Chapter 2

Rituals of militant nostalgia

The friars settled in Jerusalem to cater for European pilgrims and to establish a Latin presence at the Holy Places. In this chapter I examine their militant rituals, commemorating the loss of the Holy Land and liturgically pleading for its recovery. The friars’ militant rituals comprise the liturgy of war and the ritual dubbing of Latin pilgrims in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. By “liturgy of war” I refer to those prayers recited or sung in masses or offices celebrated by the Jerusalem friars, which contain explicit references to waging war for the recovery of the Holy Land and supplications for the relief of Jerusalem through armed combat.

The presence of these rituals within the ceremonial repertoire of the Jerusalem friars both complicates and completes the understanding of their mission in the Holy Land. Of the ceremonies the Franciscan friars carried out in the Holy Land, their engagement in what can be described as military rituals is most incongruous, as they were not a military order and their ceremonial life in Jerusalem was curtailed by their minority status. However, since the friars were following in the crusaders’ footsteps into Jerusalem, they were the representatives of a Church periodically engaged in war with the “infidels” and thus, within the confines of churches, they did ritually pray for the defeat of the enemies of Christendom.

In this chapter, I survey the meanings of these rituals in the context of the later crusades. I base my arguments on the analysis on two types of sources, liturgical manuscripts and pilgrimage narratives. With this chapter, I attempt to answer two questions regarding the friars’ mission in the Holy Land: how did the de recuperatione Terre Sancte as rhetoric and military engagement fitted within the discourse of the Minorite mission to the Holy Land; and was the ritual dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre understood as a prerequisite for military action or as an obsolete ritual? Although the friars longed for the recovery of the Holy Land and supplicated the princes of Europe for its liberation, by the end of the fifteenth century their militant rituals came to look like means to enable nostalgic militancy.

In the first part of this chapter I briefly discuss the general features of the crusader movement in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This was the larger context for the war liturgy and the dubbing ceremony with which the Jerusalemite friars were associated. It is followed by a first section dealing with the manuscript witnesses of the Holy Land Franciscan
liturgy of war, and by a second section that sketches a brief history of the ritual of dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre.

In the aftermath of the fall of Frankish Outremer with the Muslim conquest of Acre in 1291, waging holy war came to have various understanding in the West, many very different from the meaning it has held in the age of the first crusades\(^1\). The universal clamor with which the news of the fall of Acre was received in Europe translated into concrete plans for organizing new offensives, with the Acre debacle considered a setback to be corrected by the joint actions of papacy and Christian princes\(^2\).

A “popular pro-crusade sentiment” persisted in the West, as the great treatises of the *de recuperatione Terre Sancte* type written immediately after the fall of Acre testify\(^3\). The crusading movement maintained its vitality in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, often taking the shape of spontaneous and uncontrolled popular movements, such as those of 1309 and 1320\(^4\). They could result in unexpected victories, such as the relief of Belgrade in 1456, achieved mainly by crowds inflamed by the sermons of the Franciscan friar Giovanni da Capestrano\(^5\). Many of these popular crusades were complemented by violence against

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1 The chronology, number and definition of the crusades are subject to ongoing debates. Giles Constable has put forward a handy taxonomy of what is a “crusade”, on the basis of various definitions given by scholars of the topic. “Traditionalists” qualify as crusades only those wars waged by Christian powers against Muslims with the objective of liberating the Holy Land. “Pluralists” define as crusade all wars that were called for and authorized by the papacy, thus including the wars waged within Europe, against “heretics”, as well as the *Reconquista* in the Iberian Peninsula and the wars fought by Teutonic Knights in northern Europe. Another group of scholars of the crusades laid emphasis on the popular crusades, and the popular enthusiasm with which they were embraced, to the detriment of the official crusades, called by popes and led by princes. There are also the “generalists” who understand as crusades any war fought in defense of the Christian faith. On these various classifications, see: Giles Constable, “The Historiography of the Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 12-14. Although he dabbled himself in this sort of classification of various definitions of the crusades, Christopher Tyerman rightly stressed that overindulgence in these taxonomical pursuits can end up in caricature. Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 218-226. Throughout this chapter, I refer to the “later crusades”, in the sense used for instance by Christopher Tyerman and Norman Housley, who defined thus the wars waged by Christians against Muslims after 1291, from Iberia, to Central and Eastern Europe and the occasional raids in the Levant. Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 1274-1580, *From Lyon to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 6; Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War. A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 825.


3 Ibid, 248 and 269-270.


minorities and defiance towards authority. However, after 1291, crusading remained an ideal seldom translated into action in or towards the Holy Land or else was channeled into the “defensive crusading”.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the desire for immediate military engagement for the recovery of the Holy Land diminished under the perceived urgency of more immediate perils. The overall response to the call to crusade in the fifteenth century is characterized by a clear distinction between “enthusiasm for holy war and practical crusading”. The enthusiasm manifested mostly through the fineries of crusading rhetoric, displayed at church assemblies, reichstage and in sermons delivered by mendicant firebrands, whilst the practical fighting concentrated mainly at the border regions of Eastern Europe, often described as the antemurale Christianitatis, which were in greater danger of being engulfed by the “new infidel”, the Ottoman Turks.

The fall of Constantinople to the armies of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in 1453 marked a milestone in the Western understanding of the crusade. Although the recovery of the Holy Land remained a lasting ideal, military action was channeled towards the defense of Europe. The rituals associated with holy war carried out by or with the assistance of the Jerusalemite Franciscan friars may be understood within this historical context. Given the restrictions attendant upon their dhimmī status and the diminished interest for taking the arms for the Holy Land, the militant rituals the friars carried out in this period, such as the masses ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam or the dubbing of Western pilgrims, seem redolent with nostalgia. Not only to a modern researcher who has the advantage of centuries of hindsight, but even to the newly-dubbed knight, the oath to recover the Holy Land might have seemed perfunctory by the mid-fifteenth century. Norman Housley has referred to the public pledge for the crusade in the fifteenth century as “the political correctness of its day”, an item to be

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6 This was the case of the “shepherds’ crusade” of 1320. David Nirenberg, Communities of Violence, 43-91. It was also the case of the Hungarian defensive campaign of 1514, which turned into a full-fledged rebellion against the nobility of the kingdom. János M. Bak, “Hungary and Crusading in the Fifteenth Century”, in Crusading in the Fifteenth Century, 126-127.

7 “Crusading became something to be believed in rather than something to do”. Tyerman, God’s War, 826.

8 Bak, “Hungary and Crusading”, 118.

9 Housley, The Later Crusades, 415-418.

10 Famous are the orations for the crusade against the Turks given by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini to the Reichstage of Regensburg and Frankfurt in 1454, and at the congress of Mantua in 1459. Johannes Helmrauth, “The German Reichstage and the Crusade”, in Crusading in the Fifteenth Century, 58-63. Although his rhetoric was much appreciated, once he became Pius II, Piccolomini had to acknowledge that his fine oratory failed to translate into action. Housley, The Later Crusades, 107. Observant Franciscans such as Jacopo delle Marche and Giovanni da Capestrano and the Conventual Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce also distinguished as preachers of the crusade. Housley, Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 145-153; Bak, “Hungary and Crusading”, 118-119.

11 Housley, The Later Crusades, 100.
paid “lip service” to in European assemblies. As the sources I explore in this chapter seem to indicate, the desire for the release of Jerusalem may well have lasted, but contemporaries were most likely aware of the feeble chances for bringing it about.

1. The Holy Land Franciscan liturgy of war

From the emergence of their orders in the thirteenth century, the Franciscan friars, alongside other mendicants, distinguished themselves as preachers of the crusade. The brethren became the champions of the papal war efforts, which, alongside their involvement in papal and imperial politics, provided their opponents with many an argument for criticism and fed the antifraternal rhetoric.

Undoubtedly, many friars embraced enthusiastically the preaching of the crusade, the liturgy of war, and even leading the defense of the Christian army. In the fifteenth century, the rhetorical prowess of the Observant Franciscan Giovanni da Capestrano, displayed in sermons and masses celebrated on the battlefield, is said to have so inflamed the poorly armed and trained crusading army gathered for the relief of Belgrade in 1456 that they managed to win an unexpected victory against the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmet II. At least this is how contemporaries and the posterity came to know Capestrano, the image of the firebrand crusade preacher being inherent to the textual and iconographic propaganda set in motion by the postulants of his sainthood. Thanks to the written testimony of Giovanni da Tagliacozzo, a participant in the defense of Belgrade and the paintings that began to adorn the churches of the Italian Observants immediately after Capestrano’s death 1456, the image left to posterity is that of the friar zoccolante preaching to the crusaders, brandishing the crusading banner that became his attribute, and celebrating mass before the confrontation with the Turks. The same image colored his remembrance beyond the Alps, in the lands at the forefront of the anti-Turkish defense. The imposing fresco painted in the church of the Observant Franciscans of Olomouc, in Bohemia, represented Capestrano at the center of the scene of the siege of Belgrade, preaching and wielding a Man of Sorrows, a preaching prop

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12 Idem, Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 166.
befitting the desolate circumstances of the Christian army, short in supplies and ravaged by the plague\textsuperscript{16}.

Recently, Cecilia Gaposchkin has explored the theme of liturgy as a means of institutionalizing the memory of a person or of an event\textsuperscript{17}. She argues that liturgy was instrumental in the memorialization of the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusader army on 15 July 1099\textsuperscript{18}. Masses, liturgical and paraliturgical hymns were the main media by which the event of the recovery of the Holy City was integrated into the religious life and memory of Western Christianity and of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem\textsuperscript{19}. The goal of the crusade was the liberation of the Holy Land\textsuperscript{20} and the conquest of Jerusalem was presented as a relief, a \textit{liberatio}\textsuperscript{21}. Appropriating the memory of the historical event of the conquest of Jerusalem as an act of liberation and recovery was one of the essential strands of the crusading discourse that colored the militant rhetoric of Latin Christendom towards Islam from the famous speech of pope Urban II at Clermont until at least the fifteenth century, when hopes for a concrete recovery were abandoned\textsuperscript{22}. What Lee Manion calls “the narrative-generating power of crusading”\textsuperscript{23} has remained a staple of the Western war discourse. It re-emerged, with renewed vitality, in the rhetoric inflaming the conflicts of our century\textsuperscript{24}.

The lands conquered by crusaders in Syria and Palestine were presented to contemporaries as the recovered Christian inheritance in the Holy Land\textsuperscript{25}. The same discourse was appropriated by the friars upon their appointment as guardians of the Holy Places. Chronicles, treatises, diaries authored by Jerusalemite friars or by pilgrims guided by them around the Holy Land echoed the theme of conquest as liberation (\textit{liberatio}) and recovery (\textit{recuperatio}). One of the means through which the liberation of Jerusalem and the recovery of the Holy Land was appropriated in the Franciscan recollection on the Holy Land was liturgy. In what follows I chart the theme of the recovery of the Holy Land in the liturgy

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\textsuperscript{16} Housley, “Giovanni da Capistrano”, 112-113.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, 244, 257.
\textsuperscript{20} Constable, “The Historiography of the Crusades”, 15.
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.}, 2.
\textsuperscript{25} Manion, \textit{Narrating the Crusades}, 8-9.
\end{bfseries}
of the Jerusalemite friars in a twofold manner: first, by identifying the place ascribed to this endeavor in the Franciscan mission to the Holy Land; second, by surveying the manuscript witnesses, used by the friars in this period.

To untangle the various meanings ascribed by the friars to their Holy Land mission, specifically concerning its recovery, I refer to the testimony left by a friar, whose precise identity is unknown, but who visited the Holy Land and stayed with the friars in their Mount Sion convent in the mid-fifteenth century\textsuperscript{26}. He was probably French, and wrote for a prince who remained unnamed, but who very likely was Philip the Good, the duke of Burgundy (1396-1467)\textsuperscript{27}. Philip the Good championed himself as a crusader, a true scion of his ancestor Godfrey of Bouillon, about whose deeds he read extensively\textsuperscript{28}.

The duke lavished the Jerusalem friars with his generosity: he sent alms, and building materials for the repair of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, built the chapel of the Holy Spirit on Mount Sion (destroyed shortly after its completion), and paid the debts of the Jerusalem friars. The friars of Mount Sion were involved in Philip the Good’s crusading plans, and they sent him letters and messengers asking to mount an expedition to Palestine, to liberate the Holy Places\textsuperscript{29}. The relation between the anonymous friar and the duke of Burgundy sets the writing of the former in the context of late medieval crusading projects. His exhortation to the Christian princes to liberate the Holy Land, although well disguised in a geographical and historical treatise, was in the tradition of earlier Franciscan involvements in crusading projects, which, tellingly, were never put into practice\textsuperscript{30}.

The Burgundian friar’s text is typical of the Holy Land histories and treatises produced by the friars of Mount Sion that frequently included crusader chronicles\textsuperscript{31}. Friars from the Jerusalem family used the crusader chronicles to draw up their own version of the

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 1-2.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 404-410.
\textsuperscript{31} Campopiano, “Tradizione e edizione”, 331-333.
memoriale of the holy war. Such a memoriale was integrated in the description of the Holy Landcum pilgrimage diary left by the anonymous friar, to whose testimony I now turn.

By the fifteenth century, the memory of the crusader kings was integrated into the prayers for the recovery of the Holy Land. The visit of their tombs in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre triggered their recollection. In a typical pilgrim’s experience, the description of the funeral monuments was followed by a prayer for the recovery of the Holy Land, as it has been accomplished by the warrior kings of yore. The remembrance tinged with nostalgia presented the inflections of the habitual crusading discourse, especially on the topos of the first crusader rulers of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon (1099-1100) and Baldwin I (1100-1118). As in the epitaphs adorning their tombs in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, they were remembered as conquerors of the Holy Land.

In his chronicle of the crusades, De gestis Balduinorum egregiis quando Terram promissionis christiano nomini vendicarunt, which he included in his treatise on the Holy Land, the anonymous friar recorded the memory of Godfrey of Bouillon “just as another Maccabean” (veluti Machabeus alter). The rhetorical genealogy of the Maccabees topos in

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32 Ibid., 333.
33 The tombs of the Crusader kings were often mentioned in descriptions of the church and its ceremonies left by pilgrims. The Crusader kings buried at the foot of Calvary were: Baldwin I (1118), Baldwin II (1131), Fulk of Anjou (1143) and Duke Godfrey of Bouillon (1100), the first Latin ruler of Jerusalem. The other kings, Baldwin III (1163), Almaric (1174), Baldwin IV (1185), Baldwin V (1186) were buried under the choir of the new Crusader church. By the time of the friars’ settlement in the church, the tombs have already been badly damaged in 1244 by the Khwarzimians. Denys Pringle, The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus, vol. 3, The City of Jerusalem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 16-17, 23, 32, 65. The tombs most mentioned by pilgrims were those of Godfrey and Baldwin, perhaps because of their spectacular epitaphs, commemorating them as conquerors of the Holy Land. See, for instance, the English pilgrim William Wey, who copied the epitaphs in the accounts of both his pilgrimages. Bandinel Bukeley, ed., The Itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton College. to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462 and to Saint James of Compostella A.D. 1456 from the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library (London: Nichols, 1857), 43, 68-69.
34 For instance, one of the stations of the pilgrimage inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre enumerated by the fifteenth-century vernacular poem The Stasions of Jerusalem was at Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin’s tombs. There the pilgrims prayed that Christendom be given again such princes, able to recover the Holy Land: “Than fond we in Galgatha so,/ Beryed worthily ther lyggys two:/ Godfrey of Boleyn and Baudwyn his brother./ Jhesu brynge thether sych two other;/ Than darst I sey that blyssed lond/ Schuld duell in Crystyn mennys hond.” George Shuffelton, ed., Codex Ashmole 61. A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 338, 550.
36 “Namque cum undique barbaris hostibus vallatus esset, quoniam et ab oriente Arabes, Moabitas, Amonitas, ab occidente Saracenos, a meridie Idumeos, PhilisteosEgyptiosque confinio haberet, veluti Machabeus alter, divino satius quam humano fretus presidio, perrexit primum contra Saracenos, quos haudi diuturno bello
the Western discourse on war is rich indeed. Comparing a warrior to Judas Maccabeus represented one of the finest forms of praise. The identification of the crusaders with the Maccabees is a constant of the Western holy war narrative. Moreover, the friar emphasized the connection between Godfrey and the Church and the Holy Sepulchre, as a memorial of the fighter against infidels who refused to be torn apart from Calvary, and arranged to be buried at its foot.

The end of the chronicle, and of the treaty, is telling for the clamorous appropriation of the crusader history into the Franciscan narrative. The loss of Jerusalem is explained in the usual manner, as the result of inner Christian dissent and the military might of Saladin. The author phrased the loss in terms of estrangement, a choice of words customary to the recuperatio Terre Sancte narrative. In this narrative, the reference to the loss of the Holy Land was phrased in the words of the Book of Lamentations: versaque est Domini hereditas ad alienos, a means of othering Muslims by reference to biblical exempla of foreigners who deprived the elected of their inheritance.

The call for recovery was intrinsic to this type of narrative. And this is precisely how the anonymous friar chose to end his treatise, and the chronicle, with a plea to the Christian princes, and a prayer, so that they would reunite in the reconquest of the Holy Land, understood as recovery: revindicent et restituant nobis. Viewed in the light of the probable relation connecting this friar to the circle of the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, his pleading for the Holy Land cause can be seen as representative of the treatises that fed the crusading rhetoric in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Very much as the crusading actions of Philip the Good, of the Feast of the Pheasant fame, the friar’s choice of words, pros sternens, Joppem ea tempestate munitissimum oppidum cepit, posteaque Ramulam que et magnitudine et munitionibus satis ampla eo presertim tempore erat”. “Description de la Terre Sainte”, 55.

37 Gabriela Signori, introduction to Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith. Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective, ed. eadem, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 15-21; Elizabeth Lapina, “The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch”, in Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith, 149-150. However, the topos of the Maccabees served the writers of the Crusading period for irenic purposes as well. For instance, the priors of the church of the Templum Domini used the example of Judas Maccabeus as restorer of the Temple to convince the king of Jerusalem to return to the church the treasures sacked in July 1099. Julian Yolles, “The Maccabees in the Lord’s Temple: Biblical Imagery and Latin Poetry in Frankish Jerusalem”, forthcoming in Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton, eds., The Uses of the Bible in Crusading Sources (Leiden: Brill).

38 “Qui et se ad radices Calvarie montis sepelliri mandavit, utpute qui Christi amore dillectus, adversus infideles pugnacissime dimicaverat dum viveret, nec moriens patetetur quod poterat ab illo se Iungiri, namque et eius marmoreum sarcophagum ibi etiam hodie cernimus”. “Description de la Terre Sainte”, 55.

39 Lamentations 5,2.


41 Housley, Crusading in the Fifteenth Century, 73.
played on the ambiguity of *utinam*, can be understood either as a plea (*May the Christian princes...*) or as a lamentation in the face of the improbability for such action to be really undertaken (*If only the Christian princes...*)\textsuperscript{42}.

The testimony of the anonymous Franciscan exemplifies the integration of the memory of crusades into the Minorite perception of the space to which they were the appointed guardians. Next, I turn to the theme of recovery memorialized in the liturgy of the Jerusalemite friars. Amongst the liturgical manuscripts in use in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and which survived to be preserved today in the Biblioteca Generale della Custodia di Terra Santa, there are some samples of what the Franciscan Jerusalemite liturgy of war might have looked like. The manuscript witnesses we have for the liturgy of the recovery of the Holy Land consist in two standard *missae ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam* and of an introit, the *Ad Sanctum Sepulchrum Domini introitus*, which appears to be a particularity of the Jerusalemite liturgy.

\textbf{a. The *Missae ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam* of the Jerusalem Franciscans}

In his study on the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land as a keeper and intermediary of the memory of the Holy Places, Michele Campopiano has pointed out the pivotal role played by manuscripts produced or copied at the friars’ convent on Mount Sion in shaping the contemporary Western view on the Holy Land\textsuperscript{43}. The liturgical manuscripts of the friars, used for mass and office, open a window into their appropriation of the theme of the recovery in the rituals they performed in the Holy Land and how they adjusted it to their peculiar circumstances.

The two manuscript witnesses for a mass for the recovery of the Holy Land in use in Jerusalem are MS MIN 1 *olim* SF1278 and MS MIN 2 *olim* ZzV19\textsuperscript{44}, both presenting the same version of the *Missa devota ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam*\textsuperscript{45}:

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\textsuperscript{42} “Octogenos enim et octo annos hi clarissimi reges tantummodo regnavere, a millesimo quidem nonagesimo Christi annuo usque ad annos mille centenos octoginta septem eorum duravit imperium. Qua tempestate orto inter posteros dissidio, a Saladino Babilonie soldano potentissimo facili contriti sunt, versaque est Domini hereditas ad alienos. Quam utinam christianis principes velint aliquando contendere et eniti et revendicent et restituant nobis, quo etemur [*sic*] in ea in letitia cordis nostris. “Description de la Terre Sainte”, 59.

\textsuperscript{43} Campopiano, “Note sulla presenza francescana”, 49-69.

\textsuperscript{44} See Nicola Bux, *Codici liturgici latini di Terra Santa-Liturgical Latin Codices of the Holy Land* (Fasano: Schena Editore, 1990), 40-47.

\textsuperscript{45} Transcribed from MS MIN.2 *olim* ZzV19, 122r.
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Deus, qui amabilis providentia cuncta disponis, Te suppliciter exoramus, ut terram quam Unigenitus Filius Tuus proprio sanguine consecravit, de manibus inimicorum crucis potenter eripiens restituas cultui Christiano, vota fidelium ad eius liberationem instantium misericordier dirigendo in viam salutis eternae. Pe eum.  

The secret:  
Deus, qui in singulari corporis Tui hostia totius mundi solvisti delicta, in hac oblatione placatus, terram pretiosa sanguinis Tui aspersione sacratam expulsa omni sevitate potestatis adverse, catholice restituas libertati. Per Dominum.  

Sacris repleti muneribus quesumus, Domine Deus noster, ut terram presentie tue dicatam ab hostium tuorum eripias servitute, ut ea redita Te propitiante cultui tuo, obsequia tibi gratia populus tuus in ea devotus impendat. Per Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum Filium Tuum, qui vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen  

After we have recived the sacred gifts, we ask you, Lord our God, to deliver from the slavery of your enemies the land that is called yours, so that, through your grace, is restored to your worship, and your devout people serve you in it with gratitude. Through our Lord, Jesus Christ, your Son, who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.  

In both cases, the prayers of this mass are fifteenth-century additions to thirteenth-century manuscripts. Thanks to the meticulous study of the late medieval votive Holy Land masses conducted by Amnon Linder, the missae ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam of the Jerusalemite manuscripts can be catalogued with almost Linnaean precision. Linder has identified five types of liturgical offices that were created after 1187: the Holy Land Clamour, the Holy Land Mass; the dedicated Holy Land mass, the Trental of St Gregory and the Holy Land segments in the Bidding Prayers.

If the Christian conquest of Jerusalem triggered its liturgical memorialisation, so did its loss. The liturgical clamours for the loss of Jerusalem and supplication for its recovery and the Holy Land masses originated either in papal initiative or in that of the religious orders. They were usually connected to calls for a new crusade or triggered by the threat of the loss.
of yet other Christian lands.\textsuperscript{48} In accordance with the taxonomy established by Linder, the form of the Holy Land mass present in the two Jerusalem manuscripts discussed here belong to what he called “the sets of three mass prayers”, consisting of the three dedicated Holy Land prayers, which could be associated with any type of mass, transforming it into a Holy Land votive mass.\textsuperscript{49} According to this taxonomy, the masses of the Franciscan Jerusalemite manuscripts present the features of what Linder calls the “set 3”, with the collect Deus qui admirabili, the secret Deus qui in singulari corporis tui, and the postcommunion Sacris replete muneribus quesumus.\textsuperscript{50}

The euchological contents evolve around the themes of recovery and liberation. God is supplicated so that Christians prevail over their enemies, and the Holy Land “be restored to the Christian cult” (restituas cultui Christiano), “restored to your worship” (redita cultui tuo). The reason of what makes this Holy Land holy and the inheritance of Christians is stated both in the collect and in the secret: it was the place where Christ shed his blood, a sacrifice that made the land holy (terram quam Unigenitus Filius Tuus proprio sanguine consecravit; terram pretiosi sanguinis Tui aspersione sacratam). This very consecration called for liberation, the aim of the sacrifices undertaken by the faithful for its delivery (vota fidelium ad eius liberationem). In this paradigm, the liberty is universal and Christian (catholicie restituas libertati) and opposed to the slavery and the savageness (ab hostium tuorum eripias servitute; sevitia potestatis adverse), that were traditionally one of the trademarks of the Muslim enemy.\textsuperscript{51}

The theme of the catholicia libertas evoked the necessity of war, which, in the Western Christian discourse on violence, represented the means for securing the liberty of the Church (libertas ecclesie) or of Christianity (libertas christiana).\textsuperscript{52} The freedom of the church, as the ultimate aim for engaging in battles against the enemies of the faith (pro libertate ecclesie, pro liberatione ecclesie), was a recurrent theme of the crusading narrative. This is how, at the other fringes of Europe, the crusade and victory against the “heretic” Stedinger was liturgically commemorated immediately after their defeat in 1234.\textsuperscript{53} Holy warfare, in this case a new crusade, for the realization and success of which this mass was

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 26-27,186-189, 355-356.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid. 97-98, 103.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 106.
\textsuperscript{51} Tolan, Saracens, 94.
\textsuperscript{52} Buc, Holy War, 213-215.
created, became legitimate as a means of ensuring the liberty of Christians in the reconquered Holy Land.

The Franciscan-led pilgrimage in Jerusalem had a standard liturgy, which the brethren imposed through curated pilgrimage booklets, the generic *Peregrinationes totius Terrae Sanctae*, which they circulated for the benefit of pilgrims. By the second half of the fifteenth century, the *Peregrinationes totius Terrae Sanctae* were printed in Venice in the dozens and were sold to pilgrims at veritable book fairs before they sailed to the Holy Land\(^54\). These booklets contained the itinerary, the indulgences and the prayers attached to the Holy Places\(^55\). The synopsis complied by Paolo Trovato, Elena Nicolai and Martina Cita points to the existence of a liturgical standard for the Jerusalem pilgrimage. There are no prayers of the *recuperatio Terre Sancte* in the database assembled by these researchers, indicating that they were missing in the pilgrimage booklets disseminated by Franciscans.

However, the *Laudes et orationes de Terra Sancta* from a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Colombina in Sevilla MS 5-2-46\(^56\) suggest that the prayers for the relief of the Holy Land filtered into pilgrimage booklets, albeit not in the standardized version. With the dimensions of a small portable booklet (166×120 mm)\(^57\), MS 5-2-46 contains also Jordan of Quedlinburg’s *expositio* on the Passion\(^58\), and the *Laudes et orationes*\(^59\) are followed by a standard list of the Holy Places and their indulgences\(^60\). Completed with some crude drawings of the *Arma Christi* and Mary of Sorrows (f. 1v) and of Christ’s prayer in the Garden of Gethsemani (f. 8v) this was probably someone’s personal prayer book. The *Laudes et orationes Terre Sancte* are introduced by the clarification that these are the prayers of the Holy Land pilgrimage. Intriguingly, it mentions that this

\(^{54}\) Paolo Trovato, “Per lo studio dei più antichi processionali”, 191-196.


\(^{58}\) MS 5-2-46 Biblioteca Colombina 1v-53r.

\(^{59}\) *Ibid.*, 53v-69r.

\(^{60}\) “Suprascripte sunt peregrinationes Terre Sancte que a modernis peregrinis visitantur”. *Ibid.*, 69v-53r. Apparently, the friars had some sort of billboard (*in quadam tabulam*) in their Mount Sion convent from which pilgrims could write down these lists. Saletti, *I francescani in Terrasanta*, 158. Hence the many “peregrinationes Terre Sancte que a modernis peregrinis visitantur” in pilgrimage accounts, descriptions of the Holy Land, etc.
pilgrimage could be done “both in spirit and in body”\(^{61}\). Regardless of whether they were used in the Holy Land pilgrimage made \textit{in corpore} or \textit{in spiritu}, the prayers opening the pilgrimage are the supplications for the recovery of the Holy Land:

\begin{align*}
\text{Et primo legas devote psalmum XXXV.} & \quad \text{You should read first Psalm 35.} \\
\text{Benedixisti Domine terram tuam etc. Gloria Patri etc.} & \quad \text{Lord, you blessed your land, etc. Glory to the Father etc.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
V. \text{ Portio mea, Domine, sit in Terra viventium.} & \quad V. \text{ My lot, Lord, is in the land of the living.}
\end{align*}

\textit{Oratio:}

\begin{align*}
\text{Deus qui admirabili prudentia cuncta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus, ut terram quam Unigenitus Tuus Dominus Noster Ihesus Christus propio sanguine consecravit, de manibus inimicorum crucis potenter eripiens, restituas cultui christiano, vota fidelium ad eius liberationem instancium misericorditer in viam salutis eternae dirigendo. Per eum qui venturus est iudicare}\(^{62}\).
\end{align*}

\textit{Collect:}

\begin{align*}
\text{God, through wonderful foresight you ordain all. We humbly ask you that, forcefully tearing away from the hands of the enemy of the cross the land consecrated by the blood of Your Only-Begotten Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, return it to the Christian religion, and that, mercifully you reward the sacrifices of the faithful leading them to eternal life. Through him who is coming to judge [us].}
\end{align*}

These introductory prayers feature the same collect, the \textit{Deus qui admirabili}, as the \textit{Missa devota ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam} of the Jerusalem manuscripts, which means that they belong to the “clamor 3” type in Linder’s taxonomy. However, the prayers in the manuscript from the Biblioteca Colombina differ in the addition of Psalm 34, the antiphon \textit{Benedixisti Domine terram tuam} and the versicle \textit{Portio mea}\(^{63}\). The verses of the psalm, the antiphon and the versicle were concordant with the collect, in words asking for God’s assistance to defeat the enemies of the just and begging for the return of Christians’ lost inheritance.

\(^{61}\) “Nota per has laudes seu orationes Terre Sancte poteris ipsam Terram Sanctam tam in spiritu quam in corpore devote visitare”. MS 5-2-46 Biblioteca Colombina. 53r. \\
\(^{62}\) Ibid. \\
\(^{63}\) Psalm 35 \textit{Iudica, Domine, nocentes me, expugna impugnantes me. Antiphon Benedixisti, Domine, terram tuam} (Feria V&VI per annum). Renato-Joanne Hesbert, ed., \textit{Corpus antiphonalium officii}, vol.3, \textit{Invitatoria et antiphonae. Edito critica} (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder), 89. The antiphon \textit{Portio mea, Domine, sit in terra viventium} was ascribed to the Feria VI per annum. \url{http://cantusdatabase.org/id/004316} [last accessed: July 2016].
b. The *Ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini introitus*

In the fifteenth century, three liturgical pieces were added to a thirteenth century missal, MS MIN 2 *olim* Zz V19 of the Biblioteca Generale della Custdia di Terra Santa, used by the friars of Mount Sion since the fourteenth century. The first piece contained the prayers of the *Missa devota ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam*, previously discussed, followed by the *Ad Sanctum Sepulchrum Domini introitus* and by the *In Transfiguratione Domini introitus*. These additions were dated by Nicola Bux to the late fifteenth century, based on what he calls the “mass of the Transfiguration”, actually the introit for the feast of the Transfiguration. The Mass of the Transfiguration, celebrated by the Eastern Churches, especially the Syriac, was adopted by the Roman Church only 1457\(^{64}\). Based on the fact that the introit to the Holy Sepulchre was added by the same hand as the introit to the feast of the Transfiguration, the date of its entry into the missal of the Jerusalem Franciscan is very likely to be the second part of the fifteenth century.

I what follows I turn to the analysis of the *Ad Sanctum Sepulchrum Domini introitus*\(^{65}\). I include its discussion in this chapter because of the supplication for the recovery of the Holy Land included in this devotion to the Holy Sepulchre. My research is based entirely on the exploration of the euchological contents of this piece, and this is for several reasons: as far as I know this is a liturgical piece that is peculiar to the Jerusalem usage of the friars; it has not been previously edited or discussed. I provide a full transcription of the introit in Annex 1.

Unfortunately, this liturgical segment does not seem to have caught the attention of any of the pilgrims, who, like Mariano da Siena, Gabriele Capodilista and Santo Brasca, diligently wrote down the prayers and devotions accompanying their visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre\(^{66}\). A likely explanation for this conspicuous omission might be that this introit was not included in the aforementioned standardized *Peregrinationes totius Terrae Sanctae*, analyzed by Trovato, Niccolai and Cita. The absence of the *Ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini introitus* from these standard guidebook suggests that, perhaps because of its seditious euchology, asking for the liberation of the Holy Land, it was left out by the friars from the booklets they circulated. Instead, we find it in one of their missals, used within the confines of churches.

\(^{64}\) Bux, *Codici liturgici latini di Terra Santa*, 47 n 2.
\(^{65}\) MS MIN.2 *olim* Zz V 19 BGCTS, 123r-125r.
\(^{66}\) See chapter 4 for a discussion of these pilgrimage accounts.
The liturgical occasion for the use of this introit can be surmised exclusively from its contents, as there are no liturgical instructions regarding the feast to which it was ascribed. From its euchology, this introit very likely accompanied the entrance of the pilgrims into the Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre or belonged to a special mass of the Holy Sepulchre. Given its focus on the Tomb of Christ, it is tempting to associate it with the ceremony of the Deposition of Christ on Good Friday, during which the veneration of the Cross and Christ’s “burial” in the Easter sepulchre occurred. However, the presence of the Alleluya excludes this option, since this expression of jubilation, alongside the angelic hymns Te Deum and Gloria was absent from the Liturgy of the Quadragesimal time.

Moreover, as becomes clear from the first line, the introit commemorated the sepulchre as the place of the Resurrection rather than the memorial of Christ’s suffering and death. The first line refers to the worship of the Holy Sepulchre as a Christian duty: “It is right for us to worship the tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in which our virtue, life and consolation lie, through which we were reborn and baptized”.

The reoccurrence of the Alleluya, the Paschal acclamation par excellence, and the introductory verses all seem to place it in a time of liturgical jubilation, very likely the Paschal time. This impression is reinforced by the reading taken from the Gospel of Matthew about the empty tomb and the constant reference to the sepulchre as the memorial of the Resurrection. However, the inclusion of the reading from the prophet Isaiah (Is. 53, 1-9) would place it in in the Advent period. This point is clarified by the research done into the crusader liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem, in which the Book of Isaiah was substantially used in these newly-created liturgical forms that celebrated the new advent of Christians in the Holy Land.

67 This might be the case for individual devotions at the Edicule. For the common entrance of pilgrims in the Edicule, during the processional pilgrimage to the church, the ordo peregriantionis Ecclesie Sancti Sepulcri prescribed different prayers for the station at the Edicule (see the next chapter).
70 “Nos autem venerari oportet sepulcrum Domini Nostri Yhesu Christi, in quo est virtus, vita et consolacio nostra, per quem renati et baptiçati sumus”. MS MIN.2 olim Zz V 19 BGCTS, 123.
71 Gaposchkin, “The Echoes of Victory”, 254-255. In the In festivitate sancte Hierusalem analyzed by Amnon Linder, verses from the Book of Isaiah, in the form of antiphones, versicles, responsories and readings for Advent and Christmas tide represented the overwhelming source for this liturgical piece created for the Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem. Amnon Linder, “The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem”, 113-120.
There was a *Missa in veneratione Sancti Sepulcri* introduced by crusaders in the liturgy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This mass was transmitted with a chronicle of the first crusade, the anonymous *Gesta francorum et aliorum hiroslimitanorum*\textsuperscript{72}. This crusading mass resembles the introit here discussed on many points: it conserves the format of a particular liturgy for the Holy Sepulchre that was understood as object of veneration in the historical setting of Jerusalem and as cenotaph of the entire Christendom hoping for resurrection. Common is also the understanding of the Sepulchre in a typological framework, as the place where the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled. However, the mass and the introit differ on a crucial point: they have a different euchology\textsuperscript{73}. The introit is remarkably original, with its mix of devotion and bellicose supplication. But first, given the fact that it was not previously studied or edited, a short mapping of the liturgical scheme may be helpful:

*Ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini introitus*\textsuperscript{74}

Nos autem venerari oportet sepulcrum\textsuperscript{75} It is right to worship the sepulchre

\textit{V.} Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine V. Your noble altars, Lord

Ps 84, 2-3 In Dedicatione Ecclesie\textsuperscript{76}

\textit{V.} Gloria Patri V. Glory to the Father

\textsuperscript{72} It followed the *Gesta francorum et aliorum hiroslimitanorum* and an Itinerary of the Holy Places, and it was followed by the Dimensions of the Sepulchre. Rosalind Hill, ed. and trans., *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), XXXVIII.

\textsuperscript{73} “*Incipit missa in veneratione Sancti Sepulchri Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui per passionem Unigeniti tui humanum genus redimere dignatus es, et eius sepulture omnium fidelium sepulchra signasti, concede propitius, ut ad gloriam resurrections eiusdem pertingere mereamur, per eundem...*

SECRETUM. Suscipe quasemus omnipotens Deus hanc hostiam oblationis, quam tibi in illius commemoratione deferimus, qui ad detergenda mundi facinora iniuriam crucis et sepulturae pro nobis clementer sustinuit, qui tecum vivit...

PRAEFATIO. O aeterne Deus, qui oraculis prophetarum Unigeniti tui gloriosum in quo caro illius non videret corruptionem sepulchrum immotesere voluisti; ut inde victor mortis resurgens fidelibus spem resurgendi concederet; et ideo cum angelis etc.


\textsuperscript{74} Transcribed from MS MIN.2 olim Zz v 19 BGCTS.


\textsuperscript{76} *C\textit{A}O*, vol. 4, 362.
**Oratio:**
Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui per unigenituum tuum pro nobis morientem et in sepulcro dulciter quiescentem mortis dominium devicisti, tribue nobis opera mortis repellere et ad vitam semper tendere sempiternam, ut gloria resurrectionis devoti efficiamur, et in futuro celesti gaudio divino munere rapiamur. Per eum

**Collect:**
O Almighty and everlasting God, who, through your dead and laid to rest in the sepulchre Son, had triumphed over death, grant us that we ward off the work of death, so that we devoutly achieve the glory of the resurrection, and, in the future, be seized by the divine toil in the joy of heaven. Through him.

**Lectio Ysaie prophete**
Is 53,1-9 in the Ante-Communion of Good Friday service

**Lectio Ysaie prophete**
Lesson from the prophet Isaiah

**Alleluya**
O spelunca dignissima tuis sanctis visceribus ut figurarum septima vite librum clausisti, spes ad vitam fidelibus per te data surgentibus, qui et tu peperisti.

**Alleluya**
O most noble cave, the same way you enclosed in your depths the book of the seven figures of life, hope unto life was given through you to the raising faithful, whom you had born.

**Hic insignis ac cubitus troni imprialis odore fragrat celitus, afflatus prophetalis inpletus, nam corrupcio abest et resoluti organi virginali.**

**Alleluya**
The Heaven is fragrant with the odor of this illustrious imperial throne [the Tomb]. The longing of the prophets fulfilled, now free from corruption, is restored to its virginal state.

**O rex Deus fortissime, tui pondus iudicii exerce potentissime, super gente ferali iube nobis restitui locum sacrae tumuli, brachio virginali.**

**Alleluya**
O King Almighty God, exercise the strength of your judgement, o, all powerful, and order that we prevail over (the) ferocious people, by our fighting arm, give us back the place of the Holy Tomb.

**Sequitur prosa:**
O insignis sepultura

**Prose:**
O noble tomb

**Secundum Mattheum**
Matt. 27, 62-66

**Offertorium:**
O splendor glorie, cuius corpus supinum accubuit in pulvere labem pellens infectionis squalide qui tu non sensisti, tu conseptulos

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78 I thank Florin Filimon for helping me to decipher this particular bit of tricky Latin.
resuscita tecum, in tremendo examine ad vitam qui promisisti.

Deus qui in figuram his altaris tuum sacratissimum corpus in sepulcro includi permisisti, concede propicius ut huius oblationis misterio nos et de viciorum exire sepulcro et tecum consepeliri facias. Qui cum.

O radix Iesse pullulans de corde terrenorum, qui stas semper ut adiuvans, in figura semper glorificans sepulcrum gloriosum.

Alleluia

Post communionem:
Deus, qui pro nobis filium tuum mortuum ac sepultum resurrexisse fecisti, concede propicius ut nobis ad memoriam sue vivificae sepulture recurentibus per sancta que sumpsimus secum consepeliti, cunctis malis actibus moriamur. Per eundem

Deus, qui in figuram his altaris tuum sacratissimum corpus in sepulcro includi permisisti, concede propicius ut huius oblationis misterio nos et de viciorum exire sepulcro et tecum consepeliri facias. Qui cum.

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Deus, qui pro nobis filium tuum mortuum ac sepultum resurrexisse fecisti, concede propicius ut nobis ad memoriam sue vivificae sepulture recurentibus per sancta que sumpsimus secum consepeliti, cunctis malis actibus moriamur. Per eundem

Post communionem:
Deus, qui, for our sake, had raised your dead and buried Son, mercifully grant that we, who come to the memorial of his life-giving sepulchre, receiving the sacred [sacraments], be buried with him, and be dead to all evil. Through him.

Its contents suggest that this introit might have been created for the Easter celebrations. It may well have been meant to accompany the pilgrims’ devotions when entering the Edicule. Pilgrimage accounts relate that when pilgrims were present, the mass celebrated in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the Mass of the Resurrection, the proper liturgical time notwithstanding. The character of the memorial embodied by the church, in this case as the place of Christ’s resurrection79 dictated the type of liturgical memorialization. This applied at Bethlehem’s Church of the Nativity as well, where Christmas mass was said when pilgrims were present.

The prayers speak precisely of the memory of the Resurrection. Typology provided the interpretative framework that connects the Edicule (the physical space) with its function as memorial of the Resurrection. Within this exegetical logic, Isaiah’s vetero-testamentary prophecy of the luxurious root sprouting out of the thirsting land is echoed in the Eucharistic prayer by the image of the “root of Jesse” sprouting out of human hearts. Here, the author of this mass played on the fame of one of the great antiphons of the Roman liturgy, the O radix

79 This is how is known by Eastern Christians, the Anastasis.
Jesse, one of the so-called “Great Os”80. However, he changed the words of the well-known antiphon81, connecting the image of the life-giving tree to the sepulchre. Moreover, in a striking exercise of typological inversion, in the prose *O insignis sepultura*, Christ’s tomb is referred to as the virginal womb of God’s mother (*Hic est tumulus regalis,/ Typum tenens virginalis/ Matris Dei uteri*). In the same typological inflection, and with the increased indicative power of connecting the demonstrative *hic* to the actual tomb, a theatrical effect employed in liturgical dramas in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the author firmly linked the Old Testament prophecy to its fulfillment in the Risen Christ, who left the tomb unspoiled, like the virginal womb: *Hic insignis ac cubitus troni imperialis odore fragrat celtitus, afflatus prophetalis impletus, nam corruptio abest et resoluti organi virginalis.*

The fragment most relevant to the topic treated here is the collect *O rex Deus fortissime*, containing the supplication for the recovery of the Holy Land: *O rex Deus fortissime, tui pondus iudicii exerce, potentissime, super gente feriali iube nobis restitui locum sacratum tumuli brachio virtuali*. It invoked God’s justice to allow Christians to reconquer, “arms in hand”, *brachio virtuali*, the sepulchre of Christ. The intrinsic connection between liberation and the necessity of war followed the usual patterns of crusading discourse, in which one called for the other.

Referring to the Muslim lords of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as a “beastly people” (*gens feralis*) pertained to the usual formulæ of crusading rhetoric. Liturgically, it echoed the collect of one of the most widespread types of the Holy Land masses, clamor 3 in Linder’s taxonomy, which asked that: *Te gentes quae sunt in feritate confidunt potentiae tuae dextera compriantur*82. The author of the introit very likely drew on the tradition illustrated by the aforementioned clamor but also on a more ancient usage. The call for *gentes quae in sua feritate confidunt* (“the nations that trust in their fierceness”) to be brought to obedience by the Christian ruler was part of the *Intercessory Prayers* following the reading of the Gospel in the Good Friday service83.

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80 Seven or twelve antiphons with texts taken from the Old Testament, all beginning with the word “O”. They belonged to the liturgy of ferial days before Christmas. They were: *O sapientia, O Adonai, O radix Jesse, O clavis, O oriens, O rex gentium, O Emmanuel*. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 73, 366.
81 The words of the *O radix Jesse antiphon* run: “*O radix Jesse qui stas in signum populorum, super quem continebunt reges os suum, quem gentes deprecabuntur; veni ad liberandum nos, iam noli tardere*”.* CAO*, vol. 3, 375.
In conclusion, the *Ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini introitus* is a special mass created very likely in Jerusalem by one of the friars of Mount Sion. In spite of my efforts, I was unable to find another witness for the same liturgical scheme. With its focus on the Sepulchre as a memorial of the Resurrection and type of virginal incorruptibility, the introit comes close to the Crusader *Missa in veneracione Sancti Sepulcri*. However, they present a very different euchology, characteristic of dramatically different historical circumstances. The author of the introit weaved into the devotion to the Holy Sepulchre as memorial of the Resurrection the urge for the recovery of the Holy Land, which reflected the particular circumstances in which the friars found themselves in fifteenth-century Jerusalem. Both the introit and the *Missa devota ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam* discussed here belong to the family of liturgical devotions created to lament the loss and pray for the recovery of the Holy Land. Whilst the *missa* presents a standard Western European format, the introit seems to have responded to the liturgical needs of the Jerusalem friars, who very likely employed it in their service at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

2. **Dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre**

The Holy Sepulchre knighthood underwent significant metamorphoses from its beginning in the fourteenth century to its present association with charitable work. Inaugurated under the auspices of the friars serving in the Holy Land, the ritual of the dubbing in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre passed under the jurisdiction of the Latin Patriarch in the nineteenth century and received papal sanction only in the sixteenth century. Jean-Pierre de Gennes has produced an impressive feat of research bringing forward a two-volume monograph dedicated to the ritual and the knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre. His monograph and a number of a few older works dedicated to the topic had almost exhaustively covered the historical survey of both the ritual and the institution. Any

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84 [http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/institutions_connected/oessh/attivita.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/institutions_connected/oessh/attivita.html) [last accessed: February 2016].
of these works constitute an excellent guide for those interested in the finer points of the chronology of the knighthood.

In what follows I will briefly chart the chronology of the institution of the Jerusalem knighthood, focusing instead on the ritual of dubbing, especially on the oath taken by the knights to fight for the recovery of the Holy Land. The goal is to clarify the Franciscan connection, that is to try to understand why the friars got involved in a ritual that, by its militant nature, was beyond the remit of the irenic goals of their Holy Land mission, namely serving at the Holy Place and the pilgrim guidance.\(^{88}\)

First, a chronological survey of the Jerusalem knighthood is in order. The ritual of dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre and the knighthood thus received were shrouded in foundational mythology and much romanticized. Recent scholarship, and especially the work of Jean-Pierre de Gennes, demystified many of these foundational myths. Of the latter, the greatest was placing the origins of this knighthood, whose members never came to form a military order, such as the Templars or the Knights Hospitaller, in the crusading period or even earlier, mostly by confusing Baldwin I’s appointment of the Regular Canons of St Augustine to the service of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the foundation of the Order of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.\(^{89}\) The foundational mythology was centered around the image of crusader heroes, such as Godfrey of Bouillon or Baldwin I of Jerusalem, illustrated by some famous sixteenth and seventeenth-century forgeries, the so-called Foundation charter of the Knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre and a charter ascribed to Baldwin I, through which he would have transformed the Regular Canons of the Holy Sepulcher into the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.\(^{90}\)

Here a clarification of the term “knight of the Holy Sepulchre” is in order. The term miles Sancti Sepulcri predates the practice of dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre, going back to the crusader period when it was one of the many expressions used to designate the members of the Frankish army.\(^{91}\) However, in the context of this paper, “knight of the Holy Sepulchre” stands for a Western Christian who was dubbed in a ceremony in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Moreover, for the period investigated

\(^{88}\) See the Introduction to this dissertation for the analysis of Franciscan mission in the Holy Land.


\(^{90}\) de Gennes, Les Chevaliers, vol. 1, 220-235. For some other foundational myths dismissed by de Gennes, see Ibid., 235-257.

\(^{91}\) Elm, “Kanoniker und Ritter”, 168.
here, namely the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, using the term *ordo* in relation to those knighted at the Holy Sepulchre is inaccurate. The right of conferring knighthood on Christ’s tomb was sanctioned with a legally-binding document by the papacy only in 1561, through a bull issued by Pius IV, with the Order of the Holy Sepulchre officially created in 1746 by Benedict XIV\(^92\).

The first mention of this ritual dates to 1336, merely three years after the brethren’s formal installation in Jerusalem. In the diary of his Holy Land pilgrimage, the *Hodoeporicon ad Terram Sanctam*, William of Baldensel, a Saxon nobleman, mentioned that he dubbed two of his fellow pilgrims when they were in Jerusalem\(^93\). The Franciscan association with this ritual is intriguing. For a long time, they witnessed the ritual that followed immediately after a mass said by one of the friars in the Holy Sepulchre. However, the friars did not perform the dubbing, which, as in the case of all other types of knightling, was supposed to be done by someone who was himself a knight. The newly dubbed knights were married laymen, who did not belong to a religious order\(^94\). This prerequisite of knighthood for the person who performed the dubbing excluded the friars, with the exception of members of the Third Order of St Francis. One of them, a German knight who retired to Jerusalem, John of Prussia, performed this task for almost twenty years, featuring in many a pilgrim account from the second half of the fifteenth century\(^95\).

The ritual was drastically altered at the end of the fifteenth century, when pope Alexander VI granted the Franciscan *custos* the right to confer the knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre. This privilege did not take the form of a bull, but apparently was an oral approval\(^96\). The first papal written document referring to the Holy Sepulchre comes, as mentioned above, from 1561. This change is explained by a thirteenth-century papal innovation, namely the liturgical dubbing performed by bishops, introduced in the papal pontifical in this period\(^97\). This *ordo* for the dubbing of knights by bishops featured also in the

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\(^94\) Among the knights dubbed in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries there is no record for the knighting of a cleric. de Gennes, *Les Chevaliers*, vol. I, 343.

\(^95\) He is first mentioned for the year 1479 and probably died in 1498. Idem, *Les Chevaliers*, vol. I, 312 and “L’ordre de la chevalerie”, 317.

\(^96\) Mancini, “La Custodia di Terra Santa e l’investitura”, 296-297.

Roman Pontifical issued in 1485, which may explain why the custos took over the ritual\textsuperscript{98}. In lieu of Latin bishop in Jerusalem between 1187 and 1847\textsuperscript{99}, the custos of the Holy Land vicariously filled that role. The papal privilege conferring bishops the right of dubbing extended thus to the custos. However, usually the dubbing was performed by one of the pilgrims who was already a knight. When they lacked such a person in their company, the would-be knight went to great lengths to assure the presence of someone who could dub him\textsuperscript{100}.

One study estimates that between 1335 and 1500, some 653 pilgrims received the knighthood, with a manifest overrepresentation of German lands, which account for 74 % of the total\textsuperscript{101}. Nobility of birth and the possession of a fortune sufficient for the payment of the alms required by the knighthood were the prerequisites for those seeking the dubbing\textsuperscript{102}.

As regards the ritual of the dubbing, I focus on the Franciscan involvement in the ceremony and on its place within the efforts for and the narrative of the \textit{recuperatio Terrae Sanctae}. I will limit my exploration of the great many examples of knights dubbed in the period here under discussion to the accounts left by a pilgrim who witnessed the ceremony, the Dominican Felix Fabri, and by someone who undertook the ritual, Nompar de Caumont, a nobleman from Gascony, who made the Jerusalem pilgrimage in 1419.

This choice was prompted by the richness of details recorded in these accounts, particularly in regard to the role played by the friars and the relation of this ritual to the liberation of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem dubbing ritual presented the usual features of such a ceremony, with the engagement of the special surrounding, used as a prop of sorts. Thus, the dubbing usually took place in the Edicule, on the slab of the Tomb, and was done with a “gilded sword”\textsuperscript{103}. It followed a mass said by the friars in the Edicule, attended by the would-

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\textsuperscript{98} de Gennes, “L’ordre de la chevalerie”, 317-318.
\textsuperscript{99} The first Latin Patriarch to reside in Jerusalem, after the loss of the city in 1187, was appointed in July 1847, through a bull issued by Pius IX, the \textit{Nulla celebrior}. Joël Bouëssée, “La Custodie de Terre Sainte et l’Ordre du Saint-Sépulcre hier et aujourd’hui”, in \textit{Trésor du Saint-Sépulcre}, 326.
\textsuperscript{100} Knowing that at the time of his pilgrimage there was no knight in residence staying with the friars in Jerusalem, Nompar de Caumont brought with him a young knight called Sancho de Chaux, whom he met when the ship called at Rhodes, who dubbed him in Jerusalem. le Marquis de la Grange, ed., \textit{Voyage d’outremer, Seigneur de Caumont. Voyage d’Outremer en Jhérusalem} (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), 44.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Ibid}., 342-343.
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Ibid}., 270. The Terra Sancta Museum in Jerusalem, the museum of the Custody of the Holy Land, holds a sword, called “the sword of Godfrey of Bouillon”. However, the sword dates only to the fifteenth-sixteenth century. It was kept hidden by the friars (they were forbidden to bear arms) and was used in the dubbing
be knights. They swore an oath of the generic type for such a ceremony, pledging fidelity to the Church and promising to defend widows and orphans and to lead a pristine Christian life\textsuperscript{104}. The ceremony ended with the new knights making a donation to the friars, after which they were issued by the \textit{custos} with a certificate attesting their dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre\textsuperscript{105}. Some of the knights, such as Nompar de Caumont, concluded the ceremony by inscribing their coat of arms on the walls of the church, thus defying an express prohibition of the \textit{custos}\textsuperscript{106}. Moreover, on their return leg, many of those who received the knighthood in Jerusalem, were dubbed again by the king of Cyprus, who received them into the Order of the Sword\textsuperscript{107}.

The addition setting this oath apart was probably due to the special environment where it was taken. This was the pledge “to help conquer the Holy Land” (\textit{Secondemant, de aider à toute sa puissance à conquester la Terre sainte}). With his usual eye for details, Felix Fabri’s account paints a fuller picture of what exactly this vow to reconquer the Holy Land entailed. He did not record it as a vow, but as part of the “advice” given by John of Prussia to those about to be knighted (\textit{hortatus est eos}):

Moreover, it is forbidden to strike any kind of deal with the infidels; on the contrary, they [the knights] should, if at all possible, throw them [the infidels] as far as possible from the lands of the Christians. And especially, they [the knights] should put any effort into this [to throw them out] so that the Holy Land and the Most Holy Sepulchre are snatched from the hands of the infidels.

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\textsuperscript{104} A typical oath is the one recorded by Nompar of Caumont: “Ci ensuitit les serments que font les chavliers on saint Sépulcre Nostre Seigneur en Jhérusalem lequel je Nonper, seigneur de Caumont, de Chasteau-Neuf, de Chasteau Cullier et de Berbeguieres, ay fait pour le plaisir de Dieu le VIII. jour du mois de juillet, en l’an de l’incarnacion mil.CCCC.XIX. Premier, il promettent garder et deffendre sainte Eglize. Secondemant, de aider à toute sa puissance à conquester la Terre sainte. Tiercement, de guarder et deffendre son people et fère justice. Le quart, de garder saintement son mariatge. Le quint, de non ester en lieu ou place où soit faite nulle traizon. Le sisème, de deffendre et garder les veufves et orphelins” de la Grange, \textit{Voyage d’Oultremer}, 51-52.

\textsuperscript{105} de Gennes, \textit{Les Chevaliers}, vol. 2, 326.

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Voyage d’Oultremer}, 52. The \textit{custos} advised against defacement of the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in his instruction to the arriving pilgrims, consisting in a longue list of prohibitions, that were meant to keep them out of trouble. Apparently the nobility did not heed this particular advice, as the Dominican Fabri fumigated against them inscribing their names and coats of arms even on the Rock of Calvary and in the Edicule. Fabri was ashamed to acknowledge that German nobles were most at fault. \textit{Evagatorium}, vol. 1, 212; vol. 3, 94-95.

\textsuperscript{107} The Order of the Sword was founded by Pierre de Lusignan around 1347, before he became king of Cyprus. One of the few late medieval princes to follow the taking of the Cross with actual military offensives, he captured Alexandria in 1365, followed by attacks on the Syrian coast in 1368. The Order survived until 1489 when the Venetians took Cyprus. The knights dubbed by the king were mostly noble pilgrims on their return from the Jerusalem pilgrimage. As in Jerusalem, they promised that they would come to the defense of Cyprus in case of a Muslim attack. D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Bulton, \textit{The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520} (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987), 241-248.
And kings, princes, dukes, counts, lord marchers and the other armed [forces] lead the way to this [goal], so that the Holy Land is relived as soon as possible and all hasten to its help, and the destitution and abject submission of the Sepulchre be brought to the awareness of the faithful most urgently, and the same [the faithful] be prepared at all times to move forward for the defense of the Holy Land.\textsuperscript{108}

The pledge not to have any sort of contact with the infidel (\textit{ut cum infidelibus nullo pacto foederantur}) echoed earlier papal regulations, starting with the bull \textit{Quod olim} of 1291, which prohibited Christians to engage in commerce with Muslims. This strand of legislation gained urgency in the following two centuries, in the face of the increased incapacity of the Christian powers to proceed to the recovery of the Holy Land. Amended with new provisions regulating the strictly-delimited circumstances in which Christians could have contact with Muslims in the lands of Islam, for instance for the purchase of victuals, the papal embargo remained in place all throughout the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{109} Hence, the need for Western pilgrims to ask for a papal license before departing for the Holy Land, or to ask the \textit{custos} for one, if they arrived without it.

Judging by Fabri’s description, John of Prussia’s pep talk directed at those he was about to knight seems somewhat lukewarm: yes, the plight of the Holy Sepulchre should become theirs (\textit{miseram subiectionem sepulchri intimare}), but the urgency of the cause was greatly limited by the optative inflection: they should fight to throw them out “if at all possible” (\textit{quantum possibile fuerit}). The Dominican employed a string of forty epithets, most in the bettering comparative inflection, to establish the primacy of the “army of the Holy Sepulchre” (\textit{militia sancti sepulchri}) and of its knights: \textit{Commendatio militiae sancti sepulchri et preeminentia illorum super omnes mundi milites}. In a litany-like encomium, he listed the merits of this knighthood, with lengthy justifications, meant to prove that it was better than any other knighthood.\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{108} “Insuper prohibuit, ut cum infidelibus nullo pacto foederarentur, sed eos, quantum possibile fuerit, de terris Christianorum longius eiciant, et maxime, ut omni conatu ad hoc adspirent, quatenus terra sancta et sanctissimum sepulchrum de manibus infidelium eipriatur, et reges, principes, duces, comites, marchioness et caeteros armatos ad hoc inducant, ut terrae sanctae subveniat, et in eius succursum omnes animent et necessitate et miseram subiectionem sepulchri fidelius intimare student omni cum diligentia, et quod ipsimet omni hora parati sint procedere pro defensione terrae sanctae”. \textit{Evagatorium}, vol. 3, 3.


\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Evagatorium}, vol. 3, 5.

\textsuperscript{111} It was: holier (\textit{divinior}), more sacred (\textit{sanctor}), more spiritual (\textit{spiritualior}), more virtuous (\textit{virtuosior}), purer, cleaner and more inoffensive (\textit{purior est et mundior, et innocentior}), more thoughtful (\textit{rationabilior}), more friendly (\textit{amicabilior}), more wearisome (\textit{laboriosior}), more danger-fraught (\textit{periculosior}), more wretched
The way Fabri qualified this most wondrous of armies contained several debilitating qualities in view of its alleged purpose, the reconquest of Jerusalem. The qualities considered praiseworthy by Fabri were rather  irenic: humility, the spirit of community and equality for all its recipients, increased awareness of salvation history through visiting the biblical places. However, following the spirit of papal legislation on relations with the infidels112, Fabri also clarified the circumstances in which this army could resort to violence. Thus, its description as “purer, cleaner and more inoffensive” was justified by the fact that the knights of this army (militia) did not spill blood; or more precisely, they did not spill Christian blood. This left open the possibility of spilling the blood of “the infidels” (nisi sanguinem infidelium), option which Fabri explored and made clear it did not go against the  irenic reputation of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Because this knighthood was bestowed in the place where Christ’s blood was spilled for all of humanity, its recipients loathed shedding the blood of any man. However, it became acceptable under circumstances in which shedding the “harmful blood” (noxius sanguis) of the infidel was done for the defense of the “blood of Christ” (ad defendendum Christi sanguinem), by which Fabri meant the place of the Passion, and generally the Church of the Holy Sepulchre113.

Given the friars’ association with this military ritual and the bellicose nature of the oath taken by the knights, we can assume that the mass said in the Edicule prior to the ceremony may have included fragments of the two pieces of militant liturgy I have discussed above, namely the Missa devota ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam and the Ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini introitus.

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112 Stanchev, Spiritual Rationality, 10-64.
However, contrary to their solemn promise to engage in the conquering of the Holy Land, the overwhelming majority of these knights never took the arms towards this goal. It appears that their nominal engagement in the struggle for the recovery of the Holy Land was a way to acknowledge and abide by the contemporary papal directives regarding the Holy Land, namely its reconquest. Taking the cross remained one of the core chivalric values until the end of the fifteenth century. Dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre by swearing allegiance to the crusading idea insured the receiving of a knighthood, bestowed usually on those who actively fought “the enemies of Christ”. From this perspective, the Jerusalem ritual appears to have offered the honor without the implication of imperative immediate action. In the accounts left by the knights who took the trouble to write down the experience of their own dubbing in Jerusalem, no link is made between their oath to fight for the recovery of the Holy Land and the involvement in a military offensive. Apparently, by the end of the fifteenth century they saw the Jerusalem dubbing as a chivalric honorary accolade.

3. Conclusions

The enthusiasm for expeditions to reconquer the Holy Land tapered off throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The manuscript evidence from Jerusalem itself paints a similar picture, the clamores for the relief of the Holy Land decline after the thirteenth century, being revived by the papacy on dramatic occasions, usually after a Tartar or an Ottoman expedition. The tacit acknowledgement of a status quo in which the recovery of the Holy Land seemed very unlikely came first from the papacy. In the bull Salutaria et sollicite (1280), Nicholas III called for the liberation of the Holy Land, but on condition that peace should be achieved first among Christians.

Although the call to crusade was issued many times during these two centuries, and kings and princes kept “taking the cross”, this never resulted in anything similar to the enthusiasm and action which followed Urban II’s call at Clermont. The defense of Christian lands replaced the offensive for the relief of the Holy Places, which was limited to the remits of what was realistically possible. Or, in Fabri’s words, the Christian knights promised to

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114 De Gennes explains this through their isolation, as pilgrims went to their different countries on their return from the Holy Land. Les Chevaliers, vol. 1, 335.
116 Linder, Raising Arms, 29 and 358.
117 Ibid., 48.
throw out the infidels form the lands of the Christians “if at all possible” (quantum possibile fuerit).

This appears to be the context in which the ritual of the dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre originated and evolved into a quaint ceremony of antiquated militancy. As for the two liturgical pieces, the Missa devota ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam and the Ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini introitus, their performance was concealed behind the locked doors of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. No matter how deeply they wished and prayed for the relief of Jerusalem, the friars were, no doubt, aware of the mild enthusiasm for crusade. Their liturgy bemoaned the loss of Jerusalem and called for its reconquest, but, seen in the general context of the crusade movement in the fifteenth century, even the friars’ war ritual seemed shaded by militant nostalgia.

Through their militant rituals the Jerusalem Franciscans engaged with the crusader legacy in the city and established their role as intercessors for its memory. In Jerusalem their militancy had to be sheltered, with patent displays only for the benefit of European pilgrims. The friars adjusted their mission of ritual recollection to the aspirations of European pilgrims and the limits of their legal status in the city. This permanent adaptability to an ever-changing environment characterized the ritual life of the friars more generally, as we shall see in the following chapters.