



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Custodians of Sacred Space

Constructing the Franciscan Holy Land through texts and sacri monti (ca. 1480-1650)

Ritsema van Eck, M.P.

Publication date

2017

Document Version

Other version

License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Ritsema van Eck, M. P. (2017). *Custodians of Sacred Space: Constructing the Franciscan Holy Land through texts and sacri monti (ca. 1480-1650)*.

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

Introduction

I. Franciscan Holy Land writing

Whilst living at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem in 1482-3 with a relatively large amount of free time, the German Franciscan friar Paul Walther von Guglingen began to meditate on the dangers of idleness, and became very much afraid.¹ Eager to keep his mind, prone to wandering, in check, he devised a rigorous routine of daily exercise for both his body and soul.² 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.³

Guglingen's initiative of writing a treatise on the Holy Land was quite original. Travelogues relating the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or texts describing the devout circuit of Holy Places in and outside of Jerusalem were quite commonplace at the time.⁴ Guglingen did in fact also write a travelogue, as a separate text, and in his treatise he does also pay attention to the Holy

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 ..., solicite curavi adstringere." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 266-7.

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 scultellas, 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, 181-6; The following three page description of Guglingen's prayer exercises is not included in Sollweck's edition, see Neuburg MS p. 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); Useful bibliographies that may also give an impression of the extent of

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* presents in many ways the starting point for this dissertation. This unusual text prompted some of the main questions the project aims to answer, and helped 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 thesis.

Franciscan representations of the Holy Land help 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 succeed at gaining 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 (ca. 1285-1345), the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāsir Muḥammad (1285-1341) granted the Franciscans the right to be present in two chapels on Mount Olives, part of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1333. 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.⁵

The role of the Franciscans in shaping perceptions of the Holy Land

his 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 Röhricht, *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, 149-178; Kaspar Elm, "La Custodia di Terra Santa, franziskanisches Ordensleben in der Tradition der lateinischen

in the West during the late medieval period has been subject of some scholarly attention in recent years. It has become clear that the friars were able to orchestrate the pilgrims' interactions with the Holy Places to a large extent, through the 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-fertilisation. The Franciscan convent library also afforded the pilgrims with texts the pilgrims were welcome to consult and copy. Lists of indulgenced sites are often the main structuring device in many a late medieval pilgrimage account.⁶

For the early modern period, the question how Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* understood and represented the Holy Land in Western Europe has received somewhat less detailed 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

Kirche Palästinas,” in *Vitasfratrum. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eremiten- und Mendikantenorden des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Werb: Hg. von Dieter Berg, 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 UP, 2009), 258-266; 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): 106-133, 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), 400-429; Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, “Alternate Routes: Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions,” *Viator* 40, no. 1 (2009): 249-270; 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): 329-359; 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.

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 researching Franciscan perspectives on the Holy Land might seem significantly diminished. 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. 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.

If anything, the eventful sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to have contributed to the formation of more explicitly Franciscan modes of representing the Holy Land, in comparison to the previous two centuries. Confronted with mounting pressures from outside, the Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land began to increasingly ponder and voice ideas about their own identity, asking questions such as: what does it mean to be a Franciscan in the Holy Land, and what does the Holy Land mean to us Franciscans? This certainly was not an order-internal conversation only: it was a process that occurred very much in dialogue with other groups, such as their Protestant guests, a new type of pilgrim, as well as other Catholic orders.⁷ This dissertation investigates this particularly Franciscan engagement with the sacred space that is the Holy Land, tracing the development of these Franciscan sentiments starting from the last decades of the fifteenth century up to and including the seventeenth century. It would certainly be worthwhile to extend the investigation of this topic to include the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; however, this was unfortunately not feasible within the scope of the present project.

The bulk of the sources for this undertaking are texts on the Holy Land by Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*. 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 reconstructing the biblical landscapes from the text of the Bible, as well as study of the actual geography of the Holy Land to further

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

exegesis in the *sensus literalis*.⁸ In this period, Bibles increasingly began to contain maps, and knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land became a basic accomplishment for the biblical scholar.⁹ At the same time, *geographia sacra* was not limited to the Holy Land alone, nor to the Bible as its only source, and it could, for example, very well include specimens of travel writing.¹⁰

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*.”¹¹ In this context, the relatively well-known publications by the 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 localisation of the Holy Places is often emphasised.¹² A dedicated study surveying the field of early modern Franciscan sacred geography does not exist, however. Even though the Franciscan ‘sub-culture’ of *geographia sacra* of the Holy Land certainly forms the heart of the source-corpus of this dissertation, it is not intended to fill this gap per se, nor do I wish to create the impression that this is a study about cartographic representations.¹³

Rather, it has been my object to examine the writings by Franciscans

8 For two excellent introductions to this field of inquiry see the work of Adam Beaver and Zur Shalev. Adam 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 UP, 2012), 267-283; 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.

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

10 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 6, 73-103.

11 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), 363-394.

12 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*, 121-139.

13 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.

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 to the Holy Land.¹⁴ For ease of use within the context of this dissertation, I would like to 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 those and other categories), their common denominator is, firstly, the identity of the authors as Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land, and secondly, the expression of specifically *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 explicitly focus on what is particularly Franciscan about this literature. Thus, for example, a history and description of the Holy Land written by a Franciscan with an eye to consolidating a shared past and identity for friars of the *Custodia*, will have my attention rather than the study of sacred geography of the Holy Land by Franciscans per se. Within the scope of this dissertation then, the term Franciscan Holy Land writing is meant to facilitate the study of the ideological relationship the Franciscans of the Holy Land maintained with the exceedingly value-laden space of the Holy Land, as a group, as well as how they represented their link to the Holy Land to the world around them.

Therefore, two of the earliest Italian *sacri monti* or holy mountains necessarily also make up an integral part of the present investigation, because these mountains embody a quintessentially Franciscan way of translating the sacred geography of Jerusalem and the Holy Land abroad. The Franciscan identity of the two Holy Land veterans who founded these complexes of little chapels on the Italian mounts of Varallo and San Vivaldo around the turn of the sixteenth century, is always dutifully recorded in the abundant and mostly art-historical scholarly literature on the subject. However, what is uniquely Franciscan about translating the Holy Land to Europe in the shape of a *sacro monte*, or what this can tell us about the relationship of the Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* maintained with the sacred geography of the Holy Land, has remained largely unexplored.¹⁵ This dissertation aims to bridge this

14 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).

15 There have of course been several publications that connect the chapels of the *sacro mon-*

gap, by examining not only how the phenomenon of the sacro monte appears in Franciscan Holy Land writing, but also by exploring its significance in late medieval as well as early modern Franciscan order historiography, which consequently also forms a considerable part of the source corpus.

The remaining part of this introduction reviews the theorisations of social, memorial, and sacred space that have guided my analysis. Moreover, I pay particular attention to the process through which Palestine evolved into a Holy Land in the eyes of Christians, because this sheds indispensable light on the tissue of the sacred space that the Franciscans encountered when they first settled there.¹⁶ Elaborating on this existing framework of spatial significances, the friars then developed their very own, highly territorial, take on the sacred geography of the Holy Land, based on Francis myths of origin, that is the subject of this dissertation. Furthermore, both the text and the manuscript of Paul Walther von Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land* are discussed in more depth, since this unusual and little studied treatise holds a central position as the starting point of my inquiry. Finally, the last section of the introduction relates how the individual chapters of this dissertation contribute to the overarching argument of my examination of Franciscan representations of sacred geography of the Holy Land. I argue that, from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the observant Franciscans of the Holy Land developed ever more articulate ideas about their own particular role and entitlements as Catholic keepers and protectors of the Holy Places, firmly rooted in their own collective order memories and ideologies, expressed through a burgeoning number of texts, and by engaging with their translated Franciscan Jerusalem: the sacri monti. My analysis of Franciscan Holy Land writing aims to demonstrate that the friars were increasingly territorial and defensive of their position, as well as that the sacro monte was a particularly Franciscan mode of translating the Holy Land to Europe, more so than has heretofore been acknowledged.

te of Varallo to devotional practices associated with Franciscan milieus, such as for example the *meditationes vitae christi*, but that leaves us still quite a remove away from understanding why the particular form of a sacro monte was selected to translate the Holy Places to Italy, and what this may have meant to the Franciscans in question. See for example Alessandro Nova, "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain of Varallo," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995), 116-8; William Hood, "The Sacro Monte of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. Timothy G. Verdon and John Dally (Syracuse [NY]: Syracuse UP, 1984), 300-302.

16 In this dissertation, Palestine is used to refer to a geographical and historical region in the Middle East that coincides with the region associated with the term Holy Land.

II. Social, memorial, and sacred space

This dissertation 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 so 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 been a meaning-laden mental entity for Christians already for centuries. The study of how the Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* then elaborated the ideological framework they had inherited, is thus a study of social space, rather than physical space per se.¹⁷ Social space has been perhaps most famously theorised by the French Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre. In *The Production of Space*, first published in 1974, Lefebvre steps away from what he calls “logico-mathematical” or “mental” theories of space, to instead engage with the “real” or practico-sensory realm of social space.¹⁸ According to Lefebvre, every society produces its own space through a reasonably gradual process. Social space is thus historically contingent by definition, and characterised by a multiplicity of intertwined social spaces existing alongside each other; cities, roads, and buildings bear witness to the markets and social structures that produced them. The historicity of social space is central to Lefebvre’s argument: space evolves together with the society that produces it, while retaining older layers alongside the new.¹⁹

Lefebvre defines space at a social macro-level, and sees it as fundamentally shaped by dominant elites: the producers of space. The, less powerful, users of space, such as the Franciscans in Jerusalem under either Mamluk

17 Recognition of the existence and importance of social space first came into being 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.

18 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 1-5, 14-5; With “Logico-mathematical’ or ‘mental’ theories of space Lefebvre refers to the theories about space, time, and motion that belong to the fields of philosophy and physics. They are often characterised in terms of a debate between advocates of absolute or relational theories of space: well-known participants include Aristotle, Descartes, Newton, Leibniz, Mach, and Einstein. For an accessible examination of the ideas of the thinkers who have taken part in this debate through history, which is relatively free from the polemics of the debate itself, 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/> (accessed on May 10, 2014).

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

or Ottoman rule, are not absent from Lefebvre's work, but they are mostly passive and un-protesting subjects under the repressive spaces inflicted on them.²⁰ In order to convoke a clear picture of the relationship of more marginalised groups, like our Franciscans, with space, it is very helpful to also consider bottom-up theories of space, which accord more importance to the role of the individual perceiving subject in the production of space.²¹ The influential French thinker Michel de Certeau (1925-1986) likewise, sees the social space of (in his case) the city as having been produced by those in power and shaped by their 'strategies': the space of city planners.²² However, de Certeau has a less pessimistic outlook than Lefebvre, because he believes that users of urban space can subvert the 'strategies' of those who aim to control urban space, by applying a set of 'tactics'. By walking the city, moving from place to place, and telling stories about this itinerary and specific places it includes, users can transform the geometrical places of urban planning into meaningful space.²³ The Franciscan-led devotions in and around medieval and early modern Jerusalem can serve as an example at this point: by taking Western European travellers and pilgrims on a tour of Christian Holy Places,

20 See for example: Lefebvre, *The Production*, 43, 51, 93, 98, 233, 339, 356, 362-5.

21 Many theorists of space see the individual subject as the site from which space is produced. This perspective on the nature of space can be traced back to Immanuel Kant, who, after first studying space from a physicist's point of view, began to consider space as a condition under which perception operates. In *The Critique of the Pure Reason*, published in 1781, Kant argues that prior to perception two pure intuitions exist in the mind: space and time. According to him, space is a framework of perception inherent to the human mind: "a necessary representation a priori". Space therefore has no existence in itself, but is produced by the perceiving subject: "It is therefore from the human point of view only that we can speak of space, extended objects, etc." Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of the 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), 129-136; The definition of space in terms of transcendental philosophy has led to theories of space in which it is seen as a product of human intellection and is defined from the body of the perceiving subject as a necessary point of orientation. In these theories, space is often traced back to the beginning of perception, and may refer to metaphors of birth and home. Diverse fields of inquiry have taken up this notion, including humanistic geographers, many of whom posit "home place" as the beginning of perception of space. 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.

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

23 De Certeau, *The Practice*, 91-110, 115-122 (esp. 117).

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 coincide with an important tactic, recognised by de Certeau, by means of which users of social space can create meaningful spaces for themselves: by associating memories, a type of stories, with places.²⁴ Here, de Certeau aligns himself with a long tradition of mnemonic techniques, going back to antiquity, and enduringly popular in the middle ages and later, which holds that space and place make up the tissue of human memory.²⁵ This 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: “all collective memories unfold within a spatial framework.”²⁶ Building on the work of Halbwachs, Pierre Nora has proposed the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, which embody remembrance.²⁷ In order to refine the methodological tools offered by Halbwachs and Nora, Jann Assman has more recently introduced the term cultural memory, which refers to something other than history or knowledge of the past, because it concerns oneself, it is “knowledge with an identity-index”.²⁸ Sites of memory then, play an important role in the identity formation of social groups. When, for example, in 1639 friar Francesco Quaresmio attempts to reconstruct the itinerary of supposed pilgrimage of St Francis in

24 “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.

25 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990).

26 “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.

27 “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.

28 Both Halbwachs and Nora see a problematic tension and opposition between lived memory and history, more distant from lived experience. In an attempt to resolve the diametrical opposition between memory and history, Jan Assmann has proposed to restyle them as communicative and cultural memory, thus making it possible to examine the more distant memories of social groups, as they are externalised in institutions, writing, and memorials. Jann Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning, in collaboration with Sarah B. Young (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 111.

the Holy Land, he clearly does so to boost the identity of Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* by providing a powerful myth of origin and lodging it in space: that is where *we* come from, where it all began.²⁹

Sacred space may emerge when religious collective memories are located in space; this type of space can play an important role in the identity of religious groups.³⁰ The process by which Palestine evolved into a sacred space for Christians in the late antique period, is a case in point. By tracing the process through which Palestine became a Christian Holy Land, with Holy Places, with reference to the medieval cult of the saints and the practice of pilgrimage, it becomes possible to define sacred space more effectively for medieval Christianity and later Catholicism in particular, in a historical way. In addition, we can gain a better understanding of the sacred space, by then also punctuated by Crusade memories, the Franciscans encountered when they first settled in the Holy Land, and how they made this space work for them as a group, during the period this dissertation examines.

29 See chapter four of this dissertation.

30 Numerous examinations of sacred space over the past decades owe much to *The Sacred and the Profane*, first published in 1957 by Mircea Eliade. This book proposes a universal paradigm for studying religious world views. For Eliade, space is at the heart of what defines the sacred; the experience of sacred space is something primordial. The sacred reveals itself in space through an event called hierophany creating a portal for communication with the supernatural, a central axis in the cosmos: “a universal pillar, axis mundi, . . . around this cosmic axis lies the world (= our world), hence the axis is located “in the middle,” at the “navel of the earth;” it is the Center of the World,” characterisations that have often been applied to Jerusalem. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harvest, 1959), 36-7; While Eliade’s paradigm has been taken up by scholars of various disciplines, who have sought to apply, modify, and refine it, it has not gone unchallenged. The dichotomy between the sacred and the profane it proposes, much of the evidence on which it is based, as well as the assumption that all religions do indeed have sacred spaces are all valid objections that can be held against Eliade’s model. All in all, it is lacking in terms of a historical perspective on religion. It can nonetheless be said to have some illustrative value, a number of Franciscans of the Holy Land theorised its sanctity in a comparable way as will become clear in chapter one, and Eliade’s insistence that the sacred is something that is necessarily lodged in space, is very much to the point. 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.

III. The ‘Holy’ Land and Franciscan territoriality

During the first three centuries of its existence, Christianity was relatively hostile to the idea of Holy Places. Only during the fourth century this attitude started to change. It was in that period that Jerusalem and the surrounding territory transformed from a minor suffragan bishopric under the jurisdiction of the See of Caesarea, to a focal point of 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.³¹

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.³² 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’.³³ In the New Testament the promise of the land recurs in the book of Hebrews, which led early Christian chiliasts such as Justin Martyr (ca. 100-165 AD) and Irenaeus of Lyon (d. 202 AD) to interpret this as a promise for the restoration of Jerusalem on earth.³⁴ Where the chiliast Tertullian (ca. 160 – ca. 225 AD) was a bit uncomfortable with the idea of the Holy Land, meaning the soil of Judea, Origen (ca. 185- ca. 254) managed to influentially oppose the chiliastic notion of a restored earthly kingdom.³⁵ Based on his interpretation of Galatians 4, as well as Hebrews 12, Origen concluded that Christians should only expect a heavenly Jerusalem,

31 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.

32 “In the Hebrew scriptures the promise of the land recurs as a primal motif uniting the entire biblical narrative.” Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), 4.

33 Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 11-19.

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

35 Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 65f.

and a heavenly kingdom.³⁶ He was followed in this by Eusebius (ca. 260- ca. 340 AD), who, like Origen, was suspicious of interpretations that envisioned a restored Jerusalem on earth, associating such expectations with Jewish exegesis.³⁷ The ideas that could have led to a Holy Land for the Christians were thus initially nipped in the bud.

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 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.³⁸ Constantine's motivations for creating these Christian focal points, on the supposed locations of Gospel events, were 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.³⁹ In fact, he seems to have had a direct desire to destroy pagan sites and to have selected them in order to erect Christian monuments in their place.⁴⁰ This in turn would allow contemporary commentators to speak of sites such as the Holy Sepulchre church 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.⁴¹

Prior to the moment that Constantine confronted Christian society at the time with a newly created social space, namely Christian sacred space in the Holy Land, there is no evidence of any places held in veneration by Christians.⁴² The suggestion of Christian Holy Places, met with varying degrees of

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

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

38 Markus, "How on Earth," 261; Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 86, 307-311; Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place*, 74-83; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 85-91.

39 Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 86-7.

40 "He wished to create Christian Holy Sites which would supersede pagan shrines." Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 339.

41 Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 92-4, 98-9.

42 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 of 'Judeo-Christian' groups venerating these sites from the time of Christ up to the first century, held by certain influential Franciscan archeologists (the Bagatti-Testa hypothesis). Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 1-47, 295-6.

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, while in fact he was very reserved about the idea of Holy Places.⁴³ Likewise, Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335 – ca. 395) justified a visit to Jerusalem, expressing the following sentiments: "So praise the Lord, you who fear him, in whatever place you are: for no travelling around will bring you nearer to Him."⁴⁴ Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (ca. 313 – 386), on the other hand, was wholeheartedly enthusiastic about Holy Places.⁴⁵ Indeed, it has been argued, that his ambitions for the See of Jerusalem, as opposed to that of Caesarea, may have also played a role in furthering the sanctification of places.⁴⁶

Two reasons why the idea of Holy Places was eventually accepted by Christians are the availability 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 AD 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 thus 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.⁴⁷ Halbwachs has influentially analysed this process of the identification of locations of Gospel

43 Walker, *Holy City*, vii-xiv, 400-1; Markus, "How in Earth," 258-9; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 87.

44 Markus, "How on Earth," 260.

45 Walker, *Holy City*, 35-50, 311-346.

46 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- 162.

47 "Constantine created, for the first time, a Christian Holy Land, laid palimpsest-like over the old, and interacting with it in complex ways, having for its central foci a series of imperial dynastic churches." Smith, *To Take Place*, 79; according to Smith, Constantine created a religious landscape, which then could be sanctified through ritual. "A ritual object or action becomes sacred by having attention focused on it in a highly marked way. From such a point of view there is nothing that is inherently sacred or profane. These are not substantive categories, but rather situational ones. Sacrality is above all, a category of emplacement." Smith, *To Take Place*, 104; for Roman resistance to Constantine's efforts to Christianise Rome see Richard Krautheimer, *Rome Profile of a City, 312-1308*, repr. 1980 (Princeton [New Jersey]: Princeton UP, 2000), 20-31.

events, as the spatial component of the development of a Christian collective memory.⁴⁸

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 contemporary rise of the cult of the saints. 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. The memory of the persecuted church of the martyrs needed to be consciously kept alive for the Church triumphant after Constantine. Intensified veneration of the localised holy tombs of the martyrs was the answer, and in turn introduced sacred space into Christianity to begin with.⁴⁹ The grave of a martyr functioned as a kind of portal for communication between heaven and earth according to Peter Brown. The prominent role of the holy dead as intercessors depended on their *praesentia*, a presence on earth in their physical remains.⁵⁰

This special quality in the body of a saint set it apart, and made it worthy of veneration after death. Arnold Angenendt has shown that the concept of *virtus* stands at the basis of medieval veneration of the saints. *Virtus* is a God-given wonderworking power analogue 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.⁵¹ The sacredness associat-

48 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*, 160-165.

49 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 UP, 2011), 13; “Christian sacred time did not emerge as a by-product of the creation of the Holy Places of Jerusalem and Palestine. Rather, I think, the reverse was the case: Christian sacred space and topography were the product of an already fully-fledged sense of Christian sacred time.” Markus, “How on Earth,” 268ff.

50 “The graves of the saints – whether these were the solemn rock tombs of the Jewish patriarchs in the holy land or in Christian circles, tombs, fragments of bodies or, even physical objects that had made contact with these bodies – were privileged places, where the contrasting poles of Heaven and Earth met ...” Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 3.

51 There is a link between veneration of saint’s physical remains and asceticism. Achieving the highest possible purification of the flesh through asceticism may help to acquire *virtus*. According to Freeman, the idea that a transformation to the ‘spiritual flesh’ of Adam and Eve before the fall is possible, was important for the proliferation of the cult of the saints. Arnold Angenendt, *Heiligen und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Chris-*

ed with the medieval cult of the saints then, is fundamentally localised in the bodies of holy people, while alive and perhaps even more so after death. The sacred quality located in the bodies of saints sanctified, by extension, tombs and other places, and these localised centres of ‘holiness’ in turn incited 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.⁵² 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 Eade and Sallnow “the very *raison d’être* of pilgrimage, [is] the notion of a holy place”.⁵³ 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

tentum bis zur Gegenwart, 2nd ed (Hamburg: Nikol, 2007), 67-88, 123-137; 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 UP, 2013); although Lefebvre’s view on medieval Christianity may seem less to the point for a medievalist (a dismal religion that coded death), his observation that the holiest places of the medieval period were tombs is spot on: “Christianity, whatever institutional ups and downs it was experiencing, was a great worshipper of tombs. Its holiest places, those stamped by divinity — Rome, Jerusalem, Santiago de Compostela — were all tombs: St Peter’s, Christ’s, St James’s. The great pilgrimages drew the crowds to shrines, to relics, to objects sanctified by death.” Lefebvre, *The Production*, 254.

52 The discussion of Eade and Sallnow is based on the case of the cult of Padre Pio (1887-1968 AD) in Puglia, Italy. The cult of Padre Pio closely mimics the way Christ’s presence had sanctified Jerusalem. Apart from emphasising the importance of recognising that it is the sacred quality of pilgrimage centres that attracts pilgrims, Eade and Sallnow see the pilgrimage centre as a ‘religious void’, an arena for competing discourses, to which different denominations, pilgrims, and keepers of the shrine all bring different and sometimes conflicting convictions. 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).

53 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” 6.

of the living person is sedimented and preserved after his death in the power of place.”⁵⁴

It is the resulting holiness of a certain place, which, before any other consideration, motivates believers to travel to the location that offers something which cannot be had at home.⁵⁵ The power of a shrine to attract devotees need not be attributed to “an intrinsic ‘holy’ quality.”⁵⁶ However, the fact that medieval Christians did see certain objects and places as intrinsically holy, their sacredness was thus a potent social reality.⁵⁷ Constantine relied on the same sanctifying mechanism of spatialised 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.⁵⁸ Even though Christ’s body was believed to have ascended to heaven, anything he came in contact with during life, could be considered holy by his touch; this included his Cross, his tomb, soil from the Holy Land, and, later on, the very measure of the length of his sepulchre.⁵⁹

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 by Holy Places was a generally accepted given for Christians from Western Europe; the friars set up shop accordingly, facilitating the ritual and pilgrimage practices that such a holy space called for, commemorating Gospel memories at the associated locations. An additional layer of meaning overlaying the older ones, was the memory of the Crusades of the high middle ages, which the Franciscans took

54 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” 8.

55 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 86-8.

56 “One common denominator is spiritual magnetism, which can be defined simply as the power of a pilgrimage shrine to attract devotees. It is not an intrinsic “holy” quality of mysterious origins that radiates objectively from a place of pilgrimage; rather, spiritual magnetism derives from human concepts and values, via historical, geographical, social, and other forces that coalesce in a sacred center.” 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.

57 Lefebvre observes on the mode of existence of absolute space: “Imaginary? Of course! How could an ‘absolute’ space have a concrete existence? Yet it must also be deemed real, for how could the religious space of Greece or Rome not possess political ‘reality’? There is thus a sense in which the existence of absolute space is purely mental, and hence ‘imaginary’. In another sense, however, it also has a social existence, and hence a specific and powerful ‘reality’.” Lefebvre, *The Production*, 251.

58 Freeman, *Holy Bones*, 29-36

59 Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*, 97-110.

very seriously and strove to actively keep alive through their ritual and textual practices during the late middle ages.⁶⁰ Older tiers of spatial significances thus continued to matter alongside the new, and for the period this dissertation examines, they seem to have started to matter more and more to the 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 quite extensively in his treatise, using the age-old concept of *virtus* amongst other things, while painting a complex picture of sacred geography against the backdrop of his Franciscan worldview. 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 Franciscans had every right to have and hold the Holy Land as an order. Both Guglingen and Quaresmio explicitly call for Crusade, something the Franciscans 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 is a concept from the field of behavioural ecology, which was first influentially theorised for humans by Robert David Sack. He defines it as follows: “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.”⁶¹ Accordingly, territoriality is the attempt to assert control over a certain space. When it comes to religious territoriality, we can again recognise several interlocking registers, according to Danièle Hervieu-Léger, 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 symbolisations of space is particularly important.⁶² This register includes Holy Places, where powerful cultural memories have been inscribed, *par excellence*. 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

60 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,” 80-88; 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), 255-236; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 83-88, 94-6.

61 Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 19.

62 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.

Adrian Hastings.⁶³ Franciscan Holy Land territoriality is most certainly heir to Judeo-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 the case of both Franciscan Holy Land writing and the earliest *sacri monti*, the ultimate Franciscan myth of origin, the Life of St Francis, is re-interpreted and employed to, on the one hand, bring Francis to Jerusalem and make the Holy Land Franciscan, and on the other hand, to bring Jerusalem to Italy and make it thoroughly Franciscan. These are “fabricated geographies” to use the words of Claude Raffestin: territories that are written like text, or projected like an image.⁶⁴ These fabricated geographies, projected by early modern Franciscans of the Holy Land, are the subject of this thesis: sacred spaces, very much products of human thought that offer *loci* to anchor multiple memories, ideologies, and identities. This dissertation argues that, during the period under investigation, the Holy Land geographies that friars 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 Franciscans as divinely appointed representatives of Catholicism in the Holy Land. Moreover, both in case of the textual sources as well as the *sacri monti*, reinterpretation of formative Franciscan order narratives was paramount to anchoring these ideologies in space.

IV. Paul Walther von Guglingen and his *Treatise*

The *Treatise on the Holy Land* by Paul Walther von Guglingen has served as a starting point for the project this dissertation develops, because it signals a number of features that were to become characteristic of later Franciscan representations of the Holy Land. Guglingen’s *Treatise* has heretofore not received much scholarly attention perhaps mainly because it is an unusual text. While writing travelogues about the pious journey to and from the Holy Land was quite common in the late fifteenth century, writing treatises on the subject 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

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

64 Claude Raffestin, “Space, Territory, and Territoriality,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30 (2012): 121-141, esp. 131.

work.⁶⁵ The *Treatise* simply did not fit into any of the categories scholars of late medieval texts were interested in, and therefore went unedited and largely unnoticed. The only exceptions are a number of publications in the field of historical linguistics, which deal with the foreign alphabets in the *Treatise*, and more general discussions of Breydenbach's well-known *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam* (1486) which sometimes quite vaguely mention Guglingen's travelogue as one of its sources.⁶⁶ 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*. Nowhere a clear description of the *Treatise* as a treatise and separate text, or what it entails, is given.

It was when I first examined the manuscript preserved in the State Library of Neuburg an den Donau, Bavaria, in search of illustrations, that I realised that Guglingen's *Itinerarium* was followed by another text, more than twice as long as the preceding travelogue.⁶⁷ 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."⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ Upon reading Guglingen's *Treatise* it became clear that it is a carefully structured study of the sacred geography of the Holy

65 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.,

66 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): 153-182; Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes: un Viaggiatore del Quattrocento a Gerusalemme e in Egitto*, ed. and trans. Gabriella Bartolini and Giulio Caporali (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento and Vecchiarelli editore, 1999), xv-xvi; Tineke Padmos and Geert Vanpaemel, *De Geleerde Wereld van Keizer Karel* (Leuven: 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.

67 Neuburg A.D. Donau, Staatliche Bibliothek, 04/Hs. INR 10 ("Itinerarium in terram sanctam," Waltherus, Paulus); my article on the illustrations in Guglingen's travelogue is: Marianne Ritsema van Eck, "Encounters with the Levant: The Late Medieval Illustrated Jerusalem Travelogue by Paul Walter von Guglingen" (forthcoming).

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

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

Land in eight books. Moreover, it suggested a number of connections to other texts, such as for example 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 dissertation project as it emerged. Since Guglingen's *Treatise* has heretofore not been recognised or read as an independent text, and since only less than fifteen percent of it was edited by Sollweck, it is essential to first provide an introduction of its author, and a description of the text and manuscript, before turning to analyse it.

The author of both texts contained in the Neuburg manuscript, the Franciscan friar Paul Walther, was most likely born in the town of Guglingen 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 observance 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, to serve God in quiet spiritual contemplation, and to serve the Church in infidel parts.⁷⁰ After some difficulties obtaining permission for his pilgrimage, he set out on August 28, 1481, aged fifty-nine, from his convent at Heidelberg, where he had served as vice-guardian.⁷¹ Together with his companion, friar Johannes Wild, Guglingen walked to Italy, reaching Venice on October 11, 1481.⁷² After having spent the winter there, the friars embarked on May 25, 1482 and landed at Jaffa in the Holy Land on July 23.⁷³

Once he arrived, Guglingen first visited the Holy Places as a pilgrim and then applied to the guardian of the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion,

70 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 1-3.

71 Guglingen had previously served as vice-guardian at the convent of Heilbronn 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, 1454-1516.

72 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 3-12.

73 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 69, 96-7.

Paulo de Caneto, to become a member of his community.⁷⁴ Guglingen then spent one year in Jerusalem, working, among other things, on his treatise.⁷⁵ The next summer, he was assigned the duty of delivering a message to the Papal curia in Rome. Soon after, on July 13, 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 missive after traveling via St Catherine's shrine in Egypt with the company.⁷⁶ On February 10, 1484, Guglingen finally reached Rome, and there the travelogue breaks off abruptly.⁷⁷ We know, however, that he returned to German-speaking territories, because friar Nikolaus Glassberger, contemporaneous chronicler of the Franciscan order, mentions that after returning from Jerusalem, Guglingen subsequently served as guardian of the convent in Basel (Switzerland).⁷⁸ And indeed, the record of the capitular tables of his province of the observant Franciscans show that he served as preacher and later as *praeses* at Bönningheim (Baden-Württemberg) in the period 1487-93, before becoming the first reformed confessor of the Poor Claires of Söflingen, presently enclosed within the city of Ulm (Baden-Württemberg).⁷⁹ The *Necrologium* of his province records that he died in office at Ulm in 1496, aged 74.⁸⁰

Both Guglingen's travelogue and his *Treatise* are preserved in only one manuscript that is currently kept at the Bavarian State Library at Neuburg an den Donau. How and when the manuscript got to the seminary library at Neuburg, where Matthias Sollweck encountered it, remains unknown.⁸¹ It was written by a single hand in cursive gothic minuscule on paper, in 45 to 50 un-ruled 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.

74 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 122-3.

75 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 181-6.

76 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 171-181.

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

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

79 *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.

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

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

The manuscript is illustrated; the illustrations were executed with the same pen and ink that was 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 the nine illustrations in the travelogue elsewhere; the visual features found in the *Treatise*, a number of diagrams and maps, will receive attention in chapter 1 and 3 of this dissertation.⁸²

The manuscript has modern pagination in pencil; foliation is absent, although it is clear from the text that the scribe did have the intention of adding 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 (p. 123-396) and the rest of the total of twenty-one quires.⁸³ The collocation of the quires as well as cross-referring between the travelogue and the *Treatise*, suggest the manuscript was planned as a cohesive unit, containing both texts. For example, when Guglingen writes in the travelogue that while he lived at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, he worked on his treatise on the Holy Land in convent library, the text also points forward to the treatise: “which is found on folios ... and following.”⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

In the catalogue of the library at Neuburg the manuscript is dated to

82 For the illustrations in the travelogue, see Ritsema van Eck, “Encounters with the Levant,” (forthcoming).

83 Collation: 1⁸ 2¹² 3⁸ 4¹² 5⁸ 6¹² 7⁷ wants 2 after p. 122, 8¹² 9⁸ 10¹² 11⁵ wants 5, 6, 7 after p. 206, 12⁸ 13¹² 14⁸ 15¹¹ wants 1 after p. 264, 16⁸ 17¹² 18⁸ 19¹² 20⁷ wants 1 after p. 366, 21⁸ 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 20th, the first leaf is missing. Otherwise, the books of the *Treatise* do not correspond to codicological units.

84 “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.

85 “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.

ca. 1490, without further explanation. The watermark in the paper can unfortunately not be used to conclusively date the manuscript.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷ This impression is corroborated by Nikolaus Glassberger, who in 1491 referred to a now lost version of Guglingen's treatise, which 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 Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1486-1519), according to Glassberger.⁸⁸ Since the Neuburg manuscript looks like an informal first draft with a number of loose ends, and since it nowhere names this patron, he was most likely not yet in the picture when it was produced. The text of the *Treatise*, at any rate, was composed prior to 1486, when Breydenbach first printed his *Itinerarium*, copying large parts of Guglingen's book VII from it.

In 1482-3, 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 of activities to battle sloth, and observes:

About the second exercise, which was partly physical and partly spiritual: namely, collecting material for the treatise about various things, 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

86 It measures 30 mm high x 27 mm broad, and is similar to, but not a match with examples found around three decades later, ca. 1520, cf. Picard no.'s 152874-7, 152790, 152803. "Triple Mount – in shield- above saltbarrel- one rim/hoop/band below" in the *Piccard Watermark Collection*, <http://www.piccard-online.de/start.php> (accessed on September 10, 2015).

87 It has a varying number of un-ruled lines per page, and it is written in cursive script, and 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 point to the same explanation (see chapter three).

88 "In an appendix to an 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 Francescana III Ad Aquas Claras* (Quaracchi: Typografia collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1897), XVI, XXIV, 654-57; cf. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, XII -XIII.

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.⁸⁹

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.⁹⁰ In the brief prologue to the Treatise, Guglingen explains his motivations 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 materials in brief form, and to refresh some things in memory."⁹¹ Guglingen's treatise is not a brief text by any standard; his emphasis on 'brevity' refers to the principles of medieval mnemonic techniques.⁹² 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."⁹³

89 "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 eorumdem, 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 redegi et conscripsi." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 181.

90 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.

91 "intendo plane et breviter aliqua necessaria pro exercitatione piarum mentium percurrere, amplasque materias in brevem formam redigere et aliqua renovare." Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 267-8; "renovare" can, in this context, be translated as 'to recall in memory, repeat, refresh.' See "renovo" in Harm Pinkster et al., *Latijn Nederlands Woordenboek*, 5th ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2009).

92 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 98, 104-5, 146, 214-15, 309, 341-3, 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.

93 "Memoria enim semper gaudet et brevitate in spatio et paucitate in numero." William M. Green, ed., "Hugh of St Victor: De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum," *Speculum*

By making his reader ‘recall’ the relevant moments in the history of the Holy Land, Guglingen seeks to construct a particular memory, a specific view on 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 informs a Franciscan present. The organisation of the *Treatise* is clearly modelled on medieval world histories or universal chronicles, such as for example the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1190 - 1264?) and the *Chronologia Magna* by Paulinus of Venice (ca. 1270 -1344), which start with Creation and trace history to the present.⁹⁴ Unlike Guglingen’s travelogue, which is characterised 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: divided into eight books that deal with:⁹⁵

- I. Creation (MS p. 124-135)
- II. Terrestrial paradise (MS p. 135-146)
- III. The genealogy of Christ (MS p. 147-206)
- IV. A description of the Holy Land (MS p. 207- 211)
- V. A description of Jerusalem (MS p. 212-214)
- VI. The Holy Places in and outside of Jerusalem, according to the

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 three.

94 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), 157-179.

95 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 7 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 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 slightly more prominent rubricated heading). Book VII has 69 sub-sections, three of which are a higher level headings. Book VIII has 35 sub-sections; on 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,” (forthcoming).

events of the Passion (MS p. 215-264)

VII. A history of Jerusalem after the Ascension up to 1483, and the various religious communities that live there nowadays (MS p. 265-366)

VIII. Marvels outside the Holy Land (MS p. 367-396)

Guglingen thus carefully constructs a history, 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 to round off his discussion with a perspective on Creation as a whole, grounded in his Franciscan worldview.

There are several considerations that 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? Indeed, it is unlikely that Guglingen's text enjoyed a very a wide circulation; however, 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.⁹⁶ First, the Franciscan chronicler Nikolaus Glassberger consulted a more expanded copy of Guglingen's *Treatise* that has not come down to us. Secondly, 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 *ad 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 shows Christ on Mount Olives at Gethsemane with the city of Ulm in the

96 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 and dates himself with the words: "Von mir Jochum Rapperceller {1554}" Neuburg MS p. 207.

background, while on the square just outside the Minster, the Ölberg chapel even more conspicuously translated Gethsemane to Ulm.⁹⁷ Moreover, in Ulm Guglingen could perhaps 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 like a Franciscan spider at the centre of a web of late medieval Jerusalem pilgrims, who were also prolific authors.⁹⁸

More importantly, apart from throwing additional light on these other sources and contexts, a profound discussion of Guglingen's *Treatise* has much to offer in terms of enhancing our understanding of 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 extent of a possible collaborative effort working on their respective treatises on the Holy Land is hard to gauge, but the texts themselves testify to at least a profound discussion between these two friars, about how they, as Franciscans, understood the sanctity of the Holy Land, a learned subject that they deemed worthy of a treatise, rather than a travelogue. Suriano's *Trattato* subsequently knew a wider circulation than Guglingen's *Tractatus* because, apart from two manuscript copies, a printed edition of Suriano's text appeared in 1524.

Moreover, Guglingen's and Suriano's treatises foreshadow developments in the way Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land write about that territory. If these later early modern authors did not refer directly to these late medieval treatises as sources, they certainly used the same ideological building blocks and showed similar concerns, thus testifying to a degree of continuity in Franciscan perspectives on the Holy Land. These Franciscan sources, in short, become more intelligible when considered together, making it possible to recognise and analyse a new, Franciscan voice in the early modern debates on the sacred geography of the Holy Land.

97 Hans Koepf, *Die gotischen Planrisse der Ulmer Sammlungen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977), 8-9, 55-9, Plates: Katalog nr. 9; Kathyryne 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.

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

V. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation examines Franciscan engagement with the sacred geography of the Holy Land expressed through both textual and material representations of that space, starting from the last decades of the fifteenth century up to and including the seventeenth century. Since it has not been my object to produce an exhaustive survey of this field, but rather to study the ideological relationship cultivated by the Franciscans of the Holy Land with that province of their order with respect to their collective identity, I do this by means of case studies that explore central themes, and which I connect to wider developments. Together, the chapters of this dissertation 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 both the first four chapters on the development of the shape and content of Franciscan Holy Land writing during the period under investigation, as well as the final two chapters that explore the origin of the *sacri monti* as a particularly Franciscan translated Jerusalem.

The first chapter sets the scene by providing an investigation into 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, this chapter aims to demonstrate 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 the question 'why is the Holy Land holy?', but more importantly they analyse the sacred spaces of the Holy Land from a 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 from quite an early stage, and announce a number of strands of thought that can be traced into the early modern period. Their late medieval perspective on the, still uncontroversial, holiness of the Holy Land foreshadows the Franciscan defence of the Holy Land as a sacred space and a pilgrimage destination following the Protestant Reformation in chapter two.

While at home in Western Europe sacred space was at the centre of cross-confessional debates, the Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land had to grapple with the evolving patterns of pilgrimage and travel of the early modern period. Chapter two examines how, confronted with a new type of guest at their convent, namely Protestant travellers to the Holy Land, the

friars turned to fiercely defend the notion of sacred space, as well as the associated practice of pilgrimage. At the same time, they tried to fathom 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 the written debates on the subject. Judging the merit of pilgrims, reproofing, and advising them, the Franciscans strove to claim back the authority over the Jerusalem pilgrimage, asserting their perceived right and responsibility to control all interactions with the sacred space they saw as their own, as will become clear in chapter four, all the while participating in the early modern literature of Levantine pilgrimage and travel.

Chapter three lays the groundwork for illustrating 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 contextualising book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land*. Elaborating on the more general analysis of Guglingen's *Treatise* in chapter one, this chapter focuses on Guglingen's innovative enterprise of writing a cohesive history of the Holy Land, aimed at informing the present situation of the Franciscans there. Guglingen's history of the Holy Land raises important issues such as the supposed presence of St Francis in the Holy Land and its potential significance to friars of the custody of the Holy Land, Franciscan calls for Crusade and the late medieval Crusade projects of the *custodia*, as well as 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 the discussion of intensifying Franciscan territoriality and interest for the past and future in the following chapter, as well as providing additional context for chapter six.

The development of a more aggressively territorial Franciscan literature of appropriation of the Holy Land during the early modern period is the subject of chapter four. 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 of the previous chapter, this chapter shows how the ideological building blocks that were present at the end of the late medieval period were then stacked together during the early modern period, to allow the friars to style themselves divinely appointed heirs to the Holy Land. 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, and recurs in chapter six and its examination of Franciscan translations of the Holy Land to Italy. It seems that engaging with the memory of a founding fa-

ther was a crucial element in the attempts of the Franciscans of the Holy Land to come to grips with territorial disputes both in the Holy Land, as well as at the sacro monte of Varallo.

Chapter five investigates how the memory of friar Bernardino Caimi, founder of the sacro monte and ‘new Jerusalem’ at Varallo in Piedmont, evolved into an important strategy to give meaning to, and regain control of, this sanctuary, during the territorial disputes that erupted in the sixteenth century. Both the civic builders of Varallo and the Franciscan keepers of the sanctuary started to use Caimi’s supposed “original intentions” as a stick to beat the other party with. In this guise, the sacro monte of Varallo and the territorial conflicts over it, first appeared in Franciscan Holy Land writing. The authors of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land, through the figure of Caimi, seek to claim the sacro monte of Varallo as a triumph of the Franciscan order in general, and the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* in particular. This chapter also aims to make clear that prior to these territorial disputes, during the earliest developmental phases of this sacro monte, the memory of Caimi did not play an important role in giving meaning to this sacred space at all. Nevertheless, contemporary scholarly debate on the earliest phases of development of the sacro monte of Varallo is still to an extent being held hostage by an elusive quest for “what Caimi would have wanted” and his role as a divinely inspired and saintly founding figure.

A possible solution to this conundrum is suggested in the final chapter of this dissertation, which brings together several strands that were developed earlier on in the dissertation. In chapter six I aim to demonstrate that the phenomenon of the sacro monte is thoroughly Franciscan in its origins, and that the earliest sacri monti are a particularly Franciscan medium for translating the Holy Land abroad, which exemplifies Franciscan ideologies of Holy Land territoriality. The Franciscan sacri monti that translate Jerusalem to Italy, such as those of Varallo and San Vivaldo, cannot be fully understood without examining their roots: namely the sacro monte of La Verna. Accordingly, chapter six traces the material development and the ideological significance of the sacro monte of La Verna through time, in order to make clear how Franciscan ideologies such as Francis’ conformity with Christ, and the understanding of Francis as an apocalyptic figure, were valorised to respectively turn La Verna into a second Calvary, and the Holy Land into a uniquely Franciscan territory. The sacro monte thus provided a very apt Franciscan template for Holy Land veterans such as Caimi and Tommaso da Firenze, to translate the Holy Land to Italy.

With these chapters, I mean to account for how the Franciscans of

the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* engaged with the sacred geography of the Holy Land, with reference to the Franciscan self-image, during the late medieval and early modern period. The ensemble sketches a development, starting from the late fifteenth century, in which utterances and translations such as Guglingen's *Treatise* and Caimi's *sacro monte* first testify to a heightened interest in such matters, until in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the stage is all set for St Francis' *possessio* of the Holy Land, with Francesco Quaresmio for its playwright.