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

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Chapter 3

Franciscan processions in Jerusalem

In the fifteenth century, processions became the star of pious observances in the West¹. The frequent and fervent participation in processions of both laymen and clergy was captured by Jacques Chiffolleau with an expression fit to describe this religious and social feverish engagement, namely “*manie processionelle*”. He illustrated this exacerbation of processional activities with the case of the city of Paris, where the urban community (citizens, clerics, confraternities, students) processed every day from the end of May to mid-July 1412. They included the regular procession for the Corpus Christi, but what turned the year 1412 into a hallmark of the “*épidémie processionelle*” were the processions held for the victory of king Charles VI against the Burgundians². Chiffolleau extended the findings of the Parisian case study to more general conclusions, explaining the proliferation of late medieval processions by their transformation into spectacles³.

This processional effervescence influenced the liturgical life of the Jerusalem friars as well. The itinerant liturgy of the friars, connecting various stations in the city, called by Paolo Trovato “*liturgia delle cerche*” took the form of processions⁴. Yet here, in an Islamic city, the friars had to censure their processional enthusiasm, improvise and invent loopholes to circumvent the restrictions of the law.

From a social perspective, processions bind participants and beholders in an itinerant microcosm, daze the passersby and make conspicuous the alterity of those who either chose to abstain or are not allowed to join in the celebrations. Moreover, the most striking characteristic of processions is their ordering function⁵. They divide participants and beholders into insiders and outsiders, and constitute a means of appropriating space⁶. The

¹ Jacques Chiffolleau, “Les processions parisiennes de 1412. Analyse d’un rituel flamboyant”, *Revue historique* 284 fasc. 1 (1990): 43.

² Chiffolleau also described the phenomenon as “*la manie, l’obsession ambulatoire*”. *Ibid.*, 38-45.

³ *Ibid.*, 48-74.

⁴ Paolo Trovato, “Per lo studio”, 187.

⁵ Edward Muir even speaks about “society as structured through public rituals, especially through the kinesics of public processions”. Edward Muir, “The Eye of the Procession. Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance”, in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 130.

⁶ Referring to processions in Renaissance Italy, Edward Muir notes: “To be a public figure in the premodern period, whether a priest, bishop, pope, city councilor, prince, or king was to be seen walking and riding in processions. To be a disenfranchised woman, a layman, citizen, or subject was to watch those who appeared in processions”. *Ibid.*, 144. For processions as a means of appropriating space, see Stéphane Milovitch, who emphasizes this characteristic when he describes the friars’ *ingressus* into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: “In

latter feature is particularly salient in Franciscan processions in the Holy Land, because when the friars did manage to walk in procession they were asserting their identity to a twice-alien audience, Eastern Christians and Muslims.

In this chapter I explore the processions performed by Franciscan friars in Jerusalem. The chapter is divided into an introductory part, which discusses the general features of the friars' Jerusalemite processions, followed by two subchapters treating the cases of the pilgrims' procession within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Palm Sunday procession. With the case studies surveyed in this chapter, I follow the story of the friars' ritual adjustment to the city. The discussion of processions continues themes broached in the first two chapters, namely the friars' relations with the local communities and their efforts to cater for the Latin pilgrims. One way to make Jerusalem familiar to them was to introduce the city and its Holy Places by walking in procession.

1. Franciscan processions in Jerusalem: an overview

In this introductory part, I outline which were the processions carried out by the Jerusalem friars. Then, I explain how the historical conditions of Jerusalem in the Mamluk period influenced the format of these processions. The section ends with a discussion of the friars' liturgical manuscripts.

By procession I refer both to the paraliturgical devotion consisting in the visitation of stations associated with the commemoration of a moment in the life of Christ and the ceremonial entry of friars and pilgrims into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. An essential feature of the liturgical and social life of the Christian community, in the Jerusalem of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, processions presented bespoke features, determined by the local context. The most conspicuous characteristic of hagiopolite processions was their mimetic nature. Early in the history of Christendom, Jerusalem was the first city to develop a stationary liturgy, and worship in the city had a "mobile nature"⁷. The events of the Old and the New Testament marked its geography and the stationary liturgy of Jerusalem was shaped according to the liturgical remembrance of biblical events. Processions connected these

questo modo, viene manifestata la presa di possesso del luogo da parte di chi fa l'ingresso." Stéphane Milovitch, *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336. La processione che celebra la Morte e Risurrezione del Signore nella Basilica del Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme* (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2014), 412.

⁷ John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stationary Liturgy* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 57.

stations, between which the faithful walked with chants and prayers, thus mapping the sacred geography of the city. Walking in procession was also a way of ritually visiting a holy place. This was the case with the pilgrims' ritual entry and visit of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre⁸.

Processions came with their own ritual language and ritual paraphernalia. The sources investigated here, most often the work of people who actually partook in these rituals, make clear what they understood by processions. For instance, Felix Fabri's *Evagatorium* offers an abundance of information about the Holy Land processions. He, and other pilgrims, spoke about "walking in procession" (*processimus*), with the adverb *processionaliter* conveying the image that they moved about a certain space ritually, in the guise of a procession⁹. The procession followed a template, the so-called *ordo processionis*. Likewise, processions employed liturgical paraphernalia, called by Fabri, very fittingly, *apparatus processionis*, that is "processional gear"¹⁰. The central piece of the procession was the processional cross, which, from the time of Constantine, was the most important item in Christian processions¹¹. Pilgrims specifically recalled in their diaries processing "with the cross" (*cum cruce*) or the cross leading the procession¹². Candles of various shapes, holy water, and bespoke vestments completed the paraphernalia of solemn processions¹³. Francesco Suriano recalled contentedly, as he was the guardian, the richness of the liturgical vestments and vases used by Franciscans for their processions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 96-97; Milovitch: "Spesso la liturgia di Gerusalemme è tuttora mimica, perché per mezzo dell'imitazione vuole rendere plastica la celebrazione della memoria"; "L'originalità di questa liturgia sta anzitutto nel suo carattere storicizzante: la liturgia è orientata al ricordo di Gesù". *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336*, 420.

⁹ "Deinde cum cantu signato ad latus dextrum processimus". *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 342. Amedeus Boverii used the adverb *processionaliter* to convey the image of the faithful moving in circles around the Edicule during the ceremony of the Holy Fire: "Greci et ceterae nationes, exceptis Latinis, cum hymnis et canticis, processionaliter circumcidant sepulcrum cantando". MS BNF Latin 4826, 36r. Speaking about the procession held at the end of the Christmas Mass in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, Fabri wrote that the faithful exited the church in procession (*processionaliter*): "Hoc Officio finito cum accensis facibus, candelis, lucernis et luminibus universi processionaliter de ecclesia exierunt, et in vallem descenderunt ad ecclesiam *Gloria in excelsis*". *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 471.

¹⁰ "Regressi igitur sumus cum fratribus per illam portam sine apparatu processionis solemnem, et sine cantu, et venimus ad gradus lapideos, per quos ecclesiam sursum est ascensus". *Ibid.*, 287.

¹¹ After Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge, the cross had replaced the Roman imperial insignia in processions, which evolved around the centrality of this object commemorating Christ's victory over death and the emperor's victory over his enemies. John A. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994), 5-8.

¹² "Raunati, che fumo dinansi alla Capella del sepolcro incominciamo una divota, e santa, e bella processione colla Croce innansi". Domenico Moreni, ed., *Del Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da ser Mariano da Siena nel secolo XV codice inedito* (Florence: Nella Stamperia Magheri, 1822), 71.

¹³ Fabri mentioned these vestments as part of the paraphernalia of the procession inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: "parabant se fratres cum patre Guardiano, vestes sacras induentes, quas secum tolerant de monte Syon ad processionem solemnem per omnia ea ordine". *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 285.

The friars donned vestments of golden brocade, a luxurious fabric, golden vases and other “precious items”¹⁴. The “processional gear” also included special liturgical books, the *processionales*¹⁵. Many of the items in the *apparatus processionis* were bequeathed to the friars by pious donors from Europe¹⁶. Fabri described how it felt to be in one of these processions. It involved a lot of squeezing (*magna compressio*), hustle and bustle (*tumultus et inquietudo*), chanting and roaring (*cantus et planctus*). No wonder that partaking in the common procession helped Fabri appreciate the respite offered by a solitary wondering within the church, after the solemn procession had ended¹⁷. As ever diligently noticing the finer details, Fabri also recorded the minutiae of one such procession, held on Mount Zion:

At the end of the Office, the friars minor prepared for a solemn procession and donned sacred vestments, proceeding with the cross, banners, candles, reliquaries, thuribles, and holy water. Thus, all together, led by the friars, the procession started, and the cantor, who had a great voice, started in a high voice one of the joyous hymns from the chants of Zion¹⁸: *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium*. And, with that chant, we processed, us, the clergy, first, followed by the rest of the pilgrims. And we came to the High Altar, in the choir, a sacred place believed to have been erected where the Lord Jesus had the Last Supper with his disciples, and, in that place, he transformed bread and wine into Body and Blood, which he transmitted to his disciples, consecrating them as priests of that sacrament [the Eucharist]. We approached this most sacred place one after the other, and, prostrated, we

¹⁴ “Et è cosa maravegliosa vedere la processione che fano li frati per la grande moltitudine de paramenti che hano brocato d’oro et vasa d’oro, et alte preziosità che al loco suo ne dirò”. *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, 67-68.

¹⁵ Fabri mentions the existence of such a “processionale” numerous times in his *Evagatorium*. For instance, when pilgrims were guided by friars to the *domus Pilati*, the place where tradition placed the beginning of Christ’s Passion, the Dominican friar described the devotions performed by pilgrims who read the appropriate prayers from a “processionale”: “Ante fores igitur illius domus in terram nos prostavimus cum multo feltu, et orationes in processionali praescriptas diximus, et indulgentias (††) plenariae remissionis accepimus, et surgentes lapides parietum desoculati sumus”. *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 361. The *processionale*, the special liturgical book with instructions for processions, appeared in the fifteenth century. Chiffolleau, “Les processions”, 43.

¹⁶ Thanks to the recently-published catalogue of the lavish exhibition *Trésor du Saint-Sépulcre*, held in 2013 at Château de Versailles and at Chateaubriand’s house at Châtenay-Malabry, and to items displayed in permanent exhibitions, such as the one of the *Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* in Jerusalem, we can get a better image of the material dimension of the procession, which can only enhance our understanding of how a Jerusalem procession might have looked at the end of the Middle Ages. As with their books, the majority of the liturgical paraments used by the friars were donations (“alms”) bequeathed by European donors. Danièle Véron-Demise, “Les envois d’ornaments liturgiques en Terre Sainte”, in *Trésor du Saint-Sépulcre*, 113-117. Manufactured in Europe, they were the expression of Western fashions and customs, thus setting the friars apart, by their choice of paraphernalia as well, in the liturgical landscape of the Holy Land.

¹⁷ “Maior autem devotio et collectio est in istis singularibus visitationibus sanctorum locorum, quam in communi processione, in qua est magna compressio, et tumultus, et inquietudo, et cantus et planctus; ibi vero est silentium et quies”. *Evagatorium*, vol.1, 311.

¹⁸ The chants ascribed by the *processionale* to Mount Zion stations.

kissed the place underneath the hewn altar and received the plenary indulgence¹⁹.

However, processions could also be a modest affair, performed “without processional gear” (*sine apparatu processionis*). This was especially the case with processions that were carried out outside churches or beyond the walls of the friars’ monastic compound on Mount Sion. Here Fabri described the procession they made from the convent on Mount Sion to the Church of the Dormition, less than two hundred meters away. The obvious reason behind the lack of pomp in this procession would be the censure implied by the processors’ *dhimmī* status. However, as I explain below, sometimes the confines of what was acceptable could be breached, processing with paraphernalia being a negotiable item in the daily routine of the Christian-Muslim relations.

The peculiar historical circumstances of Jerusalem at the time greatly influenced the ritual activity of the friars, especially their processions. John F. Baldovin has spoken about the “inculturated nature of liturgy” that interacts with and accommodates the particularities of the space where it is performed²⁰. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Jerusalem, an Islamic city, was a far cry from the benign circumstances of the average European medieval procession. In Jerusalem, friars and pilgrims were a minority in relation both to Muslims and the local Christians. The *dhimmī* status specifically prohibited the friars, alongside the other non-Muslims, to walk in procession. Although this interdict did interfere with the processional activities of the friars, its implications could be at times averted, as it will be discussed in what follows.

The dynamics of the daily living as a minority within a minority, namely the Christian community of the Holy Land, impacted the choice of itinerary, the liturgical paraments and the attendance of Franciscan processions. Processions have served as a means of asserting orthodoxy and denouncing heterodoxy, functioning as an identity marker within the Christian community itself. It was the case, for instance, with the counter-processions organized by the orthodox bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, in response to and to combat the

¹⁹ “Consummato Officio parabant se Fratres minores ad processionem solemnem et sacris inducti vestibus, cum cruce, vexillis, cereis, reliquiariis, thuribulis, et aqua benedicta procedebant. Cunctis itaque cum eis precedentibus incepit cantor magnam habens vocem alta voce iocundum hymnum de canticis Syon: *pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium*; et cum illo cantu processimus nos sacerdotes ante, et alii peregrini sequebantur: et in chorum venimus ad summum altarem, quod illo sanctissimo loco creditor esse erectum, in quo Dominus Iesus ultimam coenam cum suis discipulis fecit, et ibi panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem transsubstantiavit et discipulis sumenda tradidit, eosque sacerdotes illius sacramenti consecravit. Ad hunc locum sanctissimum accessimus unus post alium, et prostrati locum sub cavato altari deosculati sumus, et indulgentias plenariae remissionis accepimus”. *Evagatorium*, vol.1, 243.

²⁰ John F. Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem* (Nottingham: Grove Books Limited, 1989), 5.

processions organized by Arians in the city²¹. Even today processions function as a means to appropriate authority by mapping out a space for a certain party²². The same tendency towards appropriation through processions marked the development of Franciscan processions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the beginning of their presence in the church, the friars partook in the processions of the Greeks. However, this form of “sharing the sacred” through processions stopped by the beginning of the fifteenth century, when they continued to process together only with the Maronites, the other Christian denomination in communion with Rome²³.

The Council of Florence 1439 was the watershed that led to an increase in animosity between Catholics and Greeks. Immediately after the council ended, in July 1439, a jubilant Eugenius IV announced the union with the Greek Orthodox to the guardian of Mount Sion with the bull *Gloria in altissimis Deo*. One of the means through which he asked the guardian to celebrate the union was by carrying out litanies and processions (*letanias et processionis faciatis*) in Jerusalem. The purpose of these litanies and processions was celebratory but also hortatory, done with the hope that “the Almighty will fulfill His work, and the barbaric nations, proud of their own savageness, will put themselves under the yoke of the most sacred Christian faith”. The pope explained in the following lines that these “barbaric nations” were the Muslims, who oppressed the local Christians, who the pope hoped would be soon released of their servitude²⁴. Thus, one of the purposes behind the friars’ processions was to publicize the ecumenical efforts of the papacy. However, controversial from the very beginning, the

²¹ Robert F. Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes. Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It* (Berkeley: InterOrthodox Press, 2006), 32-33.

²² As it happened in July 2014, in the town of Oppido Mamertina in the Italian region of Calabria, where the local procession with the statue of the Madonna delle Grazie, in spite of the recent excommunication of the *mafiosi* by the pope, was directed to pass by the house of the local boss, Giuseppe Mazzagatti, confined by house arrest. Giuseppe Baldessarro, “Calabria, la Madonna fa l’inchino al boss”, in: http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/07/06/news/calabria_la_madonna_fa_l_inchino_al_boss-90814677/ [last checked: October 2015]. This sort of manipulation of processions for marking territory is an age old tactic. In Portuguese India, the procession that took the body of St Francis Xavier to the streets of Goa stopped by the Viceroy’s residence. Pamela Gupta, *The Relic State. St Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2014), 103.

²³ Milovitch, *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336*, 90-93, 461.

²⁴ “Hortamur itaque ut christianae devotionis affectu Letaniae et processionis faciatis, partim referendo gratias pro acceptis a Deo muneribus, partim orando ut complere dignetur Omnipotens opus suum, et barbaras nationes, in sua feritate gloriantes, sub sacratissimae christianae Fides iugum mittere. Et quoniam spes adeo laeta sese undique aperit, pio monemus affectu ut ad eripiendos ab infidelibus, a quibus indignissime opprimuntur illarum partium christianos, perpetuis orationibus. Nos adiuvetis. Iam enim Deo inspirante, classem terrestresque copias proximo vere parare intendimus, sperantes quod qui cepit in Nobis opus bonum, ipse perficiet, ac per huiusmodi studia Nostra, a iugo miserabilis servitutis catholicum gregem propitius ac benignius eripiet”. *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, DTS III (3) (1910), 116.

union was not accepted in Constantinople²⁵. In this regard, the council was a failure that turned the relations between Roman and Greek Christianity sour.

One of the many snapshots of hagiopolite liturgical life that Felix Fabri has preserved for us affords a nuanced view of the negotiated presence of the friars, both in an Islamic city and within the Christian minority, after 1438. On the 14th of August 1483, the vigil of the feast of the Assumption of Mary, pilgrims and friars exited the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion and walked a short distance, to the place tradition ascribed to the Dormition of Mary. Because the ancient Church of Mount Sion of which the Chapel of the Dormition was a part has been by that time long destroyed²⁶, the friars erected a sort of tent in which to celebrate the vigil office²⁷. This is in itself an extraordinary detail, as it attests that it was possible to circumvent some of the rigor of the restrictions applied to Christians. The idea of a makeshift chapel was attempted earlier, when, in mid-fifteenth century, Philip the Good, the duke of Burgundy, sent to Jerusalem a prefabricated wooden chapel to replace the much destroyed and rebuilt chapel of the Holy Spirit on Mount Sion. The duke's chapel did not last long²⁸.

On the contrary, in Fabri's time, they were allowed to use the makeshift chapel, which they adorned lavishly (*vestivimus pretiosis*), with appropriate liturgical paraments, such as paintings (*depictis tabulis et imaginibus*), monstrances (*monstrantis*), candlesticks with candelas (*candelabris cum cereis*), olive and palm branches (*ramos de olivis et palmis*), and covered the ground with scattered grass and flowers, so that the place was made sacred (*locum divinum fecimus*)²⁹. The temporary chapel served as the station for the procession on the Feast of the Assumption. Pilgrims and friars walked *cum solemnibus apparatu ordinata processione* from the convent of Mount Sion to the place where the chapel of the Dormition

²⁵ Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 349-350.

²⁶ A church existed on Mount Sion as early as the fourth century. The "Church of Sion" was in Byzantine times a vast complex where the Last Supper, Flagellation, Cenacle and the Dormition of Mary were placed. In the fifth century the Tomb of King David was also associated with this place. This church was burnt by Muslims in 966. It was rebuilt by Crusaders into a monastic complex for the Canons Regular of St Augustine. At this point it was still a unitary complex. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, the church was first abandoned and then destroyed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, only the enclosure of the Cenacle being spared. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Franciscans were installed here after the Cenacle was bought for them. However, by this time, the northern part of the earlier Church of Mount Sion, where the cell of the Dormition of Mary was placed, was situated outside the Franciscan convent and it was in ruins. Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, 261- 269. That explains why at the time of Fabri they had to walk outside in order to arrange for a makeshift chapel at the place of the Dormition.

²⁷ "Et inde tulimus linteamen latum, quod eportavimus ad locum migrationis beatae Virginis. [...] Hoc linteamen super illum locum extendimus in modum tentoria sustentaculis et funibus, et tapecias loco parietum circumduximus e capellam pulchram fecimus". *Evagatorium*, vol.3, 180.

²⁸ Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, 270-271.

²⁹ *Evagatorium*, vol. 3, 180.

would have been in the ancient church of Mount Sion, which was substituted for the occasion by the tent-chapel. Fabri recorded the fine details of this splendid procession:

At Vespers, the father guardian donned a precious cope, and the cantors, the cross-bearer, the censer-bearer, and the acolytes, all dressed in sacred vestments, gathered in the church of the friars. Thus, fitted with the gear of a solemn [procession], we walked in an ordered procession from the church of Sion to the place where the Blessed Virgin migrated [to Heaven], singing: *Et ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae etc*³⁰.

Apparently, on this occasion at least, the chants and the prayers they recited, once the temporary chapel was reached, did not attract the expected vituperation from the local population. On the contrary, the procession's chanting made local Muslims approach the site and stare at them speechless (*stabant cum suspenso ore*). Moreover, immediately after the Latins ended their *Office*, the "Oriental Christians" followed them in the makeshift chapel, where they celebrated masses "each according to their rite" (*iuxta suum ritum*)³¹. The sharing of the sacred came with the sort of limitation that became law in the administration of the Christian Holy Places starting with the sixteenth century capitulations and enshrined in the *Status Quo*, which governs their functioning to this day³². Already in Fabri's day, and most likely as a consequence of the failed Council of Florence, sharing a procession or the office had become taboo for the clergy. Only the laity could still enjoy partaking in the processions of an alien Christian sect.

The sources providing details about the Franciscan hagiopolite processions are mainly of two types: travelogues and liturgical manuscripts. In his study of the liturgy of Jerusalem in the early Christian centuries, John F. Baldovin put together a comprehensive image of the liturgical life in Jerusalem from the age of Constantine to the Muslim conquest, by matching the information provided by a vast array of sources: liturgical books- such as the Jerusalemite

³⁰ "Cum autem vespera adesset, induit se pater Guardianus cappa pretiosa, et cantores, cruciferarius, thuribularius et acoluthi sacris induti stabant in ecclesia fratrum, et paratis omnibus cum solemnibus apparatu ordinata processione transivimus de ecclesia Syon ad locum migrationis beatae Virginis cum cantu: *Et ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae etc*". *Ibid.*, 180.

³¹ "Quo finite in capella, quam faceremus, cantavimus vespas et completorium de festo alis vocibus, nec aliquod impedimentum Sarracenorum passi sumus, sed audientes clamores nostros accurrebant et stabant cum suspenso ore. Interea confluebat multitudo Christianorum orientalium, qui statim nostro Officio finite ingressi sunt cum suis sacerdotibus capellam et sua Officia perficere inchobant et Missas eodem sero celebrant iuxta suo ritum". *Ibid.*

³² Glenn Bowman, "In Dubious Battle on the Plains of Heav'n": The Politics of Possession in Jerusalem's Holy Sepulchre", *History and Anthropology* 23:3 (2011): 380-389.

Liturgy of St James, the Armenian and the Georgian Lectionaries, catechetical sources- the Lenten instructions of Cyril of Jerusalem, and pilgrimage accounts- Egeria's *Itinerarium*³³.

Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to convey such a comprehensive image of the Franciscan processions, primarily because their liturgical manuscripts present very little alterations for their usage in Jerusalem. Thus, most of the details about the friars' processions come from travelogues or from the diaries written by friars from the Mount Sion family. The image we have about their processions is that of the grassroots liturgy of Jerusalem, what Robert F. Taft has called "liturgy from the bottom up", namely what it can be learned about liturgical rituals from what those involved in their performance have recorded "through their own eyes"³⁴.

The liturgical manuscripts used by the brethren in this period and preserved today in the Biblioteca Generale della Custodia di Terra Santa in the convent of St Savior in Jerusalem present very few hints about their Jerusalem usage. In this, the friars broke with the Crusader tradition when a specific liturgical usage, that of the Holy Sepulchre, was developed, which, although much Westernized, was however particular to Jerusalem. Its existence is proved by numerous liturgical books, produced in Jerusalem, Acre, Cesarea, Tyre, Antioch and Cyprus for the use of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre³⁵. The existence of bespoke liturgical books for the Church of the Holy Land affirmed their identity and their particularity within the practice of the church.

The nature of the liturgical books the friars employed could not be more different: they catered for the rituals of a minority within a minority, and were less relevant for the liturgical activity of the Christian community as a whole. Entrusted by the papacy with the service of the Holy Places, the liturgical life of the friars evolved around the guiding of Western pilgrims to the Holy Places. For the rest of the year, the friars celebrated the rituals of the Roman Church as part of their service of the Holy Places. If not for the very few notations authenticating their usage by the friars in Jerusalem³⁶, and for their continuous

³³ Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*, 40.

³⁴ Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes*, 162.

³⁵ Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. A study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 23-33.

³⁶ MS MIN. 1 *olim* SF1278 BGCTS, identified as *Messale del Monte Sion 1* by modern catalogues and dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, has at the bottom of its first page a handwritten note that says that the manuscript belonged to the Convent of Mount Sion. The note was made when the manuscript was lent to the Franciscan Convent of Rhodos. Bux, *Codici liturgici latini*, 40-44. This note was dated by Michele Campopiano to the end of the fifteenth-beginning of the sixteenth century. Campopiano, *Writing the Holy Land*.

possession by the Holy Land friars, these liturgical books could come from any Franciscan house in and beyond Europe.

The most likely explanation behind this lack of acculturation to Jerusalem lies in their origin. The collection of manuscripts preserved today at St Savior's is largely made up by either donations from various European princes³⁷ or the personal books of friars³⁸. They contain the liturgy of the Roman Rite with the usual Franciscan devotions (offices for Franciscan saints³⁹), but with very few additions that indicated their use by the Jerusalem community. The most common traces of usage are the small annotations, such as corrections, prayers added, calendars or mnemonic verses⁴⁰. However, there are barely any annotations or additions connecting the usage of these books to their Jerusalem milieu.

The most remarkable of these, the *Missae ad recupreandum Terram Sanctam* and the *Ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini introitus* were discussed in the previous chapter. An intriguing addition is found in MS MIN. 4 *olim* Zz VII 16, a fourteenth-century Franciscan Breviary⁴¹. On its last pages the breviary contains the office *In Sanctorum Martirorum Berardi, Petri, Acursii, Adiuti et Ottonis*⁴². These were the first Franciscans to suffer martyrdom at the hands of Muslims, in Morocco in 1220. Their relics were translated in the same year to the convent of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and their cult developed rapidly in Portugal, although they were canonized by the pope only in 1481⁴³. The presence of this office in a Breviary used by friars in Jerusalem, prior to the official recognition of their cult⁴⁴, indicates the special attention paid by the Holy Land friars to the commemoration of those

³⁷ For instance, the three antiphonaries, MS MIN. 5 *olim* D BGCTS, MS MIN. 6 *olim* K BGCTS and MS MIN. 7 *olim* H BGCTS, brought to the Holy Land in 1392 by the duke of Lancaster John of Gaunt, and donated, very likely with other manuscripts, to the friars. Bux, *Codici liturgici latini*, 52-78.

³⁸ Such was the case of MS MIN. 2 *olim* Zz V 19, a missal dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, brought to Jerusalem by fra Francesco da Pavia, as he diligently noted. Bux, *Codici liturgici*, 46-47. The note reads *Explicit missale Francisci de Papia ordinis minorum*.

³⁹ For instance, MS MIN.4 *olim* ZZ VII 16 BGCTS has the prayers for the office of St Louis of Anjou, the Franciscan royal bishop of Toulouse (*In sancto Ludovici episcopi et confessoris*, 68r) and of his Translation (*In translatione Sancti Ludovici episcopis*, 120v), the Feast of the Stigmata of St Francis (*In festo Stigmatum Beati Francisci*, 89r) and the Translation of St Clare (*In translatione Sancte Clare*, 98v).

⁴⁰ This is the nature of annotations and additions in the heavily annotated MS MIN.3 *olim* SF 1277. They are all made in a later hand, probably fifteenth century.

⁴¹ Bux, *Codici liturgici latini*, 50-51.

⁴² MS MIN.4 *olim* Zz VII 16 BGCTS, 68-170.

⁴³ Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Notas franciscanas (séculos XIII-XVII): Identidade dos livros litúrgicos menoritas. Iconografia e música no culto dos Mártires de Marrocos", *Itinerarium* LX (2014): 412, 425-427.

⁴⁴ The bull *Cum alias* issued by Sixtus IV in august 1471 to the Franciscan Order authorized the official cult of these friars. *Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae*, in *DTS* IV (1) (1912), 8-10.

members of the Order who were martyred in the lands of Islam⁴⁵. The need for remembering the martyred members became even more acute when the friars from the Jerusalem community were martyred⁴⁶.

However, MS MIN.1 *olim* SF1278, the so-called *Missal of Mount Sion*, illustrates how little the Roman character of the friars' liturgy was affected by the Jerusalem use. This missal follows the stational liturgy of the city of Rome. For instance, the station on the second Sunday of Lent was at Santa Maria in Domnica and on Holy Saturday at Santa Susanna, both stational churches in Rome⁴⁷. These manuscripts do not present any alterations that would indicate that the friars adopted the local stational liturgy of Jerusalem, either in its pre-conquest Byzantine format or in the Westernized *ordo* brought in by crusaders⁴⁸. In spite of these ancient local traditions, from their manuscripts, it appears that the friars kept the usage of the stational liturgy of Rome. The note of ownership on the first page of MS MIN.1 attests to its continual usage by the Jerusalem friars and beyond (it was lent to the friars of Rhodos in order to be copied). However, we cannot know, exclusively from the evidence of liturgical books, of how they reconciled their imported books with their Jerusalem contingencies. For instance, in the case of MS MIN.1, the only alteration which relates to Jerusalem circumstances are the prayers of the *Missa ad recuperandam Terram Sanctam*, written in a fifteenth-century hand, on a leaflet that was later on pasted onto the missal.

If the liturgical manuscripts in the Jerusalem collection offer few clues about the local liturgy, the testimonies left by pilgrims who participated in the Franciscans' rituals offer instead an abundance of details. The study of the two processions discussed in the following subchapters is thus overwhelmingly based on information provided by travelogues and Franciscan compilations about the Holy Land.

⁴⁵ A *Martyrologium Terrae Sanctae* compiling the acts of those friars, "qui pro Christo fortiter fidem proficendo ab infidelibus necati sunt" was put together by a Jerusalem friar in the eighteen century. Edited in *DTS* I (2) (1908): 79-86; *DTS* I (3) (1908): 143-150; *DTS* I (4) (1908): 225-229; *DTS* II (1) (1909): 16-26.

⁴⁶ The most well-known example is that of the four friars (Nicolas Talevic, Donatus of Rodez, Peter of Narbonne and Stephanus de Tunellis from Corsica) who entered the Al-Aqsa mosque where they preached and condemned Islam. They were executed in Jerusalem in November 1391. *Martyrologium Terrae Sanctae* in *DTS* II (2) (1909), 89-92.

⁴⁷ "Domenica II in Quadragesima, statio ad Sanctam Mariam in Dompnicam"; "Sabbato sancto, ad Sanctam Susanam". MS.MIN.1 *olim* SF1278 BGCTS, 27, 39.

⁴⁸ See, for instance, the *Breviary of Barletta* (Basilica del Santo Sepolcro in Barletta, in Apulia) partially published by Ch. Kohelr in "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (XIIIe- XIIIe siècle)", *Revue de l'Orient latin* VIII (1900-1901): 391-441.

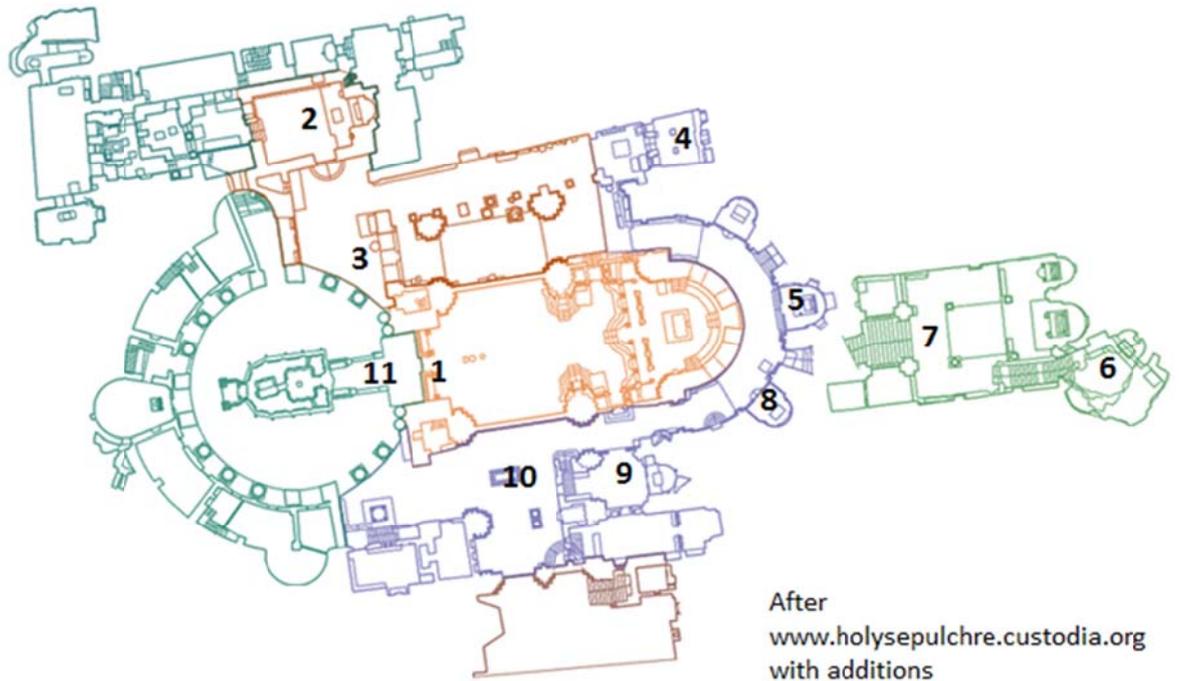


Figure 1 *Ordo processionis in ecclesia Sancti Sepulcri* (15th century)

1. Before the Edicule
2. The Chapel of St Mary
3. The Chapel of St Mary Magdalene
4. Prison of Christ
5. Division of Christ's Garments
6. Chapel of the Invention of the Cross
7. Chapel of St Helena
8. The Column to which Christ was tied
9. Calvary
10. Stone of the Anointing
11. At the Sepulchre

2. The pilgrims' procession in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Western pilgrims were introduced to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by means of a procession. Their first visit of the church followed the rhythm of a solemn procession, with its devotions and paraphernalia. I base my discussion of the solemn entry of pilgrims into and within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the *ordo processionis* recorded by MS 73G8 of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag⁴⁹. From this particular procession, held in the medieval period when pilgrims were present (*quod adsunt peregrini*), developed in the subsequent period the daily procession (*processio quotidiana*), one of the distinctive rituals in the Latins' hagiopolite liturgy to this day. The history of the daily procession is the object of two thorough studies, namely *Le processioni praticate dai frati minori nei santuari di Terra Santa*⁵⁰, published by Augusto Facchini in 1986, and the *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336*, by Stéphane Milovitch in 2014. The form of the *ordo* recorded by MS 73G8 registers its late medieval format, before the early-modern and post-Tridentine reforms of Tommaso Obicini da Novara⁵¹.

This solemn procession presented standard features: it followed an *ordo*, departing at the entrance of the Edicule, was led by the processional cross, the participants bore lit candles, the clergy donned sacred vestments⁵². Antiphons, prayers and hymns marked the stations, and ritual walks which connected them:

Here begins the order of the procession followed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre when pilgrims are present. The brothers gather before the gate of the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord Jesus Christ, with the cross and with lit

⁴⁹ The manuscript consists of two different codicological units that were copied in two different hands, namely fols. 1-87 and fols. 89-260. Both units are dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, with the first unit older than the last. The *ordo processionis*, as well as other texts related to the Holy Land (a history of the conquest and loss of the Holy Land by Crusaders, the transcription of the Latin verses adorning the tomb of king Baldwin, the epitaph of Geoffrey of Bouillon and of King Balowing II, the *peregrinaciones tocius Terre Sancte*, the transcription of the verses above the tabernacle of the Holy Sepulchre and a description of the eight nations which are present in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) are part of the first codicological unit. H. Brugmans, *Catalogus codicum manusccriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, vol. 1, *Libri Theologici* (Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1922), 234-235.

⁵⁰ Augusto Facchini, *Le processioni praticate dai frati minori nei santuari di Terra Santa* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1986).

⁵¹ Milovitch, *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336*, 157.

⁵² Fabri tells us that various types of candles (more or less adorned) could be bought inside the church from local merchants who have entered the church at the same time as pilgrims. *Evagatorium*, vol.1, 284-285. The friars used in this procession vestments brought from Mount Sion: “parabant se fratres cum patre Guardiano, vestes sacras induentes, quas secum tolerant de monte Syon ad processionem solennem”. *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 285.

candles, and pilgrims likewise. The cantor starts by singing loudly the antiphon *Regina celi*⁵³.

The origins of this procession go back to the friars' settlement as guardians in the Holy Land. Initially, in the fourteenth century, the procession was celebrated together with Eastern Christians. The order of its itinerary was inverse to the form fixed in the fifteenth century and it probably corresponded to the stations of the procession performed by the Eastern clergy before the arrival of the friars⁵⁴. In this initial phase, the procession started at the gate of the church, with stations at the Edicule, Stone of the Anointing, the Chapel of Mary Magdalene, the Chapel of the Apparition, the Prison of Christ, the Chapel of the Division of Christ's Garments, the Chapel of the Reproaches, the Chapel of St Helena, the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, the Chapel of Calvary, and Adam's Tomb⁵⁵. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the friars stopped processing with the Eastern Christians, the itinerary of the procession changed as well. Niccolò da Este, who travelled to Jerusalem in 1413, recorded for the first time the new itinerary, which had its first station at the Chapel of the Apparition⁵⁶. With Mariano da Siena's *Viaggio in Terra Santa* (1431), we have the first record of the prayers and chants associated with the procession⁵⁷.

The *ordo* in MS 73G8 KB Den Haag corresponds to similar *ordines* preserved in Latin or in vernacular, which seems to endorse Fabri's testimony that there was a *processionale* that friars and pilgrims employed for the performance of the prescribed devotions during their visit of the Holy Places. The *ordo* of MS 73G8 KB Den Haag is particular in that W. de Gouda, when he made the copy on Mount Sion⁵⁸, chose to write down almost exclusively the euchological contents, to the detriment of the liturgical instructions. Even more surprisingly, he left out the indulgences associated with the stations, a regular feature of most of the preserved *ordines*. However, by comparing the *ordo* of MS 73G8 KB Den Haag with contemporary *ordines* we can reconstruct more or less accurately the contents of the procession at the end of the fifteenth century. The comparison seems to suggest that the copyist missed out intentionally on indulgences and instructions since he belonged to the

⁵³ “Hic incipit ordo processionis in ecclesia Sancti Sepulcri quod adsunt peregrini. Congregatis fratribus ante hostium Sancti Sepulcri Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi, cum cruce et cum candelis accensis, similiter et peregrini stando, incipiat cantor alta voce cantando antiphona *Regina celi*”. MS 73G8 KB Den Haag, 48v.

⁵⁴ Facchini, *Le processioni*, 7.

⁵⁵ Milovitch, *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336*, 92; Facchini, *Le processioni*, 7.

⁵⁶ Milovitch, *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336*, 93.

⁵⁷ Facchini, *Le processioni*, 7 n 5.

⁵⁸ On the identity of W. Gouda and the second copyist's, whose work MS 73G8 is, see Campopiano, “Tradizione e edizione”, 333-334.

“family of Mount Sion” and, as such, familiar with the layout of the procession⁵⁹. The complete instructions were indispensable to those copies of the *processionale* that were distributed to the pilgrims. A vernacular version of the *ordo* in MS 73G8 KB Den Haag (the euchological texts are identical), which includes liturgical instructions, sheds light on the geography of the procession. *L’ordonnance et la maniere de la procession que font les freres de l’eglise du Saint Sepulcre de Ierusalem* was edited by Golubovich in his *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente francescano*⁶⁰. He dated the manuscript “verso la seconda metà del secolo XIV”⁶¹. However, this dating has been since reconsidered and now researchers ascribe the manuscript to the fifteenth century⁶². The parallel analysis of the liturgical instructions of the French *ordo* with the euchological contents of the MS 73G8 KB Den Haag *ordo* projects a quite accurate picture of a fifteenth-century procession in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Both the text in MS 73G8 KB Den Haag and in Ms BNF Français 25.550 mark the beginning of the procession at the entrance of the Edicule (*ante hostium Sancti Sepulchri Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi-devant le Saint Sepulcre*)⁶³. Thence, they walked towards the Chapel of St Mary, chanting the antiphon *Regina celi*⁶⁴. The Franciscans adopted the commemoration of Mary Mother of God from the Coptic clergy, who followed an apocryphal tradition in which Mary saw first the Resurrected Christ⁶⁵. At the Chapel of St Mary (*versus capellam Sancte Marie- en celle mesmes chapelle* [of the Virgin Mary]) the euchology prescribed was: antiphon *Apprehendit Ihesum Pilatus*; versicle *De langores*; responsory *Et Dolores*; collect *Adesto nobis, Christe Salvator*. Here the Latin *ordo* prescribes the recitation

⁵⁹ Manuscript 7-2-25 of the Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla, edited by Manuel de Castro, preserves the same format, namely the euchological texts without liturgical instructions. The editor dated the text as “varios escritos de los siglos XIV y XV”. Manuel de Castro, “Dos itineraries de Tierra Santa de los siglos XIV y XV”, *Hispania sacra*, 10:20 (1957): 443; 451-457. Given the direction of the itinerary, which corresponds to the fifteenth century format, this *ordo processionalis* is very likely coeval with the one preserved in MS 73G8.

⁶⁰ Ms BNF Français 25.550 fol. 30r- 45v, edited in Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa*, vol. 5, 356-360.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 356.

⁶² Facchini, *Le processioni*, 7.

⁶³ The mentioning of the “*versus capellam Sancte Marie*” and the entry about the “*letanie per ordinem sicut continentur in septem psalmis*” are the only liturgical instructions contained in the *ordo* preserved by the MS 73G8 KB Den Haag.

⁶⁴ MS 73G8, 48v; *BBBTOSOF*, vol. 5, 357. For the euchology of the *ordo peregrinationis* in MS 73G8 KB Den Haag, see the full transcription in Annex 2.

⁶⁵ Milovitch, *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336*, 367.

of litanies in accordance with the order of the Seven Psalms⁶⁶. The recitation of the Seven Psalms⁶⁷ is a unique occurrence, without parallel in the French version⁶⁸.

The next stop was at the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene (*au lieu ou nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ apparu a Marie Magdaleine en forme de jardinier*)⁶⁹. The euchology of the station was identical in both *ordines*: antiphon *Surgens Ihesus mane prima sabbati*; versicle *Maria, noli me tangere*; responsory *Nondum ascendi ad Patrum*; collect *Domyne Ihesu Christe, alpha et omega*.

The Prison of Christ (*la chartre de notre Seigneur Jesus Christ*) was the following station, to which they processed chanting the antiphon *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*⁷⁰. The euchology of the station (identical in both *ordines*) was: antiphon *Ego te eduxi*; versicle *Dirupisti, Domine, vincula mea*; responsory *Tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis*; collect *Domine Ihesu Christe angelorum decor*. The next stop was where the soldiers divided Christ's garments (*au lieu ou les chevaliers deviserent les vestemens de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ*⁷¹). The chants and prayers of this station were: antiphon *Milites postquam crucifixerunt Ihesum*; versicle *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea*; responsory *Et super vestem meam miserunt sortem*; collect *Benigne Ihesu Christe*. They continued with the station at the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (*au lieu de l'Invention Sainte Croix*⁷²) chanting the hymn *O crux, ave spes unica*.

The hymn *Ave spes unica* was part of Venantius Fortunatus' longer hymn, *Vexilla regis prodeunt. Vexilla regis*, and one other hymn featuring in the procession, namely the *Pange lingua*, were written, together with the hymn *Crux benedicta nitet*, on the occasion of the arrival of the relic of the Cross in Poitiers in 569. The hymns were composed at the request of queen Radegund, to whom the relic was sent from Constantinople by Justin II⁷³.

⁶⁶ “Dicuntur letanie per ordinem sicut continentur in septem psalmis”. MS 73G8, 49r.

⁶⁷ The *septem psalmis* mentioned here are most likely the *septem psalmis penitentiales*. The seven penitential psalms are: Ps 6- *Domine ne in furore tua*, 31- *Beati quorum*, 37- *Domine ne in furore tua*; 50- *Miserere mei Deus*, 101- *Domine exaudi*, 124- *De profundis*, 142- *Domine exaudi*. Hugues, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 377, n. 36.

⁶⁸ The French order had here placed a litany: *Kyrieleyson, Christeleyson, kyrieleyson, Christe audi nos, Pater de celis Deus, miserere nobis, Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, miserere nobis*. *BBBTsOF*, vol. 5, 357. The *ordo* of MS 7-2-25 Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla has here a litany a well (the text is given in full). de Castro, “Dos itinerarios de Tierra Santa”, 451-452. This makes the prescription of the *septem psalmis* in the MS 73G8 KB Den Haag *ordo* even more unusual.

⁶⁹ *BBBTsOF*, vol. 5, 357.

⁷⁰ *BBBTsOF*, vol. 5, 358.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ A.S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 166-178.

Venantius Fortunatus' hymns were integrated into the office of the Exaltation of the Cross and in the office of the Passion on Good Friday⁷⁴. The *Vexilla regis* was sung from Palm Sunday to Holy Thursday, the *Pange lingua* was sung on Good Friday at the *Improperia* (Reproaches)⁷⁵. The *Vexilla regis* and the *Pange lingua* featured extensively in the liturgy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, recollecting both the desolation of Calvary and the victory of the cross over death, in the martial language usually reserved for imperial epics⁷⁶. Venantius Fortunatus' hymns were adopted in *ordo processionis* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the Office of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, which recalled the finding of the Cross by St Helena. In Jerusalem, the processors commemorated the invention of the cross by walking to the Chapel of St Helena, the place where tradition located the miraculous discovery.

Still at this station the following chants and prayers were to be said: antiphon *Orabat Iudas*; versicle *Hoc signum crucis erit in celo*; responsory *Cum Ihesus dominus ad iudicandum venerit*; collect *Deus, qui hic in preclara*. Thence they climbed the stairs to the following station, the Chapel of St Helena (*en montant sainte Helene*⁷⁷), with the hymn *Cuius obtentu Deus*. The euchology for the Chapel of St Helena was: antiphon *Helena Constantini mater*; versicle *Ora pro nobis beata Helena*; responsory *Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi*; collect *Deus, qui inter cetera potentie*. Next they walked to the Column to which Christ was tied (*au lieu ouquel est la columpne a laquelle nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ fut lye*⁷⁸), chanting the hymn *O crux, ave* etc. Here, the prescribed euchology was: antiphon *Ego dedi tibi sceptrum regale*; versicle *Posuisti Domine super caput eius*; reponsory *Coronam de lapide pretioso*; collect *Domine Ihesu Christe qui humano generi condolens*.

⁷⁴ Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross. Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 249.

⁷⁵ Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, 167, 173.

⁷⁶ The metre of the *Pange Lingua* was identical with the one used in the marching songs of the Roman army. The language of military victory is pervading in Venantius Fortunatus' hymns to the Cross: *proelium, tropeum, triumphus, vincere*. The Cross itself is assimilated to the banners of the victorious Roman armies (*vexilla*). van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross*, 238-239, 244. This association between processional crosses and the banners of the Roman army was made from the time of Constantine, when the cross featured on the imperial *labarum*, and processional crosses were employed as military insignia. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses*, 8 and 11.

⁷⁷ *BBBTSOF*, vol. 5, 358.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 359.

To reach the next station, they climbed the stairs to Calvary (*au lieu du calvaire ou nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ fut crucifie*⁷⁹), chanting the well-known verses by Venantius Fortunatus, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*. At the Calvary they recited: antiphon *Ecce locus ubi salus mundi pependit*; versicle *Adoremus te, Christe*; responsory *Quia per sanctam crucem redimisti*; collect *Domine Ihesu Christe, fili Dei vivi*. The next stop was at The Stone of the Anointing (*au lieu ou nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ fut descend de la croix et enoinct*⁸⁰), chanting another hymn by Venantius Fortunatus, *Pange, lingua, gloriosi, proelium certaminis*, followed by: antiphon *Unguentum effusum nomen tuum*; versicle *Dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem*; responsory *Propterea unxit te Deus oleo letitiae*; collect *Dulcissime Ihesu Christe*.

The final station was at the Sepulchre (*devant le sepulchre*)⁸¹, completing the circular geography of the procession by returning to the point of departure. Here they chanted an ancient hymn, *Ad cenam agni providi*, which was sung in the Latin church at Easter Vespers⁸². The hymn was followed by: antiphon *Quem totus mundus non capit*; versicle *Surrexit Dominus de hoc sepulchro*; response *Quia pro nobis pependit in lingo*; collect *Domine Ihesu Christe, qui hora diei vespertina*.

As Robert Taft put it, “Liturgy is supposed to say ritually what it means”⁸³. The historicizing character of the hagiopolite liturgy and especially of the liturgy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre connected the sacred space to the words of commemoration by performing itineraries of remembrance. The procession enabled pilgrims to remember and ritually reenact the history of salvation by walking to the physical places that held the memory of its foundational events. The hortatory power of ritual remembrance was increased by the interaction with the space of the church. For instance, the Edicule functioned as a prop for the *mise en scène* in the commemorative liturgy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

In crusader times, the Edicule was at the center of the ceremony of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, when three clerics impersonating the “three Marys” were welcomed at the door of the Sepulchre by two other clerics impersonating the angels, who announced to the women

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 360.

⁸² The hymn is ascribed to Niceta of Ramesiana. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, 349.

⁸³ Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes*, 108.

the resurrection of Christ with the well-known verse *Non est hic, surrexit* (Matt. 28,6)⁸⁴. From the end of the sixteenth century onwards, on Good Friday, the friars changed the ceremony of the Entombment of Christ, starting to follow the example of the Ethiopian clergy present in the church, whose ritual assured what Milovitch described as “una mimesi plastica della deposizione del Crocifisso”⁸⁵. In the funerary procession, the friars, with two of them impersonating Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea unriveted Christ’s simulacrum from the crucifix, which was anointed and then laid in the Sepulchre⁸⁶. The instructions for the deposition read *a celebrante in hoc sacro loco reponitur*⁸⁷. In the case of the pilgrims’ procession, the verse *Surrexit Dominus de hoc sepulchro*, uttered at the very place of the Resurrection translated into indicative words (*de hoc sepulchro*) and gestures, the commemorative function of the exercise. In other words, it said ritually what it meant.

In order to assess how the procession impacted partakers, let us turn to the testimonies of two pilgrims, Mariano da Siena and the resourceful Felix Fabri, who would have very likely followed the same *ordo processionis* on their arrival at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the fifteenth century. If most pilgrims’ accounts give the impression that their entry into the church was an orderly enough affair, as was the case with Mariano da Siena, Fabri mentioned that, once the entrance tax was paid and they were admitted to the church, in the first instance, pilgrims walked randomly about (*querentes loca sancta sine ordine et ferebatur unusquisque ad impulsus sui*)⁸⁸. Then the guardian lectured them about the necessity of proceeding in an ordered procession (*Hortabatur peregrinos, quod in processione ordinata procederent*)⁸⁹. This, no doubt, was done by following the *ordo processionis*⁹⁰.

For Mariano da Siena, the procession was carried out with the usual emotional outpouring, dully recorded in the accounts of Latin pilgrims⁹¹. For him, the procession started

⁸⁴ Iris Shagrir, “The Visitatio Sepulchri in the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem”, *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 22:1 (2010): 62-73.

⁸⁵ In the West they buried the host as a symbol of the dead Jesus. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 29-30. For the adoption of the Ethiopian rite: Milovitch, *Quotidianamente da prima del 1336*, 401.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 399-400.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 576.

⁸⁸ *Del Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da ser Mariano da Siena*, 71-90; *Evagatorium*, vol. 1., 282.

⁸⁹ *Evagatorium*, vol. 1 284.

⁹⁰ Fabri noted that at the first station, they performed all the devotions and recited the prayers and hymns that were written in the *processionale*: “In hoc ergo sacro loco cum gaudio cantavimus, et peracto cantu et his, quae in processionale continentur”. Likewise, at the chapel of St Mary Magdalene: “cantantes ea quae errant ad propositum, sicut processionale continentur”. *Ibid.*, 287, 289.

⁹¹ Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West. From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 143-146.

with such devotion, joy and tears that he could hardly find the words to describe it⁹². However, once the station at the Calvary was reached he felt obliged to stifle his uneasiness when it came to describing the emotional display, saying that the pilgrims seemed mad and inebriated (*pazzi e briachi*), being moved, despite themselves, to clamor, weep, wail and shout, all mixed with elation. Emotion got the best even of those who tried to restrain themselves⁹³.

Fabri carefully registered the ritual gestures associated with the procession, such as prostrations, kissing, touching the holy places or kneeling. A few examples suffice to enhance our understanding of how the procession looked like. At the station of the Column to which Christ was tied, the pilgrims struggled to touch it through the lattice protecting it from relic hunters⁹⁴. At the chapel of the Invention of the Cross, they kissed the place where the Cross was discovered by St Helena⁹⁵. When they reached the Prison of Christ, with sobs and laments, they kissed the place prostrating⁹⁶. Upon entering the Chapel of St Helena they kneeled in prayer⁹⁷. When they reached the Calvary, overwhelmed by emotion and tears they fell to their faces⁹⁸.

The euchological texts of MS 73G8 KB Den Haag and the liturgical instructions in its vernacular counterpart give an idea of the ritual processing conducted by Franciscans. The pilgrims' testimonies complete the image, allowing us to come very close to grasping how the procession looked and felt like when pilgrims arrived to the church in fifteenth century Jerusalem. For the friars, the procession was a means to introduce pilgrims to the most important church in Chistendom, but also to affirm their position as necessary intermediaries

⁹² At the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene: "E pianti, sospiri, consolazioni, e dolcezze spirituali, che v'erano, non son sufficiente io a dirlo, sicchè le taciârò; chie le vuol sapere, le vada pruovare". *Del Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da ser Mariano da Siena*, 71, 74.

⁹³ "E perchè a me non è possibile, e non mi sento sofficiente a narrare tanto gaudio, e tanta dolcezza, lassarollo alle devozioni, e coscienzae vostre. Ma pure dirò questa parola. Tutti e' peregrini parevano pazzi, e briachi, che la natura per se stessa a dispetto nostro ci faceva striderre, piangere, e bocciare, ogni cosa mescolato con grande gaudio, e quantopiù ci volavamo ritenere, peggio faciavamo". *Ibid.*, 81.

⁹⁴ "Et ipsam sacram columnam manibus per cancellas immissis tetigimus et ibi etiam indulgentias (††) plenariae remissionis accepimus". *Evagatorium*, 287.

⁹⁵ "Hunc locum desoculati sumus, et indulgentias recipimus (†)". *Ibid.*, 288.

⁹⁶ "Singuli ergo cum singulitibus et gemitibus ingressi sumus, et successive vestigia Salvatoris nostri deosculabamur cum prostratione". *Ibid.*, 290.

⁹⁷ "Tbi ergo canto finito genibus flexis oravimus, et indulgentias recepimus (†)". *Ibid.*, 293.

⁹⁸ "Haec capella est super montem Calvarie edificata. Cum omnes in ea venissemus, et iam ad oculum nobis ostendetur petra illa mirabilis, rupes desiderabilis, scopulus amabilis, lapis laudabilis, saxum venerabile cum spectabili foramine, in quo sanctissima crux cum Crucifixo fuerat infixata, et haec intueremur, perterriti vehementer et concussi a tanta sanctitate, proni in terram cecidimus in facies nostras, et iam non audiebatur cantus, sed planctus, non hymnus, sed fletus et ululatus. Nullus ibi erat, qui se posset a lacrymis et gemitibus continere". *Ibid.*, 298.

to this holy site. Because they were allowed into the church only under the friars' guidance, the pilgrims' experience of the Holy Sepulchre was also Franciscan.

3. The Palm Sunday procession

The *Pact of 'Umar* specifically prohibited the Palm Sunday procession⁹⁹, perceived as an occasion when *dhimmi's* could disrupt the controlled alterity of an Islamic city through their noisy salience. In late medieval Jerusalem, the friars had to abide by these restrictions, with the exceptions of short periods of leniency, when they were allowed to process with full ritual display. However, for most of this period, the friars, as well as the other Christians, were limited in their capacity to celebrate their holidays and festivals with processions.

The Palm Sunday procession, celebrated in Jerusalem since the fourth century, continued to be carried out after the Muslim conquest of the city in the seventh century. Before the crusades, the procession was led by the Melkite patriarch, started at the Anastasis, continued to the Mount of Olives, where the palms were blessed, and then descended to Bethany. From Bethany the faithful processed back to the city, stopping at the Tomb of the Virgin at Gethsemane and the Church of the Sheep Pool, and ending at the Anastasis¹⁰⁰.

After the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, the Palm Sunday procession was given a Latin makeover. This resulted in the Jerusalem Palm Sunday procession resembling more the processions of Chartres than those of the local Church. The Latin innovation that altered the procession the most was a change of itinerary, with an increased emphasis in the mimetic commemoration of Christ's entry into the city. Thus, led by the Latin Patriarch, the procession started in Bethany, and returned to Jerusalem through the Valley of Josaphat, passing through the Golden Gate (exclusively open on this day) and ended at the Temple of the Lord¹⁰¹. The crucial elements that conferred its historicizing character were the start in Bethany, the passing through the Golden Gate, and the ending on the Temple Mount. That is, the processors followed in the footsteps of Jesus entering Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, on the same itinerary, from Bethany to the Temple.

⁹⁹ "We shall not go outside on Palm Sunday or Easter, nor shall we raise our voices in our funeral processions". Cohen, "What was the Pact of 'Umar", 107.

¹⁰⁰ Iris Shagrir, "Adventus in Jerusalem: the Palm Sunday celebration in Latin Jerusalem", *Journal of Medieval History* (2014): 9.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

The Palm Sunday procession constitutes a special case among rituals performed by friars in Jerusalem, because it is scarcely mentioned in contemporary sources. Most details about the friars' ritual life in Jerusalem come from pilgrimage accounts recording the ceremonies the authors themselves have witnessed. But most pilgrims traveled to the Holy Land during pilgrimage season, in the summer. Thus, very few diaries mention the Palm Sunday procession, celebrated before Easter, in the spring. Bereft of the richness of details usually supplied by pilgrims, we get a glimpse of the Jerusalemite Palm Sunday procession almost exclusively from the writings of friars stationed in Jerusalem.

For instance, the Italian Franciscan Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who was in the Holy Land from 1346 to 1350, described the Palm Sunday procession in the early years of the Franciscan settlement in the Holy Land. In these first years, the friars still shared in the celebrations with the larger Christian community¹⁰². This was understandable, given their reduced numbers and the fact that they lacked a local congregation. It is not clear from what the Tuscan friar says whether the entire Franciscan community partook in this procession. However, it is clear that at least he and *il suo compagno* joined in. He described what the procession looked like, ca. 1350, as follows:

Early on Olive Sunday, the bishop of the Armenians was disguised and attired, that is vested, to represent Jesus Christ, and my companion was placed on one side and I on the other of the bishop: we took the place of the apostles, and were so attired; and crowds of people and Saracens followed us, and with all the people we started on our way towards the Holy Sepulchre, all singing aloud. All the streets and windows of the houses were packed with Saracens, so that none could pass, but the Saracen kavasses caused the crowd to make way. Right behind us were carried two big olive trees and on top of them and amid the branches were several men, who pointing to the bishop, cried out words in very shrill voices. And I asked an interpreter what those in the olive trees desired to say. And he replied that he understood not, as those on one tree shouted in Arabic, and those on the other in Ethiopic; and I am interpreter for the Hebrew and Saracenic languages. And yet the truth is that they spoke very good words, and the multitude around them all sung a loud voice, each one in his own tongue, that which was sung before Christ, as they cast olive branches and their garments on the way, as you may read in the Gospel of Saint Matthew, in Chapter XXI, which reads: *Hosanna filio David, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Hosanna in excelsis*¹⁰³.

¹⁰² It was the case of the procession within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but also of the Easter Sunday processions. Facchini, *Le processioni praticate dai frati minori*, 7-9, 33-34. The English translators of Niccolò da Poggibonsi argue that the friars joined the Armenian procession because they believed that the Armenians acknowledged Roman primacy. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade, trans., *Fra Niccolò of Poggibonsi. A Voyage Beyond the Seas (1346-1350)* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1945), 24, n. 2.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

A form of the procession described by Niccolò da Poggibonsi is performed by the Armenian community of Jerusalem to this day¹⁰⁴. As in the case of the processions conducted inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by the fifteenth century the friars stopped joining the processions of local Christians, a sign of an increased sense of identity that required segregation, but also of animosity following the failure of the ecumenical efforts of the Council of Florence.

In the fifteenth century, one of the guardians of this period, Antonio Cruzado of Sevilla, left a short description of the procession in his diary, entitled “The mysteries of Jerusalem, with all the Holy Places, stations and indulgences of the entire Holy Land” (*Los misterios de Jerusalem. En que se hallaran todos los lugares santos y estaciones y indulgencias que ay en toda la tierra santa*)¹⁰⁵. Cruzado noted on the first page of his diary that he wrote it in 1487. No manuscript version of the diary had survived. It reached us in printed versions, produced much later¹⁰⁶. He emphasized that in the three years he spent in the Holy Land he came to know the country very well, his testimony coming from first-hand experience. The Sevillian friar referred to the Palm Sunday procession in a short note, within the larger description he dedicated to the Mount of Olives, and the neighboring Bethphage:

From this place, Bethphage, there is the custom of the friars of St Francis, who are in Jerusalem, to walk in procession on Palm Sunday to the Kidron River, with a friar riding a donkey, and the others laying down their capes and their garments. Through the grace of Jesus Christ, I took part in this procession one Palm Sunday¹⁰⁷.

This description suggests that, at the end of the fifteenth century, the friars processed alone, and did not enter the city in procession, stopping outside the walls, in the Kidron Valley. Fabri’s comments on the Palm Sunday procession, in which he repeated what he had

¹⁰⁴ Kevork Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Armenian Patriarchate Printing Press, 1989), 35.

¹⁰⁵ Cruzado himself mentioned that he was guardian of the Holy Land for three years. He went to the Holy Land in 1484 and remained until 1487. He was from Sevilla, a member of the Observant Franciscans. Augustin Arce, “Dos custodios de Tierra Santa desconocidos 1484-1490”, *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 57 (1964), 424-429. For the early editions of *Los misterios*, see: Nieves Baranda, “*Los misterios de Jerusalem* de el Cruzado (un franciscano español por Oriente Medio a fines del siglo XV)”, in *Maravillas, peregrinaciones y utopías: literatura de viajes en el mundo románico*, ed. Rafael Beltrán (València: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2002), 151-152.

¹⁰⁶ “Aquí comienza un tratado que el reverendo maestro en sacra theologia El Cruzado ordeno de las estaciones i misterios de Ierusalen el anno 1487”. I used a copy printed in Sevilla in 1529 by Juan Cromberger: Paris, BNF, Réserve O. 1272; S.

¹⁰⁷ “De aqui, de Bethfage, han en costumbre los religiosos de San Francisco qui son en Jerusalem de hazer procession el Domingo de Ramos hasta el torrente Cedron, un frayle revestido cavallero en un asino y los otros poniendos los mantos y la ropa quellevan. En la qual procession per la gracia de Jesu Christo me halle ay un Dia de Ramos”. *Los misterios de Jerusalem*, s.p.

been told by the friars since he was not in Jerusalem at Easter, complete the picture painted by first hand witnesses, such as Poggibonsi and Cruzado. The Dominican traced a history of the feast of Palm Sunday, contrasting the form it took in the heydays of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem with the modest and secretive celebration of his own time. In the Valley of Josaphat, Fabri and his fellow pilgrims, came close to the Golden Gate (*Porta Aurea*), walled-up after Saladin reconquered the city. He remarked that they were not allowed to go up to the gate, because there were Muslim graves in its vicinity, on which Christians were not allowed to tread. However, they still dared to kneel by the gate, so that they could receive the indulgences prescribed for this station¹⁰⁸.

The stop at the Golden Gate provided Fabri with the occasion to reminisce about the history of the procession. In Crusader times, it was a communal feast for the Christian community, with Franks and local Christians walking in the procession led by one of the bishops (*aliquem de magnis episcopis*). The procession described by Fabri corresponds to the instructions of the *Ordinal/ Breviary of Barletta* a liturgical book from crusader Jerusalem recording the rituals of Palm Sunday, and the Latinized format of the procession¹⁰⁹. Confirming the testimony left by Niccolò da Poggibonsi, Fabri mentioned that the Palm Procession continued to be celebrated even after the Fall of Jerusalem, by Armenians and their bishop for many years¹¹⁰, “until they [the Muslims], instigated by the devil, started to bury their damned dead in this place, and since, they had closed the gate”¹¹¹. These restrictions lasted to Fabri’s day, and he made the contrast clear between *tunc* and *nunc*. His description confirms the account of Antonius Cruzado, adding some clarifying details as well. He stressed the enforced alacrity of the procession: the friars had to hurry, sneaking out of their convent of Mount Sion to Bethany. Only there, far from the city, in the relative anonymity of the countryside, they dared to walk with chants in procession to Bethphage, with a friar dressed in sacred vestments riding a donkey, in the guise of Jesus.

On their descent from the Mount of Olives they were joined by Eastern Christians, carrying palm and olive branches, and laying their vestments before the friar who acted as

¹⁰⁸ *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 368.

¹⁰⁹ Ch. Kohler, who partially edited it, considers it a breviary: “Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem”, 383-498, whilst its latest comentator, Iris Shagrir, considers it an ordinal, “Adventus in Jerusalem”, 4.

¹¹⁰ The Armenian community was favored by Saladin, who exempted the Armenians of Jerusalem from paying ransom. Hintlian, *History of the Armenians*, 39.

¹¹¹ “Post perditionem vero civitatis sanctae et Latinorum expulsionem continuaverunt Armenii cum eorum episcopo hanc festivitatem multis annis, quousque diabolo instigante ibi suos damnatos mortuos sepelire coeperunt, et ex tunc portam obturaverunt”. *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 369.

Jesus. The detail of the Eastern Christians joining the Latins' procession is remarkable, but not surprising. By this time, the Palm Sunday processions of the Eastern Christians communities were suspended and local Christians joined the illicit procession of the friars. However, and here the debilitated status of the Christian community becomes evident, the procession stopped when they reached the Kidron Valley, before the city, "because they do not dare to go up to the city chanting, for fear that the Saracens would disturb the procession by throwing stones" (*non enim audent sic cum laudibus contra civitatem ascendere, ne Sarraceni cum lapidibus processionem confundant*). Fabri concluded the discussion of the Palm Sunday procession by justifiably wandering at the audacity of Christians and at the indulgence of Saracens, who allowed them even this restrained procession, remarking that this would have been impossible one hundred, or fifty or even twenty years before. In his day, however, Christians in Jerusalem enjoyed an unprecedented freedom¹¹².

The Mamluk authorities' temporary leniency towards Christian rituals in the second half of the fifteenth century was also pointed out by one of Fabri's contemporaries, Francesco Suriano, writing in 1485, at the end of his term as guardian. In Suriano's account, the friars started the procession in Bethphage, led by the guardian mounting a donkey. They walked *processionalmente* to Mount Sion, brandishing palms and chanting the Palm Sunday hymn: *Hosanna filio David*. On Mount Sion they were joined by Armenian Christians and Suriano went as far as writing that even Muslims were elated at the sight of this very public and noisy Christian ritual¹¹³. In this case, the friars' infringement of the ban to process and to produce "ritual noise" was tolerated because they had in this period the personal favor of the sultan. Late medieval Jerusalem was a place of banishment for those Mamluks who had fallen out of favor in Cairo¹¹⁴. Suriano recounted how the friars gained the favor of the future sultan Qaitbay (1468-1496): suspected of rebellion, he and his companions were exiled to Jerusalem

¹¹² "Nunc vero ita diem palmarum festinant: ipso die post Officium divinum et cibi sumtionem exeunt fratres montis Syon in Bethaniam, et cum processione et cantu ascendunt in Bethpage, ibique aliquem fratrem sacris indutum ponunt super asinum, et cum laudibus ipsum comitantur contra civitatem. In descensu autem montis Oliveti accurrunt eis caeteri Christiani orientales cum ramis palmarum et olivarum et cum prosternatione vestimentorum, et deducunt eum usque in torrentem Cedron, et ibi finitur processio, non enim audent sic cum laudibus contra civitatem ascendere, ne Sarraceni cum lapidibus processionem confundant. Et satis mirum est, quod tantum comittunt; nam ante centum vel quinquaginta annos non permissent, nec ante XX annos in tanta libertate erant Christiani, sicut nunc sunt". *Ibid.*, 369-370.

¹¹³ "Tuti li frati vano in Bethfage et ivi metono a cavalo su l'assino el padre Guardiano, e processionalmente cum grande devotione e lachrime vengono in Hierusalem ad monte Sion cum palme e rami de olivo in mano, cantando: *Osanna filio David benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*. Et quando sono appresso monte Syon se fano incontra tuti li armeni, religiosi e seculari prosternendo loro manti e vestimenti soto l'asino; adornata la via de fiori e tapeti et alter assai nobilitate in modo che non solum incitano li christiani, ma etiam li saraceni ad devotione, e provocamoli a laudare el nostro Signor miser Yesu Christo." *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, 105-106.

¹¹⁴ Schaefer, *Jerusalem in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, 272-274.

where the Franciscan custos Francesco da Piacenza befriended them. They were not allowed to leave Jerusalem or visit the houses of other Muslims, but the friars received them in their convent of Mount Sion. After five years Qaitbay returned to Cairo and became the sultan and rewarded the friars by extending his protection over them. In this period the Franciscans were allowed to make repairs at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and, in Suriano's words: "we obtained whatever favor we liked, even if all of Jerusalem was against it" (*obtinavamo ogni gratia che volevamo, etiam che tuto Hierusalem ce fosse stato contra*)¹¹⁵.

Thus, although the brethren lived under the restrictions of Islamic law, they challenged its limits by seeking the favor of the local potentates. This was the case probably with the situation of Christian *libertas* referred by Fabri, who was in Jerusalem during a period when the friars enjoyed the favor of the sultan.

About the liturgical books used by the friars for the Palm Sunday procession, there could only be speculation. A number of liturgical manuscripts today in the Biblioteca Generale della Custodia di Terra Santa, which were used in the period investigated here, such as, missals, like MS MIN. 1 *olim* SF 1278, breviaries, such as Mss MIN.3 *olim* SF 1277 or the spectacular gradual MS COR. EK.1 contain the office or solely the chants for Palm Sunday¹¹⁶. However, as in the case of the manuscripts I discussed earlier, there seems to be no alteration for their usage in a Jerusalem context. We lack the precision of the instructions in the manuscript from Barletta that recorded exactly the choreography of the procession in crusading-era Jerusalem. It is sensible to assume the friars used these liturgical books either for the Palm Sunday procession or for the morning office they had in their convent of Mount Sion. Although carrying a large book, such as the manuscripts referred to above, in the perilous enterprise of the illicit procession from Bethany to the Kidron River it would have been unfeasible. In this particular case, the friars probably relied on their memory for the chants associated with the entry of Christ in Jerusalem, such as the well-known antiphons *Hosanna Filio David* and *Pueri Hebreorum*¹¹⁷, or on their personal and smaller breviaries.

¹¹⁵ *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, 113-116.

¹¹⁶ The office *In die palmarum* is contained by MS MIN. 1 *olim* SF 1278 BGCTS, 54r-57r. The *Domenica in Palmis invitatorium* is contained by MS MIN.3 *olim* SF 1277 BGCTS, 138v. A fifteenth century gradual from the Franciscan convent of Ein Karem also contains the office *In die palmarum*. MS COR. EK. 1 BGCTS, CXI-CXIII. For a description of this manuscript, see: *MFH Manuscripta Franciscana Hierosolymitana. Selected Exhibition (Jerusalem 23rd October 2014)* (Milan: Edizioni CUSL, 2014), 7.

¹¹⁷ For the Chants of the Palm Sunday processions in the Roman rite, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 256.

Thus, the Palm Sunday procession celebrated by the friars in Jerusalem in the first two centuries of their custodianship was shaped by the limitations incurred by the minority status of the performers, but was also marked by the flexibility of the system in which exceptions could be bargained with the Islamic authorities.

4. Conclusions

In Jerusalem the friars processed in extraordinary circumstances, which impacted the itinerary, the chants and the paraphernalia they were allowed or with which they managed to get away. They catered first to the needs of Latin pilgrims, for whom walking in procession was the means to ritually visit the city and its churches. Through processions the friars also asserted the Latin presence at the Holy Places. A procession, even if ephemerally, managed to map a certain space as a sacred arena for a particular type of Christianity. By ritually walking in Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, they commemorated the foundational events of their faith and made the city theirs for the instant of the passing procession.

Like other rituals discussed by this dissertation, the case of the brethren's processions elucidates their dialogue with the sacred landscape of the city, its Christian legacy and its communities. It illustrates the limits of this dialogue as well. With the next chapter, treating the case of a particular procession, the *Via Crucis*, I continue the inquiry into the Franciscan dynamic of liturgical appropriations of previous traditions and the invention of new observances, corresponding to an increased emphasis on Passion devotions in Latin spirituality.