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Covaci, V.

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Chapter 5

Ritual mimesis and the *translatio Hierosolymae*

This fifth and last chapter of this dissertation is devoted to Jerusalemite ritual imports to Western Europe, specifically those rituals that were transferred westwards through marked Franciscan mediation. With this chapter I propose to focus both on continuities, in that the friars transferred to Europe devotions particular to the Holy Land, such as the Jerusalemite *Via Crucis*, and on the metamorphoses underwent by this ritual with its translation. If in *Ritual encounters and Franciscan processions in Jerusalem* I showed how the friars had to adapt to the restrictive circumstances of an Islamic city, for instance by pruning the paraphernalia and the liturgy of their rituals, in this chapter I stress how, free from such restrictions, a ritual imported from Jerusalem turned into flamboyant exhibitionism when carried out in the West¹.

In this last chapter, the focus shifts towards Europe, in order to trace the influence of the friars' hagiopolite rituals in the West. The chosen form of acculturation was one as old as the pilgrimage of Europeans to the Holy Land, of which an essential feature was bringing back home tokens of the sanctity of the Holy Places. The name given to this import of charisma was *translatio Terre Sancte*, that is, the transfer of the Holy Land, carried out by a variety of means². In the first Christian centuries, this transfer took the shape of the import of

¹ I use "flamboyance" and "flamboyant" in the sense coined by Jacques Chiffolleau, as the defining characteristic of Western religious life in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. For Chiffolleau, this flamboyance equated a propensity towards exacerbation in devotions (an "explosion dévotionnelle", an increase in the number of liturgies, processions, indulgences, an "explosion of eschatological practices and beliefs"), propensity visible even in architecture, with the last age of the Gothic, that of the Gothic Flamboyant. However, the most striking aspect of the late medieval "flamboyant religion" is the elaboration of rituals, with a proliferation of religious ceremonies, what Chiffolleau called "le foisonnement rituel" of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, when a "general tendency towards theatricality" became manifest. Jacques Chiffolleau, *La religion flamboyante. France (1320-1520)* (Paris: Éditions Points, 2011), 21-51; 65-77; 79-97; 127-141.

² In spite of the lexical similarity, the phrase "transfer of charisma" is not informed by Max Weber's understanding of the phenomenon. He discussed the transfer of charisma as transmission of authoritative grace from the charismatic founder of a religious or political movement to his/ her followers. My own reference to "charismatic transfer" and "import of charisma" is strictly limited to the Franciscan transfer of rituals and Holy Land memorabilia in Europe. Nonetheless, I think a similar process to what Weber has described as "routinization of charisma", in reference to the transmission of authority, did occur in the case of the charismatic imports from the Holy Land. They were routinized in the West through their integration in the devotional landscape. The friars, as will become clear in the next pages, were instrumental in the process. Max Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, vol. 2, eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 1111-1142.

relics from Jerusalem: fragments from the wood of the cross, dust from the Holy Sepulchre, oil from its lamps and even reliquaries meant to transport the Holy Fire beyond Jerusalem³.

At a later stage, starting from the tenth centuries, the transfer of Jerusalem to Europe took also the shape of architectural imitation, with the erection of copies of the Edicule or of the Rotonda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre⁴. Measures of the Holy Places and the distances between them were taken and brought back to Europe to enhance the authenticity of the replica⁵. In the tenth-eleventh centuries, the erection of such architectural imitation was mostly the initiative of returned pilgrims, with the new foundations destined to house treasured relics from the Holy Land. For instance, following his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, count Fulk of Anjou founded in the early eleventh century the abbey of Beaulieu-lès-Loches, which housed a relic of the cross that Fulk tore off with his own teeth in Jerusalem⁶. The transfer of Jerusalem to the West continued during the crusades, with returned crusaders bringing back relics and building Holy Land memorabilia. The architectural reproduction of the Holy Sepulchre was abandoned in the turbulent thirteenth century, under the impact of the loss, first of Jerusalem and then of crusader Palestine entirely⁷. Thus, when the Franciscan friars, either directly or through their influence, started to erect copies of Jerusalem in the West at the end of the fifteenth century, they were enriching older traditions.

In this chapter I address a particular form of the *translatio Terre Sancte*, namely the *translatio Hierosolymae* in the form of the transfer of Jerusalem rituals to the West, through Franciscan mediation. Guy G. Stroumsa has explored the multilayered history of the *translatio Hierosolymae*. The first instances of such a transfer occurred in Late Antiquity, when towns geographically far from the Holy Land were dubbed “Jerusalem”, a testimony to their aspirations to be versions of the heavenly Jerusalem. Copying the earthly Jerusalem, especially its most significant Christian monument, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, particularly the Edicule, was a later and Western development, when notable pilgrims

³ Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 59, 128; Bruno Reudenbach, “Holy Places and Their Relics”, in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, eds. B. Kühnel, G. Noga-Banai and H. Vorholt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 197-206. Lantern-reliquaries in which the Holy Fire from Jerusalem was transported are attested in the Byzantine and Russian tradition. Alexei Lidov, “The Holy Fire and Visual Constructs of Jerusalem, East and West”, in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, 244-245.

⁴ Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 157-159.

⁵ Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds*, 53; Adam G. Beaver, “From Jerusalem to Toledo: Replica, Landscape and the Nation in Renaissance Iberia”, *Past and Present* 218 (2013): 69-74.

⁶ Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 146-155.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 223-231; 289.

returning from Jerusalem erected replicas, such as the church of St Stephen in Bologna⁸. The most spectacular form of this transfer took the shape of monumental buildings, by putting forth copies of the Edicule, of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or of Holy Land sanctuaries associated with the life of Christ, particularly with his Passion⁹. Many churches in Europe were built to house relics brought from the Holy Land, such as the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris or the Basilica of the Holy Blood in Bruges. Made inaccessible to most Latin Christians by the distance, the dangerous and very costly journey and the Muslim threat, the Holy Places and especially the site of the Resurrection, marked by the Edicule in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, could still be visited and honored in Europe through replicas. One of the most striking embodiments of the *translatio Hierosolymae* were the *sacri monti* appearing in northern Italy at the end of the Middle Ages. The resettlement of this imported charisma in the West was complemented by a transfer of rituals from Jerusalem to Europe. In fact, copying Jerusalem by erecting replicas of its holy sites and remembering liturgically the salvation history that unfurled in that landscape was central to the ritual life of the Church both in the East and in the Latin West¹⁰. The present chapter is dedicated to a form of ritual acculturation between Jerusalem and Europe mediated by Franciscans in late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

I refer to the transfer of rituals from Jerusalem to the West as *ritual mimesis*, because in the translation process the friars strived to preserve the wholesomeness of Holy Land charisma by securing as close a likeness as possible to the original setting. This type of ritual replication was carried out in European copies of Jerusalem, at *sacri monti* or Calvaries erected in the likeness of the hagiopolite original.

⁸ Guy G. Stroumsa, “Mystical Jerusalems”, in *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. L.I. Levine (New York-Jerusalem: Continuum, 1999), 349-370.

⁹ Lasting testimonies to this type of pious imitation are the many *sepulchra Domini* raised all over Western Europe. For exemplification, see the cases discussed in Justin E.A. Kroesen, *Sepulchrum Domini through the Ages. Its Form and Function* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2000). In some cases the architectural mimesis of the Edicule and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were reinforced by the juridical status of the European copies that were founded as bequests to the Jerusalem church. This was the case, for instance, of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Acquapendente in Lazio, founded in the tenth century, which included a close copy of the Edicule. Here were collected the alms given for the Holy Land in Italy, which were used to support pilgrims and the Benedictine monks of Acquapendente and its counterpart in Jerusalem, the church of Santa Maria Latina in Muristan. Massimo Ruspantini, “La basilica del Santo Sepolcro di Acquapendente e il Sacello del Santo Sepolcro esistente nella sua cripta”, in *Militia Sancti Sepulcri*, 411-417. For other examples, coming mainly from Italy, see: Anna Benvenuti and Pierantonio Piatti, eds., *Come a Gerusalemme. Evocazioni, reproduzioni, imitazioni dei Luoghi Santi tra Medioevo et Età Moderna* (Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2013).

¹⁰ Crispino Valenziano, “‘Mimesis anamnesis’ spazio-temporale per il Triduo Pasquale”, in *La celebrazione del Triduo Pasquale anamnesis e mimesis. Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Liturgia Roma, Pontificio Istituto Liturgico, 9-13 Maggio 1988*, ed. Ildebrando Scicolone (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1990), 24-31.

To do so, I have divided this chapter into three parts. First, I trace the meanings ascribed to the *translatio Hierosolymae* in the fifteenth century, seen in the particular context of the flourishing compassionate devotions to the Passion. Secondly, I discuss the case of the ritual transfer encountered at Varallo, which I understand as a ritualized form of paraliturgical remembrance. In the case of Varallo the *sacro monte* and the Holy Land prototype are connected by the figure of Bernardino Caimi da Milano, who served as *custos* in the Holy Land and founded the *sacro monte* at Varallo on his return to Europe. He transferred and commemorated the sites and rituals of the Holy Land not just by building replicas but also by initiating the ritual commemoration of Christ's Passion at Varallo in the Jerusalem manner. Given the paramount importance of Caimi in the foundation of Varallo, I pay due attention to the analysis of his writings for a good deal of the section dedicated to Varallo. Thirdly, I explore the case of ritual transfer encountered at Romans, in the Dauphiné region of France, which presents another example where the construction of monumental copies came with the import of Jerusalemite paraliturgical devotions.

1. Compassionate devotions and the *translatio Hierosolymae*

The fourteenth and fifteenth century *translationes Hierosolymae* followed the tradition of earlier translations of relics, devotions, liturgy, people and iconography from the Holy Land to the West. Hardly innovative, they brought, however, a new enriching nuance to an existing tradition. The new inflection in this old tradition stemmed from a unique encounter, between a particular devotion that flourished in the West at the end of the Middle Ages, defined by Sarah McNamer as “affective meditation on the Passion” and the direct experience and liturgical activity of Franciscan friars in the Holy Land. The development of compassionate devotions corresponded with a turn in Western spirituality in the thirteenth century, from the image of the triumphant Christ of the Resurrection to that of the tormented Christ of the Passion¹¹. This turn was associated with the emergence of a literature of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* genre¹². This blend informed rituals focused on the partaking of

¹¹ Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 2.

¹² The *Meditationes vitae Christi*, often attributed in the Middle Ages to St Bonaventure, it is mostly believed in current scholarship to be the work of the Tuscan Franciscan friar Iohannes de Caulibus of San Gimignano, who wrote it in Latin around the middle of the fourteenth century. However, new arguments have emerged for its authorship by a Poor Clare writing in Italian. With a remarkable number of extant manuscripts, over two hundred, and early translations in various European languages, it narrated the life of Christ whilst inviting the reader to compassionately partake in his suffering. Sarah McNamer, “The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*”, *Speculum* 84 (2009): 905-907, 920-921, 949-954. Eadem, *Affective Meditation*, 60.

the performer in the Passion of Christ, by means of “compassionate imitation”¹³. In the West this type of compassionate devotions was encouraged by the proliferation of texts such as the extremely popular *Meditationes vitae Christi* and often took the shape of virtual pilgrimages, which Kathryn Rudy has studied with real acuity¹⁴. Moreover, following the textual emphasis on the humanity and suffering of Christ, a shift in the iconography of the Passion saw the transformation of the *Christus triumphans* into the *Christus patiens*, with a strong emphasis on the human vulnerability of Christ¹⁵.

As in the case of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, which are considered the product of a Franciscan environment, the corresponding revolution in iconography was also connected to the Friars Minor, who were, at least in Italy, the religious order that mostly commissioned and popularized the Passion cycles painted in a new, Byzantine-inspired manner. The focus of this imported iconographic style was on the suffering humanity of Christ¹⁶. The Franciscans distinguished as missionary to the East in the thirteenth century (to the Latin court in Constantinople, to the Byzantine court at Nicaea, to the Latin Kingdom in Jerusalem, to the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia). They had a key role in bringing Eastern goods (manuscripts, liturgical objects) to Europe, and they adopted Eastern saints into their calendar¹⁷. Facilitated by their missionary activity in the East, which characterized the order from its beginning, the friars’ agency as mediators of Levantine imports was in the tradition of their order. In the fourteenth century, with their establishment in the Holy Land, by papal appointment, as guardians of the Holy Places, the friars’ role as intermediaries between the Levant and Europe became even more central. The ritual transfers operated by Franciscans in the fifteenth century, discussed in this chapter, were an intrinsic part of their missionary activity.

These cultural transfers, or indeed material borrowings, between East and West in the later Middle Ages were not the exclusive realm of the Franciscan friars and did not operate in a one-way direction. The dynamics of transmission were more complex, with often the inadvertent implication for the friars, brought about by their presence in the Holy Land,

¹³ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁴ See the many examples discussed in: I. Johnson and A.F. Westphall, eds., *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ. Exploring the Middle English Tradition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013) and Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimage in the Convent*.

¹⁵ Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy. Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5-11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17-23, 35-45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24-27.

Damascus and Alexandria¹⁸. Moreover, the import could be an externally enforced solution. This was the case when the Franks were forced out of Palestine after Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in 1187 and the fall of Acre in 1291. The transfer to Europe, under duress, of relics and other Christian identity-defining paraphernalia also characterized the dynamics of Eastern-Western religious imports¹⁹. Faced with their probable expulsion from the Levant, after 1187, many religious orders organized the transport of precious possessions, such as relics and manuscripts to Europe. Entire archives, for instance those of the Hospitaller and Teutonic orders and that of the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were brought and stored in religious houses in Italy. Manuscripts belonging to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre ended up in the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Barletta, Apulia, and in Perugia where the Jerusalemite chapter settled.²⁰. This was a case of enforced cultural import from East to the West.

In his analysis of the emergence and spread of the devotion to the Prison of Christ, Anthony Bale charted the extremely complicated process of mutual influence, borrowings and conflictual encounters that characterized the transmission of this devotion from Jerusalem to the West. It entered Western piety via travel accounts that registered it as a holy place included in the hagiopolite pilgrimage circuit. It reached Latin Europe during the crusades, once Western pilgrims started to regularly undertake the overseas trip and after the new Latin lords of the city took over the actual space of the Prison of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and had it integrated into their own liturgical services. The process of importing the Prison of Christ to what Bale calls "Western European devotional culture" only

¹⁸ For more examples of mutual borrowings between West and East in the Middle Ages, see: Lynn White, "Medieval Borrowings from Further Asia", *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1971): 3-26. The friars settled as guardians of the Holy Places in Jerusalem in the fourteenth century. However, their activities were not limited to the remits of the Holy Land. Friars from the Mount Sion convent went periodically to Damascus and Alexandria to preach, for instance the Lenten cycle, to the Italian communities of traders present in those cities. Or friars from the Custodia Terre Sancte, such as Grifon of Flanders spearheaded the papal missionary work in the East, by visiting an evangelizing isolated "Catholic" communities such as the Maronites in the mountains of Lebanon. Noujaim, *I francescani e i maroniti*, 31-72.

¹⁹ By way of example, I refer here to the case of the *arca sacra*, a reliquary containing items such as a flask of Jesus' blood, the Holy Shroud etc. housed in the cathedral of Oviedo, in the north of the Iberian Peninsula. The story of its transfer is a tale of double translation. Although there is evidence for the presence of this reliquary in Oviedo only at the end of the eleventh century, the pious legend of its translation goes back to Jerusalem. It had to be taken out of Jerusalem in the seventh century, when the city was conquered by the Persian armies. Taken initially to northern Africa, it was translated to Toledo, where it remained until the city fell to the Muslim armies. From Toledo it was brought to Oviedo, where King Alphonso II of Asturias built a church specially to house them. Patrick Henriot, "Oviedo, Jérusalem hispanique au XIIIe siècle. Le récit de la translation de l'*arca sancta* selon l'évêque Pélage d'Oviedo", in *Pèlerinages en lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*, eds. B. Caseau, J.-Cl. Cheynet and V. Déroche (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2006), 235- 248.

²⁰ Francesco Tommasi, "Fondi documentari *ultramaroni* in Italia: L'archivio del Santo Sepolcro da Acri a Perugia", in *Militia Sancti Sepulchri*, 419-436.

intensified after the Franciscan friars set up their standardized pilgrimage guided tours of Jerusalem²¹. The transmission of the itinerant rituals of Passion devotions that I explore in this chapter presents a similar pattern of acculturation and needs to be understood within the framework of the interborrowing dynamics characterizing the Western and Eastern cultures of piety, with the Franciscan friars as mediating agents.

The other essential component in the *translatio Hierosolymae* was the ritual experience of the Franciscan friars serving in the Holy Land. The friars employed the cityscape of Jerusalem as the historical setting for the life and Passion of Christ to anchor the devout exercises commemorating the suffering of Christ in their historical landscape. Thus, in Jerusalem, under Franciscan guidance, the compassionate devotion to the Passion became public, historicized and itinerant. To this Jerusalemite and Franciscan development, which I consider new but deeply anchored in the spirituality of the Later Middle Ages, so preoccupied with the meditation on the Passion, I now turn my attention. I argue that this form of ritual translation, meant as a mimesis of what the friars were practicing in Jerusalem, reached Europe either directly through Franciscan mediation or through the agency of pilgrims who were guided by the friars in the Holy Land, and who experienced their type of itinerant commemoration of the Passion. Often the import of the ritual came with the setting up of a monumental replica of Holy Land sites.

The ritual transfer thus connected the European *sacri monti* and Calvaries to the prototype in Jerusalem by means of liturgy as well²². The logic of mimesis underlined the efforts of the agents behind these translations, monumental or liturgical. It is patent, for instance, in the inscription put up at the inauguration of the *sacro monte* of Varallo, in 1491, where its founder, *fra* Bernardino Caimi, stated that copies of Holy Land monuments were built in this mountainous Piedmont valley “so that those who cannot go there, can see Jerusalem here” (*ut hic Hierusalem videat qui peragrarare nequit*)²³.

²¹ Anthony Bale, “God’s Cell: Christ as Prisoner and Pilgrimage to the Prison of Christ”, *Speculum* 91/1 (2016): 3, 9, 28.

²² A discussion of the process of liturgical mimesis connecting the Holy Land to Europe in: Giordano Monzio Compagnoni, “Alle origini della mimesi dei Luoghi Santi in Occidente: La teologia liturgica di età patristica e alto-medievale”, in *Come a Gerusalemme*, 37-96.

²³ “Magnificus dominus Milanus Scarrogninus hoc sepulchrum cum fabrica sibi contigua Christi posuit MCCCCLXXXI die septimo octobris. R.P. frater Bernardinus Caimi de Mediolano Ordinis Minorum de Observantia sacra huius montis excogitavit loca, ut hic Hierusalem videat qui peragrarare nequit”. P. Galloni, *Sacro Monte di Varallo* (Varallo: Tip. Camaschella&Zanfa, 1909), 33.

The transfer of charisma from the Holy Land to the West by means of commemorative rituals of compassion illustrate the dynamics of negotiated accommodation. The rituals brought to the West from Jerusalem adjusted and responded to the particular circumstances of the places in which they were adopted. Thus, whilst they included elements no doubt familiar to a Western audience, particularly the compassionate devotions for the bodily suffering of Christ, they enriched the authenticity of the sympathetic experience by their connection to a certain representation of the Holy Land. This implied the process of remembrance and a transformation of itinerant devotion. In the type of devotions analyzed by Kathryn Rudy, the person performing the virtual pilgrimage did suffer with Christ *as if in Jerusalem*, by virtually travelling to the Holy Land. In this case, the space of the church or of the monastic compound functioned as the virtual streets and monuments of the Holy City. On the contrary, the itinerant devotions set up by the friars returning from the Holy Land sought to recreate Jerusalem in the imagined local landscape, in the form of *sacri monti* or Calvaries. In these spaces, more resembling of the prototype, they carried out the itinerant devotions that they first celebrated in Jerusalem. Given the topic of this dissertation, in this chapter I touch upon the *sacri monti* (here at Varallo) and Calvaries (here at Romans) exclusively as the monumental background for the performance of rituals inspired by hagiopolite prototypes.

2. Bernardino Caimi's *translatio Hierosolymae*

At the center of my analysis of the ceremonial life on the *sacro monte* at Varallo lies the towering figure of its founder, the Observant Franciscan friar Bernardino Caimi da Milano. I start with a short biographical sketch and an explanation of what a late-fifteenth century *sacro monte* was. I continue with a close reading of Lenten sermons by Caimi, in which I argue the principles behind the foundation at Varallo were articulated.

Bernardino Caimi came from Milan, where he was born into a noble family in the first half of the fifteenth century. Joining the Observant Franciscans of the Milanese province, he served as guardian of various convents and general vicar of this province, and was elected for leading positions in the order. He served several terms as general *definitore* of the Observant Franciscans and was sent as papal nuncio to Spain in 1483. His connection with the East was firmly established by his appointment as guardian of the Custody of the Holy Land in 1478, with a possible second appointment in 1487-1489. He also was one of the Observant Franciscans engaged in preaching the crusade against the Turks in 1483. His contacts with

the Levant continued through his 1495 election as commissary for Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Chios, Candia, and of the Holy Land. In the last decade of the century, he founded the *sacro monte* at Varallo, in Piedmont. His biographers offer various dates between 1496 and 1500 for his death. He was buried in his foundation at Varallo²⁴.

The first monument consecrated on the *sacro monte* was the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in 1491²⁵. A brief definition of a *sacro monte* would describe it as a mountainous landscape, which was meant to resemble the hilly geography of Jerusalem, especially Golgotha, upon which various types of monuments (chapels, churches, statuary ensembles) were erected with the mimetic intention of reconstructing a likeness of the holy city. In the case of Varallo, my investigation covers only the structures built in Caimi's lifetime and shortly afterwards, leaving aside the spectacular Baroque building programme of Gaudenzio Ferrari and Carlo Borromeo dating to the sixteenth century. Thus in the first decades of its existence the *sacro monte* offered pilgrims encounters with the Tomb of the Virgin; the Chapel of the Sepulchre; the Chapel of the Cross that represented the Golgotha of Jerusalem, on which Caimi has planted a cross into which a relic of the True Cross was included; the Chapel on the Ascension on the "Mount of Olives"; the so-called Chapel below the Cross (*subtus crucem*), dedicated to the Virgin, in memory of her vigil at the foot of the cross. The Chapel of the Last Supper was under construction at the time of Caimi's death²⁶.

From its beginnings, two major influences were made clear at the *sacro monte* of Varallo. First, this was a sacred space created by an Observant Franciscan and fueled by the particular spirituality of the Observance, an affiliation stressed in the foundation documents. The second defining characteristic is its mimetic connection to the Holy Land, embodied in the topographical and monumental replicas and in the transfer of the ritual commemorative itinerary of the Passion, in the manner practiced by the friars in Jerusalem, to Varallo.

The Observant identity of the founder, imprinted on the identity of his foundation, is emphasized in the inscription commissioned for the inauguration of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in 1491, in which Bernardino Caimi is presented as a member of the Observant Franciscan friars (*Bernardinus Caimi de Mediolano Ordinis Minorum de Observantia*). In the other case study discussed in this chapter, that of the pilgrimage and Calvary at Romans in

²⁴ Celestino Piana, "Il beato Bernardino Caimi da Milano. Un epigono della predicazione Bernardiniana nell'ultimo Quattrocento", *Archivum franciscanum historicum* (64) (1971), 303- 306. Galloni, *Sacro monte di Varallo*, 65-76.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 11-15, 87.

the Dauphiné, the assertion of the same Franciscan Observant identity is emphasized as a defining characteristic of the new foundation. In both cases, the strong emphasis laid on the Observant identity of the foundation was not accidental. It related to the very strongly affirmed Observant identity of those serving in Jerusalem, where from 1434, with the guardianship of Giacomo Delfino, the friars of the Holy Land came from the Observant branch of the order²⁷. The document of donation drawn up by Antonio de Morondi, notary in Varallo, on 14 April 1493, stipulated that the convent, with the church, gardens and other annexes were endowed *ad usum dictorum Fratrum minorum de observantia dictae Provinciae stipulante* [i.e. of Milan]²⁸. Moreover, the donors, members of the *comune* of Varallo and its notables, among whom Milanus Scarrogninus named in the inscription of foundation is mentioned again, tied their endowment to the Observant branch of the Franciscan order. In fact, they made it an essential condition for the granting of their donation: the bequests could only be entrusted to the friars of the Observant Order (*nisi solum per fratres dicti Ordinis Observantiae*). Should any other religious order or clergy occupy the premises, the *comune* and its notables reserved the right of overturning the donation²⁹.

The other key characteristic of the Franciscan project at Varallo was the mimetic logic behind it. Clearly expressed in the inscription of foundation, it was reiterated and imprinted in the landscape that was meant to translate Jerusalem to Piedmont. The intentions behind the *sacro monte* were conspicuous even to people who did not come to Varallo as pilgrims. For instance, the Milanese courtier Girolamo Morone³⁰ came to the valley out of topographical interest, in order to survey for the duke of Savoy the borders of Valsesia. In a letter addressed to one of his friends, Lancino Curzio, Morone described the *sacro monte* as he saw it in the year 1507. He noted that pilgrims, facing great perils and efforts, probably due to the nature of the landscape, came in great numbers to Varallo to visit “the chapel which the Franciscans built there in the likeness of the one found on the Mount of Calvary, where our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ had suffered” (*sacellum a Minoribus aedificari ad instar eius quod in*

²⁷ Anna Benvenuti, “Gli osservanti e le mimesi di Gerusalemme. Divagazioni tra San Vivaldo e il Levante”, in *Come a Gerusalemme*, 282-284.

²⁸ The document was edited in Galloni, *Sacro Monte di Varallo*, 5-15.

²⁹ “Quod dictum monasterium, neque dictus locus Sanctissimi Sepulchri, neque alia loca cum pertinentis capi non possint, teneri nec possideri, nec etiam impetrari per bullas seu rescriptum ab aliqua alia persona ecclesiastica, vel seculari, nisi solum per fratres dicti Ordinis Observantiae, et casu quo aliter fieret, ex nunc dicti comune et homines Varalli reservaverunt in se proprietatem et possessionem dictorum locorum aedificiorum etc. et similiter dictus Dominus Milanus id quod expendedit in dicto Heremitorio, et aliae sepctabiles personae quod expendiderunt in ipsis locis et aedificiis etc.” *Ibid.*, 8-9.

³⁰ <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/girolamo-morone/> [last accessed : July 2016]

Calvariae monte, ubi dominus et servitor noster Iesus Christus passus est)”³¹. This was the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre dedicated in 1491. He was given a tour by one of the friars. The description of what he saw is worth giving in full, as it points out that the mimetic intentions of the founder had, by this time, shaped into a monumental reality and ritual practice:

Thus, a priest, a devout and knowledgeable man, showed me above the foot of the mountain the first [place] of the order [of pilgrimage], the place where, truly, the body of Jesus was buried, which I reached by climbing a range of slopes. An easy descent leads to a one-room chapel, in which images show the mysteries of the Lord’s Passion in the succeeding order mentioned by the gospel and in the way Christ himself was dragged before many [people] and was made to suffer various derisions and tortures. He [the guide] was saying that all these were done in the same measurements as those of the places of the true sepulchre and with the same arrangement of paintings and sculptures³².

The most salient feature of the *sacro monte* that Morone wanted to convey to his friend was the exact resemblance between the newly-erected sepulchre on Varallo and the “true sepulchre” in Jerusalem. To this end, he noted how the measurements of the new foundation corresponded exactly to those of the original and even the furnishings, statues and paintings were the same as in Jerusalem. However, even more interesting are the hints about the incipient form of pilgrimage. The first guidebook for the procession through the *sacro monte*, entitled *These are the mysteries found on the Mountain of Varallo (Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varalle)*, was published in 1514, in the format of devotional poetry³³. It registered the existence of an *ordo processionis*, similar to the *ordo processionis* followed by the Franciscan friars in Jerusalem. The various sites to be seen on Varallo, in the prescribed succession of the *ordo*, were called “mysteries” the usual name

³¹ Domenico Pronis and Giuseppe Miller, eds., *Lettere ed orazioni latine di Girolamo Morone* (Torino: Stampa Reale, 1863), 148-149.

³² “Igitur supra radicem montis obviam factus est mihi sacerdos, illius ordinis primas, vir tum religiosus, tum eius situs callentissimus, ubi vere corpus Iesu sepultum fuit qui me per clivos contiguous modo ascensu, modo discensu facili deducens in singula sacella introduxit in quibus imagines representantur, sicuti passionis Domini mysteria ordine successive in evangelio enarrantur et sicuti Christum ipsum pluribus locis coram pluribus distractum diversaque ludibria tormenta que passum traditur, eaque omnia ad instar locorum veri sepulcri pari distantia, pari structura eisdemque picturis et figuris facta affirmabat”. *Ibid.*, 149.

³³ I use here the following edition: Stefania Stefani Perrone, ed., *Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varalle (in una “Guida” poetica del 1514)* (Varallo: Società per la conservazione delle opere d’arte e dei monumenti in Valsesia, 1987). The probable author of this poetic guidebook was the Observant friar Francesco da Marignano, who succeeded Caimi as prior of the community at Varallo. Alessandro Nova, “Popular Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo”, in *Reframing the Renaissance. Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 115.

given to sites in the Holy Land, where biblical events were commemorated³⁴. In Morone's letter there are hints that the *ordo* recorded by the *Questi sono li Misteri* for the year 1514 may have been in place already in 1507. He mentioned that the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre was *illius ordinis primas*, it had the first stops or stations of the *ordo processionis*. His text suggests that some of the other stations commemorating moments from the Passion, such as Jesus' trials before Pilate, Annas and Caiaphas, were also placed in the chapel, the specific spots being indicated by corresponding iconographic representations, such as paintings and statues. This seems to reflect a temporary arrangement: work was ongoing on the chapels which, on various places on the mountain, were meant to replicate places in Jerusalem, such as the Praetorium, the site of Jesus' Roman trial or the House of Annas, the site of Jesus' Jewish trial.

The mimetic logic shaping the sacred landscape of Varallo also articulated the ritual life on the *sacro monte*. The guided pilgrimage organized by the Observant friars of Varallo was meant as a translation of the ritual prototype carried out in Jerusalem. The present section traces the ritual mimesis on Varallo in the first years of its existence, corresponding largely to the guardianship of Caimi and the first years of his successor, Francesco da Marignano. I base my analysis of the beginnings of the *ordo processionis* at Varallo on two types of sources: Bernardino Caimi's sermons and the *Questi sono li Misteri*, the first guidebook of the *sacro monte* at Varallo. The exploration of the former highlights the founder's understanding of the space of Jerusalem as a landscape of ritual compassion, which articulated his vision for the geography and ritual devotions of the New Jerusalem at Varallo. The latter, the booklet *Questi sono li Misteri*, gives an idea of how Caimi's transfer of Jerusalem charisma was applied in Varallo. My focus is limited to the ritual translation and not on the monumental complex³⁵.

³⁴ Guido Gentile, "'Luoghi' e 'misteri': Modi della rappresentazione a Varallo e in altri Sacri Monti", in *Come a Gerusalemme*, 435.

³⁵ The bibliography dedicated to the architectural complex at Varallo is overwhelmingly vast. The following works are a good introduction to the *sacro monte* of Varallo but also to the phenomenon of *sacri monti* in general: Amilcare Barbero, ed., *Atlante dei Sacri Monti, Calvari e Complessi devozionali europei* (Novara: De Agostini, 2001); Dorino Tuniz, ed., *I sacri monti nella cultura religiosa e artistica del Nord Italia* (Milan: Edizioni San Paolo, 2005); Pier Giorgio Longo, "'Domine ivimus': progetti e sviluppi del sacro monte di Varallo dal 1491 al 1566", in *Come a Gerusalemme*, 401-431; Guido Gentile, "'Luoghi' e 'misteri'", 433-459. Marianne Ritsema van Eck has also worked extensively on the sacred geography of Varallo. In her dissertation, *Custodians of Sacred Space: Franciscan Perspectives on the Sacred Geography of the Holy Land, texts and sacri monti (1480-1650)*, she has analyzed the *sacri monti* at La Verna and Varallo as spatial commemorations of Jerusalem.

Caimi's direct experience of the Holy Land was perceived as enhancing the authenticity of the mimetic experience he attempted to replicate at Varallo. A letter addressed by the citizens of Varallo in 1495 to the duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, underscored the urgency of their appeal by mentioning the forthcoming general chapter of the Franciscan order soon to be held at L'Aquila. Fearing that Caimi, who acted as the vicar of the order for the province of Milan when the works started on Varallo, might be moved to another province, they asked the duke to intervene with the minister general of the Franciscan order, so that Caimi could continue the work in Varallo³⁶. The reason for their insistence was laid out clearly: Caimi had erected the "sacred mysteries of the Passion of our Savior in the way and the shape of those found in Jerusalem" (*in quel modo et forma sono in Jherusalem*). Moreover, should Caimi be transferred outside the province of Milan, the works on Varallo "would remain unfinished, because there is no other clergyman [friar] but him [Caimi], who has the experience of those mysteries in Jerusalem" (*per non esserli religioso che habii la experientia de quelli misterii de Jhierusalem si no lui rimanerebena imperfecti*)³⁷. As the citizens of Varallo considered Caimi's experience in the Holy Land of the essence for the success of the translation, so did he. Time and again in his sermons, he returned to his time in the Holy Land, to make the connection between word and space, and how they should mix in creating the background for the experience of compassion.

Bernardino Caimi's fame as the founder of the *sacro monte* of Varallo overshadows his qualities as a preacher. The vast scholarship dedicated to preaching in late medieval Italy usually does not include Caimi among its luminaries. At best, he is presented as an "imitator" of Bernardino da Siena³⁸, which does not necessarily highlight the originality of his preaching, since, by the end of the fifteenth century, more or less all Observant Franciscan preaching in Italy strived to imitate the style and oratorical achievements of Bernardino da Siena³⁹.

At any rate, references to Jerusalemite compassionate devotions are frequent in his sermons. The same type of commemorative devotions of the Passion is attested in the rituals

³⁶ Caimi was vicar of the Observant Province of Milan from 1483 and first took an interest in the site at Varallo in 1481. Galloni, *Sacro Monte di Varallo*, 37-39.

³⁷ The letter is edited in Galloni, *Sacro Monte di Varallo*, 63-63.

³⁸ Although he dully remarked the originality of Caimi's preaching when it came to his Holy Land experience, for Celestino Piano still the most remarkable quality of Caimi was to have been an "epigono" of Bernardino da Siena. Piana, "Il beato Bernardino Caimi da Milano".

³⁹ Carlo Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200-1500)", Benjamin Westervelt, tr., in *The Sermon (Typologies des sources du Moyen Âge Occidental)*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 480.

of the incipient pilgrimage to Varallo. Caimi's references concerning Varallo nominally are persevered in the rather bureaucratic lingo of letters and notarial acts that reflect the challenges brought by the new foundation. No grand theorizing about mimesis to be found there. By contrast, Caimi's sermons elaborate his theology of compassion and imperative importance of mimesis in achieving true compassion for the suffering Christ. There is no edition of Caimi's sermons and the only manuscript testimony is to be found in MS I.3.17 of the Biblioteca Comunale di Como.

In the *sermones de articulis fidei*, Caimi noted that he was writing in the year 1488. The *sermones de tempore* were dated to the first part of the decade. The manuscript presents multiple handwritings, from which Celestino Piana, a friar who has worked on the manuscript, does not deduce the existence of multiple amanuenses or reject it as being Caimi's autograph⁴⁰. Upon direct examination of the manuscript, I am inclined to support the hypothesis of Caimi's autograph. The last page of the manuscript, beneath the stamp of the convent of the Annunziata in Varese, to which the manuscript belonged probably until the time of Napoleonic rule in Northern Italy, Caimi's autograph is visible: *Frater Bernardinus de Mediolano de Caymis*⁴¹. The handwriting of the autograph is identical with the handwriting presented in large parts of the manuscript. Thus, it is very likely that the manuscript is largely Bernardino Caimi's manuscript, with the sporadic intervention of amanuenses.

Several examples from Caimi's *sermones de articulis fidei* illustrate the mimetic logic underlying his devotion to the Passion. They were conceived as meditations on the Passion of Christ, structured around Caimi's direct experience in the Holy Land. Every meditation is introduced by the assertive *vidi*, with Caimi stressing the authenticity of his account stemming from what he has seen in Jerusalem. Given their Passion-oriented character, I think the *sermones de articulis fidei* were probably delivered as a Lenten cycle, which in writing took the form of a treatise on the Passion. The format of Quadragesimal sermons on the Creed recorded as a theological treatise was inaugurated in the thirteenth century by St Thomas Aquinas⁴². It appears that Caimi's *sermones de articulis fidei* constitute a treatise of

⁴⁰ Descriptions of the manuscript vary. Celestino Piana identified two parts: a *Sermonarium de tempore*, containing 109 sermons for all the Sundays and main holidays of the liturgical year, including the Lenten cycle; a second part, containing 79 sermons *de articulis fidei*, a lengthy meditation on the twelfth articles of the Creed. Piana, "Il beato Bernardino Caimi da Milano", 308-309.

⁴¹ I base this supposition on similar cases, in which after the dissolution of some religious houses by Napoleon, their libraries were dispersed, their contents to be found today in public libraries. Tommasi, "Fondi documentari *ultramarini* in Italia", 435-436. MS I.3.17 BCC, 481v.

⁴² Jussi Hanska, "'Sermones quadragesimales'. Birth and Development of a Genre", *Il Santo* 52 (2012): 11, 13-14.

a similar variety⁴³. The close connection between his preaching and the project of the *sacro monte* is self-evident⁴⁴.

Caimi's sermons display the usual array of gestures and oratorical paraphernalia that formed the standard arsenal of a fifteenth-century Observant preacher⁴⁵. The hortatory value of demonstrative locutions, presumably accompanied by indicative gestures, was widely employed by Caimi. Their persuasive power was reinforced by the constant references to what the preacher had experienced in Palestine.

Several paragraphs from Caimi's *sermones de articulis fidei* related the friar's experience in the Holy Land to his understanding of those articles of the *Creed* referring to the Passion. It was standard for preachers to use personal experience or their own person as a prop for predication⁴⁶. Caimi referred to his visit and service at the places associated with the Passion in order to exhort the congregation to contemplative compassion. The guarantee of personal experience complemented the more obvious way employed by late medieval preachers to elicit compassion, such as lengthy quotations from the *Meditationes vitae Christi*⁴⁷. At times, he broke the flow of the sermon to check if he has managed to move the audience to compassion. Thus, at the end of the sixth meditation, centered on the arrest of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, Caimi asked the congregation: "Did I manage to stir your heart to piety and compassion, seeing your master suffering such and so much of these" (*Emoli ergo cor tuus ad pietatem et compassionem, videndo magistrum tuum talia tantaque pati*)⁴⁸? As in Jerusalem, where pilgrims were elicited to compassion by walking in the

⁴³ P. G. Longo who also examined Caimi's sermon on the Passion described it as a comment on the fourth article of the *Credo*: "passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus est". He categorized it as a *sermo modernus* on a *thema* taken from the Book of Jeremiah: "O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attenedite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus". Pier Giorgio Longo, "Alle origine del Sacro Monte di Varallo. La proposita religiosa di Bernardino Caimi", *Novarien* 14 (1984): 56.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴⁵ The persuasive arsenal of a fifteenth-century Observant preacher included gestures, dramatized dialogue and monologue, preaching props such as the *tavoletta* of Bernardino da Siena, the skull employed by Capsterano, *monti di peità*, bonfires of vanities, performing miracles, introducing relics at various points in the sermon and including Passion plays in sermons that could last for hours. On this and for further details on fifteenth-century Observant preaching, see: Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record", in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed., Caroline Muessig (Leiden, Boston&Köln: Brill, 2002), 89-124.

⁴⁶ Maria Giusepina Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini. Predicatori e piazza alla fine del Medioevo* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2005), 118-141, 178-186.

⁴⁷ Logo, "Alle origini del Sacro Monte", 60.

⁴⁸ The fragment is worth transcribing in its entirety as it encapsulates many of the essential features of Caimi's preaching style: the account of Jesus capture is highly dramatized by direct addresses to the suffering Jesus, the urging of the audience to compassion, the quotation of authority, in this case Bonaventura, and his hinting at how the Passion might have looked like in the landscape of Jerusalem (*Puto quod...*): "Prout erit videre modo quomodo videlicet Dominum prendiderunt. O popule devote, considera non sine lacrimarum fonte quam crudeliter Dominus tuus est captus, creator tuus, conservator, redemptor, remunerator, dulcisque magister! Alii fibria vestis, alii brachiis, alii barba, alii capillis, quidam ex transverso, quidam per aura prendentes atteraverunt

footsteps of Jesus carrying the cross, so too at Varallo pilgrims followed the same sympathetic pattern of commemoration.

In order to follow the transfer of Jerusalem charisma to Varallo by Caimi and the logic of its underlining mimetic devotion, I sketch a parallel between fragments taken from his sermons, where he emphasized his connection to the Holy Land, and fragments taken from the first pilgrimage guidebook to Varallo, the *Questi soni li Misteri*, which registered how what Caimi saw (the recurrent *vidi* of the sermons) was translated and taken shape at Varallo.

Caimi sought to move his audience to compassionate commemoration by leading them to the landscape of the Passion in Jerusalem, possibly also of Varallo, created as a copy of Jerusalem. In Caimi's words, the itinerant commemoration of the Passion formed a "most excellent order" (*pulcher ordo*), which resembled the *ordo peregrinationis* followed by Franciscans in Jerusalem. Caimi emphasized that he had followed this path many a time, leading pilgrims, during his stay in Jerusalem:

The things which I saw with my own eyes and I touched with [my] hands speak about the Passion of our sweet Redeemer. Pray listen you all and hear with the ears of your heart and follow the places of our Savior's Passion according to the most excellent order, which I, the sinner brother Bernardinus of Milan of Caimi, I often saw with my eyes of flesh. In accordance with which [the most excellent order] we will tell the story of the Passion⁴⁹.

eum. Tunc ceperunt unam manum et impetio traxerunt et alterius similiter post spatulas ligaverunt, qui striciter funis, carnem sanctissimam introirit. Ubi fato quod Dominus tripliciter ligatus fuit. Primo ad collum ut ipsum conderunt funies dignum suspendo. Et in figura huius quando sacerdos vult dicere missam, stollam collo suo imponit. Ergo post tergum ligaverunt manus, ut ostenderent ipsum homicidam manuum dignissimum, quod per signo hunc sacerdotes brachio manipulum adaptantes. Ergo per medium ut proditorem conderent cum dividendo per medium, et in figura huius sacerdos cinctum se precingit. 'O vos ergo omnes qui transitis per via, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus' [Lamentations 1:12]. Ad hoc propositum devotus Bonaventura ait: 'O pie Ihesu, o benigne Ihesu, o misericors, o curialis, o large, ubi sunt misericordie tue? Nullus est qui tibi misereat. Ubi sunt infirmi quos curasti? Nullus te associat. Ubi sunt homines et mulieres quos de quinque panibus satiasti? Nullus est qui te recognoscat. Ubi sunt beneficia que apostolis contulisti? Certe iam omnes te dereliquerunt'. Hec ille hoc dicit. Quia apostoli eo relicto fugerunt per unum miliare a loco captionis et se absconderunt in quibusdam sepulchrum Iudoerum, prope campum sanctum, non tamen ubi ponunt mortui se in domo ante sepultura excisa, que est quasi cella. Puto non quam postquam viderunt turbam, Christo ligante ab illo aliquantulum elongati eum civitati et suspiris querebantur. O magister dulcissime, omni melle suavior, quomodo videns in te sevirie malitiam nictatorum. Heu et nos miseri quod faciemus tam gratiosum precem admittentes relinquimus omnia ut sequeremur te et nunc contrificati sumus quam tua privabimus quem occident te pharisei. Hiis et filibus querentibus discipuli misti in manibus crudelium dilectum magistrum relinquerunt, prout Zacharias propheta 13 predixerat: 'Percutiam pastorem et dispergentur oves gregis' [Matt. 26, 31]. Emoli ergo cor tuus ad pietatem et compassionem, videndo magistrum tuum talia tantaque pati? Et sic per sexta meditatio et instructionem de captivitate Salvatoris in orto". MS 1.3.17 BCC, 100v-101r.

⁴⁹ "Et ea quod oculis propriis vidi ac manibus contrectavi de Passione melliflui Redemptoris nostri narrant. Audite igitur, precor, omnes et auribus cordis attendite percipiteque Passionis Salvatoris nostri loca secundum pulcherimum oridnem, quem oculi corporeis ego peccator frater Bernardinus de Mediolano de Caymis sepius vidi. Secundum que ipsam narrabimus Passionem". MS 1.3.17 BCC, 87r.

The motif of the *pulcher ordo* structures Caimi's sermon and his guided compassionate commemoration (*secundum que ipsam narrabimus Passionem*). It largely corresponded to the hagiopolite model, with the following stations: the House where "scribes and Pharisees" gathered to discuss about Jesus (absent in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the House where Magdalene anointed Jesus (the House of Simon the Pharisee in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the Temple where Christ entered on Palm Sunday (the same in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the House where Jesus met his mother to talk about the Passion (this is very likely a reference to the *Swoon of Mary* station in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the House where Jesus retired to take food (absent from the Jerusalem *Via Crucis*, this is probably a reference to the Last Supper in the Cenacle on Mount Sion); the Garden of Gethsemane, where Jesus was arrested (same as in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the House of Annas, where Jesus was mocked (same as in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the House of Caiaphas, where Jesus was slapped (same as in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the House of Pilate, the first part of Jesus's Roman trial (same as in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the House of Herod, Jesus's Jewish trial (same as in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the House of Pilate, for the second part of Jesus's Roman trial (same as in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the Mount of Calvary, where Jesus was crucified (same as in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the Sepulchre, where Jesus was buried (same as in the Jerusalem *ordo*)⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ "Primo vidi domum ad quam convenerunt scribe et pharisei, ut ibi a Christi morte tractaretur.

2° vidi domum ad quam ivit Christus, ut ibi a Magdalena ungeretur.

3° vidi templum ad quod ivit Christus, ut illic a turbis honorifice susciperetur.

4° vidi domum ad quam ivit Christus, ut ibi cum matre sua benedicta de Passione sua colloqueretur.

5° vidi domum ad quam ivit Christus, ut in ea reficeretur.

6° vidi ortum ad quem ivit Christus, ut in eo caperetur.

7° vidi domum Anne, ad quam ductus fuit Christus, ut ibi derideretur.

8° vidi domum Cayphe, ad quam ductus fuit Christus ut ibi allaparetur.

9° vidi domum Pilati, ad quam ductus fuit Christus, ut ibi a Iudeis accusaretur.

10° vidi domum Herodis ad quam ductus fuit Christus ut ibi condempnaretur.

11° vidi palatium Pilati, ad quod ductus fuit Christus, ut ibi condempnaretur.

12° vidi montem Calvarie, ad quem ductus fuit Christus, ut ibi crucifigeretur.

13° vidi Sepulcrum ad quod appositus fuit Christus, ut ibi tumularetur. Et hec omnia complecta sunt'. MS 1.3.17 BCC, 87r.

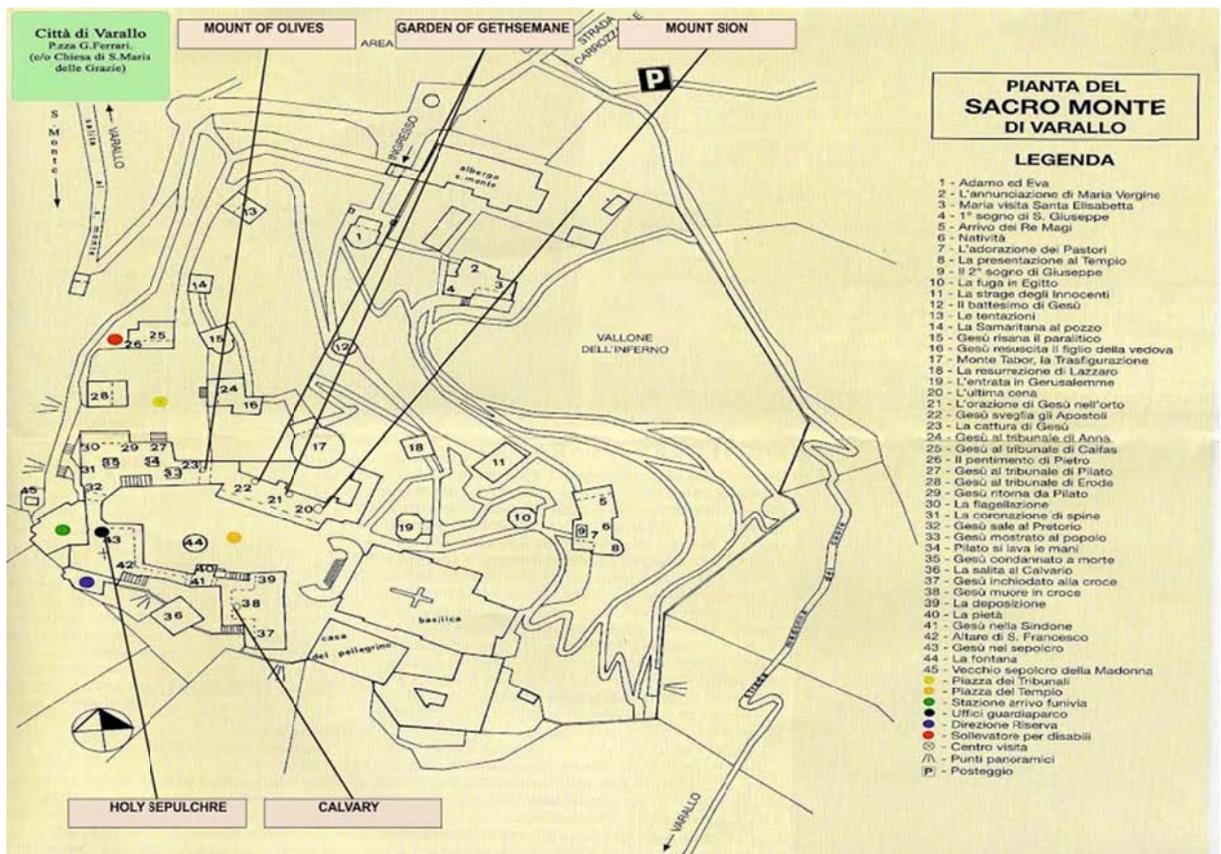


Figure 4 The earliest stations of the *ordo peregrinationis* at Varallo

Source: <http://www.parks.it/riserva.sacro.monte.varallo/map11.html> [last accessed: August 2016] My alterations

The first pilgrimage guidebook for the *sacro monte* offers a glimpse of how this structure, translated from Jerusalem, was put into practice at Varallo. The *Questi sono li Misteri* is divided in 35 chapters, constituted by short poems, corresponding more or less to the 35 *stationes* comprising the Jerusalemite *ordo peregrinationis*. Out of these, 18 related to moments associated with the Passion, which corresponded largely to the stations of the *pulcher ordo* mentioned by Caimi, and to the itinerant devotion that, by the fifteenth century, was already called the *Via Crucis*. The “chapters of the Passion founded on the Mountain of Varallo” (*li capitoli de passione fundati sopra el monte de Varale*) corresponded to the following stations: two stops on Mount Sion, at the Cenacle, to remember the Last Supper and the washing of the feet (similar stations existed in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the Garden of Gethsemane, with three stops associated with three different gospel episodes: Jesus retires to meditate, Jesus prays to the Father, Jesus returns to the disciples and finds them sleeping (the Garden of Gethsemane, usually with only one stop, featured in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the Mount of Olives with two stops, remembering Jesus’s arrest and his way to the House of

Annas (the station of the arrest existed in the fourteenth-century version of the Jerusalem *ordo*); the Swoon of Mary (same in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the Mount of Calvary with three commemorative stops: Jesus is stripped of his garments, meditation on the Crucifixion, the Virgin and the Women lament by the cross (Mount of Calvary featured with a varying number of stops in the Jerusalem *ordo*); the Sepulchre with stops at the place where Jesus's body was anointed and in the cave of the tomb, where pilgrims could touch the statue of the reclining Jesus (with similar stops in the Jerusalem *ordo*)⁵¹.

The parallel between the Jerusalem model, the structure recorded by its translator to the West, Bernardino Caimi, and its implementation on the *sacro monte* at Varallo (as recorded by the *Questi sono li Misteri*) supports two main conclusions. First, the features of the three models are congruent with what we know about the pattern of the *Via Crucis* for this period. In the fifteenth century the ritual of the *Via Crucis* did not have the standard form that was established once it was adopted in the universal Church in the eighteenth century⁵². At this point it was very much a tradition in the making, fluid and subjected to various influences, with two main factors shaping it: the itinerary of the guided pilgrimage led by friars in Jerusalem and the Western European practices of compassionate devotion to the Passion. The second conclusion regards the alterations brought to the Jerusalem practice in the process of translation. It appears that the adoption in the West of the Jerusalem model was complemented by a tendency towards flamboyance. For instance, the Jerusalem *ordo* would usually mention just one station for the Garden of Gethsemane/ the Mount of Olives, that is the Arrest of Jesus. This restraint was very likely justified by the *dhimmī* status of the friars and pilgrims who carried out the ritual⁵³. However, when the model was grafted onto the Western devotional landscape, free from the restrictive conditions of Jerusalem, episodes commemorated in Jerusalem with a station could be remembered with two or more stations. Thus, for the one station in the Garden of Gethsemane/ the Mount of Olives in the Jerusalem pattern, there were four stations in the model adopted at Varallo. Moreover, the elaboration was a means of inducing compassion. The same propensity for flamboyance can be observed

⁵¹ *Questi sono li Misteri*, 23-31.

⁵² In the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries the exercise of the "Stations of the Cross", in the 12 stations format, was introduced to Franciscan churches in Europe. The faithful who visited Franciscan churches and carried out the exercise gained the same indulgences as those attached to the *Via Crucis* in Jerusalem. In the eighteenth century, Benedict XIII extended the privilege to all churches. Storme, *The Way of the Cross*, 148-149; *Magnum bullarium Romanum seu eiusdem continuatio*, vol. 13, *Completens Constitutiones ab Innocentio XIII. et Benedicto XIII editas*, Luxemburg, 1740, 215.

⁵³ See the discussion on the restrictions implied by the *dhimmī* status in Chapter 1, *Ritual Encounters*.

in other Western cases, and I will discuss one of them, the Calvary of Romans, in the next section.

Time and again, Caimi returned in his Passion sermons to the relation between the places where he has served in Jerusalem and how they shaped his spirituality. Thus, when he discussed the slapping of Jesus in the house of Caiaphas, he added to the various authorities who have pronounced on the topic, in this case the Franciscan doctor Nicolas of Lyra, the reinforcement of personal detail: “And I preached about this frequently, that is while I was seeing these places, reflecting carefully on the gospel and on all the aforementioned” (*Et hoc plus idem pluries predicavi, scilicet cum vidi loca ista, et evangelia et omnia predicta bene consideravi*)⁵⁴.

Another example indicative of the process of translation between Jerusalem and Varallo and of Caimi’s agency concerns the sepulchre of Christ. The meditation on the sepulchre was the last in the cycle dedicated to the Passion (*ultima meditatio quantum ad narrationem Domini*)⁵⁵. In the accustomed manner, Caimi included his own impressions about what he saw in Jerusalem:

This glorious sepulchre has to be worshiped by the entire world. It had [*i.e.* at the time of Jesus’s burial] and it has two rooms, one before the other. And from one, one passes in the other and inside there is a grave-slab (*mastabeus*)⁵⁶, on which they laid the Lord to rest. The bench has the same measures as the room. There are seventeen lamps lit above the bench on which the Lord rested. And every nation that stays in the tomb, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, always maintains a lit lamp. But us, the friars, we have tree lamps placed among the lamps of the others. Plus, we take care of this Holy Sepulchre, that is we keep it free from any pollution and well washed, when it is soiled by wax and by all the Christians who come to make their devotions in there. Plus, we say masses there, not for all Christians, but as our license⁵⁷ allows us to celebrate in it⁵⁸.

⁵⁴ MS 1.3.17, 102v.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 117v.

⁵⁶ I translate with “bench” Caimi’s “mastabeus”. This was a very unusual choice of words. He used the Arabic word “mastaba” meaning “bench” which was in itself unusual. He probably picked up the word in Jerusalem, where he very likely heard the local Christians calling the slab in the Edicule by this word. The other better known meaning of “mastaba” is its designation of a type of tomb encountered in Ancient Egypt, usually consisting of a burial chamber surmounted by a rectangular superstructure. Ian Shaw, *mastaba-tomb*, in *A Dictionary of Archaeology*, eds. Ian Shaw and Robert Jamerson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 385.

⁵⁷ They were licensed by the papacy to say mass only for the Latin Christians. See the *Introduction*.

⁵⁸ “Sepulcrum hoc gloriosum est a toto orbe venerandum. Erat et est sicut due celle, unam ante aliam. Et sic de una transitur ad aliam, et in interiori est unus mastabeus, super quod posuerunt Dominum, et mensurati apparet ita fuisse longam illam interiorem cellam et illum mastabeum sicut ipsa cella, et per latitudinem. Ibi sunt decem et septem lampades attense super mastabeum ubi stetit Dominus. Et quelibet natie qui manet in sepulcro in ecclesia sancti sepulcri tenet aliquam lampadem accessam. Nos autem fratres habemus tres lampades in medio

In this case as well, the translation from Jerusalem to Varallo came with alterations and adjustments to the new surroundings. The *Questi sono li Misteri* recorded a similar structure for the sepulchre as the one in Jerusalem: a cave with two rooms⁵⁹. However, on Varallo there is no mention of the “other Christians” serving in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and who featured in Caimi’s description. Obviously, in Varallo there was no need to clarify the position of the friars in relation to Eastern Christians, since there were no Eastern Christians in the Piedmont valley. Plus, at Varallo, the sepulchre housed a reclining statue of Jesus, to enhance the commemorative experience of pilgrims. This lacked in the Jerusalem empty tomb, which commemorated the Resurrection and not the Entombment of Christ. A new place such as Varallo, where a new tradition was started, needed props to try to replicate the original Jerusalemite experience. Hence, the need for a statue.

Bernardino Caimi’s sermons, the *Questi sono li Misteri* guidebook, and the monumental buildings erected at Varallo offer a vivid illustration of how the process of the *translatio Hierosolymae* can be traced from intention to tentative completion. The mimetic logic underlying Caimi’s Passion devotions was grafted into the landscape of Varallo where the compassionate commemoration of Christ’s suffering was elicited by the introduction of an itinerant ritual of remembrance, which resembled what the friars in the Holy Land by this time called the *Via Crucis*.

3. Ritual mimesis at Romans⁶⁰

The same mimetic impulse was behind the foundation of the Calvary at Romans, in the Dauphiné, southeastern France, in 1516. An inscription announcing its foundation reads: “Three wooden crosses were put up on this mountain, in imitation of those on which Christ and the thieves were crucified. [...] And he [the founder] gave it the same name, Calvary”⁶¹. The founder was Romanet Boffin, a local tradesman. In the original bequest of the oratory of

aliam, et insuper habemus curam ipsius sancti sepulcri, videlicet tenendi ipsum purgatum ab omni immunditia et bene lavatum si deturptur per ceram et aliam tamquam agentibus et omnibus christianis unusquisque venientibus ad adorandum in eo. Insuper dicamus ibi missas, nec aliis christianis, sicut nostri licentia prout in eo celebrare”. MS 1.3.17 BCC, 118v.

⁵⁹ *Questi sono li Misteri*, 35.

⁶⁰ I discussed the ritual mimesis at Romans more extensively in: Valentina Covaci, “Mimétique rituelle et *translatio Terrae Sanctae*. Le cas du Calvaire de Romans en Dauphiné”, *Études franciscaines* 9 (2016), 87-101.

⁶¹ Archivi Vaticani, *Registra supplicationum* 1538, document issued on 30 september 1516, ff. 150v-1515r quoted in Ludovic Viallet, *Bourgeois, prêtre et Cordeliers à Romans (vers 1280-vers 1530). Une société en équilibre* (Saint-Étienne: CERCOR, 2001), 443.

the Calvary to the town of Romans in 1519, Boffin stressed its similitude with the Jerusalem original. He emphasized that on the land he and other donors had bought outside the walls for this purpose, “he erected a Mount Calvary and other oratories representing the mysteries of the Passion, in the likeness of those in Jerusalem” (*il a faict édifier un Mont Calvaire et autres oratoires representant les mysteres de la Passion en la manière des saints lieux de Jhérusalem*)⁶².

In this section I analyze the commemorative itinerant rituals carried out at Romans in the first years after the inauguration of the local Calvary as a place of pilgrimage. The *ordo peregrinationis* followed at Romans appears to have been conceived as a copy of the Jerusalem *ordo*. Here, as at Varallo, the adoption of this commemorative ritual was influenced by the Franciscan model in Jerusalem.

The circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Romans Calvary are fraught with conflict⁶³. We know something about the first monuments erected here because descriptions were produced to support the arguments made by the opposing parties. On one hand there were Romanet Boffin and the Observant Franciscan friars he brought in to serve the new foundation, and on the other hand was the local chapter of the church of St Barnard, who contested the presence of the friars. In a petition addressed to Leo X, denouncing the infringement of its privileges by the friars, the chapter registered the chronology of the erection of the Calvary. Thus, in 1516, seven pillars were erected between the church of St Barnard and a place called the *Rampeaux*⁶⁴, which was where the Palm Sunday procession usually performed by the chapter started. Two chapels, of the Holy Sepulchre and of Our Lady of Tears completed the newly erected architectural complex. This was done with the consent of the chapter, on whose land the pillars were erected⁶⁵.

⁶² *Registres consulaires de la ville de Romans*, quoted in Ulysse Chevalier, *Notice historique sur le Mont-Calvaire de Romans* (Montbéliard: Imprimerie P. Hoffmann, 1883), 7.

⁶³ Luca Wadding gave a brief account of the conflict in the *Annales Minorum*: on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Romanet Boffin erected at Romans, in the diocese of Vienne, oratories and chapels representing the Sepulchre of Christ and other moments from the Passion, and a convent for the Observant Franciscan friars who were brought in to serve it. Boffin antagonized the bishop of Vienne and the local chapter of St Barnard by bringing in the friars. The cause was brought before the pope, who delegated judgement to the bishop of Grenoble, who allowed the friars to remain. Luca Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, vol. 16 (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1933), 106-107. The history of the Romans Calvary continued to be marred by conflicts in the modern era. Destroyed by Calvinists in the sixteenth century, rebuilt, destroyed again during the French Revolution, today only the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre rests from the sixteenth century complex. Pnina Arad, “Is Calvary Worth Restoring? The Way of the Cross in Romans-sur-Isère, France”, in *Between Jerusalem and Europe*, 154-172.

⁶⁴ *Rampeaux* was the vernacular for *in ramis palmarum*. Chevalier, *Notice historique*, 2.yb

⁶⁵ Viallet, *Bourgeois, prêtres et cordeliers*, 442.

This arrangement, which reflected a common Western pattern, changed when Romanet Boffin invited the friars to serve the new foundation. Their settlement at Romans deeply antagonized the local chapter⁶⁶. From its foundation the Calvary at Romans and its emergent pilgrimage were connected to the movement of Franciscan Observance⁶⁷. The friars arrived first at Romans in 1516, and a small convent was built for them in 1518⁶⁸. The association between the foundation of monumental complexes dedicated to the commemoration of the Passion and the Franciscan Observance was not accidental. The *sacri monti* of northern Italy were founded by Observant Franciscans: San Vivaldo by Thomas of Florence and Varallo by Bernardino Caimi. Anna Benvenuti has explored the relation between the Observant Franciscan theology of the Passion, especially of Franciscan Christology, and the mimetic impulse that led to the erection of the late medieval Holy Land replica in the West⁶⁹. As in the case of Varallo, at Romans too, the *translatio Hierosolymae* was influenced by Observant spirituality, especially by its itinerant commemorative devotions to the Passion.

The rituals associated with the developing pilgrimage at Romans greatly resembled the itinerant commemorations carried out by the friars in Jerusalem. We are informed about the ritual life at Romans at the beginnings of its Calvary by the booklet specially written to guide the arriving pilgrims. *Le voyage et oraisons du Mont de Calvaire de Romans en Daulphiné* (*The Pilgrimage and Prayers of Mount Calvary at Romans in the Dauphiné*) is the first guidebook to the Calvary. It was published in the year of its foundation, 1516, and it was written by a well-known playwright, Pierre Gringore, and printed in Paris, in the shop of Gillet Couteau, with fourteen wood engravings depicting Passion scenes complementing the text⁷⁰. The guidebook was written in the form of devotional poetry, as was the guidebook for Varallo discussed earlier, the *Questi sono li Misteri*. In the prologue, Gringore sought to

⁶⁶ Mendicants being preferred to other monks and secular clergy by lay benefactors was quite a frequent occurrence that fueled the antifraternal grievances. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism*, 59-62

⁶⁷ Ludovic Viallet, "Autour du Calvaire de Romans. Remarques sur la progression de l'Observance au début du XVI^e siècle dans la province franciscaine de Bourgogne", *Revue de l'histoire de l'Église de France* 88 (2002): 84.

⁶⁸ Idem, *Bourgeois, prêtres et cordeliers*, 453-456.

⁶⁹ Anna Benvenuti, "Gli osservanti e le mimesi di Gerusalemme", 282-284.

⁷⁰ On Pierre Gringore: Charles Oulomont, *Pierre Gringore: la poésie morale, politique, dramatique à la veille de la Renaissance* (Paris: Champion, 1911); Florine Stankiewicz, *Pierre Gringore (vers 1475-vers 1538), homme de lettres, de théâtre et de cour. Être auteur au XVI^e siècle* (MA thesis, École des Chartes, 2009). Pierre Gringore, was a well-known author, actor and playwright. In the Dauphiné region he was known for staging the religious drama *Histoire des Trois Martyrs* (Felix, Fortunatus and Achilleus) in the city of Valence, in 1526. A description of this first edition is given in L. Fièrè, "Découverte d'un livret de pèlerinage. Voyage et oraisons du Mont Calvaire de Romans en Dauphine par Pierre Gringore (1516)", *Bulletin du bibliophile* (1913), 265-276. However, this copy has been lost. For this study, I use a copy from the reprint run in 1553 by Guillaume Merlin in Paris. The shelfmark of the copy is BNF D-80367(2).

reassure the pilgrim of the close resemblance of the monumental and ritual replicas of Romans to the Jerusalem prototypes. He guaranteed the authenticity of the charismatic transfer between Jerusalem and Romans by underlining the similarity between the geography of the two cities, the exact reproduction of the hagiopolite model (*du simulachre ou effigie du saint mont de Calvaire*), and the testimony of two Franciscan friars returning from Jerusalem, who guaranteed the exact resemblance of the *simulachre* to the original:

I consider and think that we would be too ungrateful if we would not acquire a memorial and reminder of the sorrows, anxieties and labors that he suffered for us. And given that the town of Romans, in the Dauphiné, in the diocese of Vienne, is by its location and layout very similar to the holy city of Jerusalem, where all the mysteries of Jesus Christ's Passion were fulfilled, which [the similarity] was certified by the reverend father friar Ange de Linx from Beauvais in Picardy and by friar Laurens Morelli from Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne in Savoie, of the order of St Francis, doctors of theology, who had lived for approximately seven years in Jerusalem on Mount Sion, where the convent of St Francis is. Who were sent from there to the king of France, in the service of holy Christendom. Hearing about the fame of the simulacrum or the effigy of the holy mountain of Calvary, already erected and built up outside and near the aforementioned town of Romans, the aforementioned friars Ange de Linx and Laurens Morelli visited this year, that is 1516, in the month of August, the aforementioned mountain and the town of Romans. And upon seeing and visiting the aforementioned town and the places nearby, they said and preached from the chair of truth that the aforementioned town of Romans resembles the holy city of Jerusalem more than any other place they have seen or about which they have heard. The same was said by other distinguished persons who have visited the town of Romans on their return from Jerusalem⁷¹.

The two friars employed by Gringore as authenticating agents do not figure in any other foundational document, and they might have been a rhetorical invention that the author used to bust the authenticity of the replica at Romans. It is moreover not the only foundational myth surrounding its origins. Another story meant to reassure pilgrims of the

⁷¹ “Ce considere et cogite, nous serions par trop ingratz, si nous ne avions aulcune memoire et souvenance desdictes peines, angoisses et trauvaux, que pour nous il a souffert. Et pource que la ville de Romans en Daulphine ou diocese de Vienne est tant pour la situation que qualite et forme fort semblable a la sainte cite de Hierusalem en laquelle tous les misters de la passion de Jesus Christ fuerent accomplis: comme il a este certifie par reverend pere frere Ange de Linx natif Beauvais en Picardie, et frere Laurens Morelli de saint Jehan de morienne en Savaye, de lordre saint Francoys, et docteurs en theologie lesquels sont fait demourance en hierusalem au mont de Syon ou est ledit convent de saint francoys, par lespace de sept ans ou environ. Lesquels ont este envoye par deca au tres chretien roy de France, pour certains affaire de la sainte chrestiente. Lesquels freres Ange de linx et Laurens morelli ont ouy la renommee du simulachre ou effigie du saint mont de Calvaire, desia erige et construit hors et au pres de ladicte ville de Romans, sont venus visiter de cest annee presente que lon compte mil cinq cens et seize et au moys de Aoust, lesdicts mont et ville de Romans. Et avoir veue et visitee ladicte ville, et les lieux a elle adiacens, on dit et presche en la chaire de verite, ladicte ville de Romans ester semblable a la sainte cite de hierusalem plus que nulle aultre ou ils ayent ester; ne que ils saichent. Mesmement plusieurs aultres notables personnes qui ont visite ladicte ville de Romans: lesquels par avant avoient visite hierusalem”. *Le voyage et oraisons*, s.p.

copy's conformity to the original had Romanet Boffin erecting the Calvary after a visit to Fribourg. Here, a Calvary was built at the beginning of the sixteenth century and modeled on the Calvary put up in Rhodes by the Knights Hospitaller when they fled the Holy Land⁷². However attractive, this history of *translatio Hierosolymae* appears to be a species of “‘mythologie’ locale”⁷³.

From the beginning, Gringore described the Calvary and the associated rituals as a means of achieving compassion for the suffering Christ. The booklet guided the pilgrim in a ritualized itinerary, which connected chapels and oratories commemorating specific moments from the Passion⁷⁴. The path followed the logic of the Jerusalem *ordo peregrinationis*. As in the Jerusalem model, witnessed by the many *ordines peregrinationes civitatis Ierusalem* included in the guidebooks for the Jerusalem pilgrimage, in Gringore's booklet each station (oratory, chapel) had particular devotions ascribed to it⁷⁵. However, instead of the standard chants and prayers of the Jerusalem *ordo peregrinationis*, *Le voyage et oraisons du Mont de Calvaire de Romans en Daulphiné* featured the devotional poems that Gringore wrote for each station.

As in Jerusalem, the starting point of the procession was on Mount Sion, at the chapel of the Last Supper (*le mont Sionem la chapelle ou oratoire de la cene*)⁷⁶. Following the gospel chronology, the next stop mentioned by the booklet was in the Garden of Gethsemane, where Jesus left the apostles behind to pray (*Au partir de la cene, on se transportera contre bas au val de Josaphat, passant par le torrent Cedron, pour aller en Ghetsemani, ou Jesuchrist laisse huyt de ses Apostres, et dira loraison qui sensuyt*)⁷⁷. The next station commemorated Jesus's solitary agony in the Garden of Olives (*Procedant plus avant, on entrera au iardin Dolivet, quasi au milieu ou Dieu laisse Jehan, Jacques et Pierre disant ceste oraison*)⁷⁸. The poem that Gringore composed for this station encouraged pilgrims to

⁷² P. Enfantin, *Pèlerinage au Mont-Calvaire de Romans, diocèse de Valence (Drôme), ou essai sur l'historique et la partie religieuse de ce Calvaire renfermant trois époques* (Lyon: Charvin et Nigon, 1841), 163-164.

⁷³ Viallet, *Bourgeois, prêtres et cordeliers*, 441.

⁷⁴ “Nous donc ques vrais chrestiens qui sommes soubz la loi evangelique et a qui dieu a monster sa grant bonte benigne et grace sommes tenus par plus forte raison visiter et honorer les lieux de devotion ausquels icelluy vray dieuest adore et venere en cogitant et contemplant par fervente devotion les douleprs [douleurs] angoisses et tourmens que nostre seigneur dieu Jesuchrist a endure et souffert pour nous. Donc tout bon chrestien et chrestienne qui aura desir de sauluer son ame et de bonne volonte et devotion voudra sisiter et avoir congnoissance des dictes peines: travailx et tourments que nostre seigneur Jesuchrist a endure pour nous: il faudra suyvre les liuex oratoires: et chapelles cy après declairees”. *Le voyage et oraisons*, s.p.

⁷⁵ For the Jerusalem model, see the discussion in the *Via Crucis* chapter.

⁷⁶ *Le voyage et oraisons*, s.p.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, s.p.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, s.p.

share in the friendship of Christ, as the apostles John, James and Peter. The following two stations were also in the Garden of Olives, where oratories remembered Jesus's prayer to the Father (*Allant plus aultre, lon se trouvera au lieu ou nostre seigneur Jesuchrist pria dieu son pere, set sera dicte loraison qui sensuyt*) and his arrest (*Rememorant desdicts oratoires, on viendra au dernier oratoire, qui sera la porte au Jardin ou dieu fut prins, lye, et batu par les iuifs*)⁷⁹. The poem-prayer asked the pilgrim to empathize with Christ, by showing the same meekness as he did in the face of adversity. At the next station, the pilgrim was reminded about Jesus's buffeting in the House of Annas (*Après on reviendra a ce mesme chemain du Jardin dolivet, pour aller au mont de Sion, a loratoire representant la maison de Anne, ou Jesus receut le souffelt, et dira len ceste oraison*)⁸⁰. Following the *ordo peregrinationis*, the following station was dedicated to the memory of the second part of Jesus's Jewish trial, that is his appearance before Caiaphas, who accused him of blasphemy (*Au partir de ce lieu, on prendra le chemin a main droicte, allant a loratoire representant la maison de Cayphe qui dist: Blasphemavit*)⁸¹. For this stop, Gringore wrote a poem similar to the paschal hymn *O felix culpa*, a reflection on Christ's suffering without guilt.

Next, the pilgrim walked to the station of the House of Pilate, which was at Romans in the church of St Barnard, recalling Christ's interrogation by Pilate (*En apres on viendra a loratoire dedans leglise ou repose le corps de Monseigneur saint Bernard representant la maison de pylate, ou Jesus fut interrogué*)⁸². The next stop commemorated the Jewish trial of Jesus at the House of Herod, placed in the Franciscan church of Romans (*Après on yra par aultres voyes iusques a loratoire representant la maison de Herode ou Jesus fust vestu dune robe blanche, lequell oratoire est enclose du couvent saint francoys*)⁸³. This station evoked an episode from the Gospel of St Luke (23, 7-15) in which Jesus was mocked in the house of Herod, before being sent back to Pilate to receive his sentence. Thus, the poem-prayer ascribed by Gringore to this station praised Jesus's innocence, symbolized by the white gown Herod gave him in derision. Following the gospel narrative, the pilgrim next returned to the House of Pilate for the second part of Jesus's Roman trial (*Reversant par la mesme voye, on retournera audict oratoire representant la maison de Pylate ou nostre seigneur fut juge*)⁸⁴. The poem for this station was a meditation on the flagellation of Christ (Jn 11, 1-3). In the

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, s.p.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, s.p.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, s.p.

⁸² *Ibid.*, s.p.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, s.p.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, s.p.

next sequence of the *ordo peregrinationis*, the pilgrim had to stop at five oratories marking the path Jesus took from the House of Pilate to Calvary. Each of the five oratories corresponded to stations of the Jerusalem *Via Crucis*: Jesus takes the cross; Jesus meets his mother; Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem; Simon of Cyrene helps Jesus carry the cross and, a fifth oratory, where the pilgrim had to pray to the crucified Christ for the forgiveness of sins⁸⁵.



Figure 5 *Ordo peregrinationis* at Romans in 1516

Source: <https://www.google.com/earth/> [Last accessed November 2014]⁸⁶

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| I-Last Supper on Mount Sion | XII-Jesus meets his mother |
| II-Station in the Garden of Gethsemane | XIII- Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem |
| III-Station in the Garden of Gethsemane | XIV-Simon of Cyrene helps Jesus |
| IV-Station in the Garden of Gethsemane | XV-Calvary |
| V-Station in the Garden of Gethsemane | XVI-Calvary |
| VI-House of Annas | XVII-The Place of Tears |
| VII-House of Caiaphas | XVIII-Holy Sepulchre |
| VIII-House of Pilate | XIX-Holy Sepulchre |
| IX-House of Herod | XX-Ascension |
| X-House of Pilate | XXI-the <i>Credo</i> |
| XI-Jesus takes the cross | XXII- the <i>Pater Noster</i> |

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, s.p.

⁸⁶ The location of the stations is based on: <http://www.romanshistorique.fr/romans-sur-isere-le-grand-voyage> [last accessed: November 2014]

At the foot of Mount Calvary, the next stop was at “the place of tears” (*Cy apres on descends du mont pour aller au lieu de pleurs asses pres dudit mont*)⁸⁷. This station was meant to commemorate the gospel episode of the “Three Marys”, because Romanet Boffin placed there the effigies of the Three Marys⁸⁸. However, the poem Gringore ascribed to it recalled another episode, which the Gospel of John placed at the foot of Calvary, the moment when Jesus entrusted his mother to the “beloved disciple”⁸⁹.

At Romans, as in Jerusalem, the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre was at the core of the *ordo peregrinationis* and the culmination of the pilgrim’s compassionate mimesis of Christ. It was essential for the copy to replicate exactly the original. Moreover, the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Romans presented another similarity with Jerusalem: it was served by Franciscans friars, as was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem:

One has to advance further to the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, situated near the aforementioned place of tears. The sepulchre is as high, longue and width as the one in Jerusalem. And there are here even friars from the order of St Francis, as there are in the aforementioned place in Jerusalem⁹⁰.

As in many versions of the Jerusalem model, at Romans the *ordo peregrinationis* was completed with stations at oratories commemorating the events between the Resurrection and the Ascension: Jesus appears to Mary Magdalene; Jesus teaches the apostles the *Credo*, the oratory of Ascension, and the oratory representing the place where Jesus thought the apostles the *Pater noster*, which ended the pilgrimage at Romans⁹¹.

In the format recorded by the first pilgrimage booklet composed for its use, *Le voyage et oraisons du Mont de Calvaire de Romans*, the *ordo peregrinationis* followed at Romans presents many similarities with the one followed at the same time in Jerusalem. However, it

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, s.p.

⁸⁸ In the Gospel of St John, the “Three Marys”, who kept vigil with the apostle John at the foot of the Cross, were his mother, his mother’s sister, Mary, the wife of Cleopas, and Mary Magdalene. This episode and the characters involved were subject to confusion in the Middle Ages. The trope of the “Three Marys” rather referred to the women who discovered, on Sunday morning, the empty tomb. The episode was commemorated in the Paschal liturgy by the ritual of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. Mary Magdalene is put at the tomb by the four canonical gospels; the evangelist Matthew mentioned that with her was “another Mary” (Matt. 28,1); the evangelist Mark placed Mary Magdalene, Mary Salome and Mary, mother of James at the tomb (Mk. 16,1); Luke mentioned Mary Magdalene, Joanna and Mary mother of James (Lk. 24,10); John only spoke about Mary Magdalene at the tomb (Jn. 20,1). Shagrir, “The *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the Latin Church”, 62-63. Ulysse Chevalier, “Notice historique”, 4.

⁸⁹ Jn. 19, 25-27.

⁹⁰ “Le facit fault se transporter en la chapelle du saint sepulchre, situee au plus pres dudit lieu de pleurs lequel sepulchre est de haulteur, longueur et largeur de celui de hierusalem, et mesmement y sont les freres de lordre saint francoys situes, ainsi que audict lieu de hierusalem”. *Le voyage et oraisons*, s.p.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, s.p.

was less of an exact copy and more of an adjustment of the original to the local context of Romans. Many stations figuring in the Jerusalem commemorative itinerary of the Passion, which made the section of the *Via Crucis* in that *ordo*, were missing in its correspondent at Romans. Thus, there were no stations for the *House of the Rich*, *Veronica*, the *School of Mary*, the *House of St Anne* or the *Temple of the Lord* which appeared in most versions of the Jerusalem *Via Crucis*⁹². However, the layout and the specific devotions did largely correspond to the Jerusalem model. This close resemblance suggests that, at Romans, the *translatio Terre Sancte* was accomplished not just by producing replicas of the hagiopolite monuments, but also through ritual mimesis. Gringore's booklet recorded the conformity of the *ordo peregrinationis* followed at Romans to the stations commemorating the Passion in Jerusalem. It appears that the charisma of the Holy Land was translated to the West by means of rituals mimesis as well.

4. Conclusions

The forms and shapes taken by the process of the *translatio Hierosolymae* were and remain fluid. The pilgrim returning from a land thought to be holy, the settler who had to evacuate in a rush, the learned theologian making his way through the landscape of salvation, all tried to take away some of the charisma of the Holy Places by importing relics, holy water, holy ground, books, measurements of the monuments or, as I tried to show here, ritual patterns. The success of the charismatic transfer between the Holy Places of Palestine and their replicas in Western Europe relied not only in the reproduction of Holy Land geography and monumental complexes dubbed with the toponymy of the prototypes. A transfer of ritual, namely of forms of the *ordo peregrinationis* followed in Jerusalem in the fifteenth century, reinforced the authenticity of the mimetic experience. The process was not static, but influenced by the agents of its enforcement, such as Bernardino Caimi, and by the need to adjust to new circumstances, which usually came with an indulgence for flamboyance. This was the case both at Varallo and at Romans, where the translated Holy Land charisma took the shape of a more elaborated *ordo peregrinationis*, meant to ensure a deeper compassionate mimesis with the suffering Christ.

⁹² As I showed in the *Via Crucis* chapter.