

The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts (c. 1480–1650)

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# The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts (c. 1480–1650)

*Theology, Travel, and Territoriality*

By

Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck



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Cover illustration: © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 H.eccl. 146, urn:mnb:de:bvb:12- bsb10003973-0. Frontispiece of the Italian translation of Juan de Calahorra's *Chronica* by Angelico di Milano, which shows St Francis and companions setting out to visit various sites in the Holy Land.

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# Contents

Acknowledgements	VII
Note on Transcriptions, Orthography, and Documentation	IX
List of Figures	X
<b>1 Franciscan Holy Land Writing: Themes and Approaches</b>	<b>1</b>
1 Social, Memorial, and Sacred Space	9
2 The “Holy” Land	12
3 Franciscan Holy Land Territoriality	17
4 Paul Walther von Guglingen and his <i>Treatise</i>	19
5 Synopsis	29
<b>2 Situating the Sacred Centre in an Observant Franciscan Cosmos</b>	<b>34</b>
1 Guglingen sets the Scene	36
2 Jerusalem as the Sacred Middle Point of Bonaventure's Metaphysical Circle	51
3 The Sacred Centre in Later Franciscan Holy Land Writing	63
4 Marvels as Vestiges of the Sacred Centre	71
5 Conclusion	84
<b>3 Holy Places, Sacred Travel</b>	<b>86</b>
1 The Survival of Holy Land Pilgrimage	88
2 The Main Attraction or a Moot Point: Sacred Space	92
3 “Why do Protestants go on Holy Land Pilgrimage?": The Franciscan Perspective	99
4 Pilgrims between Curiosity and Devotion	108
5 Advising Pilgrims: Franciscan Voyages to the Levant	115
6 Conclusion	124
<b>4 St Francis and the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century</b>	<b>126</b>
1 Guglingen's History of Jerusalem	128
2 Franciscan Expectations for the Future of the Holy Land	134
3 Guglingen's Call for Crusade	140
4 Late Medieval Franciscan Crusade Projects and their Patrons	152
5 St Francis in the Holy Land	160
6 Conclusion	168

<b>5</b>	<b>St Francis' <i>Possessio</i> of the Holy Land in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</b>	<b>170</b>
1	Competing with Jesuits, Capuchins, and Greeks in Early Ottoman Jerusalem	171
2	Territorial Franciscan Holy Land Writing in the Seventeenth Century	177
3	Francesco Quaresmio's <i>Simulacrum</i> of the Holy Land	191
4	Francis' Pilgrimage- <i>Possessio</i> of the Holy Land	200
5	Prophecy, Conformity, and Apocalypticism	211
6	Conclusion	222
<b>6</b>	<b>Epilogue</b>	<b>223</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>231</b>
	<b>Index</b>	<b>255</b>

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## **Note on Transcriptions, Orthography, and Documentation**

All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise. In transcriptions of primary sources abbreviations and ligatures have been transcribed in full, supplying the entire word. Punctuation has occasionally been modernized to facilitate reading. [ ] Square brackets indicate either text that could be deleted, or, combined with italics, editorial comments. < > Angle brackets indicate text that has been added. Foreign terms are in italics, while foreign names are not italicized. Latin proper names are given in their modernized or vernacular version where possible. All websites were re-accessed in July 2019.

# Figures

- 1 Neuburg manuscript opened at the starting page of Guglingen's *Treatise*. Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 123. 23
- 2 The first circular diagram in Guglingen's *Treatise*; it contains the text: "Here resides God in his divine essence, before the Creation of the world." [45 mm Ø] Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 124. 38
- 3 Circular diagram with the caption: "The circle of the site of terrestrial Paradise." [31 mm Ø] Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 135. 40
- 4 Circular diagram with the caption: "The circle of the fountain and four rivers of terrestrial Paradise." [35 mm Ø] Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 136. 41
- 5 Pairs of connected circles represent Old Testament marriages in the genealogy of Christ. Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS pp. 150–51. 43
- 6 TO-world map in book III of Guglingen's *Treatise*. The two concentric circles at the centre of the map emphasize that the Holy Land (*terra sancta, terra sancta, terra sancta*) is at the centre of the world (*punctus medialis tocius orbis*). [108 mm Ø] Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 157. 45
- 7 Circular Holy Land map in book IV of Guglingen's *Treatise*. [77,5 mm Ø] Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 210. 48
- 8 Recontextualized indulgenced Rosary image titled "Jesus. Der Himlisch Rosenkranz" in Nikolaus Wanckel's *Ein Kurtze Vermerckung* (1517). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ul 7470 : S16. 65
- 9 Copper plate engraving showing scorpions, a stellagama, and a salamander in Antonius Gonsales' *Hierusalemsche Reijse* (1673). Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden, 456 B 3-4. 83
- 10 Arabic alphabet in book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*. Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 337. 143
- 11 Illustration of the Greek Eucharistic ritual in book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*. Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 350. 146
- 12 Illustration of the Armenian Host in book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*. Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau, 04/Hs. INR 10, MS p. 359. 148
- 13 Title page of Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands Palestinae so in dreij Biecher getheilet* (Munich: Wilhelm Schell, 1661). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Exeg. 969 a, frontispiece, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10354914-7. 164

- 14 Frontispiece of Francesco Quaresmio's *Elucidatio*, the *Simulacrum Terrae Sanctae* or likeness of the Holy Land. Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden, 567 A 7-8. 194
- 15 Illustration of *Judaea Capta* coinage in Francesco Quaresmio's *Elucidatio*, xv. Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden, 567 A 7-8. 197
- 16 Frontispiece of the Italian translation of Juan de Calahorra's *Chronica* by Angelico di Milano. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 H.eccl. 146, frontispiece, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10003973-0. 210



## Franciscan Holy Land Writing: Themes and Approaches

While living at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem in 1482–83 and with an amount of free time on his hands, the German Franciscan friar Paul Walther von Guglingen began to meditate on the dangers of idleness and became very much afraid.<sup>1</sup> Eager to keep his mind, prone to wandering, in check, he devised a rigorous routine of daily exercise for both his body and soul.<sup>2</sup> Apart from doing the dishes, fetching firewood, working in the garden, devoutly visiting the Holy Places in the vicinity, and practising a complex and extensive routine of prayer exercises, he retreated to the convent library to study and collect sources in order to write a treatise on the Holy Land.<sup>3</sup>

Guglingen's project of writing a treatise on the Holy Land was an original one. Travelogues describing the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or texts describing the devout circuit of Holy Places in and outside of Jerusalem, were commonplace at the time.<sup>4</sup> Guglingen in fact also wrote a travelogue, as a separate

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- 1 The first sentence of his treatise on the Holy Land states: "Stante me per dei gratiam in loco devotissimo montis Syon quiete et sine gravi labore, meditabar apud me, quomodo multi, otio langwescentes, experimento didicerunt, quam vere dictum sit a Salomone libro Proverbiorum, capitulo 21: ..., – ex his perpendens, quam gravis sit iactura temporis ammissi." Paul Walther von Guglingen, *Fratris Pauli Walteri Guglingensis: Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam*, ed. Matthias Sollweck (Tübingen: Literarischen Vereins Stuttgart, 1892), 266.
  - 2 "Quapropter asinum ac vile corpusculum meum ..., et animum meum, ad varia inutilia pronum ..., solícite curavi adstringere." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 266–67.
  - 3 Guglingen gives a detailed account in his Holy Land travelogue: "Item anno et tempore, quo steti Iherosolimis, exercitatus sum corpus et spiritum meum maxime in tribus exercitiis: Et primo in exercitio, quod erat solummodo corporale. Nam me promptum reddidi ad singulas obedientias scl. lavando scutellas, portando ligna, laborando et plantando caulas in orto et cetera huiusmodi, que sepius occurrerunt. Secundo in exercitio, quod erat ex parte corporale et ex parte spirituale scl. colligendo materiam pro tractatu ... Item visitando loca sancta.... Tertio occupavi me in exercitio, quod erat tantum spirituale." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 181–86. The three page description of Guglingen's prayer exercises that follows is not included in Sollweck's edition. See Neuburg MS pp. 86–8.
  - 4 See Donald Roy Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Ursula Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520)* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1990); Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994). Helpful

text, and in his treatise he also pays attention to the Holy Places and their spiritual benefits; but with his extensive treatise on the Holy Land as a whole he definitely left the beaten track. Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land* is in many ways the starting point for my discussion. This unusual text has prompted some of the main questions I aim to answer, and has helped to suggest a number of connections and continuities with later periods that would otherwise have been difficult to detect: it announces a number of new developments in Franciscan representations of the Holy Land during the late medieval and early modern period which are the subject of this book. During this period the Observant Franciscan friars of the Holy Land developed their very own highly territorial take on the sacred geography of the Holy Land, based on Franciscan myths of origin and expressed in a growing number of texts.

Franciscan representations of the Holy Land help to illuminate Western European perceptions of Jerusalem and the Holy Land during the late medieval period, since after the fall of Acre in 1291 the Franciscans were the first representatives of Roman Catholicism to gain a permanent foothold in the Holy Land in the first half of the fourteenth century, and they were to remain its only representatives for centuries to come. Thanks to the intercession of the royal couple Robert of Anjou (1277–1343), king of Naples, and his wife, Queen Sancha of Majorca (c. 1285–1345), the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāsir Muḥammad (1285–1341) in 1333 granted the Franciscans the right to be present in two chapels on the Mount of Olives, in part of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. They also gained possession of the Cenacle on Mount Sion, the site of the Last Supper according to tradition, where they established their headquarters: the Franciscan convent of Mount Sion. With the bulls *Gratias Agimus* and *Nuper Carissimae*, issued in 1342, Pope Clement VI (1291–1352) confirmed the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land, making the friars the official representatives of the Roman Church there. Receiving, hosting, and conducting pilgrims from Western Europe became one of the main activities of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land.<sup>5</sup>

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bibliographies that also show the proliferation of this type of literature are Nathan Schur, *Jerusalem in Pilgrims' and Travellers' Accounts: A Thematic Bibliography of Western Christian Itineraries, 1300–1917* (Jerusalem: Ariel, 1980); Titus Tobler, *Bibliographica geographica Palaestinae: Zunächst kritische Übersicht gedruckter und ungedruckter Beschreibungen der Reisen ins Heilige Land* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1867); Reinhold Röhrich, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae: Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878* (Berlin: Reuther's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890).

- 5 Beatrice Saletti, *I Francescani in Terrasanta (1291–1517)* (Padova: Libreria Universitaria, 2016), 69–130; Leonhard Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner auf dem Sion (1335–1552)*, 2nd ed. (Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1925), 37–73, 149–78; Kaspar Elm, “La Custodia di

The role of the Franciscans in shaping perceptions of the Holy Land in the West during the late medieval period has been the subject of some scholarly attention in recent years. It has become clear that the friars were able to orchestrate pilgrims' interactions with the Holy Places by means of Franciscan-guided visits to a *parcours* of indulgenced Holy Sites selected by the Franciscans. The prayers and devotions practised by the friars were to have some influence on stationary Passion devotions at home in Western Europe through a process of cross-fertilization. The Franciscan convent library also provided pilgrims with texts that they were welcome to consult and copy. Lists of indulgenced sites are often the main structural device in late medieval pilgrimage accounts.<sup>6</sup>

During the late medieval period an important transition took place in the identity of the friars of the Holy Land. In the 1430s the Conventual Franciscans in Jerusalem were replaced by Observant Franciscans, belonging to a reform movement within the order that propagated a more rigorous interpretation of

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Terra Santa, franziskanisches Ordensleben in der Tradition der lateinischen Kirche Palästinas," in *Vitasfratrum. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eremiten- und Mendikantenorden des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter Berg (Werl: Coelde Verlag, 1994), 241–26. For a brief account in English see John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 258–66. Also see Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. Donald Wilson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 82–5.

6 Amedée de Zedelgem [A. Teetaert], "Aperçu Historique sur la Dévotion au Chemin de la Croix," *Collectanea Franciscana* 19 (1949): 45–142; Béatrice Dansette, "Les Pèlerinages Occidentaux en Terre Sainte: Une Pratique de la 'Dévotion Moderne'? Relation Inédite d'un Pèlerinage Effectué en 1486," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 72 (1979): 106–33, 330–428; J. van Herwaarden, "Geloof en Geloofsuitingen in de late Middeleeuwen in de Nederlanden. Jerusalembedevoarten, Lijdensdevotie en Kruiswegverering," *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (1983), 400–29; Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, "Alternate Routes: Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions," *Viator* 40, no. 1 (2009): 249–70; Valentina Covaci, *Between Traditions: The Franciscans of Mount Sion and their Rituals (1330–1517)*, PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2017; Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 58–92. For the influence of the Franciscan library in Jerusalem see Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, and more recently the work of Michele Campopiano, "Islam, Jews, and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrim's Guidebooks: Some Examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion," *Al-Masaq* 24, no. 1 (2012): 75–89; Michele Campopiano, "Tradizione e Edizione di una Compilazione di Testi sulla Terra Santa Proveniente dal Convento Franciscano del Monte Sion (Fine del XIV Secolo)," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 6 (2011): 329–59; Michele Campopiano, "Note sulla Presenza Franciscana in Terrasanta: Le Descrizioni dei Luoghi Santi tra XIV e XVI Secolo e il Ruolo della Custodia di Terrasanta," in *Gli Italiani e la Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Musarra (Florence: SISMEL, 2014), 49–68.

Franciscan ideals.<sup>7</sup> It is important to take note of the Observant status of the Jerusalem Franciscans from this moment onwards on several grounds. Referring to the Jerusalem friars simply as “Franciscans” throughout is too imprecise for the period under investigation: this term includes Conventual friars, and later on also Capuchins and *riformati*. Foregrounding Observant Franciscan status thus prevents conflation with these ideologically and institutionally distinct groups that did not have the same ties with the Holy Land either as organisations or ideologically. Moreover, their Observant status shaped these friars’ representations of the Holy Land, as will become clear. During the first decades of the sixteenth century the status of the foundation of the Holy Land within the Observant order was enhanced. In 1526 the *custos* of Jerusalem was recognized as the superior of the province of the Holy Land, whereas previously this territory had been a custody under the authority of the provincial superior in Cyprus.<sup>8</sup>

7 Observant Franciscanism seems to have been enduringly established in the Jerusalem convent towards the end of this decade. Based on chronicles from the seventeenth century, Golubovich identifies Luigi da Bologna as possibly the first Observant *custos* in 1430. Giacomo Delfino is also sometimes put forward as the first Observant superior of the Holy Land in 1434. However, the transition from Conventual to Observant Franciscanism seems to have run less smoothly than some early modern chronicles suggest. In 1435 the prominent Observant preacher Alberto Sarteano travelled to Jerusalem to install an Observant guardian, but apparently was unsuccessful. By 1439 the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion seems to have enduringly transitioned to the Observance. The Observant movement was a widely-supported call for reform within the Franciscan order that became a particularly important reason for strife and division during the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1517 the papal bull *Ite Vos* officially separated the Conventuals and Observants into two organizationally distinct branches of Franciscanism. Golubovich, *Serie Cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa*, 22–4; Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner auf dem Sion (1335–1552)*, 2nd ed. (1925), 96–100; Jacques Paviot, “La Devotion Vis-à-vis de la Terre Sainte au xve Siècle: L’Exemple de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne (1396–1467),” in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 404–05; Jacques Paviot, “Burgundy and the Crusade,” in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 75; Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, repr. 2006 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 181–223; James Mixson, “Introduction,” in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–20.

8 The bull *Gratias Agimus* of 1342 stipulates that all friars in overseas territories are answerable to the guardian of Mount Sion, who is also *custos* of all the convents in the Holy Land, as if he were the provincial minister of the Holy Land. However, throughout the late medieval period the Franciscan superior resident at Cyprus bore the title of provincial minister of the Holy Land, superseding the *custos* in Jerusalem. Only in 1526 was the position of the guardian of Mount Sion officially recognized as that of the provincial minister of the Holy Land. Girolamo Golubovich, *Serie Cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa ossia dei Provinciali, Custodi e Presidenti della Medesima* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1898), xxi–xxiii.



For the early modern period the question as to how the Observant Franciscans of this province understood and represented the Holy Land in Western Europe has received less attention. This may be due to the watersheds that announced this period: the Protestant Reformation at home in Western Europe, the supposed discontinuation of Holy Land pilgrimage, as well as the Ottoman Conquest of Jerusalem in 1517, and the subsequent gradual dislodging and finally expulsion of the Franciscans from their convent on Mount Sion in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. As a result of these developments the relevance of Franciscan perspectives on the Holy Land might seem significantly diminished. The position of the Franciscans was perhaps less secure at times than it had been under Mamluk rule, a situation that was further complicated in the first half of the seventeenth century by the arrival of Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries and rising tensions with the Eastern orthodox Christian communities in Jerusalem. However, the Franciscans always remained in the Holy Land, and in 1560 they acquired a new convent building in Jerusalem; pilgrims and travellers from Western Europe never stopped arriving, and the friars did not cease to offer them hospitality and guided tours.

If anything, in comparison with the previous two centuries the eventful sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to have contributed to the formation of more explicitly Observant Franciscan modes of representing the Holy Land. Faced with mounting pressures from outside, the Franciscans of the Holy Land increasingly reflected upon and voiced ideas about their own identity, asking questions such as: what does it mean to be an Observant Franciscan in the Holy Land, and what does the Holy Land mean to us as Franciscans? This certainly was not a conversation within the Observant Franciscan order alone: it was a process that occurred in dialogue with other groups, such as their Protestant guests – a new type of pilgrim – as well as other Catholic orders.<sup>9</sup> This book investigates this particularly Observant Franciscan engagement with the sacred space that is the Holy Land, tracing the development of these Franciscan sentiments from the last decades of the fifteenth century up to and including the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup> I argue that from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century the Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land developed ever more sophisticated and well-articulated ideas about their own role and entitlements as Catholic keepers and protectors of the Holy Places, firmly rooted in their

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9 Non-Western European groups certainly exercised an influence on the Franciscan utterances, but were less of a partner in conversation.

10 It would certainly be worthwhile to extend the investigation of this topic to include the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; see the epilogue.

own collective memories and ideologies, and expressed through a burgeoning number of texts.

The bulk of the sources for the present undertaking are texts on the Holy Land by Observant Franciscans affiliated to that custody (and later province) of the order. Many of these texts can be numbered among the early modern field of scholarship called *geographia* or *historia sacra*. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this vibrant field of learned inquiry was concerned with the historical geography, climate, and peoples of the Holy Land, with the Bible as an important source. These efforts could include reconstructions of biblical landscapes from the text of the Bible, as well as study of the actual geography of the Holy Land to assist exegesis in the *sensus literalis*.<sup>11</sup> In this period Bibles increasingly contained maps, and knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land became a basic requirement for the biblical scholar.<sup>12</sup> At the same time *geographia sacra* was not limited to the Holy Land alone, nor to the Bible as its only source, and could, for example, appear in the shape of travel writing.<sup>13</sup>

Adam Beaver has called attention to Franciscan contributions to sacred geography focused on the Holy Land as a specific and influential strand of early modern Holy Land scholarship, calling them “an important sub-culture within early modern *historia sacra*.”<sup>14</sup> In this context the relatively well-known publications by the Observant Franciscan friars Bernardino Amico and Francesco Quaresmio are often cited, and the tendency of the Franciscans to claim back an authoritative role in the understanding and localization of the Holy Places is often emphasized.<sup>15</sup> However, a dedicated study surveying the field of early modern Franciscan sacred geography does not exist. Since the Franciscan

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11 For two excellent introductions to this field of inquiry see the work of Adam G. Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims: Antiquarian Visions of the Holy Land,” in *Sacred History: Uses of the Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 267–83, and Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–21. Also see Jonathan Sheehan, “From Philology to Fossils: The Biblical Encyclopedia in Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 1 (2003): 41–60.

12 Catherine Delano-Smith, “Maps as Art and Science: Maps in Sixteenth Century Bibles,” *Imago Mundi* 42 (1990): 65–83.

13 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 6, 73–103.

14 Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims,” 277. Also see Michele Piccirillo, “The Role of the Franciscans in the Translation of the Sacred Spaces from the Holy Land to Europe,” in *New Jerusalem: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 363–94.

15 These friars published *Trattato delle Piante & Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa* in 1609, and *Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* in 1639, respectively. See Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 121–39.

“sub-culture” of *geographia sacra* of the Holy Land forms a substantial part of the source-corpus, this book goes some way towards filling that gap, although this has not been my primary concern.<sup>16</sup>

It has been my object to examine the writings by Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land about the Holy Land as a more or less coherent, if complex, voice. This explicitly and expressly also includes their contributions to early modern travel literature concerning the Holy Land.<sup>17</sup> For ease of use I propose the blanket term “Franciscan Holy Land writing” to refer to this heterogeneous set of texts. While these writings exist in various forms (travelogues, treatises, histories, theological tracts, and all possible amalgams between these and other categories), their common denominator is, first, the identity of the authors as friars of the Holy Land, and second, the expression of specifically Observant Franciscan sentiments on the subject of the Holy Land. I lay no claim therefore to having produced an all-encompassing and exhaustive description of everything that was ever written by a Franciscan on the Holy Land in the selected period, but instead wish to focus on what is particularly Observant Franciscan about this literature.<sup>18</sup> Thus, for example, a history and description of the Holy Land written by an Observant Franciscan with an eye to consolidating a shared past and identity for friars of the Holy Land will have my attention, rather than books on the sacred geography of the Holy Land by Franciscans per se. In this context the term Franciscan Holy Land writing is meant to facilitate the study of the ideological relationship the Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land maintained as a group with the value-laden space of the Holy Land, as well as how they presented their connection with the Holy Land to the world around them.

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16 This is not a study about cartographic representations. It seems pertinent to state this clearly, even though geography was an overwhelmingly textual exercise in the early modern period, as it had been in the Middle Ages. David Woodward, “Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change,” in *The History of Cartography: Volume Three (Part 1) Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 7–8.

17 For two excellent studies of this vast literature see F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), and Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le Crépuscule du Grand Voyage: Le Récits des Pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458–1612)* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1999).

18 For an overview of the various texts on the Holy Land by Franciscans (broadly defined, also including for example Capuchins) see the bibliography of printed publications recently edited by Marco Galateri di Genola, *Itinerari e Cronache Francescane di Terra Santa (1500–1800): Antiche Edizione a Stampa sui Luoghi Santi, la Presenza Francescana e il Pellegrinaggio nella Provincia d'Oltremare*. Milan: Edizioni Santa Terra, 2017.

As signalled above, I foreground the Observant identity of these friars in order to differentiate them from other Franciscan orders as well as other groups, and because this status shaped the ideological character of their writings.<sup>19</sup> The wide-ranging Observant literature on the Holy Land is different from the texts produced by the Conventual Franciscan *custodia Terrae Sanctae*, and it developed in new directions.<sup>20</sup> Authors belonging to various groups – Protestants, Greeks, Dominicans, Jesuits, Capuchins, and others – all cared about and wrote about Jerusalem, yet the Observant Franciscan perspective constitutes an ideologically distinct and coherent as well as pervasive voice. I set out to chart, characterize, and analyse this voice within the broader literatures of late medieval and early modern texts on the Holy Land. The Observants' position as the sole representatives of Catholicism in the Holy Land was not a given; it was continuously and openly contested by other Christian groups. This motivated the Observant Franciscans to articulate an evermore sophisticated self-image – crucially shaped by the ideological canon of their order – linking them as a group to the Holy Land. A Conventual friar, or a non-Franciscan religious or lay author, writing at the same time would have engaged with this topic differently. Observant Franciscan status is thus both correlational and causal to these friars' conceptualisations of the Holy Land: the existence and vicissitudes of the Observant establishment in the Holy Land gave rise to this literature, and at the same time it expresses and was fundamentally shaped by broader Observant Franciscan ideologies.

Below I discuss some important theorizations of social, memorial, and sacred space that have guided my analysis. In addition I pay particular attention to the process by which late antique Palestine evolved into a Holy Land in the

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19 It is not my object to make broader observations about Observant movements in general, across the spectrum of different orders, or how members of such reform movements may have written about the Holy Land. Although this might have been attempted for the fifteenth century, the hey-day of the Observant reforms among the classical mendicant orders, it would have resulted in unhelpful generalisations for the period under investigation. Following the formal separation of 1517 the Franciscan Observants formed an order divorced from the Conventual order. Thus in my discussion Observant Franciscan status indicates membership of a distinct religious organisation, as well as a distinctive collective identity; it does not necessarily point to broader Observant reform movements in general.

20 The Conventuals specialized in devotional texts listing indulgenced Holy Sites. From around the 1440s onward, after transition to the Observance, the *custodia's* textual culture began to change, as represented by the historical compilations produced at Mount Sion (see above). As a result of shifting power balances in the Mediterranean after the fall of Constantinople these historicising compilation practices then transformed into actual Observant Franciscan historiography on the Holy Land in the hands of the Guglingen and Suriano (see chapters two and four).

eyes of Christians, because this illuminates the tissue of the sacred space that the Franciscans encountered when they first settled there.<sup>21</sup>

## 1 Social, Memorial, and Sacred Space

This is very much a history of sacred space, concerned with how the Franciscans of the Holy Land constructed their relationship with a space they perceived as central to the past and future of Redemption. When the Franciscans arrived to settle in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Holy Land had already for centuries been a meaning-laden concept for Christians. How the Franciscans of the Holy Land then elaborated the ideological framework they had inherited is a question that concerns social space rather than physical space per se.<sup>22</sup> Social space has perhaps been most famously theorized by Henri Lefebvre. In *The Production of Space*, first published in 1974, he steps away from theories of space belonging to philosophy and physics, in order instead to engage with the “real” or practico-sensory realm of social space.<sup>23</sup> According to Lefebvre every society gradually produces its own space, which is historically contingent by definition. Physical structures bear witness to the social structures that produced them, and a multiplicity of intertwined social spaces may exist alongside each other. The historicity of social space is central for Lefebvre: space evolves together with the society that produces it, retaining older layers alongside the new.<sup>24</sup>

Lefebvre defines space at a social macro-level, fundamentally shaped by dominant elites: the producers of space. The less powerful users of space, such as the Franciscans in Jerusalem under either Mamluk or Ottoman rule, are not absent from his work, but they are mostly passive and unprotesting subjects of

21 Palestine is used here to refer to a geographical and historical region in the Middle East that coincides with the region associated with the term Holy Land.

22 The existence and importance of social space was first recognized during the 1970s. Jeanne Haffner, *The View from Above: The Science of Social Space* (Cambridge [MA]: The MIT Press, 2013), 1–2; Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, repr. 1989 (London: Verso, 1990), 10–75, 79.

23 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 1–5, 14–5. Well-known theorists advocating both absolute and relational theories of space include Aristotle, Descartes, Newton, Leibniz, Mach, and Einstein. For an accessible examination of their ideas see Nick Huggett and Carl Hofer, “Absolute and Relational Theories of Space and Motion,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2009 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2009/entries/spacetime-theories/>.

24 Lefebvre, *The Production*, 31, 68ff., 86.

the repressive spaces imposed on them.<sup>25</sup> To present a clear picture of the relationship between more marginalized groups, like our Franciscans, and space, bottom-up theories of space are helpful. These ascribe more importance to the role of the individual perceiving subject in the production of space.<sup>26</sup> Michel de Certeau (1925–86) also sees the social space of (in his case) the city as having been produced by those in power: the space of city planners.<sup>27</sup> However, de Certeau has a less pessimistic outlook than Lefebvre, believing that users of urban space can subvert the “strategies” of those who aim to control that space. By walking the city, moving from place to place, and telling stories about this itinerary and the specific places it includes, users can transform the geometrical places of urban planning into meaningful space.<sup>28</sup> The Franciscan-led devotions in and around medieval and early modern Jerusalem are a case in point: by taking Western European travellers and pilgrims on a tour of Christian Holy Places, within the confines of the access Muslim authorities allowed, the space of this foreign city was made intelligible and meaningful to the visitors.

These Franciscan tours exemplify an important tactic recognized by de Certeau, by means of which users of social space create meaningful spaces for themselves by associating memory – a type of story – with place.<sup>29</sup> This recalls a long tradition of mnemonic techniques going back to antiquity, and enduringly popular in the middle ages and later, which hold that space and place make up the tissue of human memory.<sup>30</sup> The principle is thought to operate not only at the level of individual memory, but also on a much larger scale. In his work on collective memory Maurice Halbwachs observes that almost all

25 See, for example, Lefebvre, *The Production*, 43, 51, 93, 98, 233, 339, 356, 362–65.

26 This perspective can be traced back to Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. J.M.D. Meiklejohn (Hazleton: Pennsylvania State University, the Electronic Classics Series, 2010–2013), 44–6, 48; Max Jammer, *Concepts of Space: The History of Theories of Space in Physics*, repr. 1954 (New York: Harper, 1960), 129–36. Definition in terms of transcendental philosophy has led to theories of space that see it as a product of human intellection, with the body of the perceiving subject as a necessary point of orientation. Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*, repr. 1987 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 26–8, 31–5; Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), 283 ff.; Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 15.

27 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xi–xxiv, 34–9, 91–3.

28 De Certeau, *The Practice*, 91–110, 115–22 (esp. 117).

29 “What can be seen designates what is no longer there: ‘you see, there used to be ...,’ but it can no longer be seen. Demonstratives indicate the invisible identities of the visible: ...” De Certeau, *The Practice*, 108.

30 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

collective memories take place within a spatial framework.<sup>31</sup> Building on the work of Halbwachs, Pierre Nora has proposed the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, which embody remembrance.<sup>32</sup> Refining the methodological tools of Halbwachs and Nora, Jan Assmann has more recently introduced the concept of cultural memory, which refers to something other than history or knowledge of the past, because it concerns the history of one's own group: it is "knowledge with an identity-index".<sup>33</sup> Sites of memory, then, play an important role in the identity formation of social groups. When, for example, in 1639 friar Francesco Quaresmio attempted to reconstruct the itinerary of the supposed pilgrimage of St Francis in the Holy Land, he clearly did so to boost the identity of Franciscans of the *provincia Terrae Sanctae* by providing a powerful myth of origin and locating it in space: that is where *we* come from, where it all began.<sup>34</sup>

Sacred space emerges when religious collective memories are located in space; and this type of space plays an important role in the identity formation of religious groups.<sup>35</sup> The process by which Palestine evolved into a sacred space for Christians during the late antique period is illustrative of the same process. In what follows I set out to trace the development that resulted in

31 "Ainsi, il n'est point de mémoire collective qui ne se déroule dans un cadre spatial." Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), 146.

32 "Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions and to relations between things." Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 29 (1989): 9. For recent perspectives on sites of memory see Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, "Introduction: Cultural Memory and its Dynamics," in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, ed. Ann Rigney and Astrid Erll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 1–18.

33 Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, in collaboration with Sarah B. Young (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 111.

34 See chapter four of this book.

35 Numerous theorizations of sacred space owe much to Mircea Eliade's definition of the sacred as a manifestly spatial phenomenon. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harvest, 1959), 36–7. However, the dichotomy between sacred and profane that Eliade's paradigm proposes, much of the evidence on which it is based, as well as the assumption that all religions do indeed have sacred spaces, have not gone unchallenged. It does not contribute to a historical perspective on religion. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, "Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 3–5; Johnathan Sheehan, "Sacred and Profane: Idolatry, Antiquarianism and the Polemics of Distinction in the Seventeenth Century," *Past & Present* 192 (2006): 35–8, 60–6; Smith, *To Take Place*, 1–23; R.A. Markus, "How on Earth could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1994): 258.

a Christian Holy Land with Holy Places with reference to the medieval cult of the saints and the practice of pilgrimage. This helps to define sacred space effectively and in a historical way for medieval Christianity and later Catholicism. Moreover, it contributes to a more profound understanding of the sacred space, by then also punctuated by crusade memories, that the Franciscans encountered when they first settled in the Holy Land, as well as how they made this space work for themselves as a group during the period under examination.

## 2 The “Holy” Land

During the first three centuries of its existence Christianity was relatively hostile to the idea of Holy Places. Only during the fourth century did this attitude start to change. In that period Jerusalem and the surrounding territory transformed from being a minor suffragan bishopric under the jurisdiction of the See of Caesarea to become a focal point for Christian pilgrimage, complete with *loca sancta*. Church Fathers such as Eusebius, Cyril, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, and Jerome debated the topic of Holy Places and Jerusalem as a Holy City, a debate that was certainly not free from controversy at the time.<sup>36</sup>

The idea of Palestine as a “Holy Land” with Jerusalem as a “Holy City” can be traced back to the beginnings of Jewish history. In Genesis, God promises the land of Canaan to Abraham and his descendants; the promise of the land is a central motif throughout the stories about the patriarchs, Exodus, and Deuteronomy.<sup>37</sup> Ezekiel and Isaiah elaborate on the promise of the land, in the sense that the land receives a mythical centre built on a holy mountain: Jerusalem and its temple. Basing himself on these ideas, the prophet Zechariah first coined the term “Holy Land.”<sup>38</sup> In the New Testament the promise of the land recurs in the book of Hebrews, which led early Christian chiliasts such as Justin Martyr (c. 100–165 A.D.) and Irenaeus of Lyon (d. 202 A.D.) to interpret this as a promise for the restoration of Jerusalem on earth.<sup>39</sup> Where the

36 P.W.L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, “The Attitudes of Church Fathers toward Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries,” in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee L. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 188–203.

37 Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 4.

38 Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 11–9.

39 “The term chiliasm comes from the Greek word for ‘thousand’ (chilias) and refers to the belief, first stated in the book of Revelation, that Christ would one day return to rule on



chiliast Tertullian (c. 160– c. 225 A.D.) was uncomfortable with the idea of the Holy Land, meaning the soil of Judea, Origen (c. 185– c. 254 A.D.) strongly and influentially opposed the chiliastic notion of a restored earthly kingdom.<sup>40</sup> Based on his interpretation of Galatians 4, as well as Hebrews 12, Origen concluded that Christians should expect only a heavenly Jerusalem, and a heavenly kingdom.<sup>41</sup> He was followed in this by Eusebius (c. 260– c. 340 A.D.), who, like Origen, was suspicious of interpretations that envisioned a restored Jerusalem on earth, associating such expectations with Jewish exegesis.<sup>42</sup> The ideas that could have led to a Holy Land for the Christians were thus prevented from gaining influence at an early stage.

Eventually it was the church-building programme initiated by the Emperor Constantine in the late fourth century that was instrumental for the sanctification of certain locations, and indeed for the development of a Christian Holy Land. Following his victory over Licinius in 324, which afforded him control over the Eastern parts of the empire, Constantine established Christian rule over Palestine and initiated the construction of the Holy Sepulchre and Nativity basilicas, as well as other churches.<sup>43</sup> Constantine's motivation for creating these Christian focal points on the supposed locations of Gospel events was most likely strategic as well as pious. He engaged in an imperial building programme of shrines just as previous emperors had done before him, only now they were Christian instead of pagan.<sup>44</sup> In fact he seems to have wanted to select pagan sites for destruction in order to erect Christian monuments in their place.<sup>45</sup> This in turn would have allowed contemporary commentators to speak of sites such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in restorative terms, as if a Christian Holy Place had been taken from Christians to be desecrated by pagans, even if originally Christians had never shown an interest in the place.<sup>46</sup>

Before Constantine confronted Christian society with a newly-created social space, namely Christian sacred space in the Holy Land, there is no evidence of

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earth for a period of a thousand years, before the heavenly Jerusalem comes down from the heavens." Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 56.

40 Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 65ff.

41 Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 70.

42 Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 78–81. For a more detailed account of Eusebius' views see Walker, *Holy City*, 347–401.

43 Markus, "How on Earth," 261; Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 86, 307–11; Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place*, 74–83; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 85–91.

44 Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 86–7.

45 Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 339.

46 Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 92–4, 98–9.

any places being venerated by Christians.<sup>47</sup> The suggestion of Christian Holy Places met with varying degrees of assent: not everyone was at ease with the idea. Eusebius, who witnessed the establishment of Constantine's Christian rule over Palestine, has sometimes been portrayed as an enthusiast for Constantine's building activities, but in fact he was very reserved about the idea of Holy Places.<sup>48</sup> Likewise, Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–c. 395) expressed the following sentiments concerning a visit to Jerusalem: "So praise the Lord, you who fear him, in whatever place you are: for no travelling around will bring you nearer to Him."<sup>49</sup> Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (c. 313–386), on the other hand, was wholeheartedly enthusiastic about Holy Places.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, it can be argued that his ambitions for the See of Jerusalem, as opposed to that of Caesarea, may also have played a part in furthering the sanctification of places.<sup>51</sup> These fourth-century developments and debates produced the earliest layer of Christian sacred space and Holy Places which the Franciscans encountered when they first established their *custodia* a millennium later.

Two reasons why the idea of Holy Places was eventually accepted by Christians are the existence of still unanchored memories and the emerging cult of the saints at the time. The actual locations of Gospel events had long been lost, due to Hadrian's levelling of the old Jerusalem after the Bar Kochba revolt in 135 A.D. in order to build his Aelia Capitolina, as well as due to Christian disinterest in such places. Nevertheless there was a Christian past undeniably present in and around Jerusalem: still unanchored memories. Constantine could therefore select places of his own liking for anchoring Christian myths of origin, for example pagan shrines. Jerusalem proved to be a very good location for his programme of church-building, since there was no one to oppose the emperor as there was in Rome, yet there were a number of potent memories to plant, where there were none in Constantinople.<sup>52</sup>

47 This is the conclusion of the meticulous examination of all the available archeological and textual evidence by Joan E. Taylor, who cogently discredits the idea held by certain influential Franciscan archeologists (the Bagatti-Testa hypothesis), of "Judaean-Christian" groups venerating these sites from the time of Christ up to the first century. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 1–47, 295–96.

48 Walker, *Holy City*, vii–xiv, 400–01; Markus, "How in Earth," 258–59; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 87.

49 Markus, "How on Earth," 260.

50 Walker, *Holy City*, 35–50, 311–46.

51 Zeev Rubin, "The Cult of the Holy Places and Christian Politics in Byzantine Jerusalem," in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee L. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999): 151–62.

52 Smith, *To Take Place*, 79, 104. For Roman resistance to Constantine's efforts to Christianize Rome see Richard Krauthheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308*, repr. 1980 (Princeton

Apart from the presence of unanchored memories, the Constantinian basilicas in Palestine could only be intelligible to Christians at the time due to the more-or-less contemporaneous rise of the cult of the saints. The conceptions of sanctity and sacred space that are implicit in the medieval cult of the saints likewise profoundly shaped how later Catholics, including our Franciscans, understood the sanctity and significance of the Holy Land. R.A. Markus has cogently argued that a renewed prominence of the cult of the martyrs prepared the way for the sanctification of the landscape of Palestine. After Constantine the memory of the persecuted church of the martyrs needed consciously to be kept alive for the Church triumphant. Intensified veneration of the localized holy tombs of the martyrs was the answer, and in turn introduced sacred space into Christianity.<sup>53</sup> The grave of a martyr functioned as a kind of portal for communication between heaven and earth. The prominent role of the holy dead as intercessors depended on their *praesentia*, a presence on earth in their physical remains.<sup>54</sup>

This special quality in the body of a saint set it apart and made it worthy of veneration after death. The concept of *virtus* stands at the basis of medieval veneration of the saints. It is a God-given wonder-working power analogous to charisma that resides in the body of a saint while alive and is retained in his/her body after death. At the tomb of a saint, or from a relic, believers may enjoy the *virtus*: its curative powers; its enhanced possibilities for intervention.<sup>55</sup> The sacredness associated with the medieval cult of the saints, then, is fundamentally localized in the bodies of holy people while alive and perhaps even more so after death. This sacred quality located in the bodies of saints sanctified

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[New Jersey]: Princeton University Press, 2000), 20–31; Maurice Halbwachs, *La Topographie Légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte: Étude de Mémoire Collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941). Also see Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective*, 160–65.

53 Veneration of Christian saints gained new impetus after the toleration of Christianity introduced by Constantine in 313 AD. Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 13; Markus, “How on Earth,” 268ff.

54 Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 3.

55 Arnold Angenendt, *Heiligen und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd ed (Hamburg: Nikol, 2007), 67–88, 123–37; Freeman, *Holy Bones*, 15–23, 29–35; also see Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton [NY]: Princeton University Press, 2013). Although Lefebvre’s dim view of medieval Christianity may seem less to the point for a medievalist, his observation that the holiest places of the medieval period were tombs is spot on: Lefebvre, *The Production*, 254.

their tombs and other places, and these localized centres of “holiness” in turn encouraged pilgrimage.

While the anthropology of pilgrimage has long been dominated by the concepts of *communitas* and liminality, introduced by Victor and Edith Turner and based on the anthropology of rites of passage, it has more recently taken a decidedly spatial turn. The collection of essays edited by John Eade and Michael Sallnow presents a significant break with the previously dominant Turnerian paradigm for understanding pilgrimage.<sup>56</sup> Eade and Sallnow replace community with conflict, and, more importantly for the present argument, place the sacredness of a pilgrimage destination at the centre, which has proved to be very fruitful for understanding medieval and Catholic pilgrimage practices in particular. According to them, “the very *raison d’être* of pilgrimage, [is] the notion of a holy place”.<sup>57</sup> A place may become a sanctified destination by absorbing the *person-centred sacredness* located in the body of the saint while alive, resulting in a *place-centred sacredness* after death, at the grave or other locations touched by that saint: “To paraphrase Weber, we might call this process the ‘spatialization of charisma’: the power of the living person is sedimented and preserved after his death in the power of place.”<sup>58</sup>

It is the resulting holiness of a certain place which before any other consideration motivates believers to travel to the location, because it offers something which cannot be had at home.<sup>59</sup> The power of a shrine to attract devotees need not be attributed to “an intrinsic ‘holy’ quality”.<sup>60</sup> However, the fact that medieval Christians did see certain objects and places as intrinsically holy meant that their sacredness was a potent social reality.<sup>61</sup> Constantine relied on the same sanctifying mechanism of spatialized holiness, already known from the cult of the martyrs, when he erected churches over places and objects that had supposedly been in contact with Christ’s body.<sup>62</sup> Even though Christ’s body was believed to have ascended to heaven, anything with which he had come into contact during life could be considered to have been made holy by

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56 John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, “Introduction,” in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, ed. John Eade and Micheal J. Sallnow (London: Routledge, 1991) 3–15; cf. Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).

57 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” 6.

58 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” 8.

59 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 86–8.

60 James J. Preston, “Spiritual Magnetism: An Organizing Principle for the Study of Pilgrimage,” in *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, ed. Alan Morinis (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992), 33.

61 Lefebvre, *The Production*, 251; Preston, “Spiritual Magnetism,” 33.

62 Freeman, *Holy Bones*, 29–36.

his touch; this included his Cross, his tomb, soil from the Holy Land, and later the very measure of the length of his sepulchre.<sup>63</sup>

### 3 Franciscan Holy Land Territoriality

Thus, when the Franciscan custody was founded in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Holy Land as a sacred space dotted with Holy Places was a given for Christians from Western Europe.<sup>64</sup> The friars set up shop accordingly, facilitating the ritual and pilgrimage practices for which such a holy space called, commemorating Gospel memories at the associated locations. An additional layer of meaning overlaying these constructed Gospel memories was the memory of the crusades of the high middle ages, which the Franciscans took very seriously and strove actively to keep alive through their ritual and textual practices during the late middle ages.<sup>65</sup> Perspectives on the sanctity of the Holy Land, stories about famous crusader princes and chronicles, apocalyptic understandings of history, as well as the ideal of renewed crusade after the fall of Acre in 1291 – when Western Christian presence ceased until the foundation of the Franciscan *custodia* – from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries made up an important part of the friars' frame of reference during the later medieval and early modern periods. Older tiers of spatial significances thus continued to matter alongside the new, and for the period under examination they all seem to have mattered increasingly to the Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land. For example, friar Paul Walther von Guglingen did not accept the holiness of this land as a self-explanatory given, but sought to analyse and explain the sanctity of the Holy Land extensively in his treatise, using the age-old concept of *virtus* among other things, while painting a complex picture of sacred geography against the backdrop of his Franciscan world view. In the second quarter of the seventeenth century Francesco Quaresmio turned to the biblical promise of the land in order to make clear that the Observant Franciscans as an order had every right to have and to hold the Holy Land. Both Guglingen and Quaresmio explicitly call for crusade, something the Franciscans

63 Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*, 97–110.

64 For the specifics of the foundation of the *custodia* see the first section of this chapter.

65 See the second chapter of the PhD dissertation by Valentina Covaci on Franciscan rituals of militant nostalgia in the Holy Land; Campopiano, "Islam, Jews, and Eastern Christianity," 80–8. Also see Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne E. Lester, "Memory and Interpretation: New Approaches to the Study of the Crusades," *Journal of Medieval History* 40, no. 3 (2014), 255–36; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 83–8, 94–6.

of the Holy Land had not done previously, and they see an important role for their order in the past and future of the Holy Land; they are, in short, highly territorial.

Territoriality, a concept from behavioural ecology, was first influentially theorized for humans by Robert David Sack, defining it as: “the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area”.<sup>66</sup> The attempt to assert control over a certain space may be motivated by religious considerations. Danièle Hervieu-Léger recognizes several interlocking registers of religious territoriality, such as, for example, the geopolitical one, which might be said to include Franciscan calls for crusade. In the case of Franciscan Holy Land territoriality the register of religious symbolizations of space is particularly important.<sup>67</sup> This register includes Holy Places par excellence, where powerful cultural memories have been inscribed. Such places can in turn give rise to exclusivist religious territoriality, based on a perceived exclusive link between one religious group and a sacred place, as has been described by Adrian Hastings.<sup>68</sup> Franciscan Holy Land territoriality is most certainly heir to Judaeo-Christian territorial exclusivism concerning the Holy Land; however, it derives its defining features from Franciscan myths of origin, and thus informs a Franciscan identity. In Franciscan Holy Land writing the ultimate Franciscan myth of origin, the Life of St Francis, is reinterpreted and used to bring Francis to Jerusalem and to make the Holy Land Franciscan.

These are “fabricated geographies,” to use the words of Claude Raffestin: territories that are written like text, or projected like an image.<sup>69</sup> These fabricated geographies, projected by early modern Franciscans of the Holy Land, are at the heart of my investigation: sacred spaces, very much products of human thought that offer *loci* in which multiple memories, ideologies, and identities can be anchored. I argue that during the period under investigation the Holy Land geographies that the Observant Franciscans projected became progressively more territorial, and were aimed at warding off threats to their position in the Holy Land, as well as at boosting the identity of the Observants as the divinely-appointed exclusive representatives of Catholicism in the Holy Land.

66 Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 19.

67 Danièle Hervieu-Léger, “Space and Religion: New Approaches to Religious Spatiality in Modernity,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26, no. 1 (2002): 99–105.

68 Adrian Hastings, “Holy Lands and their Political Consequences,” *Nations and Nationalism* 9, no. 1 (2003): 29–54.

69 Claude Raffestin, “Space, Territory, and Territoriality,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30 (2012): 121–41, esp. 131.

Moreover, reinterpretation of formative Franciscan order narratives was paramount in the anchoring of these ideologies in space.

#### 4 Paul Walther von Guglingen and his *Treatise*

The *Treatise on the Holy Land* by Paul Walther von Guglingen serves as a starting point for my discussion, because it presents a number of features that were to become characteristic of later Franciscan representations of the Holy Land. Guglingen's *Treatise* has heretofore received little scholarly attention, perhaps because it is an unusual text. While writing travelogues about the pious journey to and from the Holy Land was common in the late fifteenth century, writing treatises on the Holy Land itself was not. This is most likely also the reason why Matthias Sollweck, who published an edition of Guglingen's travelogue in 1892, decided to include only a few brief excerpts from the treatise that immediately follows the travelogue in the only surviving manuscript that contains Guglingen's work.<sup>70</sup> The *Treatise* simply did not fit into any of the categories in which scholars of late medieval texts were interested, and therefore went unedited and largely unnoticed. The only exceptions are a number of publications in the field of historical linguistics which consider the foreign alphabets in the *Treatise*, and more general discussions of Breydenbach's well-known *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam* (1486), which sometimes vaguely mention Guglingen's travelogue as one of its sources.<sup>71</sup> In all of these instances there is a general tendency to conflate Guglingen's travelogue and his *Treatise* by referring to the travelogue and Sollweck's edition of it, while the intended material is actually found in book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*. There is no clear description of the *Treatise* as a treatise and separate text, or of what it contains.

When I first examined the manuscript preserved in the State Library of Neuburg an der Donau, Bavaria, in search of illustrations, I realized that

70 Sollweck published these excerpts from the *Treatise* in an appendix to the edition of the travelogue according to what he found interesting from a historical or topographical point of view. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, xiii–xiv, 266 n.1.

71 See for example Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, "Das Arabische Vokabular des Paul Walther von Guglingen und Seine Überlieferung im Reisebericht Bernhards von Breidenbach," *Würzburger medizienhistorische Mitteilungen* 12 (1994), 153–82; Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes: Un Viaggiatore del Quattrocento a Gerusalemme e in Egitto*, ed. and trans. Gabriella Bartolini and Giulio Caporali (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 1999), xv–xvi; Tineke Padmos and Geert Vanpaemel, *De Geleerde Wereld van Keizer Karel* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2000), 186; Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam. Frühneuhochdeutscher Text und Übersetzung*, ed. Isolde Mozer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), xxiv–xxv.

Guglingen's *Itinerarium* was followed by another text more than twice as long as the preceding travelogue.<sup>72</sup> This second text is announced by a rubricated heading that states: "Here starts the prologue, in which it is made clear what is contained in the following treatise."<sup>73</sup> These words were indeed also edited by Sollweck, who includes part of the prologue to the *Treatise* in the appendix to his edition of the travelogue; but this had somehow never suggested to me (or anyone else it seems) that this was a separate text, independent from the travelogue.<sup>74</sup> On reading Guglingen's *Treatise*, it became clear that it was a carefully structured study of the sacred geography of the Holy Land in eight books. Moreover, it suggested a number of connections to other texts, such as the coeval *Trattato di Terra Santa* by Francesco Suriano and Francesco Quaresmio's *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (1639). From there the connections to still other texts by Franciscans kept branching out through parallels and similarities, defining to a large extent the source corpus and focus of this book. Since Guglingen's *Treatise* has heretofore not been recognized or read as an independent text, and since only less than fifteen percent of it was edited by Sollweck, it is essential before turning to analysis of the work first to provide an introduction to its author and a description of the text and manuscript.

The author of both texts contained in the Neuburg manuscript, the Franciscan friar Paul Walther, was most likely born in the town of Güglingen near Heilbronn, presently in the state of Baden-Württemberg, Germany. At the start of his travelogue Guglingen briefly introduces himself: he writes that he was a poor student until, aged eighteen, he professed to the rule of St Augustine for his bodily subsistence, living as a canon for another eighteen years, leading a sinful and depraved life. Aged thirty-six he experienced a conversion: he claims he came to the light of grace and entered the order of the friars minor, hoping to progress in virtue, and aspiring to a life of perfection in that order. As a Franciscan, Guglingen then spent twenty-three years working hard, hearing confessions, and preaching, all the while feeling worthless about himself until once more, he says, light filled his heart and he was inspired to leave all behind in

72 Neuburg A.D. Donau, Staatliche Bibliothek, 04/Hs. INR 10 ("Itinerarium in terram sanctam," Waltherus, Paulus). For Guglingen's travelogue and its illustrations see Marianne Ritsema van Eck, "Encounters with the Levant: The Late Medieval Illustrated Jerusalem Travelogue by Paul Walter von Guglingen," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 32, no. 2 (2017): 153–88.

73 "Incipit prologus in quo clare patet quid continetur in sequenti tractatu." Neuburg MS p. 123.

74 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 266 [Anhang].



order to serve God in quiet spiritual contemplation, and to serve the Church in infidel parts.<sup>75</sup> After some difficulties obtaining permission for his pilgrimage, he set out on 28 August 1481, aged fifty-nine, from his convent at Heidelberg, where he had served as vice-guardian.<sup>76</sup> Together with his companion, friar Johannes Wild, Guglingen walked to Italy, reaching Venice on 11 October 1481.<sup>77</sup> Having spent the winter there, the friars embarked on 25 May 1482 and landed at Jaffa in the Holy Land on 23 July.<sup>78</sup>

Once he arrived, Guglingen first visited the Holy Places as a pilgrim and then applied to the guardian of the Observant Franciscan convent on Mount Sion, Paulo de Caneto, to become a member of his community.<sup>79</sup> Guglingen then spent one year in Jerusalem, working among other things on his treatise.<sup>80</sup> The next summer he was assigned the duty of delivering a message to the papal curia in Rome. Soon after, on 13 July 1483, Bernhard von Breydenbach and his company, including the well-known Dominican chronicler, traveller, and preacher Felix Fabri, reached Jerusalem as well. Breydenbach invited Guglingen to join his company, and it was agreed that Guglingen would deliver his Roman mis- sive after travelling with the company via St Catherine's shrine in Egypt.<sup>81</sup> On 10 February 1484 Guglingen finally reached Rome, and there the travel- ogue breaks off abruptly.<sup>82</sup> We know, however, that he returned to German- speaking territories, because friar Nikolaus Glassberger, contemporaneous chronicler of the Observant Franciscan order, mentions that after returning from Jerusalem, Guglingen subsequently served as guardian of the convent in Basel (Switzerland).<sup>83</sup> In addition the record of the capitular tables of his province of the Observant Franciscans shows that he served as preacher and later as *praeses* at Bönningheim (Baden-Württemberg) in the period 1487–93, before becoming the first Observant confessor of the Poor Clares of Söflingen,

75 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 1–3.

76 Guglingen had previously served as vice-guardian at the convent of Heilbronn in 1477, before becoming vice-guardian of the convent of Heidelberg in 1480. *Tabulae Capitulares Vicariae 1454–1516, dein Provinciae, 1517–1574 Observantium Argentinesium*, ed. Michael Bihl and Adelbertus Wagner (Florence: Ad Aquas Claras, 1946), 691, 694, 1454–516.

77 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 3–12.

78 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 69, 96–7.

79 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 122–23.

80 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 181–86.

81 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 171–81.

82 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 265.

83 Nikolaus Glassberger, *Chronica Fratris Nicolai Glassberger*, ed. in *Analecta Franciscana II Ad Aquas Claras* (Quaracchi: Typografia collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1887), 475.

today within the city of Ulm (Baden-Württemberg).<sup>84</sup> The *Necrologium* of his province records that he died in office at Ulm in 1496, aged 74.<sup>85</sup>

Both Guglingen's travelogue and his *Treatise* are preserved in a single manuscript currently kept at the Bavarian State Library at Neuburg an der Donau. How and when the manuscript came to the seminary library there, where Matthias Sollweck encountered it, remains unknown.<sup>86</sup> It was written on paper by a single hand in cursive gothic minuscule in 45 to 50 unruled lines per page, and measures 220 mm x 315 mm. The binding consists of woodblocks and leather, and seems to be modern. The paper is worn away at the lower corner of the page by frequent turning of the pages. The manuscript is illustrated; the illustrations were executed with the same pen and ink used to write the text. They are found embedded in the text of both the travelogue and the *Treatise*, and the very close relationship between text and image suggests Guglingen himself or someone very close to his endeavour designed them. I discuss elsewhere the nine illustrations in the travelogue.<sup>87</sup> The visual features found in the *Treatise*, a number of diagrams and maps, receive attention in chapters two and four.

The manuscript has modern pagination in pencil; foliation is absent, although it is clear from the text that the scribe intended to add it later. The travelogue takes up the first 122 pages, which coincides with the first six quires, as well as the first leaf of the seventh quire; the following leaf has been cut out. Then on the third leaf of the seventh quire the *Treatise* starts, taking up the remaining 274 pages (pp. 123–396) and the rest of the total of twenty-one quires (fig. 1).<sup>88</sup> The collocation of the quires as well as cross-references between the travelogue and the *Treatise* suggest that the manuscript was planned as a single unit containing both texts. For example, Guglingen writes in the travelogue

84 *Tabulae Capitulares*, 698, 706, 774, 778, 806; Karl Suso Frank, *Das Klarissenkloster Söflingen: Ein Beitrag zur franziskanischen Ordensgeschichte Süddeutschlands und zur Ulmer Kirchengeschichte* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980), 132.

85 *Necrologium Provinciae Argentinae Fratrum Minorum Observantium (1427–1541)*, ed. Patricius Schlager (Florence: Ad Aquas Claras, 1917), 271.

86 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, I.

87 For the illustrations in the travelogue see Ritsema van Eck, "Encounters with the Levant," 153–88.

88 Collation: 1<sup>8</sup> 2<sup>12</sup> 3<sup>8</sup> 4<sup>12</sup> 5<sup>8</sup> 6<sup>12</sup> 7<sup>7</sup> wants 2 after p. 122, 8<sup>12</sup> 9<sup>8</sup> 10<sup>12</sup> 11<sup>5</sup> wants 5, 6, 7 after p. 206, 12<sup>8</sup> 13<sup>12</sup> 14<sup>8</sup> 15<sup>11</sup> wants 1 after p. 264, 16<sup>8</sup> 17<sup>12</sup> 18<sup>8</sup> 19<sup>12</sup> 20<sup>7</sup> wants 1 after p. 366, 21<sup>8</sup> wants 9, 10, 11, 12 after p. 396. Book IV of the treatise starts on the last leaf of quire 11, after three leaves that were cut out following the conclusion of book III. Book VII of the treatise starts on the second leaf of quire 11, of which the first leaf was ripped out. Book VIII starts on the second leaf of the twentieth; the first leaf is missing. The books of the *Treatise* do not otherwise correspond to codicological units.

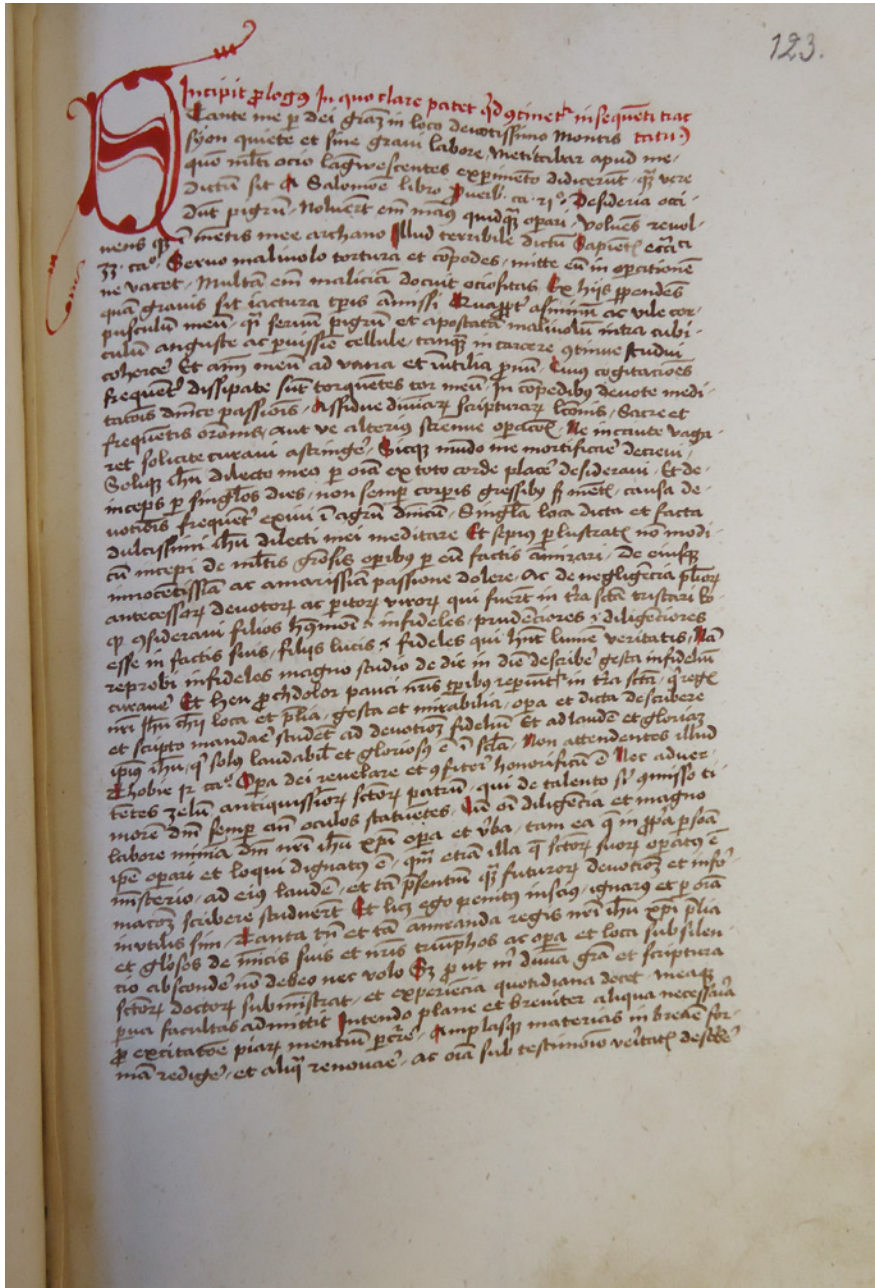


FIGURE 1 Neuburg manuscript opened at the starting page of Guglingen's *Treatise*. STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS P. 123

that he worked on his treatise on the Holy Land in the convent library while he lived at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem. The travelogue also points forward to the treatise: “which is found on folios ... and following”.<sup>89</sup> In addition the *Epistola Samuelis*, a late medieval anti-Jewish polemic by Alfonso de Buenhombre, was supposed to be copied into the manuscript, although it is not included in the manuscript at present. Both in the travelogue and in the *Treatise* the text points forward to the *Epistola* by means of folio numbers left blank.<sup>90</sup>

In the catalogue of the library at Neuburg the manuscript is dated without further explanation to c. 1490. The watermark in the paper unfortunately cannot be used to date the manuscript conclusively.<sup>91</sup> However, taking into account the script, it certainly seems conceivable that the manuscript was produced in the last two decades of the fifteenth century, still during Guglingen's lifetime. This, taken together with the unfinished character of the manuscript, suggests that it may be a working draft by his own hand.<sup>92</sup> This impression is corroborated by Nikolaus Glassberger, who in 1491 referred to a now lost version of Guglingen's treatise that was more expanded than the one in the Neuburg manuscript. Moreover, this expanded version was written for a noble patron, Johannes von Risenberg, chamberlain to Maximilian I (r. 1486–1519, emperor from 1508), according to Glassberger.<sup>93</sup> Since the Neuburg manuscript looks like an informal first draft with a number of loose ends, and since it nowhere

89 “que habentur foliis ... et sequentibus.” Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 181. Since foliation was never added, all the spaces for cross-referring to other folios within the manuscript were left blank.

90 “Item scripsi etiam epistolam Rabi Samuelis Hebrei satis longam, continens [*sic*] triginta tria capitula, valde utilis [*sic*] pro Christianis et contra Judeos, que habetur infra folio ...” Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 186. For the reference in the *Treatise* see Neuburg MS p. 348.

91 It measures 30 mm high x 27 mm broad, and is similar to but not a match with examples found around three decades later, c. 1520; cf. Piccard nos. 152874–7, 152790, 152803. “Triple Mount – in shield- above saltbarrel- one rim/hoop/band below” in *Piccard Watermark Collection*, <http://www.piccard-online.de/start.php>.

92 It has a varying number of unruled lines per page, and it is written in cursive script. Spaces for cross-referring were left blank. In addition, there are inconsistencies in the planning and layout of, for example, book III of the *Treatise* that suggest the same explanation (see chapter four).

93 In an appendix to and in an autograph compilation of Franciscan chronicles that he finished in 1491 Nikolaus Glassberger more than once refers to a version of Guglingen's treatise that had at least ten rather than only eight books. Glassberger also copies an excerpt that refers to the spot where St George killed the dragon, which is not present in the Neuburg manuscript. Nikolaus Glassberger, *Chronica xxiv Generalium Ordinis Minorum. Cum pluribus appendicibus*, ed. in *Analecta Franciscana III Ad Aquas Claras* (Quaracchi: Typografia collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1897), xvi, xxiv, 654–57; cf. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, xii–xiii.

names this patron, he was most likely not yet in the picture when it was produced. At any rate the text of the *Treatise* was composed prior to 1486, when Breydenbach first printed his *Itinerarium*, copying large parts of Guglingen's book VII from it.

In 1482–83, during his year in Jerusalem, Guglingen was already working on his *Treatise*. At the point in his travelogue where he is about to leave the Holy Land, he looks back on his time there and his regime to battle sloth, and observes:

About the second exercise, which was partly physical and partly spiritual: namely, collecting material for the treatise about various matters, viz. the genealogy of Christ from Adam up to Christ, about the entire life and doctrine of Muhammad, and about all the nations that live in the Holy Land, and about their errors and their sects, about the marvels of the world and various people, see folios ... and following. And all this material I collected with much care and industry out of various books and from eyewitnesses worthy of trust, and out of my own daily experience. And I arranged and wrote it all down, with my own hand and much hard work, in the form of a treatise.<sup>94</sup>

From this we may surmise that Guglingen consulted his sources at the convent library on Mount Sion, and that he wrote at least a draft there.<sup>95</sup> In the brief prologue to the *Treatise* Guglingen explains his motivation for writing it, apart from wanting to keep busy. When meditating at the Holy Places, Guglingen says he became saddened by the neglect of the events and places associated with Christ's life, as well as those of the Old Testament Fathers, by the faithful and infidels alike. He therefore resolved to "plainly and briefly review the things necessary for pious mental exercise, to order and collect ample

94 "Secundo in exercitio, quod erat ex parte corporale et ex parte spirituale scl. colligendo materiam pro tractatu de variis materiis scl. de genealogia Christi ab Adam usque ad Christum, de tota vita et doctrina Machometi, et de omnibus nationibus, que morantur in terra sancta, et de erroribus et sectis eorundem, de mirabilibus mundi et variorum hominum, que habetur foliis et sequentibus. Et hanc materiam cum magna sollicitudine et studio comportavi ex variis libris et hominibus expertis et fide dignis et ex propria experientia quotidiana. Et manu propria cum gravi labore in formam tractatus redegí et conscripsi." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 181.

95 The sources Guglingen uses may give an impression of the library collection kept at the convent. Also see Frère Gilles, "La Bibliothèque des Frères de la Corde au Mont Sion (xve et xvie S)," *Acta Custodia Terrae Sanctae* 30, no. 2 (1985): 377–400; Josephine Brefeld, *A Guidebook*, 59–60.

materials in brief form, and to refresh some things".<sup>96</sup> Guglingen's treatise is not a brief text by any standard; his emphasis on achieving "brevity" conforms to conventions for prefatory matter, but it may also invoke the principles of medieval mnemonic techniques.<sup>97</sup> In *De Tribus Maximis*, one of Guglingen's sources, Hugh of St Victor observes that "memory always delights in brevity of space and fewness in number".<sup>98</sup> By "refreshing" the relevant moments in the history of the Holy Land in the minds of his readers, Guglingen seeks to construct a particular memory, a specific view of the Holy Land.

By enumerating the eight books of the *Treatise* at the end of the prologue, Guglingen makes it very clear that he is crafting a particular narrative on the Holy Land, one that gives meaning to the Franciscan presence there. The organization of the *Treatise* is clearly modelled on medieval world histories or universal chronicles such as the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190–1264?) and the *Chronologia Magna* by Paulinus of Venice (c. 1270–1344), which start with Creation and trace history to the present.<sup>99</sup> Unlike Guglingen's travelogue, which is characterized by an animated and gossipy autobiographical style, and is recorded in the manuscript as a barely articulated block of text, the *Treatise* is a much more structured and formal piece of writing.<sup>100</sup> It is divided into eight books that deal with:

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- 96 "intendo plane et breviter aliqua necessaria pro exercitatione piarum mentium percurrere, amplisque materias in brevem formam redigere et aliqua renovare." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 267–68. "renovare" can, in this context, be translated as "to recall in memory, repeat, refresh." See "renovo" in Harm Pinkster et al., *Woordenboek Latijn / Nederlands*, 5th ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).
- 97 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 98, 104–05, 146, 214–15, 309, 341–43, 397; Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 9, 37–9, 117.
- 98 "Memoria enim semper gaudet et brevitate in spatio et paucitate in numero." William M. Green, ed., "Hugo of St Victor: De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum," *Speculum* 18 (1943): 484–93, 490. Hugh of St Victor's ideas on memory training were formative for Franciscan mnemonic techniques: see Kimberley A. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 57–8. *De Tribus Maximis* is an important source for book III of Guglingen's *Treatise*: see chapter two.
- 99 Michael I. Allen, "Universal History 300–1000: Origins and Western Developments," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 17–42; Rolf Sprandel, "World Historiography in the late Middle Ages," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 157–79.
- 100 Each book of the *Treatise* is headed by a large rubricated initial and a rubricated heading. Smaller section headings are generally signalled by a second level rubricated initial and a rubricated heading. Book I of the *Treatise* consists of seven sub-sections (introduction plus the works of six days of Creation). The second book has five sub-sections. Book III has numerous sub-sections announced by two connected genealogical *rotae* followed by

- I. Creation (MS pp. 124–35)
- II. Terrestrial Paradise (MS pp. 135–46)
- III. The genealogy of Christ (MS pp. 147–206)
- IV. A description of the Holy Land (MS pp. 207–11)
- V. A description of Jerusalem (MS pp. 212–14)
- VI. The Holy Places in and outside of Jerusalem, according to the events of the Passion (MS pp. 215–64)
- VII. A history of Jerusalem from the Ascension to 1483, and the various religious communities that live there nowadays (MS pp. 265–366)
- VIII. Marvels outside the Holy Land (MS pp. 367–96)

Guglingen thus carefully constructs a history and geography, starting with Creation and Old Testament events, then closing in slowly but surely through space and time on the Holy Land and Jerusalem. He then deals with New Testament events and later with the history of the city, to conclude with the Franciscans who are presently there in distress, before zooming out again with the last book to conclude his discussion with marvels outside the Holy Land and a perspective on Creation as a whole, grounded in his Franciscan world view.

Several considerations have led me to give Guglingen's *Treatise* the central position it has in my discussion of Franciscan Holy Land writing and Franciscan territoriality regarding the Holy Land. Why would one pay so much attention to this heretofore unstudied late medieval perspective on the Holy Land, which is preserved in only one surviving manuscript? It is unlikely that Guglingen's text enjoyed a very wide circulation, though it must have been wider than the one manuscript that has survived worse for wear, most likely in a local Bavarian Franciscan context, as marginal notes suggest.<sup>101</sup> First, the Observant

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sections of text that start with a second level rubricated initial only. The fourth and fifth book do not contain any sub-sections. Book VI has 47 sub-headings above short sections describing the Holy Places, one of which is a higher level heading (large rubricated initial plus a slightly more prominent rubricated heading). Book VII has 69 sub-sections, three of which are announced by higher level headings. Book VIII has 35 sub-sections. For a characterization of Guglingen's travelogue see Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 36–8, 92. For the articulation of the text of the travelogue in terms of headings and rubrication see Ritsema van Eck, "Encounters with the Levant," 155, 179 n. 24.

<sup>101</sup> There are marginal notes in two hands. The first in gothic minuscule seems to be almost coeval with the main text (late fifteenth century), and is aimed at structuring the rather unarticulated text of the travelogue with particular attention for all things Franciscan. The second hand is written in a humanistic script. It three times notes the places where Guglingen describes exotic animals. On the last page of book III of the *Treatise* the author of this hand identifies himself with the words: "Von mir Jochum Rapperceller {1554}" Neuburg MS p. 207.

Franciscan chronicler Nikolaus Glassberger consulted a more expanded copy of Guglingen's *Treatise* that has not come down to us. Second, Glassberger says Guglingen wrote that text for a patron, Johannes von Risenberg, who presumably also received a copy, and most likely shared it with others, if only to broadcast his patronage. Finally, a large part of book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*, including his foreign alphabets and Latin-Arabic vocabulary, was copied almost verbatim into the enormously popular travelogue of his travel companion and benefactor Bernhard von Breydenbach, and thus knew a wide secondary circulation. In addition Guglingen spent the final years of his life in the city of Ulm, where the late medieval altarpiece by Bartholomäus Zeitblom inside the Minster showed Christ on the Mount of Olives at Gethsemane with the city of Ulm in the background, while on the square just outside the Minster the *Ölberg* chapel translated Gethsemane to Ulm even more conspicuously.<sup>102</sup> This is an environment in which a general interest in and familiarity with texts about the Holy Land, like Guglingen's, is apparent. Moreover, in Ulm Guglingen may still have been in contact with his Dominican travel companion Felix Fabri, a two-time Jerusalem pilgrim and author of two texts on the subject. In sum, Guglingen, travel companion to Joos van Ghistele, Bernhard von Breydenbach, and Felix Fabri, was an Observant Franciscan at the centre of a network connecting several late medieval pilgrims to Jerusalem who were also prolific authors.<sup>103</sup>

More importantly, apart from throwing additional light on these other sources and contexts, a discussion of Guglingen's *Treatise* has much to offer in terms of improving our understanding of Observant Franciscan perspectives on and self-image within the Holy Land at the end of the medieval period. Again, Guglingen was not working in isolation, but in direct conversation with his fellow Franciscan friar Francesco Suriano, who was also present in the Levant at the time, and who likewise wrote a treatise on the Holy Land. The degree to which they may have collaborated in working on their respective treatises on the Holy Land is hard to gauge, but the texts themselves testify at least to a profound discussion between these two friars about how they as Observant Franciscans understood the sanctity of the Holy Land, a subject for which they deemed a treatise rather than a travelogue the appropriate form. Suriano's *Trattato* subsequently knew a wider circulation than Guglingen's

102 Hans Koepf, *Die gotischen Planrisse der Ulmer Sammlungen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977), 8–9, 55–9, Plates: Katalog nr. 9; Katheryne Beebe, "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 417.

103 Guglingen is mentioned in the accounts by all three of them: Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, XII.



*Tractatus* since, in addition to the two manuscript copies, a printed edition appeared in 1524.

## 5 Synopsis

Guglingen's and Suriano's treatises, in short, foreshadow developments in the way later Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land, like Francesco Quaresmio, would write about that territory. It has been my primary aim to point out the particular connections – continuities as well as developments – between such fifteenth-century and seventeenth-century texts, to show how these friars wrote about the Holy Land as Observant Franciscans. This identity is not only relevant in an institutional sense of belonging to the Franciscan establishment in The Holy Land, but also in the sense that these friars engaged with the canon of their order when thinking about their topic. Building on their common background, the Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land express similar interests and concerns. For example, they voice increasingly territorial claims on the Holy Land rooted in (apocalyptic) interpretations of the Life of St Francis and call for crusade; themes that run through this book as common threads.

This highly diverse Observant Franciscan discourse spanning two centuries is not necessarily a body of co-originating texts. Rather these texts expressed similar concerns and served similar purposes for the Franciscan establishment in the Holy Land. The treatises by Guglingen and Suriano did not found a body of literature characterized by a linear descent in terms of intertextuality; indeed their treatises were not widely read and used as sources by later Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land. Within the bigger composite picture of Franciscan Holy Land writing authors may have been unaware of the works of some of their predecessors or colleagues. Thus, while Franciscan Holy Land writing was indeed at several stages in time characterized by a significant degree of both synchronic and diachronic intertextuality, the level at which I seek to characterize this literature is that of shared Observant Franciscan cultural codes and concerns.

These authors wrote from their particular ideological background, offering an especially Observant Franciscan perspective. For Guglingen and Suriano this meant thinking about the Holy Land through the lens of Bonaventurian theology, then closely associated with the Observant branch. By the time Quaresmio was writing, Bonaventurian theology did not figure into it any more. My object is, on the one hand, to demonstrate important continuities. These friars responded to increased pressure on the Franciscan position in Jerusalem – particularly following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and

changes during the second quarter of the seventeenth century – expressing comparable territorial ideas, articulated according to their order’s ideological canon as it existed in their respective periods. On the other hand, I chart developments in how these Observant friars engaged with the Holy Land in their texts, influenced by changing political contexts and the evolving Observant framework of reference from the time that Guglingen was writing to that of Quaresmio. The resulting sum is greater than its parts: by considering together these very diverse Observant Franciscan texts on the Holy Land, it becomes possible to recognize and analyse the Observant Franciscan voice that emerged within the broader early modern literatures of sacred geography and Mediterranean travel.

In order to chart effectively and characterize the development of this new voice of Observant Franciscan engagement with the sacred geography of the Holy Land, this book is organized around case studies that explore central themes and which in turn connect to wider developments. Offering an exhaustive survey of *geographia sacra* written by Franciscans of the Holy Land would have led to an exasperating catalogue of countless and widely diverse texts. Therefore it has been my aim to outline the most distinctive features of the ideological relationship that the Franciscans of the Holy Land cultivated with that space and expressed through textual representations. As a result of this approach certain authors and texts are foregrounded to a greater extent than others. Guglingen’s and Suriano’s treatises are central to my discussion at the outset since their work is representative of the beginning of Franciscan Holy Land writing in both form and content. Further on, Quaresmio’s *Elucidatio* receives much attention because of its transformative and enduringly influential contents, while a number of equally widely disseminated texts offering derivative perspectives are discussed more concisely. Aided by the term “Franciscan Holy Land writing,” I sketch developments in how the friars constructed their very own Holy Land through texts, and examine how this contributed to their collective identity as members of that custody (and later province) ranging from the last decades of the fifteenth century up to and including the seventeenth century.

Together these chapters showcase a number of key concerns, such as the increasingly territorial Franciscan claim on the Holy Land, calls for crusade, and (apocalyptic) interpretations of the Life of St Francis, which run as a common thread through all four chapters. At the same time they provide an overview of the shape and content of Franciscan Holy Land writing during the period under investigation. The resulting collage offers new insights into how the Life of St Francis was adapted and employed in early modern order historiography by the Observant Franciscans, as well as on their late medieval and early modern

crusade projects. It presents a foray into the textual culture of this branch of the Franciscan order in the early modern period, a rich and diversified but largely unexplored corpus of printed texts published both in Latin and in the vernaculars of Western Europe. Finally, this casts new light on the effectiveness of the Observant Franciscans, a “classical” mendicant order founded in the late medieval period, in the debates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as on wider developments in the early modern literatures of Levantine pilgrimage and travel and *geographia sacra* of the Holy Land.

The following chapter sets the scene by investigating how Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* understood the Holy Land as a sacred space at the end of the late medieval period. Taking Guglingen’s *Treatise on the Holy Land* and Francesco Suriano’s *Trattato* on the same subject as a point of departure, chapter two demonstrates that Guglingen and Suriano together devised a new way of thinking and writing about the Holy Land. Not only do they take up new topics, such as asking “Why is the Holy Land holy?,” but more importantly they analyse the sacred spaces of the Holy Land from an Observant Franciscan perspective, informed by the theology of St Bonaventure. The treatises by Guglingen and Suriano affirm Franciscan interest in *geographia sacra* of the Holy Land at an early stage, and announce a number of strands of thought that can be traced into the early modern period. Their ideas about the centrality of Jerusalem resonate with expressions by later Observant Franciscan authors such as Nikolaus Wanckel and Vincenzo Berdini. Similarly, the discussion and interpretation of marvels of the East in Guglingen’s and Suriano’s treatises foreshadow friar Bernardinus Surius’ treatment of the same, likewise grounded in Bonaventurian theology. Their late medieval perspective on the still uncontroversial holiness of the Holy Land also foreshadows the Franciscan defence of the Holy Land as a sacred space and a pilgrimage destination after the Protestant Reformation, discussed in the next chapter.

While in Western Europe sacred space was at the centre of cross-confessional debates, the Franciscans of the Holy Land had to grapple with evolving patterns of pilgrimage and travel in the early modern period. Chapter three examines how, confronted with a new type of guest at their convent, namely Protestant travellers to the Holy Land, the friars fiercely defended the notion of sacred space and the associated practice of pilgrimage. At the same time they tried to understand their Protestant guests and explain their at times unpleasant behaviour. Contrary to what has been suggested in existing scholarship, this chapter shows that the friars assumed an active role in cross-confessional debates both on the spot as well as in written debates on the subject. Making use of the binary of the curious and the devout – common to texts about pilgrimage and the sacred geography of the Holy Land – the friars set out to

judge the merit of pilgrims, both Protestant and Catholic, reproving and advising them. Contrary to what might be expected, the authors of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land were certainly not always opposed to travel driven by curiosity. Their texts express a range of different ideas, sometimes explicitly differentiating pilgrimage from travel, and sometimes mixing the two, while typically writing about their own Holy Land experience as travel. Ultimately this diverse chorus of Observant Franciscan voices concerning the Jerusalem journey was united in a common effort to reclaim authority over the Jerusalem pilgrimage. The friars asserted their perceived right and responsibility to control all interactions with the sacred space they saw as their own (as will become clear in chapter five), all the while participating in the early modern literature of Levantine pilgrimage and travel.

Chapter four illustrates new developments in the way in which the Franciscans of the Holy Land understood their own role as an order within the Holy Land by discussing and contextualizing book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land*. This rather large chunk of the *Treatise* served as an important source for Breydenbach's *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam* (1486) in a way that has so far remained unacknowledged in scholarship. Elaborating on the more general analysis of Guglingen's *Treatise* in chapter two, this chapter focuses on Guglingen's innovative enterprise of writing a cohesive history of the Holy Land up to his own time. The situation in Jerusalem is then examined by means of an ethnographical discussion that contains several alphabets (both later taken over in Breydenbach's text) and illustrations. Both Guglingen's survey of history and his evaluation of the present are specifically aimed at supporting the position of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. His history of the Holy Land raises important issues, such as the supposed presence of St Francis in the Holy Land and its potential significance for friars of the custody of the Holy Land. He also calls for crusade, an unusual thing for a friar of the Holy Land to do in writing at this time. Yet his call can be contextualized by considering the late medieval crusade projects of the *custodia*, and it can be connected to later Franciscan calls for crusade. At several points this chapter also pays attention to the role of propheticism and apocalypticism in these debates. All of these concerns are examined in a wider late medieval context, thus preparing the way for discussion in the following chapter of intensifying Franciscan territoriality and interest in the past and future.

The development of a more aggressively territorial Observant Franciscan literature of Holy Land appropriation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the subject of chapter five. In reaction to the increased insecurity of their position in early Ottoman Jerusalem, the friars became very defensive of their rights in the Holy Land, in particular with respect to other Catholic

orders. Expanding on the discussion in the previous chapter and tracing the development of the increasingly assertive and territorial character of Observant Franciscan texts on the Holy Land, this chapter shows how the ideological building blocks present at the end of the late medieval period were then combined during the early modern period. In these texts the friars styled themselves as divinely appointed heirs to the Holy Land, and called for crusade in earnest. Francesco Quaresmio's *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (1639) and his visual *Simulacrum* of the Holy Land receive particular attention. The most defining feature of this often cited but little studied text is Franciscan Holy Land territoriality. Quaresmio influentially reinterpreted the Life of St Francis, staging an apocryphal pilgrimage-*possessio* to the Holy Land, in order to claim it for the Observant Franciscans. In addition prophecy and apocalypticism also became important strategies for buttressing the Franciscan claim to the Holy Land, as my examination of Diego de Cea's *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae* (1639) and other texts demonstrates. The theme of parallelism between Christ and St Francis emerges as all-important in the attempts of the Observant Franciscans to claim the Holy Land for themselves. Engaging with the memory of their founding father thus became a crucial element in the attempts of the friars of the Holy Land to come to grips with their territorial disputes there, as well as in painting apocalyptic vistas for the future.

Together these chapters account for how the Franciscans of the *custodia* and (later) *provincia Terrae Sanctae* engaged with the sacred geography of the Holy Land with reference to the Observant Franciscan self-image during the late medieval and early modern periods. The ensemble sketches a development from the late fifteenth century, when works such as Guglingen's *Treatise* first testify to a heightened interest in such matters, to the early decades of the seventeenth century, when the stage was set for St Francis' *possessio* of the Holy Land, with Francesco Quaresmio as its playwright.

## Situating the Sacred Centre in an Observant Franciscan Cosmos

Ever since the transformation of Palestine into a Christian Holy Land dotted with Holy Places, around the turn of the fourth century, its sanctity had become a generally accepted and self-explanatory given for most Latin Christians.<sup>1</sup> In the context of the crusading movement of the high middle ages the sanctity of Jerusalem and the Holy Land was sometimes thematized, for example in accounts of Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095.<sup>2</sup> By the late medieval period two Franciscan friars of the custody of the Holy Land also took up precisely this subject in their treatises on the Holy Land: Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano treat the holiness of the Holy Land not as a brief aside, but as something to be discussed and explained at length. They may have become interested in this subject because the same sanctity stands at the heart of the attraction of Jerusalem and the Holy Land as a pilgrimage destination in which the Observant Franciscans had a vested interest. Guglingen and Suriano engage with the topic in similar ways, and comparison between these two texts, situating their debates in the longer trajectory of Franciscan Holy Land writing, suggests that they offer a uniquely Observant Franciscan perspective, as this and later chapters will show. In other words, these authors built on Franciscan traditions in order to articulate their perspective on the

<sup>1</sup> See the introductory chapter on this issue.

<sup>2</sup> These are typically brief observations. For example, Guibert de Nogent records Urban's assertions as follows: "... the city in which he lived and suffered is called holy by the testimony of the Scripture. If this land is the inheritance of God, and his holy temple, even before the Lord walked and suffered there ... then what additional sanctity and reverence did it gain then, when the God of majesty took flesh upon Himself there, was fed, grew up, and moving in his bodily strength walked here and there in the land? ... this is the place where the blood of the Son of God, holier than heaven and earth, was spilled, where his body, at whose death the elements trembled, rested in its tomb." Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 42–3. For an edition of the Latin text see Guibert de Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos et Cinq Autres Textes*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Brepols: Turnhout, 1996), 111–12. For an overview and analysis of this and related texts on the sanctity of the Holy Land see Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 14–8, 66, 70–80.

sanctity of the Holy Land, and their views resonate with later texts by members of the same order.

This chapter lays the groundwork for my discussion of Franciscan Holy Land writing by investigating how these two Observant Franciscans understood the Holy Land as a sacred space at the end of the late medieval period: how they defined its sacred geography by inserting the Holy Land into their Observant Franciscan worldview. The issues raised in the treatises by Guglingen and Suriano form the backbone of the discussion, and from there glances are cast in other directions and to later periods. I first examine books 1–v of Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land*, subsequently turning to the collaboration that likely took place between Guglingen and Suriano. Together they formulated a new way of thinking and writing about the Holy Land. They both chose the form of a treatise instead of a travelogue, a novel approach for writing about this subject matter. In addition they both envision an orbicular cosmos in which holiness emanates from the centre, and the centrality of Jerusalem and the Holy Land receives exceptional emphasis. In order to complete this worldview, Guglingen and Suriano both conclude their treatises on the Holy Land with a discussion of marvels of the East which serve as devout vestiges of the sacred centre.

The complex perspective on the Holy Land offered by these late medieval friars is fundamentally informed by the theology of the Franciscan theologian St Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1221–74). The Seraphic Doctor's theology was in turn moulded by the religious experiences of St Francis: "his Franciscan *Weltanschauung* influenced the major positions of his metaphysics and theology."<sup>3</sup> The characteristics of his theological style are often regarded as the embodiment of a particularly Franciscan school of theology.<sup>4</sup> Bonaventure's enduringly influential ideas in turn shaped the outlook of generations of Franciscans to come, including Guglingen and Suriano.<sup>5</sup> The perspective on the Holy Land

3 J. Guy Bougerol, *Introduction to the Works of Bonaventure*, trans. José de Vinck (Paterson [NY]: St Antony Guild Press, 1963), 9; Ilia Delio, "Theology, Spirituality and Christ the Center: Bonaventure's Synthesis," in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jay M. Hammond, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 361–63, 369–70, 388–92.

4 Zachery Hayes, *What Manner of Man: Sermons on Christ by St. Bonaventure, a Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1974), 5–10.

5 The influence of Bonaventure's theology was also felt outside of the Franciscan order, having an impact on several domains of late medieval spirituality. During the fifteenth century his works had a particularly wide reception in Guglingen's home region of Bavaria. Stefan Swieżanski, "Influence de Saint Bonaventure sur la Pensée du xve Siècle," in *San Bonaventura 1274–1974*, vol. 3, ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol and Etienne Gilson (Rome: Collegio S. Bonaventura Grottaferrata, 1973), 707–23; J. Guy Bougerol, "L'Aspect Original de l'Itinerarium Mentis in Deum et son Influence sur la Spiritualité de son Temps," *Antonianum* 52 (1977): 309–25;

that they offer is thus “Franciscan” in a way that runs deeper than these authors’ affiliation to the order alone. It can even be identified as specifically Observant Franciscan, since the Observants in particular gravitated towards the works of the Seraphic Doctor during the late medieval period, in contrast to the Conventual friars, who favoured Scotist theology in this period.<sup>6</sup>

The treatises by Guglingen and Suriano may not have been widely read by their confrères, nor did their particular perspective on the Holy Land enjoy a very broad dissemination; nevertheless their ideas on the sanctity of the Holy Land are significant and deserving of our attention. Their collaborative effort testifies to an emergent self-awareness at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem: how as an Observant Franciscan one could look at the Holy Land, and discuss the topic with fellow friars. Moreover, with their treatises they move away from the more traditional Franciscan roles of guiding Holy Land pilgrims or being a pilgrim oneself, which were implicit in the form of the travelogue. Instead they offer a more comprehensive perspective on the Holy Land, working from an Observant Franciscan world view. Their project testifies to the early and engaged participation of Observant Franciscan friars in the genre of *geographia sacra* on the Holy Land and foreshadows the features of later Franciscan Holy Land writing in its form (not a travelogue but a treatise) as well as its approach: unambiguously informed by Observant Franciscan ideologies.

## 1 Guglingen sets the Scene

An examination of the first five books of Guglingen’s *Treatise*, outlining the main argument and sources, is indispensable in order to lay the foundations for comparison with Suriano’s *Trattato*, and ultimately for a more profound understanding of these two friars’ perspectives on the Holy Land. In these books Guglingen zooms in through time and space from Creation to the very centre of the world in the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem. Along the way he analyzes why the Holy Land is holy, and places a particularly strong emphasis on the centrality of the Holy Land within the world. Only by studying these successive books of the *Treatise* in conjunction can we come to understand

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Marianne Schlosser, “Bonaventure: Life and Works,” in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jay M. Hammond, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 56–7.

6 During the sixteenth century the Observants increasingly turned to favour Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308) as well. Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220–1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armatura ad defendendam sanctam fidem catholicam...* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 118–20, 177, 185–86.



his carefully constructed model for explaining the sanctity of the Holy Land and its place in the cosmos. Based on this detailed analysis, it then becomes possible to identify and characterize Guglingen's collaboration with his fellow Franciscan Francesco Suriano, the sources and inspiration for their ideas, and the resulting perspective on the sacred geography of the Holy Land firmly grounded in their order's canon.

In books I–V of his *Treatise* Guglingen drafts a series of circular diagrams that are programmatic for detailing his perspective on the Holy Land. Through these wheels he develops his understanding of the Holy Land by contextualizing it in an Observant Franciscan cosmos ordered by the principles of Bonaventure's theology. Guglingen sketches a development, elaborating on the Seraphic Doctor's ideas: the first circle represents God before Creation, while the final circle has crystallized into an orb with Jerusalem at its centre, an expression of God. My discussion is focused on these circular diagrams because this allows me to foreground the Bonaventurian world view that informs the *Treatise* and the perspective on the Holy Land it offers. Moreover, the resulting analysis provides a firm basis for connecting Guglingen's work to Suriano's, and for emphasizing their collaborative effort in writing treatises on the Holy Land as Observant Franciscans.

The first circular diagram in Guglingen's *Treatise* appears next to a brief section of text at the end of the prologue to the *Treatise*, before the start of the book I (fig. 2). It consists of two rubricated concentric circles with four red crosses within them. Inside this wheel we read: "Here resides God in His divine essence before the Creation of the world."<sup>7</sup> This circular diagram is embedded in a small section of text that was not included in Matthias Sollweck's 1892 edition of the Neuburg manuscript:

God, since eternity foreseeing in His divine essence and ineffable wisdom all creatures to be made into some existence, matter, and visible and knowable form. When it pleased the Highest Trinity in Its majesty, and the right time, ordained by God, had arrived, the undivided Father who is the first cause and source-like origin [*origo fontana*] of all creatures, with his only-begotten Son and the Holy Ghost, formed and strengthened the skies, established the earth, creating all things that are contained in them. Considering this in spirit, the holy prophet David, speaking explicitly

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<sup>7</sup> "hic deus in sua essentia divina residet ante creationem mundi." See figure 1, Neuburg MS p. 124.

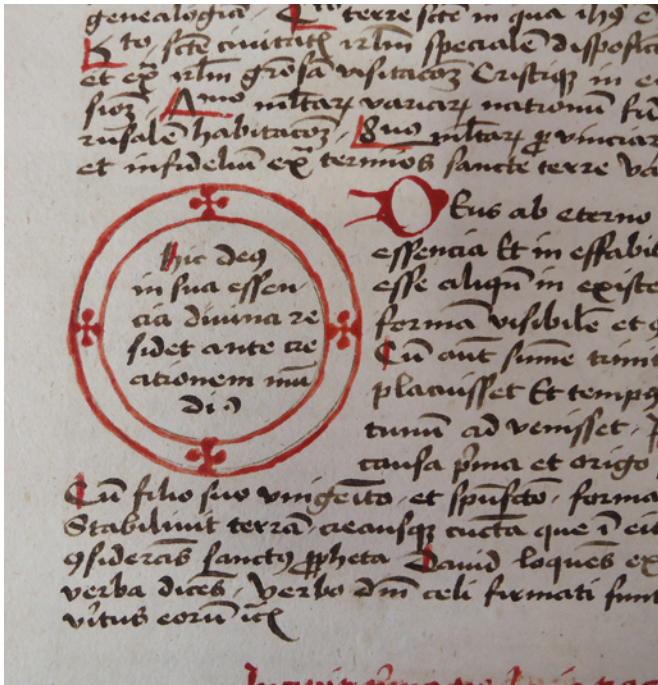


FIGURE 2 The first circular diagram in Guglingen's *Treatise*; it contains the text: "Here resides God in his divine essence, before the Creation of the world."  
[45 MM Ø] STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS P. 124

in Psalm 32 [Ps 33:6], saying these words: "The skies were made by the Word of the Lord and all their power by the breath of His mouth."<sup>8</sup>

With this passage and the circular diagram next to it Guglingen sets the scene for his *Treatise* by taking up the theology of Bonaventure as a starting point as well as an interpretative framework. Guglingen identifies God the Father as "the first cause and source-like origin of all creatures," using the word *fontana*: fountain or source. The assertion can be understood in light of Bonaventure's metaphysics, which is concerned with finding a first principle that unifies all

8 "Deus ab eterno providens in sua divina essentia et ineffabili sapientia omnes creaturas esse aliquam in existenciam ac materiam et formam visibilem et cognoscibilem producendas. Cum autem summe trinitati in sua maiestate placuisset, et tempus ordinatum a deo et oportunum advenisset, pater indivisibilis qui est causa prima et origo fontana omnium creaturarum, cum filio suo unigenito et spiritu sancto, formavit ac firmavit celos, stabilivit terram, creansque cuncta que in eis continentur. Hoc in spiritu considerans sanctus propheta David, loquens expresse Ps 32, [in] hec verba dicens: verbo domini celi firmati sunt et spiritu oris eius <omnis> virtus eorum etc." Neuburg MS p. 124.

of reality: one divine essence that is the exemplar of all else.<sup>9</sup> According to the Seraphic Doctor the answer lies with God the Father, who is the fountain of all of Creation, the unoriginate, most primary and fertile source of everything: he is the *fontalis plenitudo*, or fountain fullness, which is also the source of the Trinity itself.<sup>10</sup> It is this fountain fullness to which Guglingen refers with the words “original fountain” in the passage quoted above, and he visualizes it with the circular diagram containing the divine essence prior to Creation.

Guglingen also stresses the importance of the Word of God as the exemplar for Creation by referring to Ps 33:6. Here he relies on Bonaventure’s theology of the Word, which is key to his metaphysics and his doctrine of Creation: at the beginning of time the fountain fullness that is God the Father expressed himself with one Word. According to Bonaventure this expression of the Word, which coincides with the Son, is the ontological basis for everything that is not God the Father, for the members of the Trinity, and for Creation.<sup>11</sup> Guglingen’s choice to represent God in his essence before Creation in the shape of a circle is also inspired by the ideas of Bonaventure, who calls God the “*sphaera intelligibilis*,” a circle that expresses the ordered infinity and goodness of God.<sup>12</sup>

With his very concise reference to Bonaventurian metaphysics and his circular diagram representing God before Creation, Guglingen has provided the

9 Ilia Delio, “Bonaventure’s Metaphysics of the Good,” *Theological Studies* 60, no. 2 (1999): 228–46, esp. 229.

10 “Quod autem movet ad hoc dicendum, primum est antiqua positio magnorum doctorum, qui dixerunt quod innascibilitas in Patre dicit fontalem plenitudinem. Fontalis autem plenitudo consistit in producendo. Sed constat, quod non ideo, quia creaturam producit, dicitur in eo fontalis plenitudo, qui hoc convenit tribus; nec ideo quia producit Spiritum sanctum, quia hoc convenit Filio: ergo fontalis plenitudo in Patre ponit generationem in eodem. Si ergo innascibilitas est fontalis plenitudo, patet etc.” Bonaventura, *Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi*, in *Opera Omnia S. Bonaventurae*, vol. 1 (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882), 1 Sent. d. 27, p. 1, a.u., q. 2, conl., 470b-71a; Delio, “Bonaventure’s Metaphysics,” 231–35, esp. 233.

11 Zackary Hayes, “Incarnation and Creation in the Theology of St. Bonaventure,” in *Studies Honoring Ignatius Brady, Friar Minor*, ed. Romano Stephen Almagno and Conrad Harkins (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1976), 309–29; Zackary Hayes, “Christology and Metaphysics in the Thought of Bonaventure,” *Journal of Religion* 58, Supplement (1978): S82–95; Alexander Gerken, *Theologie des Wortes: Das Verhältnis von Schöpfung und Inkarnation bei Bonaventura* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1963).

12 This is an older tradition that can be traced further back, for example to Alain de Lille (c. 1120–1202), but Guglingen most likely knew the concept via Bonaventure. Alain de Lille, *Sermo de Sphaera Intelligibili*, ed. Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny, *Alain de Lille, Textes Inédits* (Paris: Vrin, 1965), 297–306; Joseph Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St Bonaventure*, trans. Zachary Hayes (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press: 1971), 144–45; Florian Kolbinger, *Zeit und Ewigkeit: Philosophisch-theologische Beiträge Bonaventuras zum Diskurs des 13. Jahrhunderts um Tempus und Aevum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 32, 389.



FIGURE 3

Circular diagram with the caption: “The circle of the site of terrestrial Paradise.”

[31 MM Ø] STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS P. 135

point of departure for book I of his *Treatise*, which deals with Creation.<sup>13</sup> There he discusses the works of each of the six days of Creation. For the organization of book I he may have taken inspiration from the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190–1264), but he also uses a wide array of authoritative sources to flesh out his discussion, among which are Genesis (“Moyses dicit Gen. cap. ...”), Plato, Aristotle, Gregory the Great, Jerome, Ptolemy, Alexander of Hales, Basil, and Nicolas of Lyra.

The circular diagram with which Guglingen sets the scene for his treatise (fig. 2) is the first in a sequence of similar circles, and through these wheels the author zooms in on the subject of his treatise which lies at the centre of the cosmos: Jerusalem. Book II of the *Treatise* deals with terrestrial Paradise according to a threefold development – its plantation, the introduction of humans, and their prevarication – and contains two more circular diagrams.<sup>14</sup> The first of these two diagrams consists of two concentric circles and represents the “circle of the site of terrestrial Paradise” (fig. 3).<sup>15</sup> The accompanying text explains that Paradise is the most noble location on the globe, which receives plenty of sunlight and brings forth all kinds of good fruits and trees. All this abundance is irrigated by the fountain from which the four rivers of the world originate. This fountain is also visualized as an empty wheel identified with the caption “the circle of the fountain and four rivers of terrestrial

13 “Incipit prima pars huius tractatus: De creatione rerum et per quem et in quo mundus fuit creatus.” Neuburg MS pp. 124–35.

14 “Sequitur modo secunda pars huius tractatus in quo habentur tria: primo de paradisi plantacione, secundo de hominis in paradysum inposicione, tercio de eorundem prevaricacione.” Neuburg MS pp. 135–46.

15 “Spera situs paradisi terrestris.” Neuburg MS p. 135.

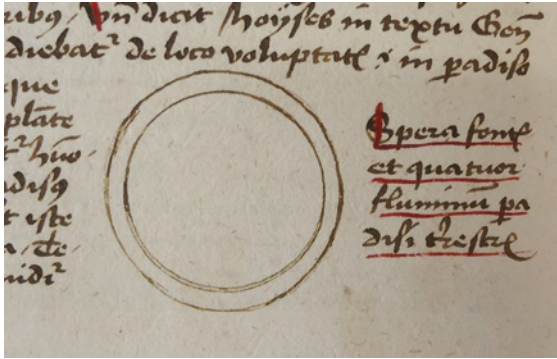


FIGURE 4 Circular diagram with the caption: “The circle of the fountain and four rivers of terrestrial Paradise.”

[35 MM Ø] STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG  
AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS P. 136

Paradise” (fig. 4).<sup>16</sup> This wheel with the fountain of Paradise points back to the first wheel with God in his divine essence, the fountain fullness.

For these circles representing Paradise and its fountain Guglingen may have been influenced by an exemplar that contained Creation miniatures, like those in the *Bibles moralisées*. These often show the progression of the works of the six days of Creation as a series of historiated *rotae* or spheres.<sup>17</sup> Guglingen’s Creation *rotae*, however, have been left empty. This may be attributed to the here and there unfinished, draft-like quality of the Neuburg manuscript, which gives the impression of being a work still in progress. However, whether or not additional historiation was intended, these wheels are already functional for Guglingen’s purposes because of their circular shape. They can be likened to the first circular diagram of the *Treatise* (God before Creation) as well as to the two circular maps it contains further on. It is pertinent to note at this point that the circle, as a symbol of the (meta-)physical as well as historical aspects

16 “Spera fontis et quatuor fluminum paradisi terrestris.” Neuburg MS p. 136.

17 J.B. Friedman, “The Architect’s Compass in Creation Miniatures of the Later Middle Ages,” *Traditio* 30 (1974): 419–29. See for example the *Grande Bible Historiale Complétée* of Guiard de Moulins: The Hague, RMMW, MS 10 B 23, fols. 5r, 5v, 6v; and The Hague, KB, MS 78 D 43: fols. 2v, 3r (these manuscripts are accessible online via the website *Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, manuscripts.kb.nl). The Egerton Genesis Picture Book, London BL Egerton 1894, also shows a series of *rotae* overseen by God the Father during the six days of Creation (images accessible via the *British Library Illuminated Manuscripts Catalogue*, www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm).

of Creation, plays an important role in the theology of Bonaventure.<sup>18</sup> I shall return to this in the following section of this chapter, where I discuss the importance of Bonaventure's metaphysical circle for Guglingen's and Suriano's perspectives on the Holy Land.

The next circular diagram in Guglingen's sequence of circles, a TO-world map, appears in book III of the *Treatise*, which contains the genealogy of Christ from Adam down to Naashon.<sup>19</sup> In his travelogue Guglingen writes that he consulted a genealogy of Christ at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem while working on his *Treatise*.<sup>20</sup> The layout of book III suggests that he used the *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers (c. 1130–1215) or a derivative source: the text is articulated by pairs of connected circles that represent Old Testament marriages (fig. 5).<sup>21</sup> Diagrammatic representations of Noah's Ark in book III of the *Treatise* also point to this source.<sup>22</sup> Another

18 Hayes, "Incarnation and Creation," 324–27; Hayes, "Christology and Metaphysics," S88; Bonaventure, "Sermon 11 on the Nativity of the Lord," in *What Manner of Man: Sermons on Christ by St. Bonaventure*, trans. Zackery Hayes (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1974), 73–4, 91 n. 45, 93 n. 46, 94 n. 47, 117 n. 10.

19 "Tercia pars de benigni liberatoris nostri Ihesu christi nobilissima genealogia." Neuburg MS pp. 147–206.

20 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 181.

21 The *Compendium* was a very influential and popular text in the middle ages, and chronicles such as those by Ranulf Higden and Paulinus of Venice rely on it as a source. The *Compendium* was designed for didactic purposes: it helped students to recollect the intricacies of the genealogy of Christ. Aurora di Mauro, "Un Contributo alla Mnemotecnica Medievale: Il 'Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi' in una Redazione Pisana del XIII Secolo," in *Il Codice Miniato: Rapporti tra Codice, Testo e Figurazione*, ed. Melania Ceccanti and Maria Christina Castelli (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 453–67; Gert Melville, "Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt: Beobachtungen zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Darstellungsweise," in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im spätem Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), 57–154; also see Andrea Worm, "Ista est Jerusalem: Intertextuality and Visual Exegesis in Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* and Werner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*," in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 123–24.

22 In *Compendium* manuscripts two versions of the Ark diagram are generally given: one according to Augustine which has three levels, and one according to Josephus which has five levels. The attributions on MS p. 153 of the *Treatise* are mixed up: a three level Ark is attributed to Josephus, and a five level Ark to "someone." On MS p. 154 Guglingen has included two more Ark diagrams taken from the *postillae* of Nicolas of Lyra. These exegetical diagrams are visualizations that figure in the theological debate about the shape, size, and internal ordering of the Ark of Noah. For this debate on the internal organization of the Ark of Noah in the middle ages see Don Cameron Allen, *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science and Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949); Jack P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian*



important source for this part of Guglingen's *Treatise* is *De Tribus Maximis* by Hugh of St Victor (c. 1096–1141), in particular the diagram at the end of this text with an overview of the six days of Creation and the men of the first two ages of history.<sup>23</sup> Guglingen's reliance on this diagram, as well as inconsistencies in the planning of book III, confirm that the text in the Neuburg manuscript was still a work in progress when it was written.<sup>24</sup>

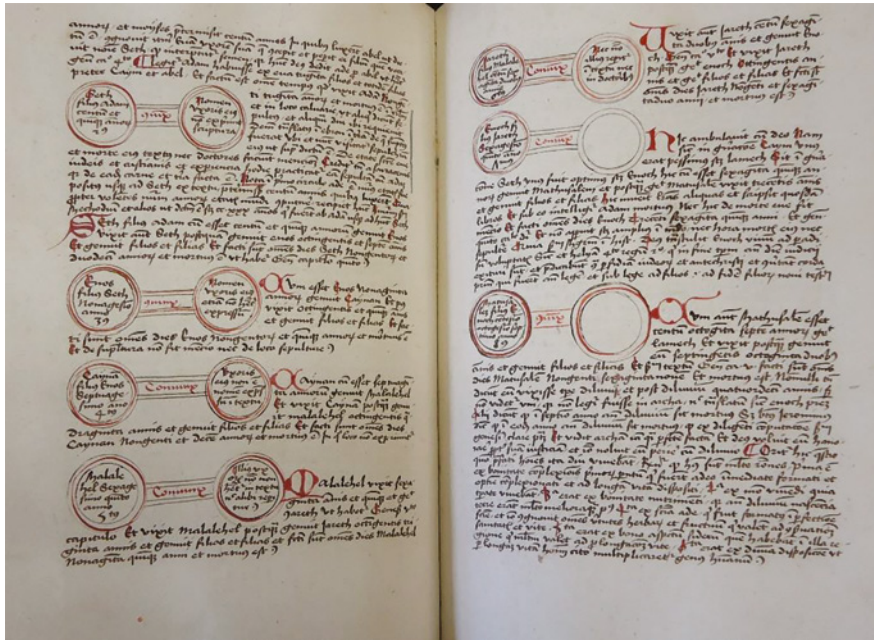


FIGURE 5 Pairs of connected circles represent Old Testament marriages in the genealogy of Christ. STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS PP. 150–51

- Literature*, repr. 1968 (Leiden: Brill, 1978); Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, trans. Ronald E. Heine (Catholic University of America press, 1982); Lesley Smith, "The Imaginary Jerusalem of Nicolas of Lyra," in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 86, 88; Andrea Worm, "Ista est Jerusalem," 125.
- 23 For the diagram see the edition in William M. Green, "Hugo of St Victor: De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum," *Speculum* 18 (1943): 492–93; Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 32–35.
- 24 Also see introductory chapter on this issue. Guglingen gives the ages of the men of the first two ages when they became a father up until the first man of the third age, Isaac. When the list with this information provided by Hugh of St Victor was exhausted,

The TO-world map in book III shows the division of the continents between the three sons of Noah at the end of the first age (after the flood). The inclusion of this map is inspired by Guglingen's source: a small TO-map is often depicted at this point of the genealogy in copies of Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*.<sup>25</sup> However, Guglingen has adapted the very basic TO-map he would have found there into something more elaborate (fig. 6). Apart from indicating the division of the continents into three equal portions between the sons of Noah (Sem gets Asia, Cham Africa, and Japhet Europe), Guglingen has added the cardinal and intermediate directions, and the surrounding ocean is pointed out four times: *Oceanus*. The most conspicuous adaptations are two concentric circles at the centre of the map. The outer of these represents the Holy Land; three times, forming part of each of the three continents, the word *terra sancta* is written. Within this ring representing the Holy Land the central circle of the map has the text "middle point of the entire orb."<sup>26</sup>

With these modifications to his source map Guglingen has strongly emphasized the Holy Land's position at the centre of the world. Guglingen has also added four red crosses to the design of this map, located at the cardinal directions. These crosses recall the crosses in the outer band of the first circular diagram of the *Treatise* (fig. 2) which represents God in his divine essence before Creation. Thus from the first *rota* with God before Creation, God – the divine prototype – has now expressed himself, according to Bonaventure's metaphysics and theology of the Word, in the whole of Creation, depicted here as an orb consisting of three continents with the Holy Land at its centre. Guglingen's map is a concretized visual version of Bonaventure's ideas about cosmic exemplarism, which hold that Creation is an expression of the divine exemplar or prototype, namely God. God expresses himself in Creation and Creation in turn reflects the greatness of God.<sup>27</sup>

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Guglingen calculated one more age by himself, and then gave up. This lack of planning is characteristic of the third book of the *Treatise*. It also is apparent elsewhere: up to Jareth Guglingen writes something along the lines of "the name of his wife is not expressed in the text." Since most of the wives' names are missing from the Bible, he gives up writing down this phrase, leaving the wheel empty. Moreover, the genealogy given by Guglingen is supposed to be a genealogy of Christ, but runs up to Naashon only. Guglingen may have decided along the way that this undertaking was altogether too ambitious, and the text would simply become too long.

25 See for example on London, BL, Harley Roll MS C 9 and The Hague, KB, MS 74 J 5. Images available via *British Library Illuminated Manuscripts Catalogue*, [www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm](http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm) and *Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, [manuscripts.kb.nl](http://manuscripts.kb.nl).

26 "punctus medialis tocius orbis." See figure 5.

27 Leonard J. Bowman, "The Cosmic Exemplarism of Bonaventure," *The Journal of Religion* 55, no. 2 (1975): 181–98.





FIGURE 6 TO-world map in book III of Guglingen's *Treatise*. The two concentric circles at the centre of the map emphasize that the Holy Land (*terra sancta*, *terra sancta*, *terra sancta*) is at the centre of the world (*punctus medialis totius orbis*).

[108 MM Ø] STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS P. 157

In book IV of Guglingen's *Treatise*, which discusses the conditions, names, and extent of the Holy Land, another circular map appears, now of the Holy Land.<sup>28</sup> The author also explicitly engages with the question, why is the Holy Land holy? Guglingen first discusses the natural conditions of the Holy Land, which are good: it is the land of milk and honey, it is more fertile than other lands, and, although it rarely rains, grains grow faster there than elsewhere, and the climate is temperate. However, according to Guglingen the most important condition of the Holy Land, which he discusses last, is not natural but supernatural, and it is this supernatural quality that inspires pilgrims to travel to the Holy Land despite the great dangers involved.<sup>29</sup> Guglingen attributes

28 "Sequitur quarta pars huius libri in qua intendo describere terre sancte in qua christus ihesus conversatus est commendacionem." Neuburg MS pp. 207–11.

29 "Sexta conditio est supernaturalis, ymmo laudabilis et multum gratiosa, et hanc ex fide dignis et honestis peregrinis didici ac in me in veritate comperi, quam omnes christifideles

the “spiritual magnetism” of the Holy Places to Christ and his mother Mary, who sanctified and dignified them “with their very own persons.”<sup>30</sup> This explanation points to an initial person- and subsequent place-centred holiness as outlined above in the introductory chapter. This is comparable to statements from the high middle ages, such as accounts of the speech by Urban II at Clermont. For example, Baldric of Dol reports Urban saying that the feet, body, and shadow of Christ sanctified the Holy Land, as did the presence of Mary, the apostles, and other saints.<sup>31</sup> However, Guglingen significantly elaborates the perspective on the sanctity of the Holy Land that he inherited from the classical crusader era.

In the next section of book IV, on the names of the Holy Land, Guglingen presents his views on why the Holy Land is holy. Following an enumeration of

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*auscultare ac diligenter mentibus inscribere debent, ne aliquando obliviscantur, que talis est: Nam quidquid patitur peregrinus per totam suam peregrinationem sive in terra laboribus et fatigationibus, sive in mare fortunis multis et piratarum periculis, caloribus et algoribus, fame et siti, evomatione et infirmitate corporis, que omnia occurrunt peregrino in galea: erunt sibi omnia levia et bene remunerata in primo ictu oculi, quando inspicit terram sanctam circa Jaffa, ymmo libenter sustinuit omnia.* Neuburg MS pp. 207–08. Sollweck offers a partial edition of this passage; the phrases in italic type are omitted from the edition. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 270.

- 30 This term was first coined by James J. Preston (see the introductory chapter); “Et demum perambulat et querit cum desiderio cordis sancta loca *in Jerusalem et extra que ihesus christus et maria eius benedicta mater cum propriis personis sanctificaverunt ac dignificaverunt*. Videtur devoto peregrino et vero catholico quod nullum bonum terrenum, quantumcumque pretiosum, quod potest esse super terram, vellet pro tali visitatione habere.” Neuburg MS p. 208. Sollweck offers a partial edition of this passage; the phrase in italic type was omitted from the edition. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 270.
- 31 “Quam terram merito sanctam dixerimus, in qua non est etiam passus pedis quem non illustraverit et sanctificaverit uel corpus uel umbra saluatoris, uel gloriosa presentia sancte Dei genitricis, uel amplectendus apostolorum comeatus, uel martirum ebibendus sanguis effusus. Quam beati, O Stephane protomartir, qui te laureauerunt lapides? Quam felices, O Bapstista Iohannes, qui tibi ad saluatorem baptizandum seruierunt Iordanici latices?” Baldric of Bourgeil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 8. Guibert de Nogent and Robert the Monk give similar brief explanations in their versions of Urban’s 1095 speech. Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 14–8. In a widely disseminated open letter, *Ad Peregrinantes Jerusalem*, Bernardus of Clairvaux writes on the same topic: “Commota est siquidem et contremuit terra, quia coepit Deus caeli perdere terram suam. Suam inquam, in qua visus est, et annis plus quam triginta homo cum hominibus conversatus est. Suam utique, quam illustravit miraculis, quam dedicavit sanguine proprio, in qua primi resurrectionis flores apparuerent.” Edited in J. Leclercq, “L’Encyclique de Saint Bernard en Faveur de la Croisade,” *Revue Bénédictine* 81, no. 3–4 (1971): 295. On this letter also see Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 77.

Old Testament names for the Holy Land, he observes that it has been called *holy* ever since the Incarnation, and this for four reasons:<sup>32</sup>

1. It was sanctified by the persons of Christ and Mary.
2. Christ worked salvation there, in the centre of the earth.
3. The blood of the saints, especially Christ, flowed onto the land.
4. Many saints, especially Christ, were buried there.

The first, third, and fourth reasons Guglingen gives for the sanctity of the Holy Land all come down to physical contact with the bodies of saints, especially Christ and Mary. Through this contact their holiness was transferred onto the land. Guglingen emphasizes the importance of the physical *touch* of the saints: “all of them without a doubt sanctified this land through their touch (*tactus*) and presence, and hence it is rightly called the Holy Land.”<sup>33</sup> Through their touch the land was sanctified, as it was by Christ’s blood when it flowed onto it.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the burial of many saints, particularly that of Christ, in the Holy Land also transferred sanctity through physical contact, and Guglingen concludes: “therefore, without any ambiguity it is to be held and believed that this land by the touch of those most holy bodies has been sanctified and dignified above all other lands in the world.”<sup>35</sup>

The second reason he gives for the sanctity of the Holy Land – Christ worked salvation there in the middle of the earth – again stresses the importance of the centrality of the Holy Land, as Guglingen’s world map had done before (fig. 6).

32 “Quinto nominata post incarnationem christi terra sancta. Et hoc propter quatuor. Primo...” Neuburg MS p. 209.

33 “Primo pro eo quod in illa terra nati et conversati sunt sanctissimi homines, scilicet Sanctus sanctorum Ihesus verus deus et homo, Sanctissima virgo Maria mater Christi, Sanctus Johannes baptista Sanctus, Jacobus maior, ... Et quis aliorum sanctorum et prophetarum potest plene ostendere sanctitatem, hii omnes hanc terram suo tactu et conversacione indubitanter sanctificaverunt, unde merito dicitur terra sancta.” Neuburg MS pp. 209–10.

34 “Tercio pro eo quod illa terra est aspersa sancto sanguine sanctorum prophetarum ac sanctorum multorum martyrum. Et specialiter preciosissimo sanguine domini nostri ihesu christi cuius sanguis in oracione in monte oliveti decurrebat in terram ut eam terram et terram nostri corporis sanctificaret unde dicitur Luc. 22 [Luke 22:44] ‘Et factus est sudor eius sicut gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram.’” Neuburg MS p. 210.

35 “Quarto pro eo quod in illa terra corpora sanctorum primum sunt sepulta. Nam in terra Juda in spelunca duplici que est in agro ebron ut habetur Gen. 25 capitulo ... sanctus stephanus ... virgo maria ... Et etiam usque hodie in pede montis calvarie gloriosum sepulchrum Christi.... Ibi posuerunt ihesum quapropter absque omni ambiguitate tenendum et credendum est illam terram a tactu illorum sanctissimorum corporum sanctificatam et dignificatam esse super omnes alias terras mundi.” Neuburg MS p. 210.



FIGURE 7 Circular Holy Land map in book IV of Guglingen's *Treatise*.  
 [77,5 MM Ø] STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU,  
 04/HS. INR 10, MS P. 210

The map of the Holy Land that accompanies the very brief discussion of the extent of the Holy Land (based on St Jerome) in book IV of Guglingen's *Treatise* also stresses cosmological centrality by means of its circularity (fig. 7). The outer band of the map contains the cardinal directions and like the world map is oriented with east at the top. The northern half of the map represents *terra Israhel* and the southern half *terra Juda*. At its centre there is a circle with the word *ihusalem*, and at the bottom the words *circa Jaffa Mare Magnum* show that the Mediterranean sea is found in the west near Jaffa. Guglingen refers to this map for clarification of his geographical description:

This description is better understood in the circle depicted above. Note, however, that the Holy Land is in a round circle (*spera orbiculari*), but

concerning the regions, the beginnings, and the borders of the Holy Land are described in this way. But in itself it is oblong.<sup>36</sup>

So the Holy Land *should* be round in shape, but Guglingen knows from his experience traveling the country that it is not circular.<sup>37</sup> He resolves this problem by retaining a circular map, but indicating on it along the east-west and north-south axis that to travel from north to south takes twelve days, while from east to west takes four days.<sup>38</sup> Guglingen's insistence on providing a circular map reiterates the importance of this shape and its connotations in his *Treatise*. Wheels and circles often had cosmological resonance during the late middle ages: because of their shape they were likened to the world and the cosmos.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the city of Jerusalem was often represented in a circular form, precisely because it was seen as the centre of a spherical cosmos.<sup>40</sup> Guglingen has likewise zoomed in via a series of circular diagrams representing God's divine essence before Creation (fig. 2); terrestrial Paradise (fig. 3); the fountain of the four rivers of Paradise (fig. 4); a world map with the Holy Land conspicuously at its centre (fig. 6); and finally a circular Holy Land map with a circular Jerusalem at its centre (fig. 7).

This emphasis on centrality recurs in book v of the *Treatise*, in which Guglingen discusses the special disposition of the city of Jerusalem, engaging with four topics: the city's first beginnings, its names, its special situation, and

36 "Hec aut<em> descriptio plenius cognoscitur in circulo hic super depicto. Nota tamen quod terra sancta sit in sphaera orbiculari, sed quantum ad regiones describuntur initia et termini terre sancte isto modo. Sed tamen in se est oblongata." Neuburg MS p. 211.

37 "... ab australi parte versus acquilonem ita quod ab initio in austro usque ad finem in acquilone est bene via xii dierum. Sed ab initio usque ab occidente in littore maris circa Jaffa usque ad finem ipsius terre sancta in oriente iuxta iordanem, vix hanc viam quatuor dierum ex quibus comprehenditur quod non est orbicularis sed oblongata ..." Neuburg MS p. 211.

38 "Ab occidente usque ad orientem hec terra sancta viam quasi 40r dierum" and "Ab aquilo [*sic*] usque ad Austrum hec terra sancta quasi viam duodecim dierum." See figure 6.

39 Of course, in many cases practical considerations also played a role, in particular when circular diagrams simply were selected in order to facilitate schematic representation. Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), 11–27; Jurgis Baltrusaitis, "Cercles Astrologiques et Cosmographiques à la Fin du Moyen Age," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 21 (1939): 65–84; Jurgis Baltrusaitis, "L'Image du Monde Céleste du IXe au XIe Siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 20 (1938): 137–48.

40 Bianca Kühnel, "Geography and Geometry of Jerusalem," in *The City of the Great King*, ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 1996), 293–304, 309–20; Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 15–40.

finally the several rounds of destruction and rebuilding it went through.<sup>41</sup> The third topic, Jerusalem's special situation, is an elaboration of the importance of the city's exceptional position as the middle point of the world:

Thirdly, about the city of Jerusalem's special situation, I say, following the doctors, that Jerusalem lies in a higher region of the habitable land, and in the middle of the entire world, so that the highest virtue (*virtus*) of all virtues (*virtutum*), worked by Jesus Christ, according to the philosopher would consist in the middle.<sup>42</sup>

Guglingen refers to the Latin expression *in medio stat virtus* – virtue stands in the middle – common to ancient and medieval philosophy; it is used by Aristotle (384–22 B.C.), invoked directly here as “the philosopher”, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.<sup>43</sup> In the context of this part of Guglingen's *Treatise*, *virtus* or virtue should be interpreted as the wonder-working power that forms the basis of the medieval cult of the saints (see introductory chapter), and it points back to the second reason Guglingen gives in book IV to explain why the Holy Land is holy (Christ worked salvation in the middle of the earth), as well as to his circular diagrams. Guglingen backs up his claim that the highest virtue of all was worked in the middle of the world by referring to Psalm 73:13, which states that salvation was worked in the middle of the earth. He writes that salvation was brought about by the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, which happened in Jerusalem, in the fourth and middle clime of the habitable lands.<sup>44</sup> Guglingen concludes this section by relating an apocryphal anecdote about Christ pointing out the middle of the earth to his disciples, by referring to his own personal experience standing at the very centre of the world in the Holy Sepulchre

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41 “Sequitur quinta pars huius libri In qua intendo describere Sancte Civitatis Iherusalem specialem dispositionem.” Neuburg MS pp. 212–14.

42 “Tercio de civitatis iherusalem speciali situacione, dico enim secundum doctores quod iherusalem est sita in altiori regione terre habitabilis et in tocuis mundi medio. Pro eo ut summa virtus omnium virtutum operata per ihesum christum, secundum philosophum consisteret in medio.” Neuburg MS p. 213.

43 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 2.6. See *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, ed. & trans. Iain Macleod Higgins (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2011), 3.

44 “Teste propheta David, qui previdit in spiritu dudum ante hoc maximum opus virtutis et salutis operari a Christo in persona humana, loquens sub certo in preterito dicens ps. 73: ‘Operatus est sanctus ihesus christus salutem in medio terre.’ Ubi dicit glosa: id est in iherusalem, que est in medio climate. Hoc est in quarto climate terre habitabilis, in qua operatus est salutem humano generi, per suam doctrinam passionem mortem et gloriosam resurrectionem.” Neuburg MS pp. 213–14.

Church, and by offering further proof of Jerusalem's centrality through considering the relative position of the sun and moon.<sup>45</sup>

Thus in books 1–v of his *Treatise* Guglingen has zoomed in on the very centre of Creation, starting before the beginning of time and space with God in his divine essence, who then expresses himself in a circular world with Jerusalem as its most sacred centre point. Guglingen carefully analyses why the Holy Land is holy: because of the physical touch (*tactus*) of the bodies of Christ, Mary, and other holy persons, whereby their holiness was transferred from their bodies onto the land. Based on this improved understanding of his views on the sacred geography of the Holy Land, it becomes possible to discern links between his work and that of other Franciscan authors writing about the same subject and working from a comparable ideological background.

## 2 Jerusalem as the Sacred Middle Point of Bonaventure's Metaphysical Circle

A closer look at Guglingen's collaboration with Francesco Suriano, and the background of their ideas about the centrality and the sanctity of the Holy Land shows that they both use Bonaventurian concepts as a foundation for their very similar explanations of the sanctity of the Holy Land. Their closely related but not identical views on the sacred geography of the Holy Land seem to be the result of discussions they had while serving in the Holy Land. Elaborating on Bonaventure's metaphysical circle, and inspired by brief remarks about the sanctity of the Holy Land in *The Book of John Mandeville* and earlier sources, Guglingen and Suriano formulate their own novel perspective on the sanctity of the Holy Land. The central position of the Holy Land and Jerusalem in the world plays an important role in their understanding of its sacred geography. While it is relatively common for medieval authors to refer to Jerusalem as the middle point, for which Psalm 73:12, Ezekiel 5:5, and Jerome's

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45 "Et a fide dignis personis audivi ac in scriptis reperi, medialem punctum sive centrum in superficie terre tocius mundi in medio chori esse dominici sepulchri. Et fertur pro vero quod cristus semel venit de terra gallilee cum discipulis suis, et stetit foras portam aquilonarem civitatis iherusalem, et vertit se ad montem calvarie, et dixit ad discipulos: Iste locus ubi ego iam sto est punctus in medio tocius terre. Et iste locus hodie est signatus in templo dominici sepulchri. Et fui personaliter sepius in eodem loco. Probatur etiam iherusalem esse in medio terre per solem et lunam, nam in iunio mense sol stat directe super nos in iherusalem, ita quod nulla umbra causatur ab homine. Sic simili modo luna stat in decembri et hoc experientia didici etc." Neuburg MS p. 214.

commentary on the latter are the most important sources, it is very unusual for them to dwell on the topic as much as Guglingen does.<sup>46</sup>

The idea of Jerusalem as the centre of the world became widespread in Western Europe during the high middle ages as a result of the literatures of the crusader movement.<sup>47</sup> These are typically brief assertions; slightly longer expositions on centrality, found for example in Peter the Venerable's (c. 1092–1156) sermon *In Laudem Sepulchri Domini*, are more exceptional.<sup>48</sup> Iain Macleod Higgins has demonstrated that references to Jerusalem's position in the middle of the world are also surprisingly rare in medieval pilgrimage accounts. The only text that mentions this prior to the era of the crusades is *De Locis Sanctis* by Adamnan (628–704), written at the end of the seventh century. During the period of the crusades of the high middle ages references to Jerusalem's centrality were reasonably common, but then in the later middle ages they again became rarer. Nearly all of these references in pilgrimage accounts are extremely brief and lack context or explanation. Two notable exceptions to this are Adamnan (again) and the well-known account of the German Dominican Felix Fabri (c. 1441–1502), both of whom say a little more about it.<sup>49</sup> The only medieval pilgrimage account for which the concept of Jerusalem's centrality is of any importance instead of just passing interest is the immensely popular *Book of Sir John Mandeville*.<sup>50</sup>

The assertions about the centrality of Jerusalem and indeed the sanctity of the Holy Land in *The Book of Sir John Mandeville* were an important source of inspiration for the treatises on the Holy Land by Guglingen and Francesco Suiriano. This very popular text, associated with the fictional traveller John Mandeville, was first written down in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, and presents a model for explaining the holiness of the Holy Land.<sup>51</sup> In the first lines of the prologue the Mandeville-author states:

46 Iain Macleod Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Centre in a Medieval "Multi-Text" Jerusalem in the Book of John Mandeville," in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomash and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 33–34.

47 Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 141–43.

48 Peter the Venerable, *Sermo 11. In Laudem Sepulchri Domini*, ed. J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 189 (Paris, 1854), 973–92, esp. 978–80.

49 Adamnan describes a pillar or column in Jerusalem that does not cast a shadow at noon during summer solstice, and he interprets this as proof for Psalm 73:12 and for the city being the navel of the earth. Fabri discusses the same column, but says he does not think it is any proof for the centrality of Jerusalem; the only evidence he finds convincing is the Bible, Psalm 73.

50 Macleod Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Centre," 34–40.

51 Originally written in French, it comes down to us in more than 250 manuscripts in French, English, Latin, German, Dutch, Danish, Czech, Italian, Spanish, and Irish. Following the



... the Land of Promise which men call the Holy Land, among all other lands is the most worthy land and mistress over all others, and is blessed and hallowed and consecrated by the precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ; in which land it pleased Him to take life and blood by Our Lady Saint Mary and to travel round that land with His blessed feet.<sup>52</sup>

According to this fragment the Holy Land is holy because it was consecrated by the blood of Christ, and because he walked on it with his feet, a perspective inherited from crusader literature of the high middle ages.<sup>53</sup> This is also the core of Guglingen's argument: physical contact with the body of Christ consecrated the Holy Land, although he elaborates on it significantly, and integrates it into his Observant Franciscan perspective on the Holy Land, as will become clear. It seems that Guglingen took at least some of his inspiration from reading *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, because the Mandeville-author also stresses the centrality of the Holy Land, referring to the same Latin expression about virtue being in the middle:

... and that land He chose before all other lands as the best and the most honourable in the world, for, as the philosopher says, *virtus rerum in medio consistit*, that is to say, 'The excellence of things is in the middle.'<sup>54</sup>

Guglingen must have been influenced by the prologue to *Mandeville*, since he not only refers to the axiom *in medio stat virtus*, but he also uses the verb *consistere* (not *stare*), and he likewise applies it to the Holy Land, Jerusalem to be specific.<sup>55</sup> These very brief statements about the reasons for the holiness of the Holy Land and the importance of geographical centrality seem to have provided Guglingen with some basic starting points for his much more elaborate exposition on the subject.

This appears all the more probable because Francesco Suriano, who we know saw an Italian copy of *Mandeville*, develops very much the same ideas

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invention of the printing press many printed editions appeared. See appendices I and II for a table of manuscripts in all of these languages, and of printed editions in Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1954).

52 *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. Charles W.R.D. Moseley, repr. 1983 (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 43.

53 Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 14–8, 66, 70–80.

54 *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. Moseley, 43.

55 "Tercio de civitatis iherusalem speciali situacione, dico enim secundum doctores quod iherusalem est in sita in altiori regione terre habitabile et in tocius mundi medio. Pro eo ut summa virtus omnium virtutum operata per ihesum christum, secundum filosofum consideret in medio." Neuburg MS p. 213.

about the sanctity of the Holy Land in his *Trattato di Terra Santa*, again stressing its centrality.<sup>56</sup> In their treatises on the Holy Land, Guglingen and Suriano ask similar questions and come up with comparable answers. Both friars contextualize the Holy Land as a sacred centre in a cosmos articulated by the theology of Bonaventure. Moreover, the very idea of writing a *treatise* on the Holy Land is novel, not opting for the more traditional choices of a travelogue or a devotional tract on the Holy Places and/or the events of the Passion. All this strongly suggests that Guglingen and Suriano discussed these matters when they were both present at the Jerusalem convent in 1483, perhaps even working together on their treatises in the library.

Francesco Suriano (c. 1450–1530) was an Observant Franciscan friar of Venetian origin who stayed in the Levant for extended periods of time (1481–84; 1493–1515) and served as guardian of the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem twice (1493–96; 1512–15). He wrote several drafts of his treatise on the Holy Land, the first in 1485 after returning to Italy; later, in 1514, when back in Jerusalem he wrote a second draft; and finally a copy was printed in 1524 by Francesco Bindoni in Venice.<sup>57</sup> Suriano wrote the treatise for his sister, Sixta, who was a Poor Clare at the convent of St Lucia in Foligno, as well as for the other women in that community. The book is written in the form of a didactic dialogue in which sister Sixta questions her brother about the Holy Land, and Suriano responds. While Suriano's *Trattato* shares many traits with Guglingen's *tractatus*, it also differs from it in the sense that the *Trattato* is a didactic text in the Italian vernacular intended for the benefit of religious women, rather than a studious theological treatise in Latin. The organization of its contents is

56 See the introduction to: Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1949), 13.

57 An edition of the 1514 version was published by Girolamo Golubovich. Francesco Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich (Milan: Tipografia Editrice Artigianelli, 1900). For a partial, annotated translation see Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade. When citing Suriano's *Trattato* I refer to either the English translation by Bellorini and Hoade or the Italian edition by Golubovich (or both) depending on the individual case. Where possible I use the English translation, because of its (linguistic) accessibility. However, I cite Golubovich's Italian edition when dealing with those parts of the *Trattato* which Bellorini and Hoade did not translate. They omit potentially controversial ethnographical sections and long-winded accounts of natural history in book two of the *Trattato*. As to the motivations for realising the printed edition of 1524, we can only speculate. Suriano was still alive at this time and likely oversaw the preparation of the second redaction of his *Trattato* for press. While the *Trattato* is didactic text aimed at religious women, it also deals with the wonders of the East and may offer a diverting read in the Italian vernacular. Therefore it may have attracted a relatively wide readership of various backgrounds. An additional motivation for printing might have been to bolster the prestige of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* during the process that saw its elevation to the level of an order *provincia* two years later in 1526.

more conversational and less rigidly ordered than Guglingen's, and it is loosely divided into two books.

Already in the first chapter of the *Trattato* it becomes clear that Suriano is interested in the same issues as Guglingen. This chapter is titled "Why it is called the Holy Land." The answer is that first, it was so named by God; second, that eleven categories of holy persons mentioned in the Old and New Testament came from there; third, that the first temple was built there. Most importantly, however, Suriano concludes, it should be called holy primarily because of contact with the body of Christ and his blood, in which the country was bathed.<sup>58</sup> This explanation of the sanctity of the Holy Land is very similar to Guglingen's as well as to that found in *The Book of John Mandeville* and other sources from the high middle ages. Nevertheless, Suriano's discussion of the issue is original, because he offers a substantial explanation for this sanctity. Like Guglingen's version his exposition is rooted in Bonaventurian metaphysics, and he arrives at very similar conclusions. However, Suriano's argument follows a slightly different route before arriving at the same point.

The second chapter of Suriano's *Trattato* deals in more depth with the question, why is the Holy Land more sanctified than all other parts of the world? According to Suriano the answer lies in the natural order provided by God, and in order to illustrate this point he compares Creation to the generation of animals. With reference to Aristotle's *De Generatione Animalium* Suriano explains that "the first thing created in animals that have blood is the heart."<sup>59</sup> From the heart, blood and spirit then spread, developing the members of the body.<sup>60</sup> Suriano continues by observing that when God created the world, he did this in much the same way: starting with the centre and then spreading "spiritual life" to all corners from there.<sup>61</sup> According to Suriano, God paid much attention to "that part of the world which is called the centre, or middle of all the habitable world."<sup>62</sup> He refers to Psalm 73:12 (salvation was worked in the middle of the earth), and explains that the centre of the world functions in much the

58 "But it would be more proper to say that it has been called holy on account of the tabernacle of Christ ... with whose most precious blood it was found worthy above all other lands to be bathed. And therefore deservedly it is called holy." Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 22.

59 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 22.

60 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 22–3.

61 "So as God has proceeded in the generation of animals so likewise has He proceeded in the spiritual generation of all the world. God therefore proposing to diffuse throughout the whole world the spiritual life, the holy faith and the Holy Ghost, ..., what did He do?" Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 23.

62 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 23.

same way as the heart of an animal, diffusing lifeblood to its members. For this heart simile Suriano has probably taken inspiration from Peter the Venerable's sermon *In Laudem Sepulchri Domini*. There Peter identifies the Holy Sepulchre and by extension Jerusalem as the heart of the earth which like a human or animal heart is situated at the centre of the world to facilitate the spreading of salvation to all corners.<sup>63</sup> Suriano further elaborates this idea with the help of Aristotle's *De Generatione*, and by taking it to apply to the entire Holy Land as well. In short, according to Suriano, God selected the centre as the habitation of Christ and the Holy Ghost, and made it more holy than any other part of the world, so that from there its spiritual benefits would spread:

And from this land is diffused, as I have said, all graces in all parts of the world, just as from the heart of an animal the vital spirits are diffused to all the members of the animal, as from the fountain runs down the water in rivulets, and as the lines are drawn from the circumference of the circle.<sup>64</sup>

As was the case with Guglingen, the centrality of the Holy Land is important for Suriano: note the implicit references to the fountain fullness and the symbol of the circle, so important in Guglingen's argument. For Suriano the centrality of the Holy Land is not something to mention only briefly, as it is for so many medieval authors, because for him centrality explains why this country was selected by God to host the events of the Passion: it has an important function to spread salvation throughout the world. Thus the natural order of the world supports the spiritual order.

The next step in Suriano's argument is to explain the cause of the sanctity of the Holy Land, and like Guglingen he singles out divine visitation as the most important reason.<sup>65</sup> Chapter IV of his *Trattato* is dedicated to enumerating all the divine visitations to the Holy Land, and chapter V sets out to demonstrate the wonder-working power of Christ's body on the basis of New Testament

63 "Hic est plane medius ille orbis locus, quem Salvator cor terrae nominat, et in quo se requieturum ad instar Jonae prophetae requie triduana declarat. Illud certe, illud Redemptoris sepulcrum proprie cor terrae, id est medius mundi locus vocatur, licet et ipsa urbs Jerusalem, imo tota illa quae promissionis terra dicebatur, intelligi congruenter isto cordis nomine possit. Nam sicut cor humanum vel cujuslibet animalis medium corporis ... cui in terra illa, in qua Patres antiqui fidei Christianae conversati sunt, in medio circumposita mundi loco constituta videtur." Peter the Venerable, *Sermo 11. In Laudem Sepulchri Domini*, 978–79. Peter bases his characterization of the Holy Sepulchre as the heart of the earth on Matthew 12:41.

64 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 23.

65 "I say that the divine visitation was the cause of its sanctity." Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 23.

examples that “all those who touched Christ were healed in soul and body.”<sup>66</sup> Based on these two premises, chapter VI then sets out to demonstrate how the *touch* of Christ sanctified the Holy Land.<sup>67</sup> Suriano lists the many ways Christ physically touched the Holy Land: with his feet when walking, with his knees when praying, with his legs when he was sitting, and finally with his whole body when he lay sleeping, as well as when he lay dead in his tomb. In addition to this, his sweat, tears, and blood seeped into the land. With each contact virtue transferred from his body into the land:

So as those things which Christ touched a little, received much of virtue and grace, ... But this blessed land above all parts of the world had the greatest contact with him, and therefore it is all full of divine virtues and it is become a most holy habitation.<sup>68</sup>

Like Guglingen, then, Suriano emphasizes the importance of physical contact between Christ’s body and the land for making it a Holy Land.

Not only do Suriano and Guglingen both place much emphasis on centrality (the Holy Land being in the middle of the world so that Christ’s virtue, transferred by touch, can spread from there), but in Suriano’s treatise too the circle appears as an important symbol for cosmic and temporal order, inspired by Bonaventure’s theology. Near the end of Suriano’s *Trattato* Sister Sixta implores her interlocutor (Suriano) to relate also the story of his return from Jerusalem back to Italy, as he did his departure for the Holy Land, because “conjoining the end to the beginning you make the perfect form of a circle.”<sup>69</sup> Suriano responds by citing Aristotle’s *De Caelo et Mundo*, saying that “the orbicular form is the most perfect of all,” and therefore the world and all the heavens, planets, and stars are “like a rounded ball.”<sup>70</sup> This emphasis on the spherical shape of the heavenly bodies, including the earth, may appear to contradict Suriano’s

66 “Chapter IV. How many times God visited this land of promise before and after His Incarnation.” Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 24; “But ere I commence, I would have you acquainted with an evangelical truth, to wit, that all those who touched Christ were healed in soul and body.” Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 26.

67 “Chapter VI. How the touch of Christ sanctified this blessed Land.” Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 28.

68 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 28–9.

69 “Per il che te prego che cossi como me hai facta conscia del tuo partimento da la Italia, cossi pari modo me fai docta del tuo ritorno: aziò che congiongendo la fine al principio, faci forma perfecta orbicularie ...” Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 240.

70 “Frate. – Secondo la sententia del filosofo in lo libro de celo et mundo, la figura orbicularè è più perfecta de tute le altre, e per questo dice che el mondo ha forma retonda, perchè consiste ne li quatro elementi, zioè, terra, aqua, aere e foco. Etiam tuti li zieli, pianeti

insistence on the Holy Land being the middle of the world, since the geometrical middle point of a sphere can never be on its surface. However, Suriano speaks about “the middle of all the habitable world,” the centre conjoining Europe, Africa, and Asia.<sup>71</sup>

Suriano’s insistence on the spherical shape of earth and planets, like his insistence on the Holy Land being the “spiritual heart” of this spherical world, serves to demonstrate a certain natural and temporal order ordained by God, which explains why the Holy Land is holy, as well as its central place in the cosmos. The core of Suriano’s argument is built on Bonaventure’s theology, expressed for example in his second sermon on the Nativity, which elaborates his ideas about Incarnation of the Word as the perfection and completion of Creation. This perfection is expressed by the symbol of the circle, according to Bonaventure, just like the perfection of heavenly bodies in the macrocosm can be understood from their spherical shape.<sup>72</sup> In order to perfect and complete the universe, God curved the line of the universe into a circle, joining God, the first, with man, the last, through the Incarnation.<sup>73</sup> In his *Trattato* Suriano expounds Bonaventure’s ideas without citing the Seraphic Doctor explicitly:

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e stelle hano figura sperica, li quali tuti sono como una bala rotonda.” Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 240.

- 71 Suriano proposes much the same solution to the problem of a middle point on the surface of a sphere as does the Latin Vulgate redactor of *The book of John Mandeville*. While in other redactions of this text there is a certain tension between the insistence on Jerusalem being in the middle and the insistence on the spherical shape of the earth, the Latin Vulgate redaction states that due to the shape of the earth Jerusalem cannot be in the middle, as it is not even on the equator. *In medio terrae* should therefore be interpreted as the middle of the habitable regions: “the midpoint between paradise and the antipodes of paradise.” Finally, the redactor observes that Psalm 73 should be interpreted “neither bodily nor spatially, but entirely spiritually.” Macleod Higgings, “Defining the Earth’s Centre,” 46–9. On the same topic Cohen observes: “The flatness of a mappamundi possesses a middle: Jerusalem, the source-city of history, can be emplaced like the umbilicus of the body of Christ. Yet the book of John Mandeville repeats, obsessively, that the world is not a disc but a globe.” Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Pilgrimages, Travel Writing, and the Medieval Exotic,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 615.
- 72 “Finally, it is in this Word that we discover the perfection of that greatness of heart which brings all reality to its consummation and completion, since the figure of a circle attests to the perfection of bodies both in the macrocosm and in the microcosm. In the macrocosm, the greater bodies such as the heavens, the sun and the moon are round in shape. So also in man, who is a microcosm, the more noble members such as the head, the heart, and the eye are round in form.” Bonaventure, *Sermon 11 on the Nativity of the Lord*, ed. & trans. Zachary Hayes, 73.
- 73 “But this figure is not complete in the universe. Now if this figure is to be as perfect as possible, the line of the universe must be curved into a circle. Indeed, God is simply the First.

This world would not have been totally perfect, if God would not have conjoined the end with the beginning, that is, God with man, and that is the reason. ... This world, before the Incarnation of the Word, was like a straight line, differentiated with six spans, that is by six generations of things. [Enumerates works of the 6 days of Creation.] The beginning of the world was God, and the end, that is, the last thing that God made was woman. Hence, wanting to give the world the proper perfection, and, from the straight line make it round, orbicular, and perfect, he, himself the beginning of the world, conjoined himself to the woman who is the end of the world, when in the belly of the Blessed Virgin God made himself man, and thus the world was made perfect.<sup>74</sup>

Suriano is paraphrasing Bonaventure's understanding of the Incarnation: for Bonaventure the Incarnation is not only about Redemption but also about the re-establishment of cosmic order in Creation. In the context of his theology the circle refers first to the goodness and infinity of God, the *sphaera intelligibilis* with which Guglingen started his *Treatise*, then to God's connection to man through the Incarnation, as Suriano describes, and finally to the whole of salvation history.<sup>75</sup> At the centre of Bonaventure's metaphysical circle stands Christ: the universal middle of time, the Trinity, and everything else. By adding

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And the last among the works of the world is man. Therefore, when God became man, the works of God were brought to perfection. This is why Christ, the God-man, is called the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end. For this reason, as you have heard, the last of all things, namely man, is said to be the first and the last." Bonaventure, *Sermon 11 on the Nativity of the Lord*, ed. & trans. Zachary Hayes, 73–4.

74 "Questo mondo adunque non seria stato perfecto totalmentee, se non havesse conzonto la fine cum el principio, zioè, Dio cum l'homo: e questa è la rasone. ... Questo mondo, avanti incarnatione del Verbo, era come una linea drita, distincta per sei palmi, zioè, per sei generatione de cosse.... El principio del mondo fo Dio, e la fine, zioè, l'ultima, cossa che fece Dio fo la femina. Volendo adunque Dio dare al mondo la debita perfectione, e de la linea drita farla rotonda, orbicolare e perfecta, sè medesimo principio del mondo, se congionse alla femina che è la fine del mondo, quando nel ventre de la Beata Verzene Dio se fece homo; e alhora el mondo fo factio perfecto." Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 240–41.

75 Zachary Hayes on Bonaventure's metaphysical circle: "Initially, we seem to be dealing with a geometrical symbol, namely, the circle, which Alan of Lille had employed to symbolize God and his relation to Creation. As the symbol is adapted by Bonaventure, it refers first of all to God, then to man, and finally to the entire sweep of history. In ever more concentrated form, Bonaventure's attention focuses on the center of the circle which, in God, is the second person of the Trinity, and in Creation, is the mystery of the incarnation of that same person. In the theological elaboration of this symbol we are led ever deeper into the realm of Bonaventure's theological metaphysic." Hayes, "Christology and Metaphysics," S88; Ratzinger, *Theology of History*, 143–48; Hayes, "Incarnation and Creation," 324–27; Zachary Hayes, *The Hidden Center: Spirituality and Speculative Christology in*

his Cross to the circle of the world and the eternal circle of God as the *verbum increatum*, Christ restores the centre-point as the *verbum creatum*. Bonaventure's Christological centre of the circle naturally refers to much more than physical location alone; nevertheless salvation had to occur at the centre of a spherical geocentric universe and in the middle of the habitable world.<sup>76</sup>

Both Guglingen and Suriano situate Jerusalem at the centre, the Christological focal point, of a universe governed by the theology of Bonaventure. Thus they contextualize the Holy Land in an Observant Franciscan cosmos.<sup>77</sup> They do so in slightly varying ways: Guglingen starts with God as the *sphaera intelligibilis* who then expresses himself with the Word, and develops this into a circular world with the Holy Land and Jerusalem at its very centre, sanctified by the virtue of Christ. Suriano in turn stresses the natural order in Creation a little more: the symbol of the circle and the spherical shape of the earth express the perfection of God's Creation, and at its centre God has willed a heart, Jerusalem, from which Christ's virtue spreads throughout the world. Through the lens of Bonaventure's metaphysical circle, and inspired by the brief reflections on the sanctity of the Holy Land in *The Book of John Mandeville* and possibly earlier crusader literature, Guglingen and Suriano have come up with their own complex explanation for the holiness of the Holy Land. These two Franciscan friars, while in contact at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, arrived at an explanatory model that is firmly grounded in a world view distilled from the ideas of a major Franciscan leader and theologian, stressing centrality and the physical touch of Christ as sanctifying the centre of the world-circle.

The exact motivations of Guglingen and Suriano for writing treatises on the Holy Land, analysing its sanctity from an Observant Franciscan perspective, are of course difficult to determine for certain beyond what they claim in their prologues. Their individual motivations may also have differed to an extent. Suriano reflects on his motivations for writing the *Trattato* in the prologue to book 1. He explains that he wrote the text at the request of his sister, in the form of a didactic dialogue.<sup>78</sup> Like Guglingen, Suriano invokes the topos of avoiding idleness as a good reason to invest time in writing his *Trattato*; moreover, it is honest work; but most importantly he intends the treatise to be useful. By reading it either publicly or privately his sister and her fellow Poor

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*St. Bonaventure*, repr. 1981 (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1992), 142, 180–82.

76 Kolbinger, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, 15, 31–2, 350, 388–95; Zachary Hayes, *The Hidden Center*, 200.

77 For the preference for Bonaventurian rather than Scotist theology on the part of the late medieval Observant Franciscans see Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission*, 118–20, 177, 185–86.

78 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 19.



Clares may be inspired to meditate on the Holy Land and the Holy Places, and receive “consoling spiritual nourishment.”<sup>79</sup> Suriano explicitly opts for a dialogue in a “simple style,” in order to present this material in an accessible way. His initiative is thus similar to that of Felix Fabri’s *Die Sionpilger* (1492), written for Dominican sisters, and can also be compared to the late medieval texts on the Holy Land by female religious studied by Kathryn Rudy.<sup>80</sup> However, Suriano’s *Trattato* differs from these texts in the sense that it offers more than just exercises for virtual pilgrimage or Passion contemplation in the *meditationes vitae Christi* tradition associated with Franciscan spirituality. Not only does his understanding of the Holy Land, based on Bonaventurian theology and developed in conversation with Guglingen, offer a perspective on the sanctity of the Holy Land grounded in a Franciscan *Weltanschauung*, but Suriano also sees himself as the only right person to write about this, as a Franciscan with much experience in the Holy Land.

In the prologue to book II of his *Trattato* Suriano states that he resolved to “write down the things found in special praise of the Holy Land” even though his authority as a writer is limited.<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, following this protestation of humility he emphasizes that he has spent quite some time in the Holy Land “not only as a layman but as a religious.”<sup>82</sup> Suriano wonders who can have traversed the country more often or more attentively than he, and concludes: “None that I know of in the Western World.”<sup>83</sup> Moreover, he stresses his experience as a Franciscan religious there in particular: eight years in total both as subject and as a superior; therefore he states that no one can give more exact information on conditions there than he. In short, Suriano is motivated by a desire to edify the Poor Clares of Foligno, but he also believes that as a Franciscan of the Holy Land he is particularly qualified to write about this topic: who can know more about the topic than he, as a friar of the *custodia Terrae*

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79 “... so that reading them publicly or privately they will be a means of exciting somewhat your soul to meditate on those holy and most glorious places by the precious blood of the immaculate Lamb and our Redeemer Jesus Christ sprinkled and bedewed, which in the abovementioned treatise I intend, with God’s help to describe fully ... and to offer it as the first of new fruits, having but just returned from those places ... And that you can have the consoling spiritual nourishment from the said holy places, I propose to proceed not with ornate words, but with simple style, in the form of a dialogue, introducing you as asking questions and me as answering them.” Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 20.

80 Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimages in the Convent*, 30–1, 119ff.

81 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 201.

82 Before becoming a friar Suriano had already visited the Holy Land for business as a merchant. Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 201.

83 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 201.

*Sanctae*? His protestations of being an expert on the Holy Land as a Franciscan testify to a degree of self-identification with the Holy Land by the friars of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* at the time.

Guglingen, like Suriano, names avoiding idleness as a motivation for working on his *Treatise* while in Jerusalem. His *Treatise*, unlike Suriano's, is not as clearly addressed to any particular audience, but its character as a theological text in Latin points to an intended readership of educated males. With his *Treatise*, structured like a universal history, he aims to project a specific view of the Holy Land (see introductory chapter) which is also addressed to people outside of the Franciscan order who, he hopes, may improve the custody's fortunes there, as his call for crusade and alms for the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* at the end of Book VII testifies. Following the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 crusading zeal was widespread throughout Western Europe, but the call in Guglingen's *Treatise* also needs to be related to the changing position of the Franciscans in Mamluk Jerusalem as a result of this watershed.<sup>84</sup> After the fall of Constantinople the Greek Orthodox community had come under suspicion of sympathizing with the Ottomans, and the Georgians in Jerusalem sought actively to improve their own position at the expense of the Greeks as well as the other Christian communities.<sup>85</sup> In his *Trattato* Suriano expresses resentment for the privileged position of the Georgians with respect to the Mamluk Sultanate, and calls them "our great and chief enemies, as the Greeks are, and we have many altercations with them, but especially during my second guardianship [1512–15], on account of Mount Calvary and many other differences and their ill-will."<sup>86</sup> During the final decades of Mamluk rule in Jerusalem, Calvary changed hands several times, while the Ottoman threat loomed large over Jerusalem.<sup>87</sup>

Guglingen's and Suriano's treatises thus appear at a time when the position of the Franciscans in the Holy Land was by no means secure, and their initiative of writing treatises on the Holy Land may be interpreted as a response to this destabilized situation. Their work may be interpreted as a claim to the

84 Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453–1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 1–5, 13–30.

85 Saletti, *I Francescani in Terrasanta*, 172, 183–84, 190; Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Georgians in Jerusalem in the Mamluk Period," in *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association (868–1948)*, ed. Amnon Cohen and Gabriel Baer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 102–12.

86 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 87, cf. 9.

87 Kevork Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Armenian Patriarchate Printing Press, 1989), 42.

Holy Land in the face of such insecurity. In this sense their motivations for thinking and writing about the Holy Land as Observant Franciscans are comparable to the motivations of early modern Franciscan authors of the *custodia*, who grappled with a strengthened Greek patriarchate in a drawn-out struggle over the Holy Places, as well as with much-resented attempts of Capuchins and Jesuits to settle in the Holy Land (see chapter five).

Even though the ideas in the treatises of Guglingen and Suriano do not seem to have had any direct influence on contemporary or later Franciscan Holy Land writing, their collaborative effort at defining the sacred geography (or cosmology) of the Holy Land in terms of their world view as Observant Franciscans is significant. Their effort testifies that these friars regarded the Holy Land with particular interest and confidence, more than their Conventual predecessors had during the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century. This suggests that the nature of this sacred space was becoming an important topic of discussion among Franciscans of the Holy Land as a space that could very well be analysed in terms of their order's canon. This attitude may have provided at least part of the foundation for the Franciscan defence of the sanctity of the Holy Land and pilgrimage from profaning Protestant visitors during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as will become clear in the next chapter, as well as for claiming the Holy Land as an entirely Observant Franciscan territory, as we shall see in chapters four and five.

### 3 The Sacred Centre in Later Franciscan Holy Land Writing

Direct influence of the Bonaventurian model provided by Guglingen and Suriano to explain and define the holiness of the Holy Land on later authors is difficult to trace. It is possible, however, to identify a number of instances in which later authors of Franciscan Holy Land writing express comparable ideas and interests. These parallels may be the result of oral transmission of such ideas at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, or alternatively we may be dealing with a more general approach to the sanctity of the Holy Land which is not directly founded in the particular ideological paradigm set up by Guglingen and Suriano. At any rate these later examples testify that attention for the sanctity and centrality of the Holy Land became a part of histories and treatises on the Holy Land by authors connected to the Franciscan custody there. Guglingen and Suriano were the first Franciscans to write about the sanctity of the Holy Land and its position in the world at any considerable length, and even though their texts were not widely read or cited, later Franciscan authors did share their interest in these topics.

An example of a comparable perspective on the Holy Land comes from the Franciscan friar Nikolaus Wanckel's *Ein kurtze Vermerckung der heyligen Stet des Heyligen Landts* (1517), a short "notice" listing the several pilgrimage itineraries one can take within the Holy Land.<sup>88</sup> The *Vermerckung* was printed seven years after Nikolaus' stay in the Holy Land, and it is therefore possible that he may have met and exchanged thoughts with Francesco Suriano. Whether or not this exchange took place we cannot say for certain, but Wanckel does offer a circular perspective on the Holy Land with a decidedly Franciscan flavour comparable to those of Guglingen and Suriano. The frontispiece of the *Vermerckung* shows an indulgenced Rosary image announced with the words: "Jesus. Der Himlisch Rosenkranz" (fig. 8).<sup>89</sup> The woodcut shows a "great Rosary" image in a circular form, within which we see God the Father presiding over Christ crucified, while a company of saints populates the lower tiers of the circle.<sup>90</sup> Below the circle of the Rosary hell is burning, and above it in the left hand corner the Mass of St Gregory is shown, at its top Veronica's veil, and in the right hand corner the Stigmatization of St Francis. This particular indulgenced great Rosary image circulated as a single-leaf woodcut print in the area of Bamberg and Nürnberg, the city where Nikolaus printed his *Vermerckung*, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>91</sup>

By using this Rosary image as a frontispiece to his publication on the Holy Land, Wanckel gives it new significance. Recontextualized in this Holy Land guide, the chain of the Rosary becomes a cosmological circle that symbolizes a heavenly Jerusalem with pronounced eschatological connotations, comparable to Guglingen's circular diagrams.<sup>92</sup> There are no overt links to the metaphysical

88 Nikolaus Wanckel, *Ein Kurtze Vermerckung der Heyligen Stet des Heyligen Landts*. In *und umb Jerusalem*. (Nürnberg: Jobst Gutknecht, 1517); "No. 124 Nikolaus Wanckel," in *Europäische Reiseberichte*, ed. Christian Halm.

89 About the medieval Rosary devotion see Walter Schulten, ed., *500 Jahre Rosenkranz, 1475 Köln 1975* (Cologne: Bachem, 1975).

90 Also called heavenly Rosary in German. This type of Rosary image can be classified as an "All Saints' Rosary" in the typology of Rosary images by Frances H.A. van den Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürers "Rosenkranzfest" en de Ikonografie der Duitse Rozenkransgroepen van de xv. en het Begin der xvi. Eeuw* (Amsterdam: De Spieghel, 1939), 276–81.

91 It first started appearing around 1500 and was later adapted by artists such Hans Stüss von Kulmbach and Erhard Schön. Thomas Lentes, "Bildertotale des Heils: Himmlischer Rosenkranz und Gregorsmesse," in *Der Rosenkranz: Andacht, Geschichte, Kunst*, ed. Urs-Beat Frei and Fredy Bühler (Bern: Benteli, 2003), 69–89; Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500–1550* (New York: Hacker, 1974), 841, 887, 1080; also see "Die Gregorsmesse – Eine Bildwissenschaftliche datenbank," last modified 19 February 2004, <http://gregorsmesse.uni-muenster.de>.

92 Lentes discusses the cosmological connotations of this particular Rosary image. Lentes, "Bildertotale des Heils," 76–81; Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 18–23; Ora Limor, "The Place of the

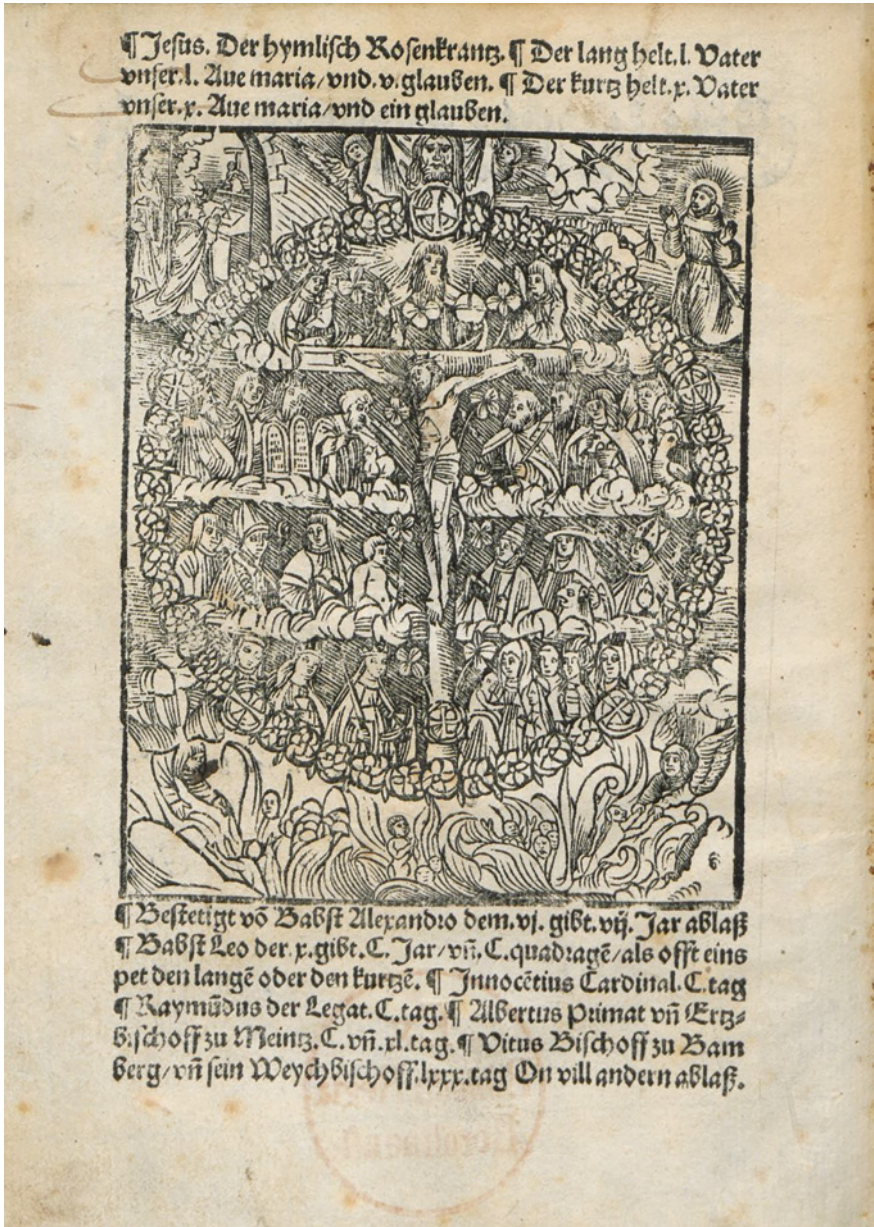


FIGURE 8 Recontextualized indulgenced Rosary image titled “Jesus. Der Himlich Rosenkranz” in Nikolaus Wanckel’s *Ein Kurtze Vermerckung* (1517). STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN, UL 7470: S16

circle of Bonaventure, although it could very well have inspired the choice of this image. The presence of St Francis in the upper right hand corner of the image does allude to the Franciscan *custodia Terrae Sanctae*. Moreover, the Stigmatization of Francis is an episode in the saint's Life that emphasizes the outstanding similarities between Christ and Francis through his reliving of the Crucifixion on mount La Verna, an event that originally took place just outside Jerusalem. During the early modern period Francis' similarity to Christ was used as an argument by the friars to legitimize and strengthen the Observant Franciscan presence in the Holy Land (see chapters four and five). Thus by picking this particular indulgenced Rosary image as a frontispiece, Nikolaus Wanckel not only represents Jerusalem as the centre of a circular cosmos, but he also emphasizes the role of the Franciscans at the Holy Places.

The question of the sanctity of the Holy Land also retained the attention of Franciscan authors connected to the province of the Holy Land, as the encyclopaedic *Elucidatio* (1639) by the extremely influential Franciscan sacred geographer Francesco Quaresmio testifies. In a section on the various names of the Holy Land he explains that it has been called the *Holy Land* ever since it was "consecrated and sanctified by Christ's presence and blood."<sup>93</sup> Like Guglingen and Suriano, Quaresmio thus sees the physical contact of Christ's body with the land as the essential explanation for its holiness. As for the centrality of Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the world, Quaresmio observes in a chapter titled *De Situ Terrae Promissionis* that the Holy Land is the foremost part of all the world, situated at the middle of the earth, that is the habitable regions, with at its centre Jerusalem, the navel of the world.<sup>94</sup> He cites the traditional sources for these ideas, Ezekiel 5:5, Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel, and

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End of Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, ed. Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem: Pini, 1998), 13–22.

93 "Octavo denique dicitur Terra Sancta, quod nomen licet origine aliis videatur posterius, excellentia tamen et dignitate praestantius est. Nam non dicta est Terra Sancta, nisi postquam in ea viguit cultus Dei, et a Christo sua praesentia et Sanguine consecrata et sanctificata fuit ..." Francesco Quaresmio, *Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (Antwerp: Plantin (Balthasar Moretus), 1639), vol. 1, 9.

94 "CAPUT xxx De situ Terrae Promissionis. Quantum ad primum, dicendum, Terram sanctam, siue Iudaeam, sitam esse in Asia, qua est praecipua totius orbis terrarum pars, & in medio terrae, saltem habitabilis, collocata. Ratio est, quia Ierosolyma eius vmbilicus appellatur ab Ezechiele capite 38, 12 igitur necessario dicendum est, Iudaeam, in cuius meditullio est Ierosolyma, esse in medio mundi, id est terrae habitabilis, prout vmbilicus est in medio humani corporis. Et ad hoc multi doctores volunt Davidem alluisse illis verbis Psalmi 73, 12. *Operatus est Dominus salutem in medio terrae: sed eam operatus est in Iudaea & Ierusalem.*" Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 87.

Psalm 73:12, but also holds that geographical descriptions of the world corroborate the view that “it is truly in the middle of the world.”<sup>95</sup>

In an age when Jerusalem had long since been decentralized in cartographic representations of the world, explicit reference to the Holy Land and the Holy City being at the centre of the world remained very common in, but of course not unique to, publications on the subject by Franciscans. Authors like Diego de Cea (1639), Antonio de Castillo (1656), Bernardinus Surius (1650), Electus Zwinner (1661), and Mariano Morone da Maleo (1669) unambiguously state that the Holy Land is in the middle of the world and at its centre lies Jerusalem, the navel of the world.<sup>96</sup> Reference to Jerusalem’s centrality thus remained a very common aspect of Franciscan Holy Land writing well into the seventeenth century. Most of these assertions are of a fairly brief and sometimes superficial nature; they do not play a major thematic role in these books. An exception to this rule can be found in *La Palestina Antica e Moderna* (1642) by friar Vincenzo Berdini, who was elected commissary general of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land in 1615.<sup>97</sup> The title page of this studious work of *geographia sacra* in the Italian vernacular states that this is a “useful work, and necessary not only to professors of antiquity and history, but also to preachers.”<sup>98</sup>

In the first volume of this three-volume publication, on geography and Old Testament history, Berdini dedicates two chapters to cosmic and global centrality. He opens chapter 6 (“In which part of the world the superb city of Jerusalem was situated”) by stating that all authors, both ancient and modern, agree that Jerusalem is in the middle of the universe, and that there are several proofs for this.<sup>99</sup> Berdini refers to Ezekiel 5:5 and Jerome’s commentary on Ezekiel, as well as Psalm 73:12, and to Ezekiel 38, where the term “navel of

95 “Et vere *in medio terrae*, quia in medio partium praecipuarum ipsarumque confinium, sita est, vt patet in Orbis Geographica descriptione.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 87.

96 Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, 2 vols. (Rome: Typis S. Congreg. de Fide Propaganda, 1639), vol. 1, 11; Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1656), 340–48; Bernardinus Surius, *Den Godtvrughtighen Pelgrim*, 4th ed. (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1665), 441; Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands* (Munich: Wilhelm Schell, 1661), 53–6; Mariano Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata* (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1669), 13–4.

97 Vincenzo Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna, Descritta in Tre Parti* (Venice: Battista Surian., 1642).

98 “Opera utile, e necessaria non solo à Professori di Antichità, e d’Historia, ma anco alli Predicatori.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., [title page].

99 “In che parte del Mondo fù situata la suberba Città di Gierusalemme. CAP VI. E Commune opinione di tutti gli scrittori, tanto antichi, quanto moderni, che questa nobilissima Città di Gierusalemme fosse situata nel mezzo dell’vniverso, e diuersamente si prova.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 30.

the world” is mentioned. Berdini not only gives scriptural evidence but also proposes an experiment, so that one can see for oneself that Jerusalem is in the middle:

And if you want to observe this for yourself, take a globe, and then a drafting compass, put the foot on Jerusalem, and the other end on the tip of Africa, and you form a circle that comprises all the extremes of the habitable lands, and you will see clearly what I have said, and you will find with truth, and observation that Jerusalem is the navel, the middle, or centre.<sup>100</sup>

Berdini has seemingly achieved the impossible: he has found a way to show that not only a *mappa mundi* but also a globe can have some sort of geometrical middle point. He explains that this middle point is of course most excellent and salubrious, but more importantly it is a very convenient central location for the spreading of the Gospels: “the line of preaching departed from the centre, Jerusalem, going round the entire universe.”<sup>101</sup> For another proof of Jerusalem’s centrality Berdini turns to Ptolemy, the “prince of cosmographers,” who divides the earth along seven climes, the fourth of which (the middle one) holds Jerusalem. To illustrate this point, the author makes a comparison: just like the sun, situated in the midst of other planets, Jerusalem presides over all the cities in the world from her position in the fourth and middle clime.<sup>102</sup>

100 “... e se con l’esperienza si vuol veder questo, prendasi il globo della terra, e poi si prenda il compasso, ed in piede, si fermi sopra Gierusalemme, e l’altro si protenda fino a’ fini dell’Africa, e formisi un circolo, che comprenda tutti i fini, e termini della terra habitabile, e si verdrà chiaro quanto hò detto, e si trouarci con verità, ed esperienza, che Gierusalemme è vmbilico, e mezzo, ò centro.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 31.

101 “E conforme à San Paolo il senso saria, che que’celesti Apostoli illuminati dall’ardentissimo fuoco dello Spirito Santo nel giorno della Pentecoste fecero sì, che la linea della predicatione partendosi dal centro di Gierusalemme andasse circondanco tutto l’vniuerso, e non fosse natione, ò popolo, che non hauesse vditto il suono delle lor parole ...” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 32.

102 In the Ptolemaic system the sun is in the middle of the other planets, in the sense that it is in the fourth circle beyond the moon, Mercury, and Venus, and precedes the circles of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. “Altri poi per prouar questa verità, cioè che Gierusalemme sia situata nel mezzo della terra, si seruono di Tolomeo Maestro, e Principe de’Cosmografi, seguitando il parer, el la sentenza de’suoi antenati, i quali tutto quello spatio della terra, che riputauano esser habitabile lo diuisero in sette Climi, e nel quarto clima appunto vien situata Gierusalemme, ed è come il Sole situato nel mezzo de gli altri pianeti, come Principe, e Signore di tutti gli altri, e come da lui riceuano lo splendore, e la luce, così la Città di Gierusalemme, come Regina, e Signora di tutte le altre Città del Mondo è posta, e situata nel quarto clima, e mezzo del Mondo.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 32.



Apart from biblical evidence Berdini thus uses an experiment and geography to support what might seem by his time a quaint and traditional point of view.

In chapter seventeen Berdini returns to the topic, “How the Holy Sepulchre and the city of Jerusalem are situated in the middle of the earth.”<sup>103</sup> He begins by restating that God sent his Son to take human flesh in this place and no other, where it was easier to communicate his Grace to all nations: “and this glorious city is like a port, a universal entrance to all seas of the world.”<sup>104</sup> He then describes all the routes one can take from different parts of the world in order to reach Jerusalem, up to and including the Antipodes living on the Antarctic South Pole. God has selected the centre of the earth so that everyone would have the same degree of access to the Holy Places. A second, closely related, reason Berdini gives for centrality is that Christ worked salvation in the middle of the earth so that from there he might equally reach all nations around the world. Berdini’s ideas about this issue are indeed very close to Suriano’s, who most likely based himself on Peter the Venerable’s very similar perspective on the topic.<sup>105</sup>

Berdini is aware that some might disagree with his point of view about the actual geographical centrality of Jerusalem. With Psalm 73:12 in mind he writes: “Interpreters say, that David did not want to say, that Jerusalem is in the middle of the world, with that order and mode which the mathematicians describe, but for a certain particular privilege since salvation was worked in her.”<sup>106</sup> Berdini cites Augustine and Bede in support of the symbolic interpretation, but concludes that we must nonetheless take the Psalm literally, based

103 “Come il santo sepolcro et la città di Hierusalemme è situata in mezzo della Terra. Capitolo XVII.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 66.

104 “E Quasi propositione vniuersale di tutti Dottori, che questa parte della Palestina, dou’è posta la Città Gierusalemme sia il Mezzo del Mondo, e la ragione perche havendo l’Eterno Iddio mandato il suo Vnigenito figlio à prender Carne humana, e verstirsi di spoglie mortali, non per altro, che per redimere il genere humano, ciò doueua fare in luogo, e in parte, che più commoda fosse à tutte le nationi per potergli più facilmente comunicare le sue gratie, e i suoi Tesori, & a lui ricorrere con minor trauaglio, e con maggior commodità, così possiamo dire, che questo Santo luogo, e questa gloriosa Città sia vn porto, & vna entrata vniuersale di tutti i Mari del Mondo ...” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 66.

105 “Poterat quidem omnipotens auctor salutis hujus ad operandum hoc opus suum ultimos recessus indicere, extremos fines Galliae, meridiei torrida, aquilonis gelida, vel quaelibet alia spatiosi orbis loca eligere, sed quia fructus salutis hujus ad omnes aequaliter pertinebat, nec salvare mundi partem, sed totum simul mundum disposuerat, maluit non in angulo orbis, sed in medio orbis; non in parte terrarum, sed in medio terrarum aequis velut spatiis contiguo redemptionis opera exercere.” Peter the Venerable, *Sermo 11. In Laudem Sepulchri Domini*, 978–79.

106 “Interpreti dicono, che Daud non volse dire, che Gierusalemme fosse nel mezzo della Terra, con quell’ordine, e modo che descrivano i Matematici; mà per vn certo priuilegio particolare essendo stata in lei operata la salute.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 69.

on the authoritative assertions by Jerome in his commentary on Ezekiel. After citing a number of sources that say Calvary is indeed the middle of the world, Berdini repeats his point of view that Jerusalem is really, literally, mathematically, and not just symbolically in the middle of the world. He exclaims that if “to so many testimonies of the Holy Doctors we want to add a mathematical ! reason,” he will propose yet another experiment, similar to the first one with the drafting compass.<sup>107</sup> If one takes the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa as the southernmost extreme of the habitable regions and the northern extremities of Scandinavia as the most northerly point of reference, one can see that Jerusalem is in the middle. Berdini admits that the same device does not work as well if applied from east to west, but he concludes “nevertheless we will not find a point more accessible to all parts of the world than Jerusalem, as we have said before,” which will also come in handy when Christ returns for the Last Judgement.<sup>108</sup>

In order to prove the physical centrality of Jerusalem, Berdini not only bases himself on scriptural evidence, but he also introduces what he calls mathematical evidence: two experiments with a globe. Proving that the city’s centrality is not only symbolic but real is important to him because he sees it as vital for the spreading of the Gospels, and giving all nations an equal degree of access to salvation. Some years earlier, in 1626, and based on the same premise, Quaresmio had argued in one of his publications that God had placed Jerusalem in the middle so that it should be easy for Western European princes to mount a crusade (see chapter five).<sup>109</sup> Insistence on the notion that Jerusalem is in

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107 “E se à tante testimonianze di Sacri Dottori vogliamo addurre vna ragione mattematica! e, diremo, e bene che l’vltimo termine, che fin hora s’è veduto della Terra habitabile verso il mezzo giorno è il Capo di Buonesperanza, vltimo confine d’Etiopia inferiore verso Settentrione, l’vltimo luogo habitato è la regione superiore di Biarmia estremo confine di quella gran penisola di Scandinauia, d’altri di Scondia, di doue si vede chiaro che Gierusalemme è posta in mezzo à questi due confine del Mondo habitato.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 70.

108 “Vero è che chi risguarda alla parte del Mondo habitato secondo la sua longitudine, & à quello spatio, ch’è da Oriente ad Occidente puol ageuolmente concludere che Gierusalemme non è nel mezzo, ... : nondimeno noi non trouaremo punto più commodo à tutte le parti del Mondo quanto Gierusalemme, come habbiamo detto di sopra. L’vltima ragione è che Christo Signor nostro venne al Mondo, come Rè vniversale di tutto il Mondo, il quale doueua esser Coronato, e pigliare possesso nel mezzo della Terra.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part 1., 70.

109 Francesco Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae Humilitae Deprecatio ad suum Phillipum 1v. Hispaniarum et Novi Orbis Potentissimum, ac Catholicum Regem* (Jerusalem: Dat. ex Sanctissimo D.N. IESU CHRISTI Sepulchro, anno Dominicae Incarnationis 1626. in sacratissimo

the middle of the world thus remained part of Franciscan Holy Land writing and was motivated by various reasons after Guglingen and Suriano had first promoted it as a topic of integral importance in their treatises. Berdini's argument about democratic access to salvation is indeed comparable to Suriano's image of a central heart spreading grace and virtue equally throughout the world, while the circular indulgenced Rosary image that Nikolaus Wanckel uses to represent Jerusalem recalls Guglingen's circular perspectives on God, the cosmos, and the Holy Land. Even if it cannot be proved that Guglingen and Suriano's collaborative effort at understanding and contextualizing the sacred centre was a direct source for later Franciscan perspectives, their ideas and interests do prefigure a growing preoccupation among later authors with similar topics and questions.

#### 4 Marvels as Vestiges of the Sacred Centre

In their treatises on the Holy Land, Guglingen and Suriano both emphasize the physical centrality of Jerusalem as the salvific heart of an orbicular cosmos, a view that continued to be held by later Franciscans of the Holy Land, as we have seen. Guglingen and Suriano also conclude their treatises on the Holy Land in a comparable fashion with discussions of marvels of the East that serve as devout vestiges of the sacred centre, likewise informed by Bonaventurian theology. A marvel is something that produces a response of wonder: the marvel is in the eye of the beholder, so to speak.<sup>110</sup> For Latin Christians the remote and relatively uncharted territories of the East offered an enduringly fertile ground for imagining marvels during the medieval period, including strange races, plants, and natural phenomena.<sup>111</sup> Jerusalem as a pilgrimage destination and the marvels of the East are topics that could be happily married together,

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die Parasceues), 23–4. Modern bibliographical references usually give Milan 1631 as the place and year of printing. This is not confirmed by the volume itself. See my discussion of this issue in chapter five.

110 Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger, "Introduction: The Marvelous Imagination," in *Marvels, Monsters and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations*, ed. Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2002), xxi; Jacques le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 27–34.

111 Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159–97; John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse [NY], Syracuse University Press, 2000); Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript*, repr. 1995 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003); Marianne O'Doherty, *The Indies and the*

as the popularity of *The Book of Sir John Mandeville* testifies.<sup>112</sup> Marvels of the East also play an important part in the treatises on the Holy Land by Paul Walter von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano, not as exciting reading in an adventurous travelogue, but as part of their devout understanding of the Holy Land. I shall examine first the function of marvels in these two treatises, before relating them to later examples of marvellous flora and fauna of the East in early modern books about the Holy Land by the Franciscan friars Bernardinus Surius and Antonius Gonsales. As was the case with their explanatory model for the sanctity and centrality of the Holy Land, the theology of St Bonaventure is again fundamental for understanding the inclusion of marvels in the treatises by Guglingen and Suriano. Once more it provides an interpretative framework within which to understand the Holy Land against the background of an Observant Franciscan world view.

The eighth and final book of Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land* deals with the marvels of the East, as its heading announces: "Here follows the eighth part of this treatise, in which I intend to describe the characteristics and the marvels of some creatures of some provinces and nations beyond the borders of the Holy Land."<sup>113</sup> Following this heading book VIII opens with a number of sections taken directly from the *Historia Orientalis* by Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160/70–1240) about peculiar peoples: pagans who refused the law of Muhammad, Turcomans, Bedouins, miserable men who have a hidden law, and the Assassins.<sup>114</sup> Then follow a number of sections based on the Letter of Prester John and the marvels reported in that.<sup>115</sup> Book VIII continues with a sequence of chapters taken from the *Historia Orientalis* about marvellous rivers, mountains, trees, fruits, roots, serpents, birds, fishes, and precious stones.<sup>116</sup> One

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*Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger, "Introduction: The Marvelous Imagination," xi–xxv.

112 *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, ed. & trans. Higgins; Cohen, "Pilgrimages, Travel Writing"; Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center"; Christian Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976).

113 "Sequitur octava pars huius tractatus In qua describere intendo aliquarum provinciarum et nationum extra terminos terre sancte existencium proprietates ac mirabilia aliquarum creaturarum." Neuburg MS, pp. 367–96.

114 These correspond to chapters 10–4 of the *Historia Orientalis*. Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 104–13. In the conclusion of book VIII Guglingen names some of the sources, among which the *Historia Orientalis* as well as the writings of Augustine, Isidore, Pliny, and Solinus. Neuburg MS p. 395.

115 Neuburg MS pp. 380–86; Vsevolod Slessarev, *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959).

116 Neuburg MS pp. 386–93. These sections correspond to chapters 85–91 of the *Historia Orientalis*. Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 240–87.

wonders why Guglingen concludes his *Treatise* about the Holy Land with this discussion of marvels of the East taken almost verbatim from other sources rather than composing the main text of the final book himself.

The eighth and final book of the *Treatise* sits awkwardly within the work's overall structure. The first seven books are arranged in chronological order, starting with Creation and leading up to Guglingen's present day, while at the same time they zoom in geographically. Guglingen begins with Creation (book I) and traces salvation history based on several Old Testament events in book II (about terrestrial Paradise) and book III (the genealogy of Christ down to Naashon). He then starts to zoom in geographically, giving a description of the Holy Land (in book IV), a description of Jerusalem (in book V), and of the Holy Places in and outside Jerusalem (in book VI). In book VII he returns to tracing history: the history of Jerusalem after the Ascension up to the present, and the various religious communities that live there. Book VIII seems to fit rather awkwardly into the general structure of the *Treatise*: it does not contribute to the historical sequence of the previous books, and it zooms out instead of in, geographically speaking, since it is about marvels explicitly *outside* the borders of the Holy Land.

Book VIII appears to be incongruous with the otherwise carefully planned structure of the *Treatise*, but we can begin to understand it by paying attention to Guglingen's final conclusion. This is a relatively short section which discusses how "the marvels of God are to be considered and arranged in praise of their Maker."<sup>117</sup> In this section Guglingen argues that if some of his readers happen to think that the marvels he has just related seem unbelievable, he wants them to know that he is not asking anyone to believe the incredible: "Everyone should make up his own mind, yet I judge it no danger to believe the things that are neither against faith nor against good behaviour, on the contrary: I judge it to be rewarding."<sup>118</sup> Reading about and believing in these marvels is rewarding according to Guglingen because from them one comes to know God.<sup>119</sup> Only by looking at things created may one begin to understand the greatness of God: "Who of the mortals could know the extremely great and

117 "De conclusione huius tractatus et qualiter mirabilia dei consideranda et ordinanda sunt in laudem factoris." Neuburg MS p. 395.

118 "Et si forte alicui legencium nonnulla incredibilia videantur: ego neminem compello ad difficilia credendum, unusquisque in suo sensu habundat, ea tamen credere que non sunt contra fidem nec contra bonos mores nullum periculum estimo: ymmo meritorium iudico." Neuburg MS p. 395.

119 "... cum quis mirabilia opera dei ad commendacionem diuine potencie sapientie clemencie ac iusticie coram deo et hominibus confitetur. Nam deus omnem creaturam mirabilem condidit, et si quid in una parte terre non apparet mirabile, in alia tamen parte si

excellent power of God the Creator, if not from the magnitude, the extent, and the strength of things created?”<sup>120</sup>

These assertions on the part of Guglingen can be understood in the light of Bonaventure’s doctrine of Creation. In Bonaventure’s metaphysics God is the first, unoriginate, infinite, and essentially good source of everything else: the fountain fullness – also represented by the *sphaera intelligibilis* at the beginning of Guglingen’s *Treatise*. Based on the premise that God is good, and goodness is by nature self-diffusive, the fountain fullness causes Creation by expressing himself, all that he is, in the Word.<sup>121</sup> Since the Word is the ultimate self-expression of God, it is the exemplar for everything created. This concept is sometimes called Bonaventure’s cosmic exemplarism, which “presupposes that God is the prototype of all that exists and that he expresses himself in creatures, so that as a result creatures express the Creator.”<sup>122</sup> Creatures are thus not God himself, but they do reflect the divine exemplar, his goodness, wisdom, etc.<sup>123</sup> The created world can therefore function as a mirror, or a revelation of God when contemplated by man, a meditative process that Bonaventure discusses in the two initial contemplative steps in his *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*.<sup>124</sup> It is exactly this type of contemplation that Guglingen has in mind in the eighth and last book of his *Treatise*: like Bonaventure in his *Itinerarium* he refers to Romans 1:20, saying that the invisible properties of God can be seen in Creation.<sup>125</sup> Contemplating marvels, their outlandishness and sheer variety,

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videretur multum mirabile esset, ut homo ex illis mirabilibus laudabilem proprietatem sui creatoris cognoscat.” Neuburg MS p. 395.

- 120 “Quis enim mortalium posset cognoscere dei creatoris maximam et excellentissimam potenciam, nisi in magnitudine latitudine et fortitudine creaturarum? Quis intelligeret dei altissimam et infinitam sapientiam, nisi in varia pulchritudine et bona dispositione creaturarum?” Neuburg MS p. 395.
- 121 Hayes, “Incarnation and Creation,” 313–15; Ilia Delio, “From Metaphysics to Kataphysics: Bonaventure’s ‘Good’ Creation,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 64, no. 2 (2011): 165–68; Delio, “Bonaventure’s Metaphysics,” 228–35; Bonaventura, *Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, I Sent. d. 27, p. II, a.u., q. 1–4, 481–91.
- 122 Leonard J. Bowman, “The Cosmic Exemplarism of Bonaventure,” *The Journal of Religion* 55, no. 2 (1975): 184.
- 123 Bowman, “The Cosmic Exemplarism,” 184; Delio, “From Metaphysics to Kataphysics,” 172.
- 124 Bowman, “The Cosmic Exemplarism,” 185–91.
- 125 “Ut ait Apostolus ad Roma<nos>: Invisibilia dei a creatura mundi per ea que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur.” Neuburg MS p. 395; Bonaventure, *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, Ch. 2: 12: “Significant autem huiusmodi creaturae huius mundi sensibilis *invisibilia Dei*, partim quia Deus est omnis creaturae *origo, exemplar et finis*, et omnis effectus est signum causae, et exemplatum exemplaris, et via finis, ad quem ducit.” Bonaventure, *Works of St Bonaventure: Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, ed. Philotheus Boehner (Quarrachi, 1956) & trans. Zachary Hayes (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2002), 78.

can help simple mortals come closer to grasping the infinity and greatness of God.

In this light the eighth book of Guglingen's *Treatise* emerges as integral to the argument of the *Treatise* as a whole rather than as an odd addendum. Guglingen begins his *Treatise* with God in his divine essence before Creation, the undivided Father who is the original fountain of all creatures – the *sphaera intelligibilis*. Based on this divine exemplar, a circular world emerges, and Guglingen zooms into the sacred centre of Creation (Jerusalem) through a series of circles analogous to Bonaventure's metaphysical circle, at the centre of which stands Christ. Finally, book VIII of the *Treatise* presents a completion of this worldview: a contextualization of the Holy Land in a cosmos in which everything resonates harmoniously in correspondence with the divine exemplar.<sup>126</sup> Instead of being representatives of chaos, marvels outside of the borders of the Holy Land bear the vestiges of the sacred centre and the divine exemplar and confirm the natural order in Creation, while also referring back to Guglingen's circular starting point. The entire *Treatise on the Holy Land* is thus enveloped by the principle that Creation is a self-expression of God: an essentially good, harmonious cosmic order.

Like his colleague Guglingen, Francesco Suriano writes cosmography and places Jerusalem at the physical centre of the universe, and he also engages with a similar theme of marvels of the East in his *Trattato*. When in the second book of his treatise he discusses a number of exceptional natural phenomena in and outside of the Holy Land, the discussion is firmly linked to his explanation of why the Holy Land is holy in the first book. In book I Suriano cites Psalm 65:9 (“Thou has visited the earth, and hast plentifully watered it; thou hast many ways enriched it”) in the context of his argument about the importance of divine visitation for sanctification of the land.<sup>127</sup> As was discussed above, much physical contact with the body of Christ made the Holy Land holy. However, Suriano explains, not only the land became holy, but everything in it as well:

Not only the land itself, but also all things contained therein and appertaining to it – I mention not the Saracens who do not belong to it – are most holy. Hence, holy are the fruits, holy are the trees, holy are the

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<sup>126</sup> “In such a perspective, the world becomes a cosmos united in echoing harmony: practically everything is tied together in a series of correspondences, so that the basic pattern of emanation, exemplarity, and consummation is recapitulated in whole or in part on all the levels of Creation, and creatures are related to one another by participation in the same exemplary pattern.” Bowman, “The Cosmic Exemplarism,” 186.

<sup>127</sup> Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 23.

timbers, holy are the greens, holy are the herbs, holy is the bread, holy is the water, holy are the stones, holy is everything else, and full of virtue.<sup>128</sup>

Having heard this, Sister Sixta wants to know more and asks her interlocutor to say more about the significance of Psalm 65:9, as well as how God has multiplied the temporal, corporal, and spiritual riches of the Holy Land. Her brother replies that he will dedicate the second book of his treatise to this topic.<sup>129</sup> By referring to the temporal, the corporeal, as well as the spiritual in conjunction with each other in this manner, Suriano already places his discussion in the tradition of cosmic exemplarism.<sup>130</sup> In the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* Bonaventure observes that by considering the corporal and the temporal imprint of the divine exemplar in Creation, we can begin to climb the ladder back towards God, to the spiritual and the eternal.<sup>131</sup>

In the prologue to book II Suriano emphasizes his own expertise on matters relating to the Holy Land: of course one can rely on the Bible or authors more

128 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 29.

129 "SISTER. I pray you to illustrate the third point touched by David; when speaking with God he said that not only had he visited and watered it, but he added that he had multiplied its corporal, temporal and spiritual riches in abundance. BROTHER. This third point and saying of David I wish to reserve for the Second Treatise of this opusculum, wherein you will see plainly that God has multiplied the temporal, corporal and spiritual goods in this Holy Land over and above all other parts of the world, thus verifying the prophetic saying of the most holy David." Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 29.

130 When Augustine of Hippo first codified his influential exemplarist theory, he used the same terms, in *De Doctrina Christiana*: "So in this mortal life we are travellers away from our Lord: if we wish to return to the homeland where we can be happy, we must use this world, not enjoy it, in order to discern 'the invisible attributes of God, which are understood through what has been made' or in other words, to ascertain what is eternal and spiritual from corporeal and temporal things." ed. & trans. R.P.H. Green, cited in Rebecca A. Davis, "'Save Man Allone': Human exceptionalism in Piers Plowman and the Exemplarist Tradition," in *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature*, ed. Christopher Cannon and Maura Nolan (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011), 46. Also see David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1962), 40–3.

131 "In hac oratione orando illuminatur ad cognoscendum divinae ascensionis gradus. Cum enim secundum statum conditionis nostrae ipsa rerum universitas sit scala ad ascendendum in Deum; et in rebus quaedam sint *vestigium*, quaedam *imago*, quaedam *corporalia*, quaedam *spiritualia*, quaedam *temporalia*, quaedam *aeviterna*, ac per hoc quaedam *extra nos*, quaedam *intra nos*: ad hoc, quod perveniamus ad primum principium considerandum, quod est *spiritualissimum* et *aeternum* et *supra nos*, oportet, nos *transire* per *vestigium*, quod est *corporale* et *temporale* et *extra nos*, et hoc est *deduci in via Dei*; oportet, nos *intrare* ad mentem nostram, quae est *imago Dei aeviterna, spiritualis* et *intra nos*, et hoc est *ingredi in veritate Dei*; oportet, nos *transcendere* ad *aeternum, spiritualissimum*, et *supra nos* aspiciendo ad primum principium, et hoc est *laetari in Dei notitia et reverentia Maiestatis*." Bonaventure, *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, ed. & trans. Boehner and Hayes, 46 [ch. 1:2].



authoritative than himself, but after all he did live in the Holy Land for many years as a Franciscan religious, so who can give better or more exact information than he? To illustrate this point, Suriano refers to the spies who reported back to Moses when bringing fruit from the Promised Land so that the people might know the entire country from its fruits (Numbers 13:27). In the second book of his *Trattato* he intends to do the same: he will be the spy who reports back about the temporal, corporal, and spiritual gifts of the land, by means of a discussion of the fruits of the land.<sup>132</sup> First comes a series of sixteen chapters on the Muslims, their faith, the origins of the Mamluks, the Janissaries, the Bedouins, the Raphadi, the Druzes, and others.<sup>133</sup> Apart from creating an opportunity to point out what he sees as flaws in Muslim faith and doctrine, Suriano also includes these chapters because he interprets the great variety of peoples who live in the Holy Land as part of its corporeal and material riches.<sup>134</sup>

As for the temporal riches of the Holy Land, Suriano begins by discussing the perfection of the climate, which he describes as “most temperate, most clear and most salubrious,” so that diseases such as gout, diarrhoea, and fever are much less common there.<sup>135</sup> He discusses the quality of the water, which is the best in the world (excepting that of the Nile) according to him.<sup>136</sup> The rivers of terrestrial Paradise, a river in Ethiopia that is extremely cold during daytime and very hot at night, and one that produces artificial fire are also mentioned. In a chapter titled “The Land of Promise is Holy” Suriano then makes clear that notwithstanding all this good quality water the land is very dry because it almost never rains. Yet at the same time it is surprisingly fertile:

It is a real marvel to see the watermelons, so big and juicy, that grow in the bare sand without irrigation and with the help only of the perfection of the air, and they are in such quantities that they last the whole year. They have also many other things that we have not, as eggplant, coconut, bamboo, sugar-cane and many other things.<sup>137</sup>

132 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 201–02.

133 Bellorini and Hoade translate only some of these. For a complete edition of the text: Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 191 ff.

134 “(Cap XL.) – De la multiplictà de la gente che è in terra de promissione e sancta.” Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 237–39.

135 “CHAPTER XVII. The Perfection of the Climate of the Holy Land.” Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 219.

136 “CHAPTER XVIII. The Waters, Rivers, Fountains, Pools, and Other Water Sources in the Holy Land.” Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 220–21.

137 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 221.

Suriano enumerates many foodstuffs that do not exist in Europe, or are much better in the Holy Land, and expands on the topic in the next chapter on “The Trees, Plants, Fruits, Big and Small.”<sup>138</sup> There he offers a sequence of nineteen chapters that describe respectively the pepper tree, ginger, mirobolans, cinnamon, nutmeg and maces, cloves, camphor, lac, benzoin, aloes wood, rhubarb, musk, the civet, the minute spices, pearls, precious stones, animals, eastern birds, and aethites and onyx.<sup>139</sup>

What Suriano has described are not exactly marvels but rather agricultural produce, flora, fauna, and gemmology of the East. He explicitly indicates that many of these things come from places like Calcutta, the Indonesian Isles, Persia, and Ceylon: not exactly the Holy Land. For the places Suriano did not visit himself he sampled the information from the travelogue by Ludovico di Varthema (c. 1470–1517), who did travel that far east in the years 1502–07.<sup>140</sup> Even though Suriano knows very well that some of the things he describes are found only far beyond the Holy Land, he still sees them as pertinent to his argument: for Suriano the Holy Land is not entirely distinct from, but is blended with the Eastern territories that lie beyond it. Based on his lengthy discussion of Eastern spices, fruits, animals, plants, and stones, Suriano concludes: “I believe that the above is sufficient to prove that the Land of Promise is more holy than any other part of the world in that it is most rich in all the temporal things.”<sup>141</sup> The temporal riches of the Holy Land thus demonstrate the veracity of its spiritual riches: the virtue and sanctity that spreads from the centre, discussed in book I and reiterated in book II.<sup>142</sup>

In analogy with Bonaventure’s exemplarism (things created bear the vestiges of the divine prototype), the temporal riches of the East prove the spiritual riches of the sacred centre for Suriano. This argument is quite similar to Guglingen’s interpretation of marvels outside the Holy Land, and like Guglingen, Suriano also begins his treatise with an explanation of the sanctity of the Holy Land and ends it with the temporal vestiges proving his point. Both

138 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 221–24.

139 Chapters XXI–XXXIX. Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 224–33.

140 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 12–3; Ludovico Varthema, *Itinerario di Ludovico de Varthema*, ed. Paolo Giudici (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1956).

141 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 233.

142 “(CAP. XLI). – De le virtù de sanctità che è uscita de questa benedicta terra de promissione.... Et hai multiplicata le soe richeze, de beni temporali, corporali e spirituali, como nel presente tractato habiamo demonstrato. E qui fazo fine de questo secundo libretto et operata, ad laude de l’omnipotente Dio, trino et uno. Amen.” Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 239–40.

friars base their understanding of the Holy Land on Bonaventure's theology; and they structure their ideas by contextualizing them in an Observant Franciscan cosmos.<sup>143</sup> Once more it seems that Guglingen's and Suriano's perspective on the Holy Land did not have an immediate impact on Franciscan discourse on the subject. However, again, their approach to the subject resonates with later Observant Franciscan interpretative attitudes towards the Holy Land.

In 1650 Bernardinus Surius, a Franciscan Recollect friar from the Low Countries, first published his expansive travelogue to the Holy Land, based on his travels and sojourn as a friar of the *provincia Terrae Sanctae* in 1644–47.<sup>144</sup> This very popular publication, which went through several reprints, also includes a substantial section near the end on some of the birds, animals, trees, fruits, and stones of the Levant.<sup>145</sup> The reason why Surius includes such a section in his Holy Land travelogue is presented in the preface to the third part, "The pilgrim returning home."<sup>146</sup> Surius observes that everyone knows that man was created to come to know God and eventually returns to Him. Like Guglingen, Bonaventure, and Augustine before him he refers to Romans 1:20 and says that in this world knowledge of God can only be gathered from his creatures, "Because

143 In this period the Conventual Franciscans worked from a predominantly Scotist perspective. The Observants continued to favour Bonaventure until, during the sixteenth century, they gained control over the Franciscan *studia* and turned to Scotism more and more. Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission*, 118–20, 177, 185–86.

144 Bernardinus Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim ofte Hierusalemse Reyse* (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1650); A. Houbaert O.F.M., "Surius (de Soer), Bernardinus, minderbroeder en schrijver," in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek, deel V* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1972), 873–76. I refer to the 4th edition of 1665, since it is more readily available for consultation on Google Books. The Recollect friars (not to be confused with the Coletan friars) constitute an early modern reform movement within the Observant branch of the Franciscan order that finds its origins in France during the later decades of the sixteenth century.

145 These chapters comprise: Van den Arendt; Van den Pelicaen; Van den Struysvoghel; Van de Aleppesche Duyven; Van de Tortel-duyve; Van den Krekel, by de Latynsche Cicada, ende by de Francoisen Cigale genoemt; Van den Olifant, ende van het Panther-dier, anders, Panthera; Van den Tiger, Kemel, Schapen, Bocken, ende Geyten; Van den Cameleon; Van den Stellio, oft. Sterren-dier; Van den Crocodilus; Van den Scorpioen, Den drogaila, ende van andere fenynighe dieren; Van den Palm-boom; Van den Vyge-boom; Van den Pyn-boom, oft wilden Vygen-boom; Van den Ahorn-boom, in het Latijn Platanus ghenoment; Van den Granaet-boom; Van Adams Appelen, ende Pharaons Vyghe-boom; Van het kruyt Mandragora; Van den Roose; Van den Arendt-steen, in het Latyn ghenoment Petra Aquilina, ende van het Korael; Van den steen Amiantes, ende Zeylsteen. Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 751–85.

146 DEN WEDER-KEERENDEN PELGRIM. HET DERDE BOECK. WAERSCHOUWINGHE VOOR DEN GODTVRUCHTIGHEN LESER. Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 701–03.

what is this visible world and all contained in her, except a book in which all the perfections of God are written and imprinted?."147

In Surius' day reading the "book of nature" as opposed to the "book of scripture" was a ubiquitous expression in publications on natural history, but it was generally employed quite differently from how Augustine or Bonaventure intended it.<sup>148</sup> Instead of bearing the vestiges of God that could in turn lead to true knowledge of Him, early modern scholars like Francis Bacon (1561–1626) saw Creation as an important testimony to God's power, but in itself it could also be devoid of theological meaning.<sup>149</sup> Bernardinus Surius, however, continues to read the book of nature the old-fashioned way as "the ladder with which saint Francis climbed up to God, and, to an extent, knowledge of Him."<sup>150</sup> He

147 "Een iegelyck vveet vvel dat den mensch geschapen is om Godt te kennen, hem kennende te beminnen, hem beminnende in der eeuwigheyt te genieten, etc. Ende hoevel hy in dese vverelt tot de klare kennisse Godts niet en kan komen, ..., nochtans kan hy hier eenighsins tot dese kennisse gheraken door syn schepsels ende vvercken: ... [Rom. 1:20]. VVant vvat is doch dese sienelycke vverelts met alle haer begryp, dan eenen Boeck in den vvelcken alle de volmacktheden Godts beschreven ende gedrukt zyn? eenen Boeck vvaer in vvy syn almogentheydt, vvisheydt, grootheydt, mildtheydt lesen? vvat zyn alle schepsels dan tongen, de vvelcke ons verhalen de glorie Godts? dan stemmen die dagh ende nacht hem dancken, ende loven met hun schoon accoordt ende harmonie? dan trompetten die aen alle Natien oorkondighen syn goetheydt, bermhertigheyt, ende liefde?" Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 703.

148 Augustine was the first to use the term "book of nature," in *De Doctrina Christiana*. Peter Harrison, "Reinterpreting Nature in Early Modern Europe: Natural Philosophy, Biblical Exegesis and the Contemplative Life," in *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science*, ed. Kevin Killeen and Peter J. Forshaw (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 27. Bonaventure writes in his *Breviloquium*, 2.12.1: "Ex predictis autem colligi potest, quod creatura mundi est quasi quidam *liber*, in quo relucet, repraesentatur et legitur Trinitas fabricatrix secundum triplicem gradum expressionis, scilicet per modum *vestigii*, *imaginis*, et *similitudinis*: ..." Bonaventura, *Tria Opuscula Seraphici Doctoris S. Bonaventurae Breviloquium Itinerarium Mentis in Deum et de Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, 4th ed. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) (Florence: Ex. Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1925), 93.

149 Harrison, "Reinterpreting Nature," 36; Steven Matthews, "Reading the Two Books with Francis Bacon: Interpreting God's Will and Power," in *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science*, ed. Kevin Killeen and Peter J. Forshaw (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 61–77. Also see the edited volumes that were the result of the conference "The Book of Nature. Continuity and change in European and American attitudes towards the natural world" held at the University of Groningen on 22–25 May 2002: *The Book of Nature in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Arie Johan Vanderjagt and Klaas van Berkel (Louvain: Peeters, 2005); *The Book of Nature in Early Modern and Modern History*, ed. Klaas van Berkel and Arie Johan Vanderjagt (Louvain: Peeters, 2006).

150 "De leeder vvaer mede den H. Franciscus op klom tot Godt, ende eenighsins tot syn kennisse, zyn geveest de schepsels: over sulcx gebiedde hy aen den Hovenier des Convents, daer hy vvoonde, eenen besonderen hof te maken, ende den selven te planten met vvel

refers to Bonaventure and explains that since God's creatures lead the human mind to knowledge and love of Him, he has included a description of some of the animals, plants, fruits, spices, and gems that he met on his eastern travels, plus meditations to help set devout souls on the right course to knowledge of God.<sup>151</sup>

Surius' discussion of the wondrous creatures of the Levant does not follow exactly the same Bonaventurian perspective on the Holy Land formulated by Guglingen and Suriano, in which marvels are vestiges of the sacred centre. However, the final section on flora and fauna in Surius' Holy Land travelogue does constitute an important part of his book. By including this section he makes his outward journey to the Holy Land refer to man's inward, mental journey back to God, a route first suggested by Augustine and influentially charted in Bonaventure's *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*.<sup>152</sup> Significantly, then, Surius subdivides his book into three sections called "the pilgrim setting out," "the pilgrim standing still," and "the pilgrim returning home," and includes an exposition of God's creatures of the East at the end, in order to direct his readers onto the right path back to God.<sup>153</sup> Surius' section on the flora and fauna of the East offers a perspective on Holy Land pilgrimage, if not on the Holy Land per se, that has a decidedly Franciscan flavour, ideologically speaking.

This is perhaps less true in the case of Antonius Gonsales' slightly later Holy Land travelogue.<sup>154</sup> Gonsales, former guardian of the Franciscan convent in Bethlehem, also includes a considerable final section on "Strange trees, plants,

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riekende kruiden, op dat se haer saysoen bloemkens dragende door haer schoonheydt, ende soeten reuck een iegelyck tot de kennisse ende lof des Scheppers soudē vervrecken." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 704.

- 151 "Aangezien dan dat Godts schepsels hoe kleyn, hoe slecht sy oock zyn, het menschelyck verstand tot syn kennisse, liefde ende lof eenighsins bevvegen, vervrecken ende trecken: soo hebbe ick in myn Oostsche reyse by een vergadert sommighe eygenschappen der vogelen, dieren, boomen, kruiden, vruchten, ende steenen, alsoock ander seldtsaemheden, die ick als oogh-ghetuygh daer bemerckt, aangeteeckent, ende hier in het eynde van den derden boeck by een gestelt hebbe. Voegē by-naer op alle plaetsen eenige aenmerckinge tot verlichtinge van een devote ziele, om de selve te trecken tot de kennisse des Scheppers, ende die te bevvegen tot syn liefde met een vierighe danck segginge. EYNDE." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 704.
- 152 Tim Noone and R.E. Houser, "Saint Bonaventure," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2014 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2014/entries/bonaventure/>.
- 153 The motto of the third book, Wisdom 13:5, also signals Surius' intention: "DEN WEDERKEERENDEN PELGRIM. HET DERDE BOECK. Uyt de grootheydt der schoonheydt, en der creaturen magh kennelyck den Schepper van dese gesien worden. Sap. 13.5." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 705.
- 154 Antonius Gonsales, *Hierusalemse Reijse*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1673).

flowers, four-footed and crawling animals, birds, fishes, and precious stones, which I saw in Egypt, Syria, and Cyprus.”<sup>155</sup> The author was most likely inspired by what he saw in Surlius’ popular travelogue, which had appeared before Gonsales’ own stay in the Holy Land in 1664–71. Gonsales briefly says, following Surlius, that knowledge of creatures may lead to knowledge of the Creator, and subsequently salvation, and he also adds meditations for the “entertainment of devout souls.”<sup>156</sup>

Nevertheless his intentions are not merely devout. Judging from the preface to this section, his main interest seems to lie in finding the right balance between eye-witness reports and testimonies from other authors, in order to accurately describe these fascinating subjects.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, apart from entertaining devout souls, Gonsales also means to satisfy curious ones. In the general preface to his book he justifies its publication by emphasizing that while Surlius’ travelogue was important, he himself had travelled even more widely than Surlius and thus could “see and sketch more rarities, of which I had beautiful copper plates cut and with which I have decorated this book for the satisfaction of all those who are curious and enjoy that sort of thing.”<sup>158</sup> Three

155 “DEN SESDEN ENDE LESTEN BOECK. Van rare boomen, planten, blommen, viervoetighe, ende kruypende dieren, Voghelen, Visschen, ende kostelijke steenen, de welcke ick in Egypten, Syrien, ende Cypro heb ghesien.” Gonsales, *Hierusalemse Reijse*, vol. II, 340.

156 “op dat den goetgunstighen Leser inde kennisse der Creaturen, sich mach vermaecken met den Grooten Alexander, ende comen tot meerder kennisse van sijnen Schepper, ende daer door tot de eeuwighen saligheydt.... Ick heb oock aen ieder Capittel een korte Leerighe bygevoeght tot vermaeck van de devote zielen.” Gonsales, *Hierusalemse Reijse*, vol. II, 341.

157 Gonsales relates that Alexander the Great (356–23 B.C.) ordered Aristotle (384–22 B.C.) to describe as many species of animals and plants as possible, helping him to the subjects of study. And if Aristotle made some mistakes, Gonsales says, as is known today because of experience and observation, this was because of bad information given by others. Therefore Gonsales resolves to combine both his own eyewitness observation of natural phenomena, with the testimonies of other authors, such as Pedanius Dioscorides (40–90 A.D.), Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501–77), Prosper Alpinus (1553–1617), as well as Aristotle and Pliny the Elder (23–79 A.D.). Gonsales, *Hierusalemse Reijse*, vol. II, 340–41. Alexander the Great did provide Aristotle with some of the subjects for his biological investigations, but it is not known whether Aristotle wrote his work on the subject on Alexander’s orders. Michael Boyland, “Aristotle: Biology,” *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ISSN 2161-0002, <http://bwww.iep.utm.edu/>.

158 “Nochtans om dat ick mijn reyse door andere landen heb ghenomen ende veele plaetsen heb doorwandelt, ende bewoont, daer den Eerw. Pater niet en is gheweest, ende weynigh daer van schrijft: als Egypten, Arabien, ‘t landt der Philistijnen, Gaza, Azota, Ascalon, Accaron, ‘t Landt van Hebron, Saba de berghen van Libano, Carmelo ende meer andere contreyn, alwaer ick veel, rariteyten heb ghesien ende afgheteekent, heb de selve oock met schoone copere plaeten laeten snyden ende daer mede desen boeck verciert tot voldoenighe van alle curieuse liefhebbers.” Gonsales, *Hierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, TOT DEN LESER, [no pagination].

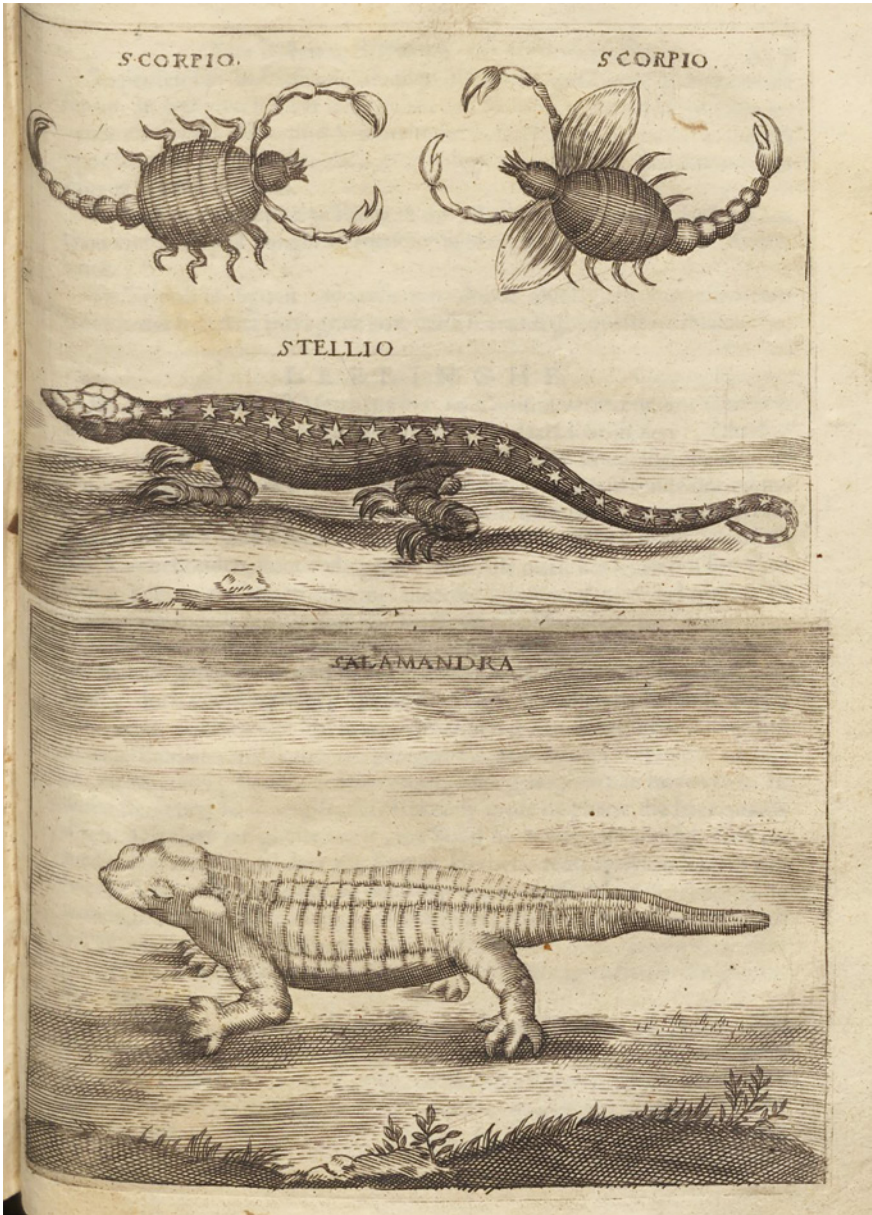


FIGURE 9 Copper plate engraving showing scorpions, a stellagama, and a salamander in Antonius Gonsales' *Hierusalemsche Reijse* (1673). UNIVERSITAIRE BIBLIOTHEKEN LEIDEN, 456 B 3-4

copper plate engravings grace the final section of his book, showing a chameleon, porcupine, scorpions, stellagama, salamander, crocodile, and hippopotamus (fig. 9). From vestiges of God in Bonaventure's essentially good Creation the creatures of the East have degenerated into diverting recreational reading.

## 5 Conclusion

Both Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano infuse their treatises on the Holy Land with the theology of St Bonaventure. It fundamentally informs their perspective on sacred geography. Inspired by the metaphysics and doctrine of Creation of this influential Franciscan thinker, they construct a world view that presents the Holy Land, and at its centre Jerusalem, as the Christological focal point of an essentially good and well-ordered cosmos. They explain why the Holy Land is holy by referring primarily to the physical touch of Christ, through which his *virtus* was transferred to the land. They both conclude their treatises by pointing out that marvellous Eastern peoples, plants, animals, and stones bear witness to the sacred centre as Bonaventurian vestiges of the divine exemplar.

Likely working together at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem and writing within a Bonaventurian framework, Guglingen and Suriano laboured to formulate a complex perspective on the sacred geography of the Holy Land that is characterized by their world view as late medieval Observant Franciscans. Their effort represents a transition in how the friars of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* regarded the Holy Land: no longer merely as pilgrims, or guides of (virtual) pilgrims, but as Franciscan Holy Land experts working from an Observant Franciscan background. Particular elements of their model resurface in the work of later Franciscan authors on the Holy Land: a circular perspective in Nikolaus Wanckel, a similar explanation of the sanctity of the Holy Land in Francesco Quaresmio, a comparable insistence on the centrality of the Holy Land in Vincenzo Berdini, and an analogous attention to marvels of the East in Bernardinus Surius.

The significance of the collaborative project of Guglingen and Suriano does not derive from its direct influence on later Franciscan discourse on the Holy Land (which is unlikely, and indeed cannot be proved) but from the broader conviction that as Observant Franciscans they could and should throw new light on matters relating to the Holy Land. Likely encouraged by the climate of uncertainty about the Franciscan position in Jerusalem created by territorial disputes with the strengthened Georgian patriarchate of the late Mamluk period, Guglingen and Suriano strive to affirm the importance of the Observant



Franciscan outlook on and claim to the Holy Land. Their motivations, ideological outlook, and approach resonate with writings of later sixteenth and seventeenth century Observant Franciscan authors of the Holy Land.

These late fifteenth-century treatises are connected with later works, not on the level of direct intertextual links, but on the level of underlying Observant Franciscan cultural codes to which these authors appeal in comparable contexts of increased political uncertainty. By considering late medieval Observant perspectives on the Holy Land alongside later texts, it becomes possible to discern important continuities as well as developments, apart from apparent discontinuities. The very same attitude and motivations also fostered the friars' defence of the holiness of the Holy Land during the early modern period, the topic of the next chapter, and led many Franciscan authors to write histories and treatises, apart from travelogues and devotional guides, on the Holy Land, eventually claiming the Holy Land as an essentially Observant Franciscan territory once and for all, as will become clear in the subsequent chapters.

## Holy Places, Sacred Travel

Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano constructed the Holy Land as a sacred space in light of their background as Observant Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*.<sup>1</sup> The still uncontested sacred space that Guglingen and Suriano described and analysed around the turn of the sixteenth century soon became a topic of debate during the Protestant Reformation. In order to explore this development, this chapter investigates the role of the Franciscans of the province of the Holy Land in the cross-confessional encounter with their Protestant guests in Jerusalem. Sanctity of place took on new urgency in Franciscan Holy Land writing following the Reformation as one of the main grounds for defending traditional Catholic Holy Land pilgrimage. Contrary to traditional assumptions, a number of scholars have recently emphasized that Holy Land pilgrimage survived well into the early modern period within a broader range of early modern types of travel. Protestants and Catholics alike undertook devout journeys to Jerusalem, and wrote about their experiences in an ever-expanding literature of Levantine pilgrimage and travel, even though each may have contested the other party's approach.<sup>2</sup>

The Franciscans of the Holy Land held a key position in these debates, as well as in the “disciplinary no man's land” of the study of early modern pilgrimage, as the hosts of numerous Protestant pilgrims whom they conducted around the Holy Places along with their Catholic counterparts.<sup>3</sup> The friars formed a focal point in these rivalling discourses both in real life, i.e. in close interactions with pilgrims of various denominations, as well as in the responses that all parties wrote down in reaction to this encounter. All of these responses reflect on

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1 See chapter two.

2 Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le Crépuscule du Grand Voyage: Le Récits des Pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458–1612)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999); F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Brill: Leiden, 2012), 75–103; Sean E. Clark, *Protestants in Palestine: Reformation of the Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2014; Beatrice Groves, “Those Sanctified Places where our Saviours Feete had Trode: Jerusalem in Early Modern Travel Narratives,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, no. 3 (2012): 681–700.

3 “Early modern pilgrimage, either Catholic or Protestant, falls into a disciplinary no man's land. It is beyond the medievalist's chronological scope, and beyond the thematic scope of the early modernist, who has tended to see post-medieval pilgrimage as a vestigial appendage and little more than a curiosity.” Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

what should be the “proper” approach to the places and spaces in and around Jerusalem. As the appointed representatives of one particular approach, the Franciscans had a prominent voice in these debates, which, unlike the Protestant side of the story, has largely gone unnoticed in scholarship.

Rather than serving merely as the passive butt of jokes in Protestant travelogues, the friars were actively engaged in their own writings in countering accusations levelled against themselves and bringing discredit to Holy Places. Moreover, their version of the meeting that took place in Jerusalem can improve our understanding of Protestant unease with the Holy Places. The present chapter examines Franciscan attitudes to Protestant travellers coming to stay at their convent in Jerusalem: a new type of guest that at times strongly reminded the friars of traditional pilgrims, yet who, at least outwardly, rejected the notion of holy places and were in the habit of asking impudent questions. Franciscan responses to these visitors were manifold and reveal changing conceptions of pilgrimage and travel along the fault lines of the Reformation, conceptions of early modern explorative travel, and of the role the Franciscans saw for themselves in these debates.

After establishing the survival, instead of the supposed decline, of Holy Land pilgrimage in the early modern period as a journey undertaken by both Catholics and Protestants, I examine how the friars defended pilgrimage in their writings, taking sanctity of place as a polemical starting point for the practice of pilgrimage. I then engage with the closely related question of how the Franciscans of the Holy Land attempted to explain why in particular Protestants travelled there, taking issue with the travelogues and behaviour of Protestant visitors to Jerusalem. It will become clear that the friars gauged the merit of pilgrims along the axis of the curious and the devout, also participating actively in the textual culture of early modern travel by writing about their own Levantine pilgrimage experiences as travel, while at the same time carving out a proper space for pilgrimage and for travel, controlled by themselves.

The encounter between the Franciscans and their Protestant guests is unique, since it took place on terrain where both were small religious minorities, and which was controlled by a third party, the Ottomans, whose rule ensured that neither group had the upper hand, as one or other would have had in Western Europe. Whereas in Ottoman Constantinople, where Anglicans and Catholics also met and competed with one another in their missionary efforts, Jerusalem and the Holy Land with its biblical geography elicited an entirely different debate, focused on sanctity of place and devotional practices.<sup>4</sup>

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4 John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 25–26.

Through the prism of this cross-confessional encounter we can see more clearly how the Franciscans of the Holy Land constructed and defended the sanctity of the Holy Places, and how it shaped their writings. Moreover, it becomes evident how they set themselves up as the primary judges on such topics, cultivating a particular relationship between themselves and the Holy Land. In order to appreciate the Franciscan voice in these debates, a short sketch of the transforming landscape of early modern pilgrimage and travel to Jerusalem is indispensable.

## 1 The Survival of Holy Land Pilgrimage

Neither the Reformation and the associated objections to pilgrimage nor the emergence of new forms of early modern explorative travel brought an end to the Jerusalem voyage. Objections to the practice of pilgrimage were nothing new, since they had been expressed throughout the middle ages: pilgrims were warned against idle wandering, and told that holy places could not free one from sin, only internal attitudes could. Furthermore, regular religious were especially discouraged from leaving their cloisters, while laymen and secular clergy were told not to neglect their duties at home in favour of pilgrimage.<sup>5</sup> In the second decade of the sixteenth century Protestant reformers not only reiterated the traditional arguments against pilgrimage but also added new objections: disapproval of the cult of the saints and the earning of indulgences were now important reasons to reject pilgrimage.

When Martin Luther issued his *Ninety-five Theses on the Power of Indulgences* in 1517, pilgrimage was not among the issues he addressed. His *Explanation of the Ninety-five Theses*, published in the following year, however, did raise the question of pilgrimage and the indulgences connected to it. Luther questioned the practice, since according to him only a very small portion of truly devout pilgrims avoided the pitfalls of indulgences and travelling out of curiosity.<sup>6</sup> In comparison with reformers such as Bucer and Zwingli, who entirely rejected pilgrimage and saints' cults as idolatry, Luther did leave open the possibility of laudable pilgrimage.<sup>7</sup> Lutheran travellers to the Holy Land made use of the room left by Luther, as their travel accounts testify. Moreover, it must be kept

5 Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976): 126–46.

6 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

7 Phillip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 62. "Luther might be seen as leaving the door open even a crack for pilgrimage." Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

in mind that Jerusalem and the Holy Land were the big exceptions among pilgrimage destinations, because unlike saints' cults they offered locations associated with scriptural persons and events. Even Calvin in his *Traité des Reliques* (1543) could not object to pious contemplation of Gospel events *in situ*. Improving one's understanding of the Word, and thus of God, was one of the main motivations that Protestant pilgrims professed.<sup>8</sup>

The character of traditional pilgrimage was remoulded not only by the pressures of the Reformation but also by evolving understandings of travel as the principal accepted mode of non-utilitarian mobility. The explorative voyages into the New World and the printed volumes that they inspired changed concepts of travel.<sup>9</sup> It became acceptable to travel explicitly to curiously explore the unknown, with education as a legitimate justification, for example.<sup>10</sup> At the same time pilgrimages, previously the main accepted mode of travel, continued to take place, to be reported in travelogues, and to appear in an impressive number of printed volumes. Current scholarship, apart from few exceptions such as Noonan and Shalev, generally assumes that Holy Land pilgrimage became a literary rather than a social phenomenon after Venice lost its grip on the Mediterranean with the rise of the Ottoman Empire, and that the number of actual pilgrims dropped dramatically, never to recover, at least during the early modern period.<sup>11</sup> Representative statistics do not exist for either the medieval or the early modern period; only for the latter are fragmentary records available, and these if anything suggest a steady stream of Western visitors.<sup>12</sup> In any case the very fact that numerous pilgrimage accounts were printed and reprinted and found eager audiences means that, culturally speaking, the practice was very much alive.<sup>13</sup>

8 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination]; Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 95–102.

9 Noonan, *The Road*, 49–83.

10 Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550–1800* (Chur: Harwood, 1995), 47–65.

11 Noonan, *The Road*, 9–11; Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 74.

12 Claims about the number of medieval pilgrims to Jerusalem each year have remained undocumented. The (fragmented) visitor list kept by the Franciscans of Mount Sion 1561–1695, the *Navis Peregrinorum*, points to an average of around 30 guests a year (both Catholic and Protestant). The Ottoman records of Western European pilgrims arriving at the port of Jaffa and entering the Holy Sepulchre church are not complete but do show that numbers varied hugely each year: from few dozens to hundreds of pilgrims. Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 77–80; Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 162–79.

13 Noonan closes his excellent study with the conclusion that pilgrimage was “Alive and well and Early Modern.” *The Road*, 235–51.

The same is true for Protestant pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a complex and fascinating topic which has yet to receive proper scholarly attention.<sup>14</sup> Beatrice Groves stresses continuities between medieval Catholic pilgrimage and the devout travels to Jerusalem of a considerable number of early modern English Protestants. She concludes that English Protestant travellers to Jerusalem, even though they may have rejected sanctity of place and objects at a rational level, were more like traditional pilgrims than they would have liked to admit.<sup>15</sup> In reaction to her paper Sean E. Clark warns against portraying Protestant pilgrimage as crypto-Catholic rather than as an independent practice in its own right that served its own confessional purposes.<sup>16</sup> Even though early modern Protestants maintained an ambiguous relationship with the Holy Land, they still contributed a steady stream of pilgrims, coming mostly from the North of Europe. The development of this type of Reformed pilgrimage is a complex issue that certainly deserves more attention.<sup>17</sup> Although the present chapter cannot fill this lacuna, it may help to shed some additional light on the intricacies of Protestant pilgrimage and travel to Jerusalem in the early modern period. By comparing the picture that emerges from texts by Protestant travellers with the Franciscan perspective on how Protestants behaved around the Holy Places, a more complex evaluation of their equivocal relationship with those sacred sites can emerge. In what follows, the categories “pilgrim” and “traveller” are not necessarily mutually exclusive: upon arrival in Jerusalem many self-professed travellers turned pilgrim all the same.

The Reformation of pilgrimage created new fuzzy, but precarious boundaries that presented a challenge to all parties meeting at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem. For meet they did: Ottoman policy demanded that all Western Christians should stay with the Franciscans, and since there were no Protestant institutions it was the only option, unless one pretended to be Greek or Armenian.<sup>18</sup> The remarks of Protestant travellers *about* the Franciscans, as representatives of the Catholic way, have been cited in secondary literature relatively frequently. Quite often the friars figure as the paragons of simple-minded superstition, tradition, and ridiculous rituals. As has been pointed

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14 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 95–102, esp. 102 n. 92.

15 Groves, “Those Sanctified Places,” 681–700.

16 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

17 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 102.

18 See Felicita Tramontana, “Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims. The Franciscan Friars of Jerusalem and their Anglican Guests (1600–1612),” *Il Giornale di Storia* 13 (2014), <http://www.giornaledistoria.net/redazionali/n-132013-miscellanea/>.

out by Zur Shalev, the friars serve a polemical function in Protestant reports.<sup>19</sup> Virulent anti-Catholic claims and (affected) hostility towards the friars helped to vouch for the conduct of the traveller, and demonstrated he was not infected by popish cult.<sup>20</sup> In addition, to put in the odd disparaging remark or two could help to justify a Protestant pilgrimage.<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere in their travelogues the very same pilgrim authors are often much milder or even quite positive about Franciscan hospitality. Leonhard Rauwolff, a Lutheran physician who published his Levantine travel account including a Holy Land pilgrimage in 1583, had quite a few negative things to say about the Franciscan-led devotions at the Holy Places. However, he also praised the friars' hospitality and willingness to lead even Protestant pilgrims along the Holy Places as often as they wished.<sup>22</sup>

Franciscan responses to the same meeting with Protestants in Jerusalem have not been studied extensively to date. A rare exception is an article by Felicita Tramontana that is primarily concerned with the anti-Catholic sentiments of English travellers. Tramontana attempts to incorporate the Franciscan perspective. Based on her reading of the manuscript chronicle by friar Pietro Verniero da Montepeloso that runs up to 1637 and was continued by other friars up to 1642, as well as Juan de Calahorra's *Historia Cronologica della Provincia di Syria* (Venice, 1694), she concludes that "the friars' documents do not pay special attention to their Anglican, or more broadly, to their Protestant guests."<sup>23</sup> However, a wider reading of Franciscan sources challenges this characterization of the friars as mute or passive subjects in their interaction with Protestants. In fact instead of showing only placable disinterest, they bring a clear and confident voice of their own to their interaction with reformed pilgrims. The picture that emerges ties in with recent historiography which suggests that, contrary to the more traditional view that minimizes the role of the Franciscans and other mendicants in the Counter Reformation in favour of the

19 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 99. From the early days of the Reformation the Franciscans had been a favourite target in Protestant polemics as much feared spokesmen for Catholicism. Bert Roest, "The Observance and the Confrontation with Early Protestantism," in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 285–88.

20 Tramontana, "Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims," 1–17.

21 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

22 "Sunft empfhens die Bilgram / so hinein kommen gar freundlich / tractierens mit essen und trincken zimlich wol / fürens auch herumb zun heiligen orten / unnd behaltens so lang bey sich / biss sie alle stett wol ersehen/ und willens seind widerumb darvon zuziehen." Leonhard Rauwolff, *Aigentliche Beschreibung der Raiss* (Laugingen: Georg Willers, 1583), 430.

23 Felicita Tramontana, "Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims," 5.

Jesuit order, the friars were indeed active and effective preachers right from the start of the Reformation.<sup>24</sup>

Recovering these Franciscan voices and responses in more detail yields a much more complex picture of the polemics of pilgrimage and travel to Jerusalem during this period. Following the Reformation, Protestant pilgrims continued to visit the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, and the friars did voice a clear and complex response to this encounter. Below I examine an important topic of discussion between the Franciscans and their Protestant guests that serves as the starting point for my discussion: the notion, or rejection, of sacred space. This topic is fundamental because of the presence of revered locations associated with *biblical* events in Jerusalem and the Holy Land which could not be ignored by either party, and because sacred places as a travel destination offered at least one way of distinguishing pilgrimage from other forms of travel.

## 2 The Main Attraction or a Moot Point: Sacred Space

An important point of contention between the friars and their Protestant guests was whether one place could be more holy than another, and it elicited quite a few responses from Franciscans of the *provincia Terrae Sanctae*. The assertion by John Eade and Michael Sallnow that sanctity of place is the *raison d'être* of pilgrimage certainly holds true in the medieval context. It is entirely in line with, for example, Guglingen's assertions about the rewards of the Holy Places for pilgrims.<sup>25</sup> In the fourth book of his *Treatise* Guglingen discusses the conditions, names, and extent of the Holy Land. According to him the supernatural condition, or holiness, of the land is what draws pilgrims to it. Guglingen confesses that he has heard other pilgrims say, and also discovered himself, that whatever hardships the pilgrim endures sailing on a galley to the Holy Land (e.g. the dangers of pirates, heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and infirmity of the body), this is all forgotten and compensated for when the pilgrim first sets eyes on the Holy Land around Jaffa. The holiness of the land offers a reward that is incomparable to anything else:

24 Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in South-eastern Poland, 1594–1648* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), chapter 1; Bert Roest, "Franciscans Between Observance and Reformation: The Low Countries (ca. 1400–1600)," *Franciscan Studies* 63, no. 1 (2005): 409–42; Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220–1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armatura ad defendendam sanctam fidem catholicam...* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 197–235; Roest, "The Observance and the Confrontation with Early Protestantism," 285–308.

25 Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 6.



And then devoutly he traverses and seeks, with a longing heart, the Holy Places in and outside of Jerusalem, which Jesus Christ and Mary His blessed mother have sanctified and dignified with their own persons. It seems to the devout pilgrim and true Catholic that no earthly good, however precious, can be on earth that he would exchange for such a pilgrimage.<sup>26</sup>

In Guglingen's day, the late fifteenth century, such an assertion about the attraction of the holiness of the Holy Places could still be uncontroversial. During and after the Reformation this picture became more complicated, at least for those pilgrims who had become Protestant, as well as for their Franciscan hosts.

The picture is bound to be complex since, even though reformers rejected the cult of the saints, shrines, relics, pilgrimage, and consecration rites, they nonetheless retained some conception of sacred space. The Weberian thesis of the complete "disenchantment of the world" has recently been challenged by several historians, among whom Will Coster and Andrew Spicer see instead "a rearrangement of space according to a new conception of the sacred."<sup>27</sup> The Reformation of sacred spaces did not happen all at once everywhere, but often involved a more gradual evolution of material culture as well as of the connected mentalities.<sup>28</sup> The evolution of Protestant pilgrimage, highly interconnected with sanctity of space and objects, reflects this meandering process. The work of Beatrice Groves and Paris O'Donnell on English and Scottish Protestant travellers to the Holy Land demonstrates that they could not altogether shake off

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- 26 "Et demum cum devote perambulat et querit cum desiderio cordis sancta loca *in iherusalem et extra que ihesus christus et maria eius benedicta mater cum propriis personis sanctificaverunt ac dignificaverunt*. Videtur devoto peregrino et vero catholico quod nullum bonum terrenum quantumcumque preciosum quod potest esse super terram vellet pro tali visitatione habere." Neuburg MS p. 208. Sollweck by exception edits this passage from the treatise, but omits the phrase in italic type. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 270.
- 27 Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, "Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7; Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- 28 Coster and Spicer, "Introduction," 2–7; Bridget Heal, "Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Lutheran Germany," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 39–59; Christian Grosse, "Places of Sanctification: The Liturgical Sacrality of Genevan Reformed Churches, 1535–1566," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60–80.

the pull of the sacred spaces or the desire to take home relics.<sup>29</sup> Bažant and Svátek come to a similar conclusion in their work on Utraquist pilgrims traveling to the Holy Land from Bohemia at the turn of the sixteenth century. These travellers were motivated by a desire to discover more about the ancient roots of Christianity, as well as by an interest in the biblical sites. Apart from objections to indulgences and post-biblical traditions their pilgrimage seems to have been more than anything “une affaire supra-confessionnelle”.<sup>30</sup>

The Catholic response to the Reformers' objections to sanctity of space and pilgrimage was at first marked by embarrassment and caution: attempts were made to curb unruly cults (those which could play into the hands of Reformers through practices and traditions that might be construed as idolatrous or superstitious). Later in the sixteenth century, however, the sacred landscape and pilgrimage were rehabilitated, a development marked by a revival of numerous shrines. Religious orders were at the forefront of the Catholic effort to resacralize the landscape, not least the Franciscans.<sup>31</sup> Certain pilgrimage shrines were turned to best advantage as sites of confessional conflict; a well-known example is that of Scherpenheuvel in the Low Countries. Situated at the border that now divided Catholic and Protestant Europe, Scherpenheuvel developed as a last stronghold of Catholicism on this significant frontier, enjoying the veneration of tens of thousands of pilgrims as well as the support of the Habsburg rulers.<sup>32</sup> Jerusalem and the Holy Land, a pilgrimage destination where Protestant and Catholic pilgrims met, is unique among pilgrimage destinations because neither party was truly in control of this terrain, while both were potential devotees. The Franciscans were a beleaguered minority there, but arguably so were Protestant travellers, and the resulting meeting and debate therefore took place on a more equal footing.<sup>33</sup> Thus early modern

29 Paris O'Donnell, “Pilgrimage or ‘Anti-Pilgrimage’? Uses of Mementoes and Relics in English and Scottish Narratives of Travel to Jerusalem, 1596–1632,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 2 (2009): 124–39; Groves, “Those Sanctified Places,” 681–700.

30 Vojtěch Bažant and Jaroslav Svátek, “Les Récits de Voyage Médiévaux Originaires de Bohême: Produits d'une Société Confessionnalisée?” *Médiévales* 67 (2014), <http://medievales.revues.org/7421>.

31 Alexandra Walsham, “The Sacred Landscape,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 206–07, 210; Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, chapter 6.

32 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge [MA]: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2007), 32–33. Scherpenheuvel is sometimes referred to as the ‘Jerusalem of the Low Countries’ due to the evocation of a number of Old Testament and Gospel memories at the site. Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel: Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 2002), 111–54.

33 The interreligious disputation that took place between the Franciscan William of Rubruck, Nestorians, Muslims, and Buddhists at the court of Khan Möngke in 1254 may be

Palestine was a site of confessional conflict unlike any other in Europe, where a topography of Old and New Testament memories could be contested, and where both parties could lay claim to the religious past in order to bolster their present confessional identity.<sup>34</sup> In their defence of sanctity of space and pilgrimage the Franciscans of the Holy Land sought to get their message across primarily by insisting on how both these things were supported by the Bible. Their effort is a typical Counter Reformation balancing act between defending and celebrating tradition while being wary of excess and attempting to preempt accusations of superstition and idolatry.<sup>35</sup>

The Franciscans of the Holy Land were clearly aware that rejection or changing notions of sacred space might have disastrous consequences for pilgrimage. A number of friars explained that one place could be more holy than another, and that the resulting practice of pilgrimage (especially to Jerusalem) was laudable and pleasing to God, if undertaken with the right attitude. How this type of Franciscan defence of pilgrimage took sanctity of place as a starting point is illustrated by a brief treatise called *Petit Discours de L'Utilité des Voyages ou Pelerinages* (1582) by the Observant Franciscan Claude Vicar, connected to the *Grand Couvent* in Paris. Vicar wrote this book on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Liesse in the North of France at the request of the Queen, Louise of Lorraine.<sup>36</sup> Its contents are a concise disquisition that

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interpreted as a possible parallel. Of this meeting only William's account has survived. Although he is generally hostile to the Nestorians in his travelogue, William seems to have more or less taken up position together with them against the Muslims and Buddhists during the actual disputation. William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990), 226–35; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Multilateral Disputation at the Court of the Grand Qan Mönke, 1254," in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, ed. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, Mark R. Cohen, Sasson Somekh, Sidney H. Griffith (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 162–83.

34 The effort to "create and inhabit a mythical past" was a prominent item on the agenda of the Counter Reformation. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 229. "Throughout the early modern Catholic world, the landscape was a critical arena in which confessional identity and religious memory were forged. The creation and rehabilitation of hallowed places went hand in hand with repossession of the contested terrain of the Christian past and with imaginative efforts to expand the history of the Church to include regions previously beyond the knowledge of Western Europeans." Walsham, "The Sacred Landscape," 221, cf. 214–15.

35 Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 31–34; Walsham, "The Sacred Landscape," 206.

36 In the dedicatory words to the queen Vicar refers to many barren women becoming pregnant with the help of Our Lady of Liesse. Louise de Lorraine undertook several pilgrimages hoping to conceive, but she never had a child. Her private book collection contained a copy of Vicar's *Petit Discours* as well as the 1583 version of Gabriel Giraudet's *Discours du Voyage d'Outre Mer au Saint Sepulchre de Jerusalem*, which since the first edition in 1575 had been dedicated to her. In the years 1582–84 Louise sent two Capuchin friars to

explains and argues for Jerusalem pilgrimage, since the practice had come under attack during the French Wars of Religion.<sup>37</sup> In the prefatory remarks addressed to Louise's husband, King Henry III, Vicar calls on him to fight those rebelling against the church, making a comparison to the passion relics preserved in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, which God had defended from the Turks by placing them under the protection of the French kings.<sup>38</sup> In the dedication to the queen Vicar does not forget to praise her ancestor, the famous crusader King Godfrey of Bouillon, for defending Christendom in the Holy Land.<sup>39</sup>

When it comes to defending pilgrimage Vicar discusses first things first, opening the *Discours* with the assertion that even though God desires to be served everywhere, there are some places he has chosen to be served and honoured in particular. Citing a number of scriptural proofs for this, he then observes that Jerusalem was thus singled out among cities, and that piously traveling there finds several precedents in both the Old and the New Testament. He concludes that "God operates differently, according to the diversity of places."<sup>40</sup> Living up to its sub-title "Drawn from several passages of the Holy Scripture," the *Discours* aims to drive home the message that sanctity of place and pilgrimage are thoroughly scriptural instead of superstitious. For completeness Vicar also cites Augustine's favourable remarks in *Contra Faustum* concerning the cult of the saints, a text often referred to by Protestants for the claim that God is equally present everywhere.<sup>41</sup>

Some seventy years later Bernardinus Surius, the Recollect friar from the Low Countries already mentioned, who served in the Holy Land during the years 1644–47, still felt he had the same problems to contend with.<sup>42</sup> Surius wrote about his experiences in the very popular book *Den Godtvruchtighen*

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Jerusalem to perform a pilgrimage by proxy on her behalf. Ghislain Tranié, *Louise de Lorraine (1553–1601). L'Esprit et la Lettre d'une Reine de France*. MA-thesis Sorbonne, Paris 1999–2000; Jacqueline Boucher, *Deux Épouses et Reines à la Fin du xv<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Louise de Lorraine et Marguerite de France* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1995), 229–32, 252–58.

37 In the section AU LECTEUR Vicar explains his intentions. Claude Vicar, *Petit Discours de L'Utilité des Voyages ou Pèlerinages* (Paris: Charles Roger, 1582), [no pagination].

38 "AU ROY," Vicar, *Petit Discours*, [no pagination].

39 "A LA ROYNE," Vicar, *Petit Discours*, [no pagination]. For the political activities of the Franciscan order during the French wars of religion see Megan C. Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers during the Wars of Religion, 1560–1600* (Rochester [NY]: University of Rochester Press, 2004).

40 Vicar, *Petit Discours*, [no pagination].

41 Cf. Constable, "Opposition," 126; Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

42 The Recollect friars (not to be confused with the Coletan friars) constitute an early modern reform movement within the Observant branch of the Franciscan order that has its origins in France during the later decades of the sixteenth century.

*Pelgrim ofte Ierusalemse Reyse*, first published in 1650, going through several reprints, and translated into French by the author himself.<sup>43</sup> Before starting the narrative of his “Jerusalem journey” proper, Surius dedicates the first chapter to explaining “that pilgrimages and peregrinations are laudable, and that one place is more holy than another.”<sup>44</sup> He confesses that he would rather start with the main subject matter directly, but feels that the situation in the Low Countries is such that he needs to take up his pilgrim’s staff as if it were “a sword of the true Word of God.”<sup>45</sup>

Asking patience from the benevolent reader, Surius points out that this is necessary in case a Calvinist, for example, reads his book and says that pilgrimages are superstitious. On the contrary, Surius holds, pilgrimage is a praiseworthy activity for everyone who goes about it with the right attitude of holy zeal, with the exception of women, married men, and priests with responsibilities at home. He explains that “God has elected some places especially to demonstrate his mercy and benevolence to humankind through miracles that exceed all created powers.”<sup>46</sup> This can of course happen anywhere, but the Holy Land has always been the main pilgrimage destination in the world, according to Surius. Many illustrious persons have made this journey and become knights of the Holy Sepulchre; with the explicit intention of shaming Dutch men of the new religion Surius cites the names of their ancestors that he has read in a registry book in Jerusalem.<sup>47</sup> He then turns, like Claude Vicar, to citing a number of Old and New Testament witnesses to prove that pilgrimage is pleasing to God.

Surius concludes his chapter in defence of pilgrimage with a section titled “Some objections of the Beggars [*Geuzen*],” in which he laments that the best

43 Bernardinus Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim ofte Ierusalemse Reyse* (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1650). I refer to the 4th edition of 1665, since it is more readily available for consultation on Google Books. Cf. Houbaert, “Surius (de Soer),” 873–76.

44 “HET EERSTE CAPITTEL. Dat de Pelgrimagien ende Bede-vaerden loffelijck zijn, ende dat d'een plaetse heyligher is als d'ander.” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 1.

45 “...; maer het is hier in Nederlant soo ghestelt / dat my dunckt van noede te zijn / dat ick mijnen Pelgrims-staf / in d'ander handt neme (om mijnen Psalter ende mijn Penne te beschermen) het zweerd van het op-recht Woordt Godts ...” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 1.

46 “.../ dat Godt eenighe plaetsen verkoos / om daer sonderlingh sijne bermhertigheydt / en de goedt-gunstigheydt aen de menschen te bewijzen; het welck Godt plagh te doen door mirakelen alle geschapene krachten te boven gaande;” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 3.

47 This might be the *Navis Peregrinorum* kept by the friars in Jerusalem since 1561. *Navis Peregrinorum: Ein Pilgerverzeichnis aus Jerusalem von 1561 bis 1695*, ed. Bertrand Zimolong O.F.M. (Cologne: Bachem, 1938).

way for Protestants to attack pilgrimage is to “make people believe that one place is as good and holy as another,” for which they then provide three pieces of (according to him) false evidence.<sup>48</sup> The first objection is based on Calvin’s *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, namely that pilgrimage is a godless tradition rather than a scriptural practice, to which Surius indignantly responds that this is a “crude public lie,” since he has just cited all the relevant biblical passages that support pilgrimage.<sup>49</sup> The second often heard objection is based on Augustine’s remark that God is equally present everywhere. Surius points out that Augustine examines and *rejects* this thesis; nevertheless the “newly minded” keep on repeating it abusively. The third objection to holy places, which Surius cites from Calvin’s *Institutio*, is based on John 4: 20–24, and he sets out to expose it as faulty exegesis.<sup>50</sup> Concluding with the remark that Protestants are right to believe that their churches are no more holy than a horse’s stable, Surius considers his case made, and moves on to the second chapter about the particulars surrounding his departure for Jerusalem.<sup>51</sup>

This, then, was one way to defend sanctity of place and by extension pilgrimage against Protestant objections. The Franciscan friars Claude Vicar and Bernardinus Surius, as did their confrères, defended holy places and pilgrimage, to the Holy Land in particular, by meeting common Protestant criticism head on, and attempting to demonstrate the scriptural basis of pilgrimage and its non-superstitious character. It is evident that, as F. Thomas Noonan observes, “frowns and smirks on the part of Erasmus and the reformers” concerning pilgrimage were answerable and far from decisive.<sup>52</sup> This seems especially the case when one considers that even though Protestant travellers in principle rejected the idea of sacred shrines, they nevertheless kept coming to Jerusalem

48 *Geuzen*, or Beggars, is the *nom de guerre* of a confederacy of Dutch Calvinists who opposed Spanish rule in the Low Countries during the second half of the sixteenth century. “Eenighe teghen-stellingen van de Geusen. Geen frayer / noch beter fundament voor de Nieuw-gesinde / om de Pelgrimagien om te stooten / dan de menschen wijs te maken dat d’een plaetse soo goedt ende soo heyligh is als d’ander; jae dat geen plaetse eenighe heyligheit en heeft; volghens dat Godt op d’een plaetse het gebedt niet meer verhoort als op d’ander. Sy hebben oock eenigh Schijnbewijs hier van.” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 8.

49 “een grove openbaere leughen,” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 8.

50 Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 8–11.

51 “Nochtans is ’t dat de Calvinisten ende huns gelijcken vastelijck gelooven / dat hunnen kercken niet meer heygheydt en hebben / dan de Peerds-stallen / sullen wy hen daer in laten recht hebben / aen-gaende hun kercken / daer in de HH. Sacramenten ende Godts Woordt ont-eert ende verwoest wordt,” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 11.

52 Noonan discusses the blind spot for early modern pilgrimage in present day criticism. Noonan, *The Road*, 12.

to visit the Holy Places. This was motivated by a variety of reasons, which did not necessarily result in pilgrimage in the traditional sense, such as improving one's understanding of the Bible by visiting biblical locations, or simply taking a detour while on a longer Levantine voyage, but the resulting visit could look very much like a pilgrimage.<sup>53</sup> For the Franciscans of the province of the Holy Land, however, having Protestant guests who were supposed to reject pilgrimage and sanctity of space, and who had a habit of questioning their ways, must have been a bewildering experience. How these Franciscans answered the question, "Why do these Protestants come, if not to devoutly worship the Holy Places?" is informative on a number of accounts. Their answer, the subject of the following section, reveals interactions very much characterized by (latent) conflict. New confessional boundaries needed to be drawn, especially on the historical, even biblical ground of the Holy Land, while Protestants equally felt a need to make it clear that they did not condone popish cult, perhaps especially because they were on a journey that might be perceived as pilgrimage.

### 3 "Why do Protestants go on Holy Land Pilgrimage?": The Franciscan Perspective

The phenomenon of Protestant travellers taking an interest in, for example, the Holy Places of the Passion in Jerusalem then as now seemed inherently or at least potentially paradoxical and in need of explanation. By and large both the Franciscans and the Protestant travellers in Jerusalem maintained that it was for reasons other than actual worship or respect of the sacred locations in question. Protestants often explained that their Holy Land visits were to enhance their Bible study or to satisfy historical interest. The Franciscans also attempted to understand why on earth Protestants who, often ostentatiously, discredited the importance of the Holy Places, insisted on coming to visit the same in considerable numbers. They tended to base their answer to this conundrum on a bookish and an empirical component: influential Counter Reformation literature on the subject on the one hand, and personal experience with Protestant Pilgrims in Jerusalem on the other.

In order to understand fully the way early modern friars of the province of the Holy Land regarded Protestants traveling to Jerusalem, it is helpful first to consider the four books on pilgrimage published in 1606 by Jacob Gretser, a Jesuit champion of the Catholic Reformation. Gretser's influential publication

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53 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination]. The early modern practice of incorporating "terra sancta inter alia" is discussed by Noonan, *The Road*, 130–53.

is the triumphant culmination of a series of Jesuit attempts to rehabilitate pilgrimage, and it aims to counter all the attacks levelled at pilgrimage in the course of the Reformation.<sup>54</sup> In chapter nine of the first book Gretser takes up the issue of Protestant pilgrims to the Holy Land, which he sees as the foremost pilgrimage destination in the world.<sup>55</sup> He wonders why Calvinists and Lutherans who “detest pilgrimage as superstitious and contrary to the word of God” would want to go to Jerusalem, all the while accusing Catholics of superstition.<sup>56</sup> Unbelievable as it may sound, it is nevertheless true; Gretser cites a number of travelogues by Protestant authors that testify to this, and he concludes: “The sectarians also travel to Jerusalem and the Holy Places then, but to another end.”<sup>57</sup> Following this brief introduction the remainder of the chapter examines the three major motivations of the “sectarians” as recognized by Gretser: first, to pursue their antiquarian interests; second, to ridicule Catholic piety at the Holy Places; and third, to spread lies about Franciscans and other pious inhabitants of the Holy Land in Europe.<sup>58</sup>

Gretser’s analysis in this case is based on Protestant travelogues. His text was picked up by Franciscans of the Holy Land as excellent ammunition for their cause. However, unlike Gretser the friars could rely also on personal experience to explain the Protestant presence in Jerusalem. Francesco Quaresmio, for example, certainly took inspiration from Gretser’s work for the third book of his massive eight book study, which is dedicated to exploring the complex matter of (Holy Land) pilgrimage itself.<sup>59</sup> Numerous references to Gretser, long passages copied verbatim, and the division of pilgrimage into four types,

54 For a characterization of Gretser’s calibre see Noonan, *The Road*, 88–89. For the debates on pilgrimage leading up to the publications of Gretser’s volumes see Gomez-Géraud, *Le Crépuscule*, 143–85; Jacobi Gretseri Societatis Jesu Theologi, *De Sacris et Religiosis Peregrinationibus Libri Quatuor* (Ingolstadt: Adamus Sartorius, 1606).

55 “Caput ix. Utrum Haeretici hujus temporis etiam Hierosolymam peregrinentur; & quam devote.” Gretser, *De Sacris*, 36.

56 “Cum Calviniani & Lutherani peregrinationes, tamquam superstitiosas, & verbo dei adversas, detestentur, suspicari quis posset, eos Hierosolymam nequaquam peregrinari; ne, quam Catholicos notam superstitionis inurunt, ipsi pariter incurant. Sed secus res sese habet.” Gretser, *De Sacris*, 36.

57 “Proficiscuntur ergo etiam Sectarii Hierosolymam & ad loca sancta; sed alio fine.” Gretser, *De Sacris*, 37.

58 “I. ut antiquitates lustrent, & quidem more antiquariorum, absque ullo pietatis aut religionis gustu: ... II. Videntur isti Hierosolymam petere, ut catholicorum pietatem in locis sanctis obeundis & colendis irrideant. ... Tercia causa, cur sectarii Hierosolymam peregrinantur, videtur esse, ut reversi in Europam Monachos, aliosque terrae sanctae pios incolas mendaciis onerent ac traducant;” Gretser, *De Sacris*, 37–42.

59 “Liber tertius. Argumentum. Agitur de multiplici peregrinatione, externa, honesta sive profana, ac interna spirituali; & illam ad loca sancta Terrae promissionis, in eisdemque



namely external and spiritual, and those two both divided again into sacred and profane, testify to this fact. Quaresmio further subdivides external, profane pilgrimage into the honest and laudable type, as opposed to detestable and vicious, which latter category describes peregrinating Protestants *par excellence*.<sup>60</sup>

When discussing the six causes for this degenerate type of pilgrimage, Quaresmio includes the three motivations for Calvinists and Lutherans to travel to the Holy Land discussed by Gretser, and adds to these from his own personal experience.<sup>61</sup> For example, he confirms that Protestants often come out of antiquarian interest, adding that he personally observed this more than once, although the Protestants themselves try to deny this as their purpose. On the other hand, Quaresmio confesses that he also observed some Protestants pour out prayers and show affection for the Holy Places. He is unsure whether this was in fact genuine reverence or a charade, as some Protestant travelogues suggest.<sup>62</sup> In the end, however, he is more convinced of the latter “since they are hypocrites and politicians.”<sup>63</sup> These first-hand observations testify to a highly complex situation in which Protestant pilgrims themselves were probably not entirely sure how they felt about the Holy Places.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, Quaresmio tries in all sincerity to be fair to the people he met, rather than to be upset with the travelogues some of them may have written subsequently. His conclusion that they are hypocrites nonetheless hints at bitter feelings, mostly related to

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mansionem licitam, utilem atque plurimum meritoriam esse, pluribus explicatur.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 754.

60 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, Lib. III, Cap. XXXIII De externa profana, sed honesta ac laudabilis peregrinatione; Cap. XXXIV De externa profana, sed detestabili ac vitiosa peregrinatione.

61 “Singulariter autem sex sacrilegae huius peregrinationis inveni causas, quarum tres priores adducit R.P. Gretserus de haereticis loquens, ...” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 835.

62 The Lutheran minister Salomon Schweigger and his company, who were in Jerusalem in the year 1581, took pains to conceal their identity from the friars, trying to pass as Catholics. Salomon Schweigger, *Ein Neue Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nürnberg: Johann Lantzenberger, 1608); cf. Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

63 “Et ita esse, ego non semel vidi; & et talem esse suae peregrinationis finem, nec ipsi diffitentur. Hic tamen non dissimulabo, me etiam observasse, aliquos ex istis sancta loca exosculatos fuisse, & in eisdem preces fudisse. Sed an vere & ex corde an potius simulate, ut possent habere testimoniales litteras, in quibus contineatur illos sancta loca devote visitasse, diiudicare nescio. Hoc posterius crediderim, quoniam hypocritae & politici sunt.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 835.

64 See Groves, “Those Sanctified Places,” 681–700. Zur Shalev observes that although serious attempts have been made to analyse the complex effect of the Reformation on pilgrimage, these are still inconclusive. Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 102.

the second supposed motivation for Protestant pilgrimage, also discussed by Gretser: to ridicule Catholics.

Quaresmio clearly experienced Protestants making fun of Catholic rites and beliefs around the Holy Places as an attack on all that he held most dear. He copies Gretser's lengthy and fiery disputation of the Lutheran Leonhard Rauwolff's disproving remarks on "popish holiness," indulgences, the praying of Hail Marys and Pater Nosters at every corner, as well as the collection of relics.<sup>65</sup> Rauwolff's pious insistence on meditating on Christ's sacrifice *in situ* and his "sermonizing" seem in particular to have raised Gretser's ire, for posing as a pilgrim instead of the irreverent tourist Gretser made him out to be. Rauwolff consistently referred to this part of his travels as a *Bilgerfart*, a pilgrimage.<sup>66</sup> To Gretser's material Quaresmio adds some reflections and interjections of his own, including a pained groan of exasperation: "And wherefore, I ask, are pious pilgrims not to be praised, who with similar piety and faith touch the Holy Places ...? Wrongly then the heretic physician disparages the pious work of faithful pilgrims."<sup>67</sup> It seems as if Quaresmio is taking personal offence at Rauwolff's poking fun, perhaps since he is trying to keep an open mind himself, as we saw above.

The same sensitive point recurs in a chapter on the veneration that is due to the Holy Places, in which Protestants ridiculing Catholic ceremony figure as the perfect example of how one should *not* behave around the Holy Places.<sup>68</sup> Here the reason for Quaresmio's vexation at derisive Protestants surfaces, namely that he feels they are incredibly ungrateful: "When they have arrived in Jerusalem, they are most kindly received by the friars who reside there, who treat them as friends and wash their feet, and what their piety and habit expends on Catholics, they [Protestants] are shown just so, even though they are enemies." In this, Quaresmio explains, the friars follow the example of Christ, who washed the feet of all of his disciples, including Judas, hoping that by this "act of humility and kindness their hard hearts may be softened."<sup>69</sup>

65 Rauwolff, *Aigentliche Beschreibung*, 342–44; Gretser, *De Sacris*, 37–41; Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 835–39.

66 Noonan, *The Road*, 90–92. "mit meiner Rayss und Bilgerfart," Rauwolff, *Aigentliche Beschreibung*, 343.

67 "Et quare, quaeso, non laudandi sunt pij peregrini, qui simili pietate ac fide tangunt loca sacra Terrae Sanctae; ... Perperam ergo Medicus haereticus pio operi fidelium peregrinorum detrahit." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 837.

68 "Caput XLII. De cultu & veneratione quae locis sanctis sunt exhibenda." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 860.

69 "Isti cum Ierosolymam pervenerint, humanissime excipientur, & ab ibidem commorantibus Fratribus ut amici tractantur, pedes eis lavantur, ac quae illorum pietas & consuetudo Catholicis impendit, eis quoque, licet hostibus, exhibentur (exemplo Christi Salvatoris,

Nevertheless, Protestants behave like Judases, since they mock the friars' good works and thus commit horrible sacrilege by laughing and despising the Holy Places. Here there is none of Gretser's spiteful vindictiveness; Quaresmio, who must have kissed quite a few Protestant feet in his time, seems simply to feel betrayed.

The ceremony of washing the feet of new arrivals at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem touched more hearts than Quaresmio's.<sup>70</sup> Antonius Gonsales, a Recollect friar from the Low Countries who travelled to the Holy Land in the years 1664–71, also serving as guardian of the convent of Bethlehem, describes the ceremony in his travelogue.<sup>71</sup> First, the Franciscan *custos* of the Holy Land washes and kisses the feet of the new arrivals, regardless of their station or denomination; then he takes their right foot on his left knee and all the friars come to kiss it, kneeling down. Gonsales observes that on more than one occasion both pilgrims and bystanders were moved to tears when witnessing this powerful ritual. So powerful was it, according to him, that sometimes those of the other religion were even inspired to return to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. Gonsales cannot miss the opportunity to point out that this ritual is entirely scriptural, based on the example of Christ.<sup>72</sup> Indeed it is an act of humility with strong scriptural resonances that cannot have been lost on any newly arrived Protestant. Rather complacently he concludes: "What will the newly-minded say about this, who normally laugh at all the ceremonies? So I've seen, that some burst out into tears against their will, so that they could not hide it."<sup>73</sup>

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qui non modo sanctos Apostolos amicos suos dixit, sed & proditorem Iudam amicum nominavit, nec tantum illorum, sed & huius lavit pedes) ut saltem isto humilitatis & humanitatis actu eorum dura corda emolliantur." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 86o.

70 See Tramontana, "Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims," 14.

71 Antonius Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse* (Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1673), vol. 1, 265.

72 "Ende ick heb op diversche reysen bemerckt als dese schoon ceremonien gheschieden, dat de Pelgrims ende omstaenders daer door soo grootelijcks beweeght worden dat hun de traenen uyt-bersten, alle daer sien soo grooten Prelaet, den Pauselijcken Commissaris van heel Oosteren, den Oversten van gheheel 't H. Landt, naer 't exempel Christi, liggen aen de voeten vande Pelgrims, niet alleen van sijn broeders, maer wereltlijcke soo wel die van andere Religien zijn, als van de Catholijcken, hun voeten wassende, kussende &c. beweeght soo merckelijck, dat somtijds die van andere Religie zijn gheweest, hun dolingen zijn afghegaen ende Catholijcke Religie hebben aenghenomen en sijn kinderen vande Roomsche Kercke gheworden. Dese schoone en devote Ceremonien en zijn niet nieuw op-ghecomen, noch van menschen inghestelt, maer naer 't exempel van Christi, die 't selve gedaen ende gherecommandeert heeft ..." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 265–66.

73 "Wat sullen ons nieuw-ghesinde hier van segghen, die ghemeynlijck lacchen met alle Ceremonien? Soo ick van eenighe ghesien heb, met dese Ceremonien teghen hunnen danck

With this poignant reception ceremony the friars certainly held a trump card, at least in the eyes of friar Gonsales: this was one ceremony during which they had the upper hand, and no Protestant would presume to laugh at them. However, as Quaresmio observes, it often missed its intended long-term effect. Gonsales, well aware of Quaresmio's writings in addition to Gretser's, says that some, like Judas, only harden to become more bent on mocking and defaming Catholics, and even discouraging others from journeying to Jerusalem. Nevertheless, like Quaresmio, Gonsales is unwilling to generalize *because* of his first-hand experience in Jerusalem dealing with Protestant pilgrims: he has met many worthy men of the other religion who treated the friars and the Holy Places with respect. Giving a number of individual examples, he then vows that he does not mean to attack these good men, but only "those false tongues, who by defaming and lying seek to obscure the Holy Places; yes, even dare spread the same in print, I will answer briefly."<sup>74</sup>

Like Bernardinus Surius, whose book has been "greatly praised by many and three times reprinted," Gonsales includes a defence of Holy Land pilgrimage before the start of the actual account of his journey to Jerusalem.<sup>75</sup> However, Gonsales spends three chapters instead of only one on this task, and he adopts a different approach. The first chapter opens with the words, "Pilgrimage is subdivided into good laudable pilgrimage, idle pilgrimage, and damnable pilgrimage." Gonsales' main objective is to raise a counter-offensive in answer to those who undertake the third type of pilgrimage, namely to defame and accuse the Catholic Church.<sup>76</sup> He has been worried by books that had recently been printed in a number of Dutch cities, and he intends to "plug the mouths

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bersten hun traenen uyt, dat sy 't niet en conden verberghen." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 266.

74 "Want veel nieuwhesiende, uyt Engelant, Duydtslant, en de Hollandt, reysen naer Jerusalem, niet uyt devotie, maer eenighe uyt curieushey, niet om geestelijcke vruchten te be-erven, maer om de heylige Ceremonien, ende devotie der Catholijcken te belacchen. ... Dese dan loff-weerdighe Mannen, ende andere, soo in Hollandt als andere quartieren (hoewel van andere Religie sijn) en wille in't minste niet raecken, maer alleen die valsche tonghen, de met lasteren, soecken te verduysteren de Heylighe plaetsen, ja derven 't selve in druck laten uitgean, sal in 't kort beantwoorden." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 10–12.

75 "Van ghelijcke heeft seer devotelijck beschreven de Ierusalemse Pelgrimage den Eerw. P. Bernardinus Surius Minderbroeder Recollect, die grootelijcx van veele is ghepresen, ende tot dry reysen herdruckt." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, TOT DEN LESER, [no pagination].

76 "De Pelgrimage wordt verdeylt in goede verdienstelijcke; ydele, ende in verdoemlijcke Pelgrimage;" Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 1–2. The first chapter mostly aims at demonstrating that pilgrimage is a very old, scriptural tradition, and that many very respectable historical persons were pilgrims.

of these and similar false authors."<sup>77</sup> The two authors whom he singles out are Heinrich Bünting and George Sandys; Dutch translations of their works came out in 1630 and 1654 respectively according to Gonsales.

In his defence against what he considers typical Protestant pilgrimage accounts aimed at defaming good Catholics, Gonsales responds to what he perceives as resentful lies about the friars, and then sets out to counter the accusations by explaining their flaws and presenting the true situation. George Sandys, who has a relatively ecumenical outlook, and confesses himself to have been changed by the experience of entering the Holy Sepulchre, still offends Gonsales by suggesting that a number of English pilgrims who died in Jerusalem some years previously were murdered by the friars.<sup>78</sup> This is a grave accusation of course, and Gonsales wonders how anyone could believe that these devout religious would kill pilgrims. He then explains what actually happened. According to him the pilgrims had fought among themselves at the house of the dragoman. Those who did not survive the fight were buried in silence by the Franciscans, to avoid that the Ottoman authorities would find out about the disturbance.<sup>79</sup> As the official representatives of all Western Christians in Jerusalem, historically categorised as "Franks," the Franciscans would be held accountable for any misbehaviour on the part of Protestants as well.<sup>80</sup>

The other accusation levelled by Sandys is based on the negative stereotype that Catholics are greedy, a sentiment common to early modern English anti-Catholicism, as well as idolatrous and superstitious. The accusation of greed is a topos in Anglican travelogues concerning the pecuniary demands of the friars.<sup>81</sup> Sandys complains that even though he knows the friars have to pay considerable tribute to the Ottomans, they ask a high price for a "cloister treatment" and are still always begging for more money. Gonsales indignantly

77 "Diverse boecken, ghedruckt tot Arnem, Uytrecht, ende andere plaetsen in Hollandt ... om dese en dierghelijcke valsche schrijvers den mond te stoppen." Gonsales, *Ierusalem-sche Reijse*, vol. 1, 7.

78 James Ellison, *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002); Groves, "Those Sanctified Places," 685. Sandys wrote a "Hymn to my Redeemer" that he pinned on the Holy Sepulchre, which contains the line "thou, whose body sanctified this tomb." George Sandys, *Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610* (London: W. Barrett, 1615), 167.

79 Gonsales, *Ierusalem-sche Reijse*, vol. 1, 14.

80 Eva Johanna Holmberg, "In the Company of the Franks: British Identifications in the Early Modern Levant c. 1600," *Studies in Travelwriting* 16, no. 4 (2012): 363–74.

81 In answer to Protestant complaints on this topic Friar Pietro Verniero indignantly explains the difference between the giving of alms and payment for hospitality, which according to him the friars never asked of anyone. Tramontana, "Getting by the Resort of Pilgrims," 9–13.

responds that this is a lie that does not deserve to be answered; but he still tries to uncover Sandys' deceit: he can never have visited all the sites he describes in his book in the eight days that he claims to have paid for, so he must have stayed longer without paying. Furthermore, Gonsales makes Sandys' meanness out to be a vice common to most nationalities when they visit the Holy Land, excepting those coming from Holland and Brabant, who are more generous.<sup>82</sup>

The other Protestant travelogue that Gonsales discusses is the *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae*, written by the Lutheran theologian Heinrich Bünting. In this text, which went through numerous Dutch editions, the friars are also accused of being greedy; however, Bünting's allegations are based on more fundamental objections to Holy Land Pilgrimage than are those of Sandys. The *Itinerarium* is a guidebook or itinerary through the geography of the Bible, its purpose to improve understanding of the scriptures. Bünting was an arm-chair pilgrim, and as much as he valued geographical knowledge of the lands of the Bible he strongly disapproved of making the actual journey.<sup>83</sup> According to him the Jerusalem of old was entirely destroyed, and sanctuaries such as the Holy Sepulchre were just frauds constructed by money hungry monks: the Franciscans are clearly implied. The accusation of greed might in this case also be attributed to anti-fraternalist rather than generally anti-Catholic sentiment: medieval anti-fraternalist stereotypes survived the German Reformation in radicalized and augmented form, perpetuating accusations of greed and hypocrisy, for example.<sup>84</sup> Gonsales is highly offended by Bünting, and asks whether Calvin would have approved of Bünting's distrust of, for example, St Jerome when writing about Christ's footprints on the Mount of Olives.<sup>85</sup>

Here we touch upon another controversial issue that shaped interactions between the friars and their Protestant guests, namely the identification and authenticity of the Holy Places. Since the Bible is not precise about the location

82 Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 15–16.

83 H.A.M. van der Heijden, "Heinrich Bünting's *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae*, 1581: A Chapter in the Geography of the Bible," *Quaerendo* 28, no. 1 (1998): 49–71; Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 101; Heinrich Bünting, *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae. Das is ein Reisebuch uber die ganzte heilige Schrift* (Helmstedt: Jacobus Lucius, 1581).

84 Geoffrey Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism in the German Reformation: Johann Eberlin von Günzburg and the Campaign against the Friars* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 7, 14, 16, 30–36. While the themes of post-Reformation antifraternalism remained more or less the same, it was indeed more driven by ideological motivations than medieval antifraternalism, since some of the social factors that had contributed to the earlier manifestations of it had become less important. Also see Guy Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

85 Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 12–13.

of events, and the city of Jerusalem went through several radical transformations through time, how can one be sure? Gonsales explains in the second chapter of his book that the identification of Holy Places must primarily be based on the Bible, and where that source is inconclusive other sources and ancient traditions may help.<sup>86</sup> He also offers a metaphor to illustrate the attraction of the Holy Places: when Christ's blood spilled on Calvary, the stones became magnetic, drawing everyone towards that spot, including sinners "whose hearts are like iron." This statement is most likely meant to include Protestants traveling to Jerusalem.<sup>87</sup>

The attitudes of Protestant pilgrims vary on this score: some are credulous, while others, like Bunting, hold that pilgrimage cannot exist outside the Bible itself, and come close to denying the actual existence of the Holy Land in the present time altogether. This could result in odd situations in Jerusalem. In his *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata* friar Mariano Morone da Maleo sets out to prove the actual existence of the Holy Land, in response to the stories he has heard from the friars who conduct the pilgrims.<sup>88</sup> Morone da Maleo, who held several high offices in the Franciscan province of the Holy Land, writes:

The motive that makes me resolve to arrive at these proofs of the Holy Land, was, having understood from our friars who usually conduct and accompany the pilgrims on the visit of the sanctuaries, how some of them – little practiced in the scriptures and libertines of conscience, not to mention heretics, having seen Palestine and the Holy City of Jerusalem, with a prospect totally different from that which showed in ancient times – cannot believe that it is the same. They make fun about it, and they joke about it, while saying: This is Palestine? That is the city of Jerusalem?<sup>89</sup>

86 "HET II. CAPITTEL. Op wat maniere men moet ghelooven het ghene vande Heylighe Plaetsen wordt gheseyt, ende klaere teecken van de waerheydt der selve." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 7.

87 Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 9.

88 Mariano Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata*, 2 vols. (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1669).

89 "Il mottiuo, che mi fece risoluere di venire à queste proue di Terra Santa, fu l'haver' inteso da' Frati nostri soliti di condurre, & accompagnare i Pellegrini alla visita de' Santuarij, come alcuni di questi poco practice delle scritte, e di conscentia Libertini, per non dire Heretici; veduta la Palestina, e Santa Città di Gierusalemme, con prospettiuua totalmente diversa da quella, che mostraua anticamente, non ponno credere, che sij la medesima, beffeggiandosene, e schernedola, con dire: *Questa è la Palestina? Questa è la Città di Gierusalemme? Questa è quella Metropoli delle Città, Signora delle genti, Principessa delle Provincie, bellissima fra le belle?*" Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 13.

This gives the impression that Protestant pilgrims lacked confidence among the Holy Places. Unsure about what to believe, or how to behave, they were not entirely immune to the pull of the Holy Places, since their hearts were made of iron, as friar Gonsales would say; yet they were unwilling to compromise their credentials as Protestants. Laughing and smirking seems to have been their solution, as well as being rude to their Franciscan hosts, just in order to pass as good Protestants. These Franciscan sketches of the behaviour of Protestants in Jerusalem complicate the picture outlined by Tramontana of reasonably amicable and peaceful interactions in Jerusalem. They highlight the predominantly rhetorical function of the virulent anti-Catholic sentiments that surface in Protestant travelogues.<sup>90</sup> It seems that in real life too confessional boundaries needed to be explicitly demarcated in the interactions between the friars and their Reformed guests. The friars responded to this in print as well, offering a comprehensive analysis of Protestant pilgrimage.

Sneering was considered by the Franciscans to be one of the main goals of Protestant pilgrimage, alongside studying antiquities and blackening the friars' reputation in print after returning home. The friars' analysis, based on Gretser's Counter Reformation polemic as well as their own personal experience in Jerusalem, provides us with a nuanced picture of an encounter characterized by insecurity on the part of the Protestants. It appears from their writings that the friars tried to keep an open mind about their Protestant guests and refrained from being judgemental, even though at times they were bewildered by the very existence of Reformed Holy Land pilgrimage. They sought to come to terms with this phenomenon while at the same time speaking up for themselves in their substantial responses to the polemic found in Protestant travelogues. Apart from sneering and antiquarianism, a further motivation for going on Holy Land pilgrimage which the friars commonly associate with Protestant pilgrims is curiosity. This vice, traditionally associated with the decline of medieval pilgrimage and the rise of secular renaissance travel, is used creatively by the Franciscans to separate the chaff from the wheat when it comes to pilgrims.

#### 4 Pilgrims between Curiosity and Devotion

Curiosity and devotion are sometimes represented as mutually exclusive, opposite ends of a binary, especially as regards late medieval and early modern travel. As a result the start of curious renaissance travel has often been

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<sup>90</sup> Tramontana, "Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims," 1–17.



interpreted as the harbinger of the demise of devout pilgrimage. However, just as the Reformation did not end Holy Land pilgrimage, nor did new modes of travel. In what follows I treat curiosity and devotion not as opposites but as a meaningful pair that can tell us much about Franciscan attitudes towards their Protestant and other guests, as well as the friars' ideas about pilgrimage and travel. In the end the curious and the devout do not emerge as necessary opposites but as versatile concepts that helped the Jerusalem friars to measure the merit of pilgrims, and above all to claim back Franciscan authority over the Jerusalem pilgrimage.

The Franciscans of the *provincia Terrae Sanctae* tended to associate Protestant pilgrimage with an unwarrantedly high dose of curiosity. Friar Antonius Gonsales in his typology of pilgrimage places idle pilgrimage, motivated by curiosity, between laudable and damnable pilgrimage on the scale from good to bad. According to him the intention of the pilgrim is paramount, and being curious about foreign lands is not nearly as bad a motivation as aiming to defame Catholics either in Rome or Jerusalem.<sup>91</sup> This mode of curious pilgrimage Gonsales associates with a minority of Protestants. Echoing Quaresmio, he observes, "because many newly-minded, from England, Germany, and Holland travel to Jerusalem not out of devotion, but some out of curiosity, not in order to inherit spiritual fruits," while a majority of course means to mock Catholics.<sup>92</sup> Gonsales taps into the constructed binary of the *curious* and the *devout* which often figures in discussions of medieval and early modern travel writing as well as *geographia sacra*.

The incompatibility of devout pilgrimage with curious travel sometimes loomed large in the minds of medieval pilgrims. When friar Paul Walther von Guglingen advises against a risky excursion to the mosque that contains the cave of the patriarchs in Hebron, he argues in the following manner: "And I speak for myself: if I were to enter, it would be more out of curiosity than out of devotion."<sup>93</sup> Even if Guglingen refers to this curious/devout dichotomy in an

91 "De Pelgrimagie wordt verdeylt in goede verdienstelijcke; ydele, ende in verdoemlijcke Pelgrimagie; also ghenoeft uyt het einde, of intentie vande selve: is goet, die met goede meyninge ende saligh eynde geschiedt, is ydel, die uyt curieusheydt, tot eyghen profijt geschiedt: is verdoemlijck die tot een quaedt einde ofte boose intentie gheschiedt." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 1.

92 "Want veel nieuwhesiende, uyt Engelant, Duydtslant, ende Hollandt, reysen, naar Ierusalem, niet uyt devotie, maer eenighe uit curieusheydt, niet om gheestelijcke vrucht te be-erven, maer om de heylighe Ceremonien, ende devotie der Catholijcken te belacchen." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, 10–11; cf. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 860.

93 "Et dico pro persona mea: si ego intrarem, magis esset ex curiositate quam ex devotione." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 159.

offhand way, he fully expects his readers to grasp the divergent moral implications of “curious” and “devout” in the phrase cited above. Although it is not one of the seven cardinal sins, *vitium curiositatis* could even be considered on a par with them thanks to Augustine’s discussion of it, who defined it as “concupiscence of the eyes”: a corruption of the senses.<sup>94</sup>

This was precisely the type of sin that would tempt wayfaring pilgrims to give more attention to the foreign landscapes they passed through and prevent them from doing penance all the way to their pious goal, according to Christian K. Zacher.<sup>95</sup> His book shows that curiosity was ever more present in pilgrimage accounts, especially from the fourteenth century onwards. Based on his reading of fifteenth-century pilgrims’ accounts, Donald Roy Howard comes to a similar conclusion: “The pilgrim authors wrote to teach and to entertain; they entertained by providing a vicarious experience. Part of that experience was religious, but the better part is “curiosity,” – the interest of travellers in strange things, magnificent sights, other men’s customs and beliefs.”<sup>96</sup> Curiosity could thus be part of the medieval pilgrimage experience on its own account. Indeed during the medieval period the word *curiositas* by itself cannot be assumed to refer only to immoral desire for illicit knowledge or sensory experiences. In the middle ages too there was *bona*, *mala*, and even *media curiositas*, a situation more complicated than modern critics as well as some medieval moralists would have us believe.<sup>97</sup> Conversely, curiosity could have a range of meanings during the renaissance, not all of which were positive.<sup>98</sup>

Expressions of curiosity as part of the late medieval pilgrimage experience have often been interpreted as signs prefiguring the waning of medieval pilgrimage and the growth of early modern travel, a view represented in, for

94 This definition is based on John 2:16. Augustine is the first to offer a systematic treatment of curiosity as a sin, by giving it a place in his triad of sins along with pride and concupiscence of the flesh. Richard Newhauser, “Augustinian Vitium Curiositatis and its Reception,” in *Saint Augustine and his Influence in the Middle Ages*, ed. E.B. King and J.B. Schaefer (Sewanee [TN]: Press of the University of the South, 1988), 99–124.

95 Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 18–41.

96 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 53.

97 Richard Newhauser, “Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* 56 (1982): 567–71.

98 On the basis of a wide range of secondary literature Marr concludes that “a defining characteristic of early modern curiosity and/or wonder is ambiguity.” Alexander Marr, “Introduction,” in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. R.J.W. Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 1–6. Also see Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). For a study of the semantic field of curiosity see: Neil Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe: Word Histories* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998).

example, Justin Stagl's social history of travel.<sup>99</sup> This traditional view has been effectively challenged by Zur Shalev, who debunks the widely assumed "mortal battle between curiosity and pilgrimage," based on a wide reading of both medieval and early modern sources.<sup>100</sup> Instead he argues for a broadly defined Mediterranean literature of travel in which curiosity and devotion developed alongside each other rather than in opposition.<sup>101</sup>

Shalev's understanding of the relationship between curiosity and devotion is corroborated by the writings of the Franciscans of the province of the Holy Land. The friars, who might after all be suspected of rather conservative views on the admissibility of curiosity into the repertoire of appropriate attitudes for pilgrims, display a remarkable degree of flexibility in this matter. Francesco Quaresmio observes in the preface to his monumental study that his main subject, namely the Holy Places, is perplexingly difficult to treat well; many before him have arrived at the wrong conclusions even if they had good intentions.<sup>102</sup> Although knowledge of the Holy Places is useful for all the faithful, it is especially so for those who travel to the Holy Land, and Quaresmio claims that he wrote his *Elucidatio* "because of the *curiosi* coming to these parts, not only heretics but also Catholics; who, not content with simple tradition, require more evidence of what is usually stated about the Holy Places."<sup>103</sup> Thus he aims to prevent Protestants from despising the Holy Places, while at the same time satisfying the curiosity of well-educated Catholics. Quaresmio uses the word *curiosi* in the seventeenth-century sense of well-educated literati with a thirst for knowledge who are ready to pay painstaking attention to detail.<sup>104</sup>

99 Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 47–49.

100 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 84.

101 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 90–95.

102 "PRAEFATIO AD LECTOREM. Perdifficilem, sed utilem aggressus sum prouinciam, pie ac studiose Lector, tractare de Locis sanctis Terrae promissionis, quae in nostra hac misera temporum conditione a variis gentibus visitari consueuerent." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, xxxj.

103 "Idque propter curiosos, non solum haereticos ad has partes venientes, sed etiam Catholicos, qui simplici traditione non contenti, maiorem eorum, quae de locis sanctis communiter afferuntur, requirunt euidenciam; ne scilicet illi supercilium erigant, &, ut assolent, omnes traditiones contemnunt, quasi nec ratione nec auctoritate nitantur; propter Catholicos autem illa loca adeuntes, placuit rationes, auctoritates, dubiorum solutiones addere." Quaresmio, *Historia Theologica*, xxxviiij. "And this because of the *curiosi* coming to these parts, not only heretics but also Catholics; who, not content with simple tradition, require more evidence of what is usually stated about the Holy Places; so that [the heretics] may not become arrogant and despise all traditions as they are wont, as if they [traditions] were supported by neither reason nor authority; while because of the Catholics going to those places, I decided to add reasons, authorities, and solutions to doubts."

104 Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 218.

In the field of *geographia sacra* on the Holy Land, in which Quaresmio is an important author, curiosity about and devotion to the sacred sites of Palestine often figure together. Adam Beaver points out that the field is characterized by a “complex relationship between religious devotion and critical research.”<sup>105</sup> The early modern sacred geographer was simultaneously eager for knowledge and reverent of his object of study, combining “the pilgrim’s devotion and the scholar’s curiosity.”<sup>106</sup> Shalev describes how curiosity became a tool, a con-  
 doned methodology with which to approach devout subject matter.<sup>107</sup> The col-  
 location “devout curiosity,” current since the fifteenth century, describes this  
 mode of inquisitive intellectual engagement with revered holy objects.<sup>108</sup>

Apart from recognizing this more scholarly type of curiosity, Quaresmio’s phrasing “*curiosi*, not only the heretics” clearly suggests that he considers Protestants to be archetypically curious. Indeed elsewhere in his monumen-  
 tal study he exclaims: “Western heretics often come to Jerusalem not out of  
 piety and religion, but out of noxious curiosity.” They come not for spiritual  
 fruits, but to what Quaresmio describes as the detriment of souls.<sup>109</sup> This axis  
 of the curious and the devout has kaleidoscopic qualities: several combina-  
 tions are possible. In his Italian translation of Juan de Calahorra’s chronicle of  
 the Franciscan province of the Holy Land published in 1694 friar Angelico di  
 Milano speaks of “the curious, but devout mind of pilgrims” in an interpolated  
 passage.<sup>110</sup> Here there is only a whiff of opposition detectable between the two:

105 Adam G. Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims,” 269.

106 “For Jerome then, the pilgrim’s devotion and the scholar’s curiosity were complementary activities, inextricably linked. To understand the bible, one had to see the Holy Land; but to see the Holy Land properly, one had to know the bible...., the antiquarian commentaries of the renaissance accepted this perspective.” Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims,” 281.

107 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 95.

108 “Sacred or devout curiosity, a term most probably coined in the late fifteenth century, is perhaps the most important for understanding the traditions that merged in the workshop of the sacred geographer. ... Curiosity becomes a devout act in itself. It is not employed in the traditional, pejorative sense of reaching beyond human and moral bounds, but in the evolving contemporary, positive one: examining curious evidence thoroughly, carefully, and patiently – ...” Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 12–13.

109 “... Occidentales haereticos, qui saepius veniunt Ierosolymam non pietatis & religionis gratia, sed noxae curiositatis ergo; non ut fructum spirituales sibi comparent a Deo, sed ut cum detrimento animarum, ...” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 860. This passage is echoed by Gonsales, *Ierusalemische Reijse*, vol. 1, 10–11.

110 “la mente curiosa, ma devota de Pellegrini.” Juan de Calahorra, *Historia Cronologica della Provincia de Syria e Terra Santa di Gierusalemme*, trans. Angelico di Milano (Venice: Antonio Tivani, 1694), 341. In the Spanish original this phrase does not occur, see Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica de la Provincia di Syria y di Tierra Santa de Gerusalen* (Madrid: Iuan Garcia Infançon, 1684), 314–18.

it is acceptable to be curious as long as one is *also* devout. Friar Jean Boucher in his *Bouquet Sacré* (1614) has nothing bad to say about the Holy Land pilgrim traveling curiously, quite the contrary in fact.<sup>111</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum we find friars such as the Spaniard Antonio de Castillo, a very experienced veteran of the *custodia*, who served in Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and Nazareth for several years. He gives “very necessary advice” to prospective pilgrims in a section that precedes the main text of his travelogue, *El Devoto Peregrino, Viage de Tierra Santa* (1656).<sup>112</sup> He opens this section by stating that for the devout Christian wishing to travel to Jerusalem, “First of all ... it is necessary that he do this for the love of God alone, without looking at other things ... not for curiosity to go to see lands, only to adore and revere those most Holy Places.”<sup>113</sup> This is his first and foremost piece of advice for pilgrims, heading a long catalogue of other more practical suggestions. At the end of another prefatory section, titled “to the reader,” Antonio de Castillo stipulates: “If you seek curiosities, do not go forward. If you seek devotion, proceed.”<sup>114</sup> He is in fact so very adamant about the inadmissibility of curiosity in matters concerning the Holy Land that he sets out lack of curiosity as a condition for the reader even to be allowed to read his book.

However pilgrims are measured according to expectations concerning curiosity and devotion, the Franciscans claim that they themselves are the best arbiters of what constitutes a good pilgrim. This is most clear in friar Mariano Morone da Maleo’s *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata*. He is as severe as De Castillo in his opposition to curiosity without devotion to the Holy Places of Jerusalem. He explicitly warns pilgrims wishing to travel to the Holy Land that they should never do so for curiosity, but only out of devotion.<sup>115</sup> For Franciscan friars wishing to go there this is the first condition that must be met before

111 Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, “La Curiosité, Qualité du Voyageur? Succincte Enquête sur la Litterature Viatique du XVI Siècle,” *Camenaë* 15 (2013): 4–6.

112 “ADVERTENCIAS MUY NECESARIAS PARA que se pueda govar el Peregrino, y hazer su viage como debe, y conuiene segun Dios.” Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino, Viage de Tierra Santa* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1656), 3–14.

113 Primeramente, el devoto Christiano, que quiere hazer este viage santissimo de Ierusalen, ... es necessario, que puramente lo haga por amor de Dios, sin mirar a otro sin mas que a este, no por curiosidad de ir a ver paises, sino por adorer, y revenrenciar aquellos santissimos lugares...” Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 3.

114 “Si buscas curiosidades, no passes adelante. Si devocion, prosigue.” Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, AL LETOR, [no pagination].

115 “... e protestando di non andar vagando per curiosità, ma solamente per diuotione.” Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 42.

being allowed to serve in the Holy Land.<sup>116</sup> In a chapter on the spiritual fertility of the Holy Land, Morone da Maleo recounts an anecdote that relates to the same subject:

In addition, I will refer to a case that happened to a French libertine in our times. Who, being a surgeon, came to Jerusalem with some Turks, which made him pass without paying tribute, and he stayed (against custom) outside of our convent. Passing before the great church of the most Holy Sepulchre, *not for devotion, but for curiosity*, he approached the door, and stuck his head into the little window through which food is passed to the religious. Having cast his eye towards the most Holy Sepulchre of Christ, he was taken by such an uncommon feeling of horror, and such strong trembling, that he fell to the ground; for which he knew himself touched by the divine hand, and hastily went to the convent, prostrating himself before the feet of guardian, he confessed his guilt, asking pardon, with the promise of living a Christian life in the future (my italics).<sup>117</sup>

As a former guardian of the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, Morone da Maleo construes showing curiosity for but not devotion to the Holy Sepulchre as a direct affront to its Franciscan guardians. Having been touched by the divine hand, this “curious libertine” realizes that he owes an apology to the Franciscans, and hurries off to ask forgiveness from the guardian. Moreover, by failing to stay at the Franciscan convent and going sight-seeing by himself, this person has deprived the Franciscans of their prerogative of directing the interactions of all European travellers with the Holy Places in Jerusalem, interactions that should in all good order be characterized predominantly by devotion rather than by curiosity alone, according to them.

In summary, we have seen that the curious/devout binary has been an enduringly productive way to measure the merit or describe the mindset of

116 “La prima, che non per curiosità, nè per isfuggire il rigor del Chioistro deue muouersi, ma per impulse Diuino: *Diuina inspiratione*.” Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 48.

117 “... referirò appresso vn caso successo ad vn Libertino Francese a'nostri tempi, che essendo d'arte Chirugo, si portò in Gierusalemme con alcuni Turchi, che lo fecero passare esente, & alloggiare (contro il solito) fuori del Conuento nostro, e passando auanti la Chiesa Maggiore del Santissimo Sepolcro, non per diuotione, ma per la curiosità, approssimatosi alla porta, e posto il capo dentro alla fenestrella, per la quale si porge il vitto a'Religiosi, dato vù occhiata verso il Santissimo Sepolcro di Christo, si sentì preso da vn'orrore sì insolito, e da'tremiti cotanto forti, che hebbe à cadere in terra; onde conoscendosi tocco dalla Divina mano, se n'andò ben tosto al Conuento, e prostratosi a'piedi del Superiore, disse la sua colpa, chiendendo perdono, con protesta per l'auenire di viuere Christianamente: ...” Lib. 1, Cap. v: *Della fertilità spirituale di Terra Santa*. Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 8.

pilgrims and sacred geographers alike. Both during the medieval and early modern periods the words “curious” and “devout” were often used in conjunction, and not necessarily as opposites. “Curious” could draw on a large reservoir of varied connotations, while it could still conceivably be juxtaposed or harmoniously combined with “devout” in the context of Holy Land literature. Exactly because of the potential of this pair to resonate in various meaningful ways, it is one of the more significant collocations of the genre. Therefore it seems best to avoid generalizations about the meaning of curiosity in different eras, and instead to employ this meaningful pair in order to gain more insight into, for example, *geographia sacra* or travel literature on the Holy Land.

In the case of the Franciscans of the *custodia* the scales could tip in any direction. However, these friars all seem to agree that they themselves are the rightful arbiters of when it is permitted to be a curious traveller in the Levant, and when to be a devout pilgrim, as the examples from Morone da Maleo and Quaresmio testify. Protestants and libertines were more typically suspected of curiosity, a condition that may or may not have sat well with being a good pilgrim. This mattered to the friars because they believed they had the right and the responsibility to prescribe the proper attitudes for visitors to the sacred spaces of the Holy Land. As we have seen, Protestants on pilgrimage easily although not invariably earned themselves Franciscan censure on this score. However, Franciscan sentiments on pilgrimage were not expressed only by means of critique and censure but also by leading the way and providing good examples. Accordingly, this chapter concludes with a consideration of how Franciscans of the Holy Land advised prospective pilgrim-travellers, as well as how they styled their books with reference to the often overlapping categories of travel and pilgrimage.

## 5 Advising Pilgrims: Franciscan Voyages to the Levant

The mould in which Franciscans of the *provincia* cast their writings on the Holy Land reveals their stance on pilgrimage and travel. Up to the late medieval period pilgrimage was the dominant and accepted form of non-utilitarian mobility.<sup>118</sup> Therefore the travelogue that narrates pilgrimage stage by stage as a journey or guidebook from departure to return, including interesting sights and experiences on the way, is a rather uncontroversial way of presenting this experience.<sup>119</sup> When during the sixteenth century other types of travel – explorative,

<sup>118</sup> Noonan, *The Road*, 1–16.

<sup>119</sup> Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 11–52.

curious, educational – developed alongside pilgrimage, there arose an entirely new need to differentiate pilgrimage from other types of travel.

If we look at the writings of Franciscans concerning the Holy Land starting from the late medieval period, it is immediately clear that presenting their argument as a travel narrative remained very common. Keeping in mind that “travel ... is mobility refined into genre,” it is striking that a variety of friars visiting the Holy Land throughout the sixteenth century all chose this form. Jean Thenaud (1512), Antonio Medina (1513–14), Bonaventure Brochard (1553–54), André Thevet (1549–52), Pantaleão de Aveiro (1563), and Henry Castela (1600) all selected this form, thus braving, or seeking out, the hazards of generic blending.<sup>120</sup> Thinking back to the works of Francesco Suriano and Paul Walter von Guglingen discussed in the previous chapter, we already see a large degree of experimentation with the form of writing on the Holy Land.

Suriano calls his book a “treatise,” but it is also a travelogue-cum-guidebook. It contains chapters on topographical and ethnographical features of the Holy Land, on the Far East, as well as providing instructions for a virtual pilgrimage; and the ensemble is then presented in the form of a didactic dialogue with his sister.<sup>121</sup> Guglingen also experiments with the form of his writings on the Holy Land, but adopts an approach of dividing and organizing rather than of mixing: a travelogue and a separate treatise are contained in the same manuscript.<sup>122</sup> His travelogue is a highly personal travel diary that records his own experiences travelling to and from and living in the Holy Land.<sup>123</sup> His treatise deals with more complex matter: the historical, geographical, and theological characteristics of the Holy Land. Experimentation with the form of the Holy Land writing on the part of Suriano and Guglingen is perhaps more symptomatic of newly-emerging directions in Franciscan engagement with the sacred geography of the Holy Land than of the polemics of pilgrimage and travel, although not entirely free from the latter.

120 Noonan, *The Road*, 8; Jean Thenaud, *Le Voyage d'Outremer (Égypte, Mont Sinay, Palestine) de Jean Thenaud*, ed. Ch. Schefer (Paris: LeRoux, 1884); Antonio Medina, *Viaggio di Terra Santa* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1590). Friar Bonaventure Brochard assisted Greffin Affagart with the writing of his travelogue, Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte (1533–1534) par Greffin Affagart*, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris: Lecoffre, 1902); André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes & Gazeau, 1554); Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerario de Terra Sancta, et todas suas Particularidades* (Lisbon: Antonio Alvarez, 1596); Henry Castela, *Le Sainct Voyage de Hierusalem et Mont Sinay, fait en l'An du Grand Iubilé 1600* (Paris: Laurens Sonnius, 1603).

121 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade.

122 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck; Neuburg MS.

123 On Guglingen's travelogue see Ritsema van Eck, “Encounters with the Levant,” 153–88.



For later authors of the *custodia*, however, these were categories to which they needed to pay conscious heed, lest their readers would not be able to distinguish pilgrimage from other types of travel. Bernardinus Surius styles his book on the Holy Land as both a voyage and a pilgrimage, as its title testifies: *The Devout Pilgrim or Jerusalem Journey*.<sup>124</sup> It describes Surius' travels, starting with departure from the convent of Boetendael near Brussels and continuing up to his return, subdivided into three parts: "the pilgrim setting out," "the pilgrim standing still," and "the pilgrim returning." The first part also describes foreign nations, but only so that Catholics may be grateful to have been saved from such darkness; the middle part deals with the Holy Land; while the last part discusses strange Levantine animals, plants, and stones in order to improve his readers' knowledge of God (see chapter two on this issue).<sup>125</sup> Surius supplements his travel story with devout meditations, or *betrachtungen*, and considerations called *aenmerckingen*, because, as he advises his reader, "you have to understand that the journey to the Holy Land is different from all others." This type of journey is not undertaken out of curiosity or for financial profit as is customary, but with an eye to spiritual gain; therefore the usual "simple story" does not suffice.<sup>126</sup>

These tactics for turning a travel story into a pilgrimage account are imitated by Surius' compatriot Antonius Gonsales, who adds devout *leeringhen* or "teachings" to the parts of his book that deal with the Holy Land, Syria, and flora and fauna of the East.<sup>127</sup> Other parts, namely the journey from Antwerp to Jaffa, the book on Egypt, and the return journey via Italy and France are devoid of *leeringhen*, although the author tries to pay attention as much as possible to

124 Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim ofte Ierusalemse Reyse* (1650).

125 See Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim*, Noot-sakelycke waerschouwinge tot den leser, [no pagination].

126 "En vvilt doch niet voor vremt houden (G. Leser) dat ick het verhael van myn Reyse met eenige consideratien, leeringhen, ende betrachtungen mengele: vvant u l. moet dencken dat de reyse van het H. Landt van alle andere verscheyden is: mits-dien dese ordinaris door curieusheydt, oft om tydelyck profyt gedaen vvorden; maer die van het heylich Landt ... en vvordt niet ghedaan, dan op hope van geestelyck interest oft gevvin, 't welck gelegen is in een vermeerderinge van de devotie, ende des geloofs. Daerom het van dese reyse vereyscht, dat men hem somtyts een luttelken bekommere in eenige Godt vruchtighe consideratien; ende niet alleen te vreden zy met een simpel verhael, gelyck in de andere ordinaris geschiedt." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim*, Noot-sakelycke waerschouwinge tot den leser, [no pagination].

127 "HET TVVEEDE BOECK Korte beschrijvinghe van 't H. Landt," "DEN DERDEN BOECK Beschrijvinghe van het Rijk van Syrien," Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I; "DEN SESDEN ENDE LESTEN BOECK Van rare boomen planten, blommen, viervoetighe, ende kruypende dieren, voghelen, visschen, ende kostelijcke steenen." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. II.

holy places along the way.<sup>128</sup> On the other hand Gonsales defends the fact that he published his book even though Surius has already written so admirably on the subject, by arguing that he passed through different counties on the way and recorded many “rarities” for the pleasure of his curious readers.<sup>129</sup> Thus wider Levantine travel could become an argument for publishing a pilgrimage account, although not all friars of the *provincia* may have approved of such a motivation. This may also have been a measure to meet the expectations of readers or the demands of a publisher looking for a profitable publication, but Gonsales does not seem to have objected in the least to the prospect of a curious readership. As we have seen above, Antonio de Castillo for one, who set the absence of curiosity as a precondition for even reading his book, would likely have disapproved.

One friar of the Franciscan Observance who exhibits a rather more positive perspective on pilgrimage as a type of travel is Jean Boucher. His immensely popular *Le Bouquet Sacré des Fleurs de la Terre Sainte*, based on his sojourn in the Holy Land during the years 1611–12, was first published in 1614 and ran through some sixty editions.<sup>130</sup> Boucher subdivides his book into four parts, first describing his voyage through Greece, Egypt, and Palestine, then Jerusalem and its Holy Places, thirdly the rest of the Holy Land, and finally the nations of the East.<sup>131</sup> He opens the first book with a section on the utility of

128 “DEN EERSTEN BOECK Korte beschrijvinghe van de Ierusalemse Reyse, beginnende uyt de stadt Antwerpen tot in de naeste have van ‘t H. Landt ghenoeemt Iaffa,” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1; “HET VIERDE BOECK Beschrijvinghe van het alder-vermaerste Rijck van Egypten vande principaelste steden Inwoonders, conditien ende nature,” “HET VYFDEN BOECK Tracterende van mijn gheluckighe wederkomste in ‘t vaderlandt ende alles wat wy gesien ende de plaetsen die wij besocht hebben.” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 11.

129 “Nochtans om dat ick mijn reyse door andere landen heb ghenomen ende veele plaetsen heb doorwandelt, ende bewoont, daer den Eerw. Pater niet en is gheweest, ende weynigh daer van schrijft: als Egypten, Arabien, ‘t landt der Philistijnen, Gaza, Azota, Ascalon, Accaron, ‘t Landt van Hebron, Saba de berghen van Libano, Carmelo ende meer andere contreyen, alwaer ick veel, rariteyten heb ghesien ende afgheteeckent, heb de selve oock met schoone copere plaeten laeten snyden ende daer mede desen boeck verciert tot voldoeninghe van alle curieuse liefhebbers.” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. 1, TOT DEN LESER, [no pagination].

130 See Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, “Judas, Mores, Renégats et Crocodiles: Le Spectacle de la Traîtrise dans *le Bouquet Sacré des Fleurs de la Terre Sainte* de Jean Boucher (1614),” *Seizième Siècle* 5 (2009): 61–74.

131 I refer to the 1629 edition, since that is the edition I have been able to consult. Jean Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré Composé des Roses dv Calvaire, des Lys de Bethleem, des Iacintes d’Olivet. Et Plusiers Autres Rares & Belles Pensees de la Terrie Sainte* (Rouen: Jean Cous-trier, 1629).

voyages in foreign countries, in which he exclaims: “And to speak the truth: there is no better school in the world, more fertile and eloquent, for instructing man in the perfect practice of virtue, than a foreign province.”<sup>132</sup> First, one will learn to entrust oneself to the mercy of God in the perils of travel. Second, one will learn humility, for “the pilgrim who treads the land of Barbarians, whatever master he was in his own land, becomes a servant of foreign servants.”<sup>133</sup> Finally, the pilgrim learns to be patient under the miseries and tortures of travel among foreigners.<sup>134</sup> Boucher thus envisages Holy Land pilgrimage as a type of early modern educational travel that is even more beneficial to the traveler than would normally be expected, because of the spiritual treasures of the Holy Land.<sup>135</sup> He concludes that the Christian who would not wish to visit the Holy Land in person or in spirit is indeed cold and stupid. In fact he wrote his book to facilitate the latter category of virtual pilgrimage, in thought and spirit, to the Holy Places.<sup>136</sup>

Another French Observant friar, Jacques Goujon, likewise employs floral imagery to express the benefits of the Holy Land, as well as the suggestion of traveling in spirit. In the preface to his *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte* he urges his reader to receive this book as a “mystic rose” without thorns, i.e. without the perils of travel.<sup>137</sup> Goujon does not in fact relate his personal travel experiences:

132 “Discours de l’vtilité qu’on tire des voyages faits dans les terres estrangeres. ... Et pour dire le vray il n’y a eschole au monde plus feconde & faconde pour bien instruire l’homme en la parfaite pratique des vertus qu’vne Province estrangere.” Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 1–2.

133 “...: si que le pelerin qui foule la terre des Barbares, de maistre qu’il estoit en son pays, deuiet seruiteur des servituers estrangiers.” Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 3.

134 Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 4.

135 “Or si l’homme poussé d’vne seule curiosité de courir les terres estrangeres profanes et sacrileges & barbares, y sement se sueurs, peines, trauauz & fatigues, en moissonne des fruits si doux, si agreables & si beaux, quel bien (à plus forte raison) quel profit & quel contentement d’esprit ne recueillira point le Chretien deuot, qui porté sur les aisles sacrées d’vne sainte Pieté ira religieusement visiter la Terre sainte.” Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 4.

136 “Qui sera donc le Chretien si stupide & si froid que ne desirera ardamment visiter, baiser, toucher, & reuerer cette Terre Sainte, sinon de presence corporelle au moin en esprit & en pensée? ... Or afin de faciliter le chemin aux ames deuotes & pieuses, qui seront embrasées d’vn desir de visiter souvent ces lieux saint en pensée & en esprit, l’ay deliberé moyennant la grace du Pere des graces, de faire vne fidelle, & veritable description & rapport de l’estre present, estat, qualité, beauté, condition, & situation de ces lieux sacrex ...” Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 5–6.

137 “Receuez donc mon cher Lecteur, ce petit trauail comme vne rose mistique, mélangée de douceur, & d’amertume: sans toutefois que vous en deuiiez apprehender les espines. Le les ay toutes retenues pour moy seul, parmy les tempestes & les orages, les craintes, & les iniures, les menaces & les coups; qui on esté comme les douleurs, & les tranchées qui

it seems that he primarily wishes his reader to travel in spirit. To this end he has divided his discussion of the Holy Places into “visits,” and those again into “days,” so that the matter of the Holy Places is presented in “orderly” fashion and in easily digestible chunks. This is reminiscent of Bernardinus Surius’ *betrachtungen*, found at regular intervals in his travelogue. In the 1665 edition of his book Surius too offers his readers a table with a seven-week programme of meditation on the Holy Places, with reference to the relevant page numbers.<sup>138</sup>

Thus we can see that the Franciscan authors of the *provincia* were for the most part not afraid to write of their experiences with the Jerusalem journey as travel. However, they also seem to agree that in order to prevent confusion a certain devout meditative attitude can turn Jerusalem travel into pilgrimage, as it does when reading a book on the subject. To model these travelogue-devotions, the friars could rely on a long tradition of virtual pilgrimage and locative Passion meditation linked to the Holy Places in Jerusalem, an enduring legacy of the late medieval period that remained very much alive, albeit in changed form, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>139</sup>

Even though the travelogue was not generally considered a problematic form for engaging with the Holy Land and its pilgrimage, some friars begged to disagree. For example, the French Recollect friar Eugene Roger explicitly stresses that he avoids this form in his *La Terre Sainte* (1646), because it distracts from the principal matter at hand: the Holy Land. He complains that nowadays most authors who write about the Holy Land unnecessarily pad out their tomes with superfluous discussions of other provinces as well as “the events

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ont precedé sa naissance.” Jacques Goujon, *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Lyon: Pierre Compagnon & Robert Taillandier, 1670). The popular late thirteenth-century world chronicle *Flores Temporum* by an anonymous Swabian Franciscan plays with similar metaphors in its title and prologue. “Et hoc quidem non ad ipsorum regum laudem vel gloriam annotavi, sed ad sanctorum eisdem contemporaneorum famam interminabilem et honorem, ut inter spinas principum terrenorum celice rose generosius pullulent et nitidius excolantur paradisiaca iugiter virencia lilia beatorum. Et ob hoc presens opusculum ‘Flores temporum’ nuncupavi.” *Flores Temporum Auctore Fratre Ordinis Minorum*, ed. Oswald Holder Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica SS 24* (1879), 231. I thank Bert Roest for bringing this parallel to my attention.

138 “WAERSCHOUWINGE tot gerief van de Godtvruchtige ziele die sich oeffent in het inwendigh ghebedt, hebbe ick hier de betrachtungen des tweeden Boecks, met de deughden daer in begrepen, in de dagen der weken verdeelt, ende het cyffer der bladeren aengheteeckent, welcke sy naer geliefte sal gebruycken.” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), [no pagination].

139 Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*; Philip Endean, “The Ignation Prayer of the Senses,” *The Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990): 391–418; Wietse de Boer, “Invisible Contemplation: A Paradox in the Spiritual Exercises,” in *Meditatio: Refashioning the Self: Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture*, ed. Karl Alfred Enenkel and Walter Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 235–56.

that made their voyage either agreeable or unpleasant, from the moment of departure from home up to return."<sup>140</sup> Roger therefore vows his book will not venture beyond what he identifies as the territory of the twelve tribes of Israel, even though in his youth he travelled most parts of Europe and the Levant and was always able to "curiously remark the most noteworthy things."<sup>141</sup> Roger is thus consciously portraying himself as well versed in the arts of travel, but also wishes to make clear that he finds the travelogue an inappropriate form for writing about the Holy Land.<sup>142</sup> His book is a "very particular" topographic description of the Holy Land, as well as a consideration of the fourteen nations of the Promised Land in the present.<sup>143</sup>

Friar Eugene Roger makes a conscious choice to disengage his discussion of the Holy Land from the topic of travel, and explains that this has immediate consequences for the form of his writing. Paul Walther von Guglingen essentially did the same by presenting his travelogue and his treatises as two inter-related but separate entities. Disengaging the pilgrimage destination from the road taken to arrive there allows for an intensified focus on the Holy Places, a chance to write sacred geography. The choice of Franciscans of the *provincia* to write about the Holy Land in a form other than that of the travelogue

140 "C'est pourquoy il est necessaire d'observer, que la plus part de ces Autheurs nouveaux, quoy qu'ils ne traittent aucune chose essentielle, on fait des volumens qu'ils on grossis, en messant parmy les descriptions de la Terre sainte ce qu'ils on veu & apris des autres Provinces, avec les succez & evenemens qui on rendu leur voyage ou agreeable ou déplaisant, depui la sortie de leur pays iusques á leur retour." Eugene Roger, *La Terre Sainte ou Description Topographique Tres-Particuliere des Saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission* (Paris: Antoine Bertier, 1664), [AU LECTEUR, [no pagination].

141 "En quoy ie ne les ay pas voulu imiter, quoy que ma curiosité m'ait fait passer vne partie de ma ieunesse à visiter la plus grande partie des Provinces de l'Europe, plusieurs lieux de l'Afrique, l'Egypte, les Arabes, la Syrie, vne partide la Grece, toutes les Isles de la Mer Medieterranée, & les plus belle de l'Archipelage, & autres Provinces, ou l'ay tousiours esté autant fidelle que curieux a remarquer ce qui y est de plus considerable. Neantmoins mon dessein n'estant point de sortir les limites de la Terre de Promission, puis qu'il a assez de choses saintes & memorables pour exciter l'admiration dans les esprits, & la pieté dans les ames, ie ne diuerteray pas mon discours ailleurs, m'embarassay pas dans ce meslange de Provinces, qui luy son autant inferieures en raretez, que dissemblables en sainteté. Ie parleray seulement de ce qui est, & de ce qui a esté autrefois compris dans l'étenduë des douze Tribus d'Israël." Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, AU LECTEUR, [no pagination].

142 Justin Stagl, "Ars Apodemica: Bildungsreise und Reismethodik von 1560 bis 1600," in *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch, repr. 1992 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 141–90.

143 Eugene Roger, *La Terre Sainte ou Description Topographique Tres-Particuliere des Saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission, Avec un Traitté de Quatorze Nations de Differente Religion qui l'Habitent, leur Moeurs, Croyance, Ceremonies, & Police* (Paris: Antoine Bertier, 1664).

was certainly not always motivated by a rejection of travel per se, but by the opportunity to express other concerns. For example, writing histories of the Holy Land from a Franciscan perspective, as do Juan de Calahorra and Vincenzo Berdini, offers good possibilities for self-fashioning as Catholic keepers of the Holy Places, as well as strengthening the Observant Franciscan claim to the Holy Land.<sup>144</sup> Separating pilgrimage from travel not only allows for an enhanced focus on the Holy Places, as the work of friars Bernardino Amico and Blas de Buyza testifies, but it can also help to turn pilgrimage into something else, a type of mobility that is not exactly travel, namely processional liturgy.<sup>145</sup> The most notable example of this is the *Liber de Perenni Cultu Terrae Sanctae et de Fructuosa eius Peregrinatione* (1573) by Bonifacio da Ragusa, the second book of which leads the pilgrim on a tour of the Holy Land that is characterized by an abundance of antiphons, responses, verses, and prayers at every turn.<sup>146</sup> So too Tommaso Obicini, after serving as Franciscan superior of the Holy Land in 1620–21, published in 1623 five booklets describing the Franciscan liturgies at the most important Holy Sites.<sup>147</sup> Similarly, Francesco Quaresmio maps out thirty-five “pilgrimages” in the second tome of this *Elucidatio*.<sup>148</sup> This type of pilgrimage starts only upon arrival in the sea port of Jaffa, and in Quaresmio’s case offers an occasion for extensive *Quellenkritik* surrounding every potential Holy Place along the way.

144 Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica de la Provincia de Syria y Tierra Santa de Gerusalen. Contiene los Progressos que en Ella ha hecho la Religion Serafica, desde el Año 1219. hasta el de 1632.* (Madrid: Juan Garcia Infancon, 1684); Vincenzo Berdini, *Historia Dell’Antica e Moderna Palestina, Descritta in tre Parti* (Venice: Giovanni Battista Surian, 1642).

145 Bernardino Amico, *Trattato delle Piate et Imagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terrasanta* (Rome: Typographia Linguarum Externarum, 1609); Blas de Buyza, *Relacion Nueva, Verdadera, y Copiosa, de los Sagrados Lugares de Ierusalen, y Tierrasanta* (Madrid: Alonso Martin, 1622).

146 Bonifacio Stephano Ragusino, *Liber de Perenni Cultu Terrae Sanctae et de Fructuosa eius Peregrinatione* (Venice: Guerraea, 1573). Pantaleão de Aveiro, the author of the *Breve Summario*, and Blas de Buyza also record Franciscan liturgies in the Holy Land. Cf. Gomez-Geraud, *Le Crépuscule*, 546–48.

147 For example: Tommaso Obicini, *Ordo Processionis quae Quotidie post Completorium sit Ierosolymis per Ecclesiam Sanctissimi, & Gloriosissimi Sepulchri Domini Nostri Iesu Christi* (Venice: Misserino, 1623). The *Processiones* published in 1670 by friar Teofilo da Nola depend heavily on Obicini’s work. Teofilo da Nola, *Processiones quae fiunt Quotidie a PP. Franciscanis ad SS. Nascentis Christi Praesepe in Bethlehem* [etc.] (Antwerp: Plantin (Balthasar Moretus), 1670). See Galateri (ed.), *Itinerari e Cronache Francescane di Terra Santa (1500–1800)*, 118, 146.

148 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 11. Electus Zwinner imitates this approach. Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands Palestinae so in dreij Biecher getheilet* (Munich: Wilhelm Schell, 1661).

Of course this is not the only type of pilgrimage that Quaresmio recognizes. Even though he does not write of pilgrimage as travel per se, the third book of his *Elucidatio* deals at length with what is expected of the actual pilgrim travelling to the Holy Land. Advice given to pilgrims is another excellent aid to understanding what Holy Land pilgrimage should entail according to Franciscans of the *custodia*. Friar Mariano Morone da Maleo offers many instructions in the vernacular for the benefit of pilgrims and simple friars, loosely based on Quaresmio's recommendations.<sup>149</sup> By and large this advice agrees with what Antonio de Castillo counsels in a dedicated section.<sup>150</sup> Both friars offer a great deal of practical suggestions: how much money and which currency to bring, what to pack in terms of clothes and supplies, how to get a license for pilgrimage, where to embark and disembark, as well as how to blend in with the Ottomans by dressing in a certain way. The level of detail is at times endearing, for example when De Castillo remarks that it will do to bring only three or four shirts, or when Morone da Maleo reminds us not to forget to bring things like a blanket, wine, aqua viva, biscuits, cheese, salami, and salted meat.<sup>151</sup> It does, however, attest also to the friars' awareness that pilgrims would need to make the actual, and sometimes arduous journey.

In terms of advice that leans more towards the spiritual, Marone da Maleo and De Castillo concur that before departure pilgrims should make a general confession and a will, that curious travel is not permitted, and that a steadfast faith is required because one might be tempted into apostasy along the way. In addition Morone da Maleo makes it very clear that pilgrimage is a strictly male activity to which neither women should aspire nor men with responsibilities at home. He also gives some suggestions for preparatory reading (for example the travelogue by Aquilante Rocchetta) and informs us about the customary ceremony for pilgrims: to say a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria when you arrive at Jaffa in order to receive your plenary indulgence, and to descend from your horse to kiss the ground when you first set eyes on Jerusalem.<sup>152</sup>

When it comes to the role of the Franciscans in the Holy Land pilgrimage, Morone da Maleo and Antonio de Castillo agree that the friars have an important part to play from the beginning to the end of the journey. They advise pilgrims to already seek the assistance of the Franciscan friars in the seaport of departure for the East; not only can the friars offer accommodation, but they

149 See Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, Al benigno, è pio Lettore, [no pagination].

150 "ADVERTENCIAS MUY NECESSARIAS PARA que se pueda govarnar el Peregrino, y hazer su viage come debe, y conuiene segun Dios." Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 3–14.

151 Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 6; Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 45.

152 Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 38–47.

can also help prepare the boat trip.<sup>153</sup> In addition Morone da Maleo recommends that the prospective pilgrim should find a Franciscan friar to accompany him on the entire journey as a travel companion. Both De Castillo and Morone da Maleo inform the pilgrim that in the Holy Land or elsewhere in the Levant one should stay at the local Franciscan convent. The friars will host and feed the pilgrim, and assist and accompany him outside the convent; they will also see to spiritual needs such as taking confessions and administering communion.<sup>154</sup> De Castillo explains that even though the friars “do all this in the manner of a gift, only for the love of God, and without any interest,” they can only cover the costs by donations from the pilgrims; therefore it is good to show yourself grateful for what you have received by giving alms.<sup>155</sup> Morone da Maleo concurs; he instructs the pilgrim upon departure to “give vivid thanks to God, and the father guardian; it will be good that for the services and charity received, you leave some alms in the Holy Land.”<sup>156</sup> Only thus by confirming the reciprocity of the relationship between pilgrim and friar could the Franciscans maintain their role as companions, helpers, and controllers of the Holy Land pilgrimage.

## 6 Conclusion

The Franciscan desire for control over the Jerusalem pilgrimage was pervasive; it was a prerogative that the friars jealously guarded as well as a weight under which they groaned. Following the Reformation the members of the *provincia Terrae Sanctae* held a unique position as the representatives of a powerful historical space for pilgrimage, while back home in Europe sacred space was being swept away, reformed, or rearranged. Jerusalem and the Holy Land was hardly neutral ground, with the formative religious memories looming large over the heads of both Protestant and Catholic visitors. However, this was at the same time a unique arena for negotiating sacred topography and demarcating confessional boundaries between denominations, where neither Protestant nor Catholic had the upper hand. In this Ottoman-controlled space the friars actively attempted to mediate and defend what they saw as a sacred space for pilgrimage in their interactions with all Western visitors they received in their convent.

153 Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 7; Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 45.

154 Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 10–11; Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 46.

155 Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 12.

156 Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 1, 47.



By juxtaposing the largely rhetorical image of a relic population of popish oddities sketched in the travelogues of Protestant visitors to the Holy Land with the writing of the prolific Franciscan authors of the *provincia*, it becomes possible to shed more light on this exceptional battleground for confessional boundaries. New perspectives arise, such as that of nervously laughing Protestant pilgrims, both drawn to and repulsed by the Holy Places; and of friars adamantly defending sanctity of space and Holy Land pilgrimage, as well as taking issue with Protestant travelogues. Drawing on their large reservoir of personal experience with Protestants in the Holy Land, the friars provide us with a more nuanced picture: the Franciscan-led devotions at the Holy Places are a laughing stock, but the powerful foot washing ceremony could also put the friars at a distinct advantage.

From the fabric of these conflicted interactions it becomes clear that the friars did not have nearly as much control over the behaviour of their guests as they would have wished. Nevertheless they saw a distinct role for themselves that entitled them to judge pilgrims and prescribe the right attitudes. Engaging creatively with the traditional curious/devout binary characteristic of pilgrimage and travel writing, the friars reserved the right to assess pilgrims unto themselves, now disapproving of archetypically curious Protestants, then praising the scholarly curiosity of good Catholics. At the same time the friars of the *provincia* showed themselves to be aware of changing notions of pilgrimage and travel. Indeed they often wrote about their experiences in the Holy Land as travel, choosing the form of a travelogue, and reflecting explicitly on pilgrimage being a type of travel characterized by a different approach and different goals. They saw it as their role and responsibility to explain these intricacies to their readers in much the same way as their advice to prospective pilgrims presents Franciscan convents either at home or in the Levant as the first point of reference.

Even though specific attitudes and opinions vary, the authors of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land all aimed to mark out a proper space for pilgrimage in which all pilgrims were accountable to the friars. Moreover, they all agreed on the Franciscans' responsibility and right to shape the interactions of visitors with this sacred space that they claimed as their own, as will become clear in the following chapters.

## St Francis and the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century

From around the turn of the sixteenth century onwards, when the Franciscans had been established in the Holy Land for almost two hundred years, they began to articulate increasingly sophisticated ideas about their own role within this region. Not only did the (by this time) Observant friars come to view receiving and conducting all Western European pilgrims as their prerogative, as was discussed in the previous chapter, but they also began to claim the Holy Land as an essentially Observant Franciscan territory (see chapter five). In order to substantiate this claim to the Holy Land, the friars looked to the past. By constructing their own particular narrative of the history of the Holy Land, they were able to create a cultural memory to support their identity as divinely appointed keepers and possessors of (or even heirs to) the Holy Land. By studying and reinterpreting the past they aimed to give substance to their ideological relationship with the Holy Land.

This chapter examines the first, late fifteenth-century, example of a text by an Observant Franciscan that analyses the past in order to point out the present significance of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*: book VII of friar Paul Walther von Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land*. Book VII is firmly grounded in the then existing tradition at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem of compiling manuscripts with historical texts relating to the Holy Land. Nonetheless, Guglingen's text is also innovative. It synthesizes a new and coherent history of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, based on the sources present in the convent library in Jerusalem, something that had not previously been attempted by a friar of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land. Moreover, the overarching historical framework that this history proposes, creates an opportunity for presenting the Franciscans as the answer to the misfortunes that have befallen the Holy Land in the past. The second part of book VII, which contains reflections on the various ethno-religious groups in Jerusalem, also advances a programme for the future in the shape of crusade and recapture of the Holy Land, once again expanding the friars' literary scope. This second part of book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise* knew quite an extensive secondary circulation throughout Western Europe, since it was included with few alterations in Bernhard von Breydenbach's famous *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam*

(1486).<sup>1</sup> In spite of the extensive scholarship on Breydenbach's text, book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise* has not been clearly identified as one of its sources, nor studied in any depth. The present chapter seeks to rectify this situation, with particular attention to the nascent signs of interest on the part of the Franciscans in their own role in the history and future of the Holy Land first signalled by Guglingen's *Treatise*. Thus it provides the groundwork for the following chapter, which deals with expressions of similar ideas in later periods.

The thematic sections below explore and contextualize the tentative late-medieval emergence of themes and ideas found in Guglingen's text which during the early modern period took root in a virulently territorial Franciscan literature on the Holy Land. Following an in-depth discussion of the first part of Guglingen's history of Jerusalem, I examine the eschatological and apocalyptic perspectives on history that influenced Guglingen and fostered both late medieval and early modern texts and initiatives that see an important role for the Franciscan order in the (re)claiming of the Holy Land. I then return to book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*, paying particular attention to the ethnographical exposé and the call for crusade which it contains, as well as its sources and innovative character. While Guglingen is unique among the authors of the late medieval Franciscan custody of the Holy Land in explicitly calling for crusade in writing, the same custody did show an appetite for crusade when it sought royal patronage for it. Accordingly, the fourth section of this chapter contextualizes Guglingen's call by looking at the contemporaneous efforts of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land to encourage Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (1396–1467) and the Spanish royal couple, Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) and Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516), to mount a crusade. Finally I examine the development of a narrative about the legendary foundation of the custody of the Holy Land by St Francis himself, something Guglingen hints at. Few contemporaneous Franciscan authors similarly reinterpret the Life of St Francis to say that he visited Jerusalem and/or founded the province of the Holy Land as part of his mission to Damietta in Egypt in 1219. These rare medieval reinterpretations of traditional hagiography were to provide the basis for grander Franciscan claims to the Holy Land in the seventeenth century.

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1 It concerns an extensive section on the habits and errors of the various communities in Jerusalem. Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, ed. Mozer, 285–474.

## 1 Guglingen's History of Jerusalem

In the seventh book of his treatise Guglingen understands the space of the Holy Land in a way that was very important for Observant Franciscan *geographia sacra*, seeing it as a space occupied by the impious other. The first part of book VII is a history of Jerusalem that pays much attention to the various rulers of the city since the Ascension of Christ, and considers whether these rulers were worthy of their office or not. The second part of book VII then builds on this history to express Guglingen's present and future concerns for the Holy Land (see the third section of this chapter). I offer a detailed examination of the sources and the main concerns and goals of the history that make up the first part of book VII. Guglingen's effort of composing a history is remarkable, because he is the first Franciscan of the custody of the Holy Land to do so. Working with the sources he could consult at the convent in Jerusalem, he composed a history set in an eschatological framework, an arena in which the forces of good and evil compete. In addition Guglingen wrote his history in such a way that the Franciscans of Mount Sion could not only be included in the history of the Holy Land, but also made relevant to the present and future of the Holy Land. He was thus the first friar of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* to think about the role of the Franciscans in and their exceptional link to the Holy Land. In later centuries several other friars would follow suit.

Guglingen's history of Jerusalem is to some extent a continuation of books I to VI of his *Treatise*, in which he had already narrated history, starting with Creation, terrestrial Paradise, the genealogy of Christ, and the Passion, including descriptions of the Holy Land, Jerusalem, and the Holy Places. Guglingen makes it clear that book VII is intended to close the gap between the days of Christ and Guglingen's own day, and that various groups of different beliefs play an important part in this story. He opens book VII with these words:

Here follows the seventh part of this treatise, in which I intend to plainly describe the <history> of the many various faithful and unfaithful nations living in Jerusalem. And for fundamental understanding, I want to start from the Lord Christ's Ascension, and briefly go through history.<sup>2</sup>

Guglingen thus leads us to understand that the lengthy history that follows serves to explain the current situation in which various nations inhabit

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<sup>2</sup> "Sequitur septima pars huius tractatus In qua describere intendo plane <historiam> multarum variarum nationum fidelium et infidelium in iherusalem habitantium. Et pro fundamentali intellectu i<n>cipere volo a dominica Christi ascensione et breviter hystorice percurrere." Neuburg MS p. 265.

Jerusalem. This history starts with New Testament events such as the Ascension of Christ and the descent of the Holy Ghost, and then recounts the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian in 70 A.D., the legend of the finding of the True Cross by St Helena, the building of many churches under her direction, another destruction of the city during the Jewish revolt against Heraclius in 614 A.D., and the rediscovery of the True Cross by the same emperor.<sup>3</sup> A narrative of destruction and resanctification of Jerusalem starts to emerge.

Now Guglingen has arrived at a point in his history of Jerusalem where he finds it necessary to include a number of sections on events that did not take place in Jerusalem but which he feels are nevertheless indispensable for understanding the history of the city; it is titled "On Muhammad and his damnable sect."<sup>4</sup> A systematic discussion of the life of Muhammad follows, starting with his birth and origins (based on chapter five of the *Historia Orientalis* by Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160/70–1240)), his life before starting "his sect," and the beginnings of Islam.<sup>5</sup> Then under the heading "On the detestable and false doctrine of Muhammad" Guglingen presents a commentary on the Quran.<sup>6</sup> He was able to read it in the Latin translation by Mark of Toledo. A further source that Guglingen reports is a dialogue between Muhammad and Abdullah Ibn Salam, an early Jewish convert to Islam, known from the *Book of One Thousand Questions*, which was first translated from Arabic into Latin by Herman of Carinthia in 1143 as *Doctrina Machumet*.<sup>7</sup> Guglingen copies a hundred of these questions and responses into his treatise.<sup>8</sup> Finally he records the death of Muhammad, loosely based on chapter seven of Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*.<sup>9</sup>

3 Neuburg MS pp. 266–80.

4 "De Machometo et eius dampnabili secta." Neuburg MS p. 281.

5 Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Marie-Genevieve Grossel (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2005), 82–89; Neuburg MS pp. 281–88.

6 "De execrabili et falsa doctrina Machometi." Neuburg MS pp. 288–98.

7 "Dum autem hec infra annotata componere curavi dedi me prius plurimum studiose ad perlegendum totum alkaronum [sic] quem marcus Toletanus de arabica lingua transtulit in latinum. Et dialogon machometi in quo respondit Abdye ybensalon summo rabi hebreorum ad quedam interrogata simplicissime Ad nonnulla stultissime ad aliqua vero falsissime." Neuburg MS p. 289. On the translation by Mark of Toledo see Th. E. Burman, "Tafsir and Translation: Traditional Arabic Quran Exegesis and the Latin Qurans of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 703–32. The translation of the *Book of One Thousand Questions* by Herman of Carinthia was part of Peter the Venerable's translation project known as the 'Todelo Collection.' Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 34–41.

8 "Sequuntur quedam Abusive stulte ac falsissime responsiones Machometi ad centum interrogaciones Abdye ybensalon summo [sic] Rabi hebreorum In dyalogo." Neuburg MS pp. 298–302.

9 Neuburg MS pp. 302–03; Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 101–02.

The library of the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion in Jerusalem provided Guglingen with such reading material. The presence of the *Historia Orientalis* as well as several works on Muhammad and Islam in the library is significant: these were the lenses through which the Franciscans of the Holy Land could begin to understand not only their Muslim neighbours but also their own role in the history of Jerusalem. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a number of collections of texts on the Holy Land were compiled at the Jerusalem convent, thus demonstrating a similar focus. These compilation manuscripts, studied by Michele Campopiano, contain not only texts on the history and geography of the Holy Land but also on its Muslim, Jewish, and Eastern Orthodox Christian inhabitants and their supposed errors. By assembling collages of pre-existing texts, the friars created manuscripts that communicated disapproval of most of the groups present in Jerusalem, as well as a nostalgic image of the heyday of the crusader era.<sup>10</sup>

The readings on Islam afforded by the library of the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion made an impression on Guglingen. He confesses that after reading these texts “my heart and soul were made sad within me,” and because of the confusion, errors, and lies he perceived in Islam he felt inspired to reprove them in an ordered way in his treatise.<sup>11</sup> Guglingen’s enterprise of writing his own new history of Jerusalem is an important innovation with respect to the compilation manuscripts discussed above. Instead of setting different texts on related subjects side by side in a compilation, he took on the challenge of writing a new text, a continuous history of Jerusalem and its various nations. Thus, instead of copying the reading digest of the convent library, Guglingen uses it as source material. This effort in book VII was again part of Guglingen’s larger project of writing an all-encompassing *Treatise on the Holy Land*. Guglingen’s creation of an overarching historical framework based on the sources he could consult at the Franciscan convent of Jerusalem eventually allowed him tentatively to bring Franciscans into the mix of his history of Jerusalem.

10 Michele Campopiano, “Islam, Jews, and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrim’s Guidebooks: Some Examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion,” *Al-Masaq* 24, no. 1 (2012): 75–89; Michele Campopiano, “Tradizione e Edizione di una Compilazione di Testi sulla Terra Santa Proveniente dal Convento Francese del Monte Sion (Fine del XIV Secolo),” *Revue d’Histoire des Textes* 6 (2011): 329–59.

11 “Perlectis diligenter singulis tristis facta est anima mea et cor meum intra me, merens tam propter materias in se confuse scriptas, quam propter nephandas detractiones deo meo et veritati factas. Necnon propter horrenda in eis mendacia et seducencia populum scripta. Cum vero me insufficientem ad huiusmodi ordinate et intelligibiliter inscribenda et ad sufficienter reprobanda reperi ...” Neuburg MS p. 289.

One way in which he does this is by placing the rule of the followers of Muhammad over Jerusalem in an eschatological perspective, a strategy that is certainly representative of later histories of the Holy Land by other Franciscans. In his discussion of Islam, Guglingen repeatedly refers to Muhammad as a pseudo-prophet, and suggests that we should refer to the prophecies in the Apocalypse of St John in order to understand Muhammad's role in history.<sup>12</sup> This was a common point of view in the medieval period – perhaps most famously represented by Joachim of Fiore's *Expositio in Apocalypsim* – present in medieval Franciscan exegesis and indeed in the text compilations produced at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, which Guglingen consulted there.<sup>13</sup> This apocalyptic framework for understanding history offers Guglingen the opportunity to hint at the role of the Franciscan friars in Jerusalem. When Guglingen calls Muhammad the first-born of Satan as well as the *alter Antichristus*, echoing a passage in Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*, he knows that this phrase will resonate with contemporaneous readers, especially Franciscan ones.<sup>14</sup> He is begging a comparison, if only implicitly, with St Francis, who was by then commonly seen as the *alter Christus*.<sup>15</sup> This is a comparison that would most likely not have been lost on the readers of Guglingen's history, and it conjures up the image of the followers of *alter Antichristus* abusively ruling Jerusalem while

12 For example: "Anno domini sexcentesimo vicesimo primo inceptit Machometus pseudo mendax propheta magus pessimus seductorque maledictus Agarenos sive ysmahelitas id est saracenos decipere et in errorem pessime heresis ducere." Neuburg MS p. 287; "Vidi sathanam quasi fulgur de celo cadentem. Et in apoc. capitulo 20. Et dyabolus qui seducebat eos missus est in stangnum ignis et sulphuris ubi bestia et pseudo prophete cruciabuntur die ac nocte in secula seculorum." Neuburg MS p. 285.

13 Brett Edward Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 2009), 46–56, 116–17, 144–46; David Burr, "Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis," in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan (New York: Garland Press, 1996), 131–52; Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity," 85–89; cf. The Hague, Royal Library, MS 73 G 8, fol. 30r.

14 "Cum autem ille maledictus seductor et nephandissimus pseudo propheta Machometus quasi alter antichristus et primogenitus Sathane plures populos pervertisset et in errorem traxisset ..." Neuburg MS p. 302. "Seductor autem ille, qui dictus est Mahometus, quasi alter antichristus & primogenitus satanae filius, tamquam Satan in angelum lucis transfiguratus, ira Dei magna & indignatione maxima sustinente, & inimico generis humani cooperante; plures populos pervertit, & in errorem suum traxit." *Iacobi de Vitriaco: Orientalis, sive Hierosolymae: Alter, Occidentalis Historiae*, ed. Franciscus Moschus (Douai: Balthasar Belleri, 1597), 8.

15 Stanislao da Campagnola, *L'Angelo del Sesto Sigillo e l'Alter Christus: Genesi e Sviluppo di Due Temi Francescani nei Secoli XIII–XIV* (Rome: Ed. Lauretanium, Ed. Antonianum, 1971).

the followers of the *alter Christus* are oppressed and living in the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion.

Having completed the section about Muhammad and Islam, Guglingen returns to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, continuing his history by recording what he calls the destruction of Jerusalem by Caliph Umar the Great in 636, a section that he takes from Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*.<sup>16</sup> A collage of chapters taken from *Historia Orientalis* follows in a rearranged order,<sup>17</sup> sometimes closely following Vitry's text, sometimes intermixing other material. For example, after relating the division between Shia and Sunni Islam, Guglingen quickly moves on to the exploits of Peter the Hermit, the First Crusade, and the siege and capture of Antioch and Jerusalem by the crusaders. When he tells the story of the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Guglingen relies on a text about the Nine Worthies, the heroic crusaders lords of Jerusalem; this text is also found in a Franciscan manuscript compilation from Jerusalem mentioned above.<sup>18</sup> Relying again on Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*, Guglingen next describes the military orders in Jerusalem.<sup>19</sup> Finally he considers at length the reasons for the loss of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>20</sup>

Following Vitry, Guglingen attributes the loss of the Latin Kingdom to the corruption and laxity of the regular and secular clergy of that realm, who (among other things) did not practice perfect obedience to their superiors, nor did they live in the poverty of Christ.<sup>21</sup> The shortcomings of the Latin clergy are indeed an important theme in Vitry's work; he sees evangelical renewal of the Roman Church from within as paramount to the success of the crusades.<sup>22</sup> In the *Historia Occidentalis* (not to be confused with the *Historia Orientalis*) and elsewhere Vitry presents St Francis and his followers as exactly the type of exemplary religious men to counter the forces of the Antichrist, mentioning also St Francis' expedition to Egypt in order to preach to the Sultan.<sup>23</sup> These

16 Chapter 3 of Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*. Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 79.

17 Following chapters 7 and 3. Guglingen also uses chapters 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20 of Vitry's text: see Neuburg MS pp. 302–08 and compare with Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 79–120.

18 Guglingen includes only the first eight worthies. Neuburg MS pp. 308–14; The Hague, Royal Library MS 73 G8, fols. 31v–35v; Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity," 87.

19 Neuburg MS pp. 317–20; chapters 64–66 of the *Historia Orientalis*, Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 181–92.

20 Neuburg MS pp. 322–25; chapters 69–72 of the *Historia Orientalis*, Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 195–203.

21 Neuburg MS pp. 323–25; Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 197–203.

22 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 152–53.

23 An encounter between Francis and Sultan Malik al-Kâmil most likely took place in September 1219 in the Nile Delta close to Damietta, in present day Egypt. Whalen, *Dominion*



are sources that Guglingen did not have at his disposal, but he sensed an opportunity for the Franciscans of the Holy Land to fill the gap left by the corrupt Latin Clergy in Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*. Guglingen could easily make this connection, since from the very inception of the Franciscan order both obedience to one's superiors and imitation of the poverty of Christ and his apostles had been all-important if enduringly controversial Franciscan ideals.<sup>24</sup> Later on in book VII of his *Treatise* Guglingen hears back to the shortcomings of the clergy of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, emphasizing that the Franciscans of the Holy Land, the new Latin clergy, excel in both poverty and obedience.

Guglingen's history projects an image of Jerusalem as a city now in the possession of pious Christians such as the Emperor Constantine and his mother, and then again destroyed by pagan powers. In this narrative of constantly changing authorities ruling the city the Catholic crusader princes of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem are the ultimate heroes, and Muhammad and his followers the worst villains. The narrative of destruction and resanctification of Jerusalem that Guglingen develops shares some important features with the commentary on the Apocalypse by the Franciscan exegete Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1349), whose work Guglingen was certainly familiar with. Nicholas' commentary offers a historiographical perspective with a prominent role for Jerusalem and the events of the First Crusade. Like Guglingen he identifies Muhammad and Islam with the forces of Antichrist, and he paints a picture in which the Holy Land changes hands several times. Christian victories though laudable were never lasting, and although Nicholas sympathizes with the crusading ideal, he does not expect the recapture of Jerusalem or the conclusion of history to happen any time soon, nor does he accept any apocalyptic role for the Franciscans.<sup>25</sup> Guglingen also deplors the current state of affairs, namely Mamluk rule; however, his history of Jerusalem is meant to demonstrate that a better future is still possible. St Francis or his friars have not been mentioned explicitly yet, but by including implicit comparisons between the followers of

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*of God*, 157–58; John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4–5, 19–39.

- 24 Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, repr. 2006 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 37–47, 130–38; Malcolm D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323* (London: S.P.C.K., 1961); David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the "Usus Pauper" Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).
- 25 Philip Krey, "Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam," in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan (New York: Garland Press, 1996), 154–58; Philip D.W. Krey, "The Apocalypse Commentary of 1329: Problems in Church History," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of the Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 267–88.

the *alter Christus* and the corrupt Latin clergy, Guglingen sets the scene for the conclusion of the seventh book of his *Treatise*, in which the Franciscans of the Holy Land do figure prominently.

In conclusion, Guglingen's history of Jerusalem since the Ascension pays particular attention to Muslim rule over the Holy Land and to Islamic doctrine, the glories of the Latin Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as the reason for the loss of this kingdom, namely the corruption of the Latin clergy. This text is innovative, not only because it is the first of its kind by a Franciscan of the custody of the Holy Land, but also because the author places all these elements in an eschatological perspective on history that introduces the Franciscans of the Holy Land into the grand scheme of things. Inspired by the reading digest present at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, Guglingen wrote a history that presents the Franciscans of the Holy Land as the answer to two major problems that in his view prevented the unfolding of history towards its rightful conclusion. The friars can be the antidote to the rule in Jerusalem of the followers of the Antichrist, by acting as improved Latin clergy. Before moving on to discuss the implications this might have for the future, which Guglingen suggests in the second part of book VII, it is useful to consider first the wider context of late medieval (Franciscan) visions of the end of history. These ideologies informed both Guglingen's take on the history and future of the Holy Land, and influenced later Franciscan authors connected to the *provincia Terrae Sanctae*: eschatological and apocalyptic ideologies formed the backbone of the Observant Franciscan claim and link to the Holy Land.

## 2 Franciscan Expectations for the Future of the Holy Land

Guglingen places his history of Jerusalem in a decidedly eschatological if not expressly apocalyptic perspective.<sup>26</sup> He begins his history at a very significant

26 The word *apocalypse* comes from Greek and means 'revelation,' but it has acquired many additional shades of meaning that have much to do with associated terms such as eschatology and prophecy. Apocalypticism can be seen as a branch of eschatology: the study of last things and the end of history; but this particular branch is distinguishable by a belief that the end is imminent. Similarly, as prophecy is the stuff of divinely inspired messages, all apocalyptic messages are thus prophetic in the broadest sense of the word, but not all prophecies are concerned with the end. Bernard McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola* (London: SPCK, 1979), 4–5; Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 2–4.

point: just after the Ascension of Christ, a moment that in most medieval apocalyptic schemes marks an important transition in the unfolding of salvation history. Guglingen associates Muhammad with the Antichrist, and he portrays history as an ongoing battle between the forces of good and evil: Islamic rule vs. crusader rule over Jerusalem. Thus he lays the groundwork for his future hopes for the Holy Land and for the role of the Franciscans in bringing about those prospects. His outlook – considering the past, reflecting on who were deserving and who were undeserving rulers of the country, and expressing hopes and expectations for the future – prefigures early modern Franciscan texts on the subject, which are more overtly apocalyptic in character. In order to understand fully the eschatological remarks in book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*, the ideas that must have shaped his perspective on history, as well as the apocalyptic expectations that informed later Franciscan claims to the Holy Land, it is imperative to consider the broader milieu of medieval Christian apocalypticism that fostered these texts. In this type of apocalypticism the Antichrist, the religious other, the city of Jerusalem, its recapture by crusade, and (by the later middle ages) the role of the Franciscan order in the unfolding of history are important and recurring themes.

The first and foremost Christian apocalyptic text is the last book of the New Testament, the Apocalypse (or Revelation) of John, to which Guglingen also refers in his *Treatise*. Following this first-century text early Christian apocalypticists continued to develop important motifs, such as the coming of the Antichrist, the number and duration of the ages of the world, and the thousand year earthly kingdom ruled by a Messiah-king as predicted in Apocalypse 20: 4–6, an expectation also known as millenarianism.<sup>27</sup> These strands of thought were effectively suppressed in the fifth century by the enduringly influential church father Augustine of Hippo (354–430), who strongly objected to apocalyptic readings of current events and predictions about the future, and developed an anti-apocalyptic eschatology that would remain influential for centuries to come.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless the desire to read past events and predict future ones did continue to exist. This undercurrent was encouraged by a text of Eastern Christian origin: the Syriac Apocalypse or Revelations of *Pseudo-Methodius*. This text, written at the end of the seventh century, was highly political; it was fuelled by the Islamic threat, which it saw as a divine punishment. In addition *Pseudo-Methodius* is the first witness to the legend of the Last World emperor, who would tackle the Islamic threat and finally march into Jerusalem, abdicate by laying his crown on Golgotha, and hand over his kingdom to God in

27 McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 5–18.

28 Reeves, "The Originality," 272–76; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 25–27.

anticipation of the coming of Antichrist. By the beginning of the eighth century the Latin translation of the text had begun to circulate in Western Europe, and it shaped apocalyptic expectations there.<sup>29</sup>

Two centuries later, at the end of the tenth century and with the apocalyptic year 1000 approaching, a Frankish monk called Adso of Montier-en-Der picked up where *Pseudo-Methodius* left off, developing much further the figure of the Antichrist and the scenario of the last days. In his *Letter on the Origin and Life of the Antichrist* Adso describes how the Antichrist will be born from Jewish parents and start a reign of terror in Jerusalem to last three and a half years. Then, since the Roman Empire had been destroyed, a Frankish king would relieve the world by marching into Jerusalem and laying his sceptre and crown on the Mount of Olives: the final consummation of the Christian Empire. At this, Antichrist would be revealed and finally killed by Christ or the archangel Michael. Adso's clever application of the idea of *translatio imperii* to his version of the Last World emperor myth transformed him from a Byzantine emperor into a Catholic monarch, a development that was to remain appealing to many generations of apocalypticists to come.<sup>30</sup>

As we can observe in the very influential apocalyptic scenarios by *Pseudo-Methodius* and Adso of Montier-en-Der sketched above, Jerusalem already held a very important position in Western apocalyptic schemes long before the era of the crusades. Islamic possession of the Holy Places never sat easily with Christian thinkers.<sup>31</sup> After the First Crusade had taken place "Western possession of the Promised Land would remain the *sine qua non* of Latin apocalyptic schemes" for centuries to come, in the words of Brett Edward Whalen.<sup>32</sup> Another crucial element in medieval apocalypticism was the concept of universal Christian community: first the Gospel was to be spread to all corners of world, then the Antichrist would tempt the faithful with false miracles and prophecies, and finally Eastern orthodox Christians, Jews, and others would return to the Catholic fold before the Final Judgement.<sup>33</sup> Thus, apart from the issue of Islamic rule over Jerusalem, the non-Christian other had an important part to play in expectations of the end times, something that is also foregrounded in the remainder of book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*.

During the twelfth century this apocalyptic focus on outsiders was complemented by attention to internal division and threats from within Catholicism

29 McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 70–76; Reeves, "The Originality," 274–75; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 17–18.

30 McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 82–87; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 13–14.

31 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 46–49.

32 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 65, 70–71.

33 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 1–8.

itself. In the wake of the papal reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries a new strain of “reformist apocalypticism” emerged. It not only warned about evil Christians, but also presented a new and more coherent conception of history as the battleground between good and evil. The same can be observed in Guglingen’s history of Jerusalem, in which the present day is seen in the light of current crisis and new developments, and end times are believed to be very near.<sup>34</sup> In this period thinkers such as Honorius of Autun, Anselm of Havelberg, and Gerloh of Reichersberg departed from the Augustinian view of history, introducing notions of progress, change, and renewal, and thus preparing the way for Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202), the most famous and influential medieval apocalypticist of all.<sup>35</sup>

Joachim recognized a great variety of complementary patterns and ages in history, but his most important contribution was the idea of three *status* in history, based on the persons of the Trinity: the *status* of the Father (Adam to Christ), the *status* of the Son (Christ to Joachim’s own day, a time of crisis – Guglingen’s history starts here), and the *status* of the Holy Spirit (a future age of renewed spirituality after the persecution of the Antichrist, in which all believers will be unified in a single church that will last until the last judgement). Joachim worried about the menace of Islam, represented in his own day by Saladin, which led him to believe that a historical transition was near, and initially to favour the idea of crusade. Later on, after the failure of the Third Crusade in 1195, he changed his mind and favoured apocalyptic conversion instead, effected by the preaching of two new monastic orders of “spiritual men” who he foretold were to be the driving force of the third *status*. There was no place for a Last World emperor in Joachim’s scheme, but he did see an important role for a renewed and spiritualized papacy, which in time gave rise to the notion of the “angelic pope.”<sup>36</sup> With these ideas Joachim transformed the landscape of Latin medieval apocalypticism, predicting not only crisis and persecution but also transition to a brighter future ahead. Certain elements of

34 McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 94–107; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 72–99;

35 Reeves, “The Originality,” 276–86.

36 McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 126–41; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 100–24; McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality*, 97–148; Reeves, “The Originality,” 287–97; Robert E. Lerner, “Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought,” *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97–144; E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 16–21; E. Randolph Daniel, “Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades,” *Traditio* 25 (1969): 127–54. For the development of the notion of the *pastor angelicus* see Marjory Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 401–15; cf. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 186–96.

his highly complex ideas were particularly appealing to his contemporaries; for example, the role of the new *virī spirituali* of the last *status* was claimed by several religious movements, not least the Franciscans.<sup>37</sup>

During the final decades of the thirteenth century a specific Franciscan Joachite apocalyptic began to develop within the Spiritual Franciscan movement.<sup>38</sup> The Spiritual friars promoted a more strict observance of poverty, and from around 1240 they also started to incorporate apocalyptic elements into their ideologies inspired by Joachim's writings.<sup>39</sup> The Franciscan theologian Peter Olivi (1248/9–98), whose ideas were influential within the Spiritual movement, first created a true amalgam of Franciscan eschatology and Joachite apocalyptic. According to Olivi, St Francis was the herald of the third *status*, and his mission to the Levant had prefigured the imminent universal apocalyptic conversion that was to be effected by his followers.<sup>40</sup> Olivi's teachings were widely influential, not least through the writings of his student Ubertino da Casale (1259–c. 1329), and laid the foundation for a new vibrant and diverse field of Franciscan apocalypticism.<sup>41</sup> This type of apocalypticism, shaped by thinkers such as friar Jean de Roquetaillade (d. 1366), featured expectations of the earthly recapture of Jerusalem and the installation there of a Franciscan angelic pope.<sup>42</sup> During the later middle ages this type of Franciscan

37 Reeves, *The Influence*, 133–292.

38 During the last three decades of the thirteenth century the Franciscan Spiritual movement emerged as a result of enduring controversies over the practice of poverty, as well as other aspects of regular life within the Franciscan order, which had started already before Francis' death in 1226. David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2001).

39 McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality*, 150–52; Reeves, *The Influence*, 175–229; David Burr, "Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1992), 89–102.

40 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 204–12; Daniel, "Apocalyptic Conversion," 144–46; Robert E. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 54–72, esp. 65–66. Also see the section *Late medieval Franciscan Crusade projects and their patrons* below.

41 McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality*, 156–58; Raoul Manselli, "L'Apocalisse e l'Interpretazione Francescana della Storia," in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. Willem Lourdaux and Daniël Verhelst (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1979), 168–69; Sharon A. Leftley, "Beyond Joachim of Fiore: Pietro Galatino's Commentaria in Apocalipsim," *Franciscan Studies* 55 (1998): 137–67, esp. 166 n. 122.

42 The notion of the angelic pope had already appeared in the writings of the Franciscan scholar Roger Bacon (c. 1219/20–1292), who may not have been a Joachite. The notion was truly developed by Arnau de Vilanova (c. 1240–1311), a non-Franciscan physician, who had become deeply influenced by Olivi's teachings while studying at Montpellier. Reeves, *The Influence*, 45–48, 401–15; McGinn, *Vision of the End*, 186–85, 222–25. Arnau de Vilanova predicted not one but a series of angelic popes, as well as the capture of earthly Jerusalem,

Joachite prognostication proliferated, and by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Franciscans on the Iberian Peninsula as elsewhere could rely on a “medley of apocalyptic lore.”<sup>43</sup> Sometimes the only vaguely Joachite element in this medley was the identification of the Franciscans with the proselytizing “spiritual men” of the final age, as well as a strong sense that history was about to be consummated. Franciscan apocalypticism flourished upon discovery of the New World, but remained oriented towards the Old World in the sense that the retaking of Jerusalem remained the ultimate goal.

For example, Christopher Columbus (c. 1450/51–1506) believed that his discovery of the New World was the first in a chain of apocalyptic events that would eventually lead to the recovery of Jerusalem by the Spanish monarchy. In a collaborative effort with his friend, the Franciscan Gaspar Gorritio, Columbus compiled a *Book of Prophecies* (1505), describing these expectations in detail.<sup>44</sup> The dedicatory letter to this volume stressed “the need to recover the holy city and Mount Zion, and the discovery and conversion ... of all of the peoples and nations, for Ferdinand and Isabella, our Spanish rulers.”<sup>45</sup> The Observant Franciscan mission to the Indians of the New World began tentatively from 1500 onwards. A more professional and systematic mission to New Spain began in the 1520s. In 1524 a team of Observant Franciscan missionaries, symbolically twelve in number, arrived in Mexico.<sup>46</sup> Almost from the start these missionary efforts were infused with apocalyptic expectations, perhaps most famously exemplified by the staging of a play “The conquest of Jerusalem” by the newly converted Indians of Tlaxcala on 18 June 1539, in which the apocalyptic scenario was furthered by an army of Indians from New Spain as well as

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ideas that reappeared in the anonymous *Liber de Flore* at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission*, 94–95; Reeves, “The Originality,” 306–07; Lerner, “Refreshment of the Saints,” 134. The very influential prophecies of the French Franciscan Jean de Roquetaillade (d. 1366) had as central figures a Franciscan angelic pope, a holy emperor, and a king of Sicily, who would recover the Holy Land. Jean also predicted the transfer of the papacy to Jerusalem and the establishment of a millennial kingdom on earth after the Antichrist had been defeated and the multitudes converted. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 221–26; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 230–33; Lerner, “Refreshment of the Saints,” 132–36; Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham*, 73–88, esp. 80–81.

43 Delno C. West, “Medieval Ideas of Apocalyptic Mission and the early Franciscans in Mexico,” *The Americas* 45, no. 3 (1989): 295.

44 West, “Medieval Ideas of Apocalyptic Mission,” 302–05.

45 *The Book of Prophecies Edited by Christopher Columbus*, ed. Robert Rusconi, trans. Blair Sullivan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 59; cf. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 229.

46 Bert Roest, “From *Reconquista* to Mission in the Early Modern World,” in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015), 336–43.

more traditional forces. The theatrics are described by Toribio de Benavente Motolinía (1482–1568), who was most likely also the playwright and one of the 1524 team of twelve Observant Franciscan missionaries, in his *History of the Indians of New Spain*.<sup>47</sup>

Thus from the late medieval period onwards a vibrant Franciscan apocalyptic flourished, in which St Francis and his followers themselves were thought to play a prominent role in hastening history to its conclusion, and which featured elements such as the Catholic recapture of Jerusalem, and often the installation of a Franciscan pope there. These traditions provided part of the impetus for the Franciscans' call for Holy Land crusade, as well as for the territorial claims made by some of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Franciscan authors writing about the Holy Land, as will become clear in chapter five. Like Guglingen these authors looked to the past and wrote history in order then to turn to hopes and predictions for the future. At the basis of apocalypticism stands the Judeo-Christian concept of history as linear, running from a beginning to an end, as well as a desire to understand events that have already taken place, the individual's current position on the divine time line, and especially what is still about to happen.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, the eschatological outlook of Guglingen's history of Jerusalem, the first part of book VII of his *Treatise on the Holy Land*, forms the basis for what the author unfolds in the second part of book VII, where he discusses both the present and the future: the impious other dominating Jerusalem, and the Franciscans who make amends as good Latin clergy and thereby create an opening for future change by means of crusade.

### 3 Guglingen's Call for Crusade

In the second part of book VII of his *Treatise* Guglingen elaborates on his view that the Holy Land is a space unjustly occupied by an impious other, a

47 For the account of the play see *Motolinia's History of the Indians of New Spain*, ed. & trans. Francis Borgia Steck (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1951), 160–67; West, "Medieval Ideas of Apocalyptic Mission," 293, 306–10; John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Alain Millhou, "El Concepto de 'Destrucción' en el Evangelismo Milenario Franciscano," in *Actas del 11 Congreso Internacional sobre los Franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo (Siglo XVI)* (Madrid: Deimos, 1988), 303–15. Also see Jaime Lara, "Francis Alive and Aloft: Franciscan Apocalypticism in the Colonial Andes," *The Americas* 70 (2013): 139–63.

48 Marjory Reeves, "Preface," in *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, The Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola*, ed. Bernard McGinn (London: SPCK, 1979): xiii–xviii; Marjory Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," *Traditio* 36 (1980): esp. 269–97.



topic that he had already highlighted in his history of Jerusalem. At the very beginning of book VII Guglingen had indicated that knowledge of history was needed in order to understand the present-day situation in this city. Having traced history from the Ascension up to and including the loss of the Crusader Kingdom, he is now fully equipped to move on to discuss the next main theme for book VII: the various nations living in Jerusalem in 1483, the year that Guglingen was there.<sup>49</sup> Thus history, especially the failure of the crusades (caused by the defects of Roman Catholics themselves), now serves to explain how it can be that the Holy City is now ruled by infidels, and its Holy Places inhabited by heretics and schismatics, a situation that is very undesirable in Guglingen's eyes. At the very end of book VII he proposes a solution to this situation, the point which his *Treatise* has been building up to by means of history and ethnography. In order to identify the compositional rhetoric of book VII, an in-depth analysis of the sources and composition of its second half is indispensable. This little studied text, an ethnographical account that concludes with a crusade manifesto, was also an important source for Breydenbach's famous *Itinerarium* (1486).

Guglingen follows a well-established tradition by offering an ethnographical exposé: lists and discussions of the different religious communities and their errors are a common feature in Jerusalem travelogues. The very widely read *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* by the Dominican pilgrim Burchard of Mount Sion, who travelled to the Holy Land in the early years of the 1280s, includes sections on the subject; Jacques de Vitry discusses some groups of differing denominations in the *Historia Orientalis*; and his discussion on the subject also made its way into the 1373–74 Mount Sion compilation.<sup>50</sup> Guglingen assembled his discussion from various sources: he relies on Vitry, his own observations, and other sources present in the convent library on Mount Sion. One of these is a short Latin text that must have been kept in the library of Jerusalem convent: *De diversis nationibus habitantibus in terra sancta: et earum moribus et ritu etc.*; this

49 "De ritu et lege Saracenorum habitantibus modernis temporibus in sancta civitate iherusalem. Nostris temporibus Anno domini 1483 habitant in iherusalem duo genera hominum, scilicet fideles et infideles, Infidelium sunt iterum duo genera scilicet pagani et iudei." Neuburg MS pp. 331–32.

50 Burchardus Monachus, *Palaestina seu Descriptio Terrae Sanctae Solertissima*, ed. Philippus Bosquierus (Cologne: Ioannis Crithius, 1626), 56–63. For the problems concerning the dating of this popular text or the pilgrimage of Burchard see Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 4, no. 1 (2013): 5–41. Vitry discusses the Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites, Armenians, and Georgians as groups present in Jerusalem apart from the Saracens in chapters 75–80. Furthermore, he discusses several different peoples living elsewhere in the region. Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 206–29; Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity," 79–81.

text was also copied into the manuscript containing the vernacular pilgrimage account by the German Franciscan friar Gabriel von Rattenberg, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1527.<sup>51</sup>

Although Guglingen relies on this traditional ethnographic form for expressing unease about the various communities present in Jerusalem, he nevertheless moulds his source material to serve a specific purpose at the end of book VII.<sup>52</sup> He has ranked the religious communities in a moral succession ranging from very bad to very good, starting with the Saracens, who are both pagans and infidels; then the Jews, who are infidels; then the heretical Christian nations: the Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Georgians, Abyssinians; then the Maronites, who are Catholics; and finally the Latins, the Franciscan friars of Mount Sion.<sup>53</sup> This moral succession, not present in Guglingen's sources, is a rhetorical device which at the end of book VII serves to dramatize its conclusion, as will become clear. In addition he includes material that is much less frequently part of these listings and discussions of different religious communities. For example, Guglingen concludes some of his sections with the alphabet of the group in question: an Arabic alphabet (fig. 10) together with a Latin-Arabic vocabulary, as well as Hebrew, Greek, Chaldean, Jacobite, Armenian, and Abyssinian alphabets. This is an innovation that subsequently became common in late medieval Jerusalem travelogues under the influence of the popular itinerary of Guglingen's fellow traveller Bernhard von Breydenbach (c. 1440–97), which copies these alphabets along with the sections on the different nations in Jerusalem directly from Guglingen's text.<sup>54</sup> Guglingen also

51 "On the different nations living in the Holy Land and their customs and rites etcetera." Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, MS Cgm 1274, fols 2r–8r. The text discusses the Saracens, Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Georgians, Abyssinians, and Maronites, in that order. In addition to this text and the travelogue this manuscript also contains an Arabic-German vocabulary analogous to the one offered by Guglingen and *Peregrinationes totius Terrae Sanctae* (fols. 95r–112v), listing the indulgences to be gained in the Holy Land. Also see "No. 151 Gabriel von Rattenberg," in *Europäische Reiseberichte*, ed. Christian Halm.

52 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 153–55.

53 Neuburg MS pp. 322–63. Nikolaus Glassberger, who saw another (now lost) redaction of Guglingen's text, gives a different order in some of his notes: "Primo de Latinis Christianis; 20 de Judaeis; 30 de Graecis et eorum erroribus; 40 de Surianis et eorum erroribus; 50 de Jacobitis et eorum erroribus habitantibus in Jerusalem et in Oriente; 60 de Nestorianis et eorum erroribus; 70 de Armenis et eorum erroribus; 80 de Georgianis et eorum erroribus; 90 de Abyssinis sive indianis habitantibus in Jerusalem et de eorum erroribus; 100 de Maronitis et eorum erroribus, quos olim tenuerunt; sed nunc conversi sunt et facti catholici." Nikolaus Glassberger, *Chronica Fratris Nicolai Glassberger*, 656–67.

54 Bosselmann-Cyran, "Das Arabische Vokabular," 153–82; Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, "Einige Anmerkungen zum Palästina- und Ägyptencompendium des Bernhard von

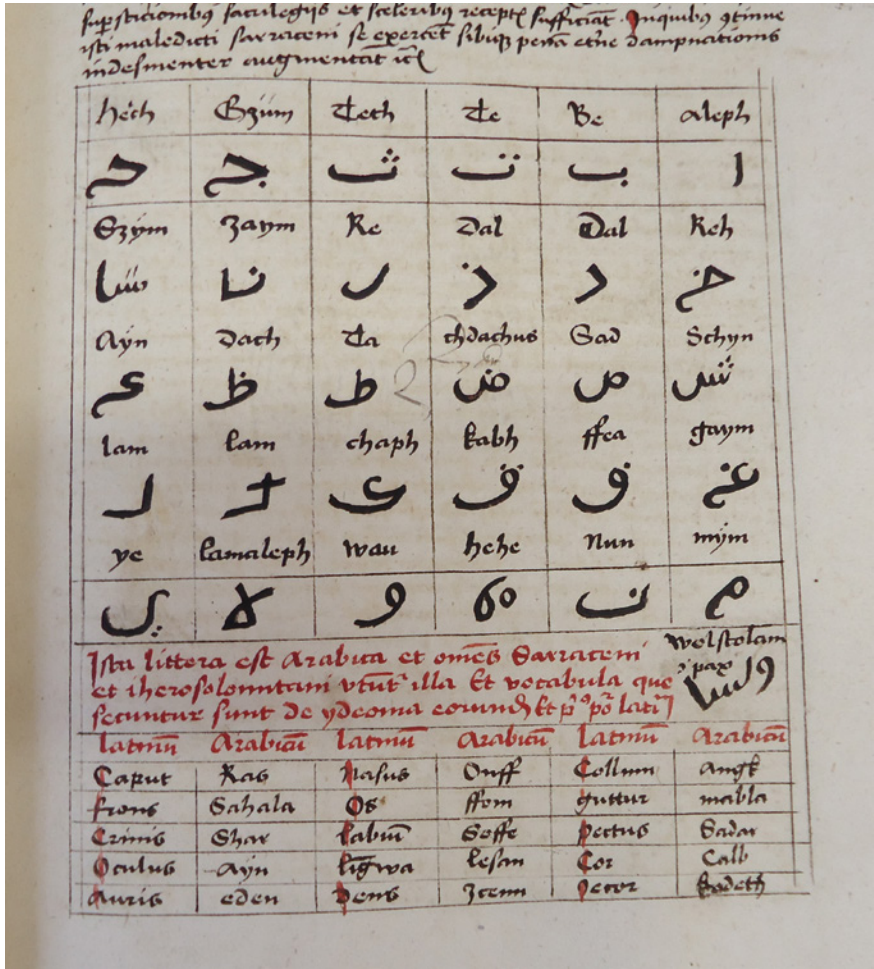


FIGURE 10 Arabic alphabet in book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*.  
STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS  
P. 337

Breidenbach (1486),” *Kairoer Germanistische Studien* 8 (1994–5): 95–115; Balázs J. Irsay-Nagy, “Zum koptischen Alphabet des Bernhard von Breydenbach (1486),” in *From Illahun to Djeme: Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft*, ed. Eszter Bechtold, András Gulyás, and Andrea Hasznos (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 87–94. Zur Shalev proposes the alphabets found in Mandeville’s travelogue as a source for those in Breydenbach. Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 90 n. 61; cf. *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, ed. and trans. Iain Macleod Higgins (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2011), 266–69; Elmar Seebold, “Mandevilles Alphabete und die Mittelalterlichen Alphabetsammlungen,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 120, no. 3 (1998): 435–49. Also see Franz-Christoph Muth, “Eine arabisch-äthiopische Wort- und Satzliste aus Jerusalem vom 15. Jahrhundert,”

innovates with respect to his sources by including two illustrations to demonstrate the faults of the Greek and Armenian Christians.

In the first ethnographical section about the Saracens, Guglingen has a less theological outlook than earlier in the work, when he discussed the life of Muhammad and Islam as a part of his history of Jerusalem.<sup>55</sup> These observations contain less references to written sources, and may also be based on Guglingen's own observations during the year he lived in Jerusalem, and on what others may have told him. Guglingen describes customs and rules such as polygamy, the giving of alms, washing before prayer, the orientation of prayer, Ramadan, the consumption of Halal meat, the ban on eating pork, which cities are considered holy, certain mosques, and the rewards of paradise. He is interested in these practices and beliefs because they help him to answer a question he asks at the end of his discussion: if the Saracens accept the Old and the New Testament, from which it is clear that Christ is the Messiah, do they then not believe in him as the true son of God? Guglingen responds that they cannot be considered Christians, because the evangelical laws proscribe abstinence from earthly and carnal desires, which abstinence the Saracens do not practice at all, as can be seen from the customs which he has described.<sup>56</sup>

After proving that the Saracens are indeed very unchristian, Guglingen turns to the errors of the Jews. He blames them for denying the Trinity and for denying that God (Christ) could die. He also reports that they hold that God is not a holy man, i.e. Jesus is not God, and that the Messiah has not yet come. Guglingen then offers a lengthy disquisition disproving these points, mostly based on various Old Testament types.<sup>57</sup> Up to this point Guglingen has dealt

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*Afriques* [Online] 01 (2010), <http://afriques.revues.org/535>. In Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltramare* the rituals of what he calls 'other generations of Christians' are scrutinized. Furthermore, one of the earlier manuscripts includes a list of foreign alphabets: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Misc. II.IV.101, fol. 49v. For an analytical overview of the vocabularies in German translations of Breydenbach's itinerary see Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, ed. Mozer, 779–86. An Arabic-German vocabulary analogous to the one offered by Guglingen is contained in the manuscript with Gabriel von Rattenberg's travelogue, Munich BSB, MS Cgm 1274, fols. 91r–93r; cf. Neuburg MS pp. 337–39.

55 Neuburg MS pp. 311–19.

56 Neuburg MS pp. 336–37.

57 Neuburg MS pp. 339–48. Guglingen's sources for this section and to what extent it is his own composition remain to be established. He may have relied on existing traditions of anti-Jewish polemic within the Franciscan order. For such traditions see Bert Roest, "Medieval Franciscan Mission: History and Concept," in *Strategies of Medieval Communal Identity: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Wout J. van Bekkum and Paul M. Cobb (Louvain: Peeters, 2004), 157–59. Guglingen concludes the section by referring to the *Epistola Samuelis*, a popular late medieval anti-Jewish polemic by Alfonso de Buenhombre,

with what he calls the infidels in Jerusalem, and has found them wanting. He now turns his attention to the Christians groups in the city, partly basing himself on Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*, partly on *De diversis nationibus habitantibus in terra sancta* (also found in the manuscript of friar Gabriel von Rattenberg's Jerusalem travelogue), and possibly on his own observations.<sup>58</sup> Guglingen is again determined to make it clear that even if these groups are Christians, they err unforgivably in their religious practices, especially with regard to their Eucharistic rites. Guglingen works through a catalogue of nine errors the Greek Church commits against Catholic orthodoxy.<sup>59</sup> He calls the ninth error, the Greeks' use of leavened bread for the Eucharist, their worst fault.<sup>60</sup> He holds that their error appears clearly from their practice, which he describes at length and may have witnessed himself in Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup>

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which he planned to copy into his *Treatise*, although it cannot be found in the Neuburg MS. "Si quis vero plenius scire voluerit iudeos palpitate in erroribus legat diligenter epistolam Samuelis israelite famosi doctoris iudeorum, que habetur infra folio ..." Neuburg MS p. 348. Guglingen also refers to the *Epistola* in his travelogue: "Item scripsi etiam epistolam Rabi Samuelis Hebrei satis longam, continens [sic] triginta tria capitula, valde utilis [sic] pro Christianis et contra Judeos. Que habetur infra folio ..." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 186; Antoni Biosca i Bas, "The Anti-Muslim Discourse of Alfonso de Buenhombre," in *Medieval Exegesis and Religious difference: Commentary, Conflict, and Community in the Premodern Mediterranean*, ed. Ryan Szpiech (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 87–90; Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Sebastiano Salvini: A Florentine Humanist and Theologian and a Member of Ficino's Platonic Academy," in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, vol. 3, repr. 1993, ed. Kristeller (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2006), 188–89.

- 58 "De variis nationibus cristianorum in genere habitantium in Jerusalem," Neuburg MS p. 348; cf. Munich BSB MS Cgm 1274 fol. 3v: "Sunt autem in hierusalem alii naciones hominum, qui christiane religionis professores."
- 59 The 1374–75 compilation from the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem also contains various materials on the errors of the Greeks, and must have been present in the library on Mount Sion. Guglingen may have consulted these, cf. *Un Guide Pèlerin de Terre Sainte au xve Siècle*, ed. Regine Pernoud (Paris: Mantes, 1940), 7; Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity," 83–85.
- 60 "Nonus error et peyor aliis est Quia a dyabolo edocti." Neuburg MS p. 351.
- 61 "Et ponunt calicem cum vino et aqua secundum modum prenotatum demum ponunt totum panem ad altare in panno lineo infra [lege intra] calicem et sacerdotem absque patena. Et benedictione peracta secundum ritum eorum, nec faciunt elevationem sacramenti nec calicis. Sed frequenter thurificant, et semel recipit totum panem panno involuto post consecrationem et vertit se ad populum dans pacem. Et cantatis et peractis que agenda sunt excidunt de magno pane id quod in circulo parvulo continetur. Et dicunt et tenent quod illa sola pars sit consecrata in sacramentum eukaristie. Alia vero pars maior sit simpliciter benedicta sicut apud nos aqua benedicta. Et id quod excidunt frangunt in plures partes secundum quod ibi sint sacerdotes et ministrantes uel alii communicare volentes. Tunc primo celebrans missam summit [sic] partem denique dat aliis sacerdotibus ministris et postremo aliis laicis communicantibus unicuique partem. Denique accipit



FIGURE 11 Illustration of the Greek Eucharistic ritual in book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*. STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS P. 350

To prove his point, Guglingen includes an illustration (fig. 11) along with the explanation that when the Greeks celebrate Mass they take a reasonably large, thick, round, and not very white piece of leavened bread, which is marked on

sacerdos cum argenteo cocleario de sacramento calicis. Denique alii sacerdotes et ministri. Postea minister dat et laicis de sanguine et sic sumunt [sic] omnes sub utraque specie. Et quod residuum est de sacramento panis ponit sacerdos ad calicem et sumit [sic] cum sanguine et cum cocleari. Aliam partem panis dividunt ministri in multas particulas et distribuunt omni populo et pueris sive sint communicati sive non." Neuburg MS p. 351.

top with a circle the size of a Catholic Host, “the form of which is depicted bigger here.”<sup>62</sup> Beneath this statement we find a curious illustration in which a chalice seems to be standing on top of the Host, below which we read the words: “here stands the priest.”<sup>63</sup> This intriguing arrangement of elements is meant to illustrate how the bread is carried to the altar at the beginning of the Greek Eucharistic ritual: “and they place the chalice with wine and water according to the aforementioned manner; then they take the entire bread to the altar in a linen cloth in between the chalice and the priest, without a paten.”<sup>64</sup> Beside the illustration four blocks of text offer additional information on the Greek procedure. Thus we learn that the Greeks use a large chalice containing wine mixed with water, and that they do not use a paten for the sacrament, but rather take a silver dish with which to distribute pieces of the Host.<sup>65</sup> On both sides of the illustration of the Eucharistic bread the notes explain that the bigger outer circle indicates the entire bread, and that the small inner circle constitutes the Eucharist proper.<sup>66</sup> Within the inner circle the word *Eukaristia* reiterates this point, and on the outer circle we are again reminded that this is leavened bread: *Panis fermentatus*. With this illustration Guglingen has shown as efficiently as possible all the features of the Greek Eucharistic ritual that he perceived as erroneous.

On the errors of the other Christian communities in Jerusalem, Guglingen is more concise, discussing those of the Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Georgians, Abyssinians, and Maronites in quick succession. His concerns about the Eucharistic ritual of Eastern Christians leads him once more to offer an illustration, depicting the Armenian Host (fig. 12). Announced by the text *hec est forma hostie in sacrificio Armenorum*, the Host is represented by two concentric circles, a cross within the inner circle. The text running between the two circles explains that the thickness of the host is indicated by the

62 “Iste error patet clarius ex practica eorum. Nam volentes officium celebrare Recipiunt satis magnum panem rotundum spissum non multum album fermentatum, quantus est panis pro denario usuali in Alamania et in medio superioris partis faciunt circulum in latitudine unius hostie. Cuius forma habetur plenius in figura hic depicta.” Neuburg MS p. 350.

63 “Hic stat sacerdos.” Neuburg MS p. 350.

64 A paten would be used for this purpose in the Roman rite. “Et ponunt calicem cum vino et aqua secundum modum prenotatum denique ponunt totum panem ad altare in panno lineo infra [*lege* intra] calicem et sacerdotem absque patena.” Neuburg MS p. 351.

65 “Nota quod greci utuntur magno calice infundentes multum vinum cum aqua modica et ponunt primo calicem,” “Non utuntur patena pro sacramento sed cum frangunt in partes ponunt in catinum argenteum partes et de illo distribuunt.” Neuburg MS p. 350.

66 “Nota: ille circulus maior demonstrat integrum panem quem recipiunt pro sacrificio ut supra dictum est,” “Circulus minor demonstrat eukaristiam qui tamen illud quod continet parvulus circulus conficitur in sacramentum eukaristie etc.” Neuburg MS p. 350.





FIGURE 12 Illustration of the Armenian Host in book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*.

STAATLICHE BIBLIOTHEK NEUBURG AN DER DONAU, 04/HS. INR 10, MS  
P. 359

distance between the two circles, and the breadth of the host is indicated by the outer circle.<sup>67</sup> Guglingen's attitude to this Host is less hostile, as the Armenian rites are closer to the Latin ones.<sup>68</sup>

Having reviewed all of the shortcomings of the pagans, infidels, and heretics in Jerusalem, Guglingen is now ready to discuss the last remaining traditional ethnographical category known from crusade and pilgrimage literature: the Latins.<sup>69</sup> These men, called "Franks" by the Saracens, are true Catholics according

67 "Spissitudo hostie Armenorum est sicut spacium inter illos duos circulos, Latitudo vero sicut primus et maior circulus." Neuburg MS p. 359.

68 "Armeni concordant modicum nobiscum in officio misse, habentes patenas et calices in nostris formis ... In orationibus et officiis eorum devoti Sacramentis latinorum reverenciam exhibentes." Neuburg MS p. 359.

69 "De latinis et veris catholicis christianis In iherusalem Civitate sancta habitantibus." Neuburg MS p. 363.



to Guglingen.<sup>70</sup> Following this brief introduction he immediately laments the fate of this formerly prominent group: once they were many, now they are few; once they were powerful, now subjected; once they dominated Jerusalem, and now “alas, I grieve to say it, they are completely expelled from their heritage, trampled upon by all, and practically reduced to nothing!”<sup>71</sup> Barely forty of these good Catholics remain in the city, and they are surrounded by Christian sects suffused in error and infected by heresy, as he has explained before.<sup>72</sup> The historical and ethnographical background he provided before now serves to reveal the stark contrast between the glorious days of the Latin Kingdom and the deplorable current situation.

Yet there is hope. Alluding to the parable of the Sower and that of the Wheat and the Tares, Guglingen characterizes the Franciscans of Mount Sion:<sup>73</sup>

However, just as whenever a few good, fruit-bearing seeds are thrown on soil they excellently bear many fruits, so a few truly Catholic men, friars of the blessed father Francis, although they are few, still – just like good, fruit-bearing seeds sown onto the Promised Land with the right hand of true obedience – [are] incessantly sprouting forth odoriferous flowers of many virtues, and producing salubrious fruits of many good works for the benefit of the sons of the holy mother church. They are magnanimous in their faith, well-confirmed in their hope, and deeply rooted in the love of God and their neighbour, not suspected of any error, nor blemished by the least rumour of any heresy, through God’s grace.<sup>74</sup>

70 “Postremo sunt et alii homines christiane religionis veri catholici qui a ceteris christianis appelluntur latini. A sarracenis vero franchi. Hii inhabitant sancta civitatem nostre salutis et redemptionis iherusalem.” Neuburg MS p. 363.

71 “Et olim erant numero copiosi, modo heu pauci. Olim erant in potestate magni, nunc vero tributarii et infimi servi. Olim erant dominatores tocius promissionis terre et civitatis sancte. Modo heu heu proch dolor ab hereditate penitus expulsi et omnium pedibus subiecti et quasi ad nichilum sunt reducti.” Neuburg MS p. 363.

72 “Nam vix inveniuntur quadraginte [*sic*] persone que veri catholici sunt in civitate sancta. Alii omnes christiani ut dictum est erroribus involuti et heresi sunt infecti.” Neuburg MS p. 363.

73 Matthew 13.

74 “Attamen sicut quandocumque pauca semina bona fructifera proiecta in terram excelenter crescunt in multos fructus, si pauci viri veri catholici fratres beati patris francisci, licet sunt pauci, tamen velut semina bona et fructifera per dexteram manum vere obediencie proiecta in terram promissionis, indesinenter ex se flores odoriferos multarum virtutum pullulantes. Ac fructus salutiferos plurimorum bonorum operum in usum filiorum sancte matris ecclesie producentes. Sunt enim magnanimes in fide, spe bene firmati,

These Franciscan friars offer new hope for the Holy Land, since even though they are few they are very different from the former Latin clergy of the Crusader Kingdom, who caused the loss of that kingdom by their disregard for the practice of obedience, poverty, and chastity. Now that this huge failing has been rectified by the Franciscans, who are like good seed sown in the Holy Land, producing salubrious fruits, a brighter future may lie ahead. Furthermore, Guglingen emphasizes that these friars are thoroughly orthodox Catholics, unlike the heretical Christians that surround them. These other groups are unworthy to worship at the Holy Places, since their Eucharistic rites are erroneous, as Guglingen took pains to demonstrate in his prior discussions and illustrations of the Greek and Armenian Eucharist. He now indicates that the Franciscans celebrate the Eucharist in the correct way and also reprove the others about their rite. This makes the heretics very hostile to the Franciscans, not to mention the hostility and molestation the Franciscans suffer at the hands of the Saracens. According to Guglingen the friars are assailed from all sides and in constant danger of being expelled from their place in the Holy Land, which they retain only through the grace of God and the alms of good Christians.<sup>75</sup> Given the precarious situation of the friars, Guglingen first begs God at length to liberate Jerusalem, and then turns to another potential source of relief:

They [the friars] also call to all Christian princes, and nobles, and other devout Christians, saying with a lamenting voice: "Oh you all who serve under the banner of Christ's Cross and Christendom, and who rest under the wings of the holy Roman mother church, consider with your mind, receive with your heart, and behold with your corporal eye your land and city, sprinkled and sanctified with the precious blood of Jesus Christ your Saviour, which now for 283 years has been trampled upon and possessed by the perfidious Saracens and the worst heretics; aye, daily it is defiled, spat on, and mocked by infidel dogs, to the contempt of Christ and sacred Christendom. Rush to the defence of the honour of your God, hasten

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caritate dei et proximi funditus radicati. In nullo errore suspecti Nec minina fama alicuius heresis per dei gratiam notati." Neuburg MS p. 363.

75 "Publice contra hereticos confitentes Eucharistiam in azimis panibus et vino mixto aqua in calice frequenter conficientes errores aliarum nationum odientes, hereses eorum reprobantes et contra hereticos acriter inpingentes. Quapropter non paucas detractiones ab ipsis hereticis sufferentes, ac non modicas adversitates et molestias a sarracenis continue sustinentes, indubie undique angustie, undique tribulationes et circumquaque stant pericula, et nisi gratia dei consolati, et manu adiutrice eleemosynis christifidelium ex imponenti adiuti subsistere et tenere loca in terra sancta minime possent." Neuburg MS pp. 363-64.

to liberate your heritage, attack confidently to expel those unclean dogs, and the Lord will be with you. Follow in the footsteps of the noble prince Godfrey of Bouillon as much as you can and for the love of Christ who suffered for us there. Hasten to rescue the friars in their distress, who live in poverty.<sup>76</sup>

This call for crusade is the point towards which book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise* has been building. He has meticulously constructed a historical framework in order to demonstrate that the history of the Holy Land is incomplete and its current inhabitants unworthy. However, after the lamentable loss of the glorious Latin Kingdom a good seed has been sown in its soil, which makes possible its recovery for Christianity: the Franciscans of Mount Sion. The friars are doing their part, behaving as irreproachable Catholic clergy; all that is wanting now are brave Christian princes willing to emulate Godfrey of Bouillon, and the other worthy men about whom we have heard already in Guglingen's history of Jerusalem. Following this fervent crusade manifesto Guglingen shows a more practical mindset, saying that if you cannot come in person, then you must at least send some clergy instead and give alms. He emphasizes that if the friars are expelled they can no longer assist pilgrims, and also that the friars have many costs, which they have to pay for from alms. There follows a long and meticulous description of all the buildings that need to be maintained and the mouths that need to be fed.<sup>77</sup> Guglingen finally exhorts his less wealthy readers, especially regular clergy, to pray, if they have no alms to give.<sup>78</sup>

76 "Clamant etiam ad omnes christifideles principes et nobiles ceterosque devotos christianos dicentes voce lamentabili, O vos omnes qui militatis sub vexillo crucis christi et cristiani nominis, et qui quiescitis sub alis sancte matris ecclesie romane, considerate mente, recipite corde, aspice et oculo corporali terram et civitatem vestram, precioso sanguine ihesu vestri redemptoris aspersam et sanctificatam, iam quam per ducentos octoginta et tres annos a perfidis saracenis et pessimis hereticis possessam et conculcatam, ymmo ab infidelibus canibus quotidie fedatur conspuitur et deridetur, in despectum christi et sancti nominis christiani. Accurrite defendere honorem dei vestri. Festinate liberare hereditatem vestram. Accedite confidenter expellere foras canes immundos et dominus erit vobiscum. Incedite pro viribus vestris vestigia nobilissimi principis Godofridi de Boilheym et ob amorem ihesu pro nobis ibidem passi. Succurrite fratribus tribulatis et in paupertate constitutis." Neubrug MS p. 364.

77 The convent on Mount Sion: twenty four friars, ten flasks of oil, three donkeys; two friars at the Holy Sepulchre, ten flasks of oil; the church and monastery in Bethlehem, six friars, six flasks of oil; the five tertiary sisters of Mount Sion, one flask of oil; last but not least: tribute to the Saracens. Neubrug MS p. 365.

78 A page length prayer is provided for the purpose: "Exhortacio ad orationem et forma orationis pro terra sancta." Neuburg MS p. 365.

Thus with the seventh book of his *Treatise* Guglingen has provided a continuous history of the Holy Land, as well as an account of the various nations presently in Jerusalem. He has integrated the Franciscans both as an improved version of the Latin clergy and as the superiors of any other Christian groups in Jerusalem, thereby making it possible to propose a scenario for the future by means of renewed crusade. Moving beyond the historical compilations that heretofore emanated from the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, he has produced a text that is in all respects innovative. Not only is it the first cohesive history of Jerusalem and the Holy Land by a friar of that convent, but it is also the first to pay attention to the role of the Franciscans within this history. It explicitly calls for crusade, arguing that history is incomplete and that the Franciscans are doing their part in fulfilling the divine requirements for its completion; all that is needed now is the help of Catholic princes. These features, which appear for the very first time in Guglingen's treatise, were to become hallmarks of later early modern perspectives on the Holy Land offered by the Franciscans of that province. Guglingen's *Treatise* suggests a budding self-assertiveness among Franciscans with regard to the Holy Land, even though its claims are still tentative in comparison with later examples. However innovative, Guglingen's remarkable call for crusade can be contextualized by looking at contemporaneous crusade campaigning by the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land. This topic was on the friars' agenda if not in their writing, and demonstrates a continuity with later Franciscan Holy Land writing.

#### 4 Late Medieval Franciscan Crusade Projects and their Patrons

Guglingen is the first friar of the late medieval *custodia Terrae Sanctae* in (ex-tant) writing to call for crusade. He looks back at the past to see what has been lacking, namely good Latin clergy, and he also looks forward to the future – since good Franciscan friars are in place now, all that is needed is princely military initiative. His crusading zeal, expressed for the first time by a Franciscan of the Holy Land *in writing*, was to remain the exception until the early seventeenth century, most notably with the publication of Francesco Quarresmio's *Elucidatio* (1639). Nevertheless, Guglingen's call for crusade is representative of a more general atmosphere at the Franciscan convent of Mount Sion in Jerusalem around the turn of the sixteenth century. His overt call for crusade and assistance from Catholic rulers is striking given the fact that explicitly calling for crusade was certainly not a feature of the historical compilations produced at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem at the time, even

though these texts breathed a certain nostalgia for the classical crusader era.<sup>79</sup> The same nostalgia was expressed in dedicated masses sung by the friars behind the closed doors of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>80</sup> Openly calling for crusade in writing was uncommon among the authors of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land. Nevertheless, Guglingen was not an eccentric in this respect but indeed expressed more widely held convictions. This becomes clear by briefly perusing the context of fifteenth-century crusading movements and previous Franciscan involvement with crusading projects, as well as by examining two examples of crusade campaigning coordinated by the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*. These two fifteenth-century missions to the Burgundian and Iberian courts have left few traces in that custody's own records but were far from ineffective according to sources connected to the recipients.

The fall of Acre in 1291 to the Mamluks ended the last of the Crusader States as well as the classical period of crusading. The loss of the Holy Land and Muslim rule over the Holy Sepulchre and Holy Places met with dismay in Western Europe, and in the following two centuries the recovery of Jerusalem was the object of a number of (unsuccessful) military initiatives as well as a proliferation of carefully planned proposals for Holy Land crusade.<sup>81</sup> Several of these crusade projects were put forward by Franciscans, for example in the *Liber Recuperationis Terre Sancte* by friar Fidentius of Padua, presented to the first Franciscan Pope Nicholas IV in February 1292.<sup>82</sup> Patrick Gautier Dalché has recently proposed a "milieu franciscaine" from which several crusade projects,

79 Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity," 83, 88–89.

80 Valentina Covaci examines these masses, the *Missa ad recuperandum Terram Sanctam* and *Missa in veneratione Sancti Sepulcri*, in her Phd dissertation. Covaci, *Between Traditions*, chapter two.

81 Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar 1274–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 7–48.

82 This text discusses the desired characteristics of the crusaders themselves, the religious and social features of the infidels living in the Holy Land, the strategic nitty gritty of the campaign, as well as proposals on how to organize the crusader state once established. For an edition of what was thought until recently to be the single surviving manuscript, Bibliothèque National de France, Paris MS Lat. 7242, fols. 85–126r, see Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese* (Quaracchi: Tipografia del Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1913) vol. 11, 1–60; cf. Paolo Evangelisti, *Fidenzio di Padova e la Letteratura Crociato-Missionaria Minoritica* (Napoli: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1998); Paolo Evangelisti, "Un Progetto di Riconquista e Governo della Terrasanta: Strategia Economica e Militare e Proposta di un Codice Etico-Politico attraverso il Lessico Regolativo-Sociale Minoritico," in *Alle Frontiere della Cristianità. I Frati Mendicanti e L'Evangelizzazione tra '200 e '300, Atti del XXVIII Convegno Internazionale, Assisi 12–14 Ottobre 2000* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2001), 140; Sylvia

including a geographical component in the shape of a map, emanated.<sup>83</sup> The best-known specimen from this environment is the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* by Marino Sanudo the Elder, not a Franciscan himself. The first draft of this project, without maps, was presented to Clement v in 1309, and a second much expanded version including maps was presented to John XXII in 1321.<sup>84</sup> This second project was examined by a committee of four which included three Franciscans, including the Franciscan historian Paulinus of Venice.<sup>85</sup>

Given this precedent of Franciscan crusade campaigning before the establishment of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land, it may seem surprising that once established in the Holy Land the friars did not actively call for crusade in writing. Perhaps they were deterred by the possible risks of putting such ideas in writing in Mamluk territory, but a greater focus on the daily business of hosting and conducting pilgrims may simply have prevailed. Still it is remarkable that Guglingen's is the first explicit call for crusade by a Franciscan of the Holy Land, more than 200 years after the establishment of the convent in Jerusalem. He does not seem to rely on the (Franciscan) *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>86</sup> Instead his call is made in a new context of crusading movements following the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. This type of late medieval crusade often cited the recovery of the Holy Land as an ideal, but was in practice

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Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 75, 93–101.

- 83 Gautier Dalché has also published the map that was part of this work by Fidentius, which had not been discussed in previous scholarship. Furthermore, he introduces a heretofore unknown manuscript copy of the text. Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Cartes, Réflexion Stratégique et Projets de Croisade à la Fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> et au Début du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Une Initiative Franciscaine?" *Francia* 37 (2007): 80–83, Plate 1, 87–92.
- 84 These include a map of the Holy Land, a map of the Eastern Mediterranean, Jerusalem, and a *mappa mundi*. For a reproduction of the *mappa mundi* see Gautier Dalché, "Cartes, Réflexion Stratégique," 84–87, Planche III. For renderings of all of these maps see Marinus Sanudus, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conseruatione*, ed. Jac. Bongarsio (Hanover: Wechelianus/Johannis Aubrius, 1611), 285 ff.
- 85 Gautier Dalché hypothesizes that it was Paulinus who advised Sanudo to include maps in the second redaction of the book, in line with the Franciscan *forma mentis* on this subject. These maps, attributed to Pietro Vesconte, were also to become part of Paulinus' *Chronologia Magna* later on. See for example Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, MS Lat. 4939, fols. 9r (*mappa mundi*), 10r (map of the Eastern Mediterranean), 10v–11r (map of the Holy Land), available online via <http://gallica.bnf.fr>. Gautier Dalché, "Cartes, Réflexion Stratégique," 84–86, 89–93; Konrad Kretschmer, "Marino Sanudo der Ältere und die Karten des Petrus Vesconte," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 26 (1871): 352–70.
- 86 He does not refer to such texts, nor does his historico-ethnographical exposé and the call for crusade he bases on it display many similarities with the projects typically expounded in such *De recuperatione* texts. Cf. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*.

mostly focused on defending the receding borders of Europe from the Ottoman advance.<sup>87</sup> However, the ultimate ideological goal of the recovery of Jerusalem was, if distant, never quite empty or meaningless.<sup>88</sup> In this milieu of heightened interest in war against the infidels during the second half of the fifteenth century the Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* sought to mobilize Western European monarchs for a crusade to the Holy Land, for example by appealing to their descent from glorious crusaders of the past. Guglingen's unique call in writing is thus representative of ideas held more widely among the friars of this custody at this time.

The Franciscan custody of the Holy Land actively tried to recruit help from Western Europe by sending out friars to princely houses to ask for financial backing and protection from the Mamluk authorities, also encouraging these rulers to undertake a crusade. The fact that these envoys of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* were well received and their requests were taken seriously testifies that Holy Land crusade was not universally seen as a lost cause, on the contrary in fact. For example, Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (1396–1467) lent his support to the Franciscans of the Holy Land. Philip entertained a particular devotion for the Holy Land, which he expressed by financing the Holy Land pilgrimages of several illustrious as well as more humble persons, and through several large donations to the Franciscan custody there. Apart from substantial annual donations, in 1437 he gave a stained glass window with his coat of arms to the Franciscan church on Mount Sion, along with a breviary. Around a decade later he provided building materials for the restoration of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and in the 1460s he financed the restoration of the chapel of the Holy Ghost on Mount Sion.<sup>89</sup> In addition Philip was greatly attracted by the idea of crusade, and he maintained a fleet for this purpose in the Mediterranean in the 1440s. He also maintained a theologian in his service who compiled texts relating to the subject of crusade and the Levant, and during the decade following the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 he prepared for action in earnest, although this project never materialized.<sup>90</sup>

87 Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453–1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

88 Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 46–48.

89 Jacques Paviot, "La Devotion Vis-à-vis de la Terre Sainte au xve Siècle: L'Exemple de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne (1396–1467)," in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 401–11; Bertrand Schnerb, "La Piété et les Devoctions de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne (1419–1467)," *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 149, no. 4 (2005): 1319–20, 1337–38.

90 Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Longmans, 1970), 268–74, 334–400; Jacques Paviot, "Burgundy and the Crusade," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 70–80; Elizabeth Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the*

The efforts by Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land to obtain such support and patronage have left only a few traces in comparison with their results, but in this case we have several witnesses to how the Franciscans tried to secure Philip's support and urged him to take up a Holy Land crusade. In 1435 Alberto Sarteano (1385–1450), a prominent Observant Franciscan preacher and later vicar general of the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order, travelled to Jerusalem to install an Observant Franciscan guardian there, instead of the Conventual friar who had been elected. This mission failed, and only in 1439 an Observant guardian was installed. During his stay in Jerusalem, Alberto wrote a letter to Philip on 6 October 1436 thanking him profusely for a financial donation; he expressed the hope that the prince would come to visit the Holy Places for devotion, but he wished even more that he would also take up arms in defence of the Christian faith now that his dominions were at peace.<sup>91</sup> In 1440 Alberto wrote to Philip again, now from Rhodes, encouraging him to imitate his ancestors, among whom was Godfrey of Bouillon, and fight for Christendom.<sup>92</sup>

The Franciscan efforts to solicit Philip's services were not restricted to writing letters. In the years 1442–48 Philip received several visits from friar Jean Marquet, also called de Valombreuse, sent from Jerusalem first to collect a donation, and later, after the pope had issued a crusade bull in favour of the custody of the Holy Land in 1443, to discuss "certain things concerning the recovery and reunion of the said Holy Land," as the ducal administration reveals.<sup>93</sup> We do not know what kind of approach Jean Marquet adopted to convince Philip of the necessity of a crusade during his secretive visits, but it seems that Philip took his requests seriously. He sent an ambassador to the English court to broach the subject of a crusade, and at Antwerp in 1446–49 even started to construct a fleet destined for the Levant, although this crusade also was never to be. After Constantinople had fallen to the Turks in 1453 the Duke's crusading fervour could now be more clearly directed and find wider

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*Good of Burgundy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 172–73; Heribert Müller, *Kreuzzugspläne und Kreuzzugspolitik des Hertogs Philip des Guten von Burgund* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

91 This letter by Alberto Sarteano is edited as Epistola XLIV in *Beati Alberti a Sarthiano Ord. Min. Reg. Observ. Opera Omnia in Ordinem Redacta*, ed. Francis Harold (Rome: apud Joannem Baptistam Bussottum, 1688), 273–74; Paviot, "Burgundy and the Crusade," 75; Paviot, "La Devotion," 404–05. Also see the introductory chapter on this far from smooth transition from Conventual to Observant Franciscanism. Cf. Golubovich, *Serie Cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa*, 22–24.

92 Epistola LXV in *Beati Alberti Opera Omnia*, 330–31; cf. Paviot, "Burgundy and the Crusade," 75; Paviot, "La Devotion," 404–05.

93 Paviot, "La Devotion," 405–07.



approval more easily. On 17 February 1454 Phillip presided over the *Feast of the Pheasant* in Lille. This lavish royal banquet was organized to promote a crusade against the Ottomans; to that purpose several members of the court swore oaths on a live pheasant, opening another decade of crusading plans and projects.<sup>94</sup>

One month after the feast, in March 1454, the famous Observant Franciscan crusade preacher Giovanni da Capistrano (1386–1456) wrote to the duke from Bratislava, confessing that he would love to hear “that the very noble and formidable prince the duke of Burgundy from now on deploys his formidable power for the recovery of the Holy Land.”<sup>95</sup> It may seem surprising that Capistrano urges Philip to go on a crusade to the Holy Land rather than to employ his military might in defending the Balkans from the Ottomans, the crusade in which Capistrano was to distinguish himself most notably as a preacher.<sup>96</sup> This suggests that the anti-Ottoman and Holy Land crusades were never entirely separate but rather inextricably linked phenomena. In his letter to Philip the preacher wonders what could be more pleasant than “a beautiful army to restore and recover the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord.” Da Capistrano then deplors the division and dissension in Philip’s Duchy, referring to the recent Ghent wars. He exhorts Philip at length to restore peace and forgive his subjects, and concludes by repeating the suggestion of taking up arms for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre instead, fighting enemies of the faith.<sup>97</sup> Thus, apart from commissaries present at the court of Philip the Good, the custody of the Holy Land could rely on very prominent Observant Franciscan preachers to use their rhetorical skill in the form of letters appealing to the Duke’s sense of duty based on history and his ancestry.

94 Paviot, “Burgundy and the Crusade,” 73–74.

95 G. de Beaucourt, “Lettre de Saint Jean de Capistran au Duc de Bourgogne. 19 Mars 1454,” *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de France* 2, no. 2 (1864): 160–66; Paviot, “Burgundy and the Crusade,” 75–76.

96 Norman Housley, “Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456,” in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 94–115.

97 In the speech to justify the new taxes that eventually led to the Ghent wars Philip actually enumerates his expenses for the Holy Land as an important cost: “All this does not include the heavy expenses I have sustained over a long period and still sustain every day in the service of God, in support of the Christian faith and of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre of our beloved Lord in Jerusalem and of other Holy Places thereabouts against heathens and pagans. To these ends I have expended a good deal of money and I am still doing so willingly, for the atonement and honour of God and for the salvation of myself and my subjects.” Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 308.

With the death of Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1467 the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land had lost a very important patron and protector. Only in the 1480s were similarly powerful and generous protectors found in the royal couple of Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) and Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516). Over the years several Franciscan representatives were sent from Jerusalem and were well received. They collected substantial donations and gained diplomatic support against the Mamluk government.<sup>98</sup> Suggesting a Holy Land crusade must also have formed part of the assignment of these envoys, and such efforts were well directed, because Isabella and Ferdinand favoured the idea of crusade, notably in the shape of the Spanish *Reconquista*.<sup>99</sup> The clearest signs of encouragement for such a Franciscan crusade are associated with the embassy of fray Mauro Hispano, guardian of Mount Sion in Jerusalem from May 1501 to May 1504. At the end of his term there fray Mauro returned to Europe entrusted with diplomatic messages from the Mamluk Sultan Qansuh Al-Ghuri (r. 1501–16), who was displeased with Ferdinand II because of recent forced conversions of Muslims in the principality of Granada, and with King Manuel I of Portugal (r. 1495–1521) for harassment of Mamluk merchants in the Indian Ocean. The Sultan sought intervention by Venice as well as by the pope. In March 1504 fray Mauro arrived in Venice, and he moved on to Rome in August of the same year. Since these meetings remained inconclusive, it was decided that Mauro would first move on to Spain and Portugal, much to the ire of Qansuh Al-Ghuri.<sup>100</sup>

In September 1504 fray Mauro arrived at the Spanish court, where he remained for eight months and collected exceptionally large donations for the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land. Although no documentary evidence survives to prove it, it seems very likely that fray Mauro tried to convince the Spanish Royal couple of the desirability of a crusade.<sup>101</sup> When Isabella died in November 1504, her will expressed the wish for war against Islam and for the conquest of Africa.<sup>102</sup> This request was taken especially seriously by Francisco

98 José García Oro, "La 'Casa Santa de Jerusalén.' Palestina en los Proyectos de los Reyes y de Cisneros," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 51, no. 203–04 (1991): 724–43.

99 John Edwards, "Reconquista and Crusade in Fifteenth-Century Spain," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 163–81.

100 Charles-Martial de Witte, "Un Projet Portugais de Reconquête de la Terre Sainte (1505–1507)," *Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos: Actas* 5, no. 1 (1961): 444–46; García Oro, "La 'Casa Santa de Jerusalén,'" 743–45.

101 García Oro, "La 'Casa Santa de Jerusalén,'" 745–47.

102 Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 36; Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne*, 2nd ed. (Genève: Droz, 1991), 56.

Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517), the queen’s Observant Franciscan confessor, a powerful politician, archbishop of Toledo, and eventually also cardinal of Spain. Cisneros himself must in turn have conferred with his Franciscan confrère Mauro from Jerusalem, since he introduced the explicit goal of conquering the Holy Land into Isabella’s final request.<sup>103</sup> In the years following her death he collected geographical and strategic information for a military excursion.<sup>104</sup>

In the beginning of 1506 Cisneros found an enthusiastic ally in Manuel I of Portugal for this grand crusade project. In May 1505 Manuel had likewise received a visit from fray Mauro and was so taken by the idea of a crusade that two months later, in July, he sent his Franciscan confessor fray Henrique de Coimbra to enlist the English King Henry VII (r. 1485–1509) for the plan.<sup>105</sup> Ferdinand II was also favourable, and several appeals were sent to Pope John II, although with meagre results.<sup>106</sup> The documents containing this particular crusade project have unfortunately not survived; but from a warmly worded letter by Manuel I to Cisneros in February 1506 we know that it envisioned destroying Islam and seeing Cisneros celebrate mass in front of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>107</sup> In the end these monarchs were unable to realize the project, and although in 1509 Cisneros did manage to capture the port of Orán in present day Algeria on an expedition largely financed by himself, the Holy Land was never gained.<sup>108</sup>

In the atmosphere of Franciscan apocalyptic anticipation sketched above, Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros was led to hope he would become the new Franciscan pontiff of Jerusalem upon completing his Crusade.<sup>109</sup> During his crusading years the Franciscan cardinal sustained his faith in these undertakings by relying on several prophecies, such as those by the French philosopher Charles de Bovelles (1479–1566), the controversial mystic “la Beata de Piedrahíta” or Maria de Santo Domingo (c. 1485–c. 1524), and a certain fray Melchor. These visionaries foretold events in a number of variations that supported the

103 García Oro, “La ‘Casa Santa de Jerusalén,” 746.

104 Cisneros’ personal library included a memorial with the strategic information necessary for a military expedition in the Mediterranean with the ultimate goal of regaining the Holy Land. For a description see García Oro, “La ‘Casa Santa de Jerusalén,” 752–61.

105 García Oro, “La ‘Casa Santa de Jerusalén,” 747–48; de Witte, “Un Projet Portugais,” 419–21.

106 De Witte, “Un Projet Portugais,” 427–44.

107 The text of this reply is given in Latin in Luke Wadding’s *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, vol. xv (Rome: Typis Rochi Bernabò, 1736), 358–59; García Oro, “La ‘Casa Santa de Jerusalén,” 749–50; de Witte, “Un Projet Portugais,” 422.

108 Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros*, 35–42.

109 García Oro, “La ‘Casa Santa de Jerusalén,” 750–51.

Cardinal's crusading plans: the end of Islam, the swift reconquest of the Holy Land (within twelve years), and a new reformed papacy in Jerusalem with Cisneros as its first pontiff.<sup>110</sup>

We can conclude that the written call for Holy Land crusade to which Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land* builds up represents the more widely held hopes and beliefs of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land. In the second half of the fifteenth century the envoys of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* were well received at prominent European courts, and their requests for Holy Land crusade were taken seriously. Sailing on the current of the anti-Ottoman crusade, their appeals coincided with contemporary concerns and attracted the approval of the Burgundian, Spanish, and Portuguese courts. Moreover, prominent Observant Franciscan preachers such as Alberto Sarteano and Giovanni da Capistrano tried hard to direct Philip the Good's attention to the Holy Land, and its crusade, and the Franciscan prelate Jiménez de Cisneros acted as an important catalyst for the custody's crusading ambitions on the Iberian peninsula. All of these efforts, as well as the call in Guglingen's *Treatise*, point to continuity with early modern Franciscan Holy Land writing, which is replete with crusading rhetoric, as we shall see in the next chapter. Another very significant element at the end Guglingen's book VII which resonates with this same literature is his characterization of the Franciscans of the Holy Land as "good seed" sown in the Holy Land. Based on this characterization, the final section of this chapter explores the possibility of the implicit suggestion by Guglingen that St Francis himself founded the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*. This is a belief that was to become a defining feature of later Franciscan Holy Land territoriality, and which had its roots in relatively obscure late medieval hagiographic traditions.

## 5 St Francis in the Holy Land

Book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise* is designed to point out the relevance of the Franciscans of the Holy Land. The history of Jerusalem it contains first emphasizes the problem of the absence of good Latin clergy, and the ethnographical exposé that follows it presents the friars as the answer to this complication, setting the stage for recovery by means of crusade. In the context of his discussion

110 Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne*, 55–75; Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros*, 42–45; cf. Costa Brochado, "A Espiritualidade dos Descobrimentos e Conquistas dos Portugueses," *Brotéria* 40 (1945): 25–42; Jose García Oro, *El Cardenal Cisneros: Vida y Empresas* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993), vol. II, 568–90; M. Jimenez Espada, "La Guerra del Moro a Fines del Siglo xv," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 25 (1894): 171–212.

of the various nations that live in Jerusalem, Guglingen characterizes the Franciscans of the Holy Land by means of allusion to the parable of the Sower and of the Wheat and the Tares, as we saw above.<sup>111</sup> This particular characterization is very significant in terms of the claims and beliefs about the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land to which it may refer, namely the foundation of this custody by St Francis himself. After examining the possible although certainly indirect reference to the Life of St Francis contained in Guglingen's allusion to the seed metaphors in Matthew 13, I shall discuss early modern examples of the same seed metaphor. These later examples explicitly claim the foundation of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* by Francis himself, and thus present an important revision of history and hagiography. The rather rare late medieval hagiographical traditions that prepared the way for these claims make up the final part of my discussion.

In book VII of his *Treatise* Guglingen sees a specific role for the Franciscans in the Holy Land, perhaps even a missionary one, reproving Eastern Orthodox Christians and bringing them into the Catholic fold. He does not, however, explicitly connect this role in history to the Life of St Francis. For instance, Guglingen does not refer to Francis' mission preaching to the Sultan of Egypt, a well-known hagiographical episode based on an encounter with Sultan Malik al-Kâmil in 1219 close to the city of Damietta in the Egyptian Nile delta, which might seem surprising.<sup>112</sup> Yet Guglingen wrote a history of Jerusalem, and according to received hagiographic tradition at the time Francis did not go to Jerusalem. Nor does it seem to be the case that during the late medieval period other Franciscans of the Holy Land paid special heed to this episode in the Life of their founding saint. It is primarily later, early modern Franciscan commentators who reflect on the episode of St Francis and the Sultan, and even bring Francis to the Holy Land.

The only possible (but covert) reference to the Life of St Francis in Guglingen's *Treatise* is his characterization of the friars in the Holy Land as good seed sown on holy ground, producing many fruits, as we saw above in section three.<sup>113</sup> Francis's first biographer, Thomas of Celano, refers to the parable of

<sup>111</sup> Matthew 13.

<sup>112</sup> This meeting is reported in hagiographical sources and crusader chronicles. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 4–5.

<sup>113</sup> "However, just as whenever a few good, fruit-bearing seeds are thrown on soil they excellently bear many fruits, so a few truly Catholic men, friars of the blessed father Francis, although they are few, still – just like good, fruit-bearing seeds sown onto the Promised Land with the right hand of true obedience – [are] incessantly sprouting forth odoriferous flowers of many virtues, and producing salubrious fruits of many good works for the benefit of the sons of the holy mother church. They are magnanimous in their faith, well-confirmed in their hope, and deeply rooted in the love of God and their neighbour,

the sower in the *vita prima* in a chapter about the saint's desire for martyrdom and his missions to Morocco and Syria: "Francis, the servant of the most high, left the sea and began to walk the earth. Furrowing with the plough of the word, he sowed the seed of life, bearing blessed fruit."<sup>114</sup> This episode actually occurs following a failed attempt to reach Syria, when Francis had already disembarked at Ancona in Italy. Bonaventure retains the reference to this parable in his influential *Legenda Maior*: "When he left the sea, he began to walk the earth and to sow in it the seed of salvation, reaping fruitful harvests."<sup>115</sup>

We cannot be entirely sure if Guglingen had this part of the Life of Francis in mind when he characterized the friars of the Holy Land as good seed, nor whether he believed that Francis went to Jerusalem to sow these seeds himself, even though the early biographies report no such expedition. It is tempting to think he might have done, since later Franciscan authors also connect the image of St Francis as the biblical sower to the supposed foundation of the custody of the Holy Land by Francis himself. For example, on several occasions Francesco Quaresmio identifies the Franciscans of the Holy Land as holy seed sown in the Holy Land, and dedicates a chapter to the fruits reaped by St Francis on his travels through the Holy Land.<sup>116</sup> In this chapter Quaresmio writes that although Francis did not convert many infidels, his stay was nevertheless productive:

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not suspected of any error, nor blemished by the least rumour of any heresy, through God's grace." "Attamen sicut quandocumque pauca semina bona fructifera proiecta in terram excellenter crescunt in multos fructus, si pauci viri veri catholici fratres beati patris francisci, licet sunt pauci, tamen velut semina bona et fructifera per dexteram manum vere obediencie proiecta in terram promissionis, indesinenter ex se flores odoriferos multarum virtutum pullulantes. Ac fructus salutiferos plurimorum bonorum operum in usum filiorum sancte matris ecclesie producentes. Sunt enim magnanimes in fide, spe bene firmati, caritate dei et proximi funditus radicati. In nullo errore suspecti Nec minina fama alicuius heresis per dei gratiam notati." Neubug MS p. 363.

- 114 Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis by Thomas of Celano (1228–1229)*, ed. and trans. Regis Armstrong, Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 1 (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1999), 230; Celano, *Vita Prima*, caput xx: 56, "Servus dei excelsi Franciscus, relinquens mare, terram deambulabat, eamque verbi vomere scindens, seminat semen vitae, fructum (Mat 13:3) proferens benedictum." Thomas de Celano, *Vita Prima*, ed. *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. x (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1926), 42.
- 115 Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *The Major Legend of Saint Francis (1260–1263)*, ed. and trans. Regis Armstrong, Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 2 (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2000), 601; Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior*: caput IX, 6:1 "Cum autem, relicto mari, terram perambulare coepisset, iactato in eam salutis semine, reportabat manipulos fructuosos." Bonaventura, *Legenda S. Francisci*, ed. in *Opera Omnia S. Bonaventurae*, vol. viii (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1898), 531.
- 116 Quaresmio interprets the role of the Franciscans in the Holy Land as 'holy seed' with reference to Isaiah 6:13. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio* (1639), vol. 1, xxj–xxij. This characterization of

I do not doubt that the preaching and example of Saint Francis was like good and chosen seed, that fell in good and holy ground, moistened by the celestial dew of the Holy Spirit, warmed by the rays of the sun of justice, so that it produced multiple fruit in its time, threefold, sixfold, and hundredfold. Once planted, they took root and produced leaves, flowers, and fruit in that Promised Land: the three orders of Saint Francis, the Friars Minor, the Poor Ladies or Clarissans, and the Third Order of Penitence which contains both sexes.<sup>117</sup>

According to Quaresmio the Franciscans in the Holy Land were thus the fruit and flowers of seed sown there by St Francis himself. The same message is communicated by the title and title page of Electus Zwinner's *Blumenbuch des H. Lands Palestinae so in dreij Biecher getheilet* (Munich: Wilhelm Schell, 1661). The copperplate engraving shows a Franciscan friar kneeling next to a thorny branch with three big flowers twice his own size and supported from above by a flying angel (fig. 13). The *Blumenbuch* is manifestly not a florilegium, as the title might suggest, but a history of the Holy Land focused on the rather prominent role of the Franciscan order in that history. Juan de Calahorra likewise characterizes the friars as the fruit of good seed sown by St Francis, following Francesco Quaresmio.<sup>118</sup> Guglingen does not explicitly make the same connection as these later sources. At any rate, his characterization of the friars

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the Franciscans had already appeared in a tract that he had published previously: "Et nisi Dominus exercituum reliquisset in me semen, quasi Sodoma funditus destructa essem, & Gomorrhæ similis, ut dixit Isaias, semen sanctum & electum, Franciscanos inquam fratres, & paucos alios pios homines, qui ne penitus euertar, & subuertar efficiunt." Francesco Quaresmio, *Ierosolymæ Afflicatæ Humilitæ Deprecatio Phillipum IV.* (1626), 12. Furthermore, Quaresmio argues that the Franciscans are the seed of Abraham and therefore heirs to the Holy Land, as I shall discuss in the following chapter. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxvj; vol. I, 27, 154; "Caput LXVI: Quos fructus pepererit S. Franciscus suo ad has Infidelium partes adventu." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 162.

117 "Non dubito, praedicationem & exempla S. Patris Francisci fuisse velut semen bonum & electum, quod cecidit in terram bonam et sanctam, caelesti rore spiritus sancti irrigatam, & solis iustitiae radiis calefactam, quod protulit multiplicem fructum in tempore suo, trigessimum, sexagesimum, & centigesimum. Plantati radices miserunt, folia, flores, & fructus in Terra ista repermissionis, tres ordines D. Francisci, Fratrum Minorum, pauperum dominarum sive Clarissarum, & Tertius Poenitentiae qui capit utrumque sexum. Floruerunt, inquam, fructus dederunt Deo, & hominibus poenitentiae, vitae, integritatis doctrinae, castitatis, virginitatis & martyrij; & non deerunt in posterum, etsi non omnium, nec plurium inter multos fuerit conservata memoria." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 165.

118 Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands Palestinae so in dreij Biecher getheilet* (Munich: Wilhelm Schell, 1661); Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica de la Provincia de Syria y Tierra Santa de Gerusalén. Contiene los Progressos que en Ella ha hecho la Religion Seráfica, desde el Año 1219. hasta el de 1632.* (Madrid: Iuan Garcia Infancon, 1684), 43; cf. Mariano Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata*, vol. II (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1669), 227.



FIGURE 13 Title page of Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands Palestinae so in dreij Biecher getheilet* (Munich: Wilhelm Schell, 1661).

BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, 4 EXEG. 969 A, FRONTISPIECE

as “good seed” is the first potential reference by a Franciscan of the custody of the Holy Land to St Francis having been in the Holy Land.

Before this date there had been very few and only brief comments by Franciscans which placed Francis in the Holy Land. The first friar to suggest that



Francis was in Jerusalem is Angelo Clarena (1247–1337). In his *Chronica seu Historia Septem Tribulationem Ordinis Minorum* (1326) he relates his version of Francis' expedition to the Sultan of Babylon in 1219 in the context of a larger history of the Franciscan order written from a Spiritual Franciscan perspective.<sup>119</sup> Angelo indicates that Francis and his followers were granted permission by the Sultan to visit the Holy Sepulchre without having to pay tribute, and he concludes the episode with the words “and after a visit to the Sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem, Francis returned immediately to the Christian lands.”<sup>120</sup> This succinct remark was written more than a hundred years after the supposed event took place in 1219, and before the Franciscans were granted a presence at the Holy Places in 1333.

According to John Tolan, Angelo's assertions may be connected with the then ongoing attempts by both Franciscans as well as Dominicans to gain a presence in the Holy Land.<sup>121</sup> It is rather difficult to fathom Angelo's exact reasons for these embellishments to the Life of Francis. However, it seems that Angelo's readers did not know what to do with the suggestion that Francis went to Jerusalem, and it was not picked up by anyone until Bartolomeo de Rinonichi da Pisa (1338–1401) included two again very brief remarks in his *Liber de Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* (1385–90). This book sets out to prove the conformity of St Francis to Christ, but it also contains descriptions of Franciscan houses at the time, one of the reasons for its popularity. Bartolomeo concludes his very concise summary of the Franciscan *loci* in the Holy Land by remarking that there were many exemplary friars in this province, thirty-one of whom were martyred there preaching the faith; but he mentions only one by name: “the first friar minor who preached in the Holy Land was the blessed father Francis, when he went to the Sultan with eleven companions.”<sup>122</sup> Elsewhere, when summing up the pilgrimages Francis

119 David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*.

120 “Finally, the sultan ordered that Francis and his brothers should be able to visit the sepulchre of Christ in Jerusalem without paying any tribute.” Angelo Clarena, *Angelo Clarena: A Chronicle or History of the Seven Tribulations of the Order of Brothers Minor*, trans. David Burr and Randolph E. Daniel (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2005), 33.

121 Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 263–64.

122 “In terra sancta et provincia ob praedicationem fidei catholicae inter alios passi sunt 31 martyres de ordine nostro, ut conformitate VIII est dictum. Multi in hac Provincia fuerunt fratres sanctitate praeclari, etsi non sint eorum nomina hic scripta. Qui primus frater Minor, qui praedicavit in Terra Sancta, fuit beatus pater Franciscus, quando cum undecim soldanum adiit.” Bartolomeo de Rinonichi da Pisa, *Liber de Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, ed. *Analecta Franciscana*, IV (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1906), 534.

undertook, Bartolomeo includes the “Sepulchre of the Lord” in the list.<sup>123</sup> By the time Bartolomeo was writing his *Liber* the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land had been established for around half a century, and associating Francis with that custody must have seemed attractive to him, although there were few sources to back up this association.

When Bartolomeo narrates Francis’ expedition to preach to the Sultan, however, he mentions neither the Holy Land (*Terra Sancta*), Jerusalem, nor any visit to the Holy Sepulchre. He does reflect in this context that “while Francis was overseas, that is to say in the city of Antioch” an entire monastery of Benedictine monks on the Black Mountain near Antioch converted collectively to become Franciscans, resigning their property and retaining only their convent buildings. This according to Bartolomeo demonstrates that Francis was able to preach to and convert infidels, such as the Sultan, and good Christians alike. Antioch is more than 650 km across the Mediterranean Sea from where Francis was in Egypt, and Bartolomeo is not very clear on the topography or chronology of this excursion. He bases it on an older tradition about the conversion of Antiochian Benedictines to Franciscanism, but introduces Francis’ personal agency to the story, albeit somewhat vaguely and tentatively: “it came to pass ... that they were all made friars minor.”<sup>124</sup>

Later this conversion of the Antioch Benedictines was interpreted by some as the first convent of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land, founded by Francis. That does not seem to be the fish that Bartolomeo is frying here; he is more interested in illustrating Francis’ power of converting just about anyone, and does not mention the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* in this case. Around a century later Mariano da Firenze (d. 1523), prolific chronicler of the Franciscan

123 “Sexto quoad iter et peregrinationem. Saecularis existens, ob reverentiam Apostolorum Romam ivit. Factus autem frater, visitavit plures limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Sanctum Iacobum de Galecia, Sanctum Angelum de Monte Gargano et Domini Sepulchrum; ob praedicationem vero omnia loca Italiae et, quod maius est, ter ad partes infidelium accessit.” Bartolomeo da Pisa, *Liber de Conformitate*, ed. *Analecta Franciscana*, 195.

124 “Dum in partibus esset ultramarinis b. Franciscus, scilicet in civitate antioche, que tunc a Christianis tenebatur, evenit illud de quo dictum est supra conformitate precedenti quod Monachi de Montana Nigra, que ab Antiochia per octo miliaria distat, una cum abbate vitam considerando et mores b. Francisci et Sociorum, possessiones omnes monasterii Patriarche resignantes, et locum monasterii solum retinentes, facti sunt omnes fratres Minores; et in dicto loco plura miracula Deus ostendit, ut dictum est. Sic ergo prefatis apparet, quod b. Franciscus non solum ut converteret fideles ad Christum predicavit, sed etiam infideles: et ad predicandum eisdem per maximam distantiam accessit.” Bartolomeo da Pisa, *Liber de Conformitate*, ed. *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. IV, 344; cf. Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Francescano* (Quaracchi: Tipografia del Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1906), vol. I, 68–70, 76.

Observance, does make that connection when writing his *Libro delle Vite de Sancti Frati Minori* around 1480. Mariano bases his account of Francis' expedition to the Sultan on Bartolomeo's *Liber*, among other sources. He also includes the conversion of the Benedictines of the Black Mountain near Antioch, but tries to make the timing and itinerary of Francis' overseas expedition fit a little better. Mariano has Francis setting out from Italy first to Crete, then to Acre, and to Antioch, then return to Acre, and only from there to sail to Damietta in Egypt to meet the Sultan. While preaching in Antioch, Francis was invited by the Benedictine monks to their Black Mountain, and "finally they all took the habit from his holy hands, and the life of friars minor."<sup>125</sup> Mariano goes on to relate that Francis converted a convent in Antioch itself, as well as convents in other regions and cities of Syria, before sailing to Egypt, and "in this way a new province was made."<sup>126</sup> Although Mariano does not have Francis travel to Jerusalem, he does implicitly turn him into the founder of what in his own time had become the Observant Franciscan custody of the Holy Land. Francesco Suriano also briefly refers to another version of this tradition in the first, 1485, redaction of his *Treatise on the Holy Land*, in his conclusion to a description of the city of Antioch:

Near this city is the Black Mountain inhabited by crowds of hermits, full of hermitages and Greek monasteries and those of other nations. It was on this mountain that St Francis when he left the Sultan to go to Antioch converted all the monks of one monastery and made them friars and took them with him to Italy.<sup>127</sup>

125 "Navigò S. Francesco cho' predetti chompagni che desiderava, et in breve tempo venne nell'isola di Chandia, dove alquanti giorni fu et predichò la penitentia et la passione di Christo. Dipoi navigando in Siria feciono porto nella famosa ciptà di Aciri. Dove divisi li suoi Compagni, a duo a duo gli mandò predichando per diverse ciptà, acciò faciessino qualche fructo infra christiani che tenevano tucta la Siria. Et lui anchora predichando venne nella grande ciptà di Antiochia, dove predichando fu invitato da monanci di Montagna Nera, li quali sono di lungi da Antiochia otto miglia. Vennongli inchontro cholle croci processionalmente li detti monaci, et chon ogni reverentia lo riceverono sichome angelo di Dio. Et finalmente tucti presono dalle sue sancte mane l'abito e la vita delli frati Minori, per la chagione detta di sopra al nono capitolo." Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, vol. 1, 77–78.

126 "Prese anchora el chonvento nella città di Antiochia, et per le altre terre e città della Siria ne fu presi alcuni altri, in modo che fu factò nuova provincia, dove conseguitò non pocho fructo ne' popoli di quelle parte insino a tempi che furono dominate da christiani. Dopo alquanto tempo sancto Francesco si ritornò in Aciri, et sali in una nave, e navigò in Egipto alla città di Damiata, dove allora era venuto lo exercito de christiani, et avevono assediato la ciptà di Damiata." Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, vol. 1, 78.

127 Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini & Hoade, 181.

In the later redaction of the text, prepared for press by Francesco Bindoni in 1524, Suriano adds the slightly contradictory afterthought: “and he established the province of Antioch, which produced many holy friars.”<sup>128</sup>

Thus during the late medieval period only Angelo Clareno and Bartolomeo da Pisa, Franciscans who did not have any close ties with the custody of the Holy Land, assert (very briefly) that Francis was in the Holy Land, visiting Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. Bartolomeo also for the first time introduces Francis as an agent of the conversion of the Benedictines of Black Mountain, an innovation which turned out to be very attractive for Observant Franciscans such as Mariano da Firenze and Francesco Suriano a century later. It helped to bring Francis closer to the Holy Land and at the very least suggested the foundation of a province by him there. All in all, these very brief and by all accounts rare assertions about St Francis’ supposed presence in the Holy Land or its vicinity testify that during the late medieval period these posthumously invented hagiographical episodes did not yet play an important role either in the Franciscan order at large or in bolstering Franciscan confidence in the Holy Land. Nevertheless a modest foundation had been laid: a particular outlook on history, for St Francis’ early modern *possessio* of the Holy Land that is the subject of chapter five.

## 6 Conclusion

With book VII of his *Treatise on the Holy Land* Guglingen composed an innovative text. He was the first friar of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* to write a history of Jerusalem, to place the Franciscan friars firmly on the historical timeline, and explicitly to express hopes for a future Catholic recapture. All of these features can be contextualized by looking at contemporaneous Franciscan concerns. For instance, Guglingen’s characterization of the Franciscans of the Holy Land as good seed sown on holy ground may well be a covert suggestion of St Francis’ role as the founder of the custody there. Angelo Clareno and Bartolomeo da Pisa had previously also placed the saint in Jerusalem; and Mariano da Firenze and Francesco Suriano suggest Francis established a convent in Antioch. Guglingen’s call for crusade can be connected to the efforts of the custody of the Holy Land to enlist support for the same. Franciscan envoys sent from Jerusalem to further Holy Land crusade projects were well received at prominent European courts, and their proposals would have benefitted from an atmosphere of apocalyptic spirituality that featured the forthcoming

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<sup>128</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, vol. 1, 78 n. 2.

recapture of Jerusalem and allotted the Franciscans a prominent role in the unfolding of history.

Even though it is exceptional to find them all united in one text, the issues that Guglingen raises and the solutions he proposes can thus be connected to the context in which the *Treatise* was produced. My discussion of Guglingen's book VII has drawn together these various ideological components of nascent Franciscan Holy land territoriality at the end of the fifteenth century. The resulting ensemble in turn facilitates a more profound understanding of overarching continuities in Franciscan Holy Land writing, since its features can be connected to the thematic programme of later texts. Rather than claiming that the *Treatise* is a direct source for these later texts, I intend my analysis and contextualization of these elements of book VII of the *Treatise* to serve as a foundation for understanding the claims of early modern Franciscan tracts on the Holy Land, the subject of the following chapter. By considering these late medieval and early modern texts on the Holy Land alongside one another, the underlying Observant Franciscan cultural codes may become apparent. Early modern Franciscans of the Holy Land could and did draw on a large and diversified reservoir including late medieval suggestions of St Francis' presence in the Holy Land, crusading fervour, and Franciscan apocalyptic expectations. They used it to explain Islamic rule over Jerusalem and the presence of various religious communities there, expecting and arguing for Catholic recapture of Jerusalem, and above all claiming the Holy Land for the Observant branch of the Franciscan order.

## St Francis' *Possessio* of the Holy Land in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The previous chapter has examined book VII of friar Paul Walther von Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land* in its ideological context of Observant Franciscan crusade campaigning and apocalyptic spirituality at the end of the fifteenth century. Guglingen's perspective on the history of Jerusalem and his call for crusade foreshadow some important characteristics of the assertive attitudes to the Holy Land later prevalent among Observant Franciscans. Likewise occasional late medieval suggestions that Francis visited Jerusalem or indeed founded an overseas province there were to be valorized in later Franciscan Holy Land writing. These works started to appear around the turn of the sixteenth century during a period of much increased pressure on the Franciscans in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. As Guglingen's and Suriano's treatises did in the context of instability following the fall of Constantinople, so too the writings of the friars of the early modern *provincia Terrae Sanctae* presented increasingly outspoken Observant Franciscan views on the Holy Land in reaction to the mounting insecurity of their position. They adopted a comparable historical perspective, allotting a special role to themselves in that narrative, hoping to hasten a more glorious future. By considering late medieval and early modern Observant Franciscan perspectives in tandem it becomes possible to discern a development in their increasingly well-defined ideologies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The beginning of the sixteenth century saw Jerusalem's transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule, which caused changes in the balance of power as well as mounting tension and continual strife between various Christian groups. The Franciscans were also evicted from their convent on Mount Sion, their headquarters since the foundation of their custody. Furthermore, they perceived the arrival of Jesuits and Capuchins, a new type of Catholic missionary, also as a threat. In the face of these challenges the Franciscans sought to legitimize their unique right to be present in the Holy Land by looking back on history, asking to whom the Holy Land had belonged in the past, and whose it should be now. They answered these questions, for example, by re-evaluating the history of the crusades of the high middle ages and the Life of St Francis, as well as by looking ahead to the future in the shape of apocalyptic expectations and calls for renewed crusade.

In response to this novel and more historical outlook the writings of the Franciscans of the Holy Land increasingly took the form of histories and treatises, alongside the more traditional travelogues and devotional tracts on the Holy Places. Whereas it has been suggested in the past that the calls for crusade in these texts were formulaic and not seriously intended, I argue that they were indeed sincere and should be read as such. Moreover, reinterpretation of the Life of the founding saint became an increasingly significant aspect of Observant Franciscan efforts to justify the particular rights of the order in the Holy Land. These arguments were primarily directed at Western European audiences and formed part of an internal Catholic debate rather than being aimed at the Ottoman authorities or Eastern Orthodox Christians as has previously been suggested. I pay particular attention to Francesco Quaresmio's *Elucidatio Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (1639), a text that in all respects transformed the way Franciscans of the Holy Land thought about their role in that province.<sup>1</sup> The importance of propheticism, apocalypticism, and St Francis' conformity with Christ as strategies for claiming the Holy Land as an Observant Franciscan territory in these debates will also become clear.

## 1 Competing with Jesuits, Capuchins, and Greeks in Early Ottoman Jerusalem

The first major historical transformation since Guglingen wrote his *tractatus* in the 1480s was the conquest of Jerusalem by the Ottoman Turks in 1517, after around three centuries of Mamluk rule. Initially, during the reign of Selim I (r. 1517–20), nothing much changed for the Franciscans, since their position as it had been under the Mamluks was reconfirmed.<sup>2</sup> Then, when Suleiman I (r. 1520–66) came to power, things started to take a turn for the worse. On 18 March 1523 Suleiman sent an order to Jerusalem stipulating that the Franciscans needed to be evicted from their church on Mount Sion, since that location held David's Tomb, a holy place that should be converted for Muslim worship.<sup>3</sup> This move was part of a wider Ottoman attempt further to Islamize the city of Jerusalem, although the Franciscans put much of the blame on their Jewish

1 The guardian of Mount Sion was officially recognized as the provincial minister of the Holy Land in 1526. Golubovich, *Serie Cronologica*, xxi–xxiii; cf. chapter one.

2 Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 59–60.

3 Leonhard Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner auf dem Sion (1336–1551)* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1919), 196–202.

neighbours.<sup>4</sup> Sometime in 1524 the friars had to retreat to their rooms in the Holy Sepulchre Church and to other locations in the city. In 1526 they recovered partial use of their convent, but in the years that followed they were gradually edged out of their possessions on Mount Sion until in 1551 they were finally expelled. In 1560 Suleiman granted the Franciscans full use of a site that had previously belonged to the Georgian Orthodox, the monastery of St Saviour.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from eviction from the Cenacle, which was not motivated by a particular hostility to the Franciscans themselves, the Ottoman authorities did not pursue any specific policies against them. The perceived threats that fuelled a surge in Franciscan Holy Land writing came overwhelmingly from other Christians, both Catholic and Eastern Orthodox. During the second half of the sixteenth century improved French diplomatic relations with Istanbul offered the Franciscans some protection as Catholic residents of the empire, but they also brought unwanted intrusion. The French-Ottoman Capitulations of 1569, 1597, and 1604, the latter promising protection for the “religious who live in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other places,” were in the interest of the Franciscans, but they also allowed for the sending of missionaries into Ottoman territories; and when Jesuits and Capuchins entered the missionary stage of the Holy Land, they often did so with help from the French.<sup>6</sup>

Getting a foothold in the Holy Land had been a part of Jesuit ideology from the very inception of the order. In 1523 Ignatius of Loyola travelled to Jerusalem, hoping to start a fulfilling religious life there, but he was forced to leave along with his fellow pilgrims. When in 1540 Ignatius founded the Society of Jesus, mission to the Holy Land formed part of its purpose. In 1553 this Jesuit hope received papal support in the form of a bull issued by Julius III that allowed for the establishment of Jesuit schools in Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Istanbul. A scout was sent to the East to explore the possibilities of setting up shop there, but the circumstances were unfavourable, not least because the Franciscans were protective of their rights in the Holy Land, and no further steps were taken.<sup>7</sup> After

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4 The friars credited them with first starting the rumours about the presence of David's tomb there. Amnon Cohen, “The Expulsion of the Franciscans from the Mount Zion: Old Documents and New Interpretations,” *Turcica* 18 (1986): 147–58; Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Brill: Leiden, 2001), 65–67; Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 106–09; Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner* (1919), 201.

5 Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: Volume 3, The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 271 (no. 336 Abbey Church of St Mary of Mount Sion).

6 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 67, 78–79.

7 Robert John Clines, *Confessional Politics and Religious Identity in the Early Jesuit Missions to the Ottoman Empire*. PhD diss., Syracuse University, 2014, 177–83.



a number of less successful attempts the Jesuits were introduced into Istanbul in 1609 under French protection, although their position was characterized by conflict and insecurity.<sup>8</sup>

During the 1620s the head of the Jesuit mission in Istanbul, François Canillac, revived the ideal of settling in Jerusalem. Together with his confrère Jérôme Queyrot he travelled to Jerusalem in 1615 to stay with the Greek patriarch. This exploration alarmed both the Franciscans and the Venetians, who disliked the prospect of French rivalry for protection of the Holy Places. By 1621 the Jesuit general Vitelleschi had requested papal approval for a Jesuit residence in Jerusalem, promising not to displace the Observant Franciscans. These efforts went hand in hand with the French desire to found a consulate in Jerusalem. In 1621 Louis Deshayes de Courmenin arrived in the city and suggested French Jesuits take up residence there too. This outraged not only the Franciscans but also the Venetians who feared being displaced by the French. When the new consul Jean Lempereur, who arrived in 1624, again pushed for a Jesuit presence, the Venetians acted: they mobilized the other Christian communities in Jerusalem to speak up in favour of the Observant Franciscans, and finally convinced the Ottoman authorities that the Jesuits were in reality Habsburg spies, which put an end to the story.<sup>9</sup> Whether or not the Jesuits would really have posed a threat to the position of the Franciscans in Jerusalem or elsewhere can be doubted: Jesuit visions of an oecumenical community there seem to have been peaceable.<sup>10</sup>

When Capuchin missionaries first arrived in the Holy Land in 1626 their intentions seem to have been more aggressive. The Capuchins were a new branch among the Franciscan orders that emerged early in the sixteenth century, and presented a special threat because they vied with the Observant Franciscans for the position of true followers of St Francis. The Capuchins directed their missionary attention to the East a little later than did the Jesuits. After a failed attempt to found a mission in Istanbul in 1587 the idea of Capuchin mission in the Levant was truly revived only by the prominent Capuchin friar François Leclerc du Tremblay (1577–1638), also called Père Joseph or *éminence grise*, along with his friend and ally Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), the *éminence*

8 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 63, 73, 81–83; Adina Ruiu, “Conflicting Visions of the Jesuit Missions to the Ottoman Empire, 1609–1628,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014), 260–80.

9 Clines, *Confessional Politics*, 288–95; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 145–46; Ruiu, “Conflicting Visions,” 268 n. 25; Géraud Poumarède, “Les Limites du Patronage Français sur les Lieux Saints. Autour de l’Installation d’un Consul à Jérusalem dans les Années 1620,” *Revue d’Histoire de l’Église de France* 92, no. 1 (2006): 73–116.

10 For Jesuit visions of the Christian oecumene in Jerusalem see Clines, *Confessional Politics*, 258–70.

*rouge*. Père Joseph was very much driven by a desire for crusade against the Ottomans, and he used his considerable influence at the French court to try to bring this about in the early decades of the seventeenth century. When his crusade projects did not get off the ground soon enough, Père Joseph turned his attention also to a mission in the East. In 1622 a scout, friar Pacifique de Provins (1588–1648), was sent to explore the possibilities, also passing through Jerusalem on his voyage.<sup>11</sup> The following year Pacifique reported back to Pope Gregory xv in Rome as well as to his superiors in Paris; it was resolved that Capuchin missionaries would be sent to Aleppo, Alexandria, Armenia, and Istanbul.<sup>12</sup> Both in his visions of renewed crusade and Capuchin mission Père Joseph assigned a special role to the Capuchins as heirs to the Levantine mission of St Francis, thus putting them on a collision course with the Observants.<sup>13</sup>

The Observant Franciscans in the Holy Land were immediately alarmed at these Capuchin moves to set up mission in the East, and appealed to the newly established Congregation *De propaganda fide*, under whose direct jurisdiction they had been since 22 June 1622 as a missionary territory without a resident bishop.<sup>14</sup> Despite repeated reassurances by Pacifique de Provins and Père Joseph that the Capuchins were not after the Observant Franciscan holdings in the Holy Land, rumours and suspicions that they were, persisted and are corroborated by letters written by Capuchin missionaries in the years 1627–28.<sup>15</sup> In response to the turmoil that ensued *De propaganda fide* issued a decree on 30 June 1626 which stated that Capuchin missionaries could go only “where there are no friars minor of the Observance”, and that they had to show proof of their mission to the Observant guardian in Jerusalem, and obtain his permission to carry out their work.<sup>16</sup>

11 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 74, 85–87; Pierre Benoist, “Le Père Joseph, l’Empire Ottoman et la Méditerranée au Début du xvii<sup>e</sup> Siècle,” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 71, no. 2 (2005): 185–202; Pacifique de Provins, *Relation du Voyage de Perse* (Paris: Nicolas & Jean de la Coste, 1631).

12 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 87.

13 Louis Dedouvres, *Politique et Apôtre: Le Père Joseph de Paris, Capucin, l’Éminence Grise*, vol. 1 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932), 355–59.

14 *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro Terra Sancta*, ed. Leonhard Lemmens (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1921), 28–29; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 78, 88; Peter Guilday, “The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide (1622–1922),” *The Catholic Historical Review* 6, no. 4 (1921): 478–94; Louis Dedouvres, *Politique et Apôtre: Le Père Joseph de Paris, Capucin, l’Éminence Grise*, vol. 2 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932), 57–62.

15 Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient: Au Temps de la Réforme Catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, xvii<sup>e</sup>–xviii<sup>e</sup> Siècles)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1994), 215, 216 n. 12.

16 “ubi non sunt fratres ordinis Minorum de Obs.” *Acta S. Congregationis*, 39–40.

After the first Capuchin missionaries had been sent out in 1626, Père Joseph expressed his displeasure with the arrangement in a letter of 16 January 1627 to the prefect of *De propaganda fide*. He complained that the Observants were now sending one of their own to spend time in places where there was no previous foundation, simply to impede Capuchin settlement.<sup>17</sup> This led to *De propaganda fide* issuing a supplementary decree on 22 February 1627 which specified that Capuchins could not settle in cities where Observants had an already established convent, but that they could where there was only a small hospice.<sup>18</sup> In the following years the friars fought a legal battle via *De propaganda fide* in which the jurisdiction *in situ* of the guardian of Jerusalem and the right to perform the sacraments in the Holy Land became increasingly important.<sup>19</sup> On 19 September 1630 a more or less final ruling was made by *De propaganda fide* about the rights and obligations of both parties, largely in favour of the Observant Franciscans, although the controversy would now and then flare up again in later decades.<sup>20</sup>

While the Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land were relatively successful in fending off perceived Catholic threats to their position in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Holy Land, they had more difficulties with other parties, in particular the Greek patriarchate. In 1630 the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanes III (p. 1608–44), presented documents to the Ottoman authorities that supposedly proved historical precedent for a much more prominent position for the Greeks at the Holy Places. This action triggered the now centuries-old controversy over Christian ownership and access to the Holy Places. Previously there had been numerous complaints, conflicts, and mounting tension, but this was in essence the first all-out attack on the privileged position of the Franciscans, who controlled all the prime locations in the Holy Sepulchre Church, as well as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, even though they were an insignificant group in numerical terms.<sup>21</sup> The Greek patriarchate, which enjoyed a strengthened position under the Ottomans, considered this situation unjust, and soon the Armenians joined in to claim their piece of the pie. In this struggle the Ottoman authorities were relatively neutral arbiters, more neutral at least than a Christian ruler of any denomination would have been. The conflict was to linger on undecided for centuries, possibly also because division and strife between the Christian groups may have

17 *Lettres et Documents de Père Joseph de Paris concernant les Missions Étrangères (1619–1638)*, ed. M. de Vaumas (Lyon: Express, 1942), 65–66.

18 *Acta S. Congregationis*, 40.

19 *Acta S. Congregationis*, 45–53, 55–57; *Lettres et Documents*, 114–18.

20 *Acta S. Congregationis*, 60–62.

21 Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 105–07, cf. 33–37.

served Ottoman interests.<sup>22</sup> In the following years some of the Holy Places changed hands numerous times.<sup>23</sup>

When the Greeks began the battle for the Holy Places in 1630, they did so by presenting a number of forged historical documents to prove their rights at the Holy Places. Supposedly the oldest one was a charter granted by Caliph Umar (583–644), the first ever Muslim conqueror of Jerusalem. In addition they produced documents promising Greek pre-eminence supposedly granted by the much respected Ottoman Sultan Selim I as well as by his son Suleiman I the Magnificent. The fact of having been issued by great leaders was supposed to lend these documents decisive authority. The Armenians soon produced documents that mirrored the Greek ones, except that they promised the desired rights to the Armenians.<sup>24</sup> These moves by the Greeks and Armenians, combined with the emergence of Franciscan treatises that increasingly laid claim to the Holy Land, have led John Tolan to remark that “Greeks and Franciscans battled on the field of history.”<sup>25</sup> On the basis of the works by Quaresmio, Morone da Maleo, and Juan de Calahorra, Tolan observes that since the Franciscans could go back no further than the Life of their founding saint, they based their claims to the Holy Places on the rights that St Francis had supposedly obtained. Some even claimed St Francis obtained his rights from Sultan Malik al-Kâmil.<sup>26</sup> These statements can be refined, however, because even if the Greeks fought the Franciscans on the field of history, the Franciscans did not fight back in the same way. Rather they relied on French and Venetian protection in this particular struggle. This is illustrated, for example, by the meticulous account of the conflict from an Observant Franciscan perspective published in 1637 by friar Paolo da Lodi. His minute discussion of its various stages and intrigues is explicitly directed at the Catholic allies (the French and the Venetians primarily) of Jerusalem Franciscans, so that they might be better equipped adequately to support the friars, as Paolo explains in the preface.<sup>27</sup>

Much as the threatened position of the Franciscans in the Holy Land in general may have helped to inspire the more territorial tone of Franciscan Holy Land writing in the seventeenth century, it is not directed at the Greek

22 Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 97–105.

23 Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 105–60; Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 267.

24 Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 128–32.

25 Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 267.

26 Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 267–72.

27 Paolo da Lodi, *Relazione Fedele della Grande Controversia Nata in Gierusalemme circa Alcuni Santuari da Greci Usurpati a Latini* (Lodi: Carlo Calderino, 1637). Francesco Quaresmio signed his approval for this publication as guardian of Sant’Angelo in Milan: see the prefatory apparatus.

community there, nor at the Ottoman authorities. In that battle the Franciscans chose another strategy, as Oded Peri observes: "not all of the churches took part in this game. Unlike the *zimmi* churches, the Franciscan monks had no need of tricks such as forging old Muslim or Ottoman deeds." This was because their position at the Holy Places was formally regulated in Capitulations granted to the Venetians as well as to the French.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the Franciscans could never have presented their historical treatises on the Holy Land to the Ottomans or the Greeks, because this would have compromised their position even more, not least because of the repeated calls for crusade and the very negative views of Islam and also Greek orthodoxy that they contained.

The historical outlook of these treatises is not at all geared towards communication with the Greeks or the Ottomans, but is directed at other Catholic (missionary) orders, Western European Catholic monarchs, and not least the Observant Franciscans themselves. If the Franciscans reinvented history, they did so to construct a cultural memory that served the Observant Franciscan identity in the Holy Land, perhaps to boost morale in the struggle with the Greeks, as well as to summon support from home. Thus, while it seems reasonable to attribute the flowering of this branch of Franciscan Holy Land writing to growing pressure on the Observant Franciscan position in the Holy Land, these texts were never primarily directed at the Greeks. They were printed in Western Europe and directed at Western European audiences, sometimes even including Protestants, but certainly not Greeks and Ottomans. Moreover, their scope goes much beyond proving that Sultan Malik al-Kâmil may have granted certain rights regarding the Holy Places to St Francis, as will become clear below.

## 2 Territorial Franciscan Holy Land Writing in the Seventeenth Century

Increased and persistent insecurity prompted Observant Franciscans of the *provincia Terrae Sanctae* to introduce a number of changes in both form and subject matter in their writing on the Holy Land during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the travelogue remained very much the accepted form for writing about the Holy Land throughout the sixteenth century, used by several Franciscans (see chapter three), increased pressure on the Franciscan position in Jerusalem eventually led to a change. Already at the end of the fifteenth century the friars Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano

<sup>28</sup> Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 132–33.

experimented with the form of their Holy Land writing by exploring the possibilities of the treatise instead of the travelogue as a form for dealing with this topic. Their experiments do not seem to have caught on. Only from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, under growing pressure on the Franciscan position, was Holy Land writing cast in forms other than the travelogue. Histories and treatises started to become more common. The range of subjects dealt with also broadened, from relating the experiences of travel and pilgrimage and descriptions of the Holy Places to including discussions about the rights of the Observant Franciscans in the Holy Land and how these were being encroached upon by other groups. In this new, territorial approach history started to play a more prominent role. To whom did the Holy Land belong in the past, and on this basis whose should it be now or in the future? From this territorial historical perspective new interpretations of the past – including the assertion that St Francis had travelled to Jerusalem – suggestions for the present, i.e. calls for crusade and apocalyptic expectations for the future, could take shape. In what follows I trace the development of an increasingly territorial strain in Franciscan texts about the Holy Land, with particular attention to the crusade propaganda they contain.

One of the first stirrings of this new type of Franciscan Holy Land writing after Guglingen's *Treatise* can be recognized in the work of the Portuguese Franciscan friar Pantaleão d'Aveiro, who travelled to Jerusalem in 1563. He reports his experiences in the shape of a travelogue that went through two subsequent print runs three decades later in Lisbon.<sup>29</sup> In as many as ninety-four chapters Pantaleão describes the successive stages of his journey from embarking at Venice up to and including his return to the Christian territories of Southern Italy. Within this framework of the travelogue he also reflects on the then quite recent eviction of the Franciscans from Mount Sion in 1551, seeing a Jewish conspiracy at the root of it all.<sup>30</sup> In another chapter, on the Latins (or Observant Franciscans) in Jerusalem, Pantaleão laments the "afflictions and travails" of these friars, who preserve the Holy Places for the entire Catholic faith, for which they have received particular privileges.<sup>31</sup> He then explains that in the days of Pope Martin V (p. 1417–31) some adversaries of the Franciscans had tried to claim their places in the Holy Land, and that at a hearing in the

29 Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerario da Terra Sancta, e suas Particularidades* (Lisbon: Simano Lopes, 1593); Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerario de Terra Sancta, et todas suas Particularidades* (Lisbon: Antonio Alvarez, 1596).

30 "Capitulo xxxvii. Do sagrado monte Sion, que agera possuem os Turcos, & dos lugares que dentro em sitem." Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerario da Terra Sancta* (1593), 94v–97r. For an English translation of the relevant passage see Cohen, "The Expulsion," 147–48.

31 Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerario da Terra Sancta* (1593), 84r–84v.

Cathedral of Mantua a sentence had been pronounced that declared the friars minor the “true possessors of the Holy Places of the entire Holy Land”.<sup>32</sup> This is a reference to proceedings that took place in Mantua in 1421 which resulted in a papal confirmation of Franciscan possessions in the Holy Land with the issue of the brief *His quae pro ecclesiasticarum personarum* by Martin v on 14 February 1421.<sup>33</sup> Thus, Pantaleão points out, apostolic authority had confirmed their rights at the Holy Sepulchre, Mount Sion, Bethlehem and other places, as did privileges granted by the Ottomans, as well as the backing and support of many Christian monarchs.<sup>34</sup> These two brief passages take up relatively little space in Pantaleão d’Aveiro’s travelogue. However, they already place the same emphasis on Franciscan rights and possessions being endangered, and express the same concern with highlighting rights granted in the past as would later Franciscan texts.

The next step in the development towards more territorial Franciscan Holy Land writing is represented by a short text by an anonymous Observant Franciscan that first appeared in Madrid in 1616, two decades after Pantaleão’s travelogue.<sup>35</sup> It was to be reprinted repeatedly in Portuguese well into the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> The *Breve Summario* is a brief treatise, contemporary with the first Jesuit attempts to settle in the Holy Land, and its emphasis on Observant rights of possession based on papal bulls and prophecies is prototypical of

32 “verdadeiros possuidores dos sanctos lugares de toda terra sancta.” Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerario da Terra Sancta* (1593), 85r.

33 Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner* (1925), 87–89; “ut illa pacifice possideant ac eorum possint pacifica possessione gaudere.” *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. VII (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1904), no. 1471.

34 Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerario da Terra Sancta* (1593), 85r–85v.

35 *Breve Summario de los Conventos, Iglesias, Capillas, y Lugares Sanctos, que la Sagrada Religion de los Frayles Menores de la Obseruancia Tiene a su Cargo en la Ciudad de Jerusalem, y Tierra Santa, y del Derecho con que los Possee y Habita, y de los Grandes y Excessivos Trabajos que Padecen los Religiosos que alli Estan, y de los Tributos que Pagan, porque los Dexen Morar alli los Turcos, y por Tener con la Devida Decencia y Reverencia aquellos Santos Lugares* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1616). Cf. Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo and Alexander S. Wilkinson, *Iberian Books: Books Published in Spain, Portugal and the New World or Elsewhere in Spanish or Portuguese Between 1601 and 1650*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 467 (“Ecclesia Catholica – Ordo Fratrum Minimorum [sic],” bibl. item no. 28427).

36 *Breve Summario dos Conventos, Igrejas, Capellas & Lugares Sanctos, que a Sagrada Religião dos Frades Menores da Obseruancia Tem a seu Cargo em a Cidade de Hierusalem, & Terra Sancta, & do Direito com que os Possue, & Habita, & dos Grandes, & Excessivos Trabalhos que Padecem os Religiosos que alli Estão, & dos Tributos que Pagão, porque os Deixem Morar alli os Turcos, & por Ter com a Devida Decencia, & Reuerencia aquelles Sanctos Lugares* (Lisbon: Vincente Álvarez, 1617). Ulla Lorenzo & Wilkinson, *Iberian Books*, 467 (no. 28428); cf. Galateri (ed.), *Itinerari e Cronache Francescane di Terra Santa (1500–1800)*, 112, 130.

later developments in seventeenth-century Franciscan Holy Land writing. It expounds on the convents, churches, chapels, and Holy Places that the Observant Franciscans have in their charge in the Holy Land, paying particular attention to “the right with which they possess these”, as the title promises. The preface to *Breve Summario* explains that due to these friars’ outstanding humility they – from among many different religious orders – have received possession (possessão), also invoking a prophecy by Zephaniah (Sophonias).<sup>37</sup> The chapter on the convent of St Saviour in Jerusalem very briefly commemorates the Observants’ expulsion from Mount Sion as a grave insult, and refers to this Mount as promised to Abraham and his heirs (the friars are implied), which is now inhabited and profaned by the enemies of Christianity.<sup>38</sup> After discussing the various Observant Franciscan convents and the liturgies of the Holy Week the *Summario* turns to discuss “with which title the friars minor possess the said Holy Places”. This section offers a short history of the *custodia* from 1336, explaining that various kings and popes supported the Observants’ rights because this order was best suited for the job.<sup>39</sup>

At this point the author of *Breve Summario* takes the opportunity particularly to emphasize the rights granted by Martin v and their reconfirmation by Sixtus v, as Pantaleão d’Aveiro had done previously. The legal proceedings at Mantua in 1421, whose original claimants are unknown – possibly even the Franciscans themselves –, were to become almost a topos used to back Franciscan rights in the Holy Land in general. In early modern accounts, however, the proceedings are often said to have been instigated by unidentified adversaries of the Franciscans, as is the case with Pantaleão; a reinterpretation that is perhaps more telling of the early modern predicament than of the original inquiry.<sup>40</sup> In a publication printed in 1622 the Spanish friar Blas de Buyza likewise refers to these proceedings and the bull *His quae pro ecclesiasticarum*. He does so in a chapter entitled “Who holds, inhabits, and possesses the Holy Places in

37 *Breve Summario dos Conventos, Igrejas, Capellas & Lugares Sanctos* (Lisbon: Ioam da Costa, 1670), 3. I refer to the 1670 edition because of its availability.

38 This suggestion may be an ideological precursor to Francisco Quaresmio’s interpretation of the Observant Franciscans as the seed of Abraham, discussed in the next section. However, the *Breve Summario* bases no further claims on this suggestion, nor are the friars explicitly identified as the heirs apparent. *Breve Summario dos Conventos, Igrejas, Capellas & Lugares Sanctos* (Lisbon: Ioam da Costa, 1670), 8.

39 *Breve Summario dos Conventos, Igrejas, Capellas & Lugares Sanctos* (Lisbon: Ioam da Costa, 1670), 18–21.

40 Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner* (1925), 87–89; Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, part. III (Venice: Battista Surian., 1642), 4.



the name of the Holy Roman Catholic church."<sup>41</sup> By this time Jesuit attempts to set up a mission in Jerusalem had begun in earnest, and this is reflected in the *Relacion Nueva, Verdadera, y Copiosa de los Sagrados Lugares* (1622), a strong assertion of Franciscan rights and privileges in the Holy Land. Like the *Breve Summario*, from which Blas may have taken some inspiration, this text is not a travelogue but a treatise in five chapters with very particular attention to the position of the Observant Franciscans in Jerusalem. The second chapter is a short history lesson about the rights of the friars, starting with the observation that the religious of St Francis have held and possessed the Holy Places with apostolic license for more than three hundred years.<sup>42</sup>

Blas traces this history back to the rights granted by Sultan al-Nâsir Muhammad in 1333 at the request of Robert of Anjou and Sancha of Majorca, and stresses the importance of the bulls *Gratias agimus* issued by Clement VI in 1342, as well as *His quae pro ecclesiasticarum* by Martin V in 1421. In conclusion he observes that all the greater popes have confirmed Franciscan rights of possession and the privileges of the father guardian of Mount Sion, adding that these documents are preserved in the custody archive.<sup>43</sup> Although Eastern Orthodox presence is mentioned, Blas does not perceive it as an enormous threat, since, as he says, the Franciscans are in control of all the more important Holy Places, thus more or less summing up the situation prior to 1630.<sup>44</sup> He does, however, emphasize the importance of the Franciscans for administering the sacraments and other rites they perform in the Levant, as well as the special privileges of the guardian in Jerusalem, whom he likens to a bishop.<sup>45</sup> The sufferings of the Franciscans at the hands of the Ottomans are recounted at length, as well as the disrepair of some of the Holy Places. Finally Blas appends a "pious consideration" for faithful Christians, who are sternly reminded to build the house of God, rather than houses for themselves,

41 Blas de Buyza, *Relacion Nueva, Verdadera, y Copiosa, de los Sagrados Lugares de Jerusalem, y Tierrasanta. De las Misericordias Diuinas, que en ellos Resplandecen. De los Muchos Trabajos, y Afliciones, que por Conservarlos en Piedad Christiana Padecen los Religiosos del Serafico Padre San Francisco, que los Habitan, y de los Grandes Gastos que Tienen con los Turcos* (Madrid: Widow of Alonso Martin, 1622), 35r-v.

42 "Los Lugares Santos referidos tiene y posee con autoridad Apostolica la Religion de nuestro Serafico Padre san Francisco en nombre de la santa Iglesia Romana de mas de trezientos annos a esta parte." Blas de Buyza, *Relacion Nueva*, 33v-34r.

43 "particularmente, que siempre los de mas Sumos Pontifices han ydo confirmando esta possession, y muchos priuilegios al Padre Guardian, y Religiosos de Tierrasanta." Blas de Buyza, *Relacion Nueva*, 35v-36r.

44 Blas de Buyza, *Relacion Nueva*, 36r-37v.

45 Blas de Buyza, *Relacion Nueva*, 37v-39r, 82r.

by assisting the Franciscans and giving alms for repairs at the Holy Places.<sup>46</sup> Pantaleão d'Aveiro, the anonymous author of *Breve Summario*, and Blas de Buyza all dwell at length on rights granted by the pope, who supposedly has a divine mandate, rather than on rights granted by temporal authorities such as the Ottomans or Catholic Monarchs, which receive briefer mention.

Temporal authorities did gradually start to receive more attention in Franciscan Holy Land writing, but then primarily in the role of oppressors or liberators of the friars. Until the last decades of the sixteenth century Ottoman power had remained solid in the Mediterranean, and Christian rulers were on the defensive, trying to negotiate terms rather than actively wage war. However, a decisive victory over the Turks by the Catholic Holy League at the battle of Lepanto in 1571 marked a turning point, in spirit at least. Now it seemed the Turkish threat might be tackled. Especially during the first decades of the seventeenth century crusade was back on the agenda of Western European rulers.<sup>47</sup> The authors of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land were sensitive to this change in atmosphere, and actively tried to turn it to their best advantage in their publications.

A first example of this can be found in Bernardino Amico's famous *Trattato delle Piante & Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa*, a collection of plates with plans and drawings in three dimensional perspective of the buildings found at sacred locations in the Holy Land, based on precise measurements taken by Amico himself during his stay there in the years 1593–96. Amico's book is innovative in the sense that it brought what we nowadays would regard as relatively accurate visual information about these buildings from the Holy Land to Europe for the first time, and its images were widely copied in the century to come.<sup>48</sup> In the dedications to Catholic monarchs of the two subsequent printed editions Amico aligned his work with the resurgent crusading zeal of

46 Blas de Buyza, *Relacion Nueva*, 56v–81v, 118r–112r.

47 Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 185–87; Angelo Tamborra, *Gli Stati Italiani, L'Europa e il Problema Turco dopo Lepanto* (Florence: Olschki, 1961), 1–20; Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 2, trans. Siân Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 1027–1139.

48 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 103–39, 181; Bernardino Amico, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*, trans. & ed. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1953); Zur Shalev, "Christian Pilgrimage and Ritual Measurement in Jerusalem," (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science: Preprint 384, 2009), <http://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/Preprints/P384.PDF>, 11–15; Adam Beaver, "From Jerusalem to Toledo: Replica, Landscape and the Nation in Renaissance Iberia," *Past and Present* 218 (2013): 55–59; Michele Piccirillo, "The Role of the Franciscans in the Translation of the Sacred Spaces from the Holy Land to Europe," in *New Jerusalem: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 369–71.

the time. The first edition, which appeared in Rome in 1610, is dedicated to Philip III of Spain (r. 1598–1621), and in the dedicatory letter Amico expresses the hope that his book “will be very acceptable to you, since that of Jerusalem is deservedly counted among your other realms”.<sup>49</sup> According to Amico, Philip graces the (nominal) title of King of Jerusalem, which he had inherited, and praises him for emulating the crusader princes Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I of Jerusalem with the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609.<sup>50</sup> In the dedication to this first edition, then, the notion of crusade is suggested only in terms of comparison to Philip’s already pious behaviour. Amico voices a more explicit appeal in the dedicatory letter to the second edition, which came out in Florence in 1619 with engravings by the well-known artist Jacques Callot.<sup>51</sup>

This burgeoning crusading spirit can be explained in relation to the patron of this edition, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II de’Medici (r. 1609–21), who may have taken the initiative for this reprint himself.<sup>52</sup> Amico opens his dedication by relating that while he served at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1596 he took time to read the *Belli Sacri* by William of Tyre, and was struck by the fact that the First Crusade was instigated by the preaching of Peter the Hermit (c. 1050–1115).<sup>53</sup> He then confesses that since the position of the friars in Jerusalem is ever more fraught with difficulty, and Mount Sion has been taken from them and is no longer accessible to them or Catholic pilgrims, he wants nothing more than to travel around the world preaching the crusade like Peter the Hermit. However, because he has no gift for that, Amico says he has decided to deploy the talents that he does possess. He has therefore drawn the images of the Holy Places, hoping to “inflame the intellects and the minds of Catholic princes for the recovery of the Holy Land”.<sup>54</sup> He then concludes his dedication by beseeching Cosimo II, “not without tears of desire,” to take up this cause, expressing the hope that his book will be passed on from the Grand

49 Bernardino Amico, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 37.

50 The Moriscos were a community of descendants from Spanish Muslims who had been forcefully converted to Christianity in 1502.

51 Bernardino Amico da Gallipoli, *Trattato delle Piante & Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa Disegnate in Ierusalemme Secondo le Regole della Prospettiva, & Vera Missura della lor Grandezza* (Firenze: Pietro Cecconcelli, 1619).

52 Shalev, “Christian Pilgrimage,” 12.

53 Bernardino Amico, *Trattato*, “Al Serenissimo Cosimo Secondo Gran Duca di Toscana,” [no pagination].

54 “e, d’accendere, & infiammare gl’intelletti, e le menti de’ Principi Cattolici per l’acquisto di Terra Santa.” Bernardino Amico, *Trattato*, “Al Serenissimo Cosimo Secondo Gran Duca di Toscana,” [no pagination].

Duke to other Christian princes, and in that case “I will be most certain of what I said above.”<sup>55</sup>

Whether Amico really hoped or believed that his book would unleash a Holy Land crusade if only it could reach the right circles is a matter open to debate. Zur Shalev tends to place Amico’s crusading spirit in the realm of literary themes common to dedicatory letters, observing that “although both of Amico’s patrons actively fought against Islam and the Ottomans, it is hard to imagine that he hoped his images would bring them back to battle.”<sup>56</sup> In the case of the first dedication, to Philip III, one might plausibly argue that we are dealing only with elegant flattery. In the case of the dedication to Cosimo II, however, this is less likely, because Amico focusses explicitly on his own personal zeal for imitating Peter the Hermit and propagating crusade. In addition Amico may have truly hoped something would still come from Grand Duke Cosimo’s alliance with a Druze emir who managed to threaten Ottoman control of the Levantine coast in the first decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>57</sup>

Fakhr al-Din II (1572–1635) rose to considerable power due to the weakness of Ottoman control of the region. In 1608 he was able to attract the support of both the papacy and the Tuscan Medici Dukes, who aimed to benefit from the power vacuum in the Mediterranean after Lepanto by mounting a crusade against the Ottomans. When the initiative failed, Fakhr al-Din spent the years 1613–18 in exile at the courts of Tuscany and Naples before returning home to office and power. Although all parties were from then on more careful to appease the Ottomans, the emir remained in correspondence with the Tuscan as well as other Western European courts, with continued talk of crusade until his capture and deportation to Istanbul in 1633.<sup>58</sup> The French Franciscan Eugene Roger, who claimed personal acquaintance with Fakhr al-Din, made him out to be a descendant of Godfrey of Bouillon and quite a champion for

55 “Di più, e non senza lagrime desidero, con nuova supplica supplicar l’Altezza Vostra Serenissima di ciò, che si come l’acque correnti per le viscere, e meati della terra prendono qualità dalle miniere, doue passano, rese per ciò salutifere, così e non altramente questi Ritratti passando per le sue mani di mandarne à Principi Christiani, che se così sarà, sarò sicurissimo di quanto di sopra dissi.” Bernardino Amico, *Trattato*, “Al Serenissimo Cosimo Secondo Gran Duca di Toscana,” [no pagination].

56 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 107–09.

57 The Druze faith is a monotheistic Abrahamic religion still practised today, for example in Lebanon, that is associated with neither Islam, Christianity, nor Judaism.

58 Alessandro Olsaretti, “Political Dynamics in the Rise of Fakhr al-Din, 1590–1633: Crusade, Trade, and State Formation along the Levantine Coast,” *The International History Review* 30, no. 4 (2008): 709–22, 739–40; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 187–90; T.J. Gorton, *Renaissance Emir: A Druze Warlord at the Court of the Medici* (London: Quartet, 2013).

Christianity, the Franciscans in particular, in his *La Terre Sainte ou Description Topographique*, first published in 1646, and reprinted in 1664.<sup>59</sup>

Thus, although the chances that Cosimo II himself would mount a crusade were perhaps slim in 1619, to Amico a crusade may not have seemed so unlikely, especially if his book was passed on to other prominent figures. Perhaps he did believe that placing the images of the Holy Places, which he had spent so much time measuring up and drafting, before the eyes of Catholic monarchs would give them a clearer sense of the priority of crusade when they saw the Holy Places that they stood to gain. However, perhaps the most convincing indication that the desire for crusade expressed by Amico might be real rather than literary is that contemporaries such as Pope Paul V (p. 1605–21), Père Joseph du Tremblay (see above), and many others took the matter very seriously indeed.<sup>60</sup> Only a few years later, in 1626, a fellow Franciscan of the Holy Land, Francesco Quaresmio (1583–1650), published an appeal to Philip IV of Spain (r. 1621–65) that leaves little room for doubt that it is recovery of the Holy Land he is after, and nothing else, thus making sincerity on the part of Amico again seem more credible.

This seventy-four page tract by Quaresmio, written in Jerusalem, the *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humilitae Deprecatio ad suum Philippum IV. Hispaniarum et Novi Orbis Potentissimum, ac Catholicum Regem*, is a passionate appeal to Philip, voiced by Jerusalem personified, a destitute woman, to reconquer the Holy Land.<sup>61</sup> Jerusalem personified as a woman, namely the adulterous wife of God,

59 Eugene Roger, *La Terre Sainte ou Description Topographique Tres-Particuliere des Saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission* (Paris: Antoine Bertier, 1664), 338–67.

60 Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 189–97.

61 Francesco Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio ad suum Philippum IV. Hispaniarum et Novi Orbis Potentissimum, ac Catholicum Regem* (Jerusalem: Dat. ex Sanctissimo D.N. IESU CHRISTI Sepulchro, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 1626. in sacratissimo die Parasceues). This print is very rare: the only copy known to me is preserved at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. Modern bibliographical references typically give Milan, 1631 as the place and year of printing. My examination of the volume itself does not confirm this. It states only Jerusalem, Good Friday 1626, most likely indicating when and where Quaresmio finished writing the text. It is certainly possible, even probable, that the text was then printed in Milan in 1631, when he had returned to Italy. Modern bibliographical references may depend on the biography of Quaresmio in the 1880 edition of his *Elucidatio*, which refers to a slightly different title: *Hierosolymae Afflictae Humilis Deprecatio ad Philippum IV Hispaniarum Regem* (Milan: Malatesta, 1631). This biography in turn depends on (eighteenth-century) manuscript sources concerning writers from Lodi. Francesco Quaresmio, *Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, ed. Cypriano de Tarsisio, vol. 1 (Venice: Typis Antonellianis, 1880), x. Galateri signals the existence of what may be a 1650 reprint of the *Deprecatio*, titled *Planctus Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae*. Galateri (ed.), *Itinerari e Cronache Francescane di Terra Santa (1500–1800)*, 126.

appears in the Old Testament prophets Hosea, (Deutero-) Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, as well as in Lamentations.<sup>62</sup> The form of an appeal by Jerusalem personified directed at potential crusaders can be connected to crusade preaching of the first hour: Robert the Monk's version of the speech by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095 contained the same literary device, and is likely to have influenced Quaresmio.<sup>63</sup> His *Deprecatio* opens with the words: "I would like to address you, my most invincible king and prince," and Philip IV is implored to listen, even if she, Jerusalem, might seem unworthy of his attention because she is like a widow: abandoned and "trampled upon in the street like dung".<sup>64</sup> Quaresmio makes her speak in order to urge Philip to liberate her from her helpless state, in which the Holy Places are being profaned; and she is abandoned by all but the Franciscans.<sup>65</sup> Philip is sternly reminded that his coat of arms bears the sign of the kings of Jerusalem, and is asked how it can be that while Mount Calvary is in the hands of the Turks, "you are indifferent, sleep, and do not think of liberation?"<sup>66</sup> The task should

62 Julie Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel: The City as Yahweh's Wife* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 43–59.

63 "Jerusalem is the navel of the world; the land is fruitful above others, like another paradise of delights. This the Redeemer of the human race has made illustrious by His advent, has beautified by residence, has consecrated by suffering, has redeemed by death, has glorified by burial. This royal city, therefore, situated at the centre of the world, is now held captive by His enemies, and is in subjection to those who do not know God, to the worship of the heathens. She seeks therefore and desires to be liberated, and does not cease to implore you to come to her aid. From you especially she asks succor, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you above all nations great glory in arms. Accordingly undertake this journey for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven." Robert the Monk, "Urban and the Crusaders," trans. Dana C. Munro, in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, vol 1:2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1895), 6–7.

64 "Vellem te, o mi Rex & Princeps invictissime, alloqui; vellem ante excelsam Catholicam Maiestatem tuam meum miserandum referare statum; vellem coram te Iudice causam meam, an melius dicam, Dei, & tuam simul aperire. Sed dum haec aggredi contendo, retrahor; & impellor. Retrahor, inquam, meam vilitatem, & nihilitatem, & tuam considerans celsitudinem. Et quaenam ego? Afflicta, tristissimis affecta curis, & desolata IERUSALEM, vidua, vilis, & ut infamis a viro suo despecta, & derelicta, pulvis, & cinis, & sicut sterces in via conculcata. ... ita tu in praesentia, o REX pijssime, ac dilectissime, petitionem vnam parvulam non negabis, & me lugentem a conspectu tuo non rejicies. Et si pauper vidua sim, non auertes faciem tuam a me, nec despicias lacrymas meas, cum vices illius teneas, qui non despicit preces pauperis, & viduae, si effundat loquelam gemitus." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 3–5.

65 Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 6–12.

66 "Rex potentissimus ex illustrissima Austriaca familia oriundus, Rex Catholicus, Rex Ierusalem es, & totius Terrae Sanctae, Hispaniarum, aliarumque; vastissimarum regionum, Equitumque; sanctissimi Sepulchri D.N. IESU CHRISTI supremus moderator, & magister.

not be too difficult; Jerusalem personified points out that God did not place her in a remote corner but in the middle of the earth, easily reachable from the numerous Mediterranean ports of Philip's realm. In addition God gave Philip a good army, so that he would understand he was chosen to liberate Jerusalem.<sup>67</sup> Since Philip is the highest master of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, he need only give the order and these knights will take up their swords and join him on a crusade.<sup>68</sup>

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... Ad haec, non tantum quia Rex es, & Rex potentissimus teneris totis viribus ad mei redemptionem, sed amplius quia es meus REX, REX inquam IERUSALEM, & totius Terrae sanctae, successione, & haereditate, Summorum Pontificum investitura, & pacifica tituli possessione. ... Et talem te ipsum prodis dum in medio tuorum stemmatum quinque rubeas collocas cruces, insignia Regum, & Praesulum sanctae Ciuitatis, quae vt sol mundum totum suis lucidissimis radijs illuminat, ... Ecce, o REX, gladius Domini, vexillum pretiosum, sacratissimum inquam Calvariae mons, gloriosum Christi Sepulchrum, & alia sancta loca, in quibus mundi salus operata est, mors devicta, & expulsus daemon, ecce potentissimae illae clauae, quibus inferni portae clausae sunt, ianuae coeli referatae, ecce salutis nostrae instrumenta, & Salvatoris nostri victoriae gloriosa trophea, ecce vexillum, ecce stemmata tua sunt in potestate hostium Dei, sub inimicorum tuorum tyrannide, in manibus inquam Turcarum, & negligis? & dormis? & de redemptione non cogitas? Exurge, exurge o REX, & iudica causam tuam, causam Dei, libera te ab ingrati animi vitio, libera te, libera Deum a probro & iniustitia, eripe frameam tuam, vexillum Dei, & tuum ab inimicis domus tuae." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 19–21.

67 "Denique quemadmodum Omnipotens & sapientissimus Dominus me non in angulo, vel in aliqua mundi extremitate constituit, sed mei iecit fundamenta in medio terrae, vt ipsemet per Ezechielem dixit [Ezech. 5.5. explic D. Hier. lib. 2. Comment. in Ezech.]. Ista est IERUSALEM, in medio gentium posui eam, & in circuitu eius terras.] Voluitque; in ea esse sapientes, & omni virtute praeditos viros, vt ex illa optima loci dispositione, & incolarum virtute, intelligerent circumiacentes regiones ex illa habituras monita, & exempla salutis, & eadem ad illa tradenda ex sui, quam a Deo accepit conditione, compelleretur. Ita ille idem Dominus eadem omnipotentia & sapientia dedit tibi supra caeteros mundi Principes Regiones inter alias apprime idoneas ad inducendum bellum infidelibus, ad parandum sanctam expeditionem, Hispaniae inquam, Lusitaniae, Neapolis, utriusque Siciliae, Sardiniae Regna, quae optimo situ posita sunt respectu mei: in his habes idoneos & optimos milites, & pro eisdem victum et arma, vt praeteream vastissima tua maria, & opportunos portus ad tam egregium, & heroicum opus pernecessaria. Dedit inquam tibi Dominus omnia haec, vt intelligeres te prae caeteris electum ad infidelium extirpationem, & meam ab illorum dura captiuitate redemptionem." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 23–24.

68 "Rex potentissimus ex illustrissima Austriaca familia oriundus, Rex Catholicus, Rex Ierusalem es, & totius Terrae Sanctae, Hispaniarum, aliarumque; vastissimarum regionum, Equitumque; sanctissimi Sepulchri D.N. IESU CHRISTI supremus moderator, & magister." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 15. "Ergo, o REX, huius dignissimi sacri militaris Ordinis supremus es Moderator & magnus Magister: Ecce sacri isti Equites, vt suo satisfaciant muneri, pro gloria Dei, & sui sanctissimi Sepulchri, totiusque Terrae sanctae recuperatione, & honore tenent gladios, & vnus cuiusque ensis super

As the plea progresses, Jerusalem's voice becomes fainter and Quaresmio's own voice seems to emerge more and more, and he does not avoid harsher words to get his message across. For example, he writes that the Turks can be overheard ridiculing not only the Holy Sepulchre but also Christian kings (Philip is clearly implied) who fail to liberate it.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, he is not afraid to threaten him with eternal damnation, if Phillip should fail to perform his duty. Quaresmio emphasizes that there is so much to be gained from this mission: the spread of Christendom, evangelization of the Turks, liberation of the faithful who still live in the Holy Land, and finally the treasures of the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre themselves.<sup>70</sup> It would mean the salvation of multitudes, but most importantly it would be the salvation of Philip's own soul.<sup>71</sup> Quaresmio is not going to let him off the hook easily and confronts him directly: "And what, I ask you, if you neglect this, will be your excuse to the Supreme Judge?"<sup>72</sup> He wonders how Philip can live comfortably, enjoying his enormous wealth and honours, without his conscience troubling him, since only a fraction of his wealth would be needed for an expedition to recover the Holy Land.<sup>73</sup>

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femur suum, parati ad sacrum & salutare bellum, sed expectant, qui eos praecedant." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 31–32.

- 69 "Et vbique audio infideles Turcas obijcentes, & deridentes Christianos Principes nihili-facere sanctum Domini Sepulchrum, & ipsummet Christum, quem vt verum Deum se adorare dicunt, & propter ipsos blasphematur nomen Domini. Dicunt siquidem Mauri, si Terra ista sancta est Christianorum haereditas, accedant, & illam sibi comparent: si hoc est sepulchrum illius, quem Deum praedicant, quare adeo inglorium relinquunt, & non de manibus hostium eripiunt, vt sit gloria?" Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 42.
- 70 Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 36–40, 47, 63–65.
- 71 "Cum igitur sanctae intendens expeditioni non vnus dumtaxat animae saluti, sed multarum liberationi, quae a dura daemone premuntur tyrannide, incumbas, & iudicium & iustitiam facias, ut verum Principem decet, nedum tua operies peccata coram Altissimo, nedum liberabis animam tuam a morte, sed in caelesti gloria in eminentissimo throno inter sublimes illos Cherubinatorum, & Seraphinorum Choros a Domino collocabitur." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 45.
- 72 "Et quaenam quaeaso (si illud neglexeris) erit tua ad supremum Iudicem excusatio?" Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 24. cf. 33–34, 50.
- 73 "Crede mihi, o REX, quod Dei auxilio ad sanctum bellum perficiendum non erit necesse veste & purpura, qua tuos induis Magnates, expoliare, non vendere urbes, & Ducatus, vt olim pro simili expeditione vendiderunt Proceres Galli, non Regna aut Provincias immnuere: congerantur superflua, quae cadunt de Regia mensa tua, quae elargiris ad hominum temporalem gloriam, & proprium luxum: tolle vanos sumptus, & ministros rapaces, & multa alia tam sanctae expeditioni aduersantia, tuncque diuina opitulante gratia, quae in opere tam iusto, & heroico aderit." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 61–62. Compare "Tu qui non privatus miles, sed Heros maximus pluribus illustrissimis, iisque iustissimis titulis insignatus es, Magnus Magister Equitum sanctissimi Sepulchri D.N. & aliorum militarium ordinum, Rex Hispaniarum, & Ierusalem, Catholicus



He then adopts a more apocalyptic tone: Philip in conquering the Holy Land would not only be fulfilling his own destiny but also that of history itself. For this Quaresmio refers on several occasions to Daniel 2.<sup>74</sup> He specifically cites Daniel 2: 31–46, a passage that often figures in apocalyptic schemes, and was already connected to the legend of the Last World emperor, for example by Adso of Montier-en-Der (see chapter four).<sup>75</sup> It revolves around Nebuchadnezzar's famous dream about a statue made of four metals: a golden head, silver chest and arms, bronze belly and thighs, legs made of iron, and feet made of clay and iron. In the dream the statue is then destroyed by a rock that becomes a mountain that fills the earth. Daniel interprets the dream by saying that the parts of the statue signify four kingdoms still to come, and after the destruction will come the fifth and final kingdom of God. Quaresmio explains that the four metals are traditionally identified as the Chaldean, Persian, Greek, and Roman Empires, but he contends that the feet of iron and clay signify the Ottoman Empire.<sup>76</sup> He then wonders: who will be the rock to smash the entire

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& Pius hilarem transigere vitam poteris? & si in regijs aulis habitēs, induaris purpura & bysso, opipare & splendide vivas, illustrium Equitum, & Principum te circumdet caterua, & omnibus denique illis affluas bonis & delicijs, quibus attamen quiescet (?) vermis conscientiae tuae morietur, considerans non arcam illam typum sanctissimi Sepulchri, sed Sepulchrum ipsum tui Reparatoris Christi Domini esse non in papilionibus, sed sub divo, non ea, qua decet veneratione & reverentia custoditum, non Dux Israelitici populi, sed totius populi Christiani, Rex caeli & terrae IESUS CHRISTUS contemptui & derisioni habitus ab impijs istis infidelibus, & verus Israel populus fidelis hic relictus modo probris, ... Hanc inquam versans in corde tuo, laetitia dilatabitur cor tuum? secure & gaudenter quiesces in lecto tuo?" Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 52.

74 "Ac ideo maiori ratione possum tibi dicere, quae olim Propheta Daniel dixit Nabuchodonosor Babyloniae Regi. Tu REX regum es: & [Dan.2.37.] Deus coeli regnum & fortitudinem, & Imperium & gloriam dedit tibi ... Et ad quid te sapientissimus Deus talem condidit? Non vtique vt otio vaces, torpori, & voluptatibus te dares oblitus Dei, & mei; sed vt me antiquo restitueres nitore." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 17.

75 Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality*, 84; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 17; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 71, 83–84, 98–99; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper, 1961), 3–4.

76 "Inter alias coelestes visiones, & reuelationes, quae [Dan. 2. a vers. 31 usque ad 46] in sacra scriptura inveniuntur, belle ad id quod tractamus accommodari potest, quod in cap. 2. Danielis legitur. ... Explicuit hanc mirandam visionem Propheta Daniel, & postea eandem interpretati fuere Sancti Patres, & Ecclesiae Doctores. Sed liceat mihi, o Rex, quia & parens Prophetarum sum, & Doctores genui & ut olim, ita in praesentia de Ierusalem verbum Domini egredi potest. In statua illa ad litteram quatuor orbis Imperia significata fuerunt. In illius capite aureo, ipso Daniele interprete, Imperium Chaldaeorum; in pectore branchijsque argenteis, Imperium Medorum, atque Persarum; in ventre & femoribus aereis, Imperium Graecorum; in tibijs denique ferreis Romanorum Imperium fuit expressum. Ita D. Hie- [D. Hier. in Dan. & alij.] ronymus & communiter interpretes huius visionis.

statue? While accepted interpretation commonly points to Christ, Quaresmio is convinced that Philip IV is the *Imperator Electus* to carry out this task, as foretold in Daniel 2:44.<sup>77</sup> Referring to the current weakness of the Ottoman Empire, characterized by insurrections and internal fighting – iron mixed with clay – Quaresmio points out that the opportune moment to attack is now, and his plea is therefore urgent.<sup>78</sup>

In sum, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humilitae Deprecatio*'s main subject and purpose is to convince Philip IV that from whatever angle the matter is approached he has no choice but to mount an expedition and conquer the Holy Land. This text along with the dedicatory letters to Amico's *Trattato* can be contextualized as part of a new wave of crusading zeal triggered by political developments during the first decades of the seventeenth century, and we should therefore be reluctant to dismiss the possibility of sincere intent. From this moment onwards calls for crusade became a common feature of Franciscan

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Ego libenter in tibijs ferreis, & pedibus partim ferreis, partim fictilibus Turcicum, seu Mahumeticum Imperium intelligendum arbitror; siquidem, vt pedes sunt extremae corporis partes, ita Imperium hoc alijs succedit Imperijs: ferrum comminuit, & domat omnia, sic Mahumeticum Imperium contrivit omnia haec, & in se absumit, vt hisce oculis non sine lacrymis cerno." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humilitae Deprecatio*, 57–58.

77 "Sed quid significat lapis de monte praecisus sine manibus, qui percussis terreis pedibus, miranda illa & terribili statua ad nihilum redacta, ipse evasit mons magnus, qui replevit totam faciem terrae? An Christum Dominum, qui non humano opere, sed Spiritus sancti operante virtute ex MARIA virgine, velut mons magnus ob eminentiam virtutum & sublimitatem sanctitatis, conceptus & in lucem editus fuit, cuius Imperium, alijs contritis Regnis, ad omnes mundi partes se extendit & durabit in aeternum? Ita sane, quoniam ea est communis Doctorum interpretatio. ... Sed aliter dicam, o REX, Austriacum & Catholicum Imperium, tuum inquam Regnum, eo lapillo praemonstratum fuisse, & apposite quidem, si illius initium & progressum respicias. Initio siquidem non dices fuisse ad instar parui lapidis & religiosa animi humilitate, & temporali dignitate, sed diuina fauente gratia propagatum adeo, vt vniverso orbi terrorem incutere videatur. ... Nam non post multum temporis fuit ille Imperator electus, ipsius succesores Austriae Archiduces creati, ex quorum familia non Principes modo, sed Reges, Imperatores, & alij Ecclesiastici, & saeculares proceres, & magnates prodierunt, & potestas & terror Austriacae domus ad varias mundi partes mire se extendit." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humilitae Deprecatio*, 59–61.

78 "Praesertim quod Turcarum vires nunc diminutae sunt; Mahumeticum Imperium in se multipliciter diuisum, & oppugnatum; euanuit, & illorum apparens religio cum iustitia, fundamenta regnorum, & omnia fere bona desierunt. Videturque nunc impleri quod iam de ferreis, & fictilibus pedibus supradictae statuae dixit Propheta Daniel, Mahumetanos isto humano quidem semine vnitos, sed animo discrepantes, sicut ferrum misceri non potest testae: subditi suo Principi rebelles, & ad praesens nonne a rebelli gubernatore tyrannice confundor, & apprimor?" Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humilitae Deprecatio*, 70–71. "Et quod vrget magis, videntur completae Mahumetistarum inquietates." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humilitae Deprecatio*, 73.

Holy Land writing, more than a hundred years after Guglingen was the first friar of the Holy Land to broach the matter. As we have seen above, texts by Franciscans of the Holy Land changed character in other ways as well during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Apart from Holy Land travelogues, treatises now became more common, and these texts are more territorial in nature. Not only crusade but also rights of possession granted to the Franciscans by popes and others became prominent topics. By the time Quaresmio completed his *Deprecatio* in 1626 the (perceived) incursions of Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries had only just started, and the fight over the Holy Places with the Greeks and Armenians was not to erupt until four years later. Nonetheless, most of the basic ingredients for the flowering of Franciscan Holy Land writing during the remainder of the seventeenth century were already present, also including more than a hint of an apocalyptic perspective. However, it was not until 1639 with the publication of Francesco Quaresmio's *Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* that the genre really came into its own.<sup>79</sup>

### 3 Francesco Quaresmio's *Simulacrum* of the Holy Land

Quaresmio's *Elucidatio* is in all respects a truly transformative text for Franciscan Holy Land writing, indeed all subsequent Observant Franciscan texts on the Holy Land are in some way or other indebted to or influenced by it. Quaresmio's authorial stance is fully grounded in his career and experiences within the Observant Franciscan order. Born at Lodi (Italy) in 1583, he entered the Observant Franciscan convent of Mantua at a young age, becoming a student of theology, philosophy, and canon law, and starting his rise in the ranks, holding posts such as guardian, *custos*, and provincial minister. In 1616 he first travelled to the Levant, becoming guardian at Aleppo (1616–18) and later superior and apostolic commissary of the East (1618–19). In 1620 he left for Europe, to return to Jerusalem in 1625, writing his *Deprecatio* to Philip IV there the following year. In the years 1627–29 he served as papal commissary at Aleppo, reporting back to Rome on the state of the Eastern churches in 1629, and travelling extensively through both Europe and the Levant in the years that followed. From 1637 he served as guardian of the convent of Sant'Angelo in Milan; these years saw the publication of a number of books, including the *Elucidatio*. Towards the end

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79 Francesco Quaresmio, *Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: Plantin (Balthasar Moretus), 1639).

of his career (1645–48) Quaresmio held the prominent posts of definator and procurator general of the Observant Franciscan order, dying in Milan on 25 October 1650.<sup>80</sup>

Quaresmio worked on his *Elucidatio* for decades, both during and after his stays in the Holy Land. It is a massive text, consisting of two folio volumes that together count no less than 1938 pages of closely printed text, excluding prefatory material and tables of contents. The *Elucidatio* has more than once been characterized as “monumental” due to its exhaustive treatment of the sacred geography of the Holy Land from many different angles.<sup>81</sup> The encyclopaedic nature of Quaresmio’s *Elucidatio*, very much part of early modern biblical antiquarianism and certainly related to the genre of biblical encyclopaedias, is often said to be focused specifically on the Holy Places.<sup>82</sup> Zur Shalev also notes “Quaresmio’s efforts at systematic documentation”, and gives a brief description of the contents of the eight books of the *Elucidatio*.<sup>83</sup> In addition he calls it “an authoritative statement” and a “definitive account” of Christian Holy Land pilgrimage and the Holy Places, associating the text with the decline of *geographia sacra* as an exhausted field of study.<sup>84</sup> Adam Beaver cites the *Elucidatio* as an example of the active participation of Franciscan scholars

80 Girolamo Golubovich, “Franciscus Quaresmius,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913).

81 “a monumental contribution to the history, geography, archaeology, and biblical study of the Holy Land.” Rehav Rubin, “Quaresmius’s *Novae Ierosolymae et Locorum Circumiacentium Accurata Imago* (1639): An Image of the Holy City and its Message,” in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 277–84; “his monumental *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*,” Piccirillo, “The Role of the Franciscans,” 371.

82 The editor of the (partial) modern edition describes it as follows: “Oggetto della trattazione sono i Luoghi Santi che vengono illustrati magistralmente dalla Sacra Scrittura, dalla storia, dalla teologia, dalla geografia, dall’archeologia, dalle scienze naturali, e dalla cronaca di quei giorni.” Francesco Quaresmio, *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Sabino de Sandoli (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1989), 11. For the encyclopedic tendencies of early modern Bible study and antiquarianism see Jonathan Sheehan, “From Philology to Fossils: The Biblical Encyclopedia in Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 1 (2003), 41–60.

83 “The first book of the first volume of the *Elucidatio* gives a comprehensive description of the Holy Land (name, divisions, history, size, fertility) and offers reflections on the reasons for Muslim rule over it. The second book supplies a documentary ecclesiastical history, covering papal bulls concerning the Holy Land from Sylvester II to Gregory XIV. The third book discusses the utility of pilgrimage. The remaining five books, in the second volume, describe the Holy Places in the form of peregrinations to each.” Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 123–25.

84 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 21, 259.

in the debates of early modern *geographia sacra* of the Holy Land which also takes up “defending the traditional localizations of the Holy Places in prose”.<sup>85</sup>

These characterizations of the *Elucidatio* as an encyclopaedic treatment of the Holy Land and its Holy Places are incontrovertible. Yet they also leave some of its most defining features unmentioned. Only a few scholars, most notably Bernard Heyberger, acknowledge the fervent crusading zeal expressed at length in large portions of the book.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, Heyberger is the only one to remark upon what he calls Quaresmio’s “propheticism,” his “apocalyptic vision of history,” and to recognize that his “eschatological perspective” is inextricably linked with his call for crusade.<sup>87</sup>

I should like to add to this discussion by emphasizing another defining feature of the *Elucidatio*: it is a text written from an *Observant Franciscan* perspective. This fact has been largely ignored, even though most scholars of course mention that Quaresmio was a Franciscan friar. However, the Franciscan orientation of the *Elucidatio* goes much beyond the simple fact of its author’s affiliation. In this text Quaresmio carefully crafts a history, or cultural memory if you will, for the Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land as a group. Based upon this memory, he then constructs their identity as keepers and possessors of the Holy Land. The highly territorial character of the text is clearly aimed at claiming the Holy Land for the Observant Franciscans and turning it into an entirely Observant Franciscan space.

This very territorial perspective on the Holy Land becomes is presented already on the very first page of the *Elucidatio*, namely the frontispiece (fig. 14). Even though during the early modern period such pages often functioned as marketing devices in the hands of the printer, it is clear that in this particular case the author had a large say in the message that the frontispiece was to convey.<sup>88</sup> The model and the engraving were executed in 1637 by the successful

85 Adam Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims: Antiquarian Visions of the Holy Land,” in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard P. Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 277.

86 “S’il est partisan d’une croisade, sur laquelle il s’étend très longuement, il doit consacrer de nombreuses pages à exposer, puis à combattre, les thèses défaitistes ou attentistes, fondées sur des arguments théologiques ou réalistes, parmi lesquels figurent la menace d’une attaque de revers des hérétiques, les rivalités entre les princes chrétiens, les difficultés financières et la ruine des peuples.” Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 197–98; Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims,” 277; Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, ed. de Sandoli, 1.

87 Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 197–200.

88 R.W. McConchie, “Some Reflections on Early Modern Printed Title-pages,” in *Principles and Practices for the Digital Editing and Annotation of Diachronic Data* (Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 14), ed. Anneli Meurman-Solin and Jukka Tyrkkö (Helsinki: VARIENG, 2013) <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/14/mcconchie/>.



FIGURE 14 Frontispiece of Francesco Quaresmio's *Elucidatio*, the *Simulacrum Terræ Sanctæ* or likeness of the Holy Land.

UNIVERSITAIRE BIBLIOTHEKEN LEIDEN, 567 A 7-8

Antwerp artist Erasmus Quellinus II (1607–78), a student of Peter Paul Rubens, and a member of his studio in the 1630s. From 1637 onwards Quellinus had a relatively free hand at designing and engraving several plates and illustrations for Plantin press, based on Rubens' instructions.<sup>89</sup> In the case of the *Elucidatio* Quaresmio must have given very specific instructions either to Rubens or Quellinus directly, so that the visual message of the frontispiece would be clear.

To this end he also included a substantial section with the prefatory material of the *Elucidatio*, following a dedication to Christ and preceding the *prae-fatio ad lectorem* and *approbationes*.<sup>90</sup> This section is titled *Simulacri Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*: explanation of the likeness of the Holy Land. The word *simulacrum* may refer to an image, a representation, or a likeness, and here it specifically points to the frontispiece, which presents Quaresmio's perspective on the Holy Land. This eighteen-page section calls attention to the frontispiece with the words: "Behold, pious reader, the exemplar of the present state of the Promised Land, behold the likeness of the Holy Land." Quaresmio has a certain emotive response in mind, because after lamenting that the Holy Land has been abandoned by the faithful and has been profaned and oppressed by infidels, he suggests: "Do not look at this without tears, and do not contemplate its explanation without sadness of the heart, commiseration, and sorrow of the soul. Oh, cruel spectacle!"<sup>91</sup> Quaresmio cannot not imagine anyone not crying upon "seeing the beloved mother of the faithful, the bride of God, stripped and naked, like on the day she was born [Hosea 2:3]".<sup>92</sup> This refers to the naked woman sitting among rubble, in the middle lower register of the title page, with the words *posita secundum diem nativitatis suae* (Hosea 2:3) inscribed below. By this reference Quaresmio invokes the personification of Jerusalem as

89 Max Rooses, *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus* (Antwerp: Zazzarini, 1919), 298–99; Hans Vlieghe, "Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens's Studio Practice," *The Burlington Magazine* 119, no. 894 (1977): 636–43. C. Galle engraved the entombment of Christ, and Christophe Jegherendorff or Jegher engraved 483 plates of inscriptions for the *Elucidatio*. Rooses, *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus*, 229–301, 336.

90 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, v–xl.

91 "SIMULACRI TERRAE SANCTAE ELUCIDATIO. En, pie Lector, exemplar praesentis status Terrae promissionis, en simulacrum Terrae sanctae, quae hisce nostris calamitosis temporibus possidetur; melius dicam, a fidelibus & filiis derelicta, ab infidelibus, a spuriis, ab hostibus capta, tyrannice opprimitur, & turpiter profanatur: ipsum non sine lacrymis inspicere; & eius explicationem, non sine cordis tristitia & commiseratione, animique morore, contemplare. Heu crudele spectaculum!" Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xij.

92 "Et quis non fleat, doloreque non afficiatur, videns dilectam fidelium matrem, Dei sponsam, ..., spoliata, & nudata, positam *secundum diem nativitatis suae*?" Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xij.

the adulterous wife of God in Hosea 2, who is eventually fully restored by her husband (Hosea 2:16–25).<sup>93</sup>

In this *Simulacrum*, then, Quaresmio cultivates the same image of the Holy Land personified as a fallen woman in desperate circumstances as he had in his *Deprecatio* directed at Philip IV in 1626. In fact fragments of the *Deprecatio* show up verbatim in the explication of the *Simulacrum*. This includes, for example, the reference to Hosea 2; but the vision of the Holy Land that Quaresmio presents in the *Elucidatio* is much more articulate.<sup>94</sup> He now aims to historicize this image, first asking his reader to imagine Judea's first flowering under David and Solomon, and then to reconsider her image following the first Jewish-Roman War (66–73 A.D.), when the Jewish revolt had been defeated. For this, Quaresmio refers to the image of Judea on the so-called *Judaea Capta* coinage minted by both the Roman emperors Vespasian (r. 69–79) and Titus (r. 79–91) to celebrate and broadcast Roman dominance and victory.<sup>95</sup> On some of these coins, two of which are illustrated in the *Elucidatio* (fig. 15), Judea is represented as a downcast but fully-dressed woman; the Romans are civilized rulers according to Quaresmio. Nowadays, however, Judea is reduced to nakedness, sitting among the rubble of her illustrious past, as we can see on the frontispiece, because the Ottomans are barbarians.<sup>96</sup> Quaresmio then sets out to interpret further Judea's nakedness, relying on a profusion of scriptural references, eventually coming to the conclusion that her nakedness is without fault, and she deserves to be rescued from being held captive by the Turks.<sup>97</sup> However, she has been abandoned by all except a little 'holy seed' (Isaiah 6:13) that remains in the Holy Land against all odds: the Franciscan friars and a few other Catholics.<sup>98</sup>

93 Restoration of the fallen woman, Jerusalem, is not universally expected by the Old Testament prophets; Ezekiel, for example, is very negative when using the marriage metaphor. Galambush, *Jerusalem*, 86.

94 Cf. Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 6, 9.

95 H.B. Brin, *A Catalogue of Judaea Capta Coinage* (Minneapolis: Emmett Publishing, 1986); D. Barag, "The Palestinian 'Judaea Capta' Coins of Vespasian and Titus and the Era on the Coins of Agrippa II Minted under the Flavians," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 18, no. 138 (1978): 14–23.

96 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xii–xv.

97 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xv–xx.

98 "Sed quoniam semen sanctum est quod manet in ea, ut docet idem propheta; Franciscanos dico Fratres, & paucos alios Catholicos; conservatur, ne penitus pereat." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxj–xxij; cf. the *Deprecatio*: "Et nisi Dominus exercituum reliquisset in me semen, quasi Sodoma funditus destructa essem, & Gomorrhae similis, ut dixit Isaiaes, semen sanctum & electum, Franciscanos inquam fratres, & paucos alios pios homines, qui ne penitus euertar, & subuertar efficiunt." Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio* (1626), 12.





FIGURE 15 Illustration of *Judaea Capta* coinage in Francesco Quaresmio's *Elucidatio*, xv. UNIVERSITAIRE BIBLIOTHEKEN LEIDEN, 567 A 7–8

Having explained the image of the naked woman representing the Holy Land on the frontispiece, Quaresmio now moves on, instructing his reader to “look on the right side of that woman.”<sup>99</sup> It seems that Quellinus when etching the copperplate failed to mirror his work, because on the printed page we have to look to the left for the scene to which Quaresmio refers. On the frontispiece we see a man cutting a woman’s body into pieces, which is a reference to Judges 19. There it is related how a Levite divided the body of his concubine, who had been raped to death by Benjamites, into twelve pieces, to be sent out to the twelve tribes of Israel to incite retribution. The Benjamites were duly crushed. Just so, according to Quaresmio, Christian princes should take up arms too, not against just one tribe “but the entire Muslim people,” who took Judea from Christianity as the Benjamites did the Levite’s concubine.<sup>100</sup> “But alas!”

99 “Respice ad dextrum latus illius mulieris, & ibi delineatam historiam in memoriam revoca, quam sacra refert Scriptura in lib. Iudicum.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxij.

100 “Idque, eo potissimum fine, ut intelligerent fideles, & in primis Christianorum Principes, arma se capere debere, ut non dicam de una tribu, sed de tota gente Mahumetica, quae miserandam Iudaeae sponsae Dei desolationem operata est, vindictam sumant, & eam

Quaresmio exclaims, “There is no one who considers it [Isaiah 57:1],” words that are, as he points out, also inscribed below the scene on the frontispiece: *non est qui recogitet*.<sup>101</sup>

Quaresmio then turns to the scene portrayed to the other side of the naked Judea, which represents how Christian princes behave. It visualizes the story told in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 16:19) in which Lazarus begs for the leftovers from a rich man’s table but is denied. “Just so our Judea, like another Lazarus, poor, famished, full of wounds and afflictions, and wanting to feed not on the most opulent returns, not on the great riches of Christian Princes, but on the crumbs that fall from those kingly and lavish tables.” But she too is denied, as the inscription below indicates: *et nemo illi dabat*: “and no one gave to her.”<sup>102</sup> As long as Catholic monarchs wallow in their riches but do not lift a finger to save the Holy Land from her predicament, they are unworthy of her, according to Quaresmio. Then he wonders: who does God judge to be honest and just enough to possess this abandoned land, consecrated with the blood of Christ?<sup>103</sup> For the answer to this question Quaresmio refers to the frontispiece again:

Wherefore on both sides you see the holy fathers, and their sons, to whom the ownership of that land was promised and consigned: Abraham and other faithful on the one side, and on the other side our seraphic father St Francis, and his friars, with hands raised and faces turned up to God, pouring out humble prayers for the salvation of that [land]. Regarding the possession of it promises were given to Abraham and his seed, that is St Francis, as is said in Galatians 3. To their sons it was indeed given and consigned, that is to the faithful Christians, and especially the Franciscan friars, as, God willing, will be explained elsewhere.<sup>104</sup>

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penitus de medio tollant, ut de Beniamitica aliae fecerunt, propter mortem uxori illius Liuitae turpiter illatam.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxij.

101 Sed prò dolor! inscriptio illa vere addita est illi historiae: Non est qui recogitet.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxij.

102 “Ita Judaea nostra, velut alter Lazarus, pauper, famelica, vulneribus et afflictionibus plena, saturari cupit, non de opulentissimis redditibus, non de magnis divitiis Christianorum principum; sed de micis quae cadunt de illorum regiis & lautissimis mensis, ... Sed heu! quis cogitaret? ... itaque vere sit illa inscriptio apposita ex Sacro Textu: Et nemo illi dabat.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxij.

103 “Honestum igitur & iustum iudicabit quis, pro derelicta haberi terram illam, quam IESUS CHRISTUS Dei & hominis Filius proprio fuso sanguine delinuit & consecravit?” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxiiij–xxvj.

104 “Quare hinc inde vides sanctos Patres, & illorum filios, quibus possessio illius Terrae promissa & et tradita fuit: Abraham & fideles alios ex una, & ex altera parte Seraphicum Patrem

Thus on the frontispiece we see standing on pedestals the divinely-elected proprietors of the Holy Land: Abraham and his seed, namely St Francis.<sup>105</sup> Both are looking up in supplication to God the Father, who sits enthroned above. Their respective 'sons' are represented above their heads, Moses conspicuously present on the left, and Franciscan friars on the right, all of them engaged in fervent prayer to God. Quaresmio reveals the content of these prayers to his reader. They are all praying for the recovery of the Holy Land in the following manner: "Spare, Lord, spare Thy people, and do not give Thine heritage over to disgrace, etc. Remember the disgrace of Thy servants; and, see, Lord for I am oppressed. Stand up, Lord, judge Thy cause, and similar supplications."<sup>106</sup> These prayers are indicated on the frontispiece below the praying groups with the words *Parce populo tuo* and *Iudica causam tuam*. The goal of these prayers is that punishment might be inflicted upon the ungrateful sons, i.e. Christian princes, as well as on the enemies who oppress the Holy Land. Quaresmio feels certain these prayers are heard, and says God answers from his throne of majesty, saying "I shall judge," as can be read below his throne on the frontispiece: *ego iudicabo*.<sup>107</sup>

Now that Quaresmio has explained the entire "likeness of the Holy Land" on the frontispiece, he begs his reader to consider the image: the suffering of the naked woman, the scenes from Judges 19 and Luke 16, and Abraham and St Francis standing to the sides.<sup>108</sup> He particularly stresses that God will judge the

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nostrum sanctum Franciscum, & fratres eius, elevatis manibus, & versis ad Deum vultibus, pro illius salute humiles preces fundentes. De illius enim possessione ABRAHAE DICTAE SUNT PROMISSIONES & SEMINI EIUS, id est S. Francisco, ut dicitur ad Galat. 3 filii vero eorum concessa & tradita, id est fidelibus Christianis, & singulariter Franciscanis Fratribus, ut, Deo favente, alibi explicabitur." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxvj.

105 The *Breve Summario*, an Observant Franciscan text circulating in Iberian contexts from 1616 onwards, briefly suggests that Mount Sion was promised to Abraham and his heirs, but makes no further claims based on this, nor does it explicitly identify the friars as the heirs apparent (see previous section). *Breve Summario dos Conventos, Igrejas, Capellas & Lugares Sanctos* (Lisbon: Ioam da Costa, 1670), 8.

106 "Ideo pro illius recuperatione gementes, genibus flexis dicunt: Parce Domine, parce populo tuo: & ne des hereditatem tuam in opprobrium, &c. Memor esto opprobrij servorum tuorum. & Vide Domine, quoniam tribulor. Exurge Domine, iudica causam tuam. & similes preces." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxvi–ij.

107 "Utque de ingratis filiis, qui non operiunt nuditatem matris suae, & de hostibus qui eam conculant, sumat vindictam. Quibus non surdas, sed attentas aures exhibet Dominus, seque iudicaturum promittit. Ego iudicabo, respondet omnipotens Dominus, in solio Majestatis suae residens." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxvij.

108 "Eadem nunc considera in nostro Terrae Sanctae simulacro: poenam in nuda muliere; culpam in Gabaonitis, & divite, hinc inde descriptis: merita sanctorum habes in

faithful who transgress, above all monarchs.<sup>109</sup> The *Simulacri Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* concludes with an appeal to the faithful, princes in particular: “and I cry out to you: have pity at last on your mother, do not confound her face, and cover her nakedness and disgrace.”<sup>110</sup> Recalling how Noah blessed his sons Sem and Japheth, who covered his nakedness, and cursed Cham, who mocked it, Quaresmio asserts that likewise God will damn those who have contempt for the nakedness of their mother, the Holy Land.

Again, as was the case with the *Deprecatio*, the impression that Quaresmio is serious about all of this is inescapable. No Catholic monarch is being flattered here into thinking he might already be a virtuous crusader. The *Elucidatio* is dedicated to Christ instead of to any of the defective earthly monarchs, whom Quaresmio earnestly threatens with eternal damnation if they do not act. In addition he sends out a clear visual as well as verbal message, namely that the Holy Land belongs to the Franciscans. Franciscan Holy Land territoriality and crusading zeal are thus defining features of Quaresmio’s *Elucidatio*. The author sets out to fortify his claims in the main text of his book, primarily by significant reinterpretations of history.

#### 4 Francis’ Pilgrimage-Possessio of the Holy Land

The frontispiece or *Simulacrum* represents Quaresmio’s views on the Holy Land in a nutshell, and serves as the main point of departure for his book. He elaborates these views extensively, and directly in the first book of the *Elucidatio*. This book is meant to introduce his readers to the Holy Land, and Quaresmio duly describes its various names, provinces, dimensions and qualities, based on the scriptures as well as on other authoritative sources, as early modern sacred geographers were wont to do. Yet besides offering this type of general information, the first book of the *Elucidatio* pays particular attention to who were the inhabitants and, more importantly, the possessors of the Holy Land through time. In this sense it is reminiscent of the seventh book of Guglingen’s

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supplicantibus maximis illis Patriarchis, Abraham, Francisco, & horum filiis superius descriptis.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxvij.

109 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxvij.

110 “Vos, o fideles, demum alloquor, & in primis Christianos Praesules, & inclytos Principes, & universum omnes filios Abrahae & Ierusalem, secundum repromissionem & spiritualem legem, et inclamo vobis: Miseremini saltem vos matris vestrae, ne confundatis faciem eius, operite nuditatem & ignominiam eius; ut vos aeternam confusionem, nuditatem maledictionemque fugatis.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, xxx.

*Treatise*: it looks at the past to see through whose hands the Holy Land has passed, and runs up to the present, discussing the various nations of heretics and infidels living there now under Muslim rule. Nevertheless, Quaresmio goes further than merely proposing crusade to remedy the current situation. He also discusses in detail the future of the Holy Land, including the advent of Antichrist and the Final Judgement.<sup>111</sup>

In this first book of the *Elucidatio*, Quaresmio unfolds his territorial perspective on the Holy Land. He is the first author of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land explicitly to reinterpret history in order unequivocally to bring St Francis to the Holy Land and take possession of it for the Franciscans. Its claims were very influential on all subsequent early modern Observant Franciscan authors, thus transforming Franciscan Holy Land writing, while some of its claims have been given credence even in more recent times. The *Elucidatio* thus truly represents the act of taking possession, a *possessio*, based on events past. Quaresmio starts at the very beginning by asking who the first possessors of the Holy Land were.<sup>112</sup> This is quite a tricky question. Following the great deluge of Genesis the world was divided up between the sons of Noah, but the scriptures are not explicit about whose portion included the Promised Land. After a drawn-out discussion Quaresmio decides on Cham and his supposed descendants the Canaanites as the first possessors of the Holy Land.<sup>113</sup> They could not remain in this role permanently, Quaresmio explains, because God was displeased with them, but more significantly because sacred history needed to take its course. History required that the Jews, sons of Sem who prefigured the elect, would possess the Holy Land next.<sup>114</sup>

Then follows a brief but crucial chapter in the *Elucidatio*: "Promises made by God to some very distinguished men that He would give the Promised Land to the seed of Abraham."<sup>115</sup> Citing Genesis 12:7 and 13:14–17, Quaresmio states that God promised the Holy Land to the offspring or, literally, seed of

111 See the four page table of contents of this book and the summary given under "Libri Primi Argumentum," Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 1.

112 "Caput x. Quinam fuerint illi, quibus primo Terra promissionis distributa fuit, quique primo iuste ac legitime eam possederint." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 21.

113 "Patet itaque ex dictis, quid propositae difficultati respondendum sit: Terram scilicet re-promissionis non Sem, & ab eo descendentibus, primo obtigisse, sed Cham; & ex eo progenitos Chananaeos, in orbis partitione eiusdem primos dominos extitisse." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 26.

114 "Caput XI. Rationes aliquae, quare Deus optimus maximus voluerit Chananaeos ex Terra promissionis expelli, si eam legitime possederunt." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 26.

115 "Caput XII. Promissiones Factae insignnissimis aliquibus viris a Deo, quod semini Abrahae daturus esset Terram promissionis." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 27.

Abraham.<sup>116</sup> This is a point to which he had already referred in his explanation of the frontispiece or *Simulacrum*, and it is central to his understanding of the Holy Land. However, before he can develop this point further, Quaresmio has a large time gap to close. He first discusses how God's promise was fulfilled, describes the Holy Land in more detail, and enumerates the other peoples that stayed there up to the time of Christ. He then turns to the various nations of faithful and infidels that live there now: Maronites, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, Copts, Abyssinians, Nestorians, Jews, and Muslims, along with all their errors. After discussing countless vicissitudes in the history of Palestine, including those of the Latin Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, Quaresmio finally elaborates his ideas about who are the seed of Abraham in his chapter on St Francis' pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>117</sup>

By positing this pilgrimage supposedly undertaken by Francis, Quaresmio knew very well that he was treading on dangerous ground. As we saw above, assertions about Francis visiting the Holy Sepulchre are few and far between throughout the late medieval period, and these are not picked up at all by friars of the Holy Land, who seem not even to have paid much attention to the account of his meeting with the Sultan Malik al-Kâmil in Damietta in 1219. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the legend about the conversion of the Benedictines of the Black Mountain near Antioch came to include Francis as the agent of this conversion, which at least allowed the argument that he founded the Franciscan province of Syria; but this did not bring him much closer to Jerusalem, nor could it very well be presented as a pilgrimage.

Quaresmio therefore needed to build his argument carefully in order to be convincing. He starts in the most obvious place, the authoritative *Legenda Major* by St Bonaventure, quoting the portions that pertain to the Levant, and discussing Francis' meeting with Malik al-Kâmil at length. Quaresmio concludes his discussion of this meeting by rather abruptly observing that when Francis felt he could do no more good in Egypt, "he went to the region of Palestine, and travelled through Syria and Galilea". Quaresmio spuriously claims that this

116 "Primo, postquam ex Domini praecepto, proprio solo relicto, in hanc terram venit. & tunc dixit ei: *Semini tuo dabo terram hanc*. Secundo, quando hisce eum verbis allocutus est: *Leva oculos tuos in directum, & et vide a loco, in quo nunc es, ad aquilonem et meridiem, ad orientem et occidentem. Omnem terram, quam conspicis, tibi dabo, et semini tuo usque in sempiternum. Faciamque semen tuum sicut pulverem terræ: si quis potest hominum numerare pulverem terræ, semen quoque tuum numerare poterit. Surge ergo, et perambula terram in longitudine et in latitudine sua: quia tibi daturus sum eam.*" Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 27.

117 "Caput LXV. De S. Patris nostri Francisci ad Aegypti & Syriae partes peregrinatione, & eiusdem ad loca sancta pietate." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 154.

is supported by the *Vita* of St Francis by Thomas of Celano and other ancient order chronicles.<sup>118</sup> To prove this point, Quaresmio creatively quotes Luke Wadding (1588–1657), without acknowledgement and misrepresenting his meaning.<sup>119</sup> As this is the point where at least some of his readers are likely to balk, Quaresmio has inserted a heading, “Doubt, and its solution,” directly following this statement.<sup>120</sup> The question is, he resumes, which places did Francis visit in the Levant? He responds that Francis visited Damietta, Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Sichar, the Samaritan’s well, Nazareth, Mount Tabor, Cana of Galilea, Lake Tiberias, Antioch, and all the other sacred places in the region. By asking which places Francis visited, instead of whether he travelled to Syria and Palestine at all, Quaresmio creates an opening for the argument he is about to present.

The first argument to support the undocumented tour proposed by Quaresmio is that, according to him, it would be entirely inconceivable for a man of Francis’ piety not to visit the Holy Places of the Passion while he was in the area, especially since we know he visited so many sacred shrines in Western Europe. Now, a sceptic might object that in Europe Francis had easy access while overseas this might not have been the case. Quaresmio responds that Malik al-Kâmil gave Francis permission to travel around freely, so it must have been as easy as in Spain or Italy, also citing at this point Bartolomeo da Pisa’s *Liber de Conformitate*, which lists the Holy Sepulchre as one of the shrines Francis visited. Again, a sceptic might counter that Francis could not have had enough time to visit all these places, but Quaresmio responds that he must have had around a year, so the time window is not a problem either.<sup>121</sup>

118 “Multa quidem in Aegypto S. Franciscus est operatus prodigia, & sanctitatis indicia ostendit, ut Capite sequenti ostendemus, dolens vero non fuisse messem uberiolem, nec potuisse se plenos manipulos in Domini horreum congregare, adjit Palaestinae regionem, Syriamque & Galileam peragravit. Ita Legenda antiqua Thomae Celani, & vetusta Ordinis Chronica.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 157.

119 Wadding does not seem to mean that any of Celano’s *vite* or other ancient legends say that Francis visited the Holy Land – which to my knowledge they do not –, but rather that Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola has written a poem ‘harmonising’ these more ancient hagiographies which *does* say this. “LXV. His similibusque prodigiis, & sanctitatis indicis toto illo anno Franciscus illam Orbis partem, non tam lustravit, quam illustravit. Dolens vero non fuisse messem uberiolem, nec potuisse plenos manipulos in Domini horreum congregare, ascendit in Palaestinae regionem, Syriamque, Galilaeam peragravit. Ita Legenda antiqua Thomae Celani, & vetusta Ordinis chronica, quibus cohaeret Illustrissimus heros Joannes Franciscus Picus Mirandolus in eleganti & locuplete de Francisco poëmate apud me in M.S., in quo ... .” Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, vol. 1, 1291, LXV (Rome: Typis Rochi Bernabò, 1731), 327.

120 “Dubium, eiusque solutio.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 157.

121 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 157–58.

The overriding argument for Quaresmio, however, is that it was part of God's divine plan that Francis should see and travel in the Holy Land. When in Genesis 13:14–17 Abraham is promised the Holy Land, he is encouraged to look at all of it and walk around it in all directions. Francis therefore had to do the same in Quaresmio's view: "For what purpose, I ask you, did God want his servant [Francis] to see and traverse that land which his descendants were to obtain later, other than making him understand that he was receiving possession of it for his descendants?"<sup>122</sup> Thus, since it was part of God's plan that Francis and his friars, as the seed of Abraham, should have possession of the Holy Land, he simply *had* to travel there. Quaresmio then concludes his circular reasoning by attributing Bonaventure's and other early chroniclers' silence on the subject to "historical licence". They were mostly interested in demonstrating Francis' desire for martyrdom, and therefore did not feel any need to mention other places he visited apart from Damietta.<sup>123</sup>

With the problem of a lack of early sources and uncertainty about Francis' presence in the Holy Land out of the way, Quaresmio now reconstructs Francis' exact route. Fortunately more recent authors make up for what their more ancient colleagues withhold.<sup>124</sup> For this Quaresmio returns to Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, first published in 1625, this time with an acknowledgement, continuing the quotation he previously broke off too soon (see above), in order to make it seem that Thomas of Celano and other early chroniclers confirm that Francis went to Palestine.<sup>125</sup> Quaresmio cites Wadding's quotation of a poem about St Francis by the Italian nobleman and scholar Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola (1470–1533), to which Wadding had access in

122 "Optima Dei dispositio id requirere videbatur. Abrahae, cui frequentiores postea promissiones factae fuerant de Terra Chanaan ab eius posteris possidenda, dixit Dominus: *Leva oculos tuos, & et vide a loco in quo nunc es, ad Aquilonem & Meridiem, ad Orientem & Occidentem. Omnem terram, quam conspicis, tibi dabo & semini tuo usque in sempiternum. Faciamque semen tuum sicut pulverem terrae: si quis potest hominum numerare pulverem terrae, semen quoque tuum numerare poterit. Surge ergo, & perambula terram in longitudine et in latitudine sua: quia tibi daturus sum eam*, Genes. 13, 14. Ad quid, quaeso, voluit Deus servum suum aspicere & perambulare terram a suis posteris postea obtinendam, nisi ut ipse intelligeret, ipsum accipere illius pro posteris suis possessionem?" Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 158.

123 "Nec usque adeo est mirandum, quod Seraphicus Bonaventura, vel quicumque alius Historicus ex illis qui non multo post sanctissimi Patris tempora scripserunt, singula loca, ad quae Vir ille sanctus peregrinatus fuit, distincte non expresserit; hoc enim factum est vel licentia historica, vel quia in ista peregrinatione intenderunt illius praecipuum finem explicare, desiderium nimirum moriendi pro Christo." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 159.

124 "Sed quod veteres Historici reticuerunt, recentiores palam expresserunt." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 159.

125 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 159, cf. 157.



manuscript form.<sup>126</sup> This poem is based on Celano's and other *vitae*, and it briefly states that after meeting the Sultan in Egypt, Francis travelled to Jerusalem and Syria.<sup>127</sup> Based on this poem, Wadding vaguely mentions the possibility that Francis, in conjunction with his stay in Egypt, travelled more widely in the region. He also discusses quite critically the tradition of the conversion of the Benedictines of the Black Mountain.<sup>128</sup> Quaresmio also quotes at length another text, a heroic poem on the Life of Francis by the Venetian Observant Franciscan Girolamo Malipiero, published in 1531.<sup>129</sup> The portion of the poem that Quaresmio quotes describes Francis' itinerary through Rhodes, Cyprus, Jaffa, Rama, Lydda, Emmaus, Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre Church, Bethlehem, Gaza, and then on to Egypt. Since Pico della Mirandola says that Francis went to Jerusalem after being in Damietta, Quaresmio concludes on the basis of these two poems that Francis must have visited the Holy Land not once but twice.<sup>130</sup>

126 It seems that this poem has since been lost. I have not been able to identify it among the works of this author as they are currently known.

127 "LXV. His similibusque prodigiis, & sanctitatis indicis toto illo anno Franciscus illam Orbis partem, non tam lustravit, quam illustravit. Dolens vero non fuisse messem uberiorem, nec potuisse plenos manipulos in Domini horreum congregare, ascendit in Palestinae regionem, Syriamque, Galilaeam peragravit. Ita Legenda antiqua Thomae Celani, & vetusta Ordinis chronica, quibus cohaeret Illustrissimus heros Joannes Franciscus Picus Mirandolus in eleganti & locuplete de Francisco poemate apud me in M.S., in quo dum praecipua Francisci gesta describit; iter hoc etiam ita perstringit: ... *Niliacis scrutatus sedibus hospes/ Indigus, unde imo captivos carceris antro/ Eriperet, quos pertulerat furor impius olim,/ Cum Saladino Italum robur, dum praelia miscet;/ Pellaeo repetens Solymos, Syriamque rebellem,/ Atque ita per densos pietas accensa maniplos,/ Per cuneos, & per conserta umbonibus arma/ Quaesivit Latiam redimi sine munere pubem.*" Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. 1, 1291, LXV (1731), 327–28.

128 Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. 1, 1291, LXVI (1731), 328.

129 "Et ita contigisse, cecinit Hieronymus Manipetus Minorita in suo Heroico Poëmate in Vitam B. Francisci, summo Pontifici Clementi VII dicato, et ab eodem approbato." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 160; Hieronymus Maripetrus Minorita, *Divi Francisci Vitam Christiano Carmine Aeditae atque a Sede Apostolica Approbatæ* (Venice: G. Tacuino, 1531), 66v–69r. Compare "HIERONYMUS MARIPESTRUS, Venetus, egregius Poeta, Regul. Observ. Provinc. S. Antonij. Vitam S. Francisci carmine descriptam & notis illustratam Clementi VIII dedicavit, sub patroncinio Alexandri Card. Farnesij Episcopi Ostiensis, prenotatam Seraphicae. Venetis per Ioannem Taurianum anno 1531. Incip. Inclyta magnanimi canimus Ducis acta Minorum. Petrarche carmina amatoria, & profana reddidit sacra, & honestiora, inscripto libro: Petrarcha spiritualis. Venetijs apud Ioannem de Tridino, anno 1532." Luke Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome: Franciscus Albertus Tanus, 1650), 172. The book seems to have been reprinted in Krakow in 1594: Girolamo Maripetri, *Seraphicae in Divi Francisci Vitam, Christiano Carmine Editae, per quendam Fratrem eiusdem Ordinis atque a Sede Apostolica Approbatæ* (Krakow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1594).

130 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 160–61.

Quaresmio's innovation in all of this is that he valorized for the Observant Franciscan province of the Holy Land the sparse late medieval and early modern suggestions that Francis visited the Holy Land. He has pieced it all together to form an important hagiographical as well as historical episode. While Quaresmio's contemporary, the prominent Franciscan scholar Luke Wadding, was certainly aware of what some later sources suggested, and did vaguely consider in his *Annales Minorum*, the possibility of Francis having travelled more widely in the Levant Wadding saw no reason to prove the worth of these suggestions. Quaresmio on the contrary has a clear purpose in mind for St Francis' pilgrimage to the Holy Land: he went to take possession of the Holy Land for his friars, thus fulfilling God's promise to Abraham and his seed. This message, also visualized on the book's frontispiece, is central to the *Elucidatio*. By rewriting history to include Francis' presence in the Holy Land as fact, Quaresmio could lend legitimacy to Observant Franciscan claims there. Quaresmio's introduction of the pilgrimage-*possessio* by Francis in the Holy Land came at a time when the Franciscan position there was insecure – Jesuit and Capuchin incursions still fresh in memory, and the struggle with the Greeks over the Holy Places ongoing – and it caught on widely in Observant Franciscan literature on the Holy Land.

The *Blumenbuch des H. Lands Palestinae* (1661) by friar Electus Zwinner, for example, is clearly modelled on Quaresmio's *Elucidatio*, providing what seems to be a concise vernacular summary of its main points. The first book of the *Blumenbuch* gives a description and history of the Holy Land up to Zwinner's own day. Its two concluding chapters discuss the moment since when the Franciscans have been in the Holy Land, and why no other Catholic orders are allowed to settle there.<sup>131</sup> Zwinner explains, with reference to Quaresmio, that this is because Francis personally went to take possession, or "Possess", of the Holy Land, and because he was the seed of Abraham, he had to traverse the country as indicated in Genesis 13:14–17.<sup>132</sup> He backs this up with references to

131 "Das XVII Capitel. Wann/und umb welche Zeit unsern heiligen Orden Sancti Francisci, zugelassen worden/ in Syrien und in dem H. Land zuwohen," and "Das XVIII Capitel. Sechs glaubliche Ursachen unnd Erwegungen/ warumben auss anderen Religionen der H. Kirchen/ allein dem Seraphischen Orden vergunt ist worden/ zuhüten unnd zuverwalten das H. Land." Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands Palestinae so in dreij Biecher getheilet* (Munich: Wilhelm Schell, 1661), 83–98.

132 "Warumb aber es allein vergunt worden unserm Seraphischen Orden/ bin ich met dem R.P. Francisco Quaresmio, der Meynung/ dass auss Verdienst unsers h. Stiffers/ (weilen er selbstn persönlich die besucht hat/ unnd den Possess genommen), ..., damit er/ als wie Abraham für seine Nachkommende Geistliche Kinder/ den Possess nemme," Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands*, 84–85.

Bartolomeo da Pisa, Girolamo Malipiero, G.F. Pico della Mirandola, and above of all to Quaresmio.<sup>133</sup>

Friar Mariano Morone da Maleo, too, in his *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata* (1669) explains that, even though more ancient chronicles do not mention it, Francis was too pious a man not to visit Jerusalem and its Holy Places, citing the same sources.<sup>134</sup> Morone da Maleo's own addition to the story is the detail that Francis personally took possession of Mount Sion, and by treading on that hill with his bare feet thus founded his first convent in the Holy Land. Here he also makes a point of emphasizing the legal concept of *pedis possessio*, taking possession of a piece of ground by walking on it, thus defining its bounds.<sup>135</sup> When friar Jacques Goujon in 1670 published his guide for armchair pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he too took care to make clear in his preliminary advice to the reader that only the Franciscans of the Observance could administer the Holy Land for the Catholic Church, since Francis had personally gone to take possession of it.<sup>136</sup>

The same personal *possessio* by Francis is the starting point of the chronicle of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land by the Spanish friar Juan de Calahorra, published in 1684. Calahorra describes how the Holy Land had been in a miserable state after the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 until Francis after visiting Egypt determined to visit Jerusalem "like a true Israelite to take possession of that most Holy Land".<sup>137</sup> The reason we can be sure that Francis was indeed meant to take possession, according to Calahorra, is to be found in a vision St Francis had during his earlier stages of conversion, of a building full of weapons signed with crosses. Francis' first biographer, Thomas of Celano, explains this episode by saying that Francis would deliver Israel like a new David, while St Bonaventure makes it foretell Francis' spiritual prowess. Calahorra states instead that with this vision God promised the possession of

133 Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands*, 87–88.

134 "Come il Padre S. Francesco prese il Posseso di Terra Santa." Mariano Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata*, vol. II (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1669), 217–18.

135 "Qui dunque giunto il Padre S. Francesco, e posto il piede sul Sacro Monte Sion, prese il possesso di quel sacro Colle, oue ritornatovi con diploma del Soldano, fondò il primo Convento, ...; e se dicono i Legisti, che *Possessio nihil aliud est, quam pedum positio*; ponendo il piede Francesco in Terra Santa ne prese il *ius*," Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. II, 218.

136 Jacques Goujon, *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Lyon: Pierre Compagnon & Robert Taillandier, 1670), 12–18.

137 "iba como verdadero Israelita, à tomar la possession de aquella Santissima Tierra, que la Divina Magestad le tenia prometida (como en el Capitulo siguiente se declara.)" Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica de la Provincia de Syria y Tierra Santa de Gerusalen. Contiene los Progressos que en Ella ha hecho la Religion Serafica, desde el Año 1219. hasta el de 1632.* (Madrid: Juan Garcia Infancon, 1684), 22.

the Holy Land to Francis.<sup>138</sup> This novel interpretation of the vision is not an innovation by Calahorra himself. Morone da Maleo had already briefly mentioned it fifteen years previously, while the credit for this reinterpretation of the past has to go to Quaresmio, who is indeed cited by both Morone da Maleo and Calahorra.<sup>139</sup> In fact Quaresmio already reinterprets this vision, in somewhat more guarded terms, to signify Franciscan possession of the Holy Land in his 1626 *Deprecatio* directed at Philip IV, asking: if these poor religious can do it, why not mighty monarchs like Philip?<sup>140</sup> In the *Elucidatio* this reinterpretation of Francis' vision reappears as the first reason why out of all the Catholic orders the Observant Franciscans should govern the Holy Land: through this vision God gave the same promise to Francis as he had given to Abraham previously.<sup>141</sup>

Calahorra gives a similar spin to the story. Since the Holy Land was undoubtedly promised to Francis, he, like Abraham in Genesis 13, also needed to go to take possession of it according to human law.<sup>142</sup> For this, Francis had to pass

138 "Que en esta misteriosa vision, y en aquel Palacio maravilloso, adornado de armas y Cruzes, prometiesse el Señor a su siervo Francisco la herencia, y posesion de los santos Lugares, es quanto mi discurso pretende." Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica*, 26.

139 John Tolan attributes the innovation to Calahorra alone. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 270; "Quaresmio nel tom. I. pag. 200. I." Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 11, 218–19; "Quares. min. lib. 1. c.72," Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica*, 26 (margins).

140 "In palatio illo signo Crucis insignito caelestem Ierusalem significatam fuisse dandam legitime certantibus, & cruce[m] post IESUM portantibus, fateor, sed eodem simul Ciuitatem hanc tamquam illius caelestis aram vere Cruce insignitis promissam fuisse nullus negare debet, euentu praesertim considerato. Etenim S. Francisci milites eius videlicet alumni quod post Christum cruce[m] detulerint, & impigre deferant obtinuerunt, & in dies tenent caeleste palatium, Sanctam inquam Ciuitatem, quod licet vere non possideant, quia nudi nudum Christum imitantes omnem proprietatem penitus abdicant, illi tamen praefecti fuere, & eiusdem regimen & administrationem omni sollicitudine exercent; Etenim a trecentum viginti & amplius annis in medio tribulationum positi laudabiliter loca sancta gubernarunt. Si ergo Christus loca sancta non denegauit Francisco pro exiguo opere, quod vestes vno pauperi militi dederit, quomodo non dabit tibi pro opere heroico, quod non vnum militem, sed numerosum exercitum instruxeris pro sacri vexilli, & palatij redemptione?" Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et Humiliatae Deprecatio*, 71–72.

141 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 199–200.

142 "Dado por assentado, que el Palacio lleno de Cruzes, y prometido à Francisco, significasse la dichosa Palestina, ..., facilmente podemos entender, como el venir à visitarla Francisco, no fue tanto por satisfacer à su ardiente devocion, y zelo, quanto por disponerlo assi la providencia divina, para que tomasse la posesion de esta Santissima Tierra. Acerca de esto podemos considerar, que para darle [Gen. 13] Dios al Santo Patriarcha Abraham la posesion de la tierra de los Gananeos, aguardò su Magestad à que bolviesse de Egipto, y entonces le dize que vea, y pasese la tierra, que le avia prometido para su Prosapia, que fue darle la embestidura; pues segun ensennan las leyes humanas, el pisar, ò ver las cosas, sun modos, con que se dà, ò recibe la posesion, de ellas." Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica*, 27.

from one side of the country to the other, to signify that he had taken possession of it for the future friars of the Holy Land.<sup>143</sup> The legal concept of *pedis possessio*, already brought up by Morone da Maleo, is implicit. In the Italian translation of Calahorra's chronicle, published in 1694, the translator friar Angelico di Milano interpolates the Latin phrase *possessio fit a pedum positione* in order to make this suggestion more explicit.<sup>144</sup> Angelico, guardian and *custos* of the province of the Holy Land at the time, also includes a visual representation of Francis' *possessio*, inserted as a frontispiece among the prefatory matter of the Italian version of the chronicle (fig. 16). This copper plate engraving shows St Francis with two companions in the foreground, tagged with the letter A: "St Francis and his companions setting out to visit the following sacred places."<sup>145</sup> Their path through the Holy Land is clearly marked out in the landscape, with twenty-four further letter tags identifying the locations visited. This attention to Francis' specific route, which also receives ample attention in the text of the chronicle, is important because it corroborates *pedis possessio* of the entire Holy Land. With its comparatively straightforward visual language this frontispiece harks back to Quaresmio's more complex *Simulacrum*, visualizing the Franciscan claim to the Holy Land as it was first formulated by Quaresmio.

In sum, by rewriting and reinterpreting the Life of St Francis, aided by his reading of Genesis 13, Quaresmio used the (reinvented) past to strengthen the Observant Franciscan claim to the Holy Land. Instead of asking whether Francis went to the Holy Land, he asked the more open question: which places did Francis visit? This question was answerable on the basis of recent literary sources, namely the poems by Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola and Girolamo Malipiero. Moreover, by giving Francis' supposed Holy Land pilgrimage a purpose and meaning – *possessio* of a divinely appointed heritage – Quaresmio turned what had been marginal hagiographical speculation into accepted and much-repeated Franciscan order history. Although the initial

143 "A este modo se huuo la Magestad Divina con el Serafico Patriarca, pues aviendolo facado de su tierra, lo lleva à Egipto, y de aqui dispone, que suba à la Palestina, que vea, y passee de Medio dia al Norte toda la tierra, en señal de que le daua su posesion (conforme à la promessa, que le avia hecho en la vision referida) para que la gozasse con el tiempo su Religion Serafica." Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica*, 27.

144 "che fù vn darli l'Investitura, e possesso di raggione di quel Paese, e già che secondo le leggi humane *possessio fit a pedum positione*, in questa guisa si portò la Maestà del Grand'Iddio col Serafico Patriarca," Juan de Calahorra (Giovanni di Calahorra), *Historia Cronologica della Provincia de Syria e Terra Santa di Gierusalemme*, trans. Angelico di Milano (Venice: Antonio Tivani, 1694), 29.

145 "A San Francesco con suoi Compagni s'incaminano à visitare li seguenti luoghi Santi." Juan de Calahorra, *Historia Cronologica*, trans. Angelico di Milano, [Historia e Distintione di parte de'luoghi della Terra Santa di Gierusalemme].



FIGURE 16 Frontispiece of the Italian translation of Juan de Calahorra's *Chronica* by Angelico di Milano.

BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, 4 H.ECCL. 146, FRONTISPIECE

territorial aspirations of this pilgrimage are often downplayed nowadays, the belief that Francis travelled to the Holy Land has survived. It has been accepted by notable historians of Franciscans in the Holy Land such as friar Girolamo Golubovich, even though their arguments (which can in part be traced back to Quaresmio) have been deconstructed by others, for example by friar Giulio Basetti-Sani.<sup>146</sup>

## 5 Prophecy, Conformity, and Apocalypticism

The same year that Quaresmio's *Elucidatio* appeared, another colossal book dealing with the Observant Franciscan claim to the Holy Land was published: Diego de Cea's *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae quem Seraphica Minorum Religio de Observantia inter Infideles, per Trecentos & Amplius Annos Religiose Custodit Fideliterque Administrat* (1639).<sup>147</sup> This book has received much less attention in modern scholarship than Quaresmio's, despite the fact that it too influenced how Observant Franciscans formulated their claim to the Holy Land. De Cea (c. 1600–c. 1650), a Spanish Franciscan Observant, became commissary general of the order at the Roman Curia at the beginning of the 1630s. He was a prolific author, and after publishing a number of sermons in Seville in the years 1620–33 he went on to publish more books in Rome from 1634 onwards.<sup>148</sup> The latter ones include a work on the *Archieologia Sacra* of the Apostles Peter and Paul, published in 1636, as well as the *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae* in 1639.<sup>149</sup>

146 Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, vol. 1, 1–104; Alberto Ghinato, "S. Franciscus in Oriente Missionarius ac Peregrinus," *Acta ordinis fratrum minorum vel ad ordinem quoquomodo pertinentia* 83 (1964): 164–81; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 72–73; Giulio Basetti-Sani, "San Francesco è Incorso nella scomunica? Una Bolla di Onorio III ed il Supposto Pellegrinaggio del Santo a Gerusalemme," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 65 (1972): 3–9; cf. Octavian Schmucki, *The Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi: A Critical Investigation in the Light of Thirteenth-Century Sources* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1999), 159, n.2; cf. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 282, 287–89.

147 Didacus (Diego) de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae quem Seraphica Minorum Religio de Observantia inter Infideles, per Trecentos & Amplius Annos Religiose Custodit Fideliterque Administrat*, 2 vols. (Rome: Typis S. Congreg. de Fide Propaganda, 1639).

148 Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo and Alexander S. Wilkinson, *Iberian Books: Books Published in Spain, Portugal and the New World or Elsewhere in Spanish or Portuguese Between 1601 and 1650*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 258 ("Cea, Diego de," bibl. items no. 24536–24544).

149 Didacus (Diego) de Cea, *Archieologia Sacra Principum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in Libros Duos Redacta*, 2 vols (Rome: Typis Ludouici Grignani, 1636).

As with the *Deprecatio* and the *Elucidatio*, the *Thesaurus* too cannot be divorced from the context of Jesuit and especially Capuchin attempts to gain a presence in the Holy Land, the resulting conflicts with the Observant Franciscans, and the arbitration thereof by the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*. The book was published by the printing press of *De propaganda fide* and is dedicated to the cardinals of *De propaganda fide*. Moreover, in the preface to the reader De Cea says that the labours of writing this book were amply rewarded, because he was able to prove that only the Observant Franciscans were worthy of guarding the Holy Places, and *De propaganda fide* had now confirmed their possession of this right.<sup>150</sup> Whether De Cea had indeed played such an instrumental role in this process is difficult to say within the scope of the present investigation, but it is clear that the *Thesaurus* is a celebration of the reconfirmed rights of the Observant Franciscans in the Holy Land as opposed to the claims of other orders. In the *Thesaurus* De Cea takes a different approach than Quaresmio does to cement the position of the Franciscans. Instead of interpreting St Francis's supposed pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a *possessio*, he relies on prophecy and proving Francis's similarity to Christ.

The book opens with the assertion that St Francis and his order have a divinely appointed right to administer the Holy Land, to live among Muslims, and to convert them to Christianity.<sup>151</sup> De Cea briefly mentions that St Francis undoubtedly saw the Holy Places when he went overseas to preach to Malik al-Kâmil in Damietta. Francis converted him, and therefore also obtained the right to be protector (*custos*) of the Holy Land for himself and his order.<sup>152</sup> Before demonstrating this claim in more depth, the author offers a very brief

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150 "Hoc mihi gratissimum erit thesauri pretium, haec merces, & uberrima laboris compensatio: cui animam adieci, ut aliquorum conatus eluderem, qui ad obtinendam sanctorum locorum possessionem aspirarunt. Cumque Eminentissimis & Reverendissimis Dominis Cardinalibus Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, producta plusquam trecentum annorum experientia comprobaverim sacerrimum Terrae sanctae thesaurum nusquam melius habiturum, quam dum Fratrum Minorum de Observantia administrationi custodiamque traderetur: Causam penes Eminentissimos Iudices euici & antiquam possessionem quasi paterno Iure quaesitam novis decretis firmam stabilemque reddiderunt." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, LECTORI OPTIMO [no pagination].

151 "LIBER PRIMUS. SERAPHICUS P. FRANCISCUS, & religio per ipsum fundata, ius obtinent ex ordinatione divina, ut thesaurum sanctorum locorum Hierosolymae custodiant, & administrent; ac inter Saracenos Mahometi sectatores inhabitent, ipsos ad Christianam fidem pertracturi." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 1.

152 "Palaestinam penetrauit Franciscus, Damiate se tenuit, loca sancta invisit, (haud dubium, quod ordinante Deo id fecerit) Saracenis Mahumeti sectoribus praedicavit, eorum Principem Sultanum ad Christianam fidem pertraxit: unde ius ipsi quaesitum, ut thesauri in Terra sancta absconditi custos fieret, quod in filios transfudit, ... ." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 2.



description of the Holy Land that concludes with the Observant Franciscans presented as the rightful heirs to the country since the passion of Christ. For De Cea's argument Francis' presence in the Holy Land is of some importance, but not in order to take possession as the seed of Abraham, rather as a perfection of Francis' conformity to Christ.<sup>153</sup> As the best imitators of Christ, and heirs to his poverty, St Francis and his friars must be rightful owners of the Holy Land.<sup>154</sup> The following brief description and history of Jerusalem again concludes with the observation that the friars minor of the Observance are the "spiritual possessors of the Holy Land" because of their poverty and evangelic life in imitation of Christ and St Francis, and that they have guarded the Holy Places for over three hundred years.<sup>155</sup> In these passages the implied, less perfect followers of Francis and his poverty are the Capuchins; they had actively tried but so far failed to gain a presence in the Holy Land, yet in theory they could rely on a similar rhetoric as followers of Francis. It is therefore important for De Cea to establish that not just any type of Franciscans but the Observants in particular are the chosen possessors of the Holy Land. Further on, De Cea cites the bull *Gratias Agimus*, issued by Pope Clement VI in 1342, which officially sanctions the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land; based on this he asserts that the Franciscans are the only order to enjoy this privilege, in the context of his discussion of the first Franciscan convent of the Franciscans on Mount Sion.<sup>156</sup>

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- 153 De Cea even attributes the sanctity of some of the Holy Places to contact with St Francis' naked feet. "& loca illa olim sancta; quia Christi pedibus sanctificata, aliqualem etiam spirant sanctitatem, quam a S. Francisci nudis pedibus illac deambulantis hauserunt. ... Quidni de Seraphico parente meo Francisco opinabor, quod terram illam Christi praesentia olim sanctificatam suo aspectu, & incolatu, quomodolibet sanctam etiam reddiderit? Utpote qui Salvatoris nostri imago, ipsius virtutem, & sanctitatem spirabat. Et quidquid in terram ad Francisci introitum refundebatur, totum id a Christi imagine, & similitudine erat mutuatum." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 9.
- 154 "Hi Apostolicae vitae aemulatores, & Christi paupertatis haeredes, pretiosam inhabitant Solymam virtutum omnium officinam. ... Ea tamen loca, ubi nostram operatus est salutem, peculiariter Minoritis S. Francisci alumnis destinavit; ut quos Ecclesia dilectissimi Sponsi sui Domini Iesu paupertatis haeredes, & vitae ipsius aemulatores habebat, eosdem cerneret locorum possessores." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 9–10.
- 155 "Hanc trecentis ab hinc & amplius annis, regnante Turcarum Imperatore, Fratres Minores de observantia Christi paupertatis haeredes, vitaeque Evangelicae imitatores obtinuerunt, ..., interrupta annorum serie conservant, & obsequiosa admodum custodia venerantur. In quo veros Seraphici parentis sui aemulatores se praebent, & spirituales terrae sanctae possessores apparent: ..." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 15.
- 156 "CAPUT III. Mons Sion sanctitate memorandus, & regia Davidis cithara cantatissimus, spatium praebet, in quo primus Seraphicae Religionis Conventus, inter infideles extractus recensetur." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 15–27. "Nec ex aliis

Like Quaresmio in both the *Deprecatio* and *Elucidatio*, De Cea allows Jerusalem personified to voice a lament, begging for salvation from her predicament.<sup>157</sup> However, this complaint is not intended as a call for a crusade, because Jerusalem's plea was actually heard. St Francis and his friars have dried her tears and ended her disgrace.<sup>158</sup> This outcome is not at all surprising, De Cea explains in the fifth chapter of his book, because it was divine providence that Francis was to become the *possessor novus* of the Holy Land.<sup>159</sup> Here we approach the core of De Cea's argument. He begins by explaining that when the Holy Land fell into the hands of the Saracens and the church was assailed by heretics at home, God sent St Dominic and St Francis to put matters right. This is a relatively common interpretation of the prophecies of Joachim of Fiore that had been current since the mid to later thirteenth century (see chapter four). De Cea cites two sixteenth-century authors to this effect: the famous Conventual Franciscan preacher Cornelio Musso (*Conciones Evangelorum*, 1594) and the humanist turned Oratorian Tommaso Bozio (*De Signis Ecclesiae Dei*, 1591).<sup>160</sup> Of the two saints, St Francis was the one especially elected to save the Holy Land and to convert Muslims, as we can understand from his expedition to preach to the Sultan in Damietta and his visit to the Holy Land, according to De Cea.<sup>161</sup> He then draws attention to the year of Francis' birth, namely 1182, and the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187.<sup>162</sup> Thus, much like the timely

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Catholicae, & Latinae Ecclesiae Religionis cuiuscunque Ordinis, vel professionis sint, proferentur, qui in Terra sancta Ecclesiam, vel Conventum aliquem obtineant. Soli Minorum Religioni datum est, ut sacra Saracenorum manibus loca resumens, Christianae Reipublicae opprobrium dilueret." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 26.

- 157 "Quasi diceret: Quid vos in me inspecturos esse arbitramini, o fideles? Spoliata sum, & captivata: manum suam misit hostis ad omnia desiderabilia mea: Thesaurum meum diripuit, Sanctuarium dissipavit: ... Pro qua plorans plorabo in nocte, & lachrymae meae in maxillis meis: donec Sponsus aliquem mittat, qui ereptum mihi thesaurum restituat, & Christianae gentis opprobrium auferat." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 28.
- 158 "Nunc dolori tuo, contritionique compatiens Sponsus tuus, Francisci dilectissimi sui Benjamin, in quo suam agnoscit similitudinem, filios ad Sultanum remittit. ... Hoc tamen opprobrium incepta possessione abstulisse videntur Minoritae. Illi maerenti Christi Sponsae solatium attulerunt: illi Ecclesiae oculos prae lachrymis gemmantes desiccarunt, & conceptum de thesauri sui iactura dolorem abstulerunt." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 33.
- 159 "CAPUT v. Hierosolymitanis rebus ultima pene ruina sepultis, Sanctus Franciscus possessor novus, & Terrae Sanctae apud saracenos mysticus reparator suscitatur labentisque Ecclesiae Seraphicus Atlas, Deo providente substituitur." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 36.
- 160 Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 37.
- 161 Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 38–46.
- 162 Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 46–47.

arrival of St Ignatius of Loyola and his Jesuits to tackle the Lutheran threat, Francis was sent by divine providence at the right moment in history to save the Holy Places from the Saracens and convert them to Christianity.<sup>163</sup>

De Cea then spends some two hundred pages proving this particular role of Francis in history. For this he turns first to prophecy.<sup>164</sup> Many have predicted Francis' role as *Terrae Sanctae mysticus reparator*, De Cea says, and he will discuss the most important ones.<sup>165</sup> First, he discusses how St Francis was foretold in the Apocalypse of St John by the figure of an Angel (Apoc. 7:2), as St Bonaventure had already confirmed.<sup>166</sup> De Cea also cites Bartolomeo da Pisa's *Liber de Conformitate* to make this point, which moves his discussion into the realm of the Franciscan Joachite Apocalyptic, and adds that the Apocalypse of St John also foretells Francis' mission to the Muslims.<sup>167</sup> He then turns to a prophecy from the Book of Haggai (520 BC), one of the Minor Prophets of the Hebrew Bible, that he interprets as signifying that God gave Francis to the Church to reform it, preach to the Saracens, and restore the Holy Places.<sup>168</sup> De Cea cites more prophecies, such as those in Zacharias 11:7 and the Erythrean

163 "Pari etiam providentia S. Ignatium mirabili conversione e saeculo traduxit, & Societatis Iesu fundatorem instituit, quo tempore Lutherus totum pene Aquilonem haeretica pravitate labefecit; ... Quidni de S. Francisco, eandem cogitabimus Dei providentiam: Et Ecclesiae suae a Christo datum sentiemus? ut Passionis suae monumenta de manu Saracenorum eriperet, & Mahometi sectatores ad fidem pertraheret." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 48.

164 "CAPUT VI. Sancti Francisci nativitatem, Ordinis ipsius institutionem, & apud Saracenos praedicationem, sacri vates multis retro saeculis praenunciaverunt." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 51–76.

165 "Novum, & insolitum in Ecclesia futurum erat sanctitatis prodigium Magnus ille Franciscus, Terrae sanctae mysticus reparator. Quid igitur mirum ut Prophetarum ore ipsius nativitas praediceretur, & tot signis, ac figuris delineatus existeret; ... Plurima proferuntur, ex quibus praecipua haec proponam, divisimque explicabo." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 51–52.

166 "Dilectissimus Christi discipulus, cuius oculus amore illuminatus caeteris acutius intuebatur, Franciscum Magistri sui similitudinem in Angelo delineatum praevidebat, futurumque agnovit. Vidi (inquit) alterum Angelum ascendentem ab ortu solis, habentem signum Dei vivi. S. Bonaventura in hoc Angelo expressum agnovit S. Franciscum, & prophetiam de illo literaliter intelligendam scripsit." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 52.

167 "Et clamavit voce magna: quia Franciscus Christi magni Regis praeco destinatus, ad praedicandum ipsius fidem, praesertim Mahometi sectatoribus destinabatur." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 54.

168 "Aggaeus Propheta cap. 2. ad illa verba. In die illa dicit Dominus exercituum, assumam te Zerobabel serve meus, dicit Dominus & ponam te quasi signaculum, quia te elegi, dicit Dominus exercituum. ... Vel, in die illa, adde faustissima, in qua Deus S. Franciscum dedit Ecclesiae, morum reformatorem, Saracenis praedatorem, locorum Terrae Sanctae restauratorem: quinimo totius Orbis Magistrum." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 54–56.

Sibyl, commonly taken to prefigure the advent of the mendicant orders, and in the latter case to take on a horrible beast from the East, namely Muhammad.<sup>169</sup> De Cea concludes by citing a long passage from Joachim of Fiore's *Book of Concordances*, which he seems to have copied from Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum*.<sup>170</sup> An earlier version of this passage also appears in Bartolomeo da Pisa's *Liber de Conformitate*, and has been identified as a Franciscan interpolation in Joachim's *Book of Concordances* by Marjory Reeves.<sup>171</sup> It prophesies that the Dominicans and Franciscans (implied rather obviously) will take on the forces of the Antichrist in the final age. The Franciscans, identified as the *Ordo Minorum*, will preach the Gospel throughout the world, but especially in the Levant, opposing the Muslims and converting multitudes in the final days.<sup>172</sup> Based on these prophecies then, we can understand that, according to De Cea, the Franciscans were always destined to govern the Holy Land and preach to Muslims in preparation for the Second Coming.

The second argument for the exceptional Franciscan right to the Holy Land that De Cea defends in his book is Francis's similarity or conformity to Christ. The seventh and longest chapter of his book is titled:

St Francis' birth, life, and death express greater similarity to Christ than those of the other saints. He therefore obtained a greater right to inhabit the Holy Places, which the Redeemer of mankind has consecrated with His birth, life, and death.<sup>173</sup>

Eighteen sub-sections then discuss the outstanding parallels between the lives of St Francis and Christ. For this chapter De Cea could rely on the existing medieval tradition that presented Francis as the *alter Christus* and similar

169 Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 72–74.

170 Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 75; Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. 1, Apparatus (1731), 15–16.

171 Bartolomeo da Pisa, *Liber de Conformitate*, ed. *Analecta Franciscana*, IV, 53–54; Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 182.

172 "Erunt, inquit, duo viri, unus hinc, alius inde, qui duo Ordines interpretantur: Unus Italus, & alter Hispanus. Et post ipsos duos ordines veniet alter Ordo saccis vestitus, sub cuius tempore apparebit filius iniquitatis, qui dicitur Antichristus. ... Futurum est enim ut Ordo Minorum viriliter se opponat contra mortis Angelum, & contra eum praedicando, plures, & maxima multitudo de filiis ipsius Ordinis martyri ad Dominum transibit ... Gaudebunt in Canticis suis, idest in praedicatione omnes tribus terrae: Et gens immunda Mahumetica, quae remanebit: Et hi qui residui erunt ad Dominum convertentur." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 75.

173 "CAPUT VII. Sanctus Franciscus nascens, vivens, moriensque maiorem prae caeteris Sanctis Christi similitudinem expressit: unde maius sibi ius comparavit, ut loca sancta inhabitaret, quae hominum Redemptor nativitate, vita, morte consecravit." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 77.

parallelism influentially codified in, for example, Bartolomeo da Pisa's *Liber de Conformitate*.<sup>174</sup> One hundred and twenty-five pages later De Cea concludes that, based on his similarity to Christ, Francis much more than other saints is the spiritual possessor of the Holy Places.<sup>175</sup> He argues that no one can be considered as much a brother to Christ as Francis, because of the discussed similarities. Therefore, Francis can be said to have inherited the Holy Land from Christ through a fraternal right.<sup>176</sup> Not only have the papacy and *De propaganda fide* confirmed the Observant Franciscan right of possession, but also the Dominicans are on their side, as is testified by a long quotation from *Vox Turturis* (1625) by Domenico Gravina (1573–1643), a Sicilian Dominican theologian, which concludes De Cea's chapter.<sup>177</sup>

Having thus argued for the Observant Franciscan right of possession to the Holy Land, as opposed to other Catholic orders, based on prophecy and Francis' conformity with Christ, De Cea has made his main point, although he goes on to discuss the deceitfulness of the Greeks, for example, while book II deals with all the privileges, customs, rules, and regulations of the *provincia Terrae Sanctae*. De Cea's argument for the Observant Franciscan right to the Holy Land was apparently acceptable enough to the Cardinals of *De propaganda fide* to be printed by the press of that missionary congregation. De Cea's text was also picked up by later Franciscan authors connected to the *provincia Terrae Sanctae*. For example, Bernardinus Surius, a Recollect friar from the Low Countries, cites De Cea in his book on the Holy Land. In a chapter on the

174 da Campagnola, *L'Angelo del Sesto Sigillo e l'Alter Christus*; Carolly Louise Erickson, *Francis Conformed to Christ: Bartholomew of Pisa's 'De Conformitate' in Franciscan Thought*, PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1969.

175 "§. DECIMUM NOVUM. Christi similitudo, quae in B. Francisco nascente, vivente, morienteque enituit, maius ipsi ius contulit, ut prae aliis Sanctorum Locorum thesauri spiritualis possessor existeret." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 202.

176 "Nemo tamen (audeo dicere) tam Christi frater extitit, quam Franciscus; nullus Christo coniunctor, nullus maiorem cum illo similitudinem retulit. ... Quid mirum, ut speciali ratione Christi fratrem appellaverim, & ipsum Christi Sponsam Terram Sanctam, & urbem Hierusalem sponso viduatam, iure fraternitas obtenturum esse mihi persuaserim? ... Christi frater erat Franciscus, aetate & possessione minor, ipsi tamen per amoris transformationem coniunctor, ac similior: ... Ergo iure fraternitatis, ob quam B. Franciscus prae caeteris Christo coniunctor, & similior extitit, Terrae Sanctae possessio ei debita videbatur." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 203–04.

177 "Plures huius possessionis obtinendae rationes supersunt; & alij fines respiciendi a Sede Apostolica, & Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide considerati inferius proponentur; quibus stabilitum adhuc sanctorum locorum ius, Minoritis quasi hereditarium esse comprobatur. Favet possessioni a nostratibus obtentae viri eruditissimi ex. sac. Ordine S. Dominici iudicium: Nam in libro, cui titulus est *Vox Turturis*, ..." Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 205. Gravina's *Vox Turturis* is a polemic written in response to Roberto Bellarmino's *De Gemitu Columbae* (1617) which criticizes Catholic religious orders.

foreign nations in the Holy Land, Surius observes that the Latins in Jerusalem can be represented only by the Franciscans, and no other order, because of the will of God and the authority of Rome. Surius then echoes De Cea by observing that the Franciscans were meant to possess the treasures of the Holy Places, and summarizes his main prophecy-based arguments: St Francis was sent by divine providence at the very moment that the Holy Land fell into the hands of the Saracens, just like St Ignatius of Loyola appeared on the eve of the Reformation, also commenting on the role of Francis and Dominic in history as supposedly prophesied by Joachim of Fiore.<sup>178</sup>

In the following chapter, on the progress of St Francis in the Holy Land, Surius briefly mentions Francis' pilgrimage to Jerusalem and his foundation of the first Franciscan convent near Antioch, based on the tradition concerning the Benedictines of the Black Mountain, and concludes that the Observant Franciscans are the "true heirs" of the Holy Land. To this he adds the same quotation from Domenico Gravina's *Vox Turturis* as used by De Cea, translating its claim into Dutch, opening with "Rightfully God has chosen the friars minor for the Holy Land."<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless, Surius laments, some religious of other orders have tried to gain a presence in the Holy Land. Fortunately this was prevented by *De propaganda fide* and recorded in De Cea's *Thesaurus*, the only direct reference that Surius gives.<sup>180</sup> Antonius Gonsales, another Recollect friar from the Low Countries whose text is dependent on Surius', likewise observes that divine providence has installed the Franciscans in Jerusalem. He also cites, in Dutch translation, another passage from Gravina's *Vox Turturis* which was cited in two bits by De Cea.<sup>181</sup> Calahorra also cites the same passage from Gravina, as proof of Quaresmio's interpretation of the vision of the palace

178 Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), Book I, Cap. xxxiv, 153–57. This popular text was first published in 1650. Bernardinus Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim ofte Ierusalemse Reyse* (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1650). I refer to the 4th edition of 1665, since it is more readily available for consultation on Google Books.

179 "Te recht heeft Godt de Minder-broeders verkose: tot 't Heiligh-landt ... Sy behoren oock te besitten den bergh van Oliveten, ende een huys te hebben in de valleye van Iosaphat ..." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), Book I, Cap. xxxiv, 161; cf. Domenico Gravina, *Vox Turturis seu de Florenti usque ad Nostra Tempora SS. Benedicti, Dominici, Francisci et Aliarum Sacrarum Religionum Statu* (Cologne: Henricus Kraft, 1638), Part II, 95–96; cf. Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. I, 205.

180 Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), book I, Cap xxxiv, 161.

181 "In Palestinen (seyt hy) op den bergh Sion, ... ende de Valleye van Josaphat." Antonius Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse* (Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1673), vol. I, Book II, 253–54; cf. Gravina, *Vox Turturis* (1638), 95–96; cf. Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. I, 205, 208.

with weapons signed with crosses, a reference that may actually be independent from De Cea's text.<sup>182</sup>

Apart from De Cea's plea for Observant Franciscan possession of the Holy Land, which is entirely based on prophecy and conformity with Christ, other Franciscan authors connected to the province of the Holy Land here and there invoke prophecies to prove the same point. Juan de Calahorra asserts that the Franciscan role in the Holy Land was foretold in Isaiah 26 as well as by Sophonias (Zephaniah), another Old Testament prophet, concluding that these prophecies cannot be denied.<sup>183</sup> Mariano Morone da Maleo too refers to a number of prophecies, including the Apocalypse of St John (Apoc. 7:3), as well as the Franciscan interpolation in Joachim of Fiore's *Book of Concordances* that also appears in De Cea's text (but Morone's quotation seems to be dependent on Bartolomeo da Pisa's *Liber de Conformitate*, not Wadding's version of it).<sup>184</sup> All of these prophecies and the associated interpretations, cited by both Calahorra and Morone da Maleo, are clearly dependant on Quaresmio's defence of the Franciscans as the only Catholic order fit to guard the Holy Land. Quaresmio's argument is not only based on the promises to Abraham, renewed to Francis in the vision of the palace with weapons signed with crosses, but also on the role of the Franciscans as apocalyptic missionaries to the Muslims as prophesied in the Apocalypse of St John and the aforesaid interpolation in the *Book of Concordances* found in Bartolomeo's *Liber de Conformitate*.<sup>185</sup>

In addition Quaresmio briefly invokes St Francis' exceptional conformity with Christ; but he dwells more on Franciscan poverty making the order fit for the Holy Land.<sup>186</sup> In the first place this was because one had to be content with very little comfort there, but more so because Franciscan poverty could make up for what was lacking in the clergy of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,

182 "Que la Tierra Santa sea el Palacio, y Casa de Dios, no es inteligencia que se debe à mi discurso, sino al de vn Escritor Dominico, que dize de este modo: Por ser la Tierra Santa el Palacio, ò Casa de Dios, y la puerta del Cielo, fue congruente, que escogiesse su Magestad para su guarda, y custodia los Religiosos Seraficos." Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica*, 26. Gravina does not refer to this particular vision anywhere, but bases his phrasing on biblical characterizations of the Holy Land (Gen 28: 17).

183 Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica*, 27–29.

184 Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. 11, 227; cf. Bartolomeo da Pisa, *Liber de Conformitate*, ed. *Analecta Franciscana*, IV, 53–54; Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 182; Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1, 75; Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. 1, Apparatus (1731), 15–16.

185 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 199–203.

186 "At quisnam Sanctorum fuit Christo Iesu conformior atque similior, quam B. Franciscus? ... Haec quidem adeo clara sunt, ut probatione non indigeant. Quare merito in Christi & Apostolorum domo habitant Franciscani." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 203.

failings that contributed to the loss of that kingdom and the conquests of Saladin. This is exactly the same argument as the one made by Guglingen in book VII of his *Treatise* on the Holy Land, which presents the Franciscans as filling the gap left by the Latin clergy of the Crusader Kingdom, opening the door to a renewed crusade now with a decent chance of success (see chapter four). Whereas Guglingen relies solely on his reading of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis* to make this point, Quaresmio refers also to Vitry's *Historia Occidentalis* and Marino Sanudo the Elder's (c. 1260–1338) *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, before concluding that no one comes closer to the poverty of Christ and the Apostles than the Observant Franciscans. They should therefore govern the Holy Places.<sup>187</sup> Finally, Quaresmio argues that the Franciscans own the Holy Land through a hereditary right, because a number of Catholic kings of Jerusalem took the Franciscan habit as tertiaries.<sup>188</sup> There is an implicit tension in all of these arguments with respect to the Capuchins, who might argue that they were in fact the most poor and perfect followers of Francis. Quaresmio does not mention them anywhere. He may have wanted to avoid having to engage in this debate, instead framing his argument positively: the Observants are the only option imaginable.

Prophecy and conformity with Christ play a minor role in Quaresmio's *Elucidatio* in comparison with De Cea's *Thesaurus*. It seems, however, that Quaresmio picks up where De Cea leaves off. The latter interprets prophecies made in the past, in order to prove the propriety of the current situation, namely the Franciscans as the sole Catholic representatives in Jerusalem. Quaresmio uses prophecy in a different way, outlining what is still to come, especially regarding the imminent end. He gives a truly apocalyptic perspective on the Holy Land, as has been pointed out by Bernard Heyberger.<sup>189</sup> Quaresmio analyses at length why God permits schismatics, heretics, and infidels to be present in the Holy Land, elaborates on the question whether or not Muhammad was the Antichrist (he is not), and discusses prophecies of his advent.<sup>190</sup> Engaging with the prophecies about Christian liberation of the Holy Land, mostly from *De Antichristo: Libri Undecim* (1604) by the Spanish Dominican Thomas Malvenda, Quaresmio finally concludes that it is likely that the Holy Land will be liberated by a Spanish monarch of the house of Habsburg, just as he had

187 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 204–05.

188 These kings are John of Brienne (c. 1170–1237), Robert of Anjou (1277–1343), Louis IX of France (1241–70), and Philip III of Spain (1578–1621). Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 205–06.

189 Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 197–200.

190 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 206–36.



argued in his *Deprecatio* in 1626.<sup>191</sup> However, contrary to Malvenda, Quaresmio fears that the Holy Land will not have been liberated by the time of the advent of the Antichrist and that this is at least partly to be blamed on the inertia of the Catholic princes in question.<sup>192</sup> In Quaresmio's discussions on the liberation of the Holy Land, apocalyptic conversion, and a future reign of peace after victory over the Antichrist, the Observant Franciscans figure surprisingly little, almost not at all.<sup>193</sup> The author seems to situate their role in the present, guarding the Holy Places until Catholic princes finally summon the will to mount a new and final crusade. The subject of how to organize this crusade is then elaborately discussed in book II of the *Elucidatio*.<sup>194</sup>

To recapitulate, Diego de Cea uses both prophecy and Francis' conformity with Christ to prove that the Holy Land belongs to the Observant Franciscans. He believes that, as the followers of the most perfect imitator of Christ, namely St Francis, they have inherited the Holy Land via him from Christ by a fraternal right. Moreover, de Cea discusses numerous prophecies that he interprets as foretelling Francis' advent at the most opportune moment in history for saving and guarding the Holy Places. De Cea's ideas received the approval of the missionary congregation *De propaganda fide*, and were taken up by a number of his confrères. Independent from his particular brand of Franciscan propheticism with regard to the Holy Land, other friars of the Holy Land also had recourse to such arguments in their writing, most notably Francesco Quaresmio, who had a decidedly apocalyptic outlook. Prophecy, Francis' conformity with Christ, and apocalypticism were thus important ideological tools for the Observant Franciscans of the *provincia Terrae Sanctae* in defence of their special rights in the Holy Land as a Catholic order, and also in bolstering the standing of their order in Western Europe.

191 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 257–79. For Thomas Malvenda and the texts and contexts of early modern Apocalypticism see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: Harper, 1994), 226–30. Quaresmio also returns to the interpretation he gave in the *Deprecatio* of Daniel 2 about Nebuchadnezzar's dream about a statue made of four metals signifying subsequent empires. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 313–21.

192 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 280–85.

193 An exception occurs when Quaresmio briefly cites a prophecy by the Erythrean Sibyl from Bartolomeo da Pisa's *Liber de Conformitate*, in which St Francis and St Dominic rise up against a horrible beast from the East, namely Muhammad. This prophecy and interpretation also appear in Diego de Cea's *Thesaurus*. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 232, cf. 242.

194 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, 676–749.

## 6 Conclusion

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries publications by Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land became increasingly territorial or possessive. They claimed the Holy Land for the Observants. The intention of these texts is expressed, for example, through repeated calls for crusade, calls which may have struck a chord in the renewed atmosphere of crusading fervour following the battle of Lepanto. In early Ottoman Jerusalem the position of the Franciscans was a great deal more insecure than it had been under Mamluk rule. While the much-strengthened Greek patriarchate presented the greatest threat, in that it managed to wrestle from them a number of privileges at the Holy Places, Franciscan texts on the Holy Land are primarily aimed at gaining Catholic recognition and confirmation of their rights and position. In reaction to Jesuit and Capuchin attempts to settle in the Holy Land, and following the arbitration of the missionary congregation *De propaganda fide* in favour of the Observant Franciscans, these texts defend and celebrate their unique right among all the orders to guard and even possess the Holy Land.

In order to prove why only they, the Observant Franciscans, could represent Catholicism in the Holy Land, these friars turned at the past, for example by rewriting the Life of their founding saint, whose life and deeds more than any other saint's in their eyes prefigured and paved the way for his order to hold exceptional rights in the Holy Land. Based on a number of scattered late medieval and early modern suggestions of St Francis's presence in the Holy Land, Francesco Quaresmio in an impressive feat of circular reasoning argues that an extensive pilgrimage tour had been undertaken by the founder saint. This argument for Francis' Holy Land pilgrimage is eagerly picked up by his confrères, because Quaresmio manages to valorize it by giving the tour the character of *possessio*, claiming the land for the future Franciscan *custodia*. Apart from reinterpreting the past, other Franciscans of the Holy Land also turned to prophecy, as represented by Diego de Cea's *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, for cementing their own possession of, as well as providing a happy ending for, the Holy Land. All of these features of Franciscan Holy Land writing sketched above were codified during the first half of the seventeenth century, and remained part of the register of these texts for decades or even centuries to come, ensuring that the myth of St Francis' Holy Land pilgrimage survived well into the modern era.<sup>195</sup>

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195 Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 270–77.

# Epilogue

Therefore I ask you that, just as you have made me aware of your departure from Italy, so too you will now instruct me about your return; thus, conjoining the end to the beginning, you make the perfect form of a circle.<sup>1</sup>



With these words, spoken by his sister and conversation partner, Francesco Suriano elegantly linked the beginning of his treatise to the end, using the image of a circle. At the end of the fifteenth century both he and Paul Walther von Guglingen emphasized the importance of Bonaventure's metaphysical circle for understanding the significance of the sacred centre in their treatises on the Holy Land. They thus engaged with important elements in their order's ideological canon when thinking about the Holy Land as Observant friars affiliated to the Franciscan foundation there. Later Observant Franciscans likewise strove to create ever stronger ties between themselves, their role as friars of the Holy Land, formative Franciscan myths of origin, and the spaces and places in the Holy Land associated with central events in salvation history. It has been my purpose to reveal this web of interconnecting stories, and to reveal how this tissue of memories served firmly to anchor the Observant Franciscans in the Holy Land. Engaging with theories of social space and cultural memory as well as with the concept of territoriality, I have approached the particular relationship the friars saw between themselves and the Holy Land, as well as the constructed geographies they created along the way, as historically contingent and interrelated products of human thought. The resulting picture is that of an ever closer conversation between the Life of St Francis and the Holy Places overseas.

Under the umbrella of Franciscan Holy Land writing late medieval treatises have been considered alongside seventeenth-century travelogues such as

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<sup>1</sup> “Per il che te prego che cossì como me hai facta conscia del tuo partimento da la Italia, cossì pari modo me fai docta del tuo ritorno: anziò che congiongendo la fine al principio, faci forma perfecta orbicularie: ...” Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 240. For more on Suriano's *Treatise* see chapter two.

those by Bernardinus Surius and Antonius Gonsales.<sup>2</sup> As a result I have been able to emphasize continuities as well as developments in what it meant to be an Observant Franciscan of the Holy Land, bridging obvious breaks such as the Reformation and the establishment of Ottoman rule over Jerusalem. For example, Guglingen's and Suriano's Bonaventurian sacred geography of the Holy Land may seem a far cry from Diego de Cea's arguments based on parallelism between Francis and Christ printed by *De propaganda fide*. Yet by bringing together a wide range of histories, geographies, and travel stories written by Observant Franciscans across an extensive time span, I have been able to identify overarching leitmotifs in how these friars constructed and affirmed their identity as a group uniquely linked to the Holy Land. Although their position as sole representatives of Catholicism there was recognized by the Papacy and the Mamluk and later Ottoman authorities, the legitimacy or stability of this position was not a given. Competition from other Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox groups motivated the Observant Franciscans to present an ever more territorial and carefully constructed self-image, and to construct a particularly Observant group identity linked to the Holy Land. Without claiming to have discovered an exclusive or even hegemonic perspective among Observant Franciscans, I have sought to demonstrate that Franciscan ideologies and order memories are crucial for understanding how the friars of the Holy Land saw their role and how they expressed it. A vital connection that has become apparent is the close association between key moments in the order's collective memories, such as Francis' journey to Damietta, and Observant Franciscan representations of the Holy Land. The resulting picture is characterized by exclusivist territoriality – including calls for crusade – as well as a particular outlook on history, crucially shaped by Observant Franciscan apocalypticism and order historiography inspired by the work of historians such as Bartolomeo da Pisa.

From Paul Walther von Guglingen's late fifteenth-century *Treatise on the Holy Land* to seventeenth-century publications such as Quaresmio's *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (1639) and Calahorra's *Chronica* (1684), the Franciscan Holy Land as an ideological construct underwent several major changes. Starting with Guglingen and Suriano's collaborative mental map of the Holy Land, the friars of the Holy Land became increasingly convinced that *as Observant Franciscans* they could and should offer a perspective on the sacred geography of the Holy Land. Moreover, the textual forms in which they expressed their ideas evolved and diversified. Although the travelogue and devotional tract on the Holy Places remained accepted forms in which to write about the Holy Land,

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2 See chapter one for the definition of Franciscan Holy Land writing.

the friars increasingly favoured new forms of expression such as treatises and histories. These changes, though in step with the evolving literatures of Mediterranean travel and *geographia sacra* on the Holy Land, were particularly catalysed in the case of Observant Franciscan texts by their historical as well as territorial outlook.

In response to other Christian groups vying for the Observant Franciscan position at the Holy Places, the friars became more eager than before to associate themselves as a religious group with the Holy Land. Observant Franciscan texts became increasingly preoccupied with lodging Franciscan memories in the Holy Land alongside more general Christian (Catholic) ones, giving their founding father and order an increasingly significant role there. Where Guglingen may tentatively have hinted at the foundation of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* by St Francis, Quaresmio took to the next level the relatively few and brief late medieval suggestions of Francis' presence in the Holy Land, by staging a pilgrimage-*possessio* that turned the Franciscans into the rightful heirs to the Holy Land. This development at the same time illustrates an important continuity in Observant Franciscan texts on the Holy Land: a historical outlook. By re-evaluating the past, reviewing who were previous rulers and inhabitants of the Holy Land, the friars created room for a specific role for themselves as Observant Franciscans. The friars were portrayed as the new and improved version of the clergy of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in historiography the traditional culprits for the loss of that kingdom on account of their depravity. This again opened the way for thinking about the further unfolding of salvation history.

The (re)interpretation of prophecies about St Francis and apocalypticism cast in a Franciscan mould emerged as an important strategy used to buttress the Observant Franciscan claim to the Holy Land, as exemplified by Diego de Cea's *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae* (1639) and several other texts. Various episodes in the Life of St Francis and earlier prophetic and biblical texts were taken to foretell the exceptional role of Francis and his Observant followers in the Holy Land, as its owners, keepers, and protectors at least until the next (apocalyptic) stage of history. A closely related and equally important component of Franciscan Holy Land writing are the repeated calls for renewed crusade directed at Western European monarchs (Catholic (re)possession of the Holy Land had already for centuries been an essential element of Latin apocalyptic schemes). First expressed by Guglingen in the context of crusade campaigning by the late medieval *custodia Terrae Sanctae*, these calls proliferated in Observant Franciscan texts at around the turn of the seventeenth century, and were strengthened by a more general atmosphere of revived crusading enthusiasm, due to shifting power balances in the Mediterranean. I have shown that,

rather than being literary topoi, these were genuine calls for crusade. These texts about the Holy Land were thus not only characterized by an increasingly aggressive territorial tenor, but their message also served new and particularly Observant Franciscan goals.

The friars aimed to defend themselves and to fortify their occasionally insecure position in Jerusalem, as elsewhere in the Holy Land, primarily against other Christians, whom they saw as encroaching upon their rights. This is true for late fifteenth-century treatises, written in a context of strife with the Georgian patriarchate following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, as well as for later texts. The struggle with the strengthened Greek patriarchate from the third decade of the seventeenth century onwards helped to shape the territorial outlook of later Franciscan Holy Land writing. Yet neither the Greeks nor the Ottoman sultanate were the main target audience of these territorial pleas; the primary intended audience consisted instead of Western European religious and political elites. Above all, the friars aimed at resisting the attempts of Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries to gain a foothold in the Holy Land. In doing this, the Franciscans do not appear to have been particularly interested in proving that Malik al-Kâmil may have granted certain rights to St Francis when in Damietta. Rather they delved ever more deeply into their own interpretation of salvation history, aiming to resolve the question as to what it really meant to be an Observant Franciscan of the Holy Land. Their answer was at once self-assured and defensive: they were divinely appointed protectors of the Holy Places, heirs to St Francis, and by extension to the land promised in the Abrahamic covenant, a position confirmed by parallels between Francis and Christ, and very much at the expense of other Catholic orders who were contending for their share of the Holy Land via the missionary Congregation *De propaganda fide*.

From the end of the fifteenth century onwards the Franciscans of the Holy Land showed themselves to be increasingly self-aware and more audaciously territorial than they had been before. The same assertiveness also manifested itself in other terrains traditionally associated with the Franciscan assignment in the Holy Land, namely the hosting and assisting of pilgrims and travellers from Western Europe. In this case too the friars reserved a special role for themselves, vociferously defending the sanctity of place and pilgrimage, reproving and judging the merit of pilgrims, and instructing them. A closer examination of the encounters that took place between the Observants and their Protestant guests in Jerusalem demonstrates that the friars of the Holy Land not only engaged in inter- but also in cross-confessional debates both in their texts and in real life. This contradicts previous characterizations of the friars' attitude towards their Protestant guests in Jerusalem as dispassionate and equitable. Moreover, the Observant Franciscan version of these encounters complicates

the historiography of Protestant pilgrimage by projecting a different image of the members of the newer persuasion, who appear much more insecure around the Holy Places than they chose to let on in their own travelogues.

My analysis of the Observant Franciscan 'voice' concerning the Holy Land from the late fifteenth up to and including the seventeenth century thus presents a picture that is complex and diverse, and which suggests a number of possible directions for future enquiry. For example, the reception of these texts on the Holy Land is an issue that remains to be explored in more depth. We may suppose that the readership of Quaresmio's *Elucidatio* (1639) had a quite different background from that of Bernardinus Surius' *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1650), but finding out more about the actual readers and their responses may contribute a great deal to our understanding of the wider discourse in which they participated. For example, was the latter's presumably widely read defence of sacred space and pilgrimage in the vernacular actually read by the 'newly minded' he so explicitly addressed?

The later life of Franciscan Holy Land writing is another topic that deserves more attention, since authors connected to the Franciscan establishment in the Holy Land continued to publish well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, presumably hearking back to earlier heavyweights such as Quaresmio and De Cea.<sup>3</sup> This is certainly the case, for example, with the work of Francesco Caccia, who served as superior of the Holy Land for several years. In quick succession Caccia published a brief Latin tract in 1693, a more comprehensive treatise in German 1694, as well as an illustrated devotional guide, likewise in the vernacular, in 1706. Caccia reacts to conflicts with the Greek patriarchate in the concluding decades of the seventeenth century, and all three works are indeed a direct continuation of the territorial Franciscan outlook on the Holy Land by Quaresmio and contemporaries, who are cited at length.<sup>4</sup> Yet how the friars' ideas and writings evolved, for example, when other Catholic orders did eventually settle in the Holy Land still remains to be established.

More generally, a wide reading of Observant Franciscan texts about the Holy Land raises the question as to whether our view on the position of mendicant friars in general, and Observant Franciscans in particular, within the Counter-Reformation Church needs further research. While historiography has tended to portray the Jesuits as the absolute champions of this era, more

3 For the wealth of texts published in the eighteenth century alone, see Galateri (ed.), *Itinerari e Cronache Francescane di Terra Santa (1500–1800)*, 165–94.

4 Francesco Caccia, *Compendium seu Brevis Relatio Locorum Sanctorum quae Seraphicus Ordo Franciscanorum, Ultra Quadringentos Annos Legitime Possedit* (Vienna: Heyinger, 1693); idem, *Monumentum Gloriam Seraphicam* (Vienna: Heyinger, 1694); idem, *Jerusalem, sive Palaestina Nova* (Vienna: Lercher, 1706).

recent literature on this topic suggests a more prominent role for Observants as well as others than has traditionally been accorded to them.<sup>5</sup> The Observant Franciscans of the Holy Land are a case in point, as an effective, self-conscious, and intellectually active group who stood their ground in confrontations with Jesuits, Capuchins, as well as Protestants, apart from being very capable of expressing the story of their own worth. Moreover, in line with this, a broader exploration of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Franciscan textual culture is very much overdue. While a number of arguably formative Franciscan texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are repeatedly re-edited and re-considered, the order's massive textual output of the early modern period has gone virtually unnoticed.<sup>6</sup> Where the Observant branch of the Franciscan order is concerned, this book has charted at least one segment of this rich and highly diversified literature in both print and manuscript, Latin and the vernaculars; but much still remains to be explored.

Finally, although Observant Franciscan Holy Land writing was primarily aimed at serving the territorial purposes of the friars' establishment there, it did so on the basis of more general order memories and ideologies. It developed in conversation with, or even as a part of, (Observant) Franciscan order historiography and hagiography at the time, and later it again provided input for a more broadly defined Franciscan self-image. For example, Pietro Antonio da Venezia's *Giardino Serafico Istorico* (1710) provides an elaborate thematic history and description of the three orders of St Francis. In the sixth main section of this publication the author celebrates the Franciscan establishment in the Holy Land, invoking and synthesizing from the territorial literature of the previous centuries.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the Observant Franciscan literature of Holy Land appropriation that I have examined here also developed in conversation with significant exponents of the order's material culture. The territorial outlook of

5 Pjotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in South-eastern Poland, 1594–1648*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010; Bert Roest, "Franciscan Studies and the Repercussions of the Digital Revolution: A Proposal," *Franciscan Studies* 74 (2016): 383–84; Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220–1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armatura ad defendendam sanctam fidem catholicam...* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 197–235; Bert Roest, "The Observance and the Confrontation with Early Protestantism," in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 285–308.

6 Roest, "Franciscan Studies," 375–84.

7 Pietro Antonio da Venezia, *Giardino Serafico delle Trè Ordini Instituiti dal Serafico Padre S. Francesco*. (Venice: Domenico Lovisa, 1710). Seven years previously, the same author published an illustrated guide for Jerusalem pilgrimage. Pietro Antonio da Venezia, *Guida Fedele alla Santa Città di Gerusalemme e Descrizione di Tutta la Terra Santa* (Venice: Lovisa, 1703). Cf. Galateri (ed.), *Itinerari e Cronache Francescane di Terra Santa (1500–1800)*, 168.



these early modern texts, and their strategies of appropriation, are mirrored by Observant Franciscan efforts at their materially-constructed Jerusalems in Italy, namely the earliest *sacri monti*, as I have argued elsewhere: a fascinating topic which I shall elaborate on in the foreseeable future.

Both these various directions for future research as well as the ensemble of the preceding chapters accentuate the perennial dialogues with one's own and other groups, the future hopes, and events past, and the locations where they took place, that together constitute the historical processes of collective memory. This is exactly the type of 'historical license' of which Francesco Quaresmio accused the early biographers of Francis when arguing for the saint's unverified Holy Land pilgrimage. The resulting narratives projected by Quaresmio and others, are the very intellectual mortar used to construct the Observant Franciscan Holy Land.



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# Index

- Abdullah Ibn Salam 129  
Abraham, Obs. Franciscans as seed/heirs  
    of 180, 199, 202, 208, 213, 219, 226  
Abyssinians 142, 147, 202  
Acre 2, 17, 153, 167  
Adamnan 52  
Adso of Montier-en-Der 136, 189  
Aelia Capitolina 14  
Alberto Sarteano 4, 156, 160  
Aleppo 174, 191  
Alexander of Hales 40  
Alexandria 174, 203  
Algeria 159  
al-Nāsir Muḥammad 2  
alphabets, foreign 19, 28, 32, 142  
*alter Christus*, Francis as 132, 134, 216  
Amico, Bernardino 6, 122, 183, 185, 190  
Ancona 162  
Angelico di Milano 112, 209  
Angelo Clareno 165, 168  
Anglicans 87, 91, 105  
Anselm of Havelberg 137  
Antichrist 132–134, 137, 201, 216, 221  
anti-fraternalism 106  
Antioch 132, 203  
Antioch, convent at 168, 218  
anti-quarianism 101, 108, 192  
Antonio de Castillo 67, 113, 118, 124  
Antwerp 117, 156, 195  
apocalypticism 17, 29–30, 32–33, 127, 131, 133,  
    140, 160, 169, 171, 178, 190–191, 193, 216,  
    219, 221, 224–225  
Arabic vocabulary 28, 142, 144  
Aristotle 9, 40, 50, 56–57, 82  
Armenia 174  
Armenians 144, 148, 150, 176, 191, 202  
Augustine of Hippo 12, 42, 69, 72, 76, 81, 97,  
    110, 135  
  
Baldric of Dol 46  
Baldwin I of Jerusalem 183  
Bamberg 64  
Bar Kochba revolt 14  
Bartolomeo da Pisa 168, 203, 207, 217, 219,  
    224  
Basel, convent at 21  
  
Basil 40  
Bavaria 19, 22, 27, 35  
Bede the Venerable 69  
Bedouins 72, 77  
Benedictines of the Black Mountain 168,  
    202, 205, 218  
Berdini, Vincenzo 31, 71, 84, 122, 180  
Bethlehem 2, 113, 151, 155, 172, 175, 179, 203,  
    205  
Bethlehem, convent at 81, 103  
Bindoni, Francesco 54, 168  
Blas de Buyza 122, 182  
Boetendael, convent of 117  
Bohemia 94  
Bonaventure of Bagnoregio 31, 44, 55, 61,  
    63, 66, 72, 75–76, 84, 162, 202, 204, 207,  
    215, 224  
Bonifacio da Ragusa 122  
book of nature 80  
Boucher, Jean 113, 119  
Bozio, Tommaso 214  
Brabant 106  
Bratislava 157  
*Breve Summario* 182  
Breydenbach, Bernhard von 21, 25, 28, 32,  
    127, 144  
Brochard, Bonaventure 116  
Brussels 117  
Bucer, Martin 88  
Bünting, Heinrich 107  
Burchard of Mount Sion 141  
  
Caccia, Francesco 227  
Caesarea 12, 14  
Cairo 203  
Calahorra, Juan de 91, 112, 122, 163, 176, 209,  
    219, 224  
Callot, Jacques 183  
Calvary 62, 70, 107, 135, 186  
Calvinists 97, 101  
Calvin, John 89, 98, 106  
Canaan 12  
Canaanites 201  
Cana of Galilea 203  
Canillac, François 173  
Capitulations, French-Ottoman 172

- Capitulations, Venetian-Ottoman 177  
 Capuchins 4–5, 8, 63, 95, 175, 191, 206,  
     212–213, 220, 222, 226, 228  
 Castela, Henry 116  
 Cenacle 2, 172  
 Charles de Bovelles 159  
 Church of the Nativity (Bethlehem) 2, 13,  
     155, 175  
 circular diagrams 44, 51, 60, 66, 71, 75, 84,  
     223  
 Cisneros, Francisco Jiménez de 160  
 Clement VI (pope) 2, 181, 213  
 Clement V (pope) 154  
 Columbus, Christopher 139  
*communitas* 16  
 compilation manuscripts (historical) 8, 132,  
     141, 145, 150, 152  
 Constantine I (emperor) 16, 133  
 Constantinople 14, 87  
 Conventual Franciscans 3, 36, 63, 79, 156  
 Copts 202  
 Cosimo II de'Medici 185  
 Crete 167  
 Crusade (calls for) 12, 18, 29, 31, 33–34, 46,  
     53, 60, 62, 70, 127, 130, 135–137, 141, 148,  
     160, 169, 171, 174, 177–178, 191, 193, 201,  
     220–222, 224, 226  
 cult of the saints 12, 17, 50, 88, 93, 96  
 curiosity 32, 82, 89, 118, 121, 123, 125  
 Cyprus 4, 82, 172, 205  
 Cyril 12, 14  
  
 Damietta 127, 132–133, 167, 202–205, 212, 214,  
     224, 226  
 Daniel 190, 221  
 David's Tomb 171  
 De Cea, Diego 33, 67, 222, 224–225, 227  
*De propaganda fide* (congregation) 175, 212,  
     218, 221–222, 224, 226  
 Deshayes de Courmenin, Louis 173  
 Dominicans 8, 21, 28, 52, 61, 141, 165, 216–217,  
     220  
 Dominic, St 214, 218, 221  
 Druzes 77, 184  
  
 Egypt 21, 82, 117–118, 127, 132, 161, 167, 202,  
     205, 207  
 Emmaus 205  
 England 109  
*Epistola Samuelis* 24  
 Erasmus of Rotterdam 98  
 Erythrean Sibyl 216, 221  
 eschatology 64, 127–128, 131, 135, 138, 140, 193  
 Ethiopia 77  
 Eusebius 12–14  
 exemplarism (cosmic) 41, 44, 76, 78, 84  
 Ezekiel 12, 51, 66–67, 70, 186, 196  
  
 Fabri, Felix 21, 28, 52, 61  
 Fakhr al-Din II 185  
*Feast of the Pheasant* 157  
 feet washing ceremony 103  
 Ferdinand II of Aragon 127, 139, 159  
 Fidentius of Padua 153  
 Foligno, convent of St Lucia at 54  
 fountain fullness, God as 41, 56, 75  
 France 79, 96  
 Francis, as founder of *custodia Terrae  
     Sanctae* 127, 168, 211  
 Francis, as *possessor novus* of Holy Land 214  
 Francis, as *Terrae Sanctae mysticus  
     reparator* 215  
 Francis Bacon 80  
 Francis, conformities with Christ 165, 171,  
     213, 217, 219, 221, 224  
 Francis, dream Palace/weapons signed with  
     crosses 208, 219  
 Francis, Life (*vita*) of 18, 29–30, 33, 66, 127,  
     168, 171, 176, 211, 222–223, 225  
 Francis, meeting with Sultan in Egypt 132,  
     161, 167, 176, 202, 205, 214, 224  
 Francis, pilgrimage/journey to Holy Land 11,  
     18, 32, 127, 168, 178, 201, 211–212, 218, 229  
 Francis, *possessio* of Holy Land 33, 168, 201,  
     209, 212, 222, 225  
 Franks 105, 148  
  
 Gabriel von Rattenberg 142, 145  
 Gaza 205  
 genealogy of Christ 25, 27, 44, 73, 128  
*geographia sacra* 2, 7, 20, 27, 30, 33, 37, 51,  
     63, 67, 84, 87, 106, 109, 112, 115–116, 121,  
     128, 193, 200, 225  
 Georgians 62, 84, 142, 147, 172, 202, 226

- Gerloh of Reichersberg 137  
 Germany 20–21, 106, 109  
 Gethsemane 28  
 Ghent wars 157  
 Giovanni da Capistrano 157, 160  
 Glassberger, Nikolaus 24, 28, 142  
 Godfrey of Bouillon 96, 151, 156, 183–184  
 Gonsales, Antonius 72, 84, 109, 118, 218, 224  
 Gorritio, Gaspar 139  
 Goujon, Jacques 120, 207  
 Granada 158  
*Gratias Agimus* 2, 213  
 Gravina, Domenico 219  
 Greece 118  
 Greeks 8, 63, 147, 150, 167, 173, 177, 189, 191,  
 202, 206, 222, 226–227  
 Gregory of Nyssa 12, 14  
 Gregory the Great (pope) 40  
 Gregory xv (pope) 174  
 Gretser, Jacob 104, 108  
 Guglingen's travelogue (distinct from  
*Treatise*) 1, 20, 25  
 Guibert de Nogent 34, 46  
  
 Habsburg, house of 94, 173, 220  
 Hadrian 14  
 Haggai, Book of 215  
 Heidelberg 21  
 Heidelberg, convent at 21  
 Helena (empress) 129, 133  
 Henrique de Coimbra 159  
 Henry III of France 96  
 Henry VII of England 159  
 Heraclius (emperor) 129  
 Herman of Carinthia 129  
*His quae pro ecclesiasticarum  
 personarum* 181  
 Holland 106, 109  
 Holy Land, climate of 6, 45, 50, 68, 77  
 Holy Land, extent of 45, 48, 92, 200  
 Holy Land, fertility of 45, 77, 114  
 Holy Land, history of 27, 32, 134, 141, 144,  
 161, 163, 168, 170, 178, 181, 193, 202, 206,  
 213, 224  
 Holy Land, names of 46, 66, 200  
 Holy Land, (spatial) sanctity of 17, 31, 36, 60,  
 66, 78, 84, 88, 90, 99, 125, 226  
  
 Holy League 182  
 Holy Sepulchre (aedicule) 56, 69, 105–106,  
 114, 153, 157, 159, 166, 168, 179, 183, 188,  
 203  
 Holy Sepulchre Church 2, 13, 36, 51, 172, 175,  
 205  
 Honorius of Autun 137  
 Hosea 186, 196  
 Hugh of St Victor 26, 43  
  
 Ignatius of Loyola 172, 215, 218  
 indulgences 3, 66, 88, 94, 102, 123  
 Irenaeus of Lyon 12  
 Isabella I of Castile 127, 139, 159  
 Isaiah 12, 162, 186, 196, 198  
 Istanbul 172–174, 184  
 Italy 21, 54, 57, 117, 162, 167, 178, 191, 203, 223,  
 229  
  
 Jacobites 142, 147, 202  
 Jacques de Vitry 72, 129, 132, 141, 220  
 Jaffa 21, 46–47, 89–90, 117, 122–123, 205  
 Janissaries 77  
 Jean de Roquetaillade 138  
 Jeremiah 186  
 Jerome 12, 40, 48, 51, 58, 61, 67, 70, 106, 112  
 Jerusalem, as heart of the world 56, 60, 71  
 Jerusalem, as navel of the world 52, 55, 186  
 Jerusalem, centrality of 31, 35, 37, 40, 44, 60,  
 72, 75, 78, 84, 223  
 Jerusalem (Holy Land), personified as a  
 woman 188, 196, 214  
 Jerusalem, Latin/Crusader Kingdom of 134,  
 141, 151, 202, 220, 225  
 Jesuits 5, 8, 63, 92, 100, 173, 181, 191, 206, 212,  
 215, 222, 226, 228  
 Jews 24, 130, 136, 142, 144, 171, 178, 202  
 Joachim of Fiore 131, 139, 219  
 Johannes Wild 21  
 John II (pope) 159  
 John XXII (pope) 154  
 Joos van Ghistele 28  
 Joseph, Père (François Leclerc du  
 Tremblay) 175, 185  
*Judaea Capta* coinage 196  
 Julius III (pope) 172  
 Justin Martyr 12

- Knights of the Holy Sepulchre 97, 187
- Last World emperor 136–137, 189
- Latins 142, 148, 178, 218
- Lazarus 198
- Lempereur, Jean 173
- Lepanto (battle of) 182, 184, 222
- library at Jerusalem convent 1, 3, 24–25, 54, 126, 130, 141
- Lille 157
- Lisbon 178
- Lodi 185, 187
- Louise of Lorraine 95
- Lutherans 88, 91, 102, 106, 215
- Luther, Martin 89
- Lydda 205
- Madrid 91, 179
- Malik al-Kâmil 132–133, 177, 203, 212, 226
- Malipiero, Girolamo 205, 207, 209
- Malvenda, Thomas 221
- Mamluks 2, 5, 9, 62, 77, 84, 133, 155, 158, 170–171, 222, 224
- Mandeville, (Book of) Sir John 55, 60–61, 143
- Mantua 180
- Mantua, convent at 191
- Manuel I of Portugal 159
- maps (cartography) 6, 22, 49, 68, 154
- Maria de Santo Domingo (la Beata de Piedrahíta) 159
- Mariano da Firenze 168
- Marino Sanudo the Elder 154, 220
- Mark of Toledo 129
- Maronites 142, 147, 202
- Marquet (de Valombreuse), Jean 156
- Martin v (pope) 181
- marvels of the East 25, 27, 31, 35, 84
- Mass of St Gregory 64
- Mauro Hispano 159
- Medina, Antonio 116
- memory (cultural/collective) 6, 12, 15, 17–18, 26, 33, 95, 124, 126, 177, 193, 225, 229
- Mexico 139
- Milan, convent of Sant'Angelo at 191
- millenarianism 135
- Minor Prophets 215
- Moriscos 183
- Morocco 162
- Morone da Maleo, Mariano 67, 107, 115, 124, 176, 209, 219
- Motolinía, Toribio de Benavente 140
- Mount of Olives 2, 28, 106, 136
- Muhammad 25, 133, 135, 144, 216, 220
- Muslims (Saracens) 10, 75, 77, 130, 134, 142, 144, 148, 150, 153, 158, 171, 197, 201–202, 212, 216, 218–219
- Musso, Cornelio 214
- Naples 2, 184
- Nazareth 113, 203
- Nebuchadnezzar's dream 189
- Nestorians 94, 142, 147, 202
- Neuburg manuscript 25
- New Spain 140
- New World 89, 140
- Nicholas IV (pope) 153
- Nicholas of Lyra 133
- Nine Worthies 132
- Noah (patriarch) 44, 200–201
- Notre Dame de Liesse 95
- Nuper Carissimae* 2
- Nürnberg 64
- Obicini, Tommaso 122
- Olivi, Peter 138
- Orán 159
- Origen 13, 43
- Ottomans 5, 9, 32, 62, 87, 89–90, 96, 105, 114, 123–124, 155, 157, 160, 172, 174, 177, 179, 182, 184, 188, 190, 196, 222, 224, 226
- Pacifique de Provins 174
- Pantaleão de Aveiro 116, 182
- Paolo da Lodi 176
- parable of the Sower 149, 164
- parable of the Wheat and the Tares 150, 164
- Paradise, terrestrial 27, 41, 49, 73, 77, 128
- Paris 96, 174
- Paris, *Grand Couvent* at 95
- Passion devotions, stationary 3, 61, 120
- Paulinus of Venice 26, 42, 154
- Paulo de Caneto 21
- Paul v (pope) 185
- Peter of Poitiers 44
- Peter the Hermit 132, 184

- Peter the Venerable 52, 56, 69, 129  
 Philip III of Spain 183–184  
 Philip IV of Spain 190–191, 196, 208  
 Philip the Good of Burgundy 127, 158, 160  
 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni  
   Francesco 203, 207  
 Pietro Antonio da Venezia 228  
 pilgrimage, Franciscan perspectives on 3,  
   32, 45, 63–64, 81, 88, 93, 125, 227  
 pilgrimage, objections to 89, 94, 98, 106  
 pilgrimage, Protestant 5, 32, 86, 91, 94, 109,  
   115, 125, 227  
 pilgrimage, virtual 61, 84, 116, 120  
 pilgrimage, women and 97, 123  
 Plato 40  
 Poor Clares 21, 54, 61, 163  
 Portugal 159  
 poverty, Franciscan 133, 138, 150–151, 213, 220  
 Prester John 72  
 promise of the land (biblical) 13, 17, 198, 202,  
   204, 206, 208, 219, 226  
 Ptolemy 40, 68
- Qansuh Al-Ghuri 158  
 Quaresmio, Francesco 6, 11, 17, 20, 30, 33, 66,  
   70, 84, 104, 109, 112, 115, 123, 152, 163, 171,  
   176, 214, 222, 225, 227, 229  
 Quellinus II, Erasmus 195, 197  
 Queyrot, Jérôme 173
- Rama 205  
 Raphadi 77  
 Rauwolff, Leonhard 91, 102  
 Recollect friars 79, 96, 103, 120, 217–218  
*Reconquista* 158  
 Reformation, Catholic 95, 99, 108, 227  
 Reformation, Protestant 5, 31, 94, 98, 100,  
   106, 124, 218, 224  
 relics 15, 94, 96, 102  
 Rhodes 156, 205  
 Richelieu, Cardinal 173  
 ritual 16–17, 90, 102, 104, 122, 148, 153, 175, 181  
 Robert of Anjou 2, 181, 220  
 Robert the Monk 46, 186  
 Roger, Eugene 121, 184  
 Rome 14, 16, 109, 158, 174, 183, 191, 211, 218  
 Rosary (indulged image) 66, 71  
 Rubens, Peter Paul 195
- sacred space 5, 9, 12, 17–18, 32, 35, 86, 90, 99,  
   115, 125  
 sacred space, created by touch/body fluids  
   saints 17, 34, 47, 51, 53, 55, 57, 60–61,  
   64, 84, 107, 150, 198  
 sacred space, Obs. Franciscans  
   defending 31, 63, 85, 88, 98, 104, 125,  
   227  
*sacri monti* 229  
 Sainte Chapelle 96  
 Saladin 137, 207, 209, 220  
 Samaritan's well 203  
 Sancha of Majorca 2, 181  
 Sandys, George 106  
 Scherpenheuvel 94  
 Seed, Obs. Franciscans as good/holy 160,  
   164, 168, 196  
 Selim I 171, 176  
 Sichar 203  
 Söflingen, convent at 21  
 Spain 158–159, 183, 203  
*sphaera intelligibilis* 39, 60, 75  
 Spiritual Franciscans 138, 165  
 Stigmatization of Francis 66  
 St Saviour, convent of 5, 172, 180  
 Suleiman I 172, 176  
 Suriano, Francesco 20, 31, 37, 42, 64, 66, 72,  
   79, 81, 84, 86, 116, 168, 177, 224  
 Surlus, Bernardinus 31, 67, 72, 84, 98, 104,  
   120, 218, 224, 227  
 Syria 82, 117, 162, 167, 202–203, 205  
 Syrians 142, 147
- Tabor, Mount 203  
 Tertullian 13  
 Theophanes III (Greek patriarch) 175  
 Thevet, André 116  
 Thomas of Celano 161, 203–204, 207  
 Tiberias, Lake 203  
 Titus (emperor) 196  
 Tlaxcala 139  
 Toledo 159  
 travel, as distinct from pilgrimage 89, 122,  
   125  
 travel, Levantine literature of 7, 32, 84, 125  
 Tuscany 183–184
- Ubertino da Casale 138

- Ulm 22, 28  
 Umar the Great (caliph) 132, 176  
 Urban II (pope) 34, 46, 186
- Varthema, Ludovico di 78  
 Venetians 173, 177  
 Venice 21, 54, 89, 158, 178  
 Verna, La 66  
 Verniero da Montepeloso, Pietro 91, 105  
 Veronica's veil 64  
 Vespasian (emperor) 129, 196  
 Vincent of Beauvais 26, 40
- virtus* 15, 17, 50, 53, 57, 78, 84  
 Vitelleschi, Mutio 173
- Wadding, Luke 159, 206, 216, 219  
 Wanckel, Nikolaus 31, 66, 71, 84  
 William of Tyre 183  
 women religious 54, 61, 151
- Zephaniah (Sophonias) 180, 219  
 Zwingli, Ulrich 88  
 Zwinner, Electus 67, 163, 207