



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Between Traditions: The Franciscans of Mount Sion and their rituals (1330-1517)

Covaci, V.

Publication date

2017

Document Version

Other version

License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Covaci, V. (2017). *Between Traditions: The Franciscans of Mount Sion and their rituals (1330-1517)*.

General rights

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

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

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

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 crusades¹. 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 princes².

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 testify³. 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 1320⁴. 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 Capestrano⁵. Many of these popular crusades were complemented by violence against

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.

² The canons of the Council of Vienne (1310-1314) included the engagement for a crusade following hard bargaining between Clement V and Philip IV of France, which the departure settled for 1318. The death of pope and king in 1314 made their crusade plans obsolete. Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274-1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 238-257.

³ *Ibid*, 248 and 269-270.

⁴ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 27-32, 409-410.

⁵ Norman Housley, “Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456”, in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century. Message and Impact*, ed. Idem (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 94-115; Idem, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 147-155.

minorities and defiance towards authority⁶. However, after 1291, crusading remained an ideal seldom translated into action in or towards the Holy Land⁷ or else was channeled into the “defensive crusading”⁸.

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”⁹. 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 Turks¹⁰.

The fall of Constantinople to the armies of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in 1453 marked a milestone in the Western understanding of the crusade¹¹. 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

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 Helmuth, “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 assemblies¹². 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 crusade¹³. 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 antifraternality rhetoric¹⁴.

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 battle field, 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 Turks¹⁵. 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

¹² Idem, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat*, 166.

¹³ Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁴ G. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternality. Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 64-70.

¹⁵ Roberto Rusconi, “Giovanni da Capestrano: Iconografia di un predicatore nell’Europa del ‘400”, *Le Venezie francescane* VI (1989): 31-60.

befitting the desolate circumstances of the Christian army, short in supplies and ravaged by the plague¹⁶.

Recently, Cecilia Gaposchkin has explored the theme of liturgy as a means of institutionalizing the memory of a person or of an event¹⁷. She argues that liturgy was instrumental in the memorialization of the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusader army on 15 July 1099¹⁸. 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 Jerusalem¹⁹. The goal of the crusade was the liberation of the Holy Land²⁰ and the conquest of Jerusalem was presented as a relief, a *liberatio*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 abandoned²². What Lee Manion calls “the narrative-generating power of crusading”²³ has remained a staple of the Western war discourse. It re-emerged, with renewed vitality, in the rhetoric inflaming the conflicts of our century²⁴.

The lands conquered by crusaders in Syria and Palestine were presented to contemporaries as the recovered Christian inheritance in the Holy Land²⁵. 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 (*liberatio*) and recovery (*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

¹⁶ Housley, “Giovanni da Capistrano”, 112-113.

¹⁷ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, “The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Para-liturgical Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West”, *Journal of Medieval History* 40:3 (2014): 237-259.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 244, 257.

¹⁹ Simon John, “The ‘Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem’: Remembering and Reconstructing the First Crusade in the Holy City, 1099-1187”, *Journal of Medieval History* 41:4 (2015): 409-431.

²⁰ Constable, “The Historiography of the Crusades”, 15.

²¹ Amnon Linder, ‘The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem’, *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 110–31.

²² Lee Manion, *Narrating the Crusades. Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 18.

²³ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁴ Theme explored thoroughly in: Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror. Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

²⁵ Manion, *Narrating the Crusades*, 8-9.

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 century²⁶. 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)²⁷. Philip the Good championed himself as a crusader, a true scion of his ancestor Godfrey of Bouillon, about whose deeds he read extensively²⁸.

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 Places²⁹. 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 practice³⁰.

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 chronicles³¹. Friars from the Jerusalem family used the crusader chronicles to draw up their own version of the

²⁶ Ch. Kohler, "Description de la Terre Sainte par un franciscain anonyme 1463", *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 12 (1911): 1-67.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

²⁸ Jacques Paviot, "La devotion vis-à-vis de la Terre Sainte au XVe siècle : L'exemple de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1396-1467)", in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995), ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 404, 410.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 404-410.

³⁰ Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Cartes, réflexion stratégique et projets de croisade à la fin du XIIIe et au début du XIVe siècle. Une initiative franciscaine?", *Francia* 37 (2010): 87-95.

³¹ Campopiano, "Tradizione e edizione", 331-333.

memeoriale of the holy war³². Such a *memoriale* was integrated in the description of the Holy Land *cum* 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 recollection³³. 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 yore³⁴. 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 Land³⁵.

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 Maccabee" (*veluti Machabeus alter*)³⁶. The rhetorical genealogy of the Maccabees topos in

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 Boldeian 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 Stasyons 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 durst 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.

³⁵ "† Hic iacet inclitus Dux Godefridus de Bulion, qui totam istam terram a[c]quisievit cultui chr[istiano]: cuius anima regnet cum Christo. Amen", and "† Rex Balde(w)inus, Iudas alter Machab[a]eus, spes patri[a]e, vigor eccl[es]i[a]e, virt[us] utris[que]. Quem formidabant, cui dona, tribuna ferebant Cedar et [A]egypt[us], Dan ac homicida Damascus. Proh dolor! in modico clauditur in hoc tumulo". Sabino de Sandoli, ed. and Italian trans., *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099-1291). Testo, traduzione e annotazioni* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1974), 54, 58

³⁶ "Namque cum undique barbaris hostibus vallatus esset, quoniam et ab oriente Arabes, Moabitas, Amonitas, ab occidente Saracenos, a meridie Idumeos, Philisteos Egyptiosque confinio haberet, veluti Machabeus alter, divino satius quam humano fretus presidio, perrexit primum contra Saracenos, quos haud 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 narrative³⁷. 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 foot³⁸.

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: *versaue est Domini hereditas ad alienos*³⁹, a means of othering Muslims by reference to biblical *exempla* of foreigners who deprived the elected of their inheritance⁴⁰.

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: *reuendicent 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 fame⁴¹, the friar's choice of words,

prosternens, 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, utpote qui Christi amore dilectus, aduersus infideles pugnacissime dimicauerat dum viveret, nec moriens pateretur quod poterat ab illo seiungi, namque et eius marmoreum sarchofagum ibi etiam hodie cernimus". "Description de la Terre Sainte", 55.

³⁹ Lamentations 5,2.

⁴⁰ John V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 94.

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...*)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.

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 Land⁴³. 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* ZzV19⁴⁴, both presenting the same version of the *Missa devota ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam*⁴⁵:

⁴² “Octogenos enim et octo annos hi clarissimi reges tantummodo regnare, a millesimo quidem nonagesimo Christi anno usque ad annos mille centenos octoginta septem eorum duravit imperium. Qua tempestate orto inter posteros dissidio, a Saladino Babilonie soldano potentissimo facili contriti sunt, versaue est Domini hereditas ad alienos. Quam utinam christiani 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.

⁴³ Campopiano, “Note sulla presenza francescana”, 49-69.

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

⁴⁵ Transcribed from MS MIN.2 *olim* ZzV19, 122r.

Deus, qui amirabili 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 misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne. Per eum.

Secreto:

Deus, qui in singulari corporis Tui hostia totius mundi solvisti delicta, in hac oblatione placatus, terram pretiosi sanguinis Tui aspersione sacratam expulsa omni sevitia 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 grata 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

God, who, through wonderful foresight, ordain all, we pray you humbly that, taking the land consecrated through the very blood of your only-begotten Son from the hands of the enemies of the cross, restore it to the Christian cult, leading the sacrifices of the faithful to its rapid delivery, on the way of eternal life. Through Him.

The secret:

God, who through the unique sacrifice of your body, have absolved the sins of the entire world, reconciled through this offering, chase out from the land sanctified by the shedding of your precious blood the savageness of the enemy power, and restore universal freedom. Through the Lord.

After we have received 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 manuscripts⁴⁶. 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 Prayers⁴⁷.

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

⁴⁶ Bux, *Codici liturgici latini*, 47 (for the mass in MS MIN.2 olim ZzV19).

⁴⁷ Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms. Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), XVIII.

of yet other Christian lands⁴⁸. 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 mass⁴⁹. 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*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 (*catholice 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 enemy⁵¹.

The theme of the *catholica 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*)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 1234⁵³. Holy warfare, in this case a new crusade, for the realization and success of which this mass was

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 26-27, 186-189, 355-356.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 97-98, 103.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵¹ Tolan, *Saracens*, 94.

⁵² Buc, *Holy War*, 213-215.

⁵³ Megan Cassidy-Welch, “The Stedinger Crusade: War, Remembrance, and Absence in Thirteenth-Century Germany”, *Viator* 44 no. 2 (2013): 165, 168-170.

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 Land⁵⁴. These booklets contained the itinerary, the indulgences and the prayers attached to the Holy Places⁵⁵. The synopsis compiled by Paolo Trovato, Elena Niccolai 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 5-2-46⁵⁶ 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 Passion⁵⁸, and the *Laudes et orationes*⁵⁹ are followed by a standard list of the Holy Places and their indulgences⁶⁰. Completed with some crude drawings of the *Arma Christi* and Mary of Sorrows (f. 1v) and of Christ's prayer in the Garden of Ghetsemani (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.

⁵⁵ The synopsis of antiphons put together by Elena Niccolai and Martina Cita on the basis of the processional prayers included in guidebooks authored by pilgrims such as Mariano da Siena or included in the standard *Peregrinationes totius Terrae Sanctae* printed in Venice 1479 constitutes a solid database for the euchological contents of the booklets circulated among pilgrims. Elena Niccolai, "Antifonari francescani di Terrasanta (1431-1492). 1. Betlemme, Monte Sion, Betania, Monte Oliveto, 'Peregrinationes infra Ierusalem civitatem', Valle di Giosafat", *Storie e linguaggi* 1 fasc. 2 (2015): 205-258; Martina Cita, "Antifonari francescani di Terrasanta (1431-1492). 2. Santo Sepolcro, Siloe, Montana Giudea, Ebron, Fiume Giordano, Joppe, Nazareth, Damasco", *Storie e linguaggi* 1 fasc. 2 (2015): 259-308.

⁵⁶ José Francisco Sáez Guillén, *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla*, vol.1 (Sevilla: Cabildo de la S.M. y P.I. Catedral de Sevilla Institución Colombina 2002), 135-136.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 135.

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 *in corpore* or *in spiritu*, the prayers opening the pilgrimage are the supplications for the recovery of the Holy Land:

Et primo legas devote psalmum XXXV. Benedixisti Domine terram tuam etc. Gloria Patri etc.	You should read first Psalm 35. Lord, you blessed your land, etc. Glory to the Father etc.
---	--

<i>V.</i> Portio mea, Domine, sit in Terra viventium.	<i>V.</i> My lot, Lord, is in the land of the living.
--	---

<i>Oratio:</i> Deus qui admirabili prudentia cuncta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus, ut terram quam Unigenitus Tuus Dominus Noster Ihesus Christus proprio sanguine consecravit, de manibus inimicorum crucis potenter eripiens, restituas cultui christiano, vota fidelium ad eius liberationem instancium misericorditer in viam salutis eterne dirigendo. Per eum qui venturus est iudicare ⁶² .	<i>Collect:</i> 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].
--	---

These introductory prayers feature the same collect, the *Deus qui admirabili*, as the *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 *Benedixisti Domine terram tuam* and the versicle *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 *Iudica, Domine, nocentes me, expugna impugnantes me*. Antiphon *Benedixisti, Domine, terram tuam* (Feria V&VI per annum). Renato-Joanne Hesbert, ed., *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, vol.3, *Invitoria et antiphonae. Editio critica* (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder), 89. The antiphon *Portio mea, Domine, sit in terra viventium* was ascribed to the Feria VI per annum. <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 Custodia 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 Sepulcrum 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 1457⁶⁴. 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 Sepulcrum 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 Sepulchre⁶⁶. 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 Sepulchre⁶⁷ 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 occurred⁶⁸. However, the presence of the *Alleluia* excludes this option, since this expression of jubilation, alongside the angelic hymns *Te Deum* and *Gloria* was absent from the Liturgy of the Quadragesimal time⁶⁹.

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"⁷⁰.

The reoccurrence of the *Alleluia*, 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 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 forms⁷¹ 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).

⁶⁸ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2005), 29-30.

⁶⁹ Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office. A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 246.

⁷⁰ "Nos autem venerari oportet sepulcrum Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi, in quo est virtus, vita et consolacio nostra, per quem renati et baptizati 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 Christmastide 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 hirosolimitanorum*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 euchology⁷³. 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 introitus⁷⁴

Nos autem venerari oportet sepulcrum ⁷⁵	It is right to worship the sepulchre
V. Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine Ps 84, 2-3 In Dedicatione Ecclesie ⁷⁶	V. Your noble altars, Lord
V. Gloria Patri	V. Glory to the Father

⁷² It followed the *Gesta francorum et aliorum hirosolimitanorum* 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.

⁷³ “Incipit missa in veneratione Sancti Sepulchri

Omnipotens sempiternae Deus, qui per passionem Unigeniti tui humanum genus redimere dignatus es, et eius sepulture omnium fidelium sepulchra signasti, concede propitius, ut ad gloriam resurrectionis eiusdem pertingere mereamus, per eundem...

SECRETUM. Suscipe quaesumus 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 aeternae Deus, qui oraculis prophetarum Unigeniti tui gloriosum in quo caro illius non videret corruptionem sepulchrum innotescere voluisti; ut inde victor mortis resurgens fidelibus spem resurgendi concederet; et ideo cum angelis etc.

POST COMMUNIONEM. Munera nostrae redemptionis quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, quae fideliter sumpsimus, et a vitiorum nos eruant sepulchris, et ad gloriam transferant beatae resurrectionis, per Dominum...”. *Ibid.*, 102.

⁷⁴ Transcribed from MS MIN.2 olim Zz v 19 BGCTS.

⁷⁵ Shaped on a very common introductory formula: *Nos autem gloriamur oportet in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, in quo est salus, vita, et resurrectio nostra, per quam salvati et liberati sumus*. Renato-Joanne Hesbert, ed., *Corpus antiphoniarum officii*, vol. 4, *Responsoria, versus, hymni et varia. Editio critica* (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1970), 308.

⁷⁶ *CAO*, 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

Lectio Ysaie prophete

Is 53,1-9 in the Ante-Communion of Good Friday service⁷⁷

Alleluia

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

Alleluia

Hic insignis ac cubitus troni imperialis odore fragrat celitus, afflatus prophetalis inpletus, nam corruptio abest et resoluti organi virginali.

Alleluia

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

Sequitur prosa:

O insignis sepultura

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 consepultos

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.

Lesson from the prophet Isaiah

Alleluia

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 born⁷⁸.

Alleluia

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.

Alleluia

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.

Prose:

O noble tomb

Lesson from the Gospel according to Matthew

Offertory:

Oh glorious splendor, whose body laid in dust, you who were not touched by the foul stain, on the day of your terrible judgement

⁷⁷ J.W. Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week: Its Services and Ceremonial* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 123.

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.

resurrect with you, to the life that you promised, those buried with you.

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.

God, who have allowed your most holy body to be laid in the figure of this altar, mercifully grant us that, through the mystery of this sacrifice, we are freed from the sepulchre of vices and buried together with you. Who [reigns] with.

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

Oh root of Jesse, sprouting from the middle of the earthly dwellers, ever-helpful you are always present in the figure of this glorious sepulchre.

Alleluia

Alleluia

Post communionem:

Post communion:

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

God, who, 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 celitus, 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 formulae 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.

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.

⁸² Linder, *Raising Arms*, 11.

⁸³ Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week*, 123-125.

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 veneratione 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 work⁸⁴. 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 century⁸⁵. 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 Sepulchre⁸⁶. 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 institution⁸⁷. Any

⁸⁴ http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/institutions_connected/oessh/attivita.html [last accessed: February 2016].

⁸⁵ Valmar Cramer, *Der Ritterorden vom Hl. Grabe von den Kreuzzügen bis zur Gegenwart* (Köln: Druck und Verlag J.P. Bachem, 1952), 45.

⁸⁶ Jean-Pierre de Gennes, *Les Chevaliers du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, vol. 1 (Cholet: Éditions Hérault, 1995).

⁸⁷ Apart from Valmar Cramer's study, the following reference works provide excellent contributions to the study of this topic: Kaspar Elm, "Kanoniker und Ritter vom Heiligen Grab. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung und Frühgeschichte der palästinensischen Ritterorden", in Josef Fleckenstein, Manfred Hellmann, eds., *Du geistlichen Ritterorden Europas* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), 141-169, and articles in this collective volume: Kaspar Elm and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, eds., *Militia Sancti Sepulcri. Idea e istituzioni. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale tenuto presso la Pontificia Università del Laterano 10-12 aprile 1996* (Vatican City: Grand Magisterium of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, 1998).

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 guidance⁸⁸.

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 Sepulchre⁸⁹. 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 Sepulchre⁹⁰.

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 army⁹¹. 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.

⁸⁹ de Gennes, *Les Chevaliers*, vol. 1, 219-220, 330-331. Ignazio Mancini, "La Custodia di Terra Santa e l'investitura dei cavalieri del Santo Sepolcro", in *Militia Sancti Sepulcri*, 293.

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 XIV⁹².

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 Jerusalem⁹³. 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 knighting, 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 order⁹⁴. 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 century⁹⁵.

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 approval⁹⁶. 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 period⁹⁷. This *ordo* for the dubbing of knights by bishops featured also in the

⁹² Jean-Pierre Reverseau, "Chevalier du Saint-Sépulcre", in *In Trésor du Saint-Sépulcre*, 329.

⁹³ Jean-Pierre de Gennes, "L'ordre de la chevalerie du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem (XIV-XIX siècles)", in *Militia Sancti Sepulcri*, 314-315.

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. 1, 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.

⁹⁷ Derek A. Rivard, *Blessing the World. Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval religion* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 158-160.

Roman Pontifical issued in 1485, which may explain why the *custos* took over the ritual⁹⁸. In lieu of Latin bishop in Jerusalem between 1187 and 1847⁹⁹, 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 him¹⁰⁰.

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 total¹⁰¹. 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 dubbing¹⁰².

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 *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, Nompars 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”¹⁰³. It followed a mass said by the friars in the Edicule, attended by the would-

⁹⁸ de Gennes, “L’ordre de la chevalerie”, 317-318.

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 *Nulla celebrior*. Joël Bouëssée, “La Custodie de Terre Sainte et l’Ordre du Saint-Sépulcre hier et aujourd’hui”, in *Trésor du Saint-Sépulcre*, 326.

¹⁰⁰ Knowing that at the time of his pilgrimage there was no knight in residence staying with the friars in Jerusalem, Nompars 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., *Voyage d’outremer, Seigneur de Caumont. Voyage d’Outremer en Jérusalem* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), 44.

¹⁰¹ de Gennes, *Les Chevaliers*, vol. I, 336-338.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 342-343.

¹⁰³ *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 life¹⁰⁴. The ceremony ended with the new knights making a donation to the friars, after which they were issued by the *custos* with a certificate attesting their dubbing at the Holy Sepulchre¹⁰⁵. 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 *custos*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 Sword¹⁰⁷.

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” (*Secondemant, de aider à toute sa puissance à conquister 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 (*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.

ceremony. Jean-Pierre Reverseau, Benoît Constensoux, “Épée dite ‘de Godefroy de Bouillon’”, *Le trésor de Saint-Sépulchre*, 329.

¹⁰⁴ A typical oath is the one recorded by Nompar of Caumont: “Ci ensuivit les serments que font les chavliers on saint Sépulchre Nostre Seigneur en Jhérusalem lequel je Nonper, seigneur de Caumont, de Chasteau-Neuf, de Chasteau Cullier et de Berbeguières, 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 Eglise. Secondemant, de aider à toute sa puissance à conquister la Terre sainte. Tiercement, de garder 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 traïzon. Le sisème, de deffendre et garder les veufves et orphelins”. de la Grange, *Voyage d’Oultremer*, 51-52.

¹⁰⁵ de Gennes, *Les Chevaliers*, vol. 2, 326.

¹⁰⁶ *Voyaige d’Oultremer*, 52. The *custos* advised against defacement of the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in his instruction to the arriving pilgrims, consisting in a long 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. *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 212; vol. 3, 94-95.

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, *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 Land¹⁰⁸.

The pledge not to have any sort of contact with the infidel (*ut cum infidelibus nullo pacto foederantur*) echoed earlier papal regulations, starting with the bull *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 centuries¹⁰⁹. Hence, the need for Western pilgrims to ask for a papal license before departing for the Holy Land, or to ask the *custos* for one, if they arrived without it.

Judging by Fabri's description, John of Prussia's peptalk directed at those he was about to knight seems somewhat lukewarm: yes, the plight of the Holy Sepulchre should become theirs (*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" (*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" (*militia sancti sepulchri*) and of its knights: *Commendatio militiae sancti sepulchri et preeminentia illorum super omnes mundi milites*¹¹⁰. 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 knighthood¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁸ "Insuper prohibuit, ut cum infidelibus nullo pacto foederarentur, sed eos, quantum possibile fuerit, de terris Christianorum longius eiiciant, et maxime, ut omni conatu ad hoc adspirent, quatenus terra sancta et sanctissimum sepulchrum de manibus infidelium iripiatur, et reges, principes, duces, comites, marchioness et caeteros armatos ad hoc inducant, ut terrae sanctae subveniatur quantocius, et in eius succursum omnes animent et necessitate et miseram subiectionem sepulchri fidelibus intimare student omni cum diligentia, et quod ipsimet omni hora parati sint procedere pro defensione terrae sanctae". *Evagatorium*, vol. 3, 3.

¹⁰⁹ Stefan K. Stanchev, *Spiritual Rationality. Papal Embargo as Cultural Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 73-76.

¹¹⁰ *Evagatorium*, vol. 3, 5.

¹¹¹ It was: holier (*divinior*), more sacred (*sanctor*), more spiritual (*spiritualior*), more virtuous (*virtuosior*), purer, cleaner and more inoffensive (*purior est et mundior, et innocentior*), more thoughtful (*rationabilior*), more friendly (*amicabilior*), more wearisome (*laboriosior*), more danger-fraught (*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*.

(*miserior*), offers a more enriching experience (*prudencior, propter varias experientias, quas homo in ea percipit*), worthier (*dignior*), more powerful because it stems from the higher authority of pope and emperor (*potentior et majoris auctoritatis ex eo, quod confertur auctoritate sanctissimi domini papae et serenissimi domini imperatoris*), more noble (*nobilior*), more wonderful (*mirabilior*), more dignified (*magis venerabilis*), more remarkable (*spectabilior*), more pleasing to all people (*est acceptabilior nostra militia*), more brave (*virilior*), more vigorous (*strenuior*), more righteous (*iustior*), more generally approved of and accepted (*magis approbata et roborata*), more venerable (*antiquior*), more sought after (*est magis desiderabilis*), better adjusted (*est nostra militia ordinatior*), more humble and patient (*humilior et patientior*), more laborious (*difficilior*), requires more courage (*maioris audaciae*), more distant (*remotior, in medio mundi*), more equalizing, the same for the simple soldier and the king (*nostra militia similior est et uniformior*), communal (*communis*), more peaceful (*securior*), honorable in the eyes of all (*honorabilis omnibus hominibus*), of a greater value (*pretiosior*), better-behaved (*magis disciplinativa*), more enriching an experience (*fructuosior multis viis et modis*), more faithful (*fidelior*), worthier of eternal life (*magis meritoria vitae aeternae*), and happy (*est felix militia*). *Ibid.*, 5-13.

¹¹² Stanchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 10-64.

¹¹³ “Non sic nostra innocens militia hierosolymitana christiano sanguine sordida, sed potius mundat militem, ut christianus sanguis defendatur. Accipiunt enim militiam in loco, ubi innocentissimus sanguis Christi effusus est pro omnibus hominibus. Ideo abhorrent omnem humanum sanguinem effundere, nisi cogantur ad defendendum Christi sanguinem noxium sanguinem fundere”. *Evagatorium*, vol. 3, 6-7.

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 goal¹¹⁴. 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 century¹¹⁵. 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 expedition¹¹⁶. 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 Christians¹¹⁷.

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 Cristian 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

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.

¹¹⁵ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 394-395.

¹¹⁶ Linder, *Raising Arms*, 29 and 358.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

throw out the infidels from 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.