**St. Francis and the Sultan. The Franciscans and the Holy Land (14th-17th centuries)**

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The role of the Franciscans of Mount Zion in welcoming and guiding the Pilgrims in the Holy Land goes back, as it is well known, to the first half of the 14th century. In 1333, the King of Naples, Robert of Anjou, acquired property of the Cenacle, which was then transferred to the friars[[1]](#footnote-1). With the bulls *Gratias agimus* and *Nuper charissimae*, dated 21 November 1342, the Franciscans strengthen their position in connection to the holy places in the context of the Catholic Church[[2]](#footnote-2). The pope granted to the friars the right to call up adequate and devoted friars to stay at the Cenacle. Friars who refused to come may be forced by means of ecclesiastical censures. In Jerusalem, the friars would be under the authority of the Minister Provincial of the Holy Land[[3]](#footnote-3). In the context of the Holy Land, the Friars were also in perpetual contact with other religious groups. As it can be easily expected in a cultural and religious context as the one the Holy Land, these relationships could take different forms, and were not exempted from violent accidents. In 1391, four friars from the Convent of Mount Sion preached in Jerusalem, in Arabic and Italian: they invited the qādï of Jerusalem to accept baptism, and eventually received themselves the death sentence[[4]](#footnote-4).

The Franciscan in Jerusalem maintained a library on Mount Zion, which could be accessed by the pilgrims. Among the texts that it was definitely possible to consult in the library there were lists of holy places and indulgences which influenced most of late medieval pilgrimage accounts[[5]](#footnote-5). The Franciscans also prepared compilations and treatises which addressed both the history of the Holy Land (including Egypt, mentioned in the itineraries that describe the holy places) and described the other religious groups that dwelled in the Levant[[6]](#footnote-6). It could therefore seem quite natural that the Franciscans would have addressed in their writings the famous encounter between Saint Francis and the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kāmil in 1219. Furthermore, as we know, medieval narratives circulated of a visit of Saint Francis to the Holy Land and even to Jerusalem. Angelo Clareno (1247-1337) was the first Franciscan to suggest that Francis was in Jerusalem in his *Chronica seu historia septem tribulationum Ordinis Minorum* (1326). Clareno says that the Sultan listened to Francis and invited him to dwell in his land. He also granted to him and his friars the possibility to visit the Holy Sepulchre without paying any toll[[7]](#footnote-7).

Clareno’s narrative was not very influential within the walls of Mount Zion. Other narratives, such as the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eorum*, written by Ugolino da Montegiorgio more or less during the period of Angevin negotiations about the Franciscan settlement in the Holy Land, report that after the encounter with Saint Francis the Sultan granted him and the friars the privilege to preach wherever they wanted and gave them a sign to guarantee their safety wherever they preached[[8]](#footnote-8). However, these texts did not receive much attention among the Franciscans of Mount Zion. To understand this apparent lack of interest for Saint Francis’ encounter with the Sultan we need to understand how the Franciscans of Mount Zion conceived their identity and their role in Jerusalem. I will argue that the Franciscans saw themselves first and foremost as a safe haven for pilgrims and guides who could guarantee access to a veritable description of the holy places and their history, rather as ‘missionaries’ among non-Christians.

I will base this discussion on two kinds of sources. One are the manuscripts from the Library of the Custody of the Holy Land which were inherited from the library of the Convent of Mount Zion, and the other are Franciscan descriptions of the Holy Land written by the friars. I will limit myself to a few examples of both kinds of sources, to provide a more thorough analysis in my next monograph on the Franciscan of the Holy Land.

**The Franciscan Library of Mount Zion**

I will first focus on the manuscripts inherited from Mount Zion, from where the Franciscans were expelled in 1551. The friars moved to their new abode of the convent of Saint Saviour between 1560 and 1561, probably bringing with them their books and their archives: it is likely however that a large group of manuscripts was lost in the process[[9]](#footnote-9). The patrimony of the library has been object of many studies, also recently thanks to the project “Books, Bridges of Peace” directed by Edoardo R. Barbieri (Catholic University of Milan)[[10]](#footnote-10). Barbieri and his team have also investigated the presence of Saint Francis in the library of the Custodia in Jerusalem, identifying, for example, a 1509 edition of the *Legenda maior* of Saint Bonaventure, which also narrates the encounter between the Saint and the Sultan[[11]](#footnote-11)

This preparatory work has also made easier to study the library’s rich legacy of manuscripts in detail and identify which were probably present in Mount Zion before the expulsion of the friars. Liturgy was among the principal needs for the Franciscans in the Holy Land[[12]](#footnote-12): a large number of the manuscripts still kept at the Saint Saviour convent are missals, breviaries, antiphonaries and chorals. These manuscripts were modified across centuries: we can identify several hands writing in different periods, originating from different areas of Europe[[13]](#footnote-13).

One of these is the Missal of Mount Zion (now MIN 1). This manuscript was probably written by an Italian copyist[[14]](#footnote-14). According to Cresi, the palaeography and the saints liturgy shows that the manuscript has been written under the generalate of Saint Bonaventure (1257-1274)[[15]](#footnote-15). Bux uses the Proper of the Saints for datation, and he argues that the *terminus post quem* is 1254, the date of the canonization of Peter of Verona, Dominican martyr, and the *terminus ante quem* is 1297, the canonization of Louis IX, whose feast has been added later in the manuscript[[16]](#footnote-16). Gumbert believes it was written in the first half of the 14th century[[17]](#footnote-17). The manuscript also displays several later additions[[18]](#footnote-18), and some of these are connected to the calendar at the beginning of the manuscript (ff. 1 r-5 v). They often connect to Franciscan piety and are reminiscent of the Franciscan blessed or saints.

On f. 3 v, on the 19th of August, a hand (different from that of the copyist) has added: “[feast] of Saint Louis bishop and confessor, brother of king Robert and Friar Minor (S(an)c(t)i Ludovici Ep(iscop)i et (con)f(esso)r(is), ge(r)man(i) regis Rob(er)ti et f(ra)t(ris) mi(n)o(ris))”. The same hand added on the 26th of August “[feast] of Saint Louis king of France, confessor (S(an)c(t)i Ludovici regis Fra(n)cie, (con)f(esso)r)”. The additions are probably the work of an Italian scribe who writes in a *littera textualis* deeply influenced by cursive features, probably dating from around the middle of the 14th century[[19]](#footnote-19). Saint Louis of Toulouse and Saint Louis IX were both saints dear to the Franciscans. Louis of Toulouse was a member of the Anjou family (brother of Robert d’Anjou), who took the Franciscan vows of poverty and was canonized in 1317[[20]](#footnote-20). Louis IX figures prominently in the historical sections of the Franciscan description of the Holy Land, as we will see later. He is honoured as co-patron of the third order of Saint Francis and was canonized in 1297.

On f. 4 r another hand has added: “Feast of stigmata of the Blessed Francis, greater duplex (Festu(m) stigmata(m) B(ea)ti Fra(n)cisci d(uplex) maius” (17 of September). On the same page, a later hand has added: “of Saint Eliziarius confessor, count and in the third order of the blessed Francis (S(an)c(t)i Elizarii (con)f(ssoris) comitis et t(er)tio ordi(n)e b(ea)ti fra(n)cisci)”. Eleazaro of Sabran, count of Ariano (ca 1285-1313), was canonized in 1369. The hand that added this text should be dated towards the end of the 14th century or even later. Another addition, added by a Southern European (possibly Italian) hand of the first half of the 14th century[[21]](#footnote-21), can be found on the 19th of November: “And of Saint Elisabeth (Et S(an)c(t)e helysabeth)”. This is Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231), canonized in 1235, and associated with the Third Order of Saint Francis. On f. 5 v, on the 8th of December, a later hand (possibly the same which wrote the note on Saint Eleazar)[[22]](#footnote-22) has added: “Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, duplex (Conceptio B(ea)te uirgi(ni)s Ma(r)ie Dup(lex))”. Other notes in the margins integrate the liturgical information or remind the reader of a relevant transition in the liturgical text[[23]](#footnote-23). The changes implemented in this manuscript are clearly intended to record feasts that were related to Franciscan piety, or even to Saint Francis himself (the feast of the stigmata).

Liturgical manuscripts were by no means the only books possessed by the friars of Mount Zion. The Franciscans also had medical manuscripts, to assist friars and pilgrims. The friars did not care only for their spiritual salvation and for that of the pilgrims. Bodily health may have been just as important. The Franciscans had the permission to perform medical procedures[[24]](#footnote-24). One of the finest specimens kept in the Bibliotheca Custodiae Terrae Sanctae is a manuscript containing medical texts. It is manuscript 78, which transmits several works by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā ar-Rāzī in a Latin translation, among which the *Liber ad Almansorem* attributed Gerard of Cremona[[25]](#footnote-25). The manuscript was written in Italian rotunda, probably in the first half of the 14th century[[26]](#footnote-26).

The Franciscans also possessed other manuscripts to help their preaching activity. This is testified by a manuscript 81 of the Bibliotheca Custodiae Terrae Sanctae. This manuscript contains the treatise on marriage by Giovanni da Capestrano, as well as sermons and the treatise on contracts and usuries by Bernardino da Siena[[27]](#footnote-27). Giovanni da Capestrano and Bernardino were two observant friars. The convent of Mount Zion had passed to the Observance between 1434 and 1439[[28]](#footnote-28). The sermons by Bernardino which are included in this collection are the ones for the *Dominica quarata in quadragesima* and the following *feriae* and *sabbatum*. They link thematically with the other treatise by Bernardino in the manuscript, since these sermons deal with topics such as usury or illicit profits in contracts and trade[[29]](#footnote-29). The manuscript therefore appear to be a miscellany for the preparation of moral teaching: as we know the Franciscans had to provide for the spiritual needs of the pilgrims, and they may have been in need to cover a wide range of ethical issues[[30]](#footnote-30). This work had been copied for the convent of Mount Zion by a certain Friar Hugo Aquitanus. We read: “For the holy convent of Mount Zion, writing Friar Hugo of Aquitaine (Pro sacro conventu Montis Syon fratre Hugone Aquitano scribente)” and “For the Holy Convent of Mount Zion, witnessing Friar Hugo of Aquitaine (Pro sacro conventu montis Syon fratre Hugone Aquitano teste)”[[31]](#footnote-31). The portrait of the Franciscan author in the decorated initial of his text is also found frequently in Franciscan manuscripts, which often represents him in the act of writing of presenting this work self[[32]](#footnote-32).

The manuscripts therefore provide an insight in some aspects of the intellectual life of the Franciscans in the Holy Land, showing how their liturgical activity kept alive the memory of Saints dear to Franciscan piety, and their commitment to assist the pilgrims, both physically and spiritually. No text recount Saint Francis’ encounter with Sultan al-Malik (or on his supposed travel to the Holy Land).

**The Franciscan and the history of the Holy Land**

Another understudied topic has been the authorship of descriptions of the Holy Land by the Franciscans of Mount Zion. These texts discuss extensively the history of this area in the Crusaders period. However, they mostly do not mention Saint Francis’ encounter with the Sultan. A compilation of historical and geographical texts on the Holy Land has been completed by the Franciscans of Mount Zion in 1373/1374: this work gives us an idea of the sources available to the Friars Minor in Jerusalem at that time[[33]](#footnote-33). It also enjoyed some diffusion outside of Mount Zion: we have three manuscripts that transmit it. One is a paper manuscript currently in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Ӧsterreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 3468). It probably dates from around 1393: it was however certainly completed before 1424; we shall refer to this manuscript as V)[[34]](#footnote-34). Another paper manuscript, was copied around 1445 and kept in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbttel (Guelf. 391 Helmst.; we shall call this W); and a third paper manuscript, kept in the archive of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Pisa (now Archivio Storico Diocesano of Pisa), dates probably from the end of the 15th century (Archivio Storico Diocesano di Pisa, manoscritti, Miscellanea Zucchelli, no. XXXIII, Appendice II, inserto III, which we shall call P)[[35]](#footnote-35). The compilation begins with a chronicle of the conquest of the Holy Land during the first crusade and alternates geographical description with historical narrative. It includes for example a history of the Holy Land from the Council of Clermont to the fall of Acre in 1291[[36]](#footnote-36). Herewith a list of the themes discussed in this section of the compilation:

1. A paragraph on the nobles and theeir armies which joined the first crusade and their travel to the Middle East (1095 AD, W, f. 286 r; V, 1 v)
2. The acquisition of Bithynia by the crusaders (W, ff. 286 r-v; V, 1 v-r)
3. The conquest of Antioch (W 286 v; V, f. 2 r)
4. The finding of the Holy Lance (W, f 286 v; V, f. 2 r)
5. The conquest of Jerusalem (W, f. 286 v; V, f. 2 r)
6. The finding of the Cross (W, f. 287 r; V, 2 v)
7. The death of Godfrey of Bullion (W, f. 287 r; V, f. 2 v-3 r)
8. The bishops, the clergy and monasteries of the Holy Land (W, ff. 287 r-288 v; V, 3 r-4 v)
9. The construction of churches by Tancred of Hauteville and other Christians in the Holy Land (W, ff. 288 v-289 r; V, ff. 4 v-5 r)
10. The destruction of the Church of the Sepulchre by Caliph al-Hākim and its re-edification at the request of the Byzantine emperor. (W, ff. 289 r-v; V, 5 r-6 r)
11. The destruction and re-edification of the Temple of Salomon (W, f. 289 v; V. f. 6 r)
12. The siege of Damascus by Baldwin III king of Jerusalem (1148 AD; W, ff. 289 v-290 r; V, ff- 6-rv)
13. The loss of the Holy Land and the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin (W, ff. 290 r-v; V, ff. 6 v-7 r)
14. The reacquisition of Jerusalem by the Emperor Frederick II through his treaty with the Ayyubid Sultan Al-Kamil (1229; W, f. 290 v-291 r; V, ff. 7 v-8 r)
15. Louis IX’s crusade in 1248 (W, 291 r; V, 7 v)
16. The loss of Antioch for the Latins (1268; W, f. 291 r; V, 8 r)
17. The loss of Tripoli (1289; W, ff. 291 r-v; V, f. 8 r)
18. The loss of Acre (1291; W, f. 291 v; V, ff. 8 r- v)
19. The loss of Tyre (1291; W, f. 291 v; V, f. 8 v)
20. An overview of all the land lost by the crusaders (W, ff. 291 v-292 r; V, 8 v and 12 r)

These historical texts of the compilation give particular importance to characters which were central in the history of these attempts to recover the Holy Land, and also in Franciscan traditions and piety, such as King Louis IX of France (referred to as *sanctus Ludowicus rex*)[[37]](#footnote-37). This historical part discusses also the 5th Crusade, but there is no mention of Saint Francis with the Sultan:

Anno domini MCCXIX rex Ungarie venit cum duce Austrie et cum magna multitudine crucesignatorum Ungariorum et Almanorum ad Terram Sanctam. Anno Domini MCCXIX Christianus exercitus cepit Damiatam V die novembris. Eodem anno ex despectu Coradinus filius Saladini evertit et destruxit muros et turres Civitatis Sancte, Templum autem Domini, castrum David et ecclesiam Dominici Sepulchri non tetigit consilio super hoc accepto[[38]](#footnote-38).

In the year of our lord 1219 the king of Hungary came to the Holy Land with the Duke of Austria and with a great number of Hungarian and German crusaders. In the year of the Lord 1219 the Christian Army took Damietta on the 5th of November. In the same year in retaliation Coradin son of Saladin demolished and destroyed the walls and towers of the Holy City, however he did not touch the Temple of the Lord, the Tower of David and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, having received an advice about that.

 These historical excursuses conclude with a list of the places lost by the Christians (*Terre amisse a Christianis*), as well as a lamentation over the Christian loss of the holy places[[39]](#footnote-39). The traumatic loss of the Holy Land emphasizes the importance of the present mediation of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. They guarantee that the Christian contact to the Holy Land.

The encounter between Saint Francis and the sultan was of course not unknown, however we do not find much interest among the books produced on Mount Zion. We find the entire *Historia orientalis* in another collection of texts on the Holy Land produced in Mount Zion, that has been transmitted in a small manuscript completed in 1471[[40]](#footnote-40), however, we do not find the *Historia occidentalis*, that narrates the encounter between Francis and the Sultan[[41]](#footnote-41).

This obviously does not mean that the Franciscans did not know about the encounter between Saint Francis and the Sultan, nor that they did not know that some authors narrated about a journey of the Saint to the Holy Land. Francesco Suriano refers in his *Tractatello de le indulgentie de Terra Sancta* to another tradition concerning Saint Francis: the idea that he converted the monks of the Black Mountain near Antioch to the Franciscan order. Suriano was born in 1450, he travelled to the Orient sixteen times between 1462 and 1475. In 1475, he received the habit of the Observant Franciscans in Santa Maria della Vigna in Venice[[42]](#footnote-42). He became Guardian of the Franciscan convent in Beirut in 1480 or 1481[[43]](#footnote-43), and was appointed Guardian of Mount Zion in 1493-1495 and again in 1512-1514[[44]](#footnote-44). He also wrote a description of the Holy Land, which survives in three redactions (1485, 1514, and 1524), written in form of a dialogue between a clare and Suriano[[45]](#footnote-45). In the second redaction, Suriano writes:

Appresso questa città è Montagna Nera habitata da moltitudine de heremiti, piena de romitorii e monasterii de Greci, et altre natione. In questo monte S. Francesco, quando se partì dal Soldano, per andar in Antiochia, e convertì tuti li monachi de uno monasterio, e feceli frati e menoli cum lui in Italia[[46]](#footnote-46).

Near this city is the Black Mountain inhabited by crowds of hermits, full of hermitages and Greek monasteries and those of other nations. It was on this mountain that St. Francis, when he left the Sultan to go to Antioch, converted all the monks of one monastery and made them Friars and took them with him to Italy.

In the third redaction of his treatise, printed by Francesco Bindoni in 1524, Suriano adds: “et istitui la Provincia de Antiochia, de la quale uscite de molti sancti frati (and he established the province of Antioch, from which many holy friars came)”[[47]](#footnote-47). Among Suriano’s sources there are probably the *De conformitate vite B. Francisci ad vitam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi* by Bartholomew of Pisa (completed between 1385 and 1390[[48]](#footnote-48)) and Mariano da Firenze’s *Libro delle vite de sancti Frati Minori* (written around 1480)[[49]](#footnote-49).

Bartholomew’s book wants to establish the conformity of Saint Francis to Christ, but it also contains descriptions of Franciscan houses at the time. One of this is a description of the *Custodia* of Syria, which includes the convent of Mount Zion. He also adds that:

Multi in hac provincia fuerunt fratres sanctitate praeclari, etsi non sint eorum nomina hic scripta. Qui primus frater Minor, qui praedicavit in Terra Sancta, fuit beatus pater Franciscus, quando cum undecim sociis Soldanum adit[[50]](#footnote-50).

Many in this province were illustrious for their sanctity, although their names are not written here. The first Friar Minor who preached in the Holy Land was the blessed father Francis, when he went to the Sultan with eleven of his associates.

Bartholomew also mentions the fact that Francis converted the monks of the Black Mountain to his order[[51]](#footnote-51).

Other popular Franciscan texts in the 15th century (although not from Mount Zion) diffused the idea that the new province was created thanks to Francis’ preaching. Mariano da Firenze, in his *Libro delle Vite de Sancti Frati Minori* says that Francis reached Acre from Crete. From Acre he sent his fellows in pairs to preach to different cities in Syria. When Saint Francis went to preach in Antioch, Saint Francis was invited by the monks of the Black Mountain, and these monks took from him the Franciscan habit[[52]](#footnote-52). Before leaving for Egypt, Saint Francis converted a convent in Antioch, as well as in other regions and cities of Syria, these conversions allowed to create a new province:

Prese anchora el chonvento nella città di Antiochia, et per le altre terre e città della Siria ne fu presi altri, in modo che fu facto nuova provincia, dove econseguitò non pocho fructo ne’ popoli di quelle parte insino a tempi che furono dominate da christiani. Dopo alquanto tempo sancto Francesco si ritornò in Acri, et sali in una nave, e navigò in Egipto alla città di Damiata, dove allora era venuto lo exercito de christiani, et avevono assediato la ciptà die Damiata[[53]](#footnote-53).

He also converted the convent in the city of Antioch, and he converted many in the other lands and cities of Syria, so that a new province was done, where he achieved not little fruit among those people till when they were dominated by the Christians. After some time, Saint Francis went back to Acre, and he went in a ship, and he sailed to Egypt, to the city of Damietta, where the Christian army had come, and they had besieged the city of Damietta.

It can be surprising that the legend of Francis’ visit to Jerusalem is not more broadly explored to legitimate the Franciscans’ role as custodians of the holy places. The reason for this seems to be in the fact that the friars preferred to look at the conformity of the life of their Founder to the life of Christ, and more in general the conformity of the Franciscan themselves in particular by their poverty, to legitimize this role. Suriano in the first version of his treatise for example explains that only the Observant Franciscans are present in the Holy Land[[54]](#footnote-54). Christ has chosen them because of their poverty, which mirrors the poverty of the last supper and the nakedness of the Saviour on the Cross, and he has chosen them because of the stigmata of Francis, which mirror the crucifixion.

Later Franciscan authors referred to Saint Francis’ journey to the Holy Land as a crucial step in the establishment of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land. In the 17th century Francesco Quaresmio in his *Historica theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio*, published in 1635, affirms that Saint Francis travelled to the Holy Land and sees his journey as a prefiguration of the Franciscan presence on Mount Zion:

Antequam sermonem faciamus, quo nostrum tendit institutum, de adventu Fratrum Minorum ad has infidelium partes, et quomodo sanctorum locorum custodia illis Apostolica auctoritate demandata fuerit, operae pretium esse iudicavimus, si prius ageremus de peregrinatione inclyti Patris et Patriarchae nostri Francisci[[55]](#footnote-55)

Before we speak about where our work heads, the arrival of the Friars Minors in the domains of the Unfaithful, and how the Custody of the holy places was demanded to them by the Apostolic Authority, we judged it worth, if we would have first discussed of the pilgrimage of our illustrious father and patriarch Francis.

However, he does not affirm that the Cenacle was granted to the Franciscans by the Sultan[[56]](#footnote-56). Quaresmio does say that the Sultan gave to Francis permission to preach in his dominion, and a sign to guarantee his safety[[57]](#footnote-57). The preaching and the examples of Saint Francis gave their fruits, shown by the later presence of the Franciscans in the Holy Land and their Custody of the holy places[[58]](#footnote-58).

**Conclusions**

The scarce presence in the memory of the Franciscans in Jerusalem of the encounter of Saint Francis and the Sultan could seem at first sight surprising. It becomes less surprising if we consider how the Franciscans saw their role in the Holy Land. They saw themselves as destined to assist the pilgrims, physically and spiritually. We read the treatise written by Paul Walter von Guglingen, a Franciscan of Mount Zion who completed his work before 1491:

Nam indubie (quod Deus avertat!) si fratres minores de Terra expellerentur, amplius non patebit vel difficillime aditus peregrinis, quia modo per fratres adiuvantur, defenduntur, nutriuntur, hospitantur et infirmi peregrini fideliter medicantur ex elemosinis Christifidelium[[59]](#footnote-59).

For without any doubt if the Friars Minors would be expelled from the Holy Land (what God may avoid!) the access for the pilgrims would not be open or just at very difficult cost, since now they are helped, defended, fed, hosted by the Friars and the ill pilgrims are faithfully medicated thanks to the alms of those faithful in Christ.

Evangelization played still a role, as it can be seen in the famous case of the Evangelization of the Maronite by Grifon of Flanders in the 15th century. However, it is in particular as guardians of the holy places, and mediator between pilgrims and the people and political powers of those lands, that they looked to understand their role.

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2. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Francescano*, IV (Quaracchi: Collegio di San Bonaventura, 1923, 52-54 (*Gratias agimus*), 55-56 (*Nuper carissimae*). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, 52-54; A. Arcé, "De origine Custodiae Terrae Sanctae", in *Miscelánea de Tierra Santa*, vol. III. (Jerusalem: Impr. de Tierra Santa, 1975),73-139: 132-134. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. I. Heullant-Donat, “Les martyrs franciscains de Jérusalem (1391), entre mémoire et manipulation,” in *Chemins d’outre-mer. Études d’histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, ed. D. Coulon, C. Otten-Froux, P. Pagès and D. Valérian(Paris: Editions de la Sorbonne, 2004) 439-459; see also: Ch. MacEvitt, “Sons of Damnation: Franciscans, Muslims, and Christian Purity,” in *Discourses of purity in transcultural perspective (300-1600)*, ed. M. Bley, N. Jaspert, S. Kock (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 299-319. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. P. Trovato, “Per lo studio dei più antichi processionali francescani di Terrasanta (secoli XIV-XV),” *Storie e linguaggi* 1/2 (2015), 187-203; F. Cardini, *In Terrasanta. Pellegrini italiani tra medioevo e prima eta‘ moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), 184-186; U. Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320-1520)* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1990), 103-106. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. M. Campopiano, “Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrims’ Guidebooks: some Examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion,“ *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 24 (2012), 75-89; *Id.*, “Tradizione e edizione di una compilazione di testi sulla Terra Santa proveniente dal convento francescano del Monte Sion (fine del XIV secolo),“ *Revue d’histoire des textes, nouvelle série* 6 (2011), 329-359. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. J. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 147-160. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. In the *Actus*, Francis also manages o convert the Sultan: Ugolino da Montegiorgio, *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius*, ed. M. Bigaroni & S. Cambell (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1988), 314-322; J. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 162-170. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. A. Tedesco, Itinera ad loca sancta. *I libri di viaggio delle Biblioteche Francescane di Gerusalemme* (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2017), p. XXI ; L. Rivali, “Itinerari di Viaggio in Terrasanta del quattro e del cinquecento nelle biblioteche francescanedi Gerusalemme,” *Nuova Rivista Storica* 100/2 (2016), pp. 569-602 ; M. Badalamenti-L. Rivali, “La Biblioteca Generale della Custodia di Terra Santa”, in *Libri di Terra Santa. Un viaggio tra i libri antichi della Biblioteca Generale della Custodia di Terra Santa a Gerusalemme*, ed. A. Tedesco (Torrita di Siena: Società Bibliografia Toscana, 2013),15-36: 21-22; N. Gosselin, “La bibliothèque des Frères de la Corde au Mont Sion”, *Acta Custodiae Terrae Sanctae* 30 (1985), 377-400; A. Arcé, “La Bibliothèque Centrale de la Custodie de Terre Sainte,” in A. Arce, *Miscelánea de Tierra Santa*, IV (Jerusalem: Impr. de Tierra Santa, 1982), 423-432. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. See the website: <https://www.bibliothecaterraesanctae.org>. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Bonaventura da Bagnoregio, *Aurea legenda maior beati Francisci* (Firenze: Filippo Giunta, 1509): Jerusalem, Bibliotheca Custodiae Terrae Sanctae, Cin C 81. See: *Francesco d’Assisi tra i libri antichi della Custodia di Terra Santa*, ed. E. Barbieri (Jerusalem: ATS pro Terra Sancta, 2017), 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. See: V. Covaci, *Between Traditions: The Franciscans of Mount Sion and their Rituals (1330-1517)*, PhD Dissertation, supervised by M. Campopiano and G. Geltner (University of Amsterdam, 2016), 85-142; A. Facchini, *Le processioni praticate dai Frati Minori nei santuari di Terra Santa* (Cair: Editions du Centre Franciscain d’Etudes Orientales Chretiennes, 1986), 40-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. I will address these issues in details in my monograph on the Franciscans and the memory of the holy places (14th-16th centuries). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. For the study of Italian manuscripts in *littera textualis*: P. Supino Martini, “Linee metodologiche per lo studio dei manoscritti in *litterae textuales* prodotti in Italia nei secoli XIII-XIV”, *Scrittura e civiltà*, 17 (1993), pp. 43-101. For dating manuscripts in Southern textualis, see also: M. J. Torrens, “La paleografía como instrument de datación. La escritura denominada “littera textualis” *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 20 (1995), pp. 345-380. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. D. Cresi, “Manoscritti liturgici francescani a Gerusalemme“, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 56 (1963), 466-474. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. N. Bux, *Codici liturgici latini di Terra Santa-Liturgic latin codices of the Holy Land* (Fasano: Schena Editore, 1990), 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. J. P. Gumbert, “Medieval Fransiscan Manuscripts in Jerusalem,” *Liber Annuus* 41 (1991), 483-486: 485. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. D. Cresi, “Manoscritti liturgici,” p. 467. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. The *l* of *Ludovici* has a loop added, but *d* is loopless. *T* has a very short shaft, almost not emerging from the headstroke (*Roberti*). The *et* is expressed in a 2-shape. Final *s* has a simplified ductus. The *g* is *8*-shaped (*regis*); more details in my upcoming monograph on the Franciscans of Mount Zion and the memory of the Holy Land. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. #  J. Davis, “The Problem of King Louis IX of France: Biography, Sanctity, and Kingship,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41/2 (2010), 209–225; M. C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); [L. C. Barré](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_Carolus_Barr%C3%A9), *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272-1297). Essai de reconstitution* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994); [J. Richard](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Richard_%28historien%29), *Saint Louis : roi d’une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris: Fayard, 1983); J. Gardner, “Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39/1 (1976), 12-33

 [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The general roundness of the letters, the fusion *be* and *he*, and the fact that *et* is spelled rather than expressed with a tironian sign, point again to a southern European hand, possibly Italian, probably from the first half of the 14th century. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. It is again Italian rotunda, with round letters and *g* without horns. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. See also 34 v, 47 v, 49 r, 51 v, 54 v, 55 v, 56 r-v, 57 r, 60 v, 61 r, 77 v, 78 v, 80 v, 81 r, 89 v, 90 r, 90 v, 91 r. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. A. Arce, “Libros antiguos de medicina en la Biblioteca de San Salvador,” in A. Arce, *Miscelánea de Tierra Santa*, I, (Jerusalem: Impr. de Tierra Santa, 1950), 251-317. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Jerusalem, Bibliotheca Custodiae Terrae Sanctae, ms 78, ff. 1 r-98 r. It is probably just a revision that is due to Gerard of Cremona, see: D. Jacquart, “Note sur la traduction latine du *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī* de Rhazès,” *Revue d'histoire des textes* 24 (1994), pp. 359-374. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. For a description of this manuscript on the website of the Library of the Custodia: <https://bibliothecaterraesanctae.org/300-400-500/1-mohammed-rhasis-ms-78.html> (last accessed 16/12/20018). [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. F. Mormando, *The Preacher’s Demons. Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 182-191. Bernardinus Senensis, *Sermo Sabbato post III Dominicam in Quadragesima* and *Sermo Feria quarta post Dominicam de Passione*, in *Opera Omnia* IV, ed. by A. Sépinski (Quaracchi: Collegio di San Bonaventura, 1956), 117-416. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. B. Saletti, *I Francescani in Terrasanta*, p. 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Bernardinus Senensis, *Sermo XXXV. Feria secunda post IV dominicam in quadragesima* and *Sermo XXXVII, Feria quarta post IV dominicam in quadragesima. De restitutione temporalium rerum quod comprehenditur sub quid et quantum restitutendum sit*, in *Opera Omnia*, I, ed. by P. M. Perantoni and A. Sépinski (Quaracchi: Collegio di San Bonaventura, 1950), 427-447 and 465-485. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Mormando, *The Preacher’s Demons*, p. 185 [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Jerusalem, Bibliotheca generalis Custodiae Terrae Sanctae, ms. 81, ff. 72 r and 124 v. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. N. Giové Marchioli, “l codice francescano. L'invenzione di un'identità”, in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei frati mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV): atti del XXXII Convegno internazionale ; Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2005), 375-418: 413. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. I am preparing a critical edition of this work, see also: M. Campopiano, “Tradizione e edizione di una compilazione di testi sulla Terra Santa proveniente dal convento francescano del Monte Sion (fine del XIV secolo)”, *Revue d’histoire des textes*, nouvelle série, 6 (2011 ), pp. 329-359. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Another hand adds on f. 51 r: “Anno domini MCCCCXXIIII in mense marcio ego frater Ieronimus de Francia”; Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 3468, f. 51 r. I believe that the watermark (a bow with arrows) is Nr. 82260 (Florence 1393) of the Piccard Archive: http://www.piccard-online.de/start.php. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. On these mansucripts, see: Michele Campopiano, “Note sulla presenza francescana in Terrasanta: le descrizioni dei luoghi santi tra XIV e XVI secolo e il ruolo della Custodia di Terrasanta,” in *Gli Italiani e la Terrasanta, a cura di A. Musarra* (Firenze: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), 49-68 [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Incipit: “Quomodo fuit acquisita Iherusalem per Godofredum de Bulione...” Explicit: “…et coinquinaverunt eam gentes: quid ergo ad hoc nobis vivere?” ; W, ff. 286 r-292 r; P, ff. 3 v-11 v ; V, ff. 1 v-12 v. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. On the relationship between the Franciscan order and the memory of King Louis, see M. Cecilia Gaposhkin, *The making of Saint Louis*, pp. 154-179. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. W, f. 290 v. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. P, f. 11 v; W, f. 292 r. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. R. Pernoud, *Un guide de pèlerin de Terre Sainte au XVe siècle*, pp. 5-7. Versailles, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms Lebaudy in 8 52, ff. 1 r-112 v. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. J.V. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 19-39. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. F. Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell’Oriente*, ed. G. Golubovich (Milano: Artigianelli, 1900), XXXII; see also: A. Benvenuti, “Gli Osservanti e le mimesi di Gerusalemme. Divagazioni tra San Vivaldo e il Levante,”, in *Come a Gerusalemme. Evocazioni, riproduzioni, imitazioni dei luoghi santi tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, ed. A. Benvenuti & P. Piatti (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013), 279-308. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. F. Suriano, *Il trattato*, XXVI. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. M. Caria, *Il «Trattatello delle indulgentie de Terra Sancta» di Francesco Suriano. Primi appunti per l'edizione e lo studio linguistico* (Cagliari: Edizioni del Sole, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. F. Suriano, *Il Trattato*, pp. VII-XXIV. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. F. Suriano, *Il Trattato*, p. 169. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. F. Suriano, *Il Trattato*, p. 169, nota 2; F. Suriano, *Opera nova chiamata itinerario de Hierusalem* (Venetia : per Francesco Bindoni, 152). [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. V, ff. 51 r- v. The *Liber de conformitate* also mentions the presence of the Custody of the Holy Land (which he calls *Custodiae Syriae* and explains that the Franciscans currently hold a place on Mount Zion, at the Holy Sepulchre, in Bethlehem and Bayreuth; *Analecta Franciscana*, IV (Quaracchi; Collegio San Bonaventura, 1906), 533. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Francescano* (Quaracchi: Collegio di San Bonaventura, 1906), I, 68-78; see also M. Ritsema van Eck, *Custodians of sacred space. Constructin the Franciscan Holy Land through texts and Sacri Monti* *(ca. 1480-1650)*, PhD Dissertation, supervised by M. Campopiano and G. Geltner (University of Amsterdam, 2017), 153-156. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. *Analecta Franciscana*, IV, 533-534. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. *Analecta Franciscana*, IV, 344. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. G. Golubovich*, Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, I, 77-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. G. Golubovich*, Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, I, 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. M. Caria, *Il Tratatello delle indulgentie de Terra Sancta secondo il ms. 1106 della Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia. Edizione e note linguistiche Il Tratatello delle indulgentie de Terra Sancta secondo il ms. 1106 della Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia. Edizione e note linguistiche*, PhD dissertation, supervisors P. Bertini Malgarini and A. M. Morace (University of Sassari, 2008), 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. F. Quaresmio, *Historica theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidation* (Antverpiae : Ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1639), Vol. I, p. 154. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Although this is later stated by other Franciscan auhors, such as Mariano Morone, see: J. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*,pp. 257-293, and also M. Ritsema van Eck, *Custodians of sacred space*, 186-196. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. F. Quaresmio, *Historica theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidation*, Vol. I, p. 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. F. Quaresmio, *Historica theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidation*, Vol. I, p. 165. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Neuburg an der Donau, Staatliche Bibliothek, 04/Hs. INR 10, p. 365. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)