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Custodians of Sacred Space

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

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Chapter 1: Situating the sacred centre in a Franciscan cosmos

Ever since the transformation of Palestine into a Christian Holy Land dotted with Holy Places, around the turn of the fourth century, its sanctity had become a generally accepted and self-explanatory given for Latin Christians.¹ By the late medieval period, however, two Franciscan friars of the custody of the Holy Land took up precisely this subject in their treatises on the Holy Land; Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano treat the holiness of the Holy Land not as a given, but as something that deserves to be discussed and explained. They may have become interested in this subject since the same sanctity stands at the basis of the attraction of Jerusalem and the Holy Land as a pilgrimage destination, in which the Franciscans had a vested interest. Guglingen and Suriano engage with the topic in similar ways, and comparison between these two texts, situating their debates in the longer trajectory of Franciscan Holy Land writing, suggests that there is something uniquely Franciscan about them, as this and later chapters will show. In other words, these authors built on Franciscan traditions to articulate their perspective on the sanctity of the Holy Land, and their views resonate with later texts by members of the same order.

This first chapter lays the groundwork for my discussion of Franciscan Holy Land writing by investigating how these two Franciscans understood the Holy Land as a sacred space at the end of the late medieval period: how they defined its sacred geography by inserting the Holy Land into their Franciscan worldview. The issues raised in the treatises by Guglingen and Suriano form the backbone of the discussion, and from there glances are cast in other directions, and to later periods. First, books I-V of Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land* will be discussed. Subsequently the collaboration that likely took place between Guglingen and Suriano will receive attention: together they formulated a new way of thinking and writing about the Holy Land. They both chose the form of a treatise, quite a novel approach for writing about this subject matter. Furthermore, they both envision an orbicular cosmos, in which holiness emanates from the centre, and the centrality of Jerusalem and the Holy Land receives exceptional emphasis. As a completion of this worldview, Guglingen and Suriano both conclude their treatises on the Holy Land with a discussion of marvels of the East, which serve as devout vestiges of the sacred centre.

The complex perspective on the Holy Land offered by these late medieval friars is fundamentally informed by the theology of the Franciscan theo-

1 Please see the introductory chapter on this issue.

logian St Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1221-1274). The Seraphic Doctor's theology was in turn moulded on the religious experiences of St Francis: "his Franciscan *Weltanschauung* influenced the major positions of his metaphysics and theology."² The characteristics of his theological style are often regarded as the embodiment of a particularly Franciscan school of theology.³ Bonaventure's enduringly influential ideas in turn shaped the outlook of generations of Franciscans to come, including Guglingen and Suriano.⁴

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

1.1 Setting the scene: placing the Holy Land in orbicular cosmos

This section examines the first five books of Guglingen's *Treatise*, outlining its main argument and sources, in order to lay the foundation for comparison

2 J. Guy Bougerol, *Introduction to the Works of Bonaventure*, trans. José de Vinck (Paterson [NY]: St Antony Guild Press, 1963), 9.

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

4 The influence of Bonaventure's theology was also felt outside of the Franciscan order, having an impact on several domains of late medieval spirituality. During the fifteenth century his works had a particularly wide reception in Guglingen's home region of Bavaria. Stefan Swieżanski, "Influence de Saint Bonaventure sur la Pensée du XVe Siècle," in *San Bonaventura 1274-1974*, vol. 3, ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol and Etienne Gilson (Rome: Collegio S. Bonaventura Grottaferrata, 1973), 707-723; J. Guy Bougerol, "L'Aspect Original de l'Itinerarium Mentis in Deum et son Influence sur la Spiritualité de son Temps," *Antonianum* 52 (1977): 309-325; Marianne Schlosser, "Bonaventure: Life and Works," in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jay M. Hammond, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 56-7.

to Suriano's *Trattato*, and ultimately a more profound understanding of these two friars' perspectives on the Holy Land. In these books Guglingen zooms in through time and space from Creation to the very centre of the world in the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem. Along the way he offers an analysis of why the Holy Land is holy, and places a particularly strong emphasis on the centrality of the Holy Land within the world. Only by studying these successive books of the *Treatise* in conjunction, we come to understand his carefully constructed model for explaining the sanctity in the Holy Land and its place in the cosmos. In the next section of this chapter, Guglingen's collaboration with fellow Franciscan Francesco Suriano, the sources and inspiration for their ideas, and the resulting perspective on the sacred geography of the Holy Land firmly grounded in their order's canon, will be discussed.

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

The first circular diagram in Guglingen's *Treatise* appears within the context of a brief section of text at the end of the prologue to the *Treatise*, before the start of the book I (fig. 1). It consists of two rubricated concentric circles, with four red crosses contained within them. Inside this wheel we read: "Here resides God in His divine essence before the Creation of the world".⁵ This circular diagram is embedded in a small section of text that was not included in Matthias Sollweck's 1892 edition of the Neuburg manuscript:

God, since eternity foreseeing in His divine essence and ineffable wisdom all creatures to be made into some existence, matter, and visible and knowable form. When it pleased the Highest Trinity in Its majesty, and the right time, ordained by God, had arrived, the undivided Father who is

5 "hic deus in sua essentia divina residet ante creationem mundi." See figure 1, Neuburg MS p. 124.

the first cause and source-like origin [*origo fontana*] of all creatures, with his only-begotten Son and the Holy Ghost, formed and strengthened the skies, established the earth, creating all things that are contained in them. Considering this in spirit, the holy prophet David, speaking explicitly in Psalm 32 [Ps 33:6], saying these words: “The skies were made by the Word of the Lord and all their power by the breath of His mouth.”⁶

With this passage, and the circular diagram next to it, Guglingen sets the scene for his *Treatise*, by taking up the theology of Bonaventure as a starting point as well as an interpretative framework. Guglingen identifies God the Father as “the first cause and source-like origin of all creatures,” using the word *fontana*: fountain or source. The assertion can be understood in light of Bonaventure’s metaphysics, which are concerned with finding a first principle that unifies all of reality; to identify one divine essence that is the exemplar of all else.⁷ According to the Seraphic Doctor, the answer lies with God the Father, who is the fountain of all of Creation, the unoriginate, most primary and fertile, source of everything: he is the *fontalis plenitudo*, or fountain fullness, which is also the source of the Trinity itself.⁸ It is this fountain fullness that Guglingen refers to with the words ‘original fountain’ in the passage quoted above, and he visualises it with the circular diagram, containing the divine essence prior to Creation.

Guglingen also stresses the importance of the Word of God as a pre-condition for Creation, by referring to Ps 33:6. Here, he relies on Bonaventure’s theology of the Word, which is key to his metaphysics and his doctrine of Creation: at the beginning of time, the fountain fullness that is God the Father expressed himself with one Word. According to Bonaventure, this expression of the Word, which coincides with the Son, is the pre-condition for everything that is not God the Father: for the Trinity, and for Creation.⁹ Guglingen’s

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

7 Ilia Delio, “Bonaventure’s Metaphysics of the Good,” *Theological Studies* 60, no. 2 (1999): 228-246, esp. 229.

8 Delio, “Bonaventure’s Metaphysics,” 231-5, esp. 233.

9 Zackery Hayes, “Incarnation and Creation in the Theology of St. Bonaventure,” in *Studies*

choice to represent God in his essence before Creation in the shape of a circle is also inspired on the ideas of Bonaventure, who calls God the “sphaera intelligibilis”, a circle that expresses the ordered infinity and goodness of God.¹⁰

With his very concise reference to Bonaventurian metaphysics and his circular diagram representing God before Creation, Guglingen has provided the point of departure for book I of his *Treatise*, which deals with Creation.¹¹ In book I of the *Treatise* Guglingen discusses the works of each of the six days of Creation. For the organisation of book I, he may have taken inspiration from the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (ca.1190-1264), but he also uses a wide array of authoritative sources to flesh out his discussion, among which Genesis (“Moyses dicit Gen. cap. ...”), Plato, Aristotle, Gregory the Great, Jerome, Ptolemy, Alexander of Hales, Basil, and Nicolas of Lyra.

The circular diagram with which Guglingen sets the scene for his treatise (fig. 1) is the first of a sequence of similar circles, and through these wheels the author zooms into the subject of his treatise which lies at the centre of the cosmos: Jerusalem. Book II of the *Treatise* deals with Terrestrial Paradise, and contains two more circles.¹² The first consists of two concentric circles, and represents the “circle of the site of terrestrial paradise” (fig. 2).¹³ The accompanying text explains that paradise is the most noble location on the globe, which receives plenty of sunlight and brings forth all kinds of good fruits and trees. All this abundance is irrigated by the fountain from which the four rivers of the world originate: this fountain is also visualised as an empty wheel, identified with the caption “the circle of the fountain and four rivers of terrestrial paradise” (fig. 3).¹⁴ This wheel with the fountain of paradise points

Honoring Ignatius Brady, Friar Minor, ed. Romano Stephen Almagno and Conrad Harkins (New York: Franciscan Institute, 1976), 309-329; Zackary Hayes, “Christology and Metaphysics in the Thought of Bonaventure,” *Journal of Religion* 58, Supplement (1978): S82-95; Alexander Gerken, *Theologie des Wortes: Das Verhältnis von Schöpfung und Inkarnation bei Bonaventura* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1963).

10 Joseph Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St Bonaventure*, trans. Zachery Hayes (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press: 1971), 144-5; Florian Kolbinger, *Zeit und Ewigkeit Philosophisch-theologische Beiträge Bonaventuras zum Diskurs des 13. Jahrhunderts um Tempus und Aevum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 32, 389.

11 “Incipit prima pars huius tractatus: De creationem rerum et per quem et in quo mundus fuit creatus.” Neuburg MS p. 124-135.

12 “Sequitur modo secunda pars huius tractatus in quo habentur tria: primo de paradisi plantacione, secundo de hominis in paradysum inposicione, tercio de eorundem prevaricacione.” Neuburg MS p. 135-146.

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

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

back to the first wheel with God in his divine essence, the fountain fullness.

For these circles, representing paradise and its fountain, Guglingen may have been influenced by an exemplar that contained Creation miniatures, like those in the *Bibles moralisées*. These often show the progression of the works of the six days of Creation as a series of historiated *rotae* or spheres.¹⁵ Guglingen's Creation *rotae*, however, have been left empty. This might be attributed to the sometimes unfinished, draft-like quality of the Neuburg manuscript, which gives the impression of being a work still in progress. However, whether or not additional historiation was intended, these wheels are already functional for Guglingen's purposes, because of their circular shape. They can be likened to the first circular diagram of the *Treatise* (God before Creation), as well as to two circular maps it contains further on. It is pertinent to note at this point that the circle, as a symbol of the (meta-)physical as well as historical aspects of Creation, plays an important role in the theology of Bonaventure.¹⁶ I will come back to this in the next section of the present chapter, where I discuss the importance of Bonaventure's metaphysical circle for Guglingen's and Suriano's perspectives on the Holy Land.

The next circular diagram in Guglingen's sequence of circles, a TO-world map, appears in book III of the *Treatise*, which contains the genealogy of Christ from Adam down to Naason.¹⁷ In his travelogue Guglingen writes he consulted a genealogy of Christ at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem while working on his *Treatise*.¹⁸ The layout of book III suggests that he used the *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers (ca. 1130-1215) or a derivative source: the text is articulated by pairs of connected

15 J. B. Friedman, "The Architect's Compass in Creation Miniatures of the Later Middle Ages," *Traditio* 30 (1974): 419-429; see for example the *Grande Bible Historiale Complétée* of Guiard de Moulins: The Hague, RMMW, MS 10 B 23, fols. 5r, 5v, 6v; and The Hague, KB, MS 78 D 43: fols. 2v, 3r (these manuscripts are accessible online via the website *Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, manuscripts.kb.nl (accessed November 16, 2016); the Egerton Genesis Picture Book, London BL Egerton 1894, also shows a series of *rotae* overseen by God the Father during the six days of Creation (images accessible via the *British Library Illuminated Manuscripts Catalogue*, www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm (accessed November 16, 2016)).

16 Hayes, "Incarnation and Creation," 324-7; Hayes, "Christology and Metaphysics," S88; Bonaventure, "Sermon II on the Nativity of the Lord," in *What Manner of Man: Sermons on Christ by St. Bonaventure*, trans. Zackery Hayes (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1974), 73-4, 91 n.45, 93 n. 46, 94 n. 47, 117 n. 10.

17 "Tercia pars de benigni liberatoris nostri Ihesu christi nobilissima genealogia." Neuburg MS p. 147-206.

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

circles that represent Old Testament marriages (fig. 4).¹⁹ Diagrammatic representations of Noah's Ark in book III of the *Treatise* also point to this source (fig. 5).²⁰ Another important source for this part of Guglingen's *Treatise* is *De Tribus Maximis* by Hugh of St Victor (ca. 1096-1141), in particular the diagram at the end of this text with an overview of the six days of Creation and the men of the first two ages of history.²¹ Guglingen's reliance on this diagram, as well as inconsistencies in the planning of book III, confirm that the text in the Neuburg manuscript was still a work in progress when it was written down (also see introductory chapter on this issue).²²

19 The *Compendium* was a very influential and popular text in the middle ages, chronicles such as those by Ranulf Higden and Paulinus of Venice rely on it as a source. The *Compendium* was designed for didactic purposes: it helped students to recollect the intricacies of the genealogy of Christ. Aurora di Mauro, "Un Contributo alla Mnemotecnica Medievale il 'Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi' in una Redazione Pisana del XIII Secolo," in *Il Codice Miniato: Rapporti tra Codice, Testo e Figurazione*, ed. Melania Ceccanti and Maria Christina Castelli (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 453-467; Gert Melville, "Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt: Beobachtungen zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Darstellungsweise," in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im spätem Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), 57-154; also see Andrea Worm, "Ista est Jerusalem: Intertextuality and Visual Exegesis in Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* and Werner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*," in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 123-4.

20 In *Compendium* manuscripts two versions of the Ark diagram are generally given: one according to Augustine which has three levels, and one according to Josephus which has five levels. The attributions on MS p. 153 of the *Treatise* (fig. 5) are mixed up: a three level Ark is attributed to Josephus, and a five level Ark to "someone". On MS p. 154 Guglingen has included two more Ark diagrams taken from the *postillae* of Nicolas of Lyra. These exegetical diagrams are visualisations that figure in the theological debate about the shape, size and internal ordering of the Ark of Noah. For this debate on the internal organisation of the Ark of Noah in the middle ages, see Don Cameron Allen, *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science and Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949); Jack P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature*, repr. 1968 (Leiden: Brill, 1978); Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, trans. Ronald E Heine (Catholic University of America press, 1982); Lesley Smith, "The Imaginary Jerusalem of Nicolas of Lyra," in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 86, 88; Andrea Worm, "Ista est Jerusalem," 125.

21 For the diagram see the edition in William M. Green, "Hugh of St Victor: De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum," *Speculum* 18 (1943): 492-3; Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002., 32-35.

22 Guglingen gives the ages of the men of the first two ages when they became a father up until the first man of the third age, Isaac. When the list with this information provided by Hugh of St Victor was exhausted, Guglingen calculated one more age by himself, and then

The TO-world map in book III shows the division of the continents between the three sons of Noah at the end of the first age, after the flood. This inclusion of the map is inspired by Guglingen's source: a small TO-map is often represented at this point of the genealogy in copies of Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*.²³ However, Guglingen has adapted the very basic TO-map he would have found there, into something more elaborate (fig. 6). Apart from indicating the division of the continents in three equal portions between the sons of Noah (Sem gets Asia, Cham Africa, and Japhet Europe), Guglingen has added the cardinal and intermediate directions and the four times points out the surrounding ocean: *Oceanus*. The most conspicuous adaptations are two concentric circles at the centre of the map. The outer of these two represents the Holy Land; three times, forming part of each of the three continents, the word *terra sancta* is written. Within this ring that represents the Holy Land the central circle of the map holds the text: "middle point of the entire orb."²⁴

With these modifications to his source map, Guglingen has introduced a strong emphasis on the Holy Land being at the centre of the world. Guglingen has also added four red crosses into the design of this map, located at the cardinal directions. These crosses recall the crosses in the outer band of the first circular diagram of the *Treatise* (fig. 1), which represents God in his divine essence before Creation. Thus, from the first *rota* with God before Creation, God, the divine proto-type, has now expressed himself, according to Bonaventure's metaphysics and theology of the Word, in the whole of Creation, depicted here as an orb consisting of three continents, with at its centre the Holy Land. Guglingen's map is a concretised visual version of Bonaventure's ideas about cosmic exemplarism, which hold that Creation is an expression of the divine exemplar or proto-type, namely God. God expresses

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

23 See for example on London, BL, Harley Roll MS C 9 and The Hague, KB, MS 74 J 5. Images available via *British Library Illuminated Manuscripts Catalogue*, www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm (accessed November 16, 2016) and *Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, manuscripts.kb.nl (accessed November 16, 2016).

24 "punctus medialis tocius orbis." see figure 6.

himself in Creation and Creation in turn reflects the greatness of God.²⁵

In book IV of Guglingen's *Treatise*, which discusses the conditions, names and extent of the Holy Land, another circular map appears, now of the Holy Land.²⁶ The author also explicitly engages with the question: why is the Holy Land holy? Guglingen first discusses the natural conditions of the Holy Land, which are good: it is the land of milk and honey, it is more fertile than other lands, and although it rarely rains, grains grow faster than elsewhere, and the climate is temperate. However, according to Guglingen, the most important condition of the Holy Land, which he discusses last, is not natural, but supernatural, and it is this supernatural quality that inspires pilgrims to travel to the Holy Land, despite the great dangers involved.²⁷ Guglingen attributes the 'spiritual magnetism' of the Holy Places to Christ and his mother Mary, who sanctified and dignified them "with their very own persons".²⁸ This explanation points to an initially person- and subsequently place-centred holiness as it was outlined above, in the introductory chapter.

In the next section of the text, on the names of the Holy Land, Guglingen elaborates his views on why the Holy Land is holy. Following an enumeration of Old Testament names for the Holy Land, he observes it has been called *holy* ever since the Incarnation, and this for four reasons:²⁹

25 Leonard J. Bowman, "The Cosmic Exemplarism of Bonaventure," *The Journal of Religion* 55, no. 2 (1975): 181-198.

26 "Sequitur quarta pars huius libri in qua intendo describere terre sancte in qua christus ihesus conversatus est commendacionem." Neuburg MS p. 207-211

27 "Sexta condition est supernaturalis, **ymmo laudabilis et multum gratiosa**, et hanc ex fide dignis et honestis peregrinis didici ac in me in veritate comperi, **quam omnes christifideles auscultare ac diligenter mentibus inscribere debent, ne aliquando obliviscantur, que talis est**: Nam quidquid patitur peregrinus per totam suam peregrinationem sive in terra laboribus et fatigationibus, sive in mare fortunis multis et piratarum periculis, caloribus et algoribus, fame et siti, evomatione et infirmitate corporis, que omnia occurrunt peregrino in galea: erunt sibi omnia levia et bene remunerata in primo ictu oculi, quando inspicit terram sanctam circa Jaffa, ymmo libenter sustinuit omnia." Neuburg MS p. 207-8; Sollweck offers a partial edition of this passage, the phrases in bold type are omitted from the edition. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 270.

28 This term was first coined by James J. Preston, please see the introductory chapter; "Et demum perambulat et querit cum desiderio cordis sancta loca **in Jerusalem et extra que ihesus christus et maria eius benedicta mater cum propriis personis sanctificaverunt ac dignificaverunt**. Videtur devoto peregrino et vero catholico quod nullum bonum terrenum, quantumcumque pretiosum, quod potest esse super terram, vellet pro tali visitatione habere." Neuburg MS p. 208; Sollweck offers a partial edition of this passage, the phrase in bold type was omitted from the edition. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 270.

29 "Quinto nominata post incarnationem christi terra sancta. Et hoc propter quatuor. primo..." Neuburg MS p. 209.

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

The first, third and fourth reasons Guglingen gives for the sanctity of the Holy Land all come down to the physical contact with the bodies of saints, especially Christ and Mary. Through this contact their holiness was transferred onto the land. Guglingen emphasises the importance of the physical *touch* of the saints: “all of them without a doubt sanctified this land through their touch (*tactus*) and presence, and hence it is rightly called the Holy Land”.³⁰ Through their touch, the land was sanctified, as it was by Christ’s blood when it flowed onto it.³¹ Similarly, the burial of many saints, particularly that of Christ, in the Holy Land also transferred sanctity through physical contact, and Guglingen concludes: “therefore, without any ambiguity it is to be held and believed that this land by the touch of those most holy bodies has been sanctified and dignified above all other lands in the world”.³²

The second reason he gives for the sanctity of the Holy Land - Christ worked salvation there in the middle of the earth - again stresses the importance of the centrality of the Holy Land, as Guglingen’s world map had done before (fig. 6). The map of the Holy Land that accompanies the very brief discussion of the extent of the Holy Land based on St Jerome in book IV of Guglingen’s *Treatise*, also stresses cosmological centrality by its circularity (fig. 7). The outer band of the map contains the cardinal directions and, like

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

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

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

the world map, is oriented with east at the top. On the map it is indicated that the northern half of the map represents *terra Israhel* and the southern half *terra Juda*. At its centre there is a circle with the word *ihusalem*, and at the bottom the words *circa Jaffa Mare Magnum* point out that the Mediterranean sea is found in the west, near Jaffa. Guglingen refers to this map for clarification of the geographical description that he gives:

This description is better understood in the circle depicted above. Note, however, that the Holy Land is in a round circle (*spera orbiculari*), but concerning the regions, the beginnings, and the borders of the Holy Land are described in this way. But in itself it is oblong ...³³

So, the Holy Land *should* have a round shape, but Guglingen knows from his experience traveling the country that it is not circular.³⁴ He resolves this problem by still giving a circular map, but indicating on the map, along the east-west and north-south axis, that to travel from north to south takes twelve days, while from east to west one travels for four days.³⁵ Guglingen's insistence on providing a circular map reiterates the importance of this shape and its connotations in his *Treatise*. Wheels and circles often held cosmological connotations during the late middle ages: because of their shape they were likened to the world, and the cosmos.³⁶ Moreover, the city of Jerusalem was often represented with a circular form, precisely because it was seen as the centre of a spherical cosmos.³⁷ Likewise, Guglingen has zoomed in via a series of circular diagrams, representing God's divine essence before Creation

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

34 "... ab australi parte versus acquilonem ita quod ab inicio in austro usque ad finem in acquilone est bene via xii dierum. Sed ab inicio usque ab occidente in littore maris circa Jaffa usque ad finem ipsius terre sancta in oriente iuxta iordanem, vix hanc viam 4tuor dierum ex quibus comprehenditur quod non est orbicularis sed oblongata ..." Neuburg MS p. 211.

35 "Ab occidente usque ad orientem hec terra sancta viam quasi 4or dierum" and "Ab aquilo [*sic*] usque ad Austrum hec terra sancta quasi viam duodecim dierum." See figure 7.

36 Of course, in many cases practical considerations also played a part, in particular when circular diagrams simply were selected in order to facilitate schematic representation. Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), 11-27; Jurgis Baltrusaitis, "Cercles Astrologiques et Cosmographiques à la Fin du Moyen Age," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 21 (1939): 65-84; Jurgis Baltrusaitis, "L'Image du Monde Céleste du IXe au XIIIe Siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 20 (1938): 137-148.

37 Bianca Kühnel, "Geography and Geometry of Jerusalem," in *The City of the Great King*, ed. Nitzza Rosovsky (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard UP, 1996), 293-304, 309-320; Keith D. Lil-

(fig. 1); Terrestrial Paradise (fig.2); the fountain of the four rivers of Paradise (fig. 3); a world map with the Holy Land conspicuously at its centre (fig. 6); and finally a circular Holy Land map with a circular Jerusalem in the middle (fig. 7).

This emphasis on centrality recurs in book V of the *Treatise*, in which Guglingen discusses the special disposition of the city of Jerusalem, engaging with four topics: the city's first beginnings, its names, its special situation, and finally the several rounds of destruction and rebuilding it went through.³⁸ The third topic, Jerusalem's special situation, is an elaboration on the importance of the city's exceptional position as the middle point of the world:

Thirdly, about the city of Jerusalem's special situation, I say, following the doctors, that Jerusalem lies in a higher region of the habitable land, and in the middle of the entire world, so that the highest virtue (*virtus*) of all virtues (*virtutum*), worked by Jesus Christ, according to the philosopher would consist in the middle.³⁹

Guglingen refers to the Latin expression *in medio stat virtus*, virtue stands in the middle, common to ancient and medieval philosophy; it is used for example by Aristotle (384-322 BC) in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.⁴⁰ Within the context of this part of Guglingen's *Treatise*, *virtus* or virtue, should be interpreted here as the wonder working power that stands at the basis of the medieval cult of the saints (see introductory chapter), and it points back to the second reason Guglingen gives in book IV to explain why the Holy Land is holy (Christ worked salvation in the middle of the earth), as well as to his circular diagrams. Guglingen backs up his claim that the highest virtue of all was worked in the middle of the world, by referring to Psalm 73:13, which states that salvation was worked in the middle of the earth. He writes that Salvation was brought about by the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, which happened in Jerusalem, in the fourth and middle clime of the habitable

ley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 15-40.

38 "Sequitur quinta pars huius libri In qua intendo describere Sancte Civitatis Iherusalem specialem dispositionem." Neuburg MS p. 212-4.

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

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

lands.⁴¹ Finally, Guglingen concludes this section by relating an apocryphal anecdote in which Christ points out the middle of the earth to his disciples, by talking of his own personal experience standing at the very centre of the world in the Holy Sepulchre Church, and by offering further proof of Jerusalem's centrality through considering the relative position of sun and the moon.⁴²

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

1.2 Jerusalem as the sacred middle point of Bonaventure's metaphysical circle

The present section examines Guglingen's collaboration with Francesco Suriano, and the background of their ideas about the centrality and the sanctity of the Holy Land in greater depth: how they base their very comparable explanations of the sanctity of the Holy Land on concepts taken from Bonaventure. Their closely related, but not identical, views on the sacred geography of the Holy Land seem to be the result of discussions they had whilst both serving in the Holy Land. Elaborating on Bonaventure's metaphysical circle, and in-

41 "Teste propheta David, qui previdit in spiritu dudum ante hoc maximum opus virtutis et salutis operari a Christo in persona humana, loquens sub certo in preterito dicens ps. 73: 'Operatus est sanctus ihesus christus salutem in medio terre.' Ubi dicit glosa: id est in iherusalem, que est in medio climate. Hoc est in quarto climate terre habitabilis, in qua operatus est salutem humano generi, per suam doctrinam passionem mortem et gloriosam resurrectionem." Neuburg MS p. 213-4

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

spired by remarks about the sanctity of the Holy Land in *The Book of John Mandeville*, Guglingen and Suriano formulate their own, novel perspective on the sanctity of the Holy Land. The central position of the Holy Land and Jerusalem in the world plays an important role in their understanding of its sacred geography. While it is relatively common for medieval authors to refer to Jerusalem as the middle point, for which Psalm 73:12, Ezekiel 5:5 and Jerome's commentary on the latter are the most important sources, it is very unusual for them to dwell on the topic as much as Guglingen does.⁴³

Iain Macleod Higgins has demonstrated that references to Jerusalem being in the middle of the world are surprisingly rare in medieval pilgrimage accounts. The only text that mentions it prior to the era of the Crusades is *De Locis Sanctis* by Adamnan (628-704), written at the end of the seventh century. During the period of the Crusades of the high middle ages references to Jerusalem's centrality were reasonably common, but then in the later middle ages they became again rarer. Nearly all of these references in pilgrimage accounts are extremely brief and lack context or explanation. Two notable exceptions to this are again Adamnan, and the well-known account of the German Dominican Felix Fabri (ca. 1441-1502), both of whom say a little more about it.⁴⁴ The only medieval pilgrimage account for which the concept of Jerusalem's centrality is of any importance, instead of passing interest, is the immensely popular Book of John Mandeville.⁴⁵

The assertions about the centrality of Jerusalem, and indeed the sanctity of the Holy Land, in *The Book of Sir John Mandeville* were an important source of inspiration for the treatises on the Holy Land by Guglingen and Francesco Suriano. This immensely popular text associated with the fictional traveller John Mandeville was first written down in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, and it presents a model for explaining the holiness of the Holy Land, directly at the start.⁴⁶ In the first lines of the prologue, the Mandeville-author states:

43 Iain Macleod Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Centre in a Medieval "Multi-Text" Jerusalem in the Book of John Mandeville," in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomash and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 33-4.

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

45 Macleod Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Centre," 34-40.

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

... the Land of Promise which men call the Holy Land, among all other lands is the most worthy land and mistress over all others, and is blessed and hallowed and consecrated by the precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ; in which land it pleased Him to take life and blood by Our Lady Saint Mary and to travel round that land with His blessed feet.⁴⁷

According to this fragment, the Holy Land is holy because it was consecrated by the blood of Christ, and because he walked on it with his feet. This is also the core of Guglingen's argument: physical contact with the body of Christ consecrated the Holy Land. It seems that Guglingen took at least some of his inspiration from reading *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, because the Mandeville-author also places a similar stress on the centrality of the Holy Land, referring to the same Latin expression about virtue being in the middle:

... and that land He chose before all other lands as the best and the most honourable in the world, for, as the philosopher says, *virtus rerum in medio consistit*, that is to say, 'The excellence of things is in the middle'.⁴⁸

Guglingen must have been influenced by the prologue to *Mandeville*, because he not only refers to the axiom *in medio stat virtus*, but he also uses the verb *consistere* (not *stare*), and he likewise applies it to the Holy Land, Jerusalem to be specific.⁴⁹ These very brief statements about the reasons for the holiness of the Holy Land, and the importance of geographical centrality seem to have provided Guglingen with some basic starting points for his much more elaborate exposition on the subject.

This appears all the more probable because Francesco Suriano, of whom we know that he saw an Italian copy of *Mandeville*, develops very much the same ideas about the sanctity of the Holy Land in his *Trattato di*

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

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

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

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

Terra Santa, stressing its centrality.⁵⁰ In their treatises on the Holy Land Guglingen and Suriano ask similar questions and come up with comparable answers. Both friars contextualise the Holy Land as a sacred centre in a cosmos articulated by the theology of Bonaventure. Moreover, the very idea of writing a *treatise* on the Holy Land is novel, not opting for the more traditional choices of a travelogue or a devotional tract on the Holy Places and/or the events of the Passion. All this strongly suggests that Guglingen and Suriano discussed these matters when they were both present at the Jerusalem convent in 1483, perhaps even working together on their treatises in the library.

Francesco Suriano (1450-1530?) was a Franciscan friar of Venetian origin, who stayed in the Levant for extensive periods of time (1481-1484; 1493-1515) and served as guardian of the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem twice (1493-1496; 1512-1515). He wrote several drafts of his treatise on the Holy Land, the first in 1485, after returning to Italy, later, in 1514 when back in Jerusalem, he wrote a second draft, and finally a copy was prepared for press in 1524 by Francesco Bindoni in Venice.⁵¹ Suriano wrote the treatise for his sister, Sixta, who was a Poor Clare at the convent of St Lucia in Foligno, as well as the other women in that community. The book is written in the form of a didactic dialogue, in which sister Sixta questions her brother about the Holy Land, and Suriano responds. While Suriano's *Trattato* shares many traits with Guglingen's *tractatus*, it also differs from it, in the sense that the *Trattato* is a didactic text in the Italian vernacular intended for the benefit of religious women, rather than a studious theological treatise in Latin. The organization of its contents is more conversational and less rigidly ordered than Guglingen's, and it is loosely divided into two books.

Already in the first chapter of the *Trattato* it becomes clear that Suriano is interested in the same issues as Guglingen. It engages with the question "Why it is called the Holy Land," as the chapter's title indicates. The answer is that firstly, it was so named by God; secondly, eleven categories of holy persons mentioned in the Old and New Testament came from there; thirdly, the first temple was built there. Most importantly however, Suriano concludes, it should be called holy primarily because of contact with the body

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

51 An edition of the 1514 version was published by Girolamo Golubovich, Francesco Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich (Milan: Tipografia Editrice Artigianelli, 1900); for an annotated translation see Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade.

of Christ, and his blood in which the country was bathed.⁵² This explanation of the sanctity of the Holy Land is very similar to Guglingen's, as well as to that found in the Book of John Mandeville.

The second chapter of Suriano's *Trattato* then deals with the question: why is the Holy Land more sanctified than all other parts of the world? According to Suriano the answer lies with the natural order provided by God, and in order to illustrate this point he compares Creation to the generation of animals. With reference to Aristotle's *De Generatione Animalium*, Suriano explains that "the first thing created in animals that have blood is the heart."⁵³ From the heart, blood and spirit then spread, developing the members of the body.⁵⁴ Suriano continues by observing that when God created the world, he did this in much the same way: starting with the centre, and then spreading "spiritual life" to all corners from there.⁵⁵ According to Suriano, God paid much attention to "that part of the world which is called the centre, or middle of all the habitable world."⁵⁶ He refers to Psalm 73:12 (salvation was worked in the middle of the earth), and explains that the centre of the world functions in much the same way as the heart of an animal: diffusing lifeblood to its members. Therefore, God selected the centre as the habitation of Christ and Holy Ghost, and made it more holy than any other part of the world, so that from there its spiritual benefits would spread:

And from this land is diffused, as I have said, all graces in all parts of the world, just as from the heart of an animal the vital spirits are diffused to all the members of the animal, as from the fountain runs down the water in rivulets, and as the lines are drawn from the circumference of the circle.⁵⁷

As was the case with Guglingen, the centrality of the Holy Land is important

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

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

54 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 22-3.

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

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

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

for Suriano; note the implicit references to the fountain fullness and the symbol of the circle, so important in Guglingen's argument. The centrality of the Holy Land does not belong to the category 'trivia' for Suriano, as it does for so many medieval authors, because centrality explains why this country was selected by God to host the events of the Passion: it has an important function spreading salvation throughout the world. Thus, the natural order of the world supports the spiritual order.

The next step in Suriano's argument is then to explain the cause of sanctity of the Holy Land, and like Guglingen he singles out divine visitation as the most important reason.⁵⁸ Chapter IV of his *Trattato* is dedicated to enumerating all the instances of divine visitation of the Holy Land, and chapter V sets out to demonstrate the wonder-working power of Christ's body on the basis of New Testament examples that "all those who touched Christ were healed in soul and body."⁵⁹ Based on these two premises, chapter VI then sets out to demonstrate how the *touch* of Christ sanctified the Holy Land.⁶⁰ Suriano lists the many ways Christ physically touched the Holy Land: with his feet when walking, with his knees when praying, with his legs when he was sitting, and finally with his whole body when he lay sleeping, as well as when he lay dead in his tomb. In addition to this, his sweat, tears, and blood seeped into the land. With each contact virtue transferred from his body into the land:

So as those things which Christ touched a little, received much of virtue and grace, ... But this blessed land above all parts of the world had the greatest contact with him, and therefore it is all full of divine virtues and it is become a most holy habitation.⁶¹

Like Guglingen then, Suriano emphasises the importance of physical contact between Christ's body and the Land, in order to make it a Holy Land.

Not only do both Suriano and Guglingen place much emphasis on centrality; the Holy Land being in the middle of the world so that Christ's

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

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

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

61 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 28-9.

virtue, transferred by touch, can spread from there; in Suriano's treatise too, the circle, as an important symbol for cosmic and temporal order inspired on Bonaventure's theology, appears. Near the end of Suriano's *Trattato*, Sister Sixta implores her interlocutor (Suriano) to also relate the story of his return from Jerusalem back to Italy, as he did his departure for the Holy Land because: "conjoining the end to the beginning you make the perfect form of a circle."⁶² Suriano responds by citing Aristotle's *De Caelo et Mundo*, saying that "the orbicular form is the most perfect of all," and therefore the world and all the heavens, planets, and stars are all "like a rounded ball".⁶³ This emphasis on the spherical shape of the heavenly bodies, including the earth, might appear to be in contradiction with Suriano's insistence on the Holy Land being the middle of the world: the geometrical middle point of a sphere can never be on its surface. However, Suriano spoke about "the middle of all the habitable world", the centre conjoining Europe, Africa, and Asia.⁶⁴

Suriano's insistence on the spherical shape of earth and planets, like his insistence on the Holy Land being the 'spiritual heart' of this spherical world, serves to demonstrate a certain natural and temporal order ordained by God, which explains why the Holy Land is holy, as well as its central place in the cosmos. The core of Suriano's argument is built on Bonaventure's theology, expressed for example in his second sermon on the Nativity, which

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

63 "Frate. - Secondo la sententia del filosofo in lo libro de celo et mundo, la figura orbicolare è più perfecta de tute le altre, e per questo dice che el mondo ha forma retonda perchè consiste ne li quatro elementi, zioè, terra, aqua, aere e foco. Etiam tuti li zieli, pianeti e stelle hano figura sperica, li quali tuti sono como una bala rotonda." Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 240.

64 Suriano proposes much the same solution to the problem of a middle point on the surface of a sphere as the Latin Vulgate redactor of the book of John Mandeville. While in other redactions of this text there is a certain tension between the insistence on Jerusalem being in the middle, and the insistence on the spherical shape of the earth, the Latin Vulgate redaction states that due to the shape of the earth Jerusalem cannot be in the middle, as it is not even on the equator. *In medio terrae* should therefore be interpreted as the middle of the habitable regions: "the midpoint between paradise and the antipodes of paradise." Finally, the redactor observes that Psalm 73 should be interpreted "neither bodily nor spatially, but entirely spiritually." Macleod Higgings, "Defining the Earth's Centre," 46-9; also see Cohen: "The flatness of a mappamundi possesses a middle: Jerusalem, the source-city of history, can be emplaced like the umbilicus of the body of Christ. Yet the book of John Mandeville repeats, obsessively, that the world is not a disc but a globe." Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Pilgrimages, Travel Writing, and the Medieval Exotic," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), 615.

elaborates on his ideas about Incarnation of the Word as the perfection and completion of Creation. This perfection is expressed by the symbol of the circle, according to Bonaventure, just like the perfection of heavenly bodies in the macrocosm can be understood from their spherical shape.⁶⁵ In order to perfect and complete the universe, God curved the line of the universe into a circle, joining God, the first, with man: the last, through the Incarnation.⁶⁶ In his *Trattato*, Suriano expounds on Bonaventure's ideas, without citing the Seraphic Doctor explicitly:

This world would not have been totally perfect, if God would not have conjoined the end with the beginning, that is, God with man, and that is the reason. ... This world, before the Incarnation of the Word, was like a straight line, differentiated with six spans, that is the generation of things. [Enumerates works of the 6 days of Creation]. The beginning of the world was God, and the end, that is, the last thing that God made was woman. Wanting to give the proper perfection, and, from the straight line make it round, orbicular, and perfect, himself the beginning of the world, and conjoined himself to the woman who is the end of the world, when in the belly of Holy Virgin God made himself man, and thus the world was made perfect.⁶⁷

65 "Finally, it is in this Word that we discover the perfection of that greatness of heart which brings all reality to its consummation and completion, since the figure of a circle attests to the perfection of bodies both in the macrocosm and in the microcosm. In the macrocosm, the greater bodies such as the heavens, the sun and the moon are round in shape. So also in man, who is a microcosm, the more noble members such as the head, the heart, and the eye are round in form." Bonaventure, *Sermon II on the Nativity of the Lord*, ed. & trans. Zachery Hayes, 73.

66 "But this figure is not complete in the universe. Now if this figure is to be as perfect as possible, the line of the universe must be curved into a circle. Indeed, God is simply the First. And the last among the works of the world is man. Therefore, when God became man, the works of God were brought to perfection. This is why Christ, the God-man, is called the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end. For this reason, as you have heard, the last of all things, namely man, is said to be the first and the last." Bonaventure, *Sermon II on the Nativity of the Lord*, ed. & trans. Zachery Hayes, 73-4.

67 "Questo mundo adunque non seria stato perfecto totalmente, se non havesse conzonto la fine cum el principio, zioè, Dio cum l'homo: e questa è la rasone. ... Questo mondo, avanti incarnatione del Verbo, era come una linea drita, distincta per sei palmi, zioè, per sei generatione de cosse. ... El principio del mondo fo Dio, e la fine, zioè, l'ultima, cossa che fece Dio fo la femina. Volendo adunque Dio dare al mondo la debita perfectione, e, de la linea drita farla rotunda, orbicolare e perfecta, sè medesimo principio del mondo, se congionse alla femina che è la fine del mondo, quando ne ventre de la Beata Verzene Dio se fece homo; e alhora el

Suriano is paraphrasing Bonaventure's understanding of the Incarnation: for Bonaventure the Incarnation is not only about Redemption, but about the re-establishment of cosmic order in Creation. Within the context of his theology the circle refers first to the goodness and infinity of God, the *sphaera intelligibilis* Guglingen started his *Treatise* with, then to God's connection to man through the Incarnation, as Suriano describes, and finally to the whole of Salvation history.⁶⁸ At the centre of Bonaventure's metaphysical circle stands Christ: the universal middle of time, the Trinity, and everything else. By adding his Cross to the circle of the world and the eternal circle of God as the *verbum increatum*, Christ restores the centre-point as the *verbum creatum*. Bonaventure's Christological centre of the circle naturally refers to much more than physical location alone; nevertheless, at the same time, Salvation had to occur at the centre of a spherical geo-centric universe, and in the middle of the world.⁶⁹

Both Guglingen and Suriano situate Jerusalem at the centre, the Christological focal point, of a universe governed by the theology of Bonaventure: they contextualise the Holy Land in a Franciscan cosmos. They do so in slightly varying ways: Guglingen starts with God as the *sphaera intelligibilis* who then expresses himself with the Word, and develops into a circular world with the Holy Land and Jerusalem at its very centre, sanctified by the virtue of Christ; Suriano in turn stresses the natural order in Creation a little more: the symbol of the circle and the spherical shape of the earth express the perfection of God's Creation, and at its centre God has willed a heart, Jerusalem, from which Christ's virtue spreads throughout the world. Through the spectacles of Bonaventure's metaphysical circle, and inspired by the brief reflections on the sanctity of the Holy Land in the Book of John Mandeville, Guglingen and

mondo fo facto perfecto." Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 240-1.

68 Zachary? Hayes on Bonaventure's metaphysical circle: "Initially, we seem to be dealing with a geometrical symbol, namely, the circle, which Alan of Lille had employed to symbolize God and his relation to Creation. As the symbol is adapted by Bonaventure, it refers first of all to God, then to man, and finally to the entire sweep of history. In ever more concentrated form, Bonaventure's attention focuses on the center of the circle which, in God, is the second person of the Trinity, and in Creation, is the mystery of the incarnation of that same person. In the theological elaboration of this symbol we are led ever deeper into the realm of Bonaventure's theological metaphysics." Hayes, "Christology and Metaphysics," S88; Ratzinger, *Theology of History*, 143-8; Hayes, "Incarnation and Creation," 324-7; Zachary Hayes, *The Hidden Center: Spirituality and Speculative Christology in St. Bonaventure*, repr. 1981 (New York: Franciscan Institute St. Bonaventure University, 1992), 142, 180-2.

69 Kolbinger, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, 15, 31-2, 350, 388-395; Zachary Hayes, *The Hidden Center*, 200.

Suriano have come up with their own complex explanation for the holiness of the Holy Land. These two Franciscan friars, whilst in contact at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, arrived at an explanatory model that is firmly grounded in a worldview distilled from the ideas of a major Franciscan leader and theologian, stressing centrality and physical touch of Christ sanctifying the centre of the world-circle.

The exact motivations of Guglingen and Suriano for writing treatises on the Holy Land, analysing its sanctity from a Franciscan perspective, are of course difficult to determine for certain beyond what they claim in their prologues. Their individual motivations may have also differed to an extent. Suriano reflects on his motivations for writing the *Trattato* in the prologue to book I. He explains that he wrote the text at the request of his sister, in the form of a didactic dialogue.⁷⁰ Like Guglingen, Suriano names avoiding idleness as a good reason to invest time in writing his *Trattato*; moreover, it is honest work, but most importantly: he intends the treatise to be useful. By reading it either publicly or privately, his sister and her fellow Poor Clares may be inspired to meditate on the Holy Land and the Holy Places, and receive “consoling spiritual nourishment”.⁷¹ Suriano explicitly opts for a dialogue in a “simple style”, in order to present this material in an accessible way. His initiative is therefore similar to that of Felix Fabri’s *Die Sionpilger* (1492), written for Dominican sisters, and can also be compared to the late medieval texts on the Holy Land by female religious studied by Kathryn Rudy.⁷² However, Suriano’s *Trattato* differs from these texts in the sense that it is written from a Franciscan perspective. Not only does his understanding of the Holy Land, based on Bonaventurian theology and developed in conversation with Guglingen, offer a perspective on the sanctity of Holy Land grounded in a Franciscan *Weltanschauung*, but Suriano also sees himself as the only right person to write about this, as a Franciscan with much experience in the Holy Land.

In the prologue to book II, of his *Trattato*, Suriano states that he re-

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

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

72 Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimages in the Convent*, 30-1, 119ff.

solved to “write down the things found in special praise of the Holy Land,” even though his authority as a writer is small.”⁷³ Nevertheless, following this protestation of humility, he emphasises that he has spent quite some time in the Holy Land, “not only as a layman but as a religious.”⁷⁴ Suriano wonders who can have traversed the country more often or more attentively than he, and concludes: “None that I know of in the Western World.”⁷⁵ Moreover, he stresses his experience as a Franciscan religious there in particular: eight years in total, both as subject and as a superior; therefore, he states no one can give more exact information on conditions there than him. In short, Suriano is motivated by a desire to edify the Poor Clares of Foligno, but he also believes that as a Franciscan of the Holy Land he is particularly qualified to write about this topic: who can know more about the topic than he, as a friar of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*? His protestations of being an expert on the Holy Land as a Franciscan, testify to a degree of self-identification with the Holy Land by the friars of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* at the time.

Guglingen, like Suriano, names avoiding idleness as a motivation for working on his Treatise whilst in Jerusalem. His *Treatise*, unlike Suriano’s, is not as clearly addressed to any one audience, but its character as a theological text in Latin makes points to an intended readership of educated males. With his *Treatise*, structured like a universal history, he aims to project a specific view of the Holy Land (see introductory chapter), which is clearly addressed to people outside of the Franciscan order, who, he hopes, may improve the custody’s fortunes there, as his call for Crusade and alms for the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*, uttered at the end of Book VII, testifies. Following the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, Crusading zeal was widespread in throughout Western Europe, but the call in Guglingen’s *Treatise* also needs to be related to the changing position of the Franciscans in Mamluk Jerusalem as a result of this watershed.⁷⁶ After the fall of Constantinople, the Greek Orthodox community had come under suspicion of sympathising with the Ottomans, and the Georgians in Jerusalem sought to actively improve their own position at the expense of the Greeks, as well as the other Christian communities.⁷⁷ In this *Trattato*, Suriano expresses resentment for the privileged po-

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

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

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

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

77 Saletti, *I Francescani in Terrasanta*, 172, 183-4, 190; Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Georgians in Jerusalem in the Mamluk Period,” in *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Associ-*

sition of the Georgians with respect to the Mamluk Sultanate, and calls them “our great and chief enemies, as the Greeks are, and we have many altercations with them, but especially during my second guardianship [1512-1515], on account of Mount Calvary and many other differences and their ill-will.”⁷⁸ During the final decades of Mamluk rule in Jerusalem Calvary changed hands several times, while the Ottoman threat loomed large over Jerusalem.⁷⁹

Guglingen’s and Suriano’s treatises thus appear at a time when the position of the Franciscans in the Holy Land was by no means secure, and their initiative of writing treatises on the Holy Land may be interpreted as a response to this destabilised situation. Their work may be interpreted as a claim to the Holy Land, in the face of insecurity. In this sense, their motivations for thinking and writing about the Holy Land as Franciscans are very comparable to the motivations of early modern Franciscan authors of the *custodia*, who grappled with a strengthened Greek patriarchate in a drawn out struggle over the Holy Places, as well as much resented attempts of Capuchins and Jesuits to settle in the Holy Land (see chapter four).

Even though the ideas in the treatises of Guglingen and Suriano do not seem to have had any noticeable direct influence on coetaneous or later Franciscan Holy Land writing, their collaborative effort at defining the sacred geography (or cosmology) of the Holy Land in terms of their worldview as Franciscans is significant. Their effort testifies that these friars regarded the Holy Land with particular interest and confidence, just a little bit more so than their predecessors. This suggests that the nature of this sacred space was becoming a commendable topic of discussion among Franciscans of the Holy Land, as a space that could very well be analysed in terms of their order’s canon. This attitude may have provided at least part of the groundwork for the Franciscan defence of the sanctity of the Holy Land and pilgrimage from profaning Protestant visitors during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as will become clear in the following chapter, as well as for claiming the Holy Land as an entirely Franciscan territory as we will see in chapters three and four.

ation (868-1948), ed. Amnon Cohen and Gabriel Baer (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1984), 102-112.

⁷⁸ Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 87, cf. 9.

⁷⁹ Kevork Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Armenian Patriarchate Printing Press, 1989), 42.

1.3 The sacred centre in later Franciscan Holy Land writing

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

An example of a comparable perspective on the Holy Land comes from the Franciscan friar Nikolaus Wanckel's *Ein kurtze Vermerckung der heyligen Stet des Heyligen Landts* (1517): a short 'notice' listing the several pilgrimage itineraries one can take within the Holy Land.⁸⁰ The *Vermerckung* was printed seven years after Nikolaus' stay in the Holy Land, and it is therefore possible that he may have met and exchanged thoughts with Francesco Suriano. Whether or not this exchange took place we cannot say for sure, but Wanckel does offer a circular perspective on the Holy Land with a decidedly Franciscan flavour, comparable to those of Guglingen and Suriano. The frontispiece of the *Vermerckung* shows an indulgenced Rosary image, announced by the words: "Jesus. Der Himlich Rosenkranz" (fig. 8).⁸¹ The woodcut shows a 'great Rosary' image in a circular form, within which we see God the Father presiding over Christ crucified, while a company of saints populates the lower tiers of the circle.⁸² Below the circle of the Rosary, hell is

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

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

82 Also called heavenly Rosary in German; this type of Rosary image can be classified as an 'All Saints' Rosary' in the typology of Rosary images by Frances H.A. van den Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürers "Rosenkranzfest" en de Ikonografie der Duitse Rozenkransgroepen van de xv. en het Begin der xvi. Eeuw* (Amsterdam: De Spieghel, 1939), 276-281.

burning, and above it in the left hand corner the Mass of St Gregory is shown, at its top Veronica's veil, and in the right hand corner the Stigmatisation of St Francis. This particular indulgenced great Rosary image circulated as a single-leaf woodcut print in the environs of Bamberg and Nürnberg, the city where Nikolaus printed his *Vermerckung*, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁸³

By using this Rosary image as a frontispiece to his publication on the Holy Land, Wanckel gives it new significance. Re-contextualised in this Holy Land guide, the chain of the Rosary becomes a cosmological circle that symbolises a heavenly Jerusalem, with pronounced eschatological connotations, comparable to Guglingen's circular diagrams.⁸⁴ There are no overt links to the metaphysical circle of Bonaventure, although it could very well have inspired the choice for this image. The presence of St. Francis in the upper right hand corner of the image does allude to the Franciscan *custodia Terrae Sanctae*. The Stigmatisation of Francis, moreover, is an episode in the saint's life that emphasises the outstanding similarities between Christ and Francis, by his reliving of the Crucifixion on mount La Verna, an event that originally took place just outside Jerusalem. During the early modern period, this hagiographical episode was often employed by Franciscans of the Holy Land to legitimise and strengthen the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land (see chapters three, four, and six). Thus, by picking this particular indulgenced Rosary image as a frontispiece, Nikolaus Wanckel not only represents Jerusalem as the centre of a circular cosmos, but he also emphasises the role of the Franciscans at the Holy Places.

The question of the sanctity of the Holy Land also remained on the radar of Franciscan authors connected to the custody of the Holy Land, as the encyclopaedic *Elucidatio* (1639) by the extremely influential Franciscan sacred geographer Francesco Quaresmio testifies. In a section on the various names of the Holy Land he explains that it has been called the *Holy Land* ever

83 It first started appearing around 1500 and was later adapted by artists such as Hans Süss von Kulmbach and Erhard Schön. Thomas Lentjes, "Bildertotale des Heils: Himmlischer Rosenkranz und Gregorsmesse," in *Der Rosenkranz: Andacht, Geschichte, Kunst*, ed. Urs-Beat Frei and Fredy Bühler (Bern: Benteli, 2003), 69-89; Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500-1550* (New York: Hacker, 1974), 841, 887, 1080; also see "Die Gregorsmesse - Eine Bildwissenschaftliche datenbank," last modified February 19, 2004, <http://gregorsmesse.uni-muenster.de> (accessed November 16, 2016).

84 Lentjes discusses the cosmological connotations of this particular Rosary image: Lentjes, "Bildertotale des Heils," 76-81; Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 18-23; Ora Limor, "The Place of the End of Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, ed. Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem: Pini, 1998), 13-22.

since it was “consecrated and sanctified by Christ’s presence and blood.”⁸⁵ Like Guglingen and Suriano, Quaresmio thus sees the physical contact of Christ’s body with the land as the essential explanation for its holiness. As for the centrality of Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the world, Quaresmio observes in a chapter titled *De Situ Terrae Promissionis* that the Holy Land is the foremost part of all the world, situated at the middle of the earth, that is the habitable regions, with at its centre Jerusalem, the navel of the world.⁸⁶ He cites the traditional sources for these ideas; Ezekiel 5:5, Jerome’s commentary on Ezekiel, and Psalm 73:12; but also holds that geographical descriptions of the world corroborate “it is truly in the middle of the world.”⁸⁷

In an age when Jerusalem had long since been decentralised on cartographic representations of the world, explicit reference to the Holy Land and the Holy City being at the centre of the world remained very common in, but of course not unique to, publications on the subject by Franciscans. Authors like Diego de Cea (1639), Antonio de Castillo (1656), Bernardinus Surius (1650), Electus Zwinner (1661), and Mariano Morone da Maleo (1669) unambiguously state that the Holy Land is in the middle of the world and at its centre lies Jerusalem, the navel of the world.⁸⁸ Reference to Jerusalem’s centrality thus remained a very common aspect of Franciscan Holy Land writing well into the seventeenth century. Most of these assertions are of a fairly brief,

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

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

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

88 Diego de Cea, *Thesaurus Terrae Sanctae*, 2 vols. Rome: Typis S. Congreg. de Fide Propaganda, 1639., vol. I, 11; Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1656), 340-8; Bernardinus Surius, *Den Godtvrughtighen Pelgrim*, 4th ed. (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1665), 441; Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands* (München: Wilhelm Schell, 1661), 53-6; Mariano Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata* (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1669), 13-14.

sometimes superficial nature: they do not play a major thematic role in these books. An exception to this rule can be found in *La Palestina Antica e Moderna* (1642) by friar Vincenzo Berdini, who was elected Commissary General of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Land in 1615.⁸⁹ The title page of this studious work of *geographia sacra* in the Italian vernacular, states that this is a “useful work, and necessary not only to professors of antiquity and history, but also to preachers.”⁹⁰

In the first of this three-volume publication, on geography and Old Testament history, Berdini dedicates two chapters to cosmic and global centrality. He opens chapter 6, “In which part of the world the superb city of Jerusalem was situated,” by stating that all authors, both ancient and modern, agree that Jerusalem is in the middle of the universe, and there are several proofs for this.⁹¹ Berdini refers to Ezekiel 5.5 and Jerome’s commentary on Ezekiel, as well as Psalm 73.12, and to Ezekiel 38, where the term ‘navel of the world’ is mentioned. Since Berdini is writing during the early days of the Enlightenment, he not only gives scriptural evidence, but also proposes an experiment, so that one can see for oneself that Jerusalem is in the middle:

And if you want to observe this for yourself, take a globe, and then a drafting compass, put the foot on Jerusalem, and the other end on the tip of Africa, and you form a circle that comprises all the extremes of the habitable lands, and you will see clearly what I have said, and you will find with truth, and observation that Jerusalem is the navel, the middle, or centre.⁹²

Berdini has seemingly achieved the impossible: he has found a way to show that, not a *mappa mundi*, but a globe, can have some sort of a ‘geometrical’

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

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

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

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

middle point. He explains that this middle point is of course most excellent, and salubrious, but more importantly it is a very convenient, central location for the spreading of the Gospels: “the line of preaching departed from the centre, Jerusalem, going round the entire universe.”⁹³ For another proof of Jerusalem’s centrality, Berdini turns to Ptolemy, the ‘prince of cosmographers’, who divides the earth along seven climes, the fourth of which, the middle one, holds Jerusalem. To illustrate this point, the author makes a comparison: just like the sun, situated in the midst of other planets, Jerusalem presides over all the cities in the world, from her position in the fourth and middle clime.⁹⁴ Berdini’s acceptance of this heliocentric model of the solar system is surprising, because at that time it was still highly controversial.⁹⁵ He is both well informed and experimental, while at the same time supportive of quaint and traditional points of view.

In chapter 17, Berdini returns to the topic: “How the Holy Sepulchre and the city of Jerusalem are situated in the middle of the earth.”⁹⁶ He begins with re-stating that God sent his Son to take the human flesh in this place, and no other, where it was easier to communicate his Grace to all nations: “and this glorious city is like a port, a universal entrance to all seas of the World.”⁹⁷ He then describes all the routes one can take from different parts

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

94 “Altri poi per prouar questa verità, cioè che Gierusalemme sia situata nel messo della terra, si seruono di Tolomeo Maestro, e Principe de’Cosmografi, seguitando il parer, el la sentenza de’suoi antenati, i quali tutto quello spatio della terra, che riputauano esser habitabile lo diuisero in sette Climi, e nel quarto clima apponto vien situata Gierusalemme, ed è come il Sole situato nel mezzo de gli altri pianeti, come Principe, e Signore di tutti gli altri, e come da lui riceuano lo splendore, el la luce, cosi la Città di Gierusalemme, come Regina, e Signora di tutte le altre Città del Mondo è posta, e situata nel quarto clima, e mezzo del Mondo.” Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part I., 32.

95 The Copernican system was banned by the Catholic Church in 1616, and Galileo Galilei was on trial for supporting it in 1633.

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

97 “E Quasi propositione vniuersale di tutti Dottori, che questa parte della Palestina, dou’è posta la Città Gierusalemme sia il Mezzo del Mondo, e la ragione perche havendo l’Eterno Iddio mandato il suo Vnigenito figlio à prender Carne humana, e verstirsi di spoglie mortali, non per altro che per redimere il genere humano, ciò doueua fare in luogo, e in parte, che più commoda fosse à tutte le nationi per potergli più facilmente e comunicare le sue gratie, e i suoi Tesori, & a lui ricorrere con minor trauglio, e questa gloriosa Città sia vn porto, & vna

of the world, in order to reach Jerusalem, up to and including the Antipodes living on the Antarctic South Pole. God has selected the centre of the earth, so that everyone would have the same degree of access to the Holy Places. A second, closely related, reason Berdini gives for centrality is that Christ worked Salvation in the middle of the earth, so that from there he may equally reach all nations around the world.

Berdini is aware that some might disagree with his point of view about actual, geographical Jerusalem's centrality. With Psalm 73:12 in mind he writes: "Interpreters say, that David did not want to say, that Jerusalem is in the middle of the world, with that order and mode which the mathematicians describe, but for a certain particular privilege since Salvation was worked in her."⁹⁸ Berdini cites Augustine and Bede in support of the symbolical interpretation, but concludes that, nonetheless, we must take the Psalm literally, based on the authoritative assertions by Jerome, in his commentary on Ezekiel. After citing a number of sources that say that Calvary is indeed the middle of the world, Berdini repeats his point of view that Jerusalem is really, literally, mathematically, and not just symbolically in the middle of the world. He exclaims, that if "to so many testimonies of the Holy Doctors we want to add a mathematical ! reason," he proposes yet another experiment, similar to the first one with the drafting compass.⁹⁹ If one takes the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, as the south most extreme of the habitable regions and the northern extremities of Scandinavia as the other point of reference, one can see that Jerusalem is in the middle. Berdini admits that the same device does not work as well if you apply it from east to west, but he concludes "nevertheless we will not find a point more accessible to all parts of the world than Jerusalem, as we have said before," which will also come in handy when

entrata vniuersale di tutti i Mari del Mondo;" Berdini, *La Palestina Antica e Moderna*, Part I., 66.

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

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

Christ returns for the Last Judgement.¹⁰⁰

In order to prove the physical centrality of Jerusalem Berdini not only bases himself on scriptural evidence, but he also introduces what he calls mathematical evidence: by means of two experiments with a globe. Proving that the city's centrality is not only symbolic but real, is important to him because he sees it is vital for the spreading of the Gospels, and giving all nations an equal degree of access to Salvation. Some years earlier, in 1626, based on the same premise, Quaresmio had argued in one of his publications that God placed Jerusalem in the middle so that it should be easy to mount a Crusade for Western European princes (see chapter four).¹⁰¹ Insistence on the notion that Jerusalem is in the middle of the world thus remained part of Franciscan Holy Land writing, based on various reasons, after Guglingen and Suriano promoted it from the category of trivia to a particular that is of integral importance in their treatises. Berdini's argument about democratic access to Salvation is indeed comparable to Suriano's image of a central heart spreading grace and virtue equally throughout the world, while the circular indulgenced Rosary image that Nikolaus Wanckel uses to represent Jerusalem recalls Guglingen's circular perspectives on God, the cosmos and the Holy Land. If Guglingen and Suriano's collaborative effort at understanding and contextualising the sacred centre was not a direct source for later Franciscan perspectives on it, their ideas and interests do prefigure a growing pre-occupation among later authors with similar topics and questions.

1.4 Marvels as vestiges of the sacred centre

In their treatises on the Holy Land, Guglingen and Suriano both emphasise the physical centrality of Jerusalem as the salvific heart of an orbicular cosmos, a view that continued to be held by later Franciscans of the Holy Land, as we have seen. Guglingen and Suriano also conclude their treatises

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

101 Quaresmio, *Ierosolymae Afflictae Humilitae Deprecatio Phillipum IV. Hispaniarum et Novi Orbis Potentissimum, ac Catholicum Regem* (Jerusalem: Dat. ex Sanctissimo D.N. IESU CHRISTI Sepulchro, anno Dominicae Incarnationis 1626. in sacratissimo die Parasceues), 23-4.

on the Holy Land in a comparable fashion: with a discussion of marvels of the East that serve as devout vestiges of the sacred centre, likewise informed by Bonaventurian theology. A marvel is something that produces a response of wonder: the marvel is in the eye of the beholder, so to speak.¹⁰² For Latin Christians, the remote and relatively uncharted territories of the East, offered an enduringly fertile ground for imagining marvels during the medieval period: strange races, plants, and natural phenomena.¹⁰³ Jerusalem as a pilgrimage destination and the marvels of the East are topics that could be felicitously married together, as the popularity of the Book of Sir John Mandeville testifies.¹⁰⁴ Marvels of the East also play an important part in the treatises on the Holy Land by Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano: not as exciting reading in an adventurous travelogue, but as part of their devout understanding of the Holy Land. Below, the function of marvels in these two treatises will first be examined, and subsequently related to later examples of marvellous flora and fauna of the East in early modern books about the Holy Land by the Franciscan friars Bernardinus Surius and Antonius Gonsales. As was the case with their explanatory model for the sanctity and centrality of the Holy Land, the theology of St Bonaventure is again fundamental for understanding the inclusion of marvels in the treatises by Guglingen and Suriano. Once more, it provides an interpretative framework to better understand the Holy Land against the background of a Franciscan worldview.

The eighth and final book of Guglingen's *Treatise on the Holy Land* deals with the marvels of the East, as its heading announces: "Here follows the eighth part of this treatise, in which I intend to describe the characteristics and the marvels of some creatures of some provinces and nations beyond the

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

103 Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: a Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159-97; John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse [NY], Syracuse University Press, 2000); Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript*, repr. 1995 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003); Marianne O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger, "Introduction: The Marvelous Imagination," xi-xxv.

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

borders of the Holy Land.”¹⁰⁵ Following this heading, book VIII opens with a number of sections directly taken from the *Historia Orientalis* by Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1160/70-1240) about peculiar peoples: pagans who refused the law of Muhammad, Turcomans, Bedouins, miserable men who have a hidden law, and the Assassins.¹⁰⁶ Then follow a number of sections based on the Letter of Prester John, and the marvels reported in that.¹⁰⁷ Book VIII continues with a sequence of chapters taken from the *Historia Orientalis* about marvelous rivers, mountains, trees, fruits, roots, serpents, birds, fishes, and precious stones.¹⁰⁸ One wonders why Guglingen concludes his *Treatise* about the Holy Land with this discussion of marvels of the East taken almost *ad verbatim* from other sources, rather than composing the main text of the final book himself.

Within the arrangement into eight books, the final book of the *Treatise* looks like an odd one out. The first seven books are arranged in chronological order, starting with Creation and leading up to Guglingen’s present day, while at the same time zooming in geographically: Guglingen begins with Creation (book I), then traces Salvation history based on several Old Testament events, in book II (about Terrestrial Paradise) and book III (Genealogy of Christ down to Naason). He then starts to zoom in geographically, giving a description of the Holy Land (in book IV), a description of Jerusalem (in book V), Holy Places in and outside Jerusalem (in book VI). Finally, he continues to trace history again, in book VII: the history of Jerusalem after the Ascension up to the present, and the various religious communities that live there. Book VIII seems to fit rather awkwardly into the general structure of the *Treatise*: it does not contribute to the historical sequence of the previous books, and it zooms out instead of in, geographically speaking: it is about marvels explicitly *outside* the borders of the Holy Land.

Book VIII appears to be incongruous with the otherwise carefully planned structure of the *Treatise*, but we can begin to understand it by paying

105 “Sequitur octava pars huius tractatus In qua describere intendo aliquarum provinciarum et nationum extra terminos terre sancte existencium proprietates ac mirabilia aliquarum creaturarum.” Neuburg MS, p. 367-396.

106 These correspond to chapters 10-14 of the *Historia Orientalis*. Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 104-113; in the conclusion of the book VIII Guglingen names some of the sources, among which the *Historia Orientalis* as well as the writings of Augustine, Isidore, Pliny, and Solinus. cf. Neuburg MS p. 395.

107 Neuburg MS p. 380-386; Vsevolod Slessarev, *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959).

108 Neuburg MS p. 386-393; these sections correspond to chapters 85-91 of the *Historia Orientalis*. Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, 240-287.

attention to Guglingen's final conclusion. This is a relatively short section of text, which discusses how "the marvels of God are to be considered and arranged in praise of their Maker."¹⁰⁹ In this section, Guglingen argues that if some of his readers happen to think that the marvels he has just related seem unbelievable, he wants them to know that he is not asking anyone to believe the incredible: "For every one abounds in its own sense, and I judge it no danger to believe the things that are neither against faith nor against good behaviour, on the contrary: I judge it to be rewarding ..."¹¹⁰ Reading about and believing in these marvels is rewarding, according to Guglingen, because from these marvels one comes to know God.¹¹¹ Only by looking at things created, one may begin to understand the greatness of God: "Who of the mortals could know the extremely great and excellent power of God the Creator, if not from the magnitude, the extent, and the strength of things created?"¹¹²

These assertions on the part of Guglingen can be understood in the light of Bonaventure's doctrine of Creation. In Bonaventure's metaphysics, God is the first, unoriginate, infinite and essentially good source of everything else: the fountain fullness - also represented by the *sphaera intelligibilis* at the beginning of Guglingen's *Treatise*. Based on the premise that God is good, and goodness is by nature self-diffusive, the fountain fullness causes Creation by expressing itself, all that he is, in one Word.¹¹³ Since the Word is the ultimate self-expression of God, it is the exemplar for everything created. This concept is sometimes called Bonaventure's cosmic exemplarism, which "presupposes that God is the prototype of all that exists and that he express-

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

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

111 "... cum quis mirabilia opera dei ad commendacionem diuine potencie sapientie clemencie ac iusticie coram deo et hominibus confitetur. Nam deus omnem creaturam mirabilem condidit, et si quid in una parte terre non apparet mirabile, in alia tamen parte si videretur multum mirabile esset, ut homo ex illis mirabilibus laudabilem proprietatem sui creatoris cognoscat." Neuburg MS p. 395.

112 "Quis enim mortalium posset cognoscere dei creatoris maximam et excellentissimam potenciam, nisi in magnitudine latitudine et fortitudine creaturarum? Quis intelligeret dei altissimam et infinitam sapientiam, nisi in varia pulchritudine et bona dispositione creaturarum?" Neuburg MS p. 395.

113 Ilia Delio, "From Metaphysics to Kataphysics: Bonaventure's 'Good' Creation," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 64, no. 2 (2011): 165-8; Delio, "Bonaventure's Metaphysics," 228-235.

es himself in creatures, so that as a result creatures express the Creator.”¹¹⁴ Creatures are thus not God himself, but they do reflect the divine exemplar, his goodness, wisdom, etc.¹¹⁵ The created world can thus function as a mirror, or a revelation of God, when contemplated by man, a meditative process that Bonaventure discusses in the two initial contemplative steps in his *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*.¹¹⁶ It is exactly this type of contemplation that Guglingen has in mind in the eighth and last book of his *Treatise*: like Bonaventure in his *Itinerarium*, he refers to Romans 1:20, saying that the invisible properties of God can be seen in Creation.¹¹⁷ Contemplating marvels then, because of their outlandishness and sheer variety, can help simple mortals come closer to grasping the infinity and greatness of God.

Considering this outlook, the eighth book of Guglingen’s *Treatise*, rather than an odd addendum, emerges as integral to the argument of the *Treatise* as a whole. Guglingen begins his *Treatise* with God in his divine essence before Creation, the undivided Father who is the original fountain of all creatures - the *sphaera intelligibilis*. Based on this divine exemplar a circular world emerges, and Guglingen zooms into the sacred centre of Creation, Jerusalem, through a series of circles analogous to Bonaventure’s metaphysical circle, at the centre of which stands Christ. Finally, book VIII of the *Treatise* presents a completion of this worldview: a contextualisation of the Holy Land, in a cosmos in which everything resonates harmoniously in correspondence with the divine exemplar.¹¹⁸ Marvels outside of the borders of the Holy Land, instead of being representatives of chaos, bear the vestiges of the sacred centre, the divine exemplar, and confirm the natural order in Creation,

114 Leonard J. Bowman, “The Cosmic Exemplarism of Bonaventure,” *The Journal of Religion* 55, no. 2 (1975): 183-4.

115 Bowman, “The Cosmic Exemplarism,” 184; Delio, “From Metaphysics to Kataphysics,” 172.

116 Bowman, “The Cosmic Exemplarism,” 185-191.

117 “Ut ait Apostolus ad Roma<nos>: Invisibilia dei a creatura mundi per ea que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur.” Neuburg MS p. 395; Bonaventure, *Itinerarium in Mentis Deum*, ch. 2: 12: “Significant autem huiusmodi creaturae huius mundi sensibilis *invisibilia Dei*, partim quia Deus est omnis creaturae *origo, exemplar et finis*, et omnis effectus est signum causae, et exemplatum exemplaris, et via finis, ad quem ducit.” Bonaventure, *Works of St Bonaventure: Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, ed. Philotheus Boehner (Quarrachi, 1956) & trans. Zachery Hayes (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2002), 78.

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

and refer back to Guglingen's circular starting point. The entire *Treatise on the Holy Land* is thus enveloped by the principle that Creation is a self-expression of God: an essentially good, harmonious cosmic order.

Like his colleague Guglingen, Francesco Suriano writes cosmography and places Jerusalem at the physical centre of the universe, and he also engages with a similar theme of marvels of the East in his *Trattato*. When he discusses a number of exceptional natural phenomena in and outside of the Holy Land in the second book of his treatise, the discussion is firmly linked to his explanation of why the Holy Land is holy in the first book. In book I Suriano cites Psalm 65:9: "Thou has visited the earth, and hast plentifully watered it; thou hast many ways enriched it," in the context of his argument about the importance of divine visitation for sanctification of the land.¹¹⁹ As was discussed above, much physical contact with the body of Christ made the Holy Land holy. However, Suriano explains, not only the land became holy, but everything in it as well:

Not only the land itself, but also all things contained therein and appertaining to it - I mention not the Saracens who do not belong to it - are most holy. Hence, holy are the fruits, holy are the trees, holy are the timbers, holy are the greens, holy are the herbs, holy is the bread, holy is the water, holy are the stones, holy is everything else, and full of virtue.¹²⁰

Having heard this, Sister Sixta wants to know more and asks her interlocutor to say more about the significance of Psalm 65:9 as well as how God has multiplied temporal, corporal, and spiritual riches of the Holy Land. Her brother replies that he will dedicate the second book of his treatise to this topic.¹²¹ By referring to the temporal, the corporeal, as well as the spiritual in conjunction with each other in this manner, Suriano already places his discussion in the tradition of cosmic exemplarism.¹²² In the *Itinerarium in Mentis Deum*, Bona-

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

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

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

122 When Augustine of Hippo first codified his influential exemplarist theory, he used the same terms, in *De Doctrina Christiana*: "So in this mortal life we are travellers away from

venture observes that by considering the corporal and the temporal imprint of the divine exemplar in Creation, we can begin to climb the ladder back towards God, to the spiritual and the eternal.¹²³

In the prologue to book II, Suriano emphasises his own expertise on matters relating to the Holy Land: of course one can rely on the Bible or more authoritative authors than himself, but after all he did live in the Holy Land for many years as a Franciscan religious, so who can give better or more exact information than he? To illustrate this point, Suriano refers to the spies who reported back to Moses bringing fruit from the Promised Land, so that people might know the entire country from its fruits (Numbers 13:27). In the second book of his *Trattato* he intends to do the same: he will be the spy who reports back about the temporal, corporal, and spiritual gifts of the land, by means of a discussion of the fruits of the land.¹²⁴ First comes a series of sixteen chapters on the Muslims, their faith, the origins of the Mamluks, the Janissaries, the Bedouins, the Raphadi, the Druses, and others.¹²⁵ Apart from creating an opportunity to point out what he sees as flaws in Muslim faith and doctrine, Suriano also includes these chapters because he interprets the great variety of peoples who live in the Holy Land as part of its corporeal and material riches.¹²⁶

our Lord: if we wish to return to the homeland where we can be happy, we must use this world, not enjoy it, in order to discern ‘the invisible attributes of God, which are understood through what has been made’ or in other words, to ascertain what is eternal and spiritual from corporeal and temporal things.” ed. & trans. R.P. H. Green, cited in Rebecca A. Davis, “‘Save Man Allone’: Human exceptionality in Piers Plowman and the Exemplarist Tradition,” in *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature*, ed. Christopher Cannon and Maura Nolan (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011), 46; also see David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1962), 40-43.

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

124 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 201-2.

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

126 “(Cap XL.) - De la multiplicà de la gente che è in terra de promissione e sancta.” Suri-

As for the temporal riches of the Holy Land, Suriano begins by discussing the perfection of the climate, which he describes as “most temperate, most clear and most salubrious,” so that diseases such as gout, diarrhoea, and fever are much less common there.¹²⁷ He discusses the quality of the water, which is the best in the world (excepting that of the Nile), according to Suriano.¹²⁸ The rivers of terrestrial paradise, a river in Ethiopia that is extremely cold during daytime and very hot at night, and one that produces artificial fire also receive mention. In a chapter titled “The Land of Promise is Holy” Suriano then makes clear that notwithstanding all this good quality water, the land is very dry, because it almost never rains, yet at the same time is surprisingly fertile:

It is a real marvel to see the watermelons, so big and juicy, that grow in the bare sand without irrigation and with the help only of the perfection of the air, and they are in such quantities that they last the whole year. They have also many other things that we have not, as eggplant, coconut, bamboo, sugar-cane and many other things.¹²⁹

Suriano enumerates many foodstuffs that do not exist in Europe, or are much better in the Holy Land, and expands on the topic in the next chapter on “The Trees, Plants, Fruits, Big and Small.”¹³⁰ Then follows a sequence of nineteen chapters that describe respectively The Pepper Tree, Ginger, Mirobolans, Cinnamon, Nutmeg and Maces, Cloves, Camphor, Lac, Benzoin, Aloes Wood, Rhubarb, Musk, The Civet, The Minute Spices, Pearls, Precious Stones, Animals, Eastern Birds, and Aethites and Onyx.¹³¹

What Suriano has described are not exactly marvels, but rather agricultural produce, flora, fauna, and gemmology of the East. He explicitly indicates in the text of these chapters that many of these things come from places like Calcutta, the Indonesian Isles, Persia, and Ceylon: not exactly the Holy Land. For the places Suriano did not visit himself, he sampled the information from the travelogue by Ludovico di Varthema (ca. 1470 – 1517), who did

ano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 237-9.

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

128 “CHAPTER XVIII. The Waters, Rivers, Fountains, Pools, and Other Water Sources in the Holy Land.” Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 220-1.

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

130 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 221-4.

131 Chapters XXI-XXXIX. Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 224-233.

travel that far east in the years 1502-7.¹³² Even though Suriano knows very well part of the things he describes are found only far beyond the Holy Land, he still sees them as pertinent to his argument: for Suriano the Holy Land is not entirely distinct from, but blended with the

Eastern territories that lie beyond it. Based on his lengthy discussion of Eastern spices, fruits, animals, plants, and stones, Suriano concludes: “I believe that the above is sufficient to prove that the Land of Promise is more holy than any other part of the world in that it is most rich in all the temporal things.”¹³³ The temporal riches of the Holy Land thus demonstrate the veracity of its spiritual riches: the virtue and sanctity that spreads from the centre, discussed in book I and re-iterated in book II.¹³⁴

Analogous to Bonaventure’s exemplarism (things created bear the vestiges of the divine prototype), the temporal riches of the East prove the spiritual riches of the sacred centre for Suriano. This argument is quite similar to Guglingen’s interpretation of marvels outside the Holy Land, and like Guglingen, Suriano also begins his treatise with an explanation of the sanctity of the Holy Land and ends it with the temporal vestiges proving his point. Both friars base their understanding of the Holy Land on Bonaventure’s theology; they make sense out of it by contextualising it in a Franciscan cosmos. Again, it seems that Guglingen’s and Suriano’s perspective on the Holy Land did not have an immediate impact on Franciscan discourse on the subject. However, once more, their approach to the subject did resurface later on, representative of an interpretative attitude towards the Holy Land, first shown by Guglingen and Suriano.

In 1650, Bernardinus Surius, a Franciscan Recollect friar from the Low Countries, first published his expansive travelogue to the Holy Land, based on his travels and sojourn as a friar of the *custodia* in 1644-7.¹³⁵ This

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

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

134 “(CAP. XLI). - De le virtù de sanctità che è uscita de questa benedicta terra de promissione. ... Et hai moltiplicate le soe richeze, de beni temporali corporali e spirituali, como nel presente tractato habiamo demonstrato. E qui fazo fine de questo secundo libreto et operata, ad laude de l’omnipotente Dio, trino et uno. Amen.” Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, 239-240.

135 Bernardinus Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim ofte Hierusalemsche Reyse* (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1650); A. Houbaert O.F.M., “Surius (de Soer), Bernardinus, minderbroeder en schrijver,” in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek, deel V* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1972), 873-6; I refer to the 4th edition of 1665, since it is more readily available

very popular publication, which went through several reprints, also includes a substantial section near the end on some of the birds, animals, trees, fruits and stones of the Levant.¹³⁶ The reason why Surius includes such a section in his Holy Land travelogue is explained in the preface to the third part: “the pilgrim returning home.”¹³⁷ Surius observes that everyone knows that man was created to come to know God, and eventually returns to Him. And like Guglingen, Bonaventure and Augustine before him, he refers to Romans 1:20, and says that in this world, knowledge of God can only be gathered from his creatures: “because what is this visible world and all contained in her, except a book in which all the perfections of God are written and imprinted.”¹³⁸

In Surius’ day and age, reading the ‘book of nature’, as opposed to the ‘book of scripture’, was a ubiquitous expression in publications on natural history, but it was generally employed quite differently than in Augustine’s or Bonaventure’s interpretation of that term.¹³⁹ Instead of bearing the vestiges

for consultation, on Google Books; the Recollect friars (not to be confused with the Coletan friars) constitute an early modern reform movement within the observant branch of the Franciscan order, that finds its origins in France during the later decades of the sixteenth century.

136 These chapters comprise: Van den Arendt; Van den Pelicaen; Van den Struysvoghel; Van de Aleppesche Duyven; Van de Tortel-duyve; Van den Krekel, by de Latynsche Cicada, ende by de Francoisen Cigale genoemt; Van den Olifant, ende van het Panther-dier, anders, Panthera; Van den Tiger, Kemel, Schapen, Bocken, ende Geyten; Van den Cameleon; Van den Stellio, oft. Sterren-dier; Van den Crocodilus; Van den Scorpioen, Den drogaila, ende van andere fenynighe dieren; Van den Palm-boom; Van den Vyge-boom; Van den Pyn-boom, oft wilden Vygen-boom; Van den Ahorn-boom, in het Latijn Platanus ghenoeemt; Van den Granaet-boom; Van Adams Appelen, ende Pharaons Vyghe-boom; Van het kruyt Mandragora; Van den Roose; Van den Arendt-steen, in het Latyn ghenoeemt Petra Aquilina, ende van het Korael; Van den steen Amiantes, ende Zeylsteen. Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 751-785.

137 DEN WEDER-KEERENDEN PELGRIM. HET DERDE BOECK. WAERSCHOUWINGHE VOOR DEN GODTVRUCHTIGHEN LESER. Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 701-3.

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

139 Augustine was the first to use the term ‘book of nature’ in *De Doctrina Christiana*. Peter

of God that could in turn lead to true knowledge of Him, early modern scholars like Francis Bacon (1561-1626), saw Creation as an important testimony to God's power, but in itself it could also be devoid of theological meaning.¹⁴⁰ Bernardinus Surius, however, continues to read the book of nature the old-fashioned way, as "the ladder with which saint Francis climbed up to God, and, to an extent, knowledge of Him."¹⁴¹ He refers to Bonaventure and concludes that since God's creatures lead the human mind to knowledge and love of Him, he has therefore included a description of some of the animals, plants, fruits, spices, and gems that he met on his eastern travels, plus meditations to help setting devout souls on the right course to knowledge of God.¹⁴²

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

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

141 "De leeder vvaer mede den H. Franciscus op kлом tot Godt, ende eenighsins tot syn kennisse, zyn gevveest de schepsels: over sulcx gebiedde hy aen den Hovenier des Convents, daer hy vvoonde, eenen besonderen hof te maken, ende den selven te beplanten met vvel rieckende kruyden, op dat se hear saysoen bloemekens dragende door haer schoonheydt, ende soeten reuck een iegeluck tot de kennisse ende lof de Scheppers souden vervvecken." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 704.

142 "Aangezien dan dat Godts schepsels hoe kleyn, hoe slecht sy oock zyn, het menschelyck verstand tot syn kennisse, liefde ende lof eenighsins bevvegen, vervvecken ende trecken: soo hebbe ick in myn Oostsche reyse by een vergadert sommighe eygenscapen der vogelen, dieren, boomen, kruyden, vruchten, ende steenen, alsoock ander seldtsaemheden, die ick als oogh-ghetuygh daer bemerckt, aangeteeckent, ende hierin het eynde van de derden boeck by een gestelt hebbe. Voege by-naer op alle plaetsen eenige aenmerckinge tot verlichtinge van een devote ziele, om de selve te trecken tot de kennisse Scheppers, ende die te bevvegen tot syn liefde met een vierighe danck segginge. EYNDE." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 704.

Surius' discussion of the wondrous creatures of the Levant does not follow the exact same Bonaventurian perspective on the Holy Land formulated by Guglingen and Suriano, in which marvels are vestiges of the sacred centre. However, the final section on flora and fauna in Surius' Holy Land travelogue does make up an important part of his book. By including this section he makes his outward journey to the Holy Land refer to man's inward, mental journey back to God, a route first suggested by Augustine and influentially charted in Bonaventure's *Itinerarium in Mentis in Deum*.¹⁴³ Significantly then, Surius sub-divides his book into three sections called "the pilgrim setting out," "the pilgrim standing still," "the pilgrim returning home," and significantly includes an exposition on God's creatures of the East at the end, in order to edge his readers onto the right path, back to God.¹⁴⁴ Surius' section on the flora and fauna of the East does form part of a perspective, not on the Holy Land per se, but on Holy Land pilgrimage, that has a decidedly Franciscan flavour, ideologically speaking.

This is perhaps less true in the case of Antonius Gonsales' slightly later Holy Land travelogue.¹⁴⁵ Gonsales, former guardian of the Franciscan convent in Bethlehem, also includes a considerable final section on "Strange trees, plants, flowers, four-footed and crawling animals, birds, fishes, and precious stones, which I saw in Egypt, Syria, and Cyprus."¹⁴⁶ The author was most likely inspired by what he saw in Surius' popular travelogue, which came out already before Gonsales' own stay in the Holy Land in 1664-71. Gonsales does briefly say, following Surius, that knowledge of creatures may lead to knowledge of the Creator, and subsequently Salvation, and he also adds meditations for the "entertainment of devout souls."¹⁴⁷

143 Tim Noone and R. E. Houser, "Saint Bonaventure," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2014 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2014/entries/bonaventure/> (accessed on August 10, 2016).

144 The motto of the third book, Wisdom 13:5, also signals Surius' intention: "DEN WEDER-KEERENDEN PELGRIM. HET DERDE BOEK. Uyt de grootheyt der schoonheyd, en der creaturen magh kennelyck den Schepper van dese gesien worden. Sap. 13.5." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 705.

145 Antonius Gonsales, *Hierusalemse Reijse*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1673).

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

147 "op dat den goetgunstighen Leser inde kennisse der Creaturen, sich mach vermaecken met den Grooten Alexander, ende comen tot meerder kennisse van sijnen Schepper, ende daer door tot de eeuwighe saligheydt. ... Ik heb oock aen ieder Capittel een korte Leeringhe bygevoeght tot vermaeck van de devote zielen." Gonsales, *Hierusalemse Reijse*, vol. II,

Nevertheless, his intentions are not merely devout. Judging from the preface to this section, his main interest seems to lie with finding the right balance between eye-witness report and testimonies from other authors, for accurately describing this fascinating subject.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, apart from entertaining devout souls, Gonsales also means to satisfy curious ones: in the general preface to his book, he motivates the publication, after Surius had already published his, by emphasising that he travelled more widely than Surius and thus could “see and sketch more rarities, of which I had beautiful copper plates cut and with which I have decorated this book for the satisfaction of all those who are curious and enjoy that sort of thing.”¹⁴⁹ Three copper plate engravings grace the final section of his book showing a chameleon, porcupine, scorpions, stellagama, salamander, crocodile, and Hippopotamus (fig. 9). From vestiges of God in Bonaventure’s essentially good Creation, the creatures of the East have degenerated into diverting recreational reading.

1.5 Conclusion

Both Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano infuse their treatises on the Holy Land with the theology of St Bonaventure: it fundamentally informs their perspective on sacred geography. Inspired by the metaphysics

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148 Gonsales relates that Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) ordered Aristotle (384-322 BC) to describe as many species of animals and plants as possible, helping him to the subjects of study. And if Aristotle made some mistakes, Gonsales says, as is known today because of experience and observation, this was because of bad information given by others. Therefore Gonsales resolves to combine both his own eye-witness observation of natural phenomena, with the testimonies of other authors, such as Pedanius Dioscorides (40-90 AD), Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501-1577), Prosper Alpinus (1553-1617), as well as Aristotle and Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD). Gonsales, *Hierusalemsche Reijse*, vol. II, 340-1; Alexander the Great did provide Aristotle with some of the subjects for his biological investigations, but it is not known whether Aristotle wrote his work on the subject by Alexander’s orders. Michael Boyland, “Aristotle: Biology,” *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ISSN 2161-0002, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/> (accessed August 10, 2016).

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

and doctrine of Creation of this influential Franciscan thinker, they construct a worldview emphasising that the Holy Land, and at its centre Jerusalem, is the Christological focal point of an essentially good and well-ordered cosmos. They explain why the Holy Land is holy by referring primarily to the physical touch of Christ, through which his *virtus* was transferred to the land. Finally, they both conclude their treatises by pointing out that marvellous Eastern peoples, plants, animals and stones, bear witness to the sacred centre as Bonaventurian vestiges of the divine exemplar.

Likely working together at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, Guglingen and Suriano laboured to formulate a complex perspective on the sacred geography of the Holy Land, based on a decidedly Franciscan worldview. Their effort is representative of a transition in how the Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* regarded the Holy Land: no longer only as pilgrims, or guides of (virtual) pilgrims, but as Franciscan Holy Land experts, working from a Franciscan background. Particular elements of their model do resurface in the work of later Franciscan authors on the Holy Land: a circular perspective in Nikolaus Wanckel, a similar explanation of the sanctity of the Holy Land in Francesco Quaresmio, a comparable insistence on the centrality of the Holy Land in Vincenzo Berdini, and an analogous attention for marvels of the East in Bernardinus Surius.

The significance of the collaborative project of Guglingen and Suriano, however, does not come from direct influence on the Franciscan discourse on the Holy Land (which indeed it cannot boast), but its approach: the conviction that, as Franciscans, they could and should throw new light on matters relating to the Holy Land. Possibly egged on by a climate of uncertainty about the Franciscan position in Jerusalem, created by territorial disputes with the strengthened Georgian patriarchate of the late Mamluk period, Guglingen and Suriano strive to affirm the importance of the Franciscan outlook on and claim to the Holy Land. The very same attitude and motivations also fostered the Franciscan defence of the holiness of the Holy Land during the early modern period, the topic of the next chapter, and led many Franciscan authors to write histories and treatises, instead of only travelogues and devotional guides, on the Holy Land, eventually claiming the Holy Land as an essentially Franciscan territory once and for all, as will become clear in the subsequent chapters.