



Pergamon

PII: S0304-4181(98)00004-9

Journal of Medieval History, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 177–189, 1998

© 1998 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Printed in The Netherlands.

0304-4181/98 \$19.00 + 0.00

Medieval Italian pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela: New literary evidence

Gloria Allaire

Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Purdue University, 1359 Stanley Coulter Hall,
West Lafayette, IN 47907-1359, USA

Abstract

This paper offers literary evidence of the interest in the cult of St James on the part of late medieval Italian pilgrims. While extant written itineraries are few, occasional literary references demonstrate this interest without furnishing precise details of the route to Santiago de Compostela. Compostela holds a special place in chivalric literature: the legendary wars against Muslims in Spain and the status of the warrior Roland as a popular saint derive much of their impetus from the piety centred on Santiago. One episode of the widely-circulated chivalric romance *Guerrino il Meschino* by the Florentine Andrea da Barberino displays its genre's concern with the Spanish shrine and details and route from Rome to Compostela. Andrea, known for his verisimilar style, incorporates a virtuoso display of contemporary geographical knowledge which gives his fiction the texture of a chronicle. The author's inclusion of towns not found in the chivalric literary corpus argue for his reliance on maps or the testimonies of returned pilgrims. Places named tally with those in actual pilgrim accounts. The passage in *Guerrino* furnishes evidence of Italian pilgrimages to Santiago in the early fifteenth century, a period for which no historical accounts remain. © 1998 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Keywords: Santiago de Compostela; Medieval Italian pilgrims; Literary evidence

Italian pilgrims' devotion to the cult of St James, while lacking extensive written documentation, was no less keen than that of other medieval Europeans. The twelfth-century *Historia Compostellana* (II, 50) includes Italy—*Latium*—among countries from which pilgrims came: *Gallia, Anglia, Latium, Alemania, omnesque Christicolarum prouincie* . . .¹. Scattered documents prove that pilgrimages were made as early as the

GLORIA ALLAIRE is Visiting Professor of Italian at Purdue University. Her new book *Andrea da Barberino and the Language of Chivalry* (Gainesville, Florida) was published in 1997. She is currently preparing a transcription with translation of the *Tristano panciatichiano* manuscript. She has published numerous articles on manuscript discoveries, vernacular book culture and Italian chivalric literature in *Viator*, *La Bibliofilia*, *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, *Lettere Italiane*, *Medioevo romanzo* and *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari*. Her research has been supported by grants and fellowships from the Fulbright Commission, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the University of California–Los Angeles and the American Philosophical Society.

¹*Historia compostellana*, ed. E. Falque Rey (Corpus christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 70 (Turnhout, 1988), 307–308.

eleventh century by Italian saints such as Simeon, William of Vercelli, Theobald of Mondovi and Peter Damian.² Between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries archival evidence is equally sketchy.³ A reference in the *Fioretti di San Francesco*, Chapter Four, inspired the development of apocryphal legends about Saint Francis of Assisi's Compostellan pilgrimage. While his pilgrimage took place c. 1213–1214, later chroniclers multiplied the cities which he supposedly visited and data concerning his journey remain speculative.⁴

References to the saint of Galicia and the pilgrims who venerated him at his shrine appear throughout medieval Italian literature. In his *Divine Comedy*, Dante encounters *il barone per cui là giù si visita Galizia* ('the baron for whom here below one visits Galicia') (*Par.* Canto XXV). Further on in the *Paradiso*, St James himself examines Dante on the question of Hope, an essential component of any pilgrimage. An intended pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela figures in the plot of the anonymous fourteenth-century *Cantare di Florio e Biancifiore*.⁵ The narrative opens with a Roman nobleman's vow to make the pilgrimage if his wife conceives. This literary topos also appears in *Les Miracles de saint Jacques*, a humorous treatment of the 'diseases' cured by the saint.⁶ The same notion recurs in *Il Filocolo*, Boccaccio's extended reworking of the *cantare*: here, the interrupted pilgrimage of the parents Giulia and Lelio (Book I) is neatly fulfilled by their offspring Florio and Biancifiore (Book V). Another Santiago pilgrimage made for reasons of paternity is found in the anonymous, early fifteenth-century *Cantari di Rinaldo*. Here, the knight Buovo d'Agrismonte is trying to beget a son and vows to make a pilgrimage if his wife gives him one. When she bears twin sons, he undertakes the journey out of gratitude to St James.⁷

The Old French *Chanson de Roland* and its chivalric descendants in Italy have a special relationship to pilgrim sites in Spain and in the Holy Land, the most frequent settings for chivalric epics.⁸ The narrative conventions of this important medieval genre have their basis in historical fact: both regions were inhabited or invaded by Muslims who represented a threat to Christian settlements. The co-presence of 'Saracens' with these important Christian shrines provided fuel for literary polemics, politico-religious propaganda and active military opposition throughout the centuries. For instance, a passage in Luigi Pulci's *Il Morgante Maggiore* (XXII, 24, 3) explicitly links Spain and Galicia to the Holy Land and Jerusalem as parallel sites of wars driven by religious zeal.⁹ The Muslim occupation of territory is important for motivating the war in Spain which forms the background against which so many chivalric texts are narrated. For instance,

²J. S. Ruggieri, 'Il pellegrinaggio compostellano e l'Italia,' *Cultura neolatina*, 30 (1970), 191.

³P. Caucci, *Las peregrinaciones italianas a Santiago*, trans. C. Flores Varela, Colección "Galaica" Manuales, (Santiago de Compostela, 1971), 31–41.

⁴*I Fioretti di san Francesco* . . . , ed. L. Morini, Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli (Milano, 1979), 70–71; A. López, 'Viaje de San Francisco a España,' *Archivo ibero-americano*, 1 (1914), 13–45, 257–89, 369–90, 542–63.

⁵In: *Cantari del Trecento*, ed. A. Balduino, Scrittori italiani, Sezione letteraria (Milano, 1970), stanza 2, line 7; 3, 6; 10, 10.

⁶*Saint-Jacques de Compostelle. La quête du Sacré*, ed. A. Dupront (Turnhout, 1985), 135.

⁷*I Cantari di Rinaldo da Monte Albano*, ed. E. Melli, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 133 (Bologna, 1973), I, 39, 6 and 40, 4; II, 1, 6; VII, 13, 7.

⁸Cf. W. Melzer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York, 1993), 263–64.

⁹L. Pulci, *Morgante*, ed. F. Agno, La Letteratura italiana, Storia e testi 17 (Milano, 1955).

in the fourteenth-century, northern Italian *Li Fatti de Spagna*, St James appears to Charlemagne three times and orders him to conquer the route to Galicia.¹⁰ This is an expansion of the single dream-vision found in the *Historia Turpini*, commonly known as the *Pseudo-Turpin*, Book Four of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*.¹¹ Italian chivalric texts recall Galicia for its geographic proximity to Roncesvalles, location of the tragic defeat of Roland and his troops (*Morgante* XXVII, 108), and as being the site of other battles against 'pagans' (*Spagna*, VI, 5, 1–2).¹²

Given the fact that chivalric epics are frequently set in Spain, it is not surprising that they sometimes include references to the Galician pilgrimage. Despite a common subject matter for Old French and Italian texts, the Italian reworkings display a clear shift of register away from the pure nationalism of the Old French epic toward a romance texture which highlights the acts of individual knights. Some of these characters actually undertake the pilgrimage¹³ while others merely disguise themselves as Santiago pilgrims.¹⁴ Among the Italian chivalric texts which include references to St James and Galicia, *I Cantari di Rinaldo* is noteworthy for the homage to the saint presented in its final *cantare*. Certain of its protagonists go to Santiago as pilgrims; more significantly, the final section summarizes the site's attraction for a medieval Italian: numerous pilgrims flock there, miracles are witnessed, the saint is called *il Gran Santo Barone*, and part of his life is narrated.¹⁵ Although this text acknowledges Santiago de Compostela as one of the three major Christian pilgrim sites (XXXVII, 28, 1–2), it furnishes no details of the precise route. Similarly, the *Cantare di Fierabraccia et Uliuieri* distinguishes Galicia as marking the westernmost boundary of the known world, but without giving details of the road there.¹⁶

The Santiago cult was part of late medieval Italian culture and is known to have flourished in certain regions of Italy. St James was the patron of Pistoia and his cult thrived in several western Tuscan and Piedmontese cities which were located on the pilgrim road.¹⁷ Nonetheless, documented travel accounts of Santiago pilgrimages by Italians are lamentably scarce.¹⁸ The earliest, by an anonymous Venetian pilgrim, dates from the mid-fourteenth century, approximately the time *Il Filocolo* was written. It

¹⁰Li Fatti de Spagna: *Testo settentrionale trecentesco già detto "Viaggio di Carlo Magno in Ispagna"*, ed. R. M. Ruggieri, Istituto di Filologia Romanza della Università di Roma, Studi e testi, 1 (Modena, 1951), 6.

¹¹Melcer, *Pilgrim's Guide*, 31–32.

¹²La Spagna: *Poema cavalleresco del secolo XIV*, ed. M. Catalano, 3 vols, Collezione di opere inedite o rare (Bologna, 1939–40).

¹³*Cantari di Rinaldo*, XVIII, 2, 2; XXVII, 4, 7; 6, 3; 8, 2 and 27, 4; XXVIII, 22, 7.

¹⁴La Spagna, XXII, 11, 2 and 16, 7.

¹⁵*Cantari di Rinaldo*, LI, 27, 5; 31, 8 and 34, 2.

¹⁶'El Cantare di Fierabraccia et Uliuieri. *Italienische Bearbeitung der Chanson de Geste Fierabras*, ed. E. Stengel, in: *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, 2 (Marburg, 1881), VII, 19, 7. The same passage is found in the central Italian dialect version *I Cantari di Fiorabraccia e Uliuieri*, ed. E. Melli, Biblioteca di Filologia Romanza della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Bologna, 3 (Bologna, 1984), VII, 19, 7.

¹⁷Cauci, *Las peregrinaciones; Medioevo in cammino: L'Europa dei pellegrini. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Orta San Giulio, 2–5 settembre 1987* (Comune di Orta San Giulio, 1989), 165–85; *Il pellegrinaggio medievale per Roma e Santiago de Compostela. Itinerari di Val di Magra*, ed. G. Ricci (Aulla, 1992); *Pistoia e il cammino di Santiago: una dimensione europea nella Toscana medioevale, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Pistoia 28–29–30 settembre 1984*, ed. L. Gai (Napoli, 1987).

¹⁸Ruggieri, 'Il pellegrinaggio compostellano', 191.

survives in one manuscript, Biblioteca Marciana, MS it. XI, 32 (6672), which has been edited.¹⁹ Over a century passes before one finds other surviving accounts, all in Tuscan. The first, in octaves, is dated 1472. Formerly attributed to Francesco Piccardi, it is now considered to be by Lorenzo, the rector of S Michele a Castello near Fiesole.²⁰ A second fifteenth-century account describes the Compostela pilgrimage made by an anonymous Florentine in 1477.²¹ Like the Marciana manuscript, this document enumerates places along the way including brief descriptions of distances covered, cities, inns, relics to be seen and, sometimes, tariffs paid. It takes the form of notes or a sketchy travel diary rather than a well-formed prose account. A third itinerary is found in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS Ricc. 1258, ff. 128r–131v.²² These folios contain a sparse listing of the distances travelled for the stages of the journey from Florence to *Santo Iacopo* and provide detailed descriptions only for a handful of cities. For instance, the anonymous author describes the churches and the sacred relics found at *Santo Antonio* (Vienne), *Tolosa* (Toulouse), Pamplona and *Salvatore* (San Salvatore de Valdodìs). Another late fifteenth-century account by Gaugello Gaugelli of Pergola could be mentioned, although this is of less interest due to its fictitious nature, factual incongruities and more limited geographical record.²³

A handful of pilgrimage accounts remain which were written in later centuries by other non-Florentines: the Brescian nobleman Pandolfo Nassino (1523),²⁴ the Venetian citizen Bartolomeo Fontana (1538),²⁵ the Roman priest Giovanni Battista Confalonieri (1594)²⁶ and the Bolognese priest Domenico Laffi (1666, 1670, 1673).²⁷ The first of these terminated his journey in Tolouse due to rumours of war. Fontana, a merchant's son, undertook his pilgrimage in 1538, but drafted his account from notes upon his return. The complete account was published in the Jubilee year 1550. The Confalonieri account describes the round-trip from Rome to Santiago via Lisbon. Laffi, who made three trips to Santiago, published the description of his experiences under the title *Viaggio in Ponente a S Giacomo di Galitia e Finisterre per Francia e Spagna*. With the exception of minor details, it largely parallels the itinerary described in the twelfth-

¹⁹'Da Venexia per andar a meser San Zacom de Galizia per la uia da Chioza', ed. A. Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero, *Principe de Viana*, 28 (1967), 441–514. Cf. R. Stopani, 'Itinerario da Venezia a Santiago di Compostella di un anonimo pellegrino veneziano (prima metà del XIV secolo)', in: *Le vie di pellegrinaggio del Medioevo. Gli itinerari per Roma, Gerusalemme, Compostella* (Firenze, 1991), 125–31.

²⁰Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital. MS 900 (8773). 'Il Viaggio d'andare a Santo Jacopo di Galizia', in: *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la letteratura jacobea. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Perugia, 23–24–25 settembre 1983*, ed. G. Scalia (Perugia, 1985), 311–43; P. G. Caucci Von Saucken, 'Itinerari toscani a Santiago de Compostela', in: *Il pellegrinaggio medievale*, 16–17.

²¹Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Library, MS + D 6003, ed. M. Damonte, 'Da Firenze a Santiago di Compostella: itinerario di un anonimo pellegrino nell'anno 1477,' *Studi medievali*, 13 (1972), 1043–71. Cf. Stopani, 'Itinerario da Firenze,' in: *Le vie di pellegrinaggio*, 145–58.

²²R. Delfiol, 'Un altro "itinerario" tardo-quattrocentesco da Firenze a Santiago di Compostella', *Archivio storico italiano*, 137 (1979), 599–613.

²³Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urbinate Latino 692. See G. Gaugelli, *Viaggio de Sam Iacomo*, ed. A. Sulai Capponi, Pubblicazioni della Università degli studi di Perugia (Napoli, 1991).

²⁴P. Guerrini, 'Relazione di un pellegrinaggio bresciano verso S. Giacomo di Compostella nel 1523,' in: *Miscellanea di Studi storici in onore di Giovanni Sforza*, ed. P. Boselli (Lucca, 1920), 601–17.

²⁵A. Fucelli, *L'itinerario di Bartolomeo Fontana*, Pubblicazioni della Università degli studi di Perugia (Napoli, 1987).

²⁶J. Guerra Campos, 'Viaje de Lisboa a Santiago en 1594 por Juan Bautista Confalonieri,' *Cuadernos de Estudios gallegos*, 19 (1964), 185–250.

²⁷Reproduced in: *Viaggio in ponente a San Giacomo di Galitia e Finisterrae*, ed. A. Sulai Capponi, Pubblicazioni della Università degli studi di Perugia (Napoli, 1989).

century *Liber Sancti Jacobi*.²⁸ Accounts of the Saint James pilgrimage are even more sparse in the following centuries: a pilgrimage taken by Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici in 1668–69 was written by his secretary.²⁹ Another travel diary recounts the pilgrimage made by Paolo Bacci, an Arentine clergyman, in 1763–64.³⁰

Given the scarcity of Italian pilgrim accounts to Santiago between the mid-fourteenth century and the 1470s, any data documenting the continuing interest of Italians in making the arduous journey and of the route taken is noteworthy. While references to St James and Compostela sometimes occur in medieval narrative literature of the period, these references are sketchy and lack value in terms of reconstructing the precise route travelled. Thus while literary texts give evidence of Italian awareness of the Galician shrine, they are a far cry from the detailed itineraries of actual pilgrims.

A fictional passage found in *Guerrino Meschino* by the professional Florentine *cantastorie* Andrea da Barberino (c. 1372–c. 1431) falls exactly between these extremes. Although *Guerrino* might best be termed a *roman d'aventure*, its author displays a far-reaching knowledge of geography which he employs to give his romance the texture of an actual chronicle. The heavy dependence of *Guerrino*'s plot on actual geography must have held great appeal for the vernacular reading public in the decades prior to the 'Age of Discovery'. *Guerrino*'s reception is demonstrated by its wide circulation: it survives in sixteen manuscript exemplars (a notable number for a lengthy chivalric text of this nature), in fifteen incunabula and many more sixteenth-century editions.³¹ *Guerrino* was translated and published in France and Spain in the early sixteenth century and continued to receive popular editions all over Italy as late as 1967.³² As recently as 1993 its plot was updated and reworked by an award-winning Italian novelist.³³

In *Guerrino*, Andrea da Barberino incorporates a pilgrimage from Rome to Santiago into his knight errant's prodigious wanderings.³⁴ In the passage in question, as in the other internal Books of the text, Andrea provides a detailed itinerary for his protagonist, a young Christian hero who searches the entire world to find his true (noble) heritage. In contradistinction to the random, unfathomable wanderings of the typical errant knight in most medieval quest literature, *Guerrino*'s travels are imbued with the pragmatism and determination fundamental to Florence's mercantile culture. No mere rehash of typical literary *loci*, the places named in *Guerrino* can be charted on actual medieval cartographic sources such as Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*.³⁵ In addition to its accuracy,

²⁸Marqués Italiani de Marchio, 'Peregrinos de Italia a Santiago', in: *Santiago en la historia, la literatura y el arte*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1954–55), vol. 1, 139. See also Caucci, *Las peregrinaciones*, 93–112 and appendix.

²⁹Caucci, *Las peregrinaciones*, 81–92.

³⁰N. de Hoyos Sancho, 'Notas de un peregrino italiano a Santiago en 1763–1764', *Cuadernos de Estudios gallegos*, 19 (1964), 125–28.

³¹For a brief history of this text's transmission, see my 'Un ignoto manoscritto di *Guerrino il Meschino* di Andrea da Barberino', *La Bibliofilia*, 96 (1994), 233–41.

³²*Guerin Mesquin*, [trans. J. de Rochemeure] (Lyons, 1530); La *Corónica del noble cavallero Guarino Mezquino*. *Estudio y edición*, ed. N. Baranda Leturio (Doctoral thesis, U Nacional, Madrid, 1992); *Guerrino detto il Meschino*, ed. Dony, Miniclassici per la gioventù Malipiero, 27 (Bologna, 1967).

³³G. Bufalino, *Il Guerrin Meschino. Frammento di un'opra dei pupi* (Milano, 1993).

³⁴Cf. G. Wild, 'Guarino caminando a Santiago de Compostela (Geografía, conocimiento del mundo e ideología en la *Corónica del noble cavallero Guarino Mezquino*)', *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 22 (1990), 347–57. Despite its promising title, this article discusses the text's ideology and religion at the expense of examining its geography.

³⁵H. Hawickhorst, 'Über die Geographie bei Andrea de' Magnabotti', *Romanische Forschungen*, 13 (1902), 689–784; R. Peters, *Über die Geographie im Guerrino Meschino des Andrea de' Magnabotti* (Diss., Vereinigten Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle a. S., 1906).

Guerrino is noteworthy for the quantity of its toponyms: over eight hundred discreet names of regions, cities, mountains and rivers appear in the manuscript tradition.

In the chapters preceding the Santiago pilgrimage, the hero has passed a year in the cave of the Sibyl of Norcia, a Venusberg-like Other World. Although he emerged with his moral virtue intact, the fact that he had associated with the Sibyl and her entourage of damned souls threatens his own salvation. *Guerrino* goes to Rome to seek pardon from the pope. The latter advises him to make a double pilgrimage: first to Santiago and then to the legendary St Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland. Further, in an echo of St James' instructions to Charlemagne in *Guerrino*'s literary precursors, the pope instructs *Guerrino* to free the route of robbers and highwaymen which threaten the safety of the pilgrims. *Guerrino* willingly makes the journey, taking, however, a somewhat less-than-pious 'sight-seeing' detour along the way in order to visit the noted French port of Bordeaux. Thus, while the journey is ostensibly to purify his soul, secular considerations outweigh pious ones here as elsewhere in the lengthy text.³⁶ This situation attests to the increasing secularization of pilgrimages which had occurred during the preceding centuries.

Given the lack of a critical edition and the corrupt state of modern editions it is necessary to rely on extant manuscripts to study this text.³⁷ The following transcription of the passage in question is based on the reading of the most authoritative manuscript, Bodleian Library, ital. canon. MS 27, f. 85v, collated with the next best manuscript, in Tuscan, of Branch A: Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS Ricc. 2266, f. 135v.

Capitolo clxvi. Benchè 'l meschino molte parti del mondo avesse cierco, ancora molto gli piacque questa terza parte, cioè l'Uopia, perché avendo ciercha l'India, la Persia, la Soria, et quasi tutte le provincie d'Asia e così d'Africa, molto li parve bella Italia e ll'altre provincie e reami d'Uopia. Et partito da Roma, passò la Toschana et Lonbardia e 'l Piemonte, et giunse in Savoia et poy nel Dalfinato. Et andò a Santo Antonio di Vienna, et passò per la Provenza, et andò in Vingnione, a Monpolieri et a Tolosa et a llunella, et passò le montangnie Pirinee, et giunse a Murlan in Guascongna. Et giunto al fiume detto Garuna, lasciò la strada da Santo Jacopo et volle andare a vedere la città di Bordeus. E ppoi ripassò el fiume detto Garuna et andò verso la ciptà detta Salvaterra. E 'n questa via giunse a Murlan. E ppoi passò le montangnie et giunse al Borges [sic?]. Et poi n'andò a Panpalona et da Panpalona alla Stella e ppoi a Viennetta. Et quando si partì da Viennetta ebbe cierto affanno et travaglia di malandrini . . .

(Chapter 166. Although the Meschino had searched many parts of the world, this third part, Europe, was most pleasing to him, because, having searched India, Persia, Syria and almost all the provinces of Asia and likewise of Africa, Italy and the other provinces and kingdoms of Europe seemed very beautiful to him. And having left Rome, he passed Tuscany, Lombardy and Piedmont, and arrived in Savoy and next in Delfinato. And he went to Saint Anthony's [church] in Vienne, and passed through

³⁶See my 'The Secular Pilgrimage of an Errant Knight: Andrea da Barberino's *Guerrino il Meschino*,' *Romance Languages Annual*, 5 (1993), 148–52.

³⁷I have begun preparatory work on a definitive edition.

Provence, and went to Avignon, to Montpellier, to Toulouse and to Lunel; and he passed the Pyrenees and arrived at Morlaàs (Morlaix) in Gascony. And having arrived at the river called Garonne, he left the pilgrim route to Saint James and wanted to go see the city of Bordeaux. And later he recrossed the Garonne River and went toward the city called Sauveterre. And on this road he arrived at Morlaàs. And then he crossed the mountains and arrived at Borges [sic?, Burguete]. And next he went to Pamplona, and from Pamplona to Estella, and then to Viana. And when he left Viana, he had certain difficulties and worries because of highwaymen . . .)

The episode continues in the next chapter where places visited are interspersed with the hero's deeds. To condense the remainder of his itinerary, Guerrino crossed the Ebro River, arrived at *castel Monfore* (Monforte) and then at the city of *Agistero* seven leagues away. The latter has thus far escaped positive identification: this name appears in no Italian literary or historical account known to me nor in other texts by Andrea. It may be a spelling corrupted by the scribal process or simply an insignificant, ancient village not recorded in modern reference sources.³⁸ Next Guerrino passes through Astorga before entering Galicia. He visits the city of Santiago and goes beyond it to the westernmost edge of the continent, *Santa Maria Finibusterra* (Finisterre).

In contrast to the vaguely imagined or even magical locations found in some chivalric narratives, Andrea's descriptions throughout *Guerrino* are remarkable for their thoroughness and accuracy. The itineraries of protagonists in other chivalric texts, French or Italian, are often very sketchy and incomplete. Such narratives mention some of these cities and mountains for their exotic effect, but without arranging them along a realistically progressive route. Mountains may be mentioned, but rivers are seldom named. The above excerpt from *Guerrino* shows the high concentration of toponyms typical of Andrea's itineraries as well as his scrupulous attention to detail. Unlike other chivalric authors, Andrea includes not only major cities like Toulouse and Pamplona, but minor ones like Monforte. Places are listed in order with only two exceptions: Lunel incorrectly follows Toulouse and Monforte incorrectly follows Astorga. Given the lack of an autograph and the almost complete loss of his personal library, it may well be that these problems were due to the author's reliance on a faulty map or simply to scribal transposition.

The only other difficulty arises with the city spelled *Borgeus* or *Borges* in the *Guerrino* manuscripts. This could not be the well-known Spanish city Burgos since it occurs along the route south of Morlaàs and northeast of Pamplona. It seems likely that the obscure *Borges* is identifiable with the town of Burguete, just southwest of Roncesvalles. This concurs with the mid-fourteenth-century Venetian account which distinguishes between *Ronziuale* and *borgo de Ronziuale*, three leagues further on.³⁹ A similar distinction is found in the anonymous Florentine account of 1477 which indicates both *Roncisvalle*, *una villuzza picchola a ppiè della montagna*, and *Borghetto di*

³⁸ Similarly obscure toponyms in the historical itinerary by Laffi resist identification by modern authorities (*Viaggio*, ed. Sulai Capponi, 25–39).

³⁹ 'Da Veniexia', ed. Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero, 495–96.

Roncisvalle, una villa grande.⁴⁰ Laffi also mentions both *Roncisvalle* and *Borghetto*.⁴¹ This town was the site of the hospice of Roland which, according to legend, was founded by Charlemagne to honour his dead knights, but in fact owes its origin to the bishop of Pamplona, D. Sancho de Larrosa.⁴² It provided food and shelter to pilgrims throughout the centuries. The knight Guerrino's visit to this area resonates with the disastrous defeat of Roland in 778, which came to be viewed as a paradigmatic martyrdom for the Christian faith.⁴³ Although Roland was never officially canonized, within popular medieval culture his status reached that of sainthood. The church of Our Lady, near the hospice, which commemorates his heroic sacrifice is described in the late fifteenth-century Florentine account as containing some of the Virgin Mary's hair, archbishop Turpin's stirrup, and Roland's horn, among its relics, as well as the tombs of Turpin and the twelve slain Paladins.⁴⁴ The seemingly logical location of the tombs near the site of the battle is apparently a later medieval embellishment: according to Book Five of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, Roland's horn is found in Bordeaux, his tomb is at Blaye, and many of the paladins rest in nearby Belin, France.⁴⁵ Roland was the foremost hero among the warrior saints of medieval lore; his quasi-shrines are also recalled by the anonymous Florentine writing in 1477 and by Bartolomeo Fontana, describing his pilgrimage of 1538–39.⁴⁶ An author like Andrea da Barberino, who was well-versed in geography and who dedicated his entire cycle of nine epic romances to the accounts of the legendary Charlemagne and his paladins, would hardly have overlooked the military and devotional significance of this location. Andrea's obvious pride in his knowledge of geography must have prompted him to name the insignificant village Burguete in preference to the well-known valley Roncesvalles. While Roncesvalles was a commonly mentioned stop on the route from Italy to Galicia, not all Italian pilgrim accounts name Burguete. Furthermore, its omission from the canon of chivalric place names may account for the misspellings of the relatively obscure toponym in the *Guerrino* manuscript tradition.

While using evidence found in a literary source to demonstrate historic practice may seem untenable, I suggest that the pseudo-historiographic style of this author combined with his demonstrated attention to detail make the *Guerrino* passage an authentic representation of Florentine pilgrimages in the early fifteenth century. One must accept as standard narrative practice a certain amount of anachronism in this literature: classical and early medieval heroes and events are portrayed with the accoutrements of life contemporary to their fictional narration. Andrea is heir to this tradition, but he strove to include actual facts to imbue his texts with a verisimilar texture, grounding the actions of his fictional protagonists against a background of contemporary reality. Paul Grendler

⁴⁰Damonte, 'Da Firenze', 1059.

⁴¹Laffi, *Viaggio*, ed. Sulai Capponi, 28.

⁴²Fucelli, *L'Itinerario*, 46–47; cf. L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra, J. Uría Rúa, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1949), vol. 2, 93–107.

⁴³F. Cardini, 'The Warrior and the Knight,' in: *The Medieval World*, ed. J. Le Goff, trans. L. G. Cochrane, The History of European Society, 1987 (London, 1990), 80.

⁴⁴Delfiol, 'Un altro "itinerario"', 608. Repeated by Laffi, 144.

⁴⁵Melczar, *Pilgrim's Guide*, 117.

⁴⁶Damonte, 'Da Firenze', 1059; Fucelli, *L'Itinerario*, 122–23.

has praised Andrea for 'transform[ing] the chivalric romance into pseudo-history'.⁴⁷ Andrea's narratives are therefore more reliable as a source of historical and cultural evidence than are other, more conventional chivalric narratives of his day. Although much chivalric material was sung *in piazza* and orally transmitted, Andrea took the *cantatore's* material to a new level of artistic achievement by incorporating a vast array of non-chivalric sources and relying on more authoritative written sources for the 'true' versions of his romance epics. In his texts, Andrea frequently refers to apparent written sources as these examples from *Reali di Francia* show: *Alcuno libro, ch'io honne trovato, dice ch[e] ...; molti [libri] non ne fanno menzione, che sono franciosi; in molte scritture non fu menzionato Gostantino, e tutte le scritture istoriche di Francia lo chiamano il re Agnolo*.⁴⁸ At times he cites specific authors: beyond the formulaic 'Turpin', these include 'Urbano of Paris',⁴⁹ 'l'autor Maestro Michele',⁵⁰ and 'Giovanni Vincenzio Isterliano'.⁵¹ Indeed, various scholars have studied his use of written sources: part of his *Reali di Francia* reworks the Tuscan *Fioravante*; part of *Ugone d'Alvernia* shows clear debts to a Paduan manuscript; *Aspramonte* was most likely based on a combination of various earlier versions; and *Ajolfo del Barbicone* probably descended from a Franco-Venetian version.⁵²

While the plot and characters of *Guerrino* are without parallel in the *chanson de geste* tradition and can be safely considered the original creations of Andrea, one may ask whether he simply absorbed his place names from the larger French or Franco-Italian literary tradition. If we consult repertoires of toponyms in Old French *chansons de geste*, we find that some of these places such as Vienne, Montpellier, Toulouse, Pampelune and Austurga—in Italian, *Vienna*, *Monpolieri*, *Tolosa*, *Pampalona*, *Storga*—are quite

⁴⁷P. F. Grendler, 'Chivalric Romances in the Italian Renaissance,' in: *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, new ser., 10 (New York, 1988), 67.

⁴⁸Andrea da Barberino, *I Reali di Francia*, eds. G. Vandelli and G. Gambarin, Scrittori d'Italia, 193 (Bari, 1947), 177, 287.

⁴⁹*Reali di Francia*, 63; but see P. Rajna, *I Reali di Francia: Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia seguite dal libro delle storie di Fioravante...* 2 vols (Bologna, 1872), vol. 1, 51.

⁵⁰Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Med. Pal. Cl. 4, f. 2v.

⁵¹Andrea da Barberino, *Storia di Ugone d'Avernia volgarizzata nel sec. XIV*, eds. F. Zambrini and A. Bacchi della Lega, 2 vols, Sceltà di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XIX, disp. 188–89 (Bologna, 1882), vol. 2, 83.

⁵²Rajna, *I Reali di Francia: Ricerche*, vol. 1, 7–113, 273–302; M. Boni, 'L'Aspremont del codice Marciano fr. IV e l'Aspramonte di Andrea da Barberino', in: *Studi in onore di Italo Siciliano*, Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, ser. 1, Storia-Letteratura-Paleografia, 86 (Firenze, 1966), 97–104; Boni, 'I manoscritti marciani della Chanson d'Aspremont e l'Aspramonte di Andrea da Barberino', *Convivium*, new ser. 17.2 (1949), 253–72; Boni, 'I Cantari d'Aspramonte magliabechiani e l'Aspremont del codice Marciano fr. IV', in: *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune*, 2 vols (Gembloux, 1969), vol. 1, 523–28; A. Vitale-Brovarone, 'De la Chanson de Huon d'Auvergne à la Storia di Ugone d'Avernia d'Andrea da Barberino: techniques et méthodes de la traduction et de l'élaboration', in: *Charlemagne et l'épopée romane. Actes du VIIe Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals, Liège, 28 août – 4 septembre 1976*, eds. M. Tyssens and C. Thiry, 2 vols, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule 225 (Paris, 1978), vol. 2, 393–403; M. L. Bendinelli, 'Preistoria dell'Aiolfo di Andrea da Barberino', *Studi di filologia italiana*, 25 (1967), 7–108.

common.⁵³ Other places on the pilgrim road such as Lunel or the river Ebro are only rarely found in French chivalric texts.⁵⁴ Still others such as Burguete, Viana and Agistero are never found in *chansons de geste*. Interestingly, two locutions in *Guerrino*—*Salvaterra* and *Finisterra*—are found only in two other Italian chivalric texts: *Karleto* (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS fr. XIII [256]) and *La Spagna*.⁵⁵ Thus, despite Andrea's known reliance on written models, it would probably not have been possible for him to learn all these place names, let alone their proper sequence, from known chivalric sources alone.

Nor is it likely that Andrea made the pilgrimage himself: the passage in question contains nothing to indicate first-hand knowledge of these places. It lacks details such as those found in descriptions of Rome elsewhere in his narratives.⁵⁶ An apparent eye-witness description of the Pantheon occurs in the Bodleian *Guerrino* in which Andrea states that a mosque è *minore che Santa Maria Ritonda la quale io vidi nella ciptà di Roma* ('it is smaller than Santa Maria Ritonda which I saw in the city of Rome') (f. 38v). Since at this point in the *romanzo* the protagonist has not yet visited Christendom, this *io* can only refer to the author himself. Other evidence suggests first-hand knowledge of foreign locations such as a reference to the Parisian *chiesa di Santa Maria Fiordalisi* near a small bridge, a location which corresponds to the Sainte Chapelle au Palais de Justice.⁵⁷ By contrast, whereas Andrea has taken great pains to provide architecturally verisimilar descriptions of the temple of the Trees of the Sun and the Moon (from the *Alexander Romance* tradition), of a mosque interior at Mecca and of the fabulous palace of Prester John in Ethiopia, he makes no effort to portray for his readers the church of Compostela. The complete lack of corroborative details in the Galicia passage suggests that Andrea must have relied on contemporary maps or conversations with returned pilgrims for his information.

Guerrino's fictional itinerary is grounded in reality. One notes at once the importance of the protagonist's departure from Rome. Not only was this city a pilgrimage site in its only right, but it was considered the geographic centre of medieval pilgrimages due to its approximate location midway between Holy Land and Santiago.⁵⁸ In the pontifical city began the so-called *via francigena*, the major route followed by Italians bound for Santiago de Compostela. Passing northward through Tuscany, Lombardy and Piedmont, this route then turned southwest through Provence and Avignon—just as the *Guerrino* account indicates—to join the *via Tolosana* which had its origin at Arles. This was one of the four principal pilgrim roads which crossed France and the Pyrenees to give access

⁵³E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste imprimées* (Paris, 1904) (hereafter, L); A. Moisan, *Répertoire des noms propres, de personnes et de lieux cités dans les chansons de geste françaises et les oeuvres étrangères dérivées*, 2 vols, Publications romanes et françaises, 173 (Genève, 1986) (hereafter, M). *Vienne* L 669; M, vol. 2, pt. 2, 728–29; vol. 2, pt. 3, 936; *Montpellier* L 467; M vol. 2, pt. 2, 628; *Toulouse* L 644–45; M vol. 2, pt. 2, 711; *Pampelune* L 513; M vol. 1, pt. 2, 1312; vol. 2, pt. 3, 929; *Austurga* L 207; M vol. 2, pt. 2, 515.

⁵⁴*Lunius* L 409; *Luniaux, Lunel* M vol. 1, pt. 2, 1226; vol. 2, pt. 1, 754; *Ebre* M vol. 2, pt. 2, 565.

⁵⁵*Salvaterra* M vol. 2, pt. 1, 831; *Finisterra* in *La Spagna*, VIII, 17, 2.

⁵⁶*I Reali di Francia: Ricerche*, ed. Rajna, vol. 1, 320.

⁵⁷Andrea da Barberino, *Le Storie Nerbonesi: Romanzo cavalleresco del secolo XIV*, ed. I. G. Isola, 3 vols (Bologna, 1877–91, vol. 1, 61; *Les Narbonnais: Chanson de geste publiée pour la première fois*, ed. H. Suchier, 2 vols., Société des Anciens Textes français (Paris, 1898), vol. 1, xxxvi.

⁵⁸Caucci, *Las peregrinaciones*, 58–59.

to the northern Spanish road. Of the four, this would have been the logical choice for Italian travellers. As the transcribed passage indicates, Guerrino took the most direct route possible across Spain, that which the sixteenth-century pilgrim Bartolomeo Fontana called the 'straight road' (*dritto camino*).⁵⁹ While places named in contemporary chivalric literature fall far short of historical accuracy, the cities, regions and rivers named along Guerrino's itinerary reveal a surprisingly accurate tally with those of historical Italian pilgrim accounts as shown in the Appendix to this paper. While Guerrino mostly followed the *via francigena*, his detour to Bordeaux touches on another of the four routes which crossed France, the *via turonense*.

The puzzling northward detour to Bordeaux may be explained as a different type of pilgrimage which Andrea included for *conoscenti* of Carolingian and Rolandian legends. It follows the probable historical route of Charlemagne's descent into Spain which Martin de Riquer has reconstructed based on Arabic chronicles and Latin annals and literary texts.⁶⁰ According to the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, as we have noted, Bordeaux was the site where Roland's horn was preserved. Furthermore, according to Andrea's fictional genealogy, Guerrino's father, Milone di Taranto, and Orlando were third cousins. Thus Andrea may have fabricated Guerrino's visit to that area as a homage to his martyred relative, a reflexive gesture which would have been noted by Andrea's readers. In addition, the port of Bordeaux would have been an historical reality familiar to many of Andrea's merchant-class readers.

Guerrino does not return directly to Rome on his homeward-bound journey. The hero goes through Gascony to Bordeaux, and thence by sea to England and Ireland where he visits the legendary Saint Patrick's Purgatory. After reporting his experiences there to the local archbishop and to the English king, he at last returns by the overland route through Europe to Rome where he receives pardon for his sins.

To conclude, as a professional story-teller Andrea da Barberino strove to please his readers by incorporating the most important legends, vernacular texts and cultural practices of his day into this his most original work. Popular piety and the pilgrimage to Santiago feature among these components. Due to his demonstrated knowledge of medieval geography and travel topoi, his fictional Tuscan source demands a place alongside authentic pilgrim accounts because of the historically valid information which it contains. Before attempting to position the above passage along the continuum of actual medieval Italian pilgrim accounts, we must finally discuss the approximate date of *Guerrino*'s composition. The appearance in c. 1406 of the Latin translation of Ptolemy by Jacopo di Angelo da Scarperia with maps by Francesco di Lapacino provides a reliable *terminus post quem* for the composition of *Guerrino*.⁶¹ Since its author died c. 1431, this text would have been composed in the period c. 1406–1430. The fictional

⁵⁹Fucelli, *L'itinerario*, 117.

⁶⁰*Les Chansons de geste françaises*, 2d ed., trans. I. Cluzel (Paris, 1957), 1.

⁶¹D. Delcorno Branca, *Il Romanzo cavalleresco medievale*, Scuola aperta, Lettere italiane, 45 (Firenze, 1974), 23.

itinerary to Compostela found in *Guerrino*, Book Six, may therefore be considered typical of the route taken by Florentine pilgrims of the early fifteenth century. *Guerrino* preserves evidence of the continuing interest on the part of late medieval Italians pilgrims to Compostela in a period for which no actual historical itineraries remain.

Acknowledgements

For many of the reference materials used in this project, I wish to express my appreciation to the Medieval Institute and Theodore M. Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame, and to Margaret Gallucci and Karen Fresco.

Appendix 1

Italian Pilgrim Routes to Santiago

Table 1 provides a lexical comparison of places actually named, omitting those logically transversed but not explicitly mentioned. For convenience, names are given in their modern forms.

Literary examples other than *Guerrino* do not present these places in consecutive order along the route. For historical accounts, the numbers indicate orders which differ from that of *Guerrino*.

Abbreviations (in order shown): Andrea's *Reali* = R, Andrea's *Aspramonte* = A, Andrea's *Storie Nerbonesi* = N, *Fatti* = F, *Spagna* = S; *Cantari d'Aspramonte* = CA; *Cantari di Rinaldo* = CR; historical accounts: anon. Venetian = V; anon. Florentine, 1477, ed. Damonte = F1; anon. Florentine, late 15th c., ed. Delfiol = F2; Brescian, 1523 = B; Fontana = Fo; Laffi = L.

Table 1

Guerrino	Other chivalric texts							Historical accounts					
	R	A	N	F	S	CA	CR	V	F1	F2	B	Fo	L
Rome	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tuscany	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lombardy	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
Piedmont	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
Savoy	x	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
Delf Inato	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
Vienne	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	1	x	—	—
Provence	—	x	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
Avignon	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	1	—	2	—	—	1
Montpellier	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	3	x	4	—	—	3
Toulouse	x	—	x	—	—	x	x	4	x	5	x	8	4
Lunel	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	3	N/A	—	2
Pyrenees	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	N/A	—	—
Morlaàs	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	5	x	6	N/A	7	5
Garonne (r.)	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	N/A	—	—
Detour to													
Bordeaux	x	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	N/A	—	—
Sauveterre	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	x	7	N/A	6	6
Burguete	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	x	—	N/A	—	7
Pamplona	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	8	x	8	N/A	5	8
Estella	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	9	x	9	N/A	4	9
Viana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	x	10	N/A	3	10
Ebro (r.)	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	N/A	—	—
Monforte	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	N/A	—	—
Agistero	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	N/A	—	—
Astorga	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	11	x	13	N/A	2	11
Galiccia	x	—	x	x	x	—	x	—	x	—	N/A	—	—
Santiago													
de Campostella	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	12	x	11	N/A	1	12
Finisterre	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	12	N/A	—	13