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A Florentine merchant's visit to Canterbury Cathedral in 1444

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ABSTRACT

The article presents a hitherto unpublished text in Italian narrating a voyage to England and Flanders on board a galley undertaken in November 1444 by the Florentine merchant Mariano Ughi, which forms part of a *quadernetto* or ledger currently in an Italian private collection. The ledger is divided into two parts: the first contains accounts and information on Ughi's business activity and network of contacts among the Florentine community of traders and bankers. The second, a diary, describes the towns and cities, monuments and pilgrimage sites he visited during the various stopovers. The core of the diary is dedicated to Ughi's visit to the shrine of St Thomas Becket, in Christ Church Cathedral at Canterbury, with a detailed account which significantly contributes to our knowledge of the church and shrine in the mid fifteenth century, while revealing at the same time the pious practices of a contemporary merchant.

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In November 1444, at the age of 22, the Florentine merchant Mariano Ughi sailed from Porto Pisano on a great mercantile galley bound for England and Flanders. It was his first long-distance venture, an event which was worth narrating in the ledger or *quadernetto* he bought for the occasion, and carried on board, to record his personal expenses and business deals.¹ This recently discovered manuscript belongs to the genre of *ricordanze*, especially widespread in fifteenth-century Florence, which combines bookkeeping with personal narrative.² Ughi's *quadernetto*, however, is striking because it offers more than this: it is an exceptionally rare testimony to a commercial voyage – enterprises which are very seldom reported in the extant sources and literature – simultaneously giving us new insights into maritime routes, stopovers, trade, business networks, as

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¹ The following abbreviations are used in this article: ASF: Florence, Archivio di Stato; *Ricordanze*: the ledger compiled by Mariano Ughi discussed here.

The *Ricordanze* is currently preserved in a private collection in Rome, Italy (for further information, please e-mail the authors). It contains materials dated from 1444 to 1450, mainly related to commercial voyages, including in addition to the venture to England and Flanders two voyages to Sicily in 1447 and 1450 respectively. A fourth journey to Montevarchi, near Arezzo, was undertaken in October 1450 in order to avoid the outbreak of plague which was then affecting Florence. The authors of the present article plan to publish an edition of the entire *quadernetto*, and give here, by way of anticipation, the text of the diary (ff. 60r–64r).

² See above all G. Ciappelli and P.L. Rubin, eds., *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); G. Ciappelli, *Memory, Family, and Self. Tuscan Family Books and Other Egodocuments* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), especially 1–11.

well as the personal considerations of its author, including a detailed and unprecedented description of the cathedrals in Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury (Appendix).³

The author was raised in Florence, then one of the leading commercial and cultural hubs of Europe; he was a junior member of the city's merchant elite, traders on the long-distance routes of early capitalism, or *Fernhändler* as Braudel called them.⁴ Cosimo the Elder had, although unofficially, ruled the Signoria since 1434; in his capacity as a banker – the Roman branch of the Medici bank also managed the papacy's finances – he was investing his wealth in the patronage of artistic and intellectual endeavours which contributed to a redefinition of the canons of beauty in art and architecture. Florence's crafts and manufacture of luxury goods, organised in guilds, had established the city's reputation for quality, technical knowledge and economic power.

Mariano's background is evident in the diary: it emerges both from his practice in the keeping of records of debits, credits and inventories, as well as in his sharp observations of nature and architecture during the journey. He compares the ports in France and Spain with the one which would have been most familiar to him, Livorno; in Marseilles he notices buildings in 'our', i.e. Florentine, style; he calculates the measurements and describes the details of the cathedrals he visits using as a point of reference the Duomo in Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore, consecrated in 1436 with the Brunelleschi dome and sponsored by the city's guild of wool merchants.

His accounts and personal narrative acquire greater substance when they are read together, contributing to our understanding of the voyage in all its facets, and to our perception of his character, in which his skills as a merchant, curiosity as a traveller and piety as a visitor to holy places emerge. In the words of R. A. Goldthwaite, 'the Florentines were remarkable record-keepers.'⁵ Account books were especially necessary for administering and documenting family wealth; they were transmitted from father to son, and were kept over generations in family archives. Mariano – or 'Mariano di Giorgio di Nicholo di Dante Ughi',⁶ as he proudly designates himself – added his diary at the end of such a ledger. By leaving a record of his voyage to his descendants, he transformed his individual experience into a collective memory for his family.

The Ughi family

Mariano was born in Florence in 1422, the son of Giorgio Ughi and Piera of Chimenti Stefani.⁷ The Ughi family, of Roman descent, became established in Florence around

³ There is as yet no documentary evidence enabling us to determine with certainty the circumstances in which Mariano wrote his diary. Both his accuracy in reporting the route and the richness of detail in his account, however, suggest that it may have been written during the voyage itself, or very shortly after his return. The uniformity of the writing and of the ink might suggest that the composition of the diary was performed in a single operation but there is no other concrete evidence for this supposition.

⁴ See F. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVe–XVIIIe siècle*. 3 vols. (Paris: Colin, 1979).

⁵ R.A. Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence. A Study of Four Families* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 3.

⁶ See his ownership inscription 'Questo libro è di Mariano di Giorgio di Nicholo di Dante Ughi', at the beginning of the *Ricordanze*, f. 1r.

⁷ Cf. S. Bonini (pseud. of A. Segni), *Memorie della famiglia degli Ughi e delle prerogative da essa godute appresso la sede archiepiscopale fiorentina raccolte da Simone Bonini sacerdote Fiorentino, e priore di Santa Maria Ughi* (Florence: Marescandoli, 1687), 116. The *Memorie* relied on documents which were then owned by the family itself; from 1985 the majority have been preserved in the ASF, Fondo Ughi, which gathers 697 archival items, from the twelfth century

the eighth century.⁸ By virtue of affiliation to Charlemagne's knights, they acquired the title of *vicedomini* of the city of Florence. The family had their residence on the Montughi, a hill on the northern side of the city, and were patrons of the church of Santa Maria in the parish of Santa Trinità⁹ – also known as Santa Maria degli Ughi – playing a role in the government of the city for centuries. Their prestige began to wane towards the fourteenth century, when the entire Ghibelline consortium – including the Ughis – was described in Dante's *Commedia* as a group of powerful members of the consular class, now in decline.¹⁰ Their fortunes revived, as merchants, at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Mariano's father, Giorgio, was a first generation silk entrepreneur, a member of Por Santa Maria's Guild, later called the Arte della Seta.¹¹ In the 1420s, he pioneered the introduction of the craft of the *battilori* (goldbeaters) in the silk industry with the use of golden and silver thread, establishing in 1423 a company in partnership with Tommaso of Domenico Borghini and Giuliano of Francesco Ginori to manufacture luxury textiles.¹² Along with his brothers Giorgio and Giovanni, Mariano followed in his father's footsteps, entering the guild in the 1440s.¹³ He married Fiammetta, the daughter of Giovanni Lorini, a merchant from Prato. The couple had nine sons: Niccolò and Matteo who both died at an early age; Mariano who entered the Dominican order, and became a close follower of Savonarola; Lionardo and Giorgio, who continued

to mid eighteenth century, when the family died out, and the archive passed by descent to the Ughi-Lorenzi, Barbolani and later the Velluti Zati families.

⁸ See G. Pagni, *Gli Ughi* (Rapallo: Canessa, 1979), 30–1.

⁹ The church was located between Corso degli Strozzi and Via di S. Maria degli Ughi (today Piazza Strozzi and Via degli Anselmi, respectively); see H.G. Hansen, 'Die verlorene Kirche S. Maria degli Ughi in Florenz', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 51 (2007/9): 555–67.

¹⁰ In Canto XVI (vv. 85–114) of *Paradiso*, Cacciaguida refers to leading Florentine families of the past: 'perché non dee parer mirabil cosa | ciò ch'io dirò de li alti Fiorentini | onde è la fama nel tempo nascosa. | Io vidi li Ughi e vidi i Catellini, | Filippi, Greci, Ormanni e Alberichi, | già nel calare, illustri cittadini'; cf. Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2018), 814.

¹¹ Cf. B. Dini, 'I battilori fiorentini nel Quattrocento', in *Medioevo, Mezzogiorno, Mediterraneo. Studi in onore di Mario Del Treppo*, 2 vols, eds. G. Rossetti and G. Vitolo (Naples: Liguori, 2000), 2: 139–61; S. Tognetti, *Un'industria di lusso al servizio del grande commercio. Il mercato dei drappi serici e della seta nella Firenze del Quattrocento* (Florence: Olschki, 2002); R.A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 282–95.

¹² ASF, Catasto 79 ('Campione del Catasto dei Cittadini e Quartiere S. Giovanni Gonfalone Drago, 1427'), f. 265. Giorgio is classified here as a *setaiolo*, a house owner, married and the father of two sons, one of whom is Mariano. Giorgio's name also occurs in the Statutes of the Por Santa Maria Guild; see U. Dorini, ed., *Statuti dell'arte di Por Santa Maria del tempo della Repubblica* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1934), 791: 'Ricordo che nel 1420 s'incominciò in Firenze a far filare l'oro et battere la foglia da filare oro et fu l'arte di Porta Santa Maria, cioè tra mercatanti d'essa a loro spese e sotto il nome dell'arte, che fu Tommaso Borghini, Giorgio di Nicholò di Dante [Ughi] e Giuliano di Francesco di ser Gino [Ginori]'. Giorgio's first engagement with the craft of goldbeater is testified by a ledger kept in ASF, Fondo Ughi 67 ('Sustanze e mercatanzia di Giorgio di Nicolò di Dante Ughi dal 1423 al 1428'), which opens with accounts related to the 'filatto de oro', in partnership with 'Tomaso di Domenicho Borghini' (f. 1v). On Giorgio's business in the 'mestiere di seta', and his properties such as houses, small farms and vineyards, see also the *ricordo* written by his son Giorgio in 1452: ASF, Fondo Ughi 61, ff. 49r–54r, 'Richordo fatto ... p. d'ottobre 1452 Io Giorgio di Giorgio di Nicholo di Dante Ughi di tutte le chose che trovo per libri di Giorgio mio padre.' Giorgio also refers to the will his father drew up on 30 May 1429, in which Mariano is named as an heir (f. 52r). Cf. B. Dini, 'La ricchezza documentaria per l'arte della seta e l'economia fiorentina nel Quattrocento', in *Gli Innocenti e Firenze nei secoli. Un ospedale, un archivio, una città*, ed. L. Sandri (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1996), 47; F. Edler De Roover, *L'arte della seta a Firenze nei secoli XIV e XV*, ed. S. Tognetti (Florence: Olschki, 1999), 22, 104; K. Prajda, 'The Core of the Network. Friends of Blood and Marriage', in eadem, *Network and Migration in Early Renaissance Florence, 1378–1433: Friends of Friends in the Kingdom of Hungary* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 111–2.

¹³ See ASF, Fondo Ughi 68, 'Libro di conti di Giovanni e Mariano di Giorgio et altri e Ricordi dal 1431 a 1477'; Fondo Ughi 69, 'Creditori e debitori e ricordi di Mariano di Giorgio di Niccolò di Dante Ughi dal 1460 a 1484'.

the family activity; and lastly Antonio, Noferi, Tommaso and Bernardo. He died in about 1489.¹⁴

The planning of the commercial venture

Mariano played a role in what was the thirteenth Florentine trading mission to England and Flanders since the establishment in 1422 of the communal galley system, an innovative merger of state-owned vessels operated by private capital and managed by the sea consuls (*consoli del mare*). Set up to compete on commercial routes with Venice and Genoa, this system marked a breakthrough in the Florentine economy in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁵ From 1422 until 1480, single galleys and fleets sailed fairly regularly from Porto Pisano to harbours in the eastern and western Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and England and Flanders. This was the case with Mariano's galley.

Preparation for the voyage began as early as February 1444, when the sea consuls announced the terms and the route of the voyage to be made in the autumn.¹⁶ At the auction held in the Loggia dei Lanzi, a company formed by Luca Firidolfi da Panzano and Niccolò di Schiatta Ridolfi successfully outbid competitors, and secured the lease of two galleys.¹⁷ According to an established practice, the *conduttori* (in other words, the winners of the contract) also received from the sea consuls a loan of 6000 florins and a subsidy of 525 florins to fund the venture.¹⁸ In this case, Luca Firidolfi da Panzano and Niccolò di Schiatta Ridolfi appointed Orlandino Orlandini as the *patrono*, the 'patron' of their commercial venture. He was the son of Giovanni Orlandini, whose activity as a banker in Flanders, England and France is well documented; the Orlandinis carried on their credit activity until at least 1588, when the company went bankrupt.¹⁹ It was Orlandino's responsibility to sound out possible interest from other merchants with a view to forming a limited company, or *magona*,²⁰ that would share the risks of the voyage by investing in shares in the venture. Orlandino was also the

¹⁴ Cf. Bonini, *Memorie della famiglia degli Ughi*, 120–1. See also the genealogical tree of the family in Pagni, *Gli Ughi*, inserted between pages 40–1.

¹⁵ Further information in A. Grunzweig, 'Les fonds du Consulat de la Mer aux Archives de l'État de Florence', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 10 (1930): 5–121; W.B. Watson, 'The Structure of the Florentine Galley Trade with Flanders and England in the Fifteenth Century', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 39 (1961): 1073–91; M.E. Mallett, *The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), especially 21–61; S. Tognetti, 'Firenze, Pisa e il mare (metà XIV–fine XV sec.)', in *Firenze e Pisa dopo il 1406. La creazione di un nuovo spazio regionale. Atti del Convegno di studi, Firenze, 27–28 settembre 2008* (Florence: Olschki, 2010), 151–75; R. González Areválo, 'Fuentes para el estudio de la tripulación de las galeras mercantiles de Florencia (s. XV)', in *Tripulacions i vaixells a la Mediterrània medieval. Fonts i perspectives comparades de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. R. Salicrú i Lluç (Barcelona: Publ. De l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2019), 115–37.

¹⁶ Reference to this voyage in Mallet, *Florentine Galleys*, 160.

¹⁷ Cf. also in the *Ricordanze* by Luca da Panzano: A. Molho and F. Sznura, eds., "Brighe, affanni, volgimenti di Stato". *Le ricordanze di Luca di Matteo di messer Luca dei Firifoldi di Panzano*, (Florence: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010), 237: 'Richordo che insino a dì 15 di novembre 1444 io Lucha da Panzano, avendo tolto Nicholò di Schiatta Ridolfi due charati della ghalea ch'è ita oggi in Fianbra, padronegiata per Orlandino di Giovanni Orlandini, i quali detto Nicholò fé dire in Nardo del Chaccia, di che parendo detto Nicholò portare troppo risschio me ne congedié di detti due charati uno, e llui m'è ubrigato e io a llui, cioè j° charato di detta ghalea sopradetta farmi buono ongni utile e quello consengnarmi ongni ghuadagno; e chosì prometto io a lui che qualunque risschio, danno ochorresse di detto charato soportarlo e dare a Nicholò detto ongni perdita ochorresse a detto charato tolto da lui detto di.'

¹⁸ See Grunzweig, 'Les fonds du Consulat de la Mer', 84; Mallet, *Florentine Galleys*, 90.

¹⁹ Cf. Goldthwaite, *Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 253–4; J.F. Padgett and P.D. McLean, 'Economic Credit in Renaissance Florence', *Journal of Modern History* 83 (2011): 38–41.

²⁰ Mallet, *Florentine Galleys*, 86, 'A magona, in the usual sense of the word, was a company formed for the furtherance of shipping ventures.'

husband of Andrea Ughi, the daughter of Mariano's uncle, Tommaso. It is probable that it was this connection which led Orlandino to engage Mariano as well as his cousins, Domenico and Bartolomeo Ughi in the voyage to England and Flanders.²¹ From the accounts, we learn that Mariano bought one *carato* of the cargo; as the security required by the Consoli del Mare for his purchase, he deposited a sum of money with the Monte di Prestanzoni, a financial institution set up to oversee the city's public debt by receiving *prestanze* from citizens (in effect the purchase of bonds) and which paid a higher rate of interest than other *monti*.²²

Insights into Mariano's preparation for the voyage can be found in the first part of the ledger,²³ in which his personal expenses are listed, including the money he spent on the journey from Florence to Porto Pisano, where he arrived on horseback on 1 November 1444.²⁴ Before the departure of the galley, he received from Francesco di Vieri del Bene – a wool merchant employed onboard as a *scrivano*, that is a book-keeper for the accounts on Orlandino's galley – 'six large florins', the highest value of florin, equivalent to the Venetian ducat and commonly used as a standard currency in international commerce, as an advance payment of salary.²⁵ Two inventories, written on the last leaves of the manuscript, offer further details. The first one includes clothes and other personal effects,²⁶ including a suit of armour, a silver dagger and two crossbows.²⁷ The list also contains, interestingly, an entry referring to '1° quadernetto chopertto di charta pechora ch'è questo', that is, the very ledger bound in vellum containing his notes about the voyage.²⁸ The second inventory, which is shorter and somewhat illegible, contains the only information presently available about what goods were loaded on the galley. It seems Mariano carried on board brushes of various sizes and wall-mirrors in carved wooden frames on behalf of a certain Bartolomeo of Iacopo del Galea, offering a glimpse into the Florentine

²¹ Bonini, *Memorie della famiglia degli Ughi*, 116.

²² A *carato* is a share 'in the ownership of a ship, or in a business partnership, usually a twenty-fourth': F. Edler De Roover, *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1934), 63. On the guarantee entered into by Mariano, cf. *Ricordanze*, f. 2r, 'fiorini novantotto & diciotto a di deono dare ff tre per dicianove di quatro che sono per la ghabella de ff 928 di Monte di Prestanzoni ch'io possi la chondizione a Chonsoli del Mare per 1° charatto ch'io tolssi da Orlandino Orlandini'. A reference to the Monte dei Prestanzoni, dated 12 September 1444, is also recorded in the 'libro mastro' kept by Mariano and his brother Giorgio preserved in ASF, Fondo Ughi 109, 'Entrata uscita di Mariano e Giorgio di Nicholò di Dante Ughi dal 1440 al 1455', f. 2v.

²³ *Ricordanze*, ff. 1v–21v. The accounts are arranged with debts on one page and credits on the facing one. Despite a division into categories – personal expenses, business transactions, lists of goods handled, etc. – the order is not entirely consistent; furthermore, the opening leaves bear corrections and erasure marks, revealing Mariano's initial hesitations in applying bookkeeping practice.

²⁴ *Ricordanze*, f. 2r, 'deono dare ff 2 sono per 1° chavallo ch'io tolssi a vettura per venire da Firenze a Pisa.'

²⁵ *Ricordanze*, f. 1v, 'E deono dare ... ff. sei larghi e quali mi dette Francescho di Vieri del Bene sono per parte del mio salaro ... in sulla ghalea d'Orlandino Orlandini per andare in Fiandra.' On Francesco di Vieri Del Bene, see A. Molho, 'The Florentine "Tassa dei Traffichi" of 1451', *Studies in the Renaissance* 17 (1970): 109.

²⁶ *Ricordanze*, ff. 89r–89v. The inventory, partially illegible, is written in reverse page sequence, opening on f. 89v, and ending on f. 89r. It lists around 45 entries: among others, a dark green overgown (*cioppa*), a doublet (*farsetto*) in black satin, underclothing, hats, boots and spurs. A few items were purchased in Pisa, such as a knee-length coat (*gabbanella*) from a certain *inspeziale* named Francesco and '1^a chassa per in ghalea a uso di chonpangnone' (cf. f. 2r).

²⁷ *Ricordanze*, f. 89v, 'una choltelesa fornita d'ariento ... 1 balestro a mulinello ... 1 balestro a manetta ... 1 choraza chol gorgerino ... 1 balestrieria'. The last item of the inventory refers to '1^a balestrieria da chonpangnoni' purchased in Pisa (see the related account, f. 2r).

²⁸ *Ricordanze*, f. 89v.

luxury export trade.²⁹ The galleys were scheduled to depart from the port in October 1444. It appears, however, that a delay occurred.³⁰

The voyage

According to Mariano, the two galleys weighed anchor from Porto Pisano on 5 November 1444 with Orlandino Orlandini and Bernardo Rucellai as patrons.³¹ Neither the diary, nor the accounts, clarifies his role on board, a point which deserves further research. His youth, his family background, the relationship with Orlandini, as well as the suit of armour and crossbows he brought onboard with him prior to the voyage, may suggest, however, that his role was that of a squire in the patron's crew, a *famiglio* (*famulus*) or *compagnone*, receiving a salary of 4 florins a month.³² The suggestion that this was Ughi's status on the galley may be confirmed by his frequent financial transactions with the patrons Orlandini and Rucellai, and other prominent Florentines who had also embarked on the two galleys, such as the merchants Nardo di Salvatore del Caccia and Carlo Guasconi.³³

The ports of call on the galley's way to the north are carefully recorded, according to the itinerary established by the sea consuls.³⁴ Days spent in harbour and at sea are meticulously noted, thus giving valuable information on the duration of most stopovers; and Mariano is also attentive to the territorial jurisdictions of the places they pass, i.e. which lands belong to whom. He frequently reports personal observations and impressions: the abbey Saint-Victor, near Marseilles, is 'una bella chosa' ('very fine'); the town of Dénia in Aragon is partially in ruins, but despite this preserves traces of its past greatness; the landscape surrounding Ceuta, in Barbary, is especially striking. The length of the descriptions is proportional to the length of the stay in each, which was exclusively for commercial reasons.

One of the longest stays was in Mallorca, in the Balearic Islands, a major stopping-off point on the trade route linking the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.³⁵ The galley called there on 16 November, and weighed anchor for Valencia on the evening of 21 November. While in the narrative of the diary Mariano refers to the monuments and commercial spaces which embellished Mallorca – such as its cathedral and the Llotja dels Mercaders³⁶

²⁹ *Ricordanze*, f. 90r, 'ebbi da Bartolomeo del ghalea ... 8 setole grandi ... 12 setole mezane ... ispechi tondi grandi ... 6 ispechi tondi picholi ... 2 ispechi tondi intagliati ... 1 ispechio grande intagliato.' The list is supplemented with a barely legible note on contractual conditions, and Mariano's share in the profit. The name of Bartolomeo del Galea (or della Galea) also occurs in the accounts (e.g. ff. 5v, 6v, and 7r). According to normal practice, galleys to England and Flanders would not load substantial cargoes on setting out as merchants relied for their northern route on goods picked up in Provence and Spain; cf. Mallet, *Florentine Galleys*, 133.

³⁰ The Signoria probably had to resolve the pending matter of a debt that the Monte owed to Don Pedro of Portugal, the brother of the duchess of Burgundy, which had caused difficulties for the galleys on the previous voyage in 1443. See ASF, Consoli del Mare III, ff. 74r–74v; Grunzweig, 'Les fonds du Consulat de la Mer', 22–3.

³¹ According to Mariano, Bernardo Rucellai was the patron of the second galley (*Ricordanze*, f. 62r). The Florentine retail merchant Bernardo (1417–93) was the son of Piero di Cardinale Rucellai; L. Passerini, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Rucellai* (Florence: Cellini, 1861), 94–5; Mohlo, 'Tassa dei Traffichi', 105.

³² It is approximately the salary paid for an under-officer. See R. González Areválo, 'Fuentes para el estudio de la tripulación', 128. The presence of companions of the patron or captain on the galley, often young men of good family, is also reported by Luca di Maso degli Albizzi in his 1429 diary; see Mallet, *Florentine Galleys*, 207, note 1. We are grateful to Raúl González Areválo, University of Granada, for discussing this topic with us.

³³ On Nardo del Caccia, Molho and Sznura, eds., 'Brighe, affanni, volgimenti di Stato', 120, 237; on the wool merchant Carlo Guasconi, see Mallet, *Florentine Galleys*, 164; Goldthwaite, *Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 435–6; Molho, 'Tassa dei Traffichi', 99–100.

³⁴ On this, Grunzweig, 'Les fonds du Consulat de la Mer', 24–5; Mallet, *Florentine Galleys*, 82–98.

³⁵ For a general overview, D. Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium. The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

³⁶ *Ricordanze*, f. 60v.

– the accounts record the sale of 21 wall-mirrors, and 11 small and large brushes.³⁷ Similar deals are recorded during the stopover in Valencia, between 19 and 24 November. In this thriving Catalan city, he was able to sell nine more brushes and one carved mirror.³⁸ He also had the chance to view a joust, as well as to admire the city's buildings and amenities, including the Huerta, the splendid gardens surrounding Valencia, which he defines as 'una delle più belle cose che mai si vedesi' ('one of the most beautiful things ever seen').³⁹ The ledger also contains evidence of his purchases during the galley's voyage along the coast: in partnership with his cousin Domenico, he bought 21 *isportini* of zibibbo – a white muscat grape, originating from Egypt and widely cultivated in the Mediterranean basin – and a *carica* of almonds on the coast of the kingdom of Granada.⁴⁰ He was clearly well aware that products from Granada could be traded profitably in North Sea ports, which indeed turned out to be the case.⁴¹

Mariano's devotional visits to Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury

The commercial voyage was complemented by devotional visits to two major pilgrimage sites: Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury. The narration of these two episodes occupies the largest section of the diary.⁴²

On 18 December 1444, Mariano disembarked at La Coruña, in north-western Spain, one of the principal destinations for vessels from Italy, France, Portugal, Flanders and England. The harbour is about 40 miles from Santiago de Compostela, along the so-called 'English route' for the pilgrimage.⁴³ He went on horseback to the city,⁴⁴ accompanied by Orlandini and Rucellai. More than a page is dedicated to his personal experience of

³⁷ *Ricordanze*, f. 6r, '21 ispechi e 11 setole & grande e pichole ch'io vendè a Maiolicha'.

³⁸ *Ricordanze*, 'vendè a Valenza che furono 9 setole e 1° ispechio.' On the close commercial relationships between Florence and Valencia, D. Igual Luis, *Valencia y Italia en el siglo XV. Rutas, mercados y hombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterráneo occidental* (Castellón: Balcaxa, 1998); E. Cruselles Gomez, *Los mercaderes de Valencia en la edad media (1380–1450)* (Lleida: Milenio, 2001).

³⁹ *Ricordanze*, f. 60v.

⁴⁰ *Ricordanze*, f. 3r, 'deono avere adi 27 di novembre per la metta di 21 isportini di zibibo che choperamo Domenico ed io l. tredici s. dodici questi che ne tocha a me'; 'Et deono avere adi detto l. quaranta s. dieci questi sono per una charicha di mandrole che io chonperai cholle sacha a Scabbia per me e per Domenico che ongnuno pagho la sua parte che me tocho l. 20 s. 5.' Zibibbo was sold in Mallorca 'a sporta' (*isportini*) or the weight of one *cantaro barbaresco*, i.e. 104 lbs. Almonds were instead sold in *carica*, a weight measure equalling three *cantara* or 312 lbs.; cf. G.F. Pagnini, *Della decima e delle altre gravetze &c. contenente la pratica della mercatura scritta da Francesco Balducci Pegolotti*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Bouchard, 1766), 113–14; see also Edler De Roover, *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business*, 64, 277.

⁴¹ *Ricordanze*, f. 3r. The wares were later sold on 27 December to Antonio di Papi, a merchant possibly based in England (see f. 9v). For Florentine ties with the kingdom of Granada, see F. Melis, 'Malaga nel sistema economico del XIV e XV secolo', in idem, *I mercanti italiani nell'Europa medievale e rinascimentale*, ed. L. Frangioni (Florence: Le Monnier, 1990), 135–213, which refers to the role of Orlandini's company on this trade route; R. González Arévalo, 'El reino nazarí. Las galeras mercantiles de Florencia en el reino de Granada en el siglo XV', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 41 (2011): 125–49; idem, 'Italian Renaissance Diplomacy and Commerce with Western Mediterranean Islam: Venice, Florence, and the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada in the Fifteenth Century', *I Tatti. Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 18 (2015): 215–32.

⁴² On medieval pilgrimages, see J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975); D. Webb, ed., *Pilgrims and Pilgrimages in the Medieval West* (London: Tauris, 2001); C. Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust. How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2011); A.M. Pazos, ed., *Relics, Shrines and Pilgrimages. Sanctity in Europe from Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2020).

⁴³ On La Coruña, and its link to England, see C. Storrs, *Jacobean Pilgrims from England from the Early Twelfth to the Late Fifteenth Century* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1994); A. Echevarria Arsuaga, 'The Shrine as Mediator: England, Castile, and the Pilgrimage to Compostela', in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th–15th Century. Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges*, ed. M. Bullón-Fernández (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 47–65.

⁴⁴ See *Ricordanze*, f. 10r, noting on 20 December 1444 the expenses 'per l'andatta de La Cholongne a Sa' Iachopo de Ghalizia'.

visiting the church and its relics and monuments,⁴⁵ a first-hand narrative that deserves, thanks to its detailed description, to be counted among the more interesting of the sources – travel accounts, letters, pilgrim diaries, chronicles, official records and guide-books – that describe the site.⁴⁶

On entering the church, Mariano briefly describes its cross-plan and the columns which articulate the inner space, allowing us to picture the original Romanesque church built under Bishop Diego Gelmírez.⁴⁷ His attention is immediately captured by the numerous relics preserved there, to which countless miracles were attributed.⁴⁸ Moving from the high altar, Mariano admires the shrine housing the body of St James the Great, and then the fourteenth-century reliquary containing the head of St James the Less, preserved in the sacristy. Interestingly, he reports the way the relics are displayed at the high altar to pilgrims and other devotees.⁴⁹ As the accounts attest, he also bought pilgrimage souvenirs: among others, amber statuettes portraying ‘the two Jameses’, a tangible reminder – as he writes – of his material contact with the relics, which he had the opportunity to touch and kiss.⁵⁰

The documentary value of Mariano’s eyewitness account is even more remarkable in the case of the second pilgrimage site he visited, if we consider the events which would reshape it subsequently: ‘San Tomaso di Conthurbia’, the shrine of St Thomas Becket in Christ Church Cathedral at Canterbury. This is the core of his account of his travels, a three-page narrative which not only tells us about his devotional practices in this sacred space, but also conveys the astonishment he felt when faced with an opulence beyond his imagination.⁵¹

The cult of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury – murdered on 29 December 1170 by the knights of Henry II of England – was universally popular, especially after Pope Alexander III canonised him on 21 February 1173.⁵² Lives had been written

⁴⁵ *Ricordanze*, ff. 62r–62v.

⁴⁶ Cf. the pilgrim’s guide included in the twelfth-century *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, known as *Codex Calixtinus* and held at the Cathedral Archives at Compostela: P. Gerson and others, eds., *The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela. A Critical Edition* (London: Harvey Miller, 1998); L. Vázquez de Parga and others, eds., *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*. 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1948–9). The related literature is vast, for example: A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. 7 (Santiago de Compostela: Impr. del Seminario, 1903), especially 150–60; H. Davies and M.H. Davies, *Holy Days and Holidays. The Medieval Pilgrimage to Compostela* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1982); M. Dunn and L. Davidson, *The Pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1996); D. Péricard-Méa, *Compostelle et cultes de saint Jacques au moyen âge* (Paris: PUF, 2000); J. D’Emilio, ed., *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), especially Part 5.

⁴⁷ See especially K.J. Conant, *The Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926).

⁴⁸ The main source for these is Book II of the *Codex Calixtinus* (note 46); see T.E. Coffey and others, eds., *The Miracles of St James. Translations from the Liber Sancti Jacobi* (New York: Italica Press, 1996).

⁴⁹ K. Ashley, ‘Hugging the Saint. Improvising Ritual on the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela’, in *Push Me, Pull You. Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, vol. 2, eds. S. Blick and L.D. Gelfand (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3–20.

⁵⁰ *Ricordanze*, f. 10r, referring to ‘quelle ambre ch’io chonperai e con quegli Sa’ Iachopi ch’elle fecchi tohare la testa di Sa’ Iachopo e molte altre erliche’.

⁵¹ *Ricordanze*, ff. 62v–64r.

⁵² See F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); M. Staunton, *Thomas Becket and His Biographers* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); P. Webster and M.-P. Gelin, eds., *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c.1170–c.1220* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016); K.B. Slocum, *The Cult of Thomas Becket. History and Historiography through Eight Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2018). For the various phases of building of Christ Church Cathedral, see R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Pickering and Bell, 1845), especially 109–56; F. Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982).

shortly after his death, and from the end of the twelfth century onwards, the number of miracles attributed to his intercession grew.⁵³ In 1220, Becket's body was translated to a new, and sumptuous shrine, whose sparkling gold and gems would impress many thousands of pilgrims and visitors until 1538, when it was despoiled and then destroyed by order of King Henry VIII.⁵⁴

Becket's cult was widely popular in Italy, as testified by the dissemination – from Aquileia, in northern Italy, to Sicily – of chapels, altars, frescoes, panels, miniatures and relics related to him.⁵⁵ Traditionally believed to be the son of a merchant, Becket was chosen by the London mercers as their patron saint,⁵⁶ a circumstance which might explain the flourishing veneration of Becket in Florence, by way of the close trading relationship between the city and England.⁵⁷

Mariano's galley left La Coruña on 23 December and anchored on 29 December at Sandwich, the port closest to Canterbury. On the next day, Mariano hired a horse and reached Canterbury on 31 December,⁵⁸ together with his cousin Domenico, the wool merchant Carlo Guasconi, Antonio di Papi – the buyer of the zibibbo and almonds acquired in southern Spain – an unidentified Betto of Guccio and a certain Englishman.

The visit followed a well-established route around the cathedral: the party entered the central nave guided by the monks who, as custodians of Canterbury, showed Mariano and his companions its highlights, accompanying – as the diary testifies – the visual experience with the recounting of miracles.⁵⁹ He portrays the architectural space, walking along its nave and aisles, contemplating its well-carved vaults – rather surprisingly, for a Florentine, not covered by frescoes – entering the chapels, going up and down the steps, according to a spatial arrangement which has since largely been altered (Figure 1).

The tour culminates in Becket's sumptuous shrine, the object of major devotions in the chapel dedicated to the saint, and later named the Trinity Chapel. Mariano's description is a notable contribution to our knowledge of its appearance, adding further

⁵³ For example, William of Canterbury, 'Vita, passio, et miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi', in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury...*, eds. J.C. Robertson and J.B. Sheppard. Rolls series 67. 7 vols. (London: Longmans, 1875–85), 1: 1–137; Benedict of Peterborough, 'Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis', in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, eds. Robertson and Sheppard, 2: 21–281.

⁵⁴ See, among others, R.C. Jenkins, *Canterbury* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1880); R.E. Skully, 'The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation', *Catholic Historical Review* 86 (2000): 579–602.

⁵⁵ On this, R. Stopani, ed., *Dall'Italia a Canterbury. Culto e pellegrinaggio italiano per Thomas Becket* (Florence: Centro Studi Romei, 2005); C. Cipollaro and V. Decker, 'Shaping a Saint's Identity. The Imagery of Thomas Becket in Medieval Italy', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions* 35, ed. A. Bovey (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013), 116–38.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of his family background, see Barlow, *Becket*, especially Chapter 1; A.F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London. Trade, Goods, and Peoples (1130–1578)* (London: Routledge, 2005), especially 6–8.

⁵⁷ On this, M. Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence. The Service Book of Santa Maria del Fiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially 205–7; see also G.W. Dameron, *Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 186, 205, referring to the banker Maso Minerbetti, who, according to his will of 1308, had been buried at the foot of the altar in S. Maria Novella consecrated to Becket.

⁵⁸ *Ricordanze*, f. 10r, noting the money spent when 'andai a San Tomaso di Conthurbia chon uno chavallo'.

⁵⁹ Cf. B. Dobson, 'The Monks of Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages 1220–1540', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, eds. P. Collinson and others (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), especially 130–1, 135–45. On a reconstruction of the tour taken by pilgrims, see M.F. Hearn, 'Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket', *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 44–5; B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), 97–8; T. Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury and the Architecture of Pilgrimage Shrines', in *Pilgrimage. The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, eds. C. Morris and P. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 102–7.

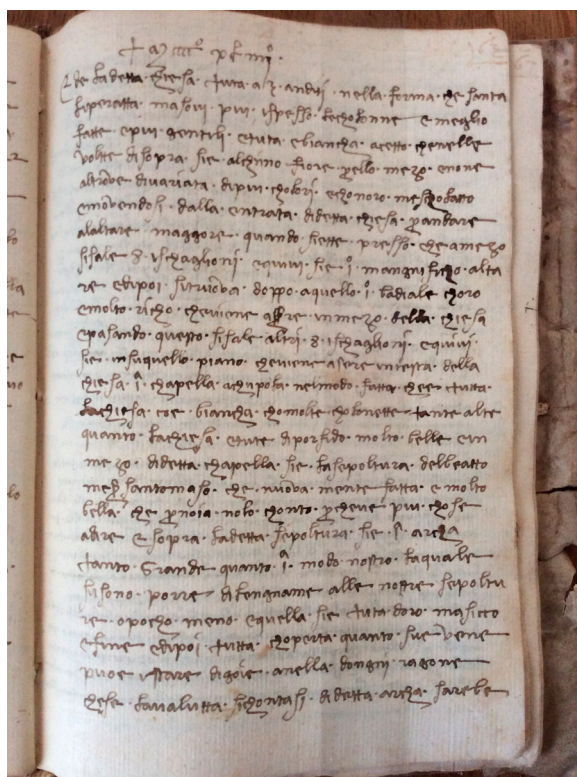


Figure 1. Mariano Ughi's description of the visit to Becket's shrine in Canterbury Cathedral. Source: *Ricordanze*, f. 63r. Photograph: Dario Lasagni and Sandra Varisco.

evidence of its richness, as reported in descriptions such as the short and less detailed account of the tour undertaken in 1467 by the Bohemian emissary Leo von Rozmítal,⁶⁰ the likewise brief report transmitted by the ambassador Andrea Trevisano to the Venetian Senate in about 1500,⁶¹ and the visit by Erasmus in c.1512–14, mockingly narrated in his *Colloquia* of 1526.⁶²

⁶⁰ M. Letts, ed., *The Travels of Leo of Rozmítal through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy 1465–1467*. Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 108 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1957), especially 43–4, with a shorter and less detailed description of Christ Church Cathedral, and the relics preserved inside. A survey of sources in A.J. Mason, *What Became of the Bones of St Thomas? A Contribution to His Fifteenth Jubilee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), especially 83–119; S. Lamia, 'The Cross and the Crown. Decoration and Accommodation for England's Premier Saints', in *Decoration for the Holy Dead. Visual Embellishment on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, eds. S. Lamia and E. Valdez del Álamo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 39–56; S. Blick, 'Reconstructing the Shrine of St Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral', in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, eds. S. Blick and R. Tekippe. 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1: 405–41. To the sources listed there can be added the recently discovered handwritten account in a copy of the edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* of 1525 kept at Princeton University Library: C. Van Duzen, 'A Previously Unknown Sixteenth-Century Description of the Shrine of St Thomas Becket', *Viator* 48 (2017): 323–34.

⁶¹ C.A. Sneyd, ed. and trans., *A Relation, or Rather a True Account, of the Island of England; with Sundry Particulars of the Customs of these People and of the Royal Revenues under the King Henry the Seventh, about the Year 1500*. Camden Society, old series, 37 (London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1847), especially 30–1.

⁶² Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, first added to the February 1526 edition of the *Colloquia*. See *Colloquia*, in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. 40, eds. L.-E. Halkin, F. Bierlaire and R. Hoven (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publ. Company, 1972), esp. 486–91; and Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus. Colloquies*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. C.R. Thompson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), especially 285–7.

The shape of Becket's coffer (*archa*) is comparable to those used for the burials of the holy bodies and saints which Mariano had seen in Florence. But it is the only similarity, because he is soon faced with an opulence of gold and gems without equal. The 'infinite number' of precious stones encrusted on the coffer's gold-encased surface visually overwhelmed him, and the Florentine merchant carefully lists – he was, after all, the son of a manufacturer of luxury textiles – the different sorts of gems, and tries to estimate the monetary value of the shrine, although he does not divulge the figure he arrives at for fear of provoking incredulity. Like Leo von Rozmital and Andrea Trevisano, Mariano mentions the large ruby, believed to have been a gift from Louis VII, the king of France, in 1179 and known as the *Régale de France*.⁶³ A highly interesting feature is his description of the votive gifts – not reported in other contemporary accounts – such as the gold bust of Henry V with an arrow below his eye, in all likelihood placed at the shrine in 1404, when the future king of England visited Becket's tomb after surviving this traumatic facial wound at the Battle of Shrewsbury on 21 July 1403.⁶⁴

Mariano's impressions of the shrine are significantly augmented by the celebration of Mass which happens to be taking place at the same time as his visit: the triumphal splendour of lamps, gems and gold creates an effect which evokes, in his mind, the entrance to Heaven. The sight of countless votive gifts in fine gold accumulated around the shrine and hung on an iron chain, in the form not only of hands, heads or other body parts which had been healed, but also miniature galleys, astonishes him. This description of ex-votos offered up for help on voyages or business affairs, or given as thanks for deliverance from shipwreck, provides striking evidence of the popularity of Becket's cult among travellers and merchants.

The description of relics distributed in other chapels follows: Mariano notes Becket's head, placed 'nella testa di detta chiesa', that is, at the top of the church, in the chapel known as the Corona, and not in the crypt, as reported by Erasmus;⁶⁵ the point of the sword that killed Becket, the head of St Blaise, and the hair and veil of the Virgin, the last preserved in a precious crystal reliquary.⁶⁶ As at Compostela, Mariano displays his tactile piety, touching and kissing these revered objects. Special emphasis is further given to tombs with effigies of the dead, such as the monuments of Henry IV of England (d. 1413) and his second wife, Joan of Navarre (d. 1437), evidently shown with special pride by the monks.⁶⁷

⁶³ See the description of this ruby in the *Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes*, in *Annales monastici*, vol. 4, ed. H.R. Luard. Rolls series 36 (London: Longmans, 1869), 38–9. Further information in S. Blick, 'Votives, Images, Interaction and Pilgrimage', in *Push Me, Pull You*, eds. Blick and Gelfand, 50. Mariano does not refer, however, to the story reported in the account of Leo von Rozmital's visit, viz. that 'the stone sprang forthwith from the ring [of King Louis VII] and embedded itself in the shrine as if it had been placed there by a goldsmith': Letts, ed., *Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 44; this had already been narrated in the fourteenth-century Becket saga, E. Magnússon, ed. and trans., *Thómas Saga Erkebiskups. A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket, in Icelandic*. Rolls series 65. 2 vols. (London: Longmans, 1875–83), 2: 213–23. It would appear that the repertory of miracles and legends narrated by the monks varied over time or on specific occasions.

⁶⁴ On his visit in 1404, see C. Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 27.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Ricordanze*, f. 63v. A first discussion in Mason, *What Became of the Bones of St Thomas?*, 96–107; see now P. Binski, *Becket's Crown. Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 3–27.

⁶⁶ For a survey of the other relics originally housed in Christ Church Cathedral, J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and the Once-Adjoining Monastery...* (London: J. Cole and others, 1726), Appendix, xlii–l.

⁶⁷ C. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', in *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, eds. Collinson and others, 498–502.

Mariano also enters one of the holiest spaces in the cathedral, the Undercroft Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, visits to which were customarily reserved for high-ranking or wealthy pilgrims.⁶⁸ The chapel was entirely enclosed in a grille, and the description clearly reveals Mariano's astonishment at the sheer richness of the votive offerings which adorn it.

The final information he gives concerns the spaces belonging to the monastic elements of the Cathedral Priory: the cloisters, chapter house and refectory. He ends with a reference to the dormitory ('di quindi andamo in dormentoro'), which may mean that the visitors spent the night in the monastic guest house, since it is improbable they would have been shown the monks' own dormitory as part of their tour. At this point the diary suddenly breaks off and nothing further is written. It is possible that Mariano intended to continue his account, as the blank leaves which follow the narrative of his experiences in Canterbury might suggest.

Trading in England and Flanders, and the return to Porto Pisano

The sojourn of the merchants in England and Flanders, their business affairs and their return route can only be followed through the accounts, and then only fragmentarily. From Sandwich, in January, the galley sailed to Flanders, crossing the English Channel and calling at the harbour of Sluys. Mariano reached Bruges overland, and carefully recorded the business transactions he carried out in the city. The list of merchandise bought there, including luxury goods such as tapestries, is dated 8 January 1445.⁶⁹ As a further mark of his piety, among his personal expenses he recorded the purchase of devotional objects manufactured in Bruges, portraying the Virgin and the Agnus Dei.⁷⁰

At the beginning of April 1445, from Sluys, the galley sailed back to England, calling at Southampton, which was to become the primary English port trading with Italian merchants. Mariano's next prolonged stay was in London, where he arrived from Southampton by road.⁷¹ Related accounts reveal his commercial network within the Florentine community in England, including members of the Borromei and Bardi companies.⁷² The lists of 'Merchatantie d'Inghilterra', including various types of woollen fabrics, are longer than usual, clear evidence that the English market was the ultimate goal of

⁶⁸ E. Woodruff, 'The Chapel of Our Lady in the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 38 (1926): 153–71; S. Blick, 'King and Cleric. Richard II and the Iconography of St Thomas Becket and St Edward the Confessor at Our Lady of Undercroft', in *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges. Essays in Honour of Brian Spencer*, ed. S. Blick (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 182–200.

⁶⁹ *Ricordanze*, f. 10v, among others, '1° panno d'arazo a verdura ... 1° panno d'arazo a figura'. For purchase of these wares in Florence on 22 July 1445, see f. 11r. On this cf. L. Galoppini, *Mercanti toscani e Bruges nel tardo medioevo* (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2009); F. Guidi Bruscoli, 'Mercanti-banchieri fiorentini tra Londra e Bruges nel XV secolo', in *"Mercatura è arte". Uomini d'affari toscani in Europa e nel Mediterraneo tardomedievale*, eds. L. Tanzini and S. Tognetti (Roma: Viella, 2012), 11–44.

⁷⁰ *Ricordanze*, f. 10r, 'deono dare a di 15 di detto [March] d[ucati] otto di Brugga sono per 1^a Vergine Maria e per 3 angnu<s> dei d'ariento.'

⁷¹ *Ricordanze*, f. 22r, for the expenses 'da Londra a Antona a<n>dare e tornare'. See M. Kowaleski, 'The Maritime Trade Network of Late Medieval London', in *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade Around Europe 1300–1600*, eds. W. Blockmans and others (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 398–9.

⁷² *Ricordanze*, ff. 17v–19r, for transactions dated from 14 May to 2 June 1445. For information on the merchants and bankers mentioned – such as Filippo Corbinelli or Benedetto Borromei – see G. Biscaro, 'Il banco Filippo Borromei e compagni di Londra (1436–1439)', *Archivio Storico Lombardo* series 4, vol. 19, fasc. 37 (1913): 37–126, 283–386; A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270–1600*. Southampton Records Series 1 (Southampton: University College, 1951); E.B. Fryde, 'Anglo-Italian Commerce in the Fifteenth Century: Some Evidence about Profits and the Balance of Trade', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 50 (1972): 345–55; G. Holmes, 'Anglo-Florentine Trade in 1451', *English Historical Review* 108 (1993): 371–86.

their commercial enterprise.⁷³ The sojourn in England lasted at least until 21 June 1445; around this date, the two galleys, loaded with precious English wool and other merchandise for the Florentine market, weighed anchor for Porto Pisano, journeying across open sea – rather than visiting a succession of coastal ports – to save time. The return voyage was rapid, lasting about a month, with no trading or other stops apart from Malaga.⁷⁴ Orlandino's galley arrived at Porto Pisano in mid July; on 19 July Mariano recorded the receipt of his salary for eight months spent on the galley.⁷⁵

A month later, on 18 August 1445, Mariano recorded the sale, in Pisa, of his suit of armour to another 'viandante' or traveller, who was evidently planning his own commercial venture and preparing for its possible perils.⁷⁶ On the opening leaf of his trusty *quadernetto*, Mariano had prayed for the 'salvamento de l'anima e del chorppo'. He took armour with him on the galley for the safety of his body and of his companions, while his veneration of the relics at Compostela and Canterbury was both a means of ensuring his future salvation and a prayer of thanksgiving for having arrived safely and for a safe return.

Conclusion

Mariano's account of his voyage to England and Flanders appears to be unique in the tradition of *ricordanze*. It is a multi-layered source touching upon the cultural, ecclesiastical, social and economic history of the period. It gives precious insights into the system of trading galleys and the voyages they undertook as well as, more broadly, the fifteenth-century Florentine economy, its export trade in luxury goods and imports of raw materials from Southampton, London and Bruges, alongside detailed descriptions of the shrines in the cathedrals at Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury, and late medieval pilgrimage practices.

The narrative of the voyage is complemented within the same manuscript by a richly fascinating and as yet unpublished companion ledger containing Mariano's accounts of the trading mission and offering much deeper insights into its purposes and scope. A broader study, by the authors of this paper and others, which will edit the ledger of the voyage and other fragments preserved in the Ughi family archive in Florence, is in progress and will complement in the near future the initial research into Mariano Ughi's *quadernetto* presented here.

Notes on contributors

Eugenio Sidoli is a professional businessman and a bibliophile. While working as an international business leader for over 30 years, he has maintained an interest in the history of economics and economic thought. He was the curator of the exhibition *The Books that Made Europe* (2016), on the development of the idea of Europe especially in social and economic terms, and is co-editor of its companion catalogue with Margherita Palumbo.

⁷³ *Ricordanze*, ff. 19v–20r. Among others, '3 peze di chalsca ... le quale chonperai da uno artiere', '3¼ verghe di verde chiaro', '26 chandelai', '69 peze di pangno ... tra grandi e picholi', '7½ di pagnonazzo', '7½ di scharlato', '2¼ di morello', '11¼ di biggio'. Entries related to goods purchased in England also in ASF, Fondo Ughi 109, 'Entrata uscita di Mariano e Giorgio di Nicholò di Dante Ughi dal 1440 al 1455', f. 35r.

⁷⁴ *Ricordanze*, f. 28r, recording on 21 June 1445 the expenses when 'mi partì d'Inghilterra cioè in ghalea e a Malicha ... e a Livorno e in Pisa in sino a Firenze'.

⁷⁵ *Ricordanze*, ff. 7v–8r.

⁷⁶ *Ricordanze*, f. 27v, 'deono avere a dì 18 d'agosto ff quatro larghi sono per la mia chorazza ch'io vendei a Pissa ad un viandante'.

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Appendix: Mariano Ughi's narrative

This appendix contains an edition of the Italian text of Mariano Ughi's narrative, followed by an English translation. Table A1 contains a concordance of the place-names as given in the narrative and their present identifications.

The manuscript

The manuscript containing the narrative consists of 92 paper leaves (211 × 140 mm) forming four quires, made up as 1²⁰, 2²⁴, 3²⁴, 4²⁴. The following leaves are blank: 1/1v, 3/10v, 3/11–17, 3/22v, 3/23–24, 4/1–21, 4/24v. Apart from the first and last leaf, all the others, including the blank ones, have contemporary foliation in Arabic numerals, in ink, running from 1 to 90 in the upper right-hand corner of each recto, and these are used below in the edition of the narrative and the references in this article. The leaves are ruled with dry point; the text is written in *mercantesca*, in a variable number of lines and text-space measures. The watermark features a walking horse, similar to Briquet 3568. Each page of text bears the *datatio* in Roman figures in the upper margin, introduced by a cross. The manuscript is bound in contemporary wallet-style limp vellum. The spine bears a large paper label with the inked number '8', possibly dating to the early nineteenth century. The manuscript is generally well preserved, while the condition of the initial and final leaves is fair: the margins are frayed, and holes affect text.

The first (unnumbered) leaf is blank except for a two-line note referring to debtor entries. On f. 1r, there is a prayer: 'Al nome dello 'nipotente Idio e della sua madre Madonna Santa Maria e di messer San Giovanni e Batista e di messer San Piero e di messer San Pagholo apostoli e di tuta la celestiale chorte di paradiso', written in Mariano's own hand on the upper margin; his ownership inscription follows: 'Questo libro è di Mariano di Giorgio di Nicholò di Dante Ughi, in sul quale farò richordo di tutte mie faccende ch'io farò per questo viaggio di Fiandra che Idio ci chonducha a salvamento de l'anima e del chorppo'; this note is repeated below, in a later, possibly early seventeenth-century hand and introduced by the word 'Copia'.

Three sections make up the manuscript. The first section contains the accounts dated from November 1444 to October 1450 (ff. 1r–52r), followed by a sequence of blank leaves (ff. 52v–59v); it is written by at least three hands including Mariano's, which are, however, very similar. The second section contains Mariano's diary of the voyage to England and Flanders (ff. 60r–64r), written in his own hand, followed by a sequence of blank leaves (ff. 64v–87v). The third and last section includes inventories of personal effects and goods carried on various voyages (ff. 88r–90r), mainly in Mariano's hand, and including two inventories related to the voyage to England and Flanders (ff. 89v–90r).

Editorial principles

The transcription and translation which follow are of the second section only, Mariano's diary. The transcription follows the criteria adopted in the major editions of Tuscan *ricordanze*.⁷⁷ It adheres as closely as possible to the original, frequently variable spelling; variations between

⁷⁷ See in particular the criteria adopted by G. Ciappelli for his edition of the *Ricordanze* of Francesco di Matteo Casatellani, especially *Ricordanze A, 1436–1459* (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 57–60.

single and double consonants, the combination *ngn*, and the use of *e* and *e'* for the definite articles *i* and *il* have been retained. The forms *l^o* and *l^a* for *uno* and *una* have been kept. Accents, marks of punctuation and capital letters, which generally do not appear in the text, are introduced according to modern Italian usage. The letter *j* has been rendered as *i*; the distinction between *u* and *v* follows modern Italian usage. Dropped letters are generally indicated by an apostrophe, or by inserting the missing letter in italic. Insertions are indicated with angle brackets, < >; lacunae with three asterisks, ***. Standard abbreviations, including units of measure, have been expanded, and are not indicated. Single words which are run together have been separated. The raised point (*punto in alto*) is used for marking divisions in cases of consonantal or phono-syntactic doubling (hence *ella* is rendered as *e-lla*, *chessi* as *che-ssi*, etc.). Numbers (either Roman numerals or Arabic numbers) and dates (according to the Florentine calendar *ab incarnatione*, starting the year on 25 March) are reproduced as they appear in the original text, as well as time reckoning. We have not corrected orthographical variation, such as *botto* for *votto*, *posipbile* for *possibile*, or spelling discrepancies such as *erlique* and *arelique*; evident lapses and inconsistencies have been kept, and are discussed in the related notes. Paragraph breaks follow the original layout. The *datatio* is maintained at the opening of the text only.

Table A1. Place-names in the text of the diary with corresponding English forms. Historical or conjectural identifications of place-names discussed in the explanatory notes are not included. Source: Authors.

Place-name in Ughi's text	Present-day identification
Ameria	Almería (Andalusia, Spain)
Baiona	Baiona (Galicia, Spain)
Barzalona	Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain)
Belisi	Vélez (Andalusia, Spain)
Benidorm	Benidorm (Alicante, Spain)
Bere	Vera (Andalusia, Spain)
Bocholi (Bbocholi)	Port-de-Bouc (Bouches-du-Rhône, France)
Chalici	Cadiz (Andalusia, Spain)
Charisfi	Tarifa (Andalusia, Spain)
Chatagenia	Cartagena (Murcia, Spain)
Chavo di Martino	Cueva del Llop Marí (Alicante, Spain)
Chavo di San Vincenzo	Cape St Vincent (Algarve, Portugal)
Cholongne	La Coruña (Galicia, Spain)
Chonturbia	Canterbury (Kent, England)
Denia	Dénia (Alicante, Spain)
Dobla	Dover (Kent, England)
Draonara	Dragonera (Balearic Islands, Spain)
Genova	Genoa (Italy)
Ghorghona	Gorgona (Tuscan Archipelago, Italy)
Gibiltere (Gulbiltere)	Gibraltar
Granata	Granada (Andalusia, Spain)
Istanpone	Estepona (Andalusia, Spain)
La Chantera	Alicante (Catalonia, Spain)
Lausso	Lagos (Algarve, Portugal)
Lerisi	Lerici (Liguria, Italy)
Lisbona	Lisbon (Portugal)
Livorno	Livorno (Italy)
Londra	London (England)
Maiolicha	Mallorca (Balearic Islands, Spain)
Malicha	Malaga (Andalusia, Spain)
Marbella	Marbella (Andalusia, Spain)
Marsilia	Marseilles (France)
Meloria	Meloria (Ligurian Sea, Italy)
Monte Maiore	Montemayor (Andalusia, Spain)
Mulino di Malicha	Torremolinos (Andalusia, Spain)
Nizza	Nice (France)
Ponte al Porcho	Ponte do Porco (Galicia, Spain)
Rotta	Rota (Andalusia, Spain)

(Continued)

Table A1. Continued.

Place-name in Ughi's text	Present-day identification
Sa' lachopo di Ghalizia	Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain)
Sagirola	Fuengirola (Andalusia, Spain)
San Filio	Sant Felix de Guíxols (Catalonia, Spain)
Sanduicci	Sandwich (Kent, England)
Sanтта Maria del Portto	Puerto de Santa Maria (Andalusia, Spain)
Saravingna	Salobreña (Andalusia, Spain)
Scabbia (Cabbia)	lávea (Andalusia, Spain)
Setta	Ceuta (Ceuta enclave, Spain)
Sibilia	Seville (Andalusia, Spain)
Silvese	Silves (Algarve, Portugal)
Valenza	Valencia (Catalonia, Spain)
Zizenia	Algeciras (Andalusia, Spain)

Transcription of the Italian text

[f. 60r]

✚ M cccc^o xliiii^o

Apresso saranno tuti e porti si truovono per 'l viaggio di Fiandra ed Inghiterra e simile d'alchuna altra chosa chominciando a dì 5 di novembre che noi partimmo.

A dì detto a ore 16 ci partimmo di Porto Pisano,⁷⁸ e alla Meloria facemo vela e in detto di pasammo la Ghorghona e-lla riviera di Genova e di poi l'isole di Eresi.⁷⁹ E in sulla mano rita rimane Lerisi ch'e 1^o grosso chastello chon buone mura e cho' 1^a forte rocha.⁸⁰ E di poi si truova Nizza che è del ducha di Savoia.

A dì 8 detto ponemo a Marsilia⁸¹ che è meza disfatta; ma ora vi si mura asai chase e belle al modo nostro; avi al'entrare del porto a mano rita 1^o munistero di frati che-ssi chiama San Vettori che è una bella chosa.⁸² La notte vengnente ci partimo da Marsilia e ponemo⁸³ a Bocholi la matina.

A dì 9 ponemmo a-Bocholi e quivi in sullo entrare del porto ti rimane i' su la mano manca 1^o bello chasteletto disabitato; e i' Bocholi sono 3 chasteletta che sono in terzo, l'uno si chiama Giunchiera e l'altro si chiama l'ila di Malticha.⁸⁴ Di poi ci partimo da Bocholi a dì 10 e venimone.

A dì 12 detto la matina in sul dì giungnemo a San Filio, e vi è *** ed è 1^o bello chasteletto ed è de' re di Raghona. E a dì 13 la matina innanzi di ci partimmo di detto porto e chostegiammo la chosta di Barzalona, e Barzalona rimane in sulla mano ritta.

E di poi si truova l'isola di Draonara, e di poi a dì 16 detto ci trovammo a Maiolicha in sulle di 18 ore.

[f. 60v] A dì 16 di novembre ponemmo a Maiolicha ch'è de' re di Raona ed è una bella tera. E delle belle chose che vi sia, si è 1^o bello duomo e una bella loggia chiamata la loggia de' merchatanti che è una bellissima chosa;⁸⁵ e quivi istenmo insino a dì 19 di detto mese.

⁷⁸ Porto Pisano, the port of Pisa at the mouth of river Arno on the sea, near Livorno. It no longer survives.

⁷⁹ Possibly the small islands in front of Lerici, misspelled in the Italian as 'Eresi', i.e. the islands of Palmaria, Tinetto and Tino. As an alternative, the Îles d'Hyères, which are, however, in southern France, beyond Nice. See F. Edler De Roover, 'Le voyage de Girolamo Strozzi de Pise à Bruges et retour à bord de la galère bourguignonne "San Giorgio"', *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges* 91 (1954): 135.

⁸⁰ Lerici's fortress, built by the Pisans in the twelfth century, was expanded after 1256 by the Genoese.

⁸¹ MS: 'de re Rinieri' added in the inner margin, in the same hand.

⁸² The fortified Benedictine abbey of Saint-Victor, founded in the fifth century in honour of the patron saint of Marseilles, St Victor.

⁸³ MS: follows repeated 'e ponemo'.

⁸⁴ In this period, Martigues did indeed consist of three fortified villages, Ferrières, Jounquières and the island of Martigues. Here, Mariano seems to omit the reference to Ferrières.

⁸⁵ Mariano refers to the cathedral of Santa Maria, and the hall built at the 'Consulado de Mar y Colegio de Mercaderes', a commercial tribunal created in 1306.

A dì 19 detto la sera in sulle 22 ore partimo da Maiolicha e a dì 21 in sulla sera ponemo a Valenza, cioè al porto che'ssi chiama il Grado ch'è 1° chasteletto chome Livorno.⁸⁶ E di quivi a Valenza si è 3 miglia ed è tuto de' re di Raona ed è 1^a bella terra. E lla domenicha matina vengnente vi si giostrò alla tela; èvi drento lungho le mura 1° ortto che'ssi chiama l'ortto terazano che è una delle più belle cose che mai si vedesi, tuto adorno di melarancci e di chose verdi.⁸⁷ Ed è in detta Valenza 1^a sala che si chiama la sala della Ragione che non è molta grande ma è 1° de' più begli palchi che mai si vedesi,⁸⁸ e da Valenza n'andammo a Denia.

A dì 24 detto a una ora di notte partimo del porto di Valenza; a dì 25 a ora di nona ponemo a Denia che è 1° chastello mezo disfatto e fu già grande città. È de' re di Raghona.

A dì 26 detto la matina in sul dì ci partimo dalla detta Denia per andare a Scabbia, e giungnenmo a <S>cabbia in sulla ora del desinare e detto dì. l'Scabbia è 1° chasteletto picholo chome e' ²/₃ di Livorno ed è pure de' re di Raona. A dì 27 detto partimo da <S>cabbia in su l'ora del vespro per andare [f. 61r] a Malicha e chostegiamo Chavo di Martino. Rimane in su la mano rita Benedormi; di poi in sudetta mano la Chantera e tute de' re di Raona. E di poi i' sudetta mano è Chatagenia e è de' re di Spangna. E di poi in sudetta mano s'entra nella chosta di Granata, e de' re di Granata che si truova Bere. E di poi s'entra in su detta mano Ameria e di poi Saravingna e di poi Belisi e di poi Malicha, e quivi ponemo.

A dì primo di dicenbre ponemo a Malicha che è 1^a grossa terra ed èvi 1^a bella forteza citadella, sopra la terra che'lla murorono e Genovesi.⁸⁹ E di poi ci partimo a dì 3 detto a meza notte per andare in Chalici, e truoviasi in su detta mano 1° chastello che'ssi chiama le Mulino di Malicha e di poi Sagirola⁹⁰ e di poi Marbella e di poi Monte Maiore e di poi Istanpone e di poi el monte di Gibiltere, che è 1^a chosa inispugnabile ed è tutto murato atorno; e a piede di detto monte si è la tera di Gulbiltere e qui chominccia lo stretto⁹¹ di Sibilia e finisce i chonfini de' Mori.⁹² E quivi pasamo a dì 4 detto in sulle 22 ore lo streto di Sibilia e chomincia tera di Cristiani, e in sulla mano ritta si è una città che'ssi chiama Zizenia. E a petto a quella in sulla mano manca 1^a bella terra che'ssi chiama Setta ed è il chominciamento di Barberia, overo la fine.⁹³ Ed è in detta piaggia 1^a belis<sim>a villa cho' molti chasamenti; e in sula mano rita pasato Zizenia v'è Charisfi. E a dì 5 detto in sulla terza ponemo nel porto di Chalisi che è 1° chastello minore che Livorno e a l'entrare [f. 61v] del detto porto si è 1° chasteletto che si chi<a>ma Santta Maria del Portto, apresso a Chalisi a 10 miglia, e a l'u<s>cita del detto portto si è 1° chasteletto picholo chia<ma>tto Rotta; e di poi pasamo per andare al Chavo di San Vincenzo e prima si truova in sulla mano ritta 1^a terra che si chiama Silvese, e di poi Lausso ch'è 1° chasteletto chome Livorno. E di poi a ore 24 a dì 8 di dicenbre giungnemo al Chavo di San Vincenzo detto, e quivi istemmo insino apreso a di senza surgere ferro, che a detto Chavo è 1^a chiesetta che vi istà 1° romitto e in⁹⁴ detta chiessa fecce san Vincenzo la sua penitenzia.⁹⁵ A dì 9 detto ci partimo dal detto Chavo; di poi si truova in sulla mano ritta Lisbona, e da Chavo⁹⁶ in prima si è de' re di Porttoghhallo.

A dì 12 in sulla nona ponemmo a Baiona che è una teretta pichola come Livorno.

A dì 14 detto la matina di buona orra ci partimo da la detta Baiona e dischosto a detto⁹⁷ portto a 4 miglia troviamo 1^a nave di meser Nicholoso Doria genovese che veniva di levante per andare in

⁸⁶ 'Il Grado': the Grau, the port of Valencia.

⁸⁷ The Huerta, the gardens surrounding Valencia.

⁸⁸ The Llotja de l'Oli, or Oil Exchange, used for trading all kinds of merchandise, and later replaced by the Llotja de la Seda, built between 1482 and 1548.

⁸⁹ Mariano refers here to the fourteenth-century Castillo de Genoese, built near the shipyards.

⁹⁰ Fuengirola is indicated as 'Sagrola' or 'Sagirola' in contemporary portolans.

⁹¹ MS: follows cancelled 'di Gubiltere'.

⁹² Seville is at the mouth of the River Guadalquivir, a position indicated here as a 'strait'.

⁹³ Ceuta in Barbary, the coastal region of North Africa. It had been conquered by Portugal in 1415.

⁹⁴ MS: 'in' interlinear addition, in the same hand.

⁹⁵ The small church at Cape St Vincent, dedicated to the fourth-century martyr Vincent, patron saint of Lisbon, the city where his remains had been moved in the twelfth century.

⁹⁶ MS: follows cancelled 'in qua'.

⁹⁷ MS: follows a cancelled letter, possibly 'b'.

ponentte,⁹⁸ e l di dinanzi, cioè a di 13 detto ruppe la detta nave inn-ischoglio ed era di botte 1300;⁹⁹ e quivi andamo a vederla e molitto pepe e altre ispezierie se ne chavò per molte navi e per noi che v'erono d'atorno, ch'era una ischurità a vedere ed era 1^a belissima nave e molitto bene armatta, e pe-lla grazia di Dio no' vi perì persona. E a di 15 detto ci partimo in su' di da la detta nave e ***

A di 18 detto in su la nona ponemo alle Cholongne che è 1^a bratta teraccia ed è de' re di Chastiglia e di quindi ci partimo per terra.

[f. 62r] A di 19 detto andamo Orlandino e Bernardo Rucelai, padroni delle ghaleaze,¹⁰⁰ a beatto meser Sa' Iachopo di Ghalizia, che fummo in chonpangnia circha di chavagli 120 e giungnemo a detto Sa' Iachopo di Ghalizia a di 20 detto in sul di; ed è la detta terra asai bella secho<n>do l'altre, e quivi facemmo nostre divozioni. E di poi a¹⁰¹ di medesimo ci tornamo adietro due leghe a 1^o lu<o>gho che si chiama el Ponte¹⁰² al Porcho.¹⁰³ E a di 21 ci tornamo alle dette Chologne, e a la detta chiesa di Sa' Iachopo, 1^a bella chiesa di no' troppa grande<zza>, ed è tutta in cholone ed è in croce. E in testa d'uno di quegli adetti della croce di detta chiesa¹⁰⁴ cioè quando entri in detta chiesa a mano manca si è l'altare di santo Iachopo ed èvi drento in detto altare la testa e il chorno di sa' Iachopo Zebedei. E sopra il detto altare si è una volticella sopra a 4 cholonette e sotto la detta voltta si è apichatto certe tazze d'ariento e da' latto dinanzi si è apichatto 1^o chorno che è lungho circha d'uno braccio,¹⁰⁵ che dichono che è il chorno d'Orlando.¹⁰⁶ E di poi nella testa di detta chiesa, a mano ritta si è 1^a ischala che va inn'alto circha di 15 ischagliani ed entra inn-una chapella a modo d'una sagrestia ed èvi 1^o bello armario richo, dove istà la testa di sa' Iachopo Alfei,¹⁰⁷ e quella si mostra al trono di detti sa' Iachopi. Mostrasi e sengnasi chon certte arelique che sono in 2 forzerini, e di poi si baccia 1^a croce di cristallo che v'è drento la croce di [f. 62v] san Giovanni Batista che è 1^a bella chosa. E fatte tute queste divozioni ci partimmo e tornamo alle Chologne che v'è miglia quaranta, tuta buona via che per tuta la via trovammo boschi tuti fioriti, e s'avamo a di 22 di dicembre.

E apreso alle Cholongne a uno mezo miglio si è la cholona d'Erchole che è 1^a torre altissima e grossa molto, la quale si dicce che Erchole la edificò in quello luogho e che nessuno avessi chagione più avanti, perche si dicce essere luogho deserto e no' vi si truova nulla.¹⁰⁸ A di 23 di dicembre a ore 4 di notte ci partimo dalle dette Cholongne.

E a di 28 detto i' sulla sera surgemo al Chavo di Dobla ch'è in sulla mano manca a l'andare in-llà, e prima si truova il Ponte di Chamera ch'è 1^a bella villa ed è de' re d'Inghilterra.¹⁰⁹

A di 29 di detto mese surgemo a Sanduicci ch'è de' re d'Inghiltera ed è 1^a buona terra ed è tuta piena d'artieri; e di quindi ci partimo a di 31 di dicembre Charlo Ghuaschoni e Antonio di Papi e Domenicho di Tomaso¹¹⁰ e Betto di Ghuccio e 1^o Inghilese ed io, e per terra andamo a San Tomaso di Chonturbia che v'è 10 miglia di buona via e per tuto si truova di richi vilaggi.

La chiesa di detto San Tomaso di Chonturbia si è grandissima per modo che si dicce che l'è più lungha che San Polo di Londra, e San Polo s'è misurato esser più lungho che Santa Liperata più

⁹⁸ Possibly a galley belonging to the fleet of the Genoese nobleman Niccolò Doria.

⁹⁹ *Botte* was a standard measure indicating the tonnage of a merchant galley (cf. Edler De Roover, *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business*, 50–1).

¹⁰⁰ On the patrons Orlandini and Rucellai see above.

¹⁰¹ MS: 'e' in text.

¹⁰² MS: follows cancelled 'des'.

¹⁰³ Both the itinerary and chronology reported here are not fully consistent. It is possible that Mariano simply wrote 'Chologne' (i.e. La Coruña) by mistake instead of St James of Galicia.

¹⁰⁴ MS: follows repeated 'chiesa'.

¹⁰⁵ The Florentine *braccio* was equivalent to slightly less than 60 cm.

¹⁰⁶ This seemingly otherwise unrecorded reference to Roland's horn hung at that time on the high altar confirms the link between the cult of St James and the epic of Roland. Cf. the *Historia Turpini* or *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, included in Book V of the *Codex Calixtinus*, spuriously ascribed to Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, who is said to have fought beside Roland against the Moors at Roncesvalles in 778. See C. Meredith-Jones, ed., *Historia Karoli magni et Rotholandi, ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* (Paris: Droz, 1936).

¹⁰⁷ The reliquary containing the head of St James the Less, son of Alpheus, preserved in the sacristy.

¹⁰⁸ The second-century Tower of Hercules, near La Coruña, the earliest Western lighthouse.

¹⁰⁹ The harbour of Camber-before-Rye, on the south coast of England, near the town of Rye. It no longer survives.

¹¹⁰ For Carlo Guasconi, Antonio de Papi, and Mariano's cousin Domenico see above.

di braccia 50.¹¹¹ [f. 63r] Ed è la detta chiesa tuta a 3 anditi nella forma ch'è Santa Liperatta, ma sòvi più ispesso le cholonne e meglio fatte e più gentili, e tuta è bianca acetto che nelle voltte di sopra si è alchuno fiore per ello mezo e non è altrove divariata di più cholori e chon oro mescholatto. E movendosi dalla entrata di detta chiesa per andare a l'altare maggiore, quando siete presso che a mezo si sale 8 ischaglioni e quivi si è 1° mangnifico altare;¹¹² e di poi si truova doppo a quello 1° badiale choro e molto richo che viene a 'ssere in mezo della chiesa. E pasando questo si sale altri 8 ischaglioni e quivi si è in su quello piano che viene a 'sere in testa della chiesa, 1^a chapella a chupola nel modo fatta che è tutta la chiesa, cioè bianca cho' molte cholonette tante alte quanto la chiesa e tute di porfido molto belle, e in mezo di detta chapella si è la sepoltura del beatto meser san Tomaso, ch'è nuovamente fatta e molto bella che per noia no' lo chonto perche v'è più chose a dire. E sopra la detta sepoltura si è 1^a archa, tanto grande quanto 1^a <a> modo nostro, la quale s'usono porre di lengname alle nostre sepulture o pocho meno. E quella si è tuta d'oro masiccio e fine, e di poi è tutta choperta quanto sue ve ne puoe istare di gioie, anella d'ogni ragione, che se la valutta si chontasi di detta archa sarebe [f. 63v] tanta che a'ddira no' sarebbe altrui creduto. Èvi isterminati charbonchi ed èvi 1° reale che fu de' re di Francia,¹¹³ e molti diamanti, balacci, zafiri, ismeraldi, rubini, chalcidoni, turchise, perle ed ongni ragione e uno numero infinito. E nella testa dinanzi di detta archa si è la testa cho' mezzo el petto d'uno che fue re d'Inghilterra che'ssi chiammò e' re Arri 1/5, ed è tuto d'oro fine e posevisi per botto che fue feditto inn'una bataglia cho' uno verettone nel naso, e chosì la è a pè de l'ochio che è una bella chosa.¹¹⁴ E dinanzi alla detta archa si è una chatena di ferro per più fortezza della chapella, alla quale si è apichato molte inmagine e ghalee e teste e mani e altre chose e tute d'oro fine che è una meraviglia a vedere tanta ricchezza, e masimamente quando si dicce la messa all'altare di san Tomaso,¹¹⁵ il quale è apogiatto alla sua sepoltura. Ed èvi dove stanno e monacci a dire l'uficcio molto bene inteso e molto richamente achonccio. E a punto giungnenmo quando¹¹⁶ si dicceva la messa dell'altare di san Tomaso, che tra lumi e quelle gioie e tanta massa d'oro pareva s'aprisi el paradiso. E dopo el detto altare nel giro della chapella si è la testa di san Tomaso, la quale da due de' detti monacci fummo achonpangnati e mostroronci la detta testa e quella baciamo ciaschuno di noi, e questa viene a 'sere in fine, cioè nella testa di detta chiesa. Di poi e detti monacci ci volono mostrare tutte le rilique e chose sante di detta chiesa e sie tornammo a mezzo la chiesa, dov'è 1^a chapeletta molto riccha, ci mo<s>trorono la testa di san Biaggio e la manto e ciliccio e del sanque del sopra detto santto, e 1° choppo di cristallo nel quale dichono esere de' chapelli e del vello della di nostra Donna, e tute bacianno e tochamo; e di poi ci menorono più in giuso a 1^a altra chapella adornata e si-cci mostrorono la punta della ispada chon che fue morto santo Tomaso detto¹¹⁷ e molte altre erlique e tute bacianno. E per rachontare¹¹⁸ [f. 64r] quanto e in che modo istanno due riche sepulture fra l'altre che sono in detta chiessa, vi dirò chome andando a l'altare di detto santto si è a ma<no> rita la sepoltura del ducha di Chiarenza ch'è 1^a chossa molta richa ed èvi in forma di lui in sulla sepoltura 1° formato e bello corpo a giacere roveccio cholle mani cunte, tuto armatto ed è d'ottone doratto.¹¹⁹

E de' mano manca si è la sepoltura de'rre e della reina che fue d'Inghiltera chiamato i'rre Arigho quinto.¹²⁰ E quest'è quanto è di sopra nel chorppo di detta chiessa, senza che v'è molte belissime

¹¹¹ Remarkably, Mariano compares the size of Canterbury to that of St Paul's in London and Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. Although the Florentine cathedral had been renamed in 1412, its early name Santa Reparata was still largely used.

¹¹² The altar of Holy Cross.

¹¹³ The large ruby known as the *Régale de France*.

¹¹⁴ The ex-voto possibly given by the future King Henry V of England (1387–1422); see above, at note 64.

¹¹⁵ MS: follows cancelled 'ap'.

¹¹⁶ MS: follows cancelled 'la'.

¹¹⁷ The point of the sword, with which Becket had been killed by one of his murderers, Richard Brito.

¹¹⁸ MS: follows cancelled 'che sono in detta chiessa'.

¹¹⁹ Mariano seems to confuse the marble effigy of Thomas, duke of Clarence (d. 1421), second son of Henry IV, for the one in gilded brass of Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince (d. 1376), which actually was located on the right-hand side.

¹²⁰ The tombs of King Henry IV of England (1336–1413), wrongly referred to by Mariano as Henry V, and his second wife, Queen Joan of Navarre (d. 1437), in the Trinity Chapel, on the north side.

chappelle e sepulture di marmo moltte riche. E per tutta la chiesa si è l'anditto¹²¹ ad alti che per tuto si va. Èvi inn-una chapella 1^o miracholo che fue uno che chont<r>asta cho' uno monacho di detto santto chon dicendo che no' potessi esere che'lla Vergine Maria avessi partorito senza pechatto; e vene atanto che disse: tanto è egli posipbile quantto se'lla mia testa fussi di pietra. E di fatto gli diventò la testa di pietra ed è in detta chapella.¹²² E queste quantto è il chorppo della chiesa. Di poi quando i detti due monacci c'ebono mostro tuta la chiesa, ci disono che-cci volevono menare alla Anuziatta ed entrorono inn'uno anditto che è a mezo la chiesa che iscende 10 ischaglioni sotterra, ed èvi pieno di cholonne in sulle quali è fondatta la detta chiesa che è tanta vo<l>tta di lunghezza soterra, quanto sopra a terra o pocho meno e dell'anteza di sotto circha di braccia 6. E la giù in mezzo si è 1^a richa chapeletta tuta graticholatta e drento v'è 1^a Anunziata chol suo figliuolo in chollo ed è d'oro e più è tuta chopertta di maravigliose gioie e d'ogni ragione.¹²³ Di poi tornamo sue e menoroncci a vedere la sagrestia che è 1^a maravigliosa chosa e molto bene atessa, e di quindi ci menorono i' resto della chasa dove abitono e detti monacci, che di prima belissimi chio<s>tri e suvi un bello e richo e mangno chapitolo molto richamente adorno, e di poi e<n>tranmmo inn'uno badiale e mangno rifetoro e di quindi andamo in dormentoro.

Translation [by Stephen Parkin]

[f. 60r]

✠ M cccc^o xliiii^o

In what follows here will be mentioned all the ports on the voyage to Flanders and England and other similar things beginning on the 5th day of November which was the day we departed.

On the said day at 16 hours we left from Porto Pisano¹²⁴ and sailed towards Meloria. On the same day we passed Gorgona and the coast of Genoa and afterwards the islands of Lerici.¹²⁵ Lerici was on our right-hand side with a large fortress with well-built walls and a keep.¹²⁶ Afterwards came Nice which belongs to the duke of Savoy.

On the 8th of November we called at Marseilles belonging to King René which is half in ruins; however, many fine new houses in our style are being built. On the right, on entering the port, is a monastery of friars called Saint-Victor, which is very fine.¹²⁷ As night came on we left Marseilles and in the morning anchored at Port-de-Bouc.

On the 9th we anchored at Port-de-Bouc. Here on the left as you enter the port is a beautiful small castle which is uninhabited. In Port-de-Bouc there are three small castles linked to each other [or 'located close to each other'], one is called Jounquières and the other is called the island of Martigues.¹²⁸ We left Port-de-Bouc on the 10th and continued our journey.

On the 12th of the said month at daybreak we arrived in Sant Felix [de Guixols]. There is *** and a fine small castle belonging to the king of Aragon. On the 13th we left the said port in the morning before sunrise and sailed along the coast of Barcelona. Barcelona stayed always on the

¹²¹ MS: follows cancelled 'ch'.

¹²² Marian devotion in England, and especially the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, seems to have originated in the writings of St. Anselm (1033–1109), archbishop of Canterbury, and was later disseminated through Anselm's disciple Eadmer of Canterbury (1064–1124). We have not yet identified a source for the story reported here, which possibly reflects the discussions on this doctrine which had taken place at the Council of Basel (1437–8).

¹²³ The Chapel of the Virgin Mary in Undercroft.

¹²⁴ Porto Pisano, the port of Pisa at the mouth of river Arno on the sea, near Livorno. It no longer survives.

¹²⁵ Possibly the small islands in front of Lerici, misspelled in the Italian as 'Eresi', i.e. the islands of Palmaria, Tinetto and Tino. As an alternative, the Îles d'Hyères, which are, however, in southern France, beyond Nice. See F. Edler De Roover, 'Le voyage de Girolamo Strozzi de Pise à Bruges et retour à bord de la galère bourguignonne "San Giorgio"', *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges* 91 (1954): 135.

¹²⁶ Lerici's fortress, built by the Pisans in the twelfth century, was expanded after 1256 by the Genoese.

¹²⁷ The fortified Benedictine abbey of Saint-Victor, founded in the fifth century in honour of the patron saint of Marseilles, St Victor.

¹²⁸ In this period, Martigues did indeed consist of three fortified villages, Ferrières, Jounquières and the island of Martigues. Here, Mariano seems to omit the reference to Ferrières.

right-hand side. Then there was the island of Dragonera and then on the 16th of the said month we found ourselves in Mallorca at around 18 hours.

[f. 60v] On the 16th day of November we anchored at Mallorca, a fine town belonging to the king of Aragon. Among the beautiful things to see there, there is a beautiful cathedral and a beautiful loggia known as the loggia of the merchants, which is very beautiful.¹²⁹ Here we stayed until the 19th of the said month.

On the 19th of the said month in the evening around 22 hours we left Mallorca and on the 21st in the evening we anchored in Valencia, that is in the port which is called the 'Grado' which like Livorno is a small fortress.¹³⁰ The town of Valencia is three miles away. It is a beautiful place and it all belongs to the king of Aragon. On the following Sunday morning there was jousting, and within, alongside the walls, there is an area of gardens which is known as the 'Terazano' and which is one of the most beautiful things ever seen, adorned with pomegranate trees and other green plants.¹³¹ In the said city of Valencia there is also a hall known as the council hall which is not very large but is one of the most beautiful spaces ever to be seen.¹³² From Valencia we went to Dénia.

On the 24th of the said month at the first hour of the night we left the port of Valencia. On the 25th at the ninth hour we anchored in Dénia, which is a half-ruined fortress and which was once a large town. It belongs to the king of Aragon.

On the 26th of the said month in the morning at daybreak we left Dénia aforesaid to sail to Jávea and we arrived at Jávea at dinner time on the same day. In Jávea there is a small castle about two-thirds the size of [the castle in] Livorno and it also belongs to the king of Aragon. On the 27th of the same month we left Jávea at the hour of Vespers to go [f. 61r] to Malaga and we sailed along the Cueva del Llop Marí, Benidorm on the right-hand side. After that on the same side is Alicante. All these towns belong to the king of Aragon. Afterwards on the right is Cartagena and it belongs to the king of Spain. Then on the same side there is the coast of Granada and there is Vera which belongs to the king of Granada. And then on the same side there is Almería, followed by Salobreña, followed by Vélez, and then Malaga, and here we anchored.

On the 1st of December we anchored at Malaga which is a large town with a beautiful citadel above the town built by the Genoese.¹³³ Afterwards, on the 3rd of the said month we left at midnight to sail to Cadiz. Here on the right-hand side there is a castle which is called Torremolinos, followed by Fuengirola,¹³⁴ followed by Marbella, followed by Montemayor, followed by Estepona, followed by the mount (*monte*) called Gibraltar, which is impregnable and walled all round. At the foot of the mount is the town of Gibraltar where the straits of Seville begin and where the territories of the Moors end.¹³⁵ Here on the 4th day of the said month at 22 hours we crossed the straits of Seville where Christian territory begins. On the right-hand side there is a town which is called Algeciras and facing that on the left-hand side there is a beautiful town which is called Ceuta which marks the beginning, or the end, of Barbary.¹³⁶ On that shore there is a very beautiful town with many houses. On the right-hand side after Algeciras there is Tarifa. On the 5th of the said month at about the third hour we anchored in the port of Cadiz where there is a castle smaller than the one in Livorno and at the entrance [f. 61v] to the port there is a small castle which is called Puerto de Santa Maria, 10 miles from Cadiz, and at the exit from the said port there is a small castle called Rota. Then we went on towards Cape St Vincent. Before that on the right-hand side there is a town called Silves, and then Lagos, which has a small castle like the one in Livorno. Then at 24

¹²⁹ Mariano refers to the cathedral of Santa Maria, and the hall built at the 'Consulado de Mar y Colegio de Mercaderes', a commercial tribunal created in 1306.

¹³⁰ 'Il Grado': the Grau, the port of Valencia.

¹³¹ The Huerta, the gardens surrounding Valencia.

¹³² The Llotja de l'Oli, or Oil Exchange, used for trading all kinds of merchandise, and later replaced by the Llotja de la Seda, built between 1482 and 1548.

¹³³ Mariano refers here to the fourteenth-century Castillo de Genoese, built near the shipyards.

¹³⁴ Fuengirola is indicated as 'Sagrola' or 'Sagirola' in contemporary portolans.

¹³⁵ Seville is at the mouth of the River Guadalquivir, a position indicated here as a 'strait'.

¹³⁶ Ceuta in Barbary, the coastal region of North Africa. It had been conquered by Portugal in 1415.

hours on the 8th of December we reached the said Cape St Vincent and there we stayed until daytime without anchoring. At the said Cape there is a little church in which a hermit lives and in this church St Vincent did his penance.¹³⁷ On the 9th of the said month we left the said Cape. After the Cape on the right-hand side is Lisbon and from the Cape onwards the land belongs to the king of Portugal.

On the 12th at the ninth hour we anchored at Baiona, a small town the size of Livorno.

On the 14th early in the morning we left the said Baiona and 4 miles from the said port we found a ship belonging to messer Niccolo Doria from Genoa which had been heading from the east towards the west.¹³⁸ On the previous day, that is the 13th, the said ship had run onto the rocks and it was of 1300 *botte*.¹³⁹ So we went to see it and a lot of pepper and other spices were removed into many ships, including ours, which had come up. It was a dreadful sight. The ship was a most handsome one and very well armed; by the grace of God no one lost their life. On the 15th of December at daybreak we left the said ship and ***

On the 18th at the ninth hour we anchored at La Coruña, an ugly town which belongs to the king of Castile and from there we left to travel overland.

[f. 62r] On the 19th day of the said month we – Orlandino [Orlandini] and Bernardo Rucelai, the masters of the ships¹⁴⁰ [and I] – went to the blessed St James of Galicia [Santiago de Compostela]. Our company had about 120 horses and we arrived at the said St James of Galicia on the 20th of the said month at daybreak. The said town is very beautiful in comparison with others and here we made our devotions. Afterwards on the same day we retraced our steps by two leagues to the place which is called the Ponte do Porco¹⁴¹ and on the 21st we returned to the said La Coruña and to the said church of St James, a beautiful church of moderate size, which is cross-plan and full of columns. And at the end of one of the said crossings in the said church as you enter in the said church on the left there is the altar of St James and inside the said altar the head and body of St James son of Zebedee [St James the Great]; and above the said altar there is a small vault resting on 4 small columns and under the said vault several silver bowls are hanging and on the opposite side to them a horn which is about a *braccio*¹⁴² in length which they say is Roland's horn.¹⁴³ Then at the end of the said church on the right-hand side there is a staircase with about 15 steps going up into a chapel like a sacristy and there is a rich and beautiful reliquary there with the head of St James son of Alpheus¹⁴⁴ which is shown at the throne of the two St Jameses. 'There they display the head and make the sign of blessing with it, together with certain relics which are in two small caskets, and then we kiss a crystal cross, inside which is the cross [f. 62v] of St John the Baptist, which is a beautiful thing. Having performed all these devotions we left and returned to La Coruña which is 40 miles away on a good road all the way and all along the road there were woods all in blossom even though it was the 22nd of December.

Half a mile from La Coruña is the column of Hercules which is a very high and large tower, which it is said Hercules built in that place and no one would go any further than that because it is said to be a deserted place and nothing can be found there.¹⁴⁵ On the 23rd of December at the 4th hour of the night we left the said La Coruña.

¹³⁷ The small church at Cape St Vincent, dedicated to the fourth-century martyr Vincent, patron saint of Lisbon, the city where his remains had been moved in the twelfth century.

¹³⁸ Possibly a galley belonging to the fleet of the Genoese nobleman Niccolò Doria.

¹³⁹ *Botte* was a standard measure indicating the tonnage of a merchant galley (cf. Edler De Roover, *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business*, 50–1).

¹⁴⁰ On the patrons Orlandini and Rucellai see above.

¹⁴¹ Both the itinerary and chronology reported here are not fully consistent. It is possible that Mariano simply wrote 'Chologne' (i.e. La Coruña) by mistake instead of St James of Galicia.

¹⁴² The Florentine *braccio* was equivalent to slightly less than 60 cm.

¹⁴³ This seemingly otherwise unrecorded reference to Roland's horn hung at that time on the high altar confirms the link between the cult of St James and the epic of Roland. Cf. the *Historia Turpini* or *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, included in Book V of the *Codex Calixtinus*, spuriously ascribed to Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, who is said to have fought beside Roland against the Moors at Roncesvalles in 778. See C. Meredith-Jones, ed., *Historia Karoli magni et Rotholandi, ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* (Paris: Droz, 1936).

¹⁴⁴ The reliquary containing the head of St James the Less, son of Alpheus, preserved in the sacristy.

¹⁴⁵ The second-century Tower of Hercules, near La Coruña, the earliest Western lighthouse.

And on the 28th of the said month in the evening we reached the cape of Dover which is on the left-hand side as you proceed and before Dover there is the port of Camber which is a beautiful town and belongs to the king of England.¹⁴⁶

On the 29th of the said month we anchored at Sandwich which belongs to the king of England and is a good town and very full of artisans. We – Carlo [di Iacopo] Guasconi and Antonio di Papi and Domenico di Tommaso¹⁴⁷ and Betto di Ghiuccio and an Englishman and I – left here on the 31st of December and went overland to St Thomas of Canterbury which is 10 miles away along a good road and all along the road there are wealthy villages.

The church of the said St Thomas of Canterbury is very large, it is said to be longer than St Paul's in London, and the length of St Paul's has been measured to be longer than Santa Reparata by more than 50 *braccia*.¹⁴⁸ [f. 63r] And the whole church consists of three aisles in the form of Santa Reparata, but there are more columns, and they are better made and more graceful, and everything is white apart from the vaults of the roof above which there are flowers in the centre, and it is not varied with other colours elsewhere or mixed with gold. And moving from the entrance of the church towards the high altar, when you are halfway you go up eight steps and there is a magnificent altar;¹⁴⁹ and then after that there is a spacious and very rich choir which is located in the middle of the church. And passing this you go up a further eight steps and then you are on the level which leads to the top end of the church, a domed chapel with the same appearance as the whole church, that is white with many slender columns as high as the church and all in porphyry, very beautiful, and in the middle of the said chapel there is the tomb of the blessed St Thomas which is newly made and very beautiful which I do not describe because there are many things to say and it would be bothersome to describe everything. And above the tomb there is a coffer, as large as one of the wooden coffers we place over our tombs or a little less. And this is all of fine solid gold and then completely covered with as many jewels as there is space for, rings of all kinds, that if one calculates the value of the said coffer it would be [f. 63v] so much that it would not be believed by anyone. There are endless carbuncles and there is a regal which belonged to the king of France¹⁵⁰ and many diamonds, balases, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, stones of chalcedony, turquoises, pearls of every kind and in infinite number. And in front at the top of the said coffer there is the bust of the man who was king of England who was called King Henry V, and it is all of fine gold and is placed there as an ex-voto after he was wounded in the nose by an arrow in a battle, and there is the arrow below the eye, which is a beautiful thing.¹⁵¹ And in front of the said coffer there is an iron chain to make the chapel more secure to which many images and [figures of] galleys and heads and hands and other objects all in fine gold and such great richness is marvellous to behold, and especially when Mass is said at the altar of St Thomas which is next to his tomb. And there where the monks stand to say the office is very well made and very richly decorated. And in fact we arrived just when Mass was being said at the altar of St Thomas which, with the candles and those jewels and so great a quantity of gold it seemed as if Paradise was opening up. And after the said altar going round the chapel there is the head of St Thomas, which two of the said monks accompanied us to see and showed us the said head and each of us kissed it, and this head comes at the end, that is, at the top of the said church. Afterwards the said monks wanted to show us all the relics and holy objects of the said church and we returned to the middle of the church, where there is a small and very rich chapel; they showed us the head of St Blaise and the cloak and hairshirt and blood of the said saint and a crystal bowl in which they say there are some of the hairs and the veil of Our Lady and we kissed and touched all these objects; and then they led us further down to another decorated chapel and showed us

¹⁴⁶ The harbour of Camber-before-Rye, on the south coast of England, near the town of Rye. It no longer survives.

¹⁴⁷ For Carlo Guasconi, Antonio de Papi, and Mariano's cousin Domenico see above.

¹⁴⁸ Remarkably, Mariano compares the size of Canterbury to that of St Paul's in London and Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. Although the Florentine cathedral had been renamed in 1412, its early name Santa Reparata was still largely used.

¹⁴⁹ The altar of Holy Cross.

¹⁵⁰ The large ruby known as the *Régale de France*.

¹⁵¹ The ex-voto possibly given by the future King Henry V of England (1387–1422); see above, at note 64.

the point of the sword by which the said St Thomas was killed,¹⁵² and many other relics and all of them we kissed. And to describe [*f. 64r*] how and in what way two rich tombs among others appear that are in the said church, I shall tell you how going from the altar of the said saint there is on the right-hand side the tomb of the duke of Clarence which is a very rich thing and his effigy on top of the tomb is handsome and well-formed, lying supine with hands together, in full armour and made of gilded brass.¹⁵³ And on the left-hand side there is the tomb of the former king and queen of England called King Henry V.¹⁵⁴

And this is everything which is above in the main body of the said church, without mentioning that there are many very beautiful chapels and very rich marble tombs. And there is a passage high up running right round the whole church. There is in a chapel a miracle which involved someone arguing with a monk of the said saint, saying that it was not possible the Virgin Mary gave birth without sin and he went so far as to say that it was as likely as my head being of stone. And indeed his head turned to stone and it is in the said chapel.¹⁵⁵ And these are all the things that make up the main body of the church. Then when the two monks had shown us all the church, they told us that they wanted to take us to the chapel of the Madonna of the Annunciation and they entered through a doorway in the middle of the church where you go down 10 steps underground; and there are many columns on which the said church is built, which is as long underground as [it is] above ground or slightly less with the height underground being about 6 *braccia*. And below in the middle there is a small chapel,¹⁵⁶ richly decorated and with a grille all around and inside there is a Madonna of the Annunciation, clasping her infant son to her and it is made of gold and moreover is entirely covered with marvellous jewels of every kind. Then we returned upstairs where they led us to see the sacristy which is a marvellous thing and very well finished, and from there they led us to the rest of the buildings, where the said monks live, first very beautiful cloisters and then a beautiful and rich and large chapterhouse, very richly decorated, and afterwards we entered in a spacious and large refectory, and from there we went into the dormitory.

¹⁵² The point of the sword, with which Becket had been killed by one of his murderers, Richard Brito.

¹⁵³ Mariano seems to confuse the marble effigy of Thomas, duke of Clarence (d. 1421), second son of Henry IV, for the one in gilded brass of Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince (d. 1376), which actually was located on the right-hand side.

¹⁵⁴ The tombs of King Henry IV of England (1336–1413), wrongly referred to by Mariano as Henry V, and his second wife, Queen Joan of Navarre (d. 1437), in the Trinity Chapel, on the north side.

¹⁵⁵ Marian devotion in England, and especially the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, seems to have originated in the writings of St. Anselm (1033–1109), archbishop of Canterbury, and was later disseminated through Anselm's disciple Eadmer of Canterbury (1064–1124). We have not yet identified a source for the story reported here, which possibly reflects the discussions on this doctrine which had taken place at the Council of Basel (1437–8).

¹⁵⁶ The Chapel of the Virgin Mary in Undercroft.