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Introduction*

In the same place [Jerusalem], abide religious men from the Order of St Francis, called the “Minorites”, coming from different nations and languages, committed to the sacred places, for the honor of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to bring divine praises to the entire heavenly court, and for the edification of pilgrims, to comfort and guide them, for the increase of the faith and to honor the Christian religion¹.

Thus described Amedeus Boverii the Holy Land mission of his brethren who settled in Jerusalem a century before his own arrival in the city. Boverii, a Franciscan from southern France, travelled to the Holy Land in the 1430s. He wrote about the friars’ place among the other communities of late medieval Jerusalem in his *Libellus peregrinationis totius Terre Sancte*². In Jerusalem, he stayed with the friars in their convent of Mount Sion, very likely using books gathered in their conventual library to write the account of his pilgrimage³.

Boverii was one of numerous Franciscan friars who traveled to the Holy Land and wrote about his overseas experiences. This dissertation follows the history of Franciscan friars who began settling on Mount Sion in the 1330s. It aims at tracing the Franciscan dialectic with Jerusalem, how they engaged with its landscape and communities, and how, especially through rituals, the friars shaped the memory of the Holy Places, not only in the Holy Land but for their European audiences as well.

I started to work on the rituals of the Jerusalemite friars four years ago with a vague idea about what these rituals might have been. Turning to contemporary sources, written or used by friars or by pilgrims they guided in Jerusalem, I abandoned most of my initial assumptions, to discover the intricate dynamics behind this Latin community in the East. The analysis of their rituals allowed me to follow how they negotiated their presence and asserted their identity in an Islamic city. The friars’ dialectic with the city as a memorial of Christ’s

* All translations in this dissertation, unless otherwise mentioned, are mine. However, whenever biblical quotations are included in these translations, I used the English translation of the King James Version, in the following edition: *Holy Bible*. King James Version, Emerald Text Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, s.a). The same edition is followed in rendering all English Biblical quotations in this dissertation. For Latin biblical quotations, the following edition was used: Roger Gryson, ed., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

¹ “Ibidem commorantibus necnon viris religiosis Ordinis Sancti Francisci nuncupatis minoribus, diversarum nationum et linguarum, ad honorem Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi et totius celestis curie laudibus divinis in sacris locis vacantibus et ad peregrinorum instructionem, consolationem et directionem et fidei augmentum et totius Christiane religionis honorem.” *Libellus peregrinationis totius Terre Sancte*, BNF Latin 4826, 31r-31v.

² Paravicini, Werner, ed., *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters*. vol. 2, *Französische Reiseberichte*, eds. Jörg Wettlaufel and Jacques Paviot (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 78.

³ “Explicit id libellus peregrinationis totius Terre Sancte, editus a fratre Amedeo Boverii Ordinis Minorum Provincie Terre Delphinatus, qui in Terra Sancta enim edidit et diversis ystoriis abstraxit.” *Libellus peregrinationis totius Terre Sancte*, BNF Latin 4826, 81r.

death and resurrection also shaped their development of itinerant commemorative rituals, which they transferred to their homelands in Western Europe. Deployed in the East by the papacy and by their Order to cater for the needs of Western pilgrims and look after the Holy Places, they were meant to stand as a bastion of the Roman Church among undesirable outsiders. However, aptly described in a papal bull as *amantes barbaras nationes*, the Franciscans of Mount Sion engaged with their environment, allowing themselves to be influenced⁴. This dissertation tells the story of this dialogue, as seen through the lens of ritual.

In this *Introduction*, I begin by explaining the historical circumstances behind the appointment of the friars as guardians of the Holy Places and why the chronological scope of this dissertation extends from the 1330s to 1517. Next, I outline the role of rituals in the Franciscan mission in Jerusalem, and explain the meaning ascribed to *ritual* in this study. I conclude with a brief description of the *status quaestionis* in the scholarship dedicated to the history of the Holy Land Franciscans and an outline of the chapters that make this dissertation.

1. Why Franciscans in the Holy Land? The chronological and historical background of this dissertation

Franciscans first settled in Jerusalem in the thirteenth century. Their presence in the city did not last long, however, leaving when the city was lost by the crusaders for the last time in 1244⁵. They returned to the Holy Land in the 1330s, with a papal mandate, and have remained there as Latin guardians of the Holy Places ever since. The friars' restoration to the Holy Land is linked to the patronage of the king of Naples, Robert of Anjou (1309-1343) and queen Sancha of Mallorca (1309-1345), his wife. Robert of Anjou was nominally the King of Jerusalem. The younger brother of Louis of Toulouse, who renounced the throne to become a

⁴ See below.

⁵ The first general chapter of the Franciscans, held at Porziuncola in 1217, organized the Order into eleven provinces, one of which was the Holy Land province, into which the regions of Palestine, Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, Greece and the Aegean Islands were included. In the Holy Land the friars settled first probably in Crusader Acre in 1217. In Crusader Jerusalem the friars lasted for approximately ten years, from 1239, when peace was reached between Frederik II and the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, to 1239, when Franks were expelled from the city by the sultan al-Nasir Dāwud. They stopped being mentioned altogether after 1244, the year when the Khwarizimians devastated the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, who visited Jerusalem in 1288, mentioned that the convent of the friars used to stand by the station of Simon of Cyrene. Augustin Arce, "De origine Custodiae Terrae Sanctae", in *Miscelánea de Tierra Santa*, vol. 3 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1973), 76-79; Félix del Buey and Cristóforo Alvi, "Orígenes de la Custodia de Tierra Santa. Ayuda de los reinos de Aragón, Nápoles y Castilla (capítulo reabierto)", *Archivo iberoamericano* LXV (2005): 11-12.

Franciscan, Robert himself took the Franciscan habit before his death in 1343⁶. Widowed, Sancha of Mallorca also joined the Poor Clares at her foundation of Santa Chiara in Naples. Many of her family too, including her two brothers, joined the Franciscan Order, and she made the court of Naples a haven for persecuted friars, especially for those fleeing papal harassment for their rigorist views on poverty⁷. Named by a Franciscan chronicler *consolatrix piissima pauperum* and *benefactrix fratrum minorum*⁸, she also lavished her munificence on the friars who settled in Jerusalem.

The Angevine preference for the Franciscan order proved instrumental in the friars' appointment as the exclusive representatives of the Roman Church in the Holy Land. In the early 1300s the king of Aragon approached the Mamluk sultans with a proposal for the settlement of Dominican friars in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. James II of Aragon also favored the settlement of Franciscans, but these negotiations did not result in a permanent Latin presence in Jerusalem⁹. Sometime at the end of 1333 or the beginning of 1334, Roger Guérin, a Franciscan friar from the province of Aquitaine, a missionary to the Tartars and Armenians, travelled to Egypt, and through generous gifts provided by the king of Naples for the purpose, managed to obtain from the sultan al-Malik al-Nāsir Muhammad (1310-1341) the *aman* for the friars' settlement in Jerusalem, and especially their right to serve permanently in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. From Egypt he went to Jerusalem with several friars from the Franciscan province of Aquitaine, where he bought, with money provided by queen Sancha, a plot of land on Mount Sion, by the room of the Cenacle and the ruined Byzantine monastery of St Mary, where the friars' Jerusalem convent was erected¹⁰.

With two bulls issued on the 21st of November 1342, *Gratias agimus* and *Nuper carissimae*, pope Clement VI confirmed the settlement of the friars as guardians of the Holy Places and acknowledged the royal donors. The bulls stated that the king and queen “with high expenses and great efforts” (*non sine magis sumptibus et laboribus gravibus*), had obtained for the Franciscan friars, from the sultan in Cairo, the right to dwell permanently in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Cenacle, the Chapel of the Holy Spirit and the Chapel

⁶ Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth Century Kingship* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), 8, 209-210, 287.

⁷ Isabelle Heullant-Donat, “En amont de l’Observance. Les lettres de Sancha, reine de Naples, aux Chapitres généraux et leur transmission dans l’historiographie du XIV^e siècle”, in *Identités franciscaines à l’âge des réformes*, eds. Frédéric Meyer and Ludovic Viallet (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal), 77-83.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁹ On the Aragonese negotiations: del Buey and Alvi, “Origines de la Custodia de Tierra Santa”, 21-26.

¹⁰ Arce, “De origine Custodiae Terrae Sanctae”, 86-92.

of St Thomas. All these chapels were on Mount Sion, in the vicinity of the Franciscan convent¹¹. *Gratias agimus* mentioned that the friars were already settled on Mount Sion by 1342. Twelve friars and three lay helpers are referred by the *Gratias agimus*¹². In *Nuper carissimae*, which the pope issued on the same day, the number of lay people allowed to settle in Jerusalem as helpers to the friars was raised to five¹³. This was the beginning of the Custody of the Holy Land¹⁴.

This dissertation explores a major aspect of the Franciscan history in Jerusalem from the establishment of the Custody of the Holy Land in the 1330s up to the year 1517, an ominous year in the history of the friars of Mount Sion. The settlement of the friars and the institutional development of the Custody of the Holy Land in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries benefited from the relative tolerance of the Mamluk overlords towards the Christian community of the city¹⁵. Conversely, the beginning of the sixteenth century ushered in a host of dramatic changes in the life of the Holy Land friars. In 1517 the Mamluks were ousted by the Ottomans¹⁶, who ruled the city until General Allenby's entry into Jerusalem in December 1917, at the head of British troops. The beginning of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem brought the dislodgement of the friars from their Mount Sion convent, from which they were expelled in 1524. The final expulsion followed a series of conflicts over the possession of the Tomb of David, which until mid-fifteenth century was in the friars's possession¹⁷. They settled in the

¹¹ "Gratias agimus gratiarum omnium Largitori. Eique dignas laudes persolvimus quod Ipse Carissimorum in Christo Filiorum Nostrorum Roberti Regis et Sanciae Reginae Siciliae, fidei sic ferventer accendit, quod ipsi quae ad Dei laudem et gloriam ac sacratissimi Sepulchri Dominici et aliorum sacrorum Locorum ultramarinarum reverentiam et honorem redundant, non cessant indefesis studiis operari. Nuper siquidem eorumdem Regis et Reginae grata insinuato Nostro Apostolatui patefecit, quod ipsi non sine magis sumptibus et laboribus gravibus, a Soldano Babyloniae, qui Sepulchrum Domini et alia sacra Loca ultramarina, proprio ipsius Redemptoris Sanguine dedicate, non sine cunctorum Christianorum gravi opprobrio detinet occupata, obtinuerunt quod Fratres Vestri Ordinis infra Ecclesiam dicti Sepulchri possint continue commorari, et ibidem Missarum solemnities et alia divina officia solemniter celebrare et iam certi dicti Ordinis Fratres actualiter sunt ibidem; et quod nihilominus idem Soldanus Coenaculum Domini et Cappellam in qua Apostolis Spiritus Sanctus apparuit, et aliam Cappellam in qua Christus Beato Thoma praesente, post resurrectionem suam Apostolis se ostendit, Regi et Reginae concessit eisdem: quodquo ipsa Regina locum aedificavit in Monte Sion, infra quem Coenaculum et dicta cappellae". *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS II* (1) (1909): 14.

¹² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

¹³ *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS II* (2) (1909): 70-71.

¹⁴ Indeed, the title "guardian of Mont Sion" for the superior of the Franciscan community in Jerusalem was first mentioned in the bull *Gratias agimus*: "Volentes ut ipsi fratres taliter deputandi, sint, postquam fuerint ultra mare, sub obedientia et regimine Guardiani Fratrum dicti Ordinis Montis Sion, prout ad suum spectat officium et Ministri Provinciae Terrae Sanctae". *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS II* (1) (1909): 15.

¹⁵ The Mamluks intervened very little in the Christian section of the city, with only one church appropriated to Muslim usage in this period. Karl R. Schaefer, *Jerusalem in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (PhD diss., New York University, University Microfilms, 1985), 282.

¹⁶ Roberto Mazza, *Jerusalem: From the Ottomans to the British* (London-New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 12.

¹⁷ Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land. An Oxford Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 117; Beatrice Saletti, "L'affare della Tomba di David (Gerusalemme,

convent of St Savior, close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on the premises of an old Georgian monastery that they bought from its insolvent residents in 1516¹⁸. My analysis stops in the year 1517, because I consider the history of the friars under Ottoman rule in their new abode of St Savior's quite different from the first two centuries of the Custody. The friars' mission in the Holy Land changed both because of the Ottoman presence, whose politics and European alliances under the system of capitulations directly impacted their life, and because of change within Western Christianity itself. Indeed, the Protestant Reformation meant a reduced number of pilgrims for the friars to guide. The Catholic Reformation, and especially the liturgical reforms adopted at the Council of Trent (1545-1563), also changed the life of the friars, who were meant to be a display-window for Roman Catholicism in Palestine. Thus, my analysis stops in 1517, when significant changes begun in the life of the Jerusalem Franciscans.

2. The Franciscan mission in the Holy Land and the role of rituals¹⁹

A dispute settled by the pope a century after the Franciscan installation in Jerusalem illustrates the understanding that both the papacy and the friars had about the latter's presence in the Holy Land. In 1421, pope Martin V called on the patriarch of Grado, primate of Venice and Dalmatia and apostolic commissary to those regions, to answer a petition presented to him by the Holy Land Franciscans. Through this text, the friars sought to ascertain their status as exclusive representatives of the Latin Church in the Holy Land. The need for a papal pronouncement on this matter arose from the increased contestation of Franciscan exclusivity advanced by other religious orders and by those who felt entitled to return to the Holy Land, namely the titular patriarch of Jerusalem and the nominal bishop of Bethlehem²⁰. The contents of the sentence given by the bishop of Grado, pronounced at Mantua in January

XV secolo): I frati minori e i loro protettori europei tra sequestri, ritorsioni ed embrago", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 18 (1) (2015): 199-205; 212-213.

¹⁸ Ferdinando Diotallevi, *Status descriptivus Almae Seraphicae Provinciae seu Custodiae Missionis Terrae Sanctae ad MCMXXIII* (Jerusalem: Ex Typographia PP. Franciscalium, 1924), 1.

¹⁹ I use "mission" throughout this dissertation in two ways: 1) as an assignment to fulfill a particular task; 2) as an assignment to preach the tenets of a particular type of Christianity, namely Roman Catholic, to outsiders. For the understanding of missionarism within the Franciscan Order and, and of Franciscan missionarism by outsiders, see: E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 9-21, and Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c.1220-1650. Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armature ad defendendum sanctam fidem catholicam...* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015), particularly his discussion of the *Missio holandica*, the case of Observant Franciscan Missionaries sent to the northern provinces of the Low Countries in the aftermath of their official adoption of Calvinism at the end of the sixteenth century, 217-229.

²⁰ del Buey and Alvi, "Origenes de la Custodia de Tierra Santa", 53.

1421 in response to the Franciscan petition, and confirmed in February 1421 by Martin V²¹, afford a window into how the friars understood their mission in the Holy Land. I complement the information presented in the dry language of the canon law with Amadeus Boverii's thoughts on the role of the friars serving in the Holy Land, quoted at the beginning.

In their petition, the friars asked the pontiff to confirm their full rights of possession over the convent of Mount Sion, and their right of presence at the Church of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Josaphat, in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem²² and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The friars presented themselves as the “people in charge of” of the Holy Places (*in quo quidem conventu et locis praedictis stant et habitant Fratres Minores Sancti Francisci, ac ipsas ecclesias et loca gubernantes*)²³.

To support their request, the friars produced before the court eleven witnesses, chosen from among the pilgrims whom they have guided in the Holy Land. In formulaic legal parlance, the witnesses who appeared before the court described the friars' activity. What they noticed makes for a rough guide to the Franciscan mission in the Holy Land. For the sake of convenience, I discuss just one of the testimonies, bearing in mind that the others were nearly verbatim repetitions. Thus, in his sworn testimony, Thomas Mocenigo, a Venetian nobleman who made the Holy Land pilgrimage in 1391, declared that he had seen how the Franciscans “managed and had the charge of” (*regebant et gubernabant*) the convent of Mount Sion, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Josaphat. Furthermore, in all of these sanctuaries the friars “celebrated masses and other divine offices” (*ibi celebrare Misas et alia*

²¹ *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* III (1) (1910): 25-26.

²² They have acquired a right of presence in this church in the second half of the fourteenth century. del Buey and Alvi, “Origines de la Custodia de Tierra Santa”, 43-45.

²³ “Probare volunt et intendunt dicti fratres, suis et dictis omnibus quibus supra: Quod Fratres et Ordo Fratrum Minorum Ordinis Sancti Francisci habent, tenent et possident unum Conventum ipsorum Fratrum dicti Ordinis in Monte Sion et in partibus illis. Item, unum locum habitationis eorum cum Ecclesia Beatae Mariae Virginis, praefati Ordinis, in Betleheem, ubi Christus natus est; Item, unum alium locum habitationis eorum in Ecclesia Hierusalem, ubi est cappella Sepulchri Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, cum cappella Montis Calvariae loci ubi Christus crucifixus est; Item, unam ecclesiam in Valle Iosaphat, sub vocabulo Intemeratae Virginis Mariae; in quo quidem Conventu et locis praedictis stant et habitant Fratres Minores Sancti Francisci, ac ipsas Ecclesias et loca gubernantes.” *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* III (1) (1910): 11.

divina officia)²⁴. The bishop of Grado ruled in favor of the friars, who were to peacefully enjoy the possession of the Holy Places²⁵.

More relevant from my perspective, the sentence pronounced by the patriarch of Grado, known as the *Acta causae Gradensis*, described the friars as “tied to the ceremonial veneration of these most sacred places” (*praefatorum sanctissimorum locorum celebri veneratione adstricti*)²⁶. Moreover, all the witnesses testified that carrying out various rituals at the Holy Places was part of the friars’ “managing and governing” duties. These rituals were referred to as masses, the divine offices and “their other ceremonies” (*alias suas caeremonias*)²⁷, a term encompassing many of the rituals discussed below. The friars’ mission to celebrate the rituals of the Latin Church at the places whose care they were entrusted was established from the beginning of their Holy Land mission. Both *Gratias agamus* and *Nuper carissimae* spoke about their “solemn celebration of solemn masses and other divine offices” (*ibidem missarum solemnia et alia divina officia solemniter celebrare*)²⁸.

Further papal legislation sanctioned and clarified the friars’ capacity to conduct liturgical and para-liturgical functions in the Holy Land. The most striking feature of their ritual life resulted from the extraordinary conditions presented by an alien milieu. I will explore at length the friars’ engagement with the ritual life of the Christian communities in the context of Mamluk Jerusalem in the first chapter. For the moment, I discuss some relevant passages from papal regulations concerning the Holy Land friars. Thus, with the bull *Etsi ex debito*, issued in January 1456, pope Calixtus III confirmed previous privileges granted to the friars, among which their right to celebrate masses and other rituals at the Holy Places²⁹. As in earlier bulls³⁰, the pope settled the terms of the friars’ mission in the East in encomiastic tones:

²⁴ For Tommaso Mocenigo’s testimony: *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* III (1) (1910): 12-13. For the other witnesses: *Ibid.*, 13-23.

²⁵ “damus, concedimus, conferimus et assignamus ac adiudicamus, ut de caetero sive in posterum praedicti Conventus et Fratres Minores, loca saepe dicta et ipsorum locorum quieta et pacifica possessio gaudeant et possideant, ac pacifice et quiete gaudere et possidere debeant”. *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁷ For instance: “ibi celebrare Missas et alia divina officia, prout et sicut consuetum est eisdem Fratribus Ordinis praedicti”; “dicti Fratres Minores celebrabant divina officia et alias suas caeremonias in dicto loco Hierusalem et Monte Calvario”. *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* III (1) (1910): 12-13.

²⁸ *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* II (1) (1909): 14 and *DTS* II (2) (1909): 70.

²⁹ *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* II (1) (1909): 14; *DTS* (2) (1909): 70.

³⁰ For instance, the *Licet pro nostra* of the same Calixtus III, of May 1455. *Bullarium Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* IV (4) (1911): 153-155.

Although, by virtue of pastoral care, it is right that we find pleasant and good all religious persons, without distinction, we, however, keep you, those belonging to the Order of Friars Minor, in our deepest affection, [because] kindled by the spirit of a more fervent love, not fearing, but loving the barbarous nations (*amantes barbaras nationes*), they [the Friars Minor] bravely undertook to convert them, so that, thanks to their saintly works, through which the universal faith grows, they can bring many multitudes to the Lord's worship, giving the Lord a good interest for the talents entrusted to them³¹.

With the words of the *Parable of the Talents* (Matt. 25,14-30), Calixtus praised the friars for reaping the good fruits of their missionary preaching, qualified as a product of their love for the "barbarous nations"³². Later in the letter the pope made clear which were these "barbarous nations", why they were deemed barbaric, how the friars were to behave among them, and, more to the point, how living in their midst affected the brethren's ritual life. The shortest definition for these nations was "those who go astray from the Roman Church" (*a Romana Ecclesia deviantibus*), lumping together those placed under excommunication and interdict, heretics, schismatics (a category usually referring to the Eastern Christians), Jews and Saracens³³.

Illustrative of the extraordinary mission entrusted to the friars, the pope gave the friars license to include in their rituals those normally banned from sacraments and liturgical functions (such as schismatics, heretics, excommunicated, and those under interdict). The reason behind such a rare indulgence was clearly laid out: the friars were permitted to mingle with them, in order to avoid scandal, which in this context meant commotion and disruption of the normal ritual routine³⁴. Such allowances were made only under exceptional conditions, as in Jerusalem, where the friars were forced to live and serve in close vicinity to those who "went astray from the Roman Church". This exceptionalism becomes even more evident in light of another papal regulation concerning the hour of the mass the friars had to celebrate daily at the sanctuaries they guarded.

³¹ "Etsi ex debito sollicitudinis pastoralis quibuslibet religiosis personis esse Nos decet favorabilis et benignos, tamen illos vestri Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, qui ferventioris spiritus ardore succensi, non timentes, sed amantes barbaras nationes, ad illarum conversionem pergunt intrepidi, affectuosiori studio confovere tenemur, ut in eorum sanctis operibus, per quae fides catholica pullulat, possint ad aream [arcam] dominicam multos affere manipulos, et de talentis eis creditis bonam Domino reddere rationem". *Ibid.*, 159.

³² On medieval Latin missionarism, see: Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Âge (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Rome: Collections de l'École Française de Rome, 1977) and John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan. The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³³ *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS IV* (4) (1911): 160.

³⁴ "praeterea cum excommunicatis, suspensis et interdictis, necnon haereticis, schismaticis, Iudaeis, Saracenis et aliis a Romana Ecclesia deviantibus, legitima et rationabili causa, conversari et commorari, ac in loquendo, edendo, bibendo et alias, non tamen in crimine, participare; et insuper, alicuius scandali evitandi gratia eosdem schismaticos, haereticos, excommunicatos, suspensos et interdictos divinis officiis interesse permittere." *Ibid.*

Time and again bulls confirming the Franciscan rights and privileges in the Holy Land state that the mass should be celebrated before dawn (*missam antequam illucescat dies*)³⁵. A bull issued by Martin V in 1421, *Sinceritas vestrae devotionis*, explains why this particular mention appeared repeatedly in papal documents. Martin V asked the friars or other priests who would arrive in Jerusalem as pilgrims to celebrate the mass before dawn, more precisely two hours before daybreak (*missam priusquam illucescat dies, etiam per duas horas ante diurnam lucem*)³⁶. The pope licensed the celebrants to hasten with the service, another extraordinary indulgence. He emphasized that no imputation could be made to the friars or the other celebrating priests for hurrying with liturgical services, because they did it “especially because they had to avoid the hindrance and danger that could be caused by Saracens or other infidels sometimes roaming about places of worship at daybreak”³⁷.

We can surmise from pilgrimage accounts such as the one left by Boverii that the papal vision of the friars’ role in the Holy Land corresponded with how they perceived their own mission. In the passage quoted at the beginning of this *Introduction*, Boverii underlined which were the principal duties of the friars residing in Jerusalem: service to God and to the pilgrims. In another place in his account, a section dedicated to Mount Sion, he gave further details on the activities of the Jerusalem friars: they celebrated the divine offices, and, living poorly from the alms given by pilgrims, they “preached about Christ’s death and resurrection”. However, the friar was quick to clarify the terms under which this preaching could be done, namely “not in public and not saying anything against Muhammad”³⁸. Their main task was to carry out the rituals of the divine office, to tend to pilgrims and to preach, provided they did not cause scandal or conflict by antagonizing the other communities present in the city, particularly the Muslim majority. I will further investigate these relations

³⁵ For instance, *Ibid.*, 159.

³⁶ *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* III (2) (1910), 63-64.

³⁷ “Hinc est quod Nos vestris devotis precibus inclinati, ut missam priusquam illucescat dies, etiam per duas horas ante diurnam lucem, cum qualitas negotiorum pro tempore ingruentium id exegerit, vobis et vestrum singulis ac successoribus vestris Ordinis Minorum Fratibus in Monte Sion sive in Bethleem aut Sepulchro Dominico in Hierusalem pro tempore residentibus, in Praesbyteratus tamen Ordine constitutes, necnon omnibus et singulis catholicis Sacerdotibus, cuiuscumque status, dignitas, gradus, ordinis et conditionis extiterint, ad ipsa loca Terrae Sanctae causa piae devotionis peregrare profectis, liceat ad spiritualem eorumdem peregrinorum fructum et consolationem, ac celeriolem et opportunam ipsorum expeditionem, praesertim ob grave Saracenorum aliorumque infidelium illuc die lucescente interdum discurrentium vitandum impedimentum atque periculum, in praefatis et aliis Terrae Sanctae devotis oratorium locis, celebrare, ita quod id nec vobis nec aliis huiusmodi sacerdotibus taliter celebrantibus, ad culpam valeat imputari devotioni vestrae.” *Ibid.*, 63-64.

³⁸ “Nunc autem degunt ibi fratres minors, divina officia pagentes, de elemosinis fidelium peregrinorum solum viventes, Christum mortum et suscitatum predicare, non audentes publice, nec contra illum nec contra Machometum aliquid dicentes.” BNF Lat. 4826, 53v.

in the following chapters. For the moment, suffice it to say that this was the general context within which the friars carried out the rituals that are the focus of this dissertation.

3. The meaning of “ritual” in the context of this dissertation

One can hardly mention “ritual” without implicitly invoking the culturally charged meanings that twentieth-century sociological and anthropological theories heaped on it³⁹. One can also hardly write about medieval rituals without getting entangled by the polemic raised by the publication of Philippe Buc’s *The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* in 2001⁴⁰. Yet, whilst acknowledging the contribution of both socio-anthropological theory and of Philippe Buc’s book in crystalizing the meanings of this most *dangerous* analytical category called “ritual”⁴¹, I nevertheless choose to base my understanding of rituals on how the friars and their contemporaries referred to *ritus*. The practices described as ceremonial or even ritual by friars and pilgrims are: the divine office, solemn masses, processions, *ordines peregrinationis*, dubbings.

³⁹ In a very short and arbitrary summary of meanings ascribed to “rituals” in socio-anthropology, we can see it defined as: “social phenomenon, a system of social facts”, which echoed Emile Durkheim’s paradigm of ritual as “social function”, by Victor Turner, *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 238; as a “restricted code” by Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1970), 44; or “symbolic activity” and “signifying behavior” by Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion. Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 55, 58. These are definitions produced by almost two centuries of sociological and anthropological research, whose “genealogy” makes plain the impossible endeavor of defining such a concept, whose understanding changes with context and historical period. A “universal concept” of ritual errs by vagueness. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, 55-79. Jack Goody denounced the overuse of the concept of ritual, which rendered it ambiguous and futile. Jack Goody, “Against ‘Ritual’: Loosely Structured Thoughts on a Loosely Defined Topic”, in *Secular Ritual*, eds. Sally Falk-Moore and Barbara Meyerhorf (Assen Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), 27. The one feature essential to a ritual, which can transform even ordinary events in ceremonial activities, is repetition in performance that leads to a religious-like routine. Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 92; Jonathan Z. Smith, “The Bare Facts of Ritual”, *History of Religions* vol. 20 (1/2) (1980): 113-116.

⁴⁰ Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001). The main thesis asserted by Buc’s study refers to the application of social scientific models to medieval rituals. His study was meant as a cautionary tale against some medievalists indulgence into the adoption of interpretative patterns which befit the ethnographic study of unlettered societies. Buc’s argument is that the same patterns cannot be adopted for the interpretation of medieval rituals produced in a society whose protagonists defined themselves what they understood by a ceremonial activity. Among Buc’s more virulent critics: Geoffrey Koziol, “The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study”, *Early Medieval Europe* II (4) (2002): 367-388; Alexandra Walsham, “The Dangers of Ritual”, *Past and Present* 180 (2003): 277-278. Buc’s answer to his critics: Philippe Buc, “The Monster and the Critics: A Ritual Reply”, *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (4) (2007): 441-452.

⁴¹ “Ritual” as an analytical category invented to suit the needs of socio-anthropological research was very appropriately defined by Catherine Bell: “The idea of ritual is itself a construction, that is, a category or tool of analysis built up from a sampling of ethnographic descriptions and the elevation of many untested assumptions; it has been pressed into service in an attempt to explain the roots of religion in human behavior in ways that are meaningful to Europeans and Americans of this century”. Catherine Bell, *Ritual. Perspectives and Dimensions* (New-York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 21.

First, a few words about the cultural and historical framework that informed the friars' understanding of ritual. All rituals of Christian worship, including those carried out by the friars in Jerusalem in the period here under investigation, derived their characteristics from scripture and tradition. These types of rituals are scripture-bound, tied to a liturgical tradition that sought to define and refine their meaning, keeping up with the development of Church observances. Thus, as members of the Roman Church, the Jerusalem friars engaged in rituals that were rooted in its liturgical tradition. This tradition was scriptural in the two understandings of the word: it derived from and commemorated the holy writ and it relied on the canon of written liturgical instructions and manuals specific to the Roman rite. Whilst the generic "ritual book", the so-called *Rituale romanum*, is a post-Tridentine invention, the tradition of liturgical manuals and treatises was ancient and vast⁴².

The friars celebrated their rituals within the framework of this scriptural tradition. Apart from the universal rituals of the Roman Church, such as masses and processions for prescribed ferial occasions, which the friars fulfilled in the Holy Land as any other religious would do, they adapted and, to a certain extent, invented certain rituals in response to the particular character of the city of Jerusalem.

These rituals were first and foremost rituals of commemoration, for instance processions recalling episodes from the life of Christ, such as his entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Referring to the Jewish tradition, Jonathan Z. Smith has emphasized the capacity of the Holy Land, and especially of Jerusalem, to generate rituals. Here, mere accidental gestures could turn into rituals by purposeful repetition⁴³. The friars operated within the framework of this biblical understanding of the space of Jerusalem as the precinct of the sacred, into which routinization could give the luster of ceremonialism to mere habits. This is how I understand, for example, the development of the ritual of the *Via Crucis*, which is the object of chapter 3. As I will show, the friars built on previous local traditions and on the routinization of their practice of taking Western pilgrims to sites they placed on the last itinerary of Christ from the Praetorium up to Calvary, to create a ritual of commemoration.

Secondly, my approach to the definition of rituals in the context of the Franciscans of Jerusalem relies on the meanings ascribed to ceremonial activities in contemporary sources.

⁴² Its first edition dates to 1614. Nathan D. Mitchell, "Reforms, Protestant and Catholic", in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, eds. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 339.

⁴³ Smith, "The Bare Facts of Ritual", 113-114.

To this end, I selected a series of examples that I consider representative for the meanings of “ritual” used by the Jerusalem friars. The significance of turning to the original context and languages of medieval ritual was emphasized by Philippe Buc in his seminal study⁴⁴. In the primary sources investigated during the research of this dissertation, I have found references to ritual activities, which, collected, constitute a rather comprehensive guide to late medieval views on ceremonies.

The word that stands out in this ceremonial lexicon is *ritus*. Generically, in the language of the Roman Church, *ritus* designated a liturgical activity⁴⁵. In the Jerusalem context, *ritus* was used in two senses. First, it designated a religious observance carried out in a ceremonial manner. This sense comes closest to the modern category of “ritual”. Secondly, it referred to different religious denominations (*ritus Latinorum, ritus Grecorum, ritus Iacobitorum, ritus Sarracenorum, ritus Iudeorum* etc.). The logic behind this usage is straightforward: because these communities followed different ceremonial observances, they belonged to a different category of worshipers. In this second sense, I think the closest modern equivalent is “rite” and “religion”. In both senses, the most important significances ascribed to *ritus* was as an identity marker.

Of the many available examples of such usages, I selected one that illustrates them patently. It comes from the *Evagatorium* written by Felix Fabri, a garrulous Dominican from Ulm who made a first pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1480, followed by a second trip to the Holy Land, Sinai and Egypt in 1483-1484⁴⁶. The wealth of details he recorded in his multiple travelogues makes Fabri an invaluable source for the history of late medieval Jerusalem. Thus, an example of *ritus* used roughly as “ritual” is found in Fabri’s description of the microcosm of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre:

As the universe is adorned by a variety of creatures that make manifest [their] wonderful and perfect creator, so too a variety of peoples, customs, languages and rituals (*ritum*) adorn the universal church, making manifest our wonderful

⁴⁴ Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 5-6.

⁴⁵ László Dobszay, “Reading an Office Book”, in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages. Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, eds. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 56.

⁴⁶ I used the edition by Dietericus Hassler, *Fratri Felicitis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, vol. 1-3 (Stuttgart: Sumptibus Societatis Litterariae Stuttgardiensis, 1843-1849). The pilgrimage literature authored by Fabri for various audiences consists of: a poem in vernacular, the *Gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein*, a vernacular account in prose, the *Pilgerbuch*, his most accomplished work, the Latin *Evagatorium*, and a vernacular account called *De Sionpilger*. For a survey of Fabri’s writing and the various audiences he addressed, see: Katheryne Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher. The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

and perfect Redeemer [...]. Moreover, in this church there are seven kinds of Christians, each of its own sect, with their own ritual (*proprium ritum*), their own choir, with various errors and, thus, pernicious to the doctrines of the faith⁴⁷.

For the usage of *ritus* as both a different ritual observance and a ritual practice tantamount with a difference of religion, the example comes from Fabri's experience in the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Josaphat:

Masses are said in this sepulchre too, as in the sepulchre of the Lord, and I celebrated here many times myself, and it is a place of worship for all Christians, no matter their rite (*cuiuscumque ritus*), nor is that place anyone's property. In fact, several altars in that church are made suitable for these [different] rites⁴⁸.

A series of adverbs and adverbial locutions were very often used to invoke the ritual character of a particular religious observance. *Processionaliter* (walking in the ceremonial way of a procession), *solemniter* (in a solemn manner) and *ceremonialiter* (in a ceremonial manner) are frequent occurrences in the descriptions produced by friars and pilgrims. Most pertinently, sometimes they used the adverb *rite* (ritually, in a ritual manner), for whose usage I rely on an interesting example provided by Fabri. He complained that friars and pilgrims were unable to celebrate properly the feast of St Peter in Chains, because it was a Friday, the *festum Machometi*: "Because it was the feast of that accursed Muhamad, we were not able to celebrate ritually (*rite peragere*) the Feast of Saint Peter in Chains"⁴⁹.

Oftentimes the reverent gestures associated with ritual devotions indicate the exercise of a ritual action. The most frequently mentioned are: kissing (*osculare*) all things deemed sacred (relics, the ground, walls, gates), bowing, prostrating (*prostrare, procubere*), kneeling (*genua flectere*), weeping (*flere*), and lamenting (*ululare*). All these ritual gestures were

⁴⁷ "Sicut diversitas creaturarum decorat universum et creatorem mirabilem et perfectum ostendit, sic diversitas gentium, morum, linguarum et ritum plurimum decoraret ecclesiam catholicam, et Redemptorem nostrum mirabilem et perfectum ostenderet [...] Sunt autem VII differentiae Christianorum in hoc templo, quorum quaelibet habet suam propriam sectam, proprium ritum, proprium chorum, cum diversis erroribus et damnis etiam in substantialibus fidei". *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 347.

⁴⁸ "In ipso sepulchro leguntur etiam Missae, sicut in Domini monumento, et ego ipse plures in eo celebravi, et est locus celebrandi omnium Christianorum, cuiuscumque ritus sint, nec est alicui appropriates locus ille. Cetera vero altaria illius ecclesiae sunt ritibus aptata." *Ibid.*, 347.

⁴⁹ "Propter hoc maledictum Machometi festum non potuimus rite peragere festum S. Petri ad vincula". *Evagatorium*, vol. 3, 117. I thank Josephine van den Bent for helping me to establish which was the "festum Machometi" referred by Fabri. He mentioned the name of the Christian festival they were not able to celebrate in a ritual manner, namely the feast of St Peter in Chains, celebrated on the 1st of August. More specifically, Fabri referred to 1 August 1483, the year of his ample perambulations in the Holy Land. According to <http://www.calendarhome.com/calculate/convert-a-date/> [last checked: July 2016], 1 August 1483 corresponded in the Islamic calendar to Friday 26 Jumada al-Thani 888.

appropriately described by Fabri as the “the gesture of one’s cult” (*gestus sui cultus*). They applied to the ritual gestures of both Christians and Muslims. Thus, he warned his fellow pilgrims not to mock Muslim ritual observances (*gestus sui cultus*) so that they do not hinder and mock the ritual observances of Christians⁵⁰.

Finally, in this dissertation, an action is deemed a ritual whenever its performers indicated, by one of the means highlighted above, that it had a ceremonial character. By the same token, I also use “ritual” in the conventional modern understanding, as an analytical category.

4. Franciscans in the Holy Land: *status quaestionis*

The first historians of the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land came from the friars of the Custody themselves. Consequently, their work tended to be at times apologetic and pietistic. However, their endeavors produced editions of archival documents, travelogues, maps, topographical and liturgical treatises, and archaeological reports. These editions mostly upheld the standards of then-current scholarship. Moreover, the archaeological excavations and reports produced by members of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, such as Virgilio Corbo and Michele Piccirillo, gained academic recognition⁵¹.

Two friars in particular, Girolamo Golubovich and Augustin Arce, stand out through their prolific scholarship. Relying on the rich resources of the Custodial Archive and Library and of some European libraries (especially in Italy and France), Golubovich published the first comprehensive catalogue of Franciscan guardians of the Holy Land, the *Serie cronologica dei reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa*, and initiated in 1906 the publication of the series *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Francescano*, both indispensable tools for the study of Franciscan history in the Holy Land and in the Levant⁵².

⁵⁰ “Caveat summopere pergrinus, ne Sarracenos orantes et gestus sui cultus exercentes irrideat, quia hoc omnino non possunt sustinere. Nam et ipsi cavent, ne nos in orationibus nostris impediunt, nec derideant.” *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 216-217.

⁵¹ Virgilio Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato*, (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press), 1981. Michele Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1989); *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 1993); *Mount Nebo: New Archaeological Excavations 1967-1997* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1998).

⁵² Girolamo Golubovich, *Serie cronologica dei reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa ossia di Provinciali, Custodi e Presidenti della medesima già Commissari Apostolici dell’Oriente e sino al 1847 in officio di Gran Maestri del S. Militare Ordine del S.S. Sepolcro attuali Prelati mitrati, Provinciali e Custodi di T.S., Guardiani del S. Monte Sion e del S.S. Sepolcro di N.S.G.C. ecc* (Jerusalem: Tipografia del Convento di San Salavatore,

Arce, another historian-friar from the Jerusalem family, also made a significant contribution in the scientific research of the history of the Custody of the Holy Land, often complementing his study with editions of original documents from the Archive of the Custody and the Archive of the Crown of Aragon⁵³. Two other friars from the Custody, Eutimio Castellani and Norberto Risciani published a significant number of the *firmani* issued to the friars by the Mamluk authorities⁵⁴.

In recent years, the history of the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land was also investigated by researchers from outside the Custody. Significant contributions were brought by Franco Cardini, Paolo Trovato, Betarice Saletti and Michele Campopiano. The monograph recently published by Beatrice Saletti, *I francescani in Terrasanta (1291-1517)* is the most comprehensive historical survey of the Custody, in which the author investigates an impressive number of primary sources⁵⁵. Michele Campopiano and Paolo Trovato have worked extensively on the textual traditions of the Jerusalem Franciscans⁵⁶. Franco Cardini's *In Terrasanta. Pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna* offers a comprehensive image of the Holy Land pilgrimage⁵⁷.

This dissertation is part of a larger project, *Cultural Memory and Identity in the Late Middle Ages: the Franciscans of Mount Sion in Jerusalem and the Representation of the Holy Land (1333-1516)*. Within the same project, Michele Campopiano researched the textual memory of the Holy Land Franciscans, in his forthcoming book *Writing the Holy Land. The Franciscans and the Memory of the Holy Places*. Marianne Ritsema van Eck, my fellow-PhD

1898); *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*, 5 vols. (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1906-1927).

⁵³ For instance, the studies gathered in volumes of the *Miscelánea de Tierra Santa: Estudios criticos y documentos* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1973); *Estudios orientales judaicos y de Tierra Santa* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1975); *Historica, biográfica, archeológica, topográfica, sanctoria, de arte sacra, iudaica, varia* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1982).

⁵⁴ Eutimio Castellani, *Catalogo dei firmani ed altri documenti legali emanati in lingua araba e turca concernenti i santuari, le proprietà e i diritti della Custodia di Terra Santa* (Jerusalem: Tipografia dei Patri Francescani, 1922); Norberto Risciani, *Documenti i firmani* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press), 1931.

⁵⁵ Beatrice Saletti, *I francescani in Terrasanta (1291-1517)* (Padova: libreriauniversitaria.it edizioni, 2016).

⁵⁶ Michele Campopiano: "Tradizione e edizione di una compilazione di testi sulla Terra Santa proveniente dal convento francescano del Monte Sion (fine del XIV secolo)", *Revue d'histoire des textes* VI (2011): 329-359; "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrim's Guidebooks", *Al-Masâq* XXIV/1 (2012): 75-89; "Note sulla presenza francescana in Terrasanta: le descrizioni dei luoghi santi tra XIV e XVI secolo e il ruolo della Custodia di Terrasanta", in *Gli italiani e la Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Musarra (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), 49-68. Paolo Trovato, "Per le nozze (rinviate) tra storia e filologia. Sulle vulgate di alcuni pellegrinaggi tre- e quattrocenteschi (Leonardo Frescobaldi, Mariano da Siena, Alessandro Rinuccini) e sulle guide di Terrasanta", *Filologia italiana* III (2006): 31-76; "Per lo studio dei più antichi processionali francescani di Terrasanta (secoli XIV-XV)", *Storie e linguaggi*, 1 fasc. 2 (2015): 187-204.

⁵⁷ Franco Cardini, *In Terrasanta. Pellegrini italiani tra medioevo e prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino), 2002.

candidate in the project, is working on a monograph entitled *Custodians of Sacred Space: Franciscan Perspectives on the Sacred Geography of the Holy Land, texts and sacri monti (1480-1650)*.

Although rituals were touched upon in many of these studies, the topic was not researched in detail so far. This dissertation, in contrast, is dedicated to the minute analysis of the ceremonial life of the Jerusalem Franciscans. I investigate their rituals within the framework of the Latin liturgical tradition. The analysis of Franciscan rituals in Jerusalem reveals the finer details of the friars' life in the city, their negotiated presence and struggle to assert a Latin identity in a foreign environment. I argue that, in the period investigated here, rituals had the role of Christian identity markers in an Islamic city, and of yardsticks of orthodoxy, in the never-ending polemic within the Christian community. Moreover, by researching the dynamics of Franciscan rituals, I emphasize the continuity of devotional transfers between Jerusalem and Europe and viceversa, with the friars adapting Latin devotions and ceremonies to the Jerusalem landscape, while, at the same time, importing Jerusalemite rituals to Europe.

5. The layout of this dissertation

This dissertation consists of five chapters. In the first chapter, *Ritual encounters: Franciscans and Eastern Christians in an Islamic city*, I outline the historical context in which the friars carried out their rituals. I describe the complex dynamic between the Muslim majority and one Christian minority, to which the friars belonged, particularly how they negotiated and asserted their presence in Jerusalem by means of rituals. With the second chapter, *Rituals of militant nostalgia*, I focus on the liturgy of war celebrated by the Jerusalem friars and on the ritual of dubbing Latin Christians as knights in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. I analyze these militant rituals in the historical context of the later crusades, when the call for the recovery of the Holy Land largely withered into rhetorical vim. The third chapter, *Franciscan processions in Jerusalem*, discusses two particular processions, the Palm Sunday procession and the bespoke procession the friars set in place at the entry of Latin pilgrims in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. I survey these processions with a particular interest in the interplay between friars and the other communities of Jerusalem, given that a procession crossing Jerusalem, carried more or less in the open, was prone to elicit solidarity among Christians and adversity among Muslims. However, as I point out,

there always was room for negotiation. In the fourth chapter, the *Via Crucis in Jerusalem*, I turn to the close scrutiny of one particular procession, the *Via Crucis*. Although the last itinerary of Christ from Praetorium to Calvary was commemorated in Jerusalem from Late Antiquity, a standardized ritual form of this commemoration took shape in Jerusalem in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, in the guided tours led by friars. In the last chapter, *Ritual mimesis and the translatio Hierosolymae*, I discuss the transfer of rituals, especially of the *ordo processionis* type, from Jerusalem to Western Europe. I focus on the discussion of two case studies, the *sacro monte* of Varallo in Northern Italy and the Calvary at Romans in Southern France, where Franciscan friars acted as agents of ritual transfer between Jerusalem and Europe.

This exploration of ritual dynamics challenges the understanding of the Jerusalem Franciscans as a self-contained enclave. It emphasizes their talents as negotiators and intermediaries between different religious traditions. More broadly, the story of their rituals is a tale of how religious identity was ever-changing and open to alien influences.