⟨ch⟩ (= /tʃ/): *baçaler* XV-5, CCXXVII-2; *blançe* LXXIII-28; *çaitif* CXVI-7; *çambelloit* LXXIII-9; *çascun* XCVI-3, *çascunç* CLXXIII-26; *trençant* CCVIII-6;
- [iii] the use of the graphemes ⟨z⟩ or ⟨ç⟩ instead of the French ⟨j⟩/⟨ge⟩ (= /dʒ/) or the Tuscan ⟨g(i)⟩ (= /dʒ/): *borçois* CLI-33; *chançoient* CXXIII-3; *çire* XXII-11; *çoie* CX-7; *deçiunoit* XXVI-9; *legnaçe* XVII-6; *liçeramant* CXCIII-3; *lonçe* XXVI-9; *sorçe* XXI-8⁶⁵;
- [iv] the use of the grapheme ⟨x⟩ representing [z]: *caxon* XXII-4; *exbaies* CXIV-9; *exleu* XCV-10; *uxance* CLI-25 etc. (5 instances), *uxent* CLXXVI-18.

One might think that the northern Italian traits are due to the scribe, and the Tuscan ones stem from the original version. In fact, many of the characteristics listed under [1-9] and [A-D] are also displayed by the MS *A* (BNF fr. 1463) and other manuscripts belonging to the Pisan-Genoese group⁶⁶. It should be noted, however, that it is very unlikely that a northern Italian scribe reproduced so faithfully the spelling and the phonology of his exemplar and inserted in it few features of his own language. So it seems more plausible to suppose that *F* was copied by a scribe originating in Tuscany and, more

⁶² Cf. Castellani 1990: 206-220; 2000: 295.

⁶³ Ivi: 291, 320, 359, 431.

⁶⁴ Cf. Kaiser 1967: 175.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Cf. Hasenohr 1995; Cigni 2000: 88; 2009: 172; 2010: 208; 2013: 120-121.

precisely, in Pisa, and that the northern Italian traits listed under [i-iv] stem directly from the original.

There exists another piece of evidence that may support this latter hypothesis. The early circulation of *F* in western Tuscany (or among western Tuscan readers) is proved by a marginal note on folio 82r. As stated above, there is a note written in a hand contemporary or almost contemporary with the copyist's near the section devoted to the relics of Saint Thomas the Apostle⁶⁷: «qui diviça quine uv'è lo chor di sancto Tomeo»⁶⁸. This short sentence exhibits two traits typical of the western Tuscan *scripta*: the grapheme ζ to represent the phoneme /z/ (*diviça*) and the adverb of place *uve* (*uv'è*). Conversely, it seems reasonable to exclude the possibility that the barely readable owner's note on folio 1 *recto* is by a northern hand. Apart from the fact that the form *Zorgel* proposed by Gousset is far from certain⁶⁹, it must be noted that spellings like $\langle gi \rangle$ (*Pogio*) and $\langle ge \rangle$ (*Zorgel? Pagele?*) are foreign to the fourteenth-century Venetan *scripta*.

It may be said, in conclusion, that the hypothesis attributing *F* to a Tuscan scribe, probably originating in Pisa or Lucca, is the most plausible of all explanations. Nevertheless, the possibility that the manuscript was copied by a northern Italian copyist cannot wholly be ruled out. This issue requires further research.

3.2. The analysis of *f* does not provide much evidence for its localisation. The few extant passages show a language very close to *F*'s. Like *F*, *f* is both characterised by Tuscan ([1], [2]) or western Tuscan features ([3]), and by Venetan ones ([4])⁷⁰:

- [1] *gire* (= *F* CXIII-3), *Mangi* (= *F* CXII-2, CXII-7);
- [2] *pinte* (= *F* CXIII-14), *pinture* (= *F* CXIII-14);
- [3] *oiçellant* (\approx *hoicellant* *F* XCIII-41), *boçogne*, *beçogne* (\approx *beçogne*, *beçoingne* *F* XCIV-4), *beiçongnes* (\approx *beinçongnes* *F* XCIV-8), *beçongnables* (\approx *beinçongnables* *F* XCIV-15), *beçognables* (= *beçognables* *F* XCVI-2), *beçant* (\approx *beçanz* *F* CXIII-17), *beçoigne* (\approx *beçogne* *F* CXVI-15) [*resiresion* \approx *resuresion* *F* XCIII-41]
- [4] *çaitif* (= *F* çaitif CXVI-7).

It is significant that *f* displays Tuscan ([A]-[E]) and western Tuscan traits ([F]-[G]) where *F* exhibits French forms ([B]-[G]) or a Latinate spelling ([A]):

- [A] *gengebre* (\neq *çengibre* *F* CXII-5);

⁶⁷ Marco Polo, *Le deviseement dou monde*, ch. CLXXV.

⁶⁸ Benedetto 1928: XI, reads *quine*, Eusebi 2010: XI, reads instead *onine*.

⁶⁹ Cf. Eusebi 2010: XI.

⁷⁰ Forms are cited after the edition of *f* by Concina 2007 and Ménard 2012.

- [B] *divisé* (≠ *devisé* F XCVII-7), *diviserai* (≠ *deviserai* F CXIV-3), *divient* (≠ *devient* F CXIV-9), *provinces* (≠ *provence* F CXV-11; but see also *provences f* vs. *provinces* F XCVII-2), *divissé* (≠ *devisé* F CXVI-10);
- [C] *cannelle* (≠ *canele* F CXV-4);
- [D] *a llor* (≠ *a lor* F XCVII-7), *a ssez* (*a ssez* F CXVI-6);
- [E] *enn une* (≠ *en une* F CXIV-2), *enn ont* (≠ *en ont* F CXIV-4);
- [F] *maïçonz* (≠ *maisonz* F XCIV-6), *diviçerai* (≠ *deviserai* F XCIV-17), *beçognables* (≠ *besognables* F XCVI-8);
- [G] *u* (≠ *ou* F CXV-4, F CXVI-3, F CXVI-11).

This evidence suggests that the manuscript in question was likely also written by a western Tuscan scribe.

4. *The composition of the Devisement dou monde*

The localisation of *F* and *f* in western Tuscany must be verified by a more detailed study. If this hypothesis were supported by further data, one should exclude the possibility that the various Venetisms contained in the «Franco-Italian» manuscripts could be due to the scribes, and assume, conversely, that they were already present in the original version⁷¹. The question now is whether this supposition is compatible with what we know or can realistically imagine about the book's drafting.

Various scholars (Adolfo Bartoli, Charles Victor Langlois, Albert t'Serstevens etc.)⁷² have supposed that Marco Polo dictated his travel memories in Venetian to Rustichello, who translated them into French and put them in writing at the same time. Such a process of composition would explain the significant amount of non-French and half-French words contained in the text. Since Rustichello was unable to translate all the words Marco Polo dictated, he would either reproduce them faithfully or adapt them approximately to French morpho-phonology. The incoherencies, repetitions and confusions contained in the text would be a reflection of orality. But this hypothesis has not found widespread acceptance. Most scholars believe that Rustichello's translation relied on written texts made by Marco Polo himself. Some even think that the sole responsibility of Rustichello would have been to embellish and turn into a literary language a set of notes taken by Marco Polo during his stay in Asia. Opinions differ, however, with regard to the language of these notes.

⁷¹ Cf. Benedetto 1928: XXX.

⁷² Cf. Bartoli 1863: XLVIII-XLI; Langlois 1921: 249; t'Serstevens 1955: 11-13. Several authors (Guillaume Pauthier, Paul Vidal-Lablache, Henry Yule, Leonardo Olschki etc.) affirm that Rustichello wrote the book from an oral account by Marco, but do not specify the language used by the traveller. See Pauthier 1865: LXXXVI-LXXXVIII, XCI; Vidal-Lablache 1891: 11; Yule 1903: I 53; Olschki 1957: 128-129.

Benedetto thinks that Marco Polo made available to Rustichello some notes written in a «colonial» French, namely the Old French spread throughout the Levant in the period of the Crusades⁷³. Owing to the lack of an alternative international language, French was widely used as *lingua franca* throughout the Latin Orient. As Niccolò and Maffeo Polo (the traveller's father and uncle) had been residing in Constantinople for some time prior, it is likely that Marco Polo too had a fair knowledge of Levantine French⁷⁴. Gustav Ineichen concurs with this view and argues that the basis of Marco Polo's French should be an oral and colloquial French that was used in the Mediterranean and also in Venice⁷⁵.

According to an alternative hypothesis, dating back to Paulin Paris (1838), Rustichello da Pisa would have reworked notes taken by Marco Polo in Venetian, his native language⁷⁶. A few scholars (Giotto Dainelli, Elgrid Kaiser) go so far as to say that Marco Polo's notes were accurate and complete, and Rustichello only translated them into French⁷⁷. If he did not know the corresponding French word, he either left the original expression, or gave it a French form⁷⁸. The economic historian Franco Borlandi assumes the existence of a primitive version of Marco Polo's report, structured as a trade manual («manuale di mercatura»), which originally would have circulated independently from the French version⁷⁹. Other scholars (Benvenuto Terracini, Maria Grazia Capusso)⁸⁰, finally, consider the possibility that Marco Polo wrote his travel notes in the so-called «colonial Venetian» («Veneziano de là da mar»), according to the definition of Gianfranco Folena⁸¹, a variety spread throughout Venice's maritime and overseas possessions, largely infiltrated by French features and elements.

The process of the making of the text is destined to remain unknown to us. It seems appropriate, however, to draw attention to some data that might shed new light on the problem. It is very likely that there existed a set of travel notes written by Marco Polo, which served as a starting point for Rustichello's work, but it should be noted that the concurrence of internal evidence seems to prove that the traveller also contributed orally to the composition of the text⁸². Borlandi remarks that Oriental names and words contained in the *Devisement* are not transcribed according to the Old French orthographic

⁷³ Cf. Folena 1978; Minervini 1996, 2010; Aslanov 2006.

⁷⁴ Cf. Benedetto 1928: XXVI-XXVII, XXX-XXXI.

⁷⁵ Cf. Ineichen 1989: 66, 71-72. See also Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011a²: 35-36; 2011b²: 84-85.

⁷⁶ Cf. Paris 1838: 355-356.

⁷⁷ Cf. Dainelli 1941: 198-200 (see also Gallo 1955); Kaiser 1967: 29.

⁷⁸ Cf. Kaiser 1967: 36.

⁷⁹ Cf. Borlandi 1962. See also Burgio 2003: 49; Barbieri 2004b: 138-139; Burgio – Mascherpa 2007: 141, note 65.

⁸⁰ Cf. Terracini 1956; Capusso 2008: 273.

⁸¹ Folena 1968-1970. See also Folena 1978.

⁸² Cf. Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011b²: 92; 2011c²: 114; Capusso 2008: 274.

system, but according to the Italian one. Consequently, this evidence would demonstrate that Rustichello used an exemplar written in a medieval Italian vernacular for his translation. To this, however, we must add that several Oriental words are written in an orthographic system that reflects Tuscan pronunciation, rather than Venetian: e.g. *giambellot* LXXII-6, LXXII-6, *gianbelot* CXV-5 ‘camlet’ (OVen. /dz-/ < OFr. /ʃ-/), *giamiaus* XXI-8, XXXV-8 ‘camel’ (OVen. /dz-/ < OFr. /ʃ-/)⁸³. The treatment of initial palatals proves the phonetic realisation of these words. The use of the Tuscan digraph «gi» (representing the phoneme /dʒ/) instead of the Venetan grapheme «z» (= /dz/) ensures that we are not dealing with purely orthographic phenomena here. This leads us to suppose that Rustichello adapted to his phonologic system words which he had heard pronounced in Venetian or in a French spoken by a native Venetian speaker. Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish with certainty whether these Tuscan spellings were either present in the original version or were inserted by scribes. The comparison with the *B* branch of the tradition⁸⁴ does not yield sufficient evidence to settle the question⁸⁵.

Another fact deserves to be mentioned. Gossen notes that various hybrid forms of the *Devisement* are the same as the ones which occur in so-called «Franco-Venetan» literature⁸⁶. Capusso, too, identified in the *Devisement*'s language lexical elements typical of epic texts composed in north-eastern Italy in the fourteenth century⁸⁷. These observations may give rise to two different interpretations. One is that Marco Polo's French was also influenced by literary models⁸⁸. The other is that there was an original contiguity between the French which would become the means of expression of the «Franco-Venetan» literature in the fourteenth century and the «colonial» French which, according to Benedetto's and Ineichen's opinion, would have been used by Marco Polo in his travel notes. It is important to remember in this regard that some orthographic and phonological features found in «Franco-Venetan» suggest «spoken use of the language, in conversation or at least in reading»⁸⁹. At any rate, our current knowledge of the French *scripta* of north-western Tuscany is not such as to enable us to say with precision which French forms are exclusive to north-eastern Italy and which are common to both areas. The reasonable thing to do, then, is to suspend judgment.

⁸³ Cf. Burgio – Mascherpa 2007: 144-145.

⁸⁴ Cf. Benedetto 1928: CLVIII-CLXX.

⁸⁵ Cf. Burgio – Mascherpa 2007: 144-145; Ménard 2009b: 98.

⁸⁶ Gossen 1975: 142.

⁸⁷ Cf. Capusso 1980: 35-36; 2008: 276.

⁸⁸ Cf. Gossen 1975: 142.

⁸⁹ Renzi 1976: 572.

5. *Conclusions*

The *Mischsprache* of the *Devisement dou monde* is very peculiar, and must be distinguished from the mixed language of other French texts composed in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its typical hybridism arose in a contact situation involving two languages which were already composite. Rustichello's French, learnt from chivalric romances, was characterised by various Italianisms and a few Pisan elements. Marco Polo's language, which was either a Levantine French or a colonial Venetian, should also be a mixed system. The result of their collaboration then passed through the hands of an indefinite number of scribes, who were each distinguished by different speaking and copying habits. The exact contours of this complex linguistic situation are not ascertainable at this time, and maybe they never will be. However, what we can say with certainty is that the label of «Franco-Italian» appears to be unfit to designate a language stemming from a process of elaboration and transmission which must be considered as extraordinary, and in fact, unique.

Bibliography

I. Manuscripts

Firenze BML Ashb. 1076	Firenze	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Ashburnham	1076
London BL Cotton Otho D v	London	British Library	Cotton Otho	D v
Lyon BM 886	Lyon	Bibliothèque Municipale		886
Modena BEU α.T.4.14	Modena	Biblioteca Estense Universitaria		α.T.4.14
Oxford BL Douce 189	Oxford	Bodleian Library	Douce	189
Paris BNF fr. 354	Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale de France	français	354
Paris BNF fr. 1116				1116
Paris BNF fr. 1463				1463
Tours BM 1008	Tours	Bibliothèque Municipale		1008

II. Texts

Marco Polo, *Le devisement dou monde*
Eusebi 2010

Martin da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise*
Limentani 1972

Rustichello da Pisa, *Roman de roi Artus*
Cigni 1994

III. Studies

Aslanov 2006

Cyril Aslanov, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère: à la recherche d'une langue perdue*, Paris, Champion, 2006 («Linguistique française», 12).

Avril – Gousset 1984

Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne. II: XIII^e siècle, par François Avril et Marie-Thérèse Gousset avec la collaboration de Claudia Rabel, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1984 («Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque nationale»).

Barbieri 2004a

Alvaro Barbieri, *Dal viaggio al libro. Studi sul Milione*, Verona, Fiorini, 2004 («Medioevi», Studi, 6).

Barbieri 2004b

Alvaro Barbieri, *Marco, Rustichello, il 'patto', il libro: genesi e statuto testuale del Milione*, in Barbieri 2004a: 129-154; anche in *Medioevo romanzo e orientale. Il viaggio nelle letterature romanze e orientali. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale. VII Convegno della Società Italiana di Filologia Romanza* (Catania-Ragusa, 24-27 settembre 2003), a cura di Giovanna Carbonaro, Mirella Cassarino, Eliana Creazzo e Gaetano Lalomia, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2006 («Medioevo romanzo e orientale», Colloqui, 8), pp. 23-42 (sotto il titolo: *Marco, Rustichello, il "patto", il libro: genesi e statuto testuale del Devisement dou monde alla luce degli studi recenti*).

Barbieri 2004c²

Alvaro Barbieri, *Quale Milione? La questione testuale e le principali edizioni moderne del libro di Marco Polo*, in «Studi Mediolatini e Volgari», 42 (1996), pp. 9-46; poi in Barbieri 2004a: 47-91.

Bartoli 1863

I viaggi di Marco Polo, secondo la lezione del codice Magliabechiano più antico, reintegrati col testo francese a stampa per cura di Adolfo Bartoli, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1863.

Benedetti 1990

Roberto Benedetti, «*Qua fa' un santo e un cavaliere...*» *Aspetti codicologici e note per il miniatore*, in Rosellini (*et alii*) 1990: 31-47.

Benedetto 1928

Marco Polo, *Il Milione*. Prima edizione integrale a cura di Luigi Foscolo

Benedetto, Firenze, Olschki, 1928.

Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011a²

Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, *Enunziazione e produzione del testo nel Milione*, in «Studi mediolatini e volgari», XXV (1977), pp. 5-43; poi in Ead., *Morfologie del testo medievale*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1989 («Studi linguistici e semiologici», 28), pp. 209-241, e in Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011e: 27-67 [da cui si cita].

Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011b²

Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, *Lingue e stili nel Milione*, in *L'epopea delle scoperte*, a cura di Renzo Zorzi, Firenze, Olschki, 1994 («Civiltà veneziana», Saggi, 40), pp. 61-73; poi in Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011e: 83-95 [da cui si cita].

Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011c²

Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, *Nuovi studi su Marco Polo e Rustichello da Pisa*, in *La cultura dell'Italia padana e la presenza francese nei secoli XIII-XV*. Atti del Convegno di Pavia (11-14 settembre 1994), a cura di Luigina Morini, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001, pp. 95-110; poi in Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011e: 109-126 [da cui si cita].

Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011d²

Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, *Pour commencer à raconter le voyage. Le prologue du Devisement du Monde de Marco Polo*, in *Seuils de l'oeuvre dans le texte médiéval*, études recueillies par Emmanuèle Baumgartner et Laurence Harf-Lancner, 2 voll., Paris, Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2002, vol. I, pp. 115-130; poi in Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011e: 69-82 [da cui si cita].

Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2011e

Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, *Scritture di viaggio. Relazioni di viaggiatore e altre testimonianze letterarie e documentarie*, Roma, Aracne, 2011.

Bertoni 1907

Attila, poema franco-italiano di Nicola da Casola, per Giulio Bertoni, Friburgo, Gschwend, 1907.

Bertoni 1921

Giulio Bertoni, *Nota sulla letteratura franco-italiana a proposito della Vita in rima di S. Maria Egiziaca*, in *Studi su vecchie e nuove poesie e prose d'amore e di romanzi*, Modena, Orlandini, 1921, pp. 227-240.

Bertoni 1928

Giulio Bertoni, rec. a Benedetto 1928, in «Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana», 92 (1928), pp. 279-285.

Bologna 1987

Corrado Bologna, *La letteratura dell'Italia settentrionale nel Duecento*, in *Letteratura italiana*, direzione: Alberto Asor Rosa, Torino, Einaudi, 1982-2000, *Storia e geografia*, vol. I. *L'età medievale*, 1987, pp. 101-188; *La letteratura dell'Italia settentrionale nel Trecento*, ivi, pp. 511-600.

Borlandi 1962

Franco Borlandi, *Alle origini del libro di Marco Polo*, in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, 6 voll., Milano, Giuffrè, 1962, vol. I. *Antichità e Alto medioevo*, pp. 105-147.

Burgio 2003

Eugenio Burgio, *Forma e funzione autobiografica nel «Milione»*, in «*In quella parte del libro de la mia memoria*». *Verità e finzioni dell'«io» autobiografico*, a cura di Francesco Bruni, Venezia, Marsilio, 2003 («Saggi Marsilio. Presente storico», 26), pp. 37-55.

Burgio – Eusebi 2008

Eugenio Burgio – Mario Eusebi, *Per una nuova edizione del Milione*, in Conte 2008: 17-48.

Burgio – Mascherpa 2007

Eugenio Burgio – Giuseppe Mascherpa, «*Milione*» latino. *Note linguistiche e appunti di storia della tradizione sulle redazioni Z e L*, in Oniga – Vatteroni 2007: 119-158.

Capusso 1980

Maria Grazia Capusso, *La lingua del Divisament dou Monde di Marco Polo. I. Morfologia verbale*, Pisa, Pacini, 1980 («Biblioteca degli studi mediolatini e volgari», n.s., 5).

Capusso 2007

Maria Grazia Capusso, *La produzione franco-italiana dei secoli XIII e XIV: convergenze letterarie e linguistiche*, in Oniga – Vatteroni 2007: 159-204.

Capusso 2008

Maria Grazia Capusso, *La mescolanza linguistica del Milione franco-italiano*, in Conte 2008: 263-283.

Casella 1929

Mario Casella, *Il libro di Marco Polo*, in «Archivio storico italiano», s. VII, XI (1929), pp. 193-230.

Castellani 1990

Arrigo Castellani, *Capitoli d'un'introduzione alla grammatica storica italiana. V: Le varietà toscane nel Medioevo*, in «Studi Linguistici Italiani», XVI (1990), pp. 155-222.

Castellani 2000

Arrigo Castellani, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000, vol. I. *Introduzione* («Collezione di testi e di studi», Linguistica e critica letteraria).

Cigni 1992

Fabrizio Cigni, *Pour l'édition de la Compilation de Rustichello da Pisa: la version du MS. Paris, B.N. fr. 1463*, in «Neophilologus», 76 (1992), pp. 519-534.

Cigni 1993

Fabrizio Cigni, *Manoscritti di prose cortesi compilati in Italia (secc. XIII-XIV): stato della questione e prospettive di ricerca*, in *La filologia romanza e i codici*. Atti del Convegno (Messina, 19-22 dicembre 1991), a cura di Saverio Guida e Fortunata Latella, 2 voll., Messina, Sicania, 1993, vol. II, pp. 419-441.

Cigni 1994

Il romanzo arturiano di Rustichello da Pisa, edizione critica, traduzione e commento a cura di Fabrizio Cigni, premessa di Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, Pisa – Ospedaletto, Cassa di risparmio di Pisa – Pacini, 1994.

Cigni 2000

Fabrizio Cigni, *La ricezione medievale della letteratura francese nella Toscana nord-occidentale*, in *Fra toscanità e italianità. Lingua e letteratura dagli inizi al Novecento*. Atti dell'incontro di studio Halle-Wittenberg (Martin-Luther-Universität, Institut für Romanistik, maggio 1996), a cura di Edeltraud Werner e Sabine Schwarze, Tübingen – Basel, Francke, 2000 («Kultur und Erkenntnis», 22), pp. 71-108.

Cigni 2006

Fabrizio Cigni, *Copisti prigionieri (Genova, fine sec. XIII)*, in *Studi di filologia romanza offerti a Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso*, a cura di Pietro G. Beltrami *et alii*, 2 voll., Pisa, Pacini, 2006, vol. I, pp. 425-439.

Cigni 2007a

Fabrizio Cigni, *Prose letterarie nella Pisa del Duecento*, in «Athenes», 21 (novembre 2007), pp. 13-15.

Cigni 2007b

Fabrizio Cigni, *Sulla più antica traduzione francese dei tre trattati morali di Albertano da Brescia*, in *Le loro prigioni: scritture dal carcere*. Atti del Colloquio internazionale (Verona, 25-28 maggio 2005), a cura di Anna Maria Babbi e Tobia Zanon, Verona, Fiorini, 2007 («Medioevio», Studi, 10), pp. 35-59.

Cigni 2008

Fabrizio Cigni, *'Prima' del Devisement dou monde. Osservazioni (e alcune ipotesi) sulla lingua della compilazione arturiana di Rustichello da Pisa*, in Conte 2008: 219-231.

Cigni 2009

Fabrizio Cigni, *I testi della prosa letteraria e i contatti col francese e col latino. Considerazioni sui modelli*, in *Pisa crocevia di uomini, lingue e culture: l'età medievale*. Atti del Convegno (Pisa, 25-27 ottobre 2007), a cura di Lucia Battaglia Ricci e Roberta Cella, Roma, Aracne, 2009, pp. 157-181.

Cigni 2010

Fabrizio Cigni, *Manuscripts en français, italien, et latin entre la Toscane et la Ligurie à la fin du XIII^e siècle: implications codicologiques, linguistiques et évolution des genres narratifs*, in *Medieval Multilingualism in England, France, and Italy: the Francophone World and its Neighbours*. Proceedings of the 2006 Conference at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, ed. by Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby, Turnhout, Brepols, 2010 («Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe», 20), pp. 187-217.

Cigni 2013

Fabrizio Cigni, *Due nuove acquisizioni all'atelier pisano-genovese: il Régime du corps laurenziano e il canzoniere provenzale p (Gaucelm Faidit); con un'ipotesi sul copista Nerius Sanpantis*, in «Studi Mediolatini e Volgari», LIX (2013), pp. 107-125.

Concina 2007

Chiara Concina, *Prime indagini su un nuovo frammento franco-veneto del Milione di Marco Polo*, in «Romania», CXXV (2007), pp. 342-369.

Conte 2008

I viaggi del Milione. Itinerari testuali, vettori di trasmissione e metamorfosi del Devisement du monde di Marco Polo e Rustichello da Pisa nella pluralità delle

attestazioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Venezia, ottobre 2005), a cura di Silvia Conte, Roma, Tiellemedia, 2008.

Contini 1964

Gianfranco Contini, *La canzone della «Mort Charlemagne»*, in *Mélanges de linguistique romane et de philologie médiévale offerts à Maurice Delbouille*, 2 voll., Gembloux, Duculot, 1964, vol. II, pp. 105-126 [da cui si cita]; poi in Id., *Frammenti di filologia romanza scritti di eadotica e linguistica (1932-1989)*, a cura di Giancarlo Breschi, 2 voll., Firenze, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007 («Archivio romanzo», 11), vol. II, pp. 1111-1134.

Cremonesi 1983

Carla Cremonesi, *Note di franco-veneto. I. - Franco-veneto, franco-italiano, franco-lombardo. II. - L'oste, un motivo ricorrente*, in *Studi di lingua e letteratura lombarda offerti a Maurizio Vitale*, 2 voll., Pisa, Giardini, 1983, vol. I, pp. 5-21.

Dainelli 1941

Giotto Dainelli, *Marco Polo*, Torino, UTET, 1941.

Eusebi 2010

Il manoscritto della Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 1116, I. *Testo*, a cura di Mario Eusebi, Roma – Padova, Antenore, 2010 («Biblioteca veneta poliana», 1).

Folena 1964

Gianfranco Folena, *La cultura volgare e l'«umanesimo cavalleresco» nel Veneto*, in *Umanesimo europeo e Umanesimo veneziano*, a cura di Vittore Branca, Firenze, Sansoni, 1964 («Civiltà europea e civiltà veneziana», 2), pp. 141-158; poi in Folena 1990: 377-394 [da cui si cita].

Folena 1968-1970

Gianfranco Folena, *Introduzione al veneziano «de là da mar»*, in «Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo», 10-12 (1968-1970), pp. 331-376; poi in Folena 1990: 227-267 [da cui si cita].

Folena 1978

Gianfranco Folena, *La Romània d'oltremare: francese e veneziano nel Levante*, in *Atti del XIV Congresso internazionale di linguistica e filologia romanza* (Napoli, 15-20 aprile 1974), 5 voll., Napoli – Amsterdam, Macchiaroli – Benjamins, 1978-1981, vol. I, 1978, pp. 399-406; poi in Folena 1990: 269-286 [da cui si cita].

Folena 1990

Gianfranco Folena, *Culture e lingue nel Veneto medievale*, Padova, Programma, 1990 («Filologia veneta. Testi e studi», 1).

Gallo 1955

Rodolfo Gallo, *Marco Polo, la sua famiglia e il suo libro*, in *Nel VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo*, scritti di Roberto Almagià et alii, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1955, pp. 63-193.

Gaunt 2013

Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's Le Devisement du Monde: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity*, Cambridge, Brewer, 2013 («Gallica», 31).

Gossen 1975

Carl Theodor Gossen, *Marco Polo und Rustichello da Pisa*, in *Philologica Romanica Erhard Lommatzsch gewidmet*, in Verbindung mit Erich Von Richthofen herausgegeben von Manfred Bambeck und Helmut Christmann, München, Fink, 1975, pp. 133-143.

Gousset 1988

Marie-Thérèse Gousset, *Étude de la décoration filigranée et reconstitution des ateliers. Le cas de Gênes à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, in «Arte medievale», II (1988), pp. 121-152.

Gousset 1996

Marie-Thérèse Gousset, *Un programme iconographique conçu par Jean sans Peur?*, in *Marco Polo, Le Livre des Merveilles. Manuscrit Français 2810 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Paris – Luzern, Faksimile Verlag, 1996, pp. 353-364.

Hasenohr 1995

Geneviève Hasenohr, *Copistes italiens du Lancelot: le manuscrit fr. 354 de la Bibl. Nationale*, in *Lancelot - Lanzelet hier et aujourd'hui*, recueil d'articles assemblés par Danielle Buschinger et Michel Zink pour fêter les 90 ans de Alexandre Micha, Greifswald, Reineke, 1995 («Wodan», 51), pp. 219-226.

Holtus 1977

Günter Holtus, *Ist das Franko-Italienische eine Sprache oder ein Dialekt?*, in *Beiträge zum romanischen Mittelalter*, herausgegeben von Kurt Baldinger, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1977, pp. 79-97.

Holtus 1979a

Günter Holtus, *Approches méthodiques d'une description linguistique du franco-italien*, in *Festschrift Kurt Baldinger zum 60. Geburtstag*, herausgegeben von Manfred Höfler, Henri Vernay und Lothar Wolf, 2 voll., Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1979, vol. II, pp. 854-875.

Holtus 1979b

Günter Holtus, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen zur Interferenz: die franko-italienische Entrée d'Espagne*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1979 («Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie», 170).

Holtus 1988

Günter Holtus, *Che cos'è il franco-italiano?*, in *Guida ai dialetti veneti*, a cura di Manlio Cortelazzo, Padova, CLEUP, 1988, vol. X, pp. 7-60.

Holtus (*et alii*) 1989

Testi, cotesti e contesti del franco-italiano. Atti del 1° simposio franco-italiano (Bad Homburg, 13-16 aprile 1987), *In memoriam Alberto Limentani*, a cura di Günter Holtus, Henning Krauss, Peter Wunderli, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1989.

Holtus – Wunderli 2005

Günter Holtus – Peter Wunderli, *Franco-italien et épopée franco-italienne*, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg, Winter, vol. III. *Les épopées romanes*, t. 1/2, fasc. 10, 2005.

Ineichen 1989

Gustav Ineichen, *La mescolanza delle forme linguistiche nel Milione di Marco Polo*, in Holtus (*et alii*) 1989: 65-74; poi in Id., *Typologie und Sprachvergleich im Romanischen. Aufsätze 1973-1998*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1999 («Studia romanica», 97), pp. 92-104.

Infurna 2003

Marco Infurna, *La letteratura franco-veneta*, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, direttori Piero Boitani, Mario Mancini, Alberto Vàrvaro, Roma, Salerno, 2003, 2. *Il Medioevo volgare*, vol. III. *La ricezione del testo*, pp. 405-430.

Kaiser 1967

Elgrid Kaiser, *Der Wortschatz des Marco Polo*, Diss. zur Erlangung des Doktorgrade (Ref. Theodor Gossen), phil. Fakultät der Universität Wien, 1967.

Lagomarsini 2014

Les Aventures des Bruns. Compilazione guironiana del secolo XIII attribubile a Rustichello da Pisa, edizione critica a cura di Claudio Lagomarsini, Firenze, Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2014 («Archivio Romanzo», 28).

Langlois 1921

Charles Victor Langlois, *Marco Polo*, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur et continué par des membres de l'Institut (Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belle-lettres), t. XXXV, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, pp. 232-259.

Limentani 1972

Martin da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, a cura di Alberto Limentani, Firenze, Olschki, 1972 («Civiltà veneziana», Fonti e testi, Serie III, 3).

Limentani 1981

Alberto Limentani, *Cultura francese e provenzale a Venezia nei secoli XIII e XIV*, in *Componenti storico-artistiche e culturali a Venezia nei secoli XIII e XIV*, a cura di Michelangelo Muraro, Venezia, Ateneo Veneto, 1981, pp. 64-74, poi in Id., *L'«Entree d'Espagne» e i Signori d'Italia*, a cura di Marco Infurna e Francesco Zambon, Padova, Antenore, 1992 («Medioevo e umanesimo», 80), pp. 331-357 [da cui si cita].

Løseth 1890

Le roman en prose de Tristan, le roman de Palamède et la compilation de Rusticien de Pise, analyse critique d'après les manuscrits de Paris par Eilert Løseth, Paris, Bouillon, 1890 («Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes», LXXXII).

Ménard 2000

Philippe Ménard, *Marco Polo en Angleterre*, in «Medioevo romanzo», XXIV (2000), pp. 189-208.

Ménard 2001

Philippe Ménard, *Introduction*, in Ménard 2001-2009: I, 9-116.

Ménard 2001-2009

Marco Polo, *Le devisement du monde*, édition critique publié sous la direction de Philippe Ménard, 6 voll., Genève, Droz, 2001-2009 («Textes littéraires français»).

Ménard 2003

Philippe Ménard, *Le problème de la version originale du «Devisement du monde» de Marco Polo*, in *De Marco Polo à Savinio. Écrivains italiens en langue française*, études réunies par François Livi, Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2003, pp. 7-19.

Ménard 2009a

Philippe Ménard, *Le mélange des langues dans les diverses versions du Devisement du Monde de Marco Polo*, in *Le plurilinguisme au moyen âge. Orient-Occident: de Babel à la langue une*, textes édités par Claire Kappler et Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2009 («Méditerranée médiévale»), pp. 233-249.

Ménard 2009b

Philippe Ménard, *Les mots orientaux dans le texte de Marco Polo*, in «Romance Philology», 63/2 (2009), pp. 87-135.

Ménard 2012

Philippe Ménard, *Deux nouveaux folios inédits d'un fragment franco-italien du Devisement du monde de Marco Polo*, in «Medioevo romanzo», XXXVI (2012), pp. 241-280.

Meyer 1885-1887

Wilhelm Meyer, *Franko-italienische Studien. I. Anseis von Carthago*, in «Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie», 8 (1885), pp. 597-640; *Franko-italienische Studien. II. Aspremont*, *ivi*, 9 (1886), pp. 22-55; *Franko-italienische Studien. III. Das Lied von Hector und Hercules*, *ivi*, 10 (1887), pp. 363-410.

Meyer 1904

Paul Meyer, *De l'expansion de la langue française en Italie pendant le Moyen-Âge*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (Roma, 1-9 aprile 1903), Roma, Tipografia della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1904-1907, vol. IV. *Storia delle Letterature*, 1904, pp. 61-104.

Minervini 1996

Laura Minervini, *La lingua franca mediterranea. Plurilinguismo, mistilinguismo, pidginizzazione sulle coste del Mediterraneo tra tardo Medioevo e prima età moderna*, in «Medioevo romanzo», XX (1996), pp. 231-301.

Minervini 2010

Laura Minervini, *Les français dans l'Orient latin (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles). Éléments pour la caractérisation d'une scripta d'Outremer*, in «Revue de linguistique

romane», 74 (2010), pp. 121-198.

Morlino 2010

Luca Morlino, *La letteratura francese e provenzale nell'Italia medievale*, in *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, a cura di Sergio Luzzatto e Gabriele Pedullà, Torino, Einaudi, 2010-2012, vol. I. *Dalle Origini al Rinascimento*, a cura di Amedeo De Vincentiis, 2010, pp. 27-40.

Olschki 1957

Leonardo Olschki, *L'Asia di Marco Polo. Introduzione alla lettura e allo studio del Milione*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1957 («Biblioteca storica Sansoni», n.s. 30).

Oniga – Vatteroni 2007

Plurilinguismo letterario, a cura di Renato Oniga e Sergio Vatteroni, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2007.

Paris 1833

Paulin Paris, *Extrait d'une notice sur la relation originale de Marc-Pol, Vénitien*, in «Journal Asiatique», XII (1833), pp. 244-254.

Paris 1838

Les manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi [...], par Paulin Paris, II. *Format in-folio magno*, Paris, Techener, 1838.

Pauthier 1865

Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise, conseiller privé et commissaire imperial de Khoubilai-Khaân, rédigé en français sous sa dictée en 1298 par Rusticien de Pise, publié pour la première fois [...] par M. Guillaume Pauthier, 2 voll., Paris, Didot, 1865 [rist. anast. Genève, Slatkine, 1978].

Peretti 1930

Aurelio Peretti, *Per la Storia del Testo di Marco Polo*, in «Archivio storico italiano», s. VII, XIII (1930), pp. 217-247.

Rajna 1870-1872

Pio Rajna, *La rotta di Roncisvalle nella letteratura cavalleresca italiana*, in «Il Propugnatore», 3/2 (1870), pp. 384-409; 4/1 (1872), pp. 52-78, 333-390; 4/2 (1872), pp. 53-133; poi in Id., *Scritti di filologia e linguistica italiana e romanza*, a cura di Guido Lucchini, 3 voll., Roma, Salerno, 1998 («Pubblicazioni del Centro Pio Rajna», sez. II/1), vol. I, pp. 190-369 [da cui si cita].

Reichert 1992

Folker E. Reichert, *Begegnung mit China. Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1992; trad. it. *Incontri con la Cina. La scoperta dell'Asia orientale nel Medioevo*, Milano, Biblioteca francescana, 1997 («Fonti e ricerche», 11) [da cui si cita].

Renzi 1976

Lorenzo Renzi, *Il francese come lingua letteraria e il franco-lombardo. L'epica carolingia nel Veneto*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, a cura di Girolamo Arnaldi e Manlio Pastore Stocchi, Vicenza, Neri Pozza, 1976-1987, vol. I. *Dalle Origini al Trecento*, 1976, pp. 563-589.

Roncaglia 1965

Aurelio Roncaglia, *La letteratura franco-veneta*, in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, diretta da Emilio Cecchi e Natalino Sapegno, Milano, Garzanti, 1965-1969, vol. II. *Il Trecento*, 1965, pp. 725-759.

Ronchi 1982

Marco Polo, *Milione - Le divisament dou monde. Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana*, a cura di Gabriella Ronchi, introduzione di Cesare Segre, Mondadori, Milano, 1982 («I meridiani»).

Rosellini 1977-1980

Aldo Rosellini, *Il cosiddetto franco-veneto: retrospettive e prospettive*, in «Filologia moderna», 2 (1977), pp. 219-303; 4 (1980), pp. 221-261.

Rosellini (*et alii*) 1990

La grant Queste del Saint Graal (La grande Ricerca del Santo Graal). Versione inedita della fine del XIII secolo del ms. Udine, 177, trascrizione, traduzione a cura di Aldo Rosellini, con saggi di Gianfranco D'Aronco, Roberto Benedetti, Marco Infurna, Fulvia Sforza Vattovani, Udine, Vattori, 1990.

Ruggieri 1962

Ruggero M. Ruggieri, *Origine, struttura, caratteri del francoveneto*, in Id., *Saggi di linguistica italiana e italo-romanza*, Firenze, Olschki, 1962 («Biblioteca dell'Archivum romanicum», Serie II, Linguistica, 29), pp. 159-168.

Ruggieri 1966

Ruggero M. Ruggieri, *Temi e aspetti della letteratura francoveneta*, in *Dante e la cultura veneta*, a cura di Vittore Branca e Giorgio Padoan, Firenze, Olschki, 1966 («Civiltà veneziana», Studi, 21), pp. 143-156.

Segre 1983

Cesare Segre, *Marco Polo: Filologia e industria culturale*, in Cesare Segre – Gabriella Ronchi – Marica Milanese, *Avventure del «Milione»*, Parma, Zara, 1983, pp. 7-20.

Segre 1995

Cesare Segre, *La Letteratura franco-veneta*, in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, diretta da Enrico Malato, Roma, Salerno, 1995-2004, vol. I. *Dalle Origini a Dante*, 1995, pp. 631-647.

t'Serstevens 1955

Albert t'Serstevens, *Le livre de Marco Polo ou le Devisement du monde*, texte intégral, mis en français moderne, annoté et commenté, Paris, Albin Michel, 1955.

Terracini 1933

Benvenuto Terracini, *Ricerche ed appunti sulla più antica redazione del Milione*, in «Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei», ser. VI, IX (1933), pp. 369-428.

Terracini 1956

Benvenuto Terracini, *Analisi del concetto di lingua letteraria*, in «Cultura neolatina», XVI (1956), pp. 9-31.

Vidal-Lablache 1891

Marco Polo: son temps et ses voyages, par Paul Vidal-Lablache, II ed., Paris, Hachette, 1891 (I ed. 1880).

Viscardi 1941

Antonio Viscardi, *Letteratura franco-italiana*, Modena, Società tipografica modenese, 1941 («Istituto di Filologia Romanza della R. Università di Roma», Testi e manuali, 21).

Yule 1903

The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East, newly translated and edited [...] by colonel Henry Yule, third edition revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier, 2 voll., London, John Murray, 1903 (I ed. 1871).

Zinelli 2015

Fabio Zinelli, *Pisa e Genova: elementi per la definizione di una scripta*, in «Medioevo romanzo», XXXIX/1 (2015) [= Atti del Seminario

internazionale *Il franco-italiano. Definizione tipologia fenomenologia*, Venezia, 16-17 ottobre 2014], in press.

Zingarelli 1932

Nicola Zingarelli, *Letteratura franco-italiana nei secoli XIII e XIV*, in «Atti della Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze», IV (1932), pp. 139-156; poi in Id., *Scritti di varia letteratura*, raccolti a cura degli amici in occasione del suo commiato dalla scuola, Milano, Hoepli, 1935, pp. 450-468 [da cui si cita].