TO JERUSALEM AND BEYOND

Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Latin Travel Literature, c.1200–1500

Martin Bauer
Philip Booth
and Susanna Fischer
(Eds.)

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Martin Bauer https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6698-2233
Philip Booth https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5001-5679
Susanna Fischer https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0548-5268

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To Jacob Klingner
(1973–2020)

Contents

Martin Bauer, Philip Booth, and Susanna Fischer

Introduction

The 12th and 13th centuries were a remarkable period for medieval Europe, as the world view of Latin Christians expanded though increased contact with and control over lands that had previously been peripheral zones in their imagination.[1] This expansion, in turn, opened up new avenues for travel (or made existing ones more attractive) and from the 12th century onwards, there was a surge in eastward travel for the purposes of war, trade, missionary endeavors, and pilgrimage. As a consequence, between the 12th and 15th centuries a vast collection of travel narratives composed in Latin emerged. The texts within this genre contributed to increasing geographic and ethnographic knowledge in Europe relating to the Mediterranean world and Asia, and to the development of an ever more empirical world

Contact

Dr Martin Bauer,
Institute of Classical Philology and Neo-Latin Studies, University of Innsbruck, Langer Weg 11, A-6020, Innsbruck, Austria,
martin.bauer@uibk.ac.at
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6698-2233

Dr Philip Booth,
Department of History, Politics, and Philosophy, Manchester Metropolitan University, Geoffrey Manton Building, Rosamund St West, Manchester, M15 6EB, United Kingdom,
philip.booth@mmu.ac.uk
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5001-5679

Dr Susanna Fischer,
Department of History, University of Kassel, Untere Königsstr. 86, 34125 Kassel, Germany,
susanna.fischer@uni-kassel.de

Department of Greek and Latin Philology, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, 80539 München, Germany,
susanna.fischer@lmu.de
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0548-5268

1 For a traditional view of this process of expansion see John Roland Seymour Phillips, The Medieval Expansion of Europe, 2nd ed., Oxford 1998. Cf. the historical overview provided by Aryieh Graboïs, Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au moyen âge, Louvain-la-Neuve 1998, pp. 21–23. For this background see also Colin Morris, The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West. From the Beginnings to 1600, Oxford 2005, with other examples being Moshe Gil, A History of Palestine 634–1099, Cambridge 1992; Eckart Otto, Jerusalem. Die Geschichte der Heiligen Stadt, Stuttgart et al. 1980. For the related history of the Crusades see e.g. Andrew Jotischky, Crusading and the Crusader States, 2nd ed., Abingdon, New York 2017; Nikolas Jaspert, Die Kreuzzüge, 6th ed., Dortmund 2013; Jonathan Riley-Smith, The Crusades. A History, London, New York 2005; Michel Balard, Croisades et Orient latin, XI^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle, Paris 2001.

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view as preconceptions about the world outside Latin Europe's borders were challenged through contact with other cultures and landscapes. However, despite their significance, these Latin travel narratives have not yet received as much scholarly attention as they deserve. Many are still awaiting modern critical editions and commentaries, and were until recently rarely studied in their own right and often reduced to singular aspects.[2] As a result of shortcomings in the area of editing,

2 A different example is Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri, Oxford 2014. For research into pilgrimage texts up to 1991 see Ursula Ganz-Blättler, Andacht und Abenteuer. Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520), Tübingen 1990, pp. 20–35; up to 1996 see Andres Betschart, Zwischen zwei Welten. Illustrationen und Berichte westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, Würzburg 1996, pp. 9–21. See also the overview provided in Stefan Schröder, Zwischen Christentum und Islam. Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten, Berlin 2009, pp. 32–45, as well as Wolfgang Treue, Abenteuer und Anerkennung: Reisende und Gereiste in Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit (1400–1700), Paderborn 2014; Nicole Chareyron, Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, trans. by W. Donald Wilson, New York 2005; Graboïs (note 1); Shayne Aaron Legassie, The Invention of Medieval Travel, Chicago 2017. For literature regarding descriptions of Jerusalem and for the ways it was imagined see Susanna Fischer, Erzählte Bewegung. Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert) (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 52), Leiden, Boston 2019; Mary Boyle, Writing the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages, Cambridge 2021; Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai and Hanna Vorholt (eds.), Visual Constructs of Jerusalem, Turnhout 2014; Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf (eds.), Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem, Amsterdam 2012; Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (eds.), Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West, Oxford 2012; Suzanne M. Yeager, Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative, Cambridge 2011. A focus of scholarly attention lies on vernacular texts of the late Middle Ages, especially on German pilgrimage narratives. Examples of these can be found in Susanne Lehmann-Brauns, Jerusalem sehen: Reiseberichte des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts als empirische Anleitung zur geistigen Pilgerfahrt, Freiburg i. Br. 2010; Carmen Samson-Himmelstjerna, Deutsche Pilger des Mittelalters im Spiegel ihrer Berichte und der mittelhochdeutschen erzählenden Dichtung, Berlin 2004; Christiane Hippler, Die Reise nach Jerusalem. Untersuchungen zu den Quellen, zum Inhalt und zur literarischen Struktur der Pilgerberichte des Spätmittelalters, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1987. Regarding Egypt see Aleya Khattab, Das Ägyptenbild in den deutschsprachigen Reisebeschreibungen der Zeit von 1285–1500, Frankfurt a. M. 1982, as well as Abbas Amin, Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus, Ägypten in der deutschen Reiseliteratur (1175–1663). Mit einem kommentierten Verzeichnis der Reiseberichte (383–1845), Berlin 2013, who also deals with texts in Latin. Bernhard Jahn, Raumkonzepte in der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Konstruktion von Wirklichkeit in Pilgerberichten, Amerikareisebeschreibungen und Prosaerzählungen, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1993, is interested in the *Raumstrukturen* ('spatial structure') of pilgrimage texts. Compared to the broad interest in texts from the late Middle Ages, those pilgrimage texts from the early Middle Ages have only recently been addressed. See for example the monograph concerning Adomnán by Thomas O'Loughlin, Adomnán and the Holy Places. The Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Locations of the Biblical Drama, London, New York 2007. The evidential foundation for Chareyron (cited above) despite the title 'Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages', is primarily comprised of text written after 1300. Earlier pilgrimage texts are given a short historical overview, up to the 9th-century pilgrimage text of Bernard the Monk, in Verena Türck, Christliche Pilgerfahrten nach Jerusalem im früheren Mittelalter im Spiegel der Pilgerberichte, Wiesbaden 2011, as well as Markus Schauta, Die ersten Jahrhunderte christlicher Pilgerreisen im Spiegel spätantiker und frühmittelalterlicher Quellen, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 2008. Morris (cited above) provides a review of the whole of range of surviving pilgrimage texts. On transmission and reception cf. Anthony Bale and Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrimage and Textual Culture in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Production, Exchange, Reception, in: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 51,1, Special Issue (2021), 1–8; Susanna Fischer,

research is also often based only on the small part of the texts represented by the edited redaction(s). A better understanding of these Latin texts is crucial not only for our understanding of them alone but also of their vernacular counterparts, many of which are co-dependent on these Latin texts. Therefore, the study of the Latin texts is essential for further research.

Moreover, the writers of these texts were often leading theologians, thinkers, and social movers of their time. With many of these individuals coming out of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, who extolled high learning, these travelers were scholars in their own right and contributed a vast amount to the development of Latin literary forms, styles, and strategies during this period. By taking medieval Latin travel literature as a discrete literary genre and analysing the ways in which these travelers and pilgrims formulated their travel experiences in text, we can learn much about the societies in which they lived and traveled, and about the experiences of medieval individuals as they encountered what for them were new worlds and peoples.

Accordingly, this volume intends to explore and suggest some trajectories of current and future research into Latin travel literature from the period c. 1200–1500. The chosen period represents a high point in the field of Latin travel literature with dozens of new works appearing, some of which represent the quintessential expression of the genre. Moreover, it was during this period that these writings began to properly move away from texts which should be seen as purely Holy Land pilgrimage guides (though these continued to be produced) to more expansive travelogues focused on a much broader geographic area which included Central and East Asia as well as the Mediterranean world.

An important aim of this volume is to demonstrate the rich repository of knowledge which this corpus of Latin travel literature represents and highlight ways in which research into this repository can be further advanced. This volume showcases various interdisciplinary approaches to these texts and demonstrates the ways in which discussions around their editing, contents, composition, and creators can yield further fascinating insights into the genre and world in which they were produced. By bringing together historians, literary scholars, and philologists, this volume highlights the different perspectives these various research backgrounds can contribute. It also promotes the idea of interdisciplinary collaboration in any future attempts to gain a greater understanding into the genre of medieval Latin travel literature.

Zur Überlieferung lateinischer Pilgertexte: Strukturierung, Auswahl und Sammlung der Informationen über das Heilige Land, in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 53 (2018), pp. 78–104. Examples of more recent works on travels into East Asia include Kim M. Phillips, Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510, Philadelphia, PA 2014; Marianne O'Doherty, The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination (Medieval Voyaging 2), Turnhout 2013; Marina Münkler, Erfahrung des Fremden. Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 2000.

1 Latin Travel Literature c. 1200–1500

This volume addresses Latin travel literature within the timeframe of c. 1200–1500, the so-called 'late Middle Ages'. Up until the 13th century, the texts which formed the basis of this literary corpus focused mainly on pilgrimage. It began to develop in the fourth century with the rise of pilgrimages to Palestine, with the texts in this genre sometimes referred to as 'pilgrimage narratives', though the terms 'pilgrimage accounts', 'guidebooks', or 'guides' are often used.[3] While similar in many regards, in detail there are clear differences in the use, distribution, and reception of the texts that form the component parts of the genre and the term 'pilgrimage narrative' in use here serves as a hypernym for an incredibly diverse range of texts. These narratives had several functions: as guides for actual travel; as guides for a mental (re)enactment of a journey; as a medium for the transfer of knowledge (about the sacred and profane); as a source of material which could be used for exegetical purposes (among other things); and as a key part in the processes of documentation, authentication, and memorialization of journeys undertaken for a broad range of reasons.

A basic characteristic of pilgrimage narratives is the narration of a subject's motion through holy space as well as the narration of the sensory perception.[4] In contrast to a narration about a profane journey, traveled space is marked as holy by connecting it to a biblical event and thus characterizing it as a holy place. The structure of pilgrimage narratives usually follows a (real or imagined) *itinerarium* through the holy places. This structure, in German *Wegstreckenschema*, is a characteristic of pilgrimage narratives: one place is described and connected to the next place, and so on.[5]

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3 For more on the terminology and the debates surrounding their usage see Dietrich Huschenbett, 'Diu vart hin über mer'. Die Palästina-Pilgerberichte als neue Prosa-Gattung in der deutschen Literatur des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, in: Xenia von Ertzdorff (ed.), Beschreibung der Welt. Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte. Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 8. bis 13. Juni 1998 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, Amsterdam, Atlanta 2000, pp. 119–151; Fischer (note 2), pp. 29–36; Gerhard Wolf, Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters, in: Peter J. Brenner (ed.), Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur, Frankfurt a. M. 1989, pp. 81–116; Gerhard Wolf, Deutschsprachige Reiseberichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Formen und Funktionen einer hybriden Gattung, in: Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter, vol. 3 (2012), pp. v–xxviii; John Gordon Davies, Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature, in: Barbara Sargent-Baur (ed.), Journeys Toward God. Pilgrimage and Crusade, Kalamazoo 1992, pp. 1–30.

4 On characteristics of pilgrimage narratives cf. Fischer (note 2), pp. 37–92. See Susanna Fischer, Latin Orientalism: Travel and Pilgrimage literature, in: Francesco Stella, Lucie Doležalová and Danuta Shanzer (eds.): Latin Literatures in Medieval and Early Modern Times Inside and Outside Europe. A Millennium History (Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages), Amsterdam (forthcoming) for an overview of Latin pilgrimage and travel narratives.

5 For the terminus *Wegstreckenschema* cf. Dietrich Huschenbett, ‚Von landen und ynselen'. Literarische und geistliche Meerfahrten nach Palästina im späten Mittelalter, in: Norbert Richard Wolf (ed.), Wissensorganisierende und wissensvermittelnde Literatur im Mittelalter. Perspektiven ihrer Erforschung. Kolloquium 5.–7. Dez. 1985, Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 187–207, here p. 181.

What we read in a pilgrimage narrative is a combination of experience and knowledge gained through reading the Bible, pilgrimage narratives, and other texts. For the most part it is difficult to isolate the two sources from each other.[6] Most pilgrimage narratives only *seem* like first-hand accounts of the actual experiences of an actual traveler. Moreover, the focus is often less on one's own journey than on the description of the journey within the well-known system of Bible and world knowledge. Older texts are not replaced by new ones; rather, information from existing texts is incorporated into the emerging texts, even if the described situations no longer correspond to reality. The journeys recounted in these texts are built into a network of interconnected sources of knowledge of which other pilgrimage texts were an important part. In addition, Bible commentaries, historical, or encyclopedic writings were consulted, incorporated, or reproduced in longer passages. In particular, the writings of Jerome, Isidore of Seville, William of Tyre, and especially Jacques of Vitry represent the key texts which pilgrimage narratives drew upon.[7] As a result, a literary tradition developed and an expectation formed that certain *loca sancta* and certain aspects be treated in these writings.

The sparse nature of surviving texts in the period up to 1099 would, however, fundamentally change in the 12th century following the capture of Jerusalem by the armies of the expedition which we now know as the First Crusade (1095–1099).[8] Subsequently, the 12th and 13th centuries saw a rapid rise in the number of Latin pilgrimage texts related to Holy Land journeys being produced. Many of these, like the 'Tractatus de locis et statu Sancte Terre Ierosolimitane' or Fretellus' 'Descriptio de locis sanctis' (c. 1140), were simply descriptive and directional, aimed at helping individuals navigate their way around the Holy Land.[9] However, there was also

6 Cf. Schröder (note 2), pp. 29–32; Michael Harbsmeier, Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen: Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reisebeschreibungen, in: Antoni Maczak and Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (eds.), Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung, Wolfenbüttel 1982, pp. 1–31, here p. 16.

7 On William of Tyre cf. Willelmus Tyrensis, Chronicon, ed. by Robert B.C. Huygens (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis 63/63A), Turnhout 1986; on Jacques de Vitry cf. Jacobus de Vitriaco, Historia occidentalis, ed. by J. Donnadieu (Sous la règle de Saint Augustin 12), Turnhout 2008.

8 There were several key texts produced in the period up to 1099, for example the 4th-century Itinerarium of Egeria: Egeria, Itinerarium, ed. by A. Franceschini and R. Weber, in: Itineraria et alia Geographica (CCSL 175), Turnhout 1965, pp. 35–90. In the second half of the seventh century, Adomnán of Iona wrote 'De locis sanctis' in three books, which is characterized in the prologue as an eyewitness account of a bishop named Arculf: Adomnan, De locis sanctis, ed. by L. Bieler, in: Itineraria et alia Geographica (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175), Turnhout 1965, pp. 219–297. The Venerable Bede adapted Adomnán's writing in 702/3 using it as the main source for his work 'De locis sanctis': Beda Venerabilis, De locis sanctis, ed. by I. Fraipont, in: Itineraria et alia Geographica (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175), Turnhout 1965, pp. 245–280. Both Bede's and Adomnán's writings are not based on a real journey undertaken by their authors. See Fischer (note 2), pp. 93–160.

9 For the complete editorial history of these sorts of texts and for information about the author, who is known as Innominatus V and Innominatus IX, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, The Tractatus

a proliferation of first-hand narrative accounts of pilgrimage produced during this period, with texts written in Latin by Saewulf (1102–1103), John of Würzburg (1160), Theoderic (1169),[10] and Thietmar (1217–1218).[11] One of the most influential texts, though not a narrative of a pilgrimage in a strict sense, is the 13th-century 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' by Burchard of Mount Sion (1274–1285).[12] Transmitted in over a hundred manuscripts and later also in printed editions, it quickly became a work of reference for pilgrims and pilgrimage authors. This trend continued, with more and more texts relating to the pilgrimages of specific individuals appearing through the period of the 14th and 15th centuries. Some key texts from this later period include those written by William of Bodensele (1335), Ludolf of Sudheim (1336), Symon Semeonis (1335), Felix Fabri (1484), and Bernhard of Breydenbach (1486).[13]

As well as an increasing number of texts, the traveled area covered by these texts began to extend into Central and Eastern Asia. In turn, this geographical expansion occurred alongside a widening of focus within these texts in which missionary aspects, the presentation of 'Otherness', and various what we might call encyclopedic topics came to the fore. Some of these texts, like William of Rubruck's 'Itinerarium'

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de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane, in: John France and William G. Zajac (eds.), The Crusades and their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton, Aldershot 1998, pp. 111–133, and Paolo Trovato, Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method: A Non-Standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text, Padua 2014, pp. 275–287. They are also dealt with briefly in Denys Pringle (ed.), Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land 1187–1291, Farnham 2012, pp. 35–36. For an edition of Fretellus, see Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre sainte. Histoire et édition du texte, ed. by P. C. Boeren, Amsterdam 1980.

10 Edited in: Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus, ed. by Robert B. C. Huygens (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis 139), Turnhout 1994. In each instance, the dates provided here reflect dates of travel, which are often more discernible than the date by which the text was produced, which usually occurred an indeterminate period after the pilgrim's return home.

11 Philip Booth, Encountering Miracles and Muslims: The Holy Land Pilgrimage of Thietmar, 1217–1218 (forthcoming).

12 Burchard of Mount Sion, OP, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, ed. by J. R. Bartlett, Oxford 2019. See also Jonathan Rubin, The Manuscript Tradition of Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terre Sancte*, in: The Journal of Medieval Latin 30 (2020), pp. 257–286, and the contributions of Rubin as well as Ferro and Schonhardt in this volume.

13 Guillaume de Boldensele sur la Terre Sainte et l'Égypte (1336). Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra Sancta. Suivi de la trad. de Jean le Long. Présentation et commentaire par Christiane Deluz (Sources d'histoire médiévale 44), Paris 2018; Ludolphi Rectoris Ecclesiae Parochalie in Suchem, De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber, ed. by F. Deycks, Stuttgart 1851; Symon Semeonis, Itinerarium ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam, ed. by M. Esposito (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 4), Dublin 1960; Felix Fabri, Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem, vols. 1–3, ed. by Konrad Dietrich Hassler, Stuttgart 1843–1849; Felix Fabri, Les errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre Sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte (1480–1483), vols. I–VIII, ed. by Jean Meyers and Nicole Chareyron, Montpellier 2000–2020. There is no modern edition of the Latin text of Bernhard of Breydenbach's 'Peregrinatio in terram sanctam', but a reprint of an early modern print can be found in: Bernhard von Breydenbach, Die Reise ins Heilige Land. Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483 mit 17 Holzschnitten, 5 Faltkarten und 6 Textseiten in Faksimile. Übertragung und Nachwort von Elisabeth Geck, Wiesbaden 1977.

(1253–1254) or John of Plano Carpini's 'Ystoria Mongalorum' (1245–1247),[14] represent missionary accounts of these individuals' travels in East and Central Asia and appear therefore in very much a different vein to their pilgrimage predecessors. Indeed, they often have more in common with their vernacular counterparts, texts like the infamous 'Il Milione' which recounts Marco Polo's extensive travels and experiences in Asia.[15] But linking travel or missionary texts and pilgrimage texts were those which stood as a hybrid of the two; texts like Odoric of Pordenone's 'Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum' (1318–1329),[16] which recounts not only his travels eastward but also information about the Holy Land, and Riccoldo of Monte Croce's 'Liber peregrinationis' (1288),[17] in which we see a fusion of typical pilgrimage narrative with missionary account.

As the 13th century progressed, and as the scope of Latin travelers extended beyond the Holy Land, the focus of these texts on the purely biblical past, or spiritual present, began to give way to a view of the lands through which they traveled which contained information about the peoples, religions, cultures, and flora and fauna which they encountered, as well as matters that we would call the 'marvels of the East' and greater information about the logistics of travel. A widening of the world view of travel literature was also in part to do with the fact that the Holy Land was no longer as freely accessible in the 14th and 15th centuries as it had been in the 12th and to some extent 13th centuries. This led to pilgrims and travelers seeking further afield for sites connected with a biblical past and consequentially Egypt, and particularly Sinai, became progressively more popular destinations to visit and to describe.

Naturally, accounts of pilgrimage were increasingly recorded in languages other than Latin and even those produced in Latin began to find themselves transmitted in vernacular languages, with texts like William of Bodensele's 'Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra Sancta' and Ludolf of Sudheim's 'De itinere Terre Sancte liber' being amongst the first.[18] By the same token, travel narratives

14 Guglielmo di Rubruk, Viaggio in Mongolia, ed. by Paolo Chiesa, Milan 2011; Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, Storia dei Mongoli, ed. by E. Menestò, Spoleto 1989.

15 Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde, ed. by G. Ronchi, Milan 1982. The Latin translation by Francesco Pipino da Bologna is only printed in the footnotes of: Marco Polo, Milion. Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským, ed. by J. V. Prášek, Prague 1902. On the fortunes of Marco Polo in the Middle Ages see Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Âge: traduction, diffusion et réception du *Devisement du monde*, Turnhout 2015.

16 Odoricus de Pordenone, Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum, ed. by A. Marchisio, Florence 2016.

17 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre. Traduction, ed. and tr. by René Kappler, (Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge 4), Paris 1997. Cf. Rita George-Tvrtković, A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam, Turnhout 2012.

18 For editions see note 13.

and pilgrimage accounts produced in the vernacular also found themselves being translated into Latin, with texts like John Mandeville's hugely influential 'Travels', originally written in a form of Anglo-French, appearing frequently in a number of Latin redactions.[19] Finally, in the 15th century authors such as Felix Fabri and Bernhard of Breydenbach actively circulated the accounts of their travels to the Holy Land in both Latin and in German versions. Thus, a widespread change of language choices and dissemination practices, aided by the emergence of the printed book, marks the chronological end point of this volume focusing on the heyday of travel and pilgrimage literature written in Latin.

2 Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Latin Travel Literature

With this in mind, this volume aims to, on the one hand, profile the approaches which the contributors are currently taking in the study of the Latin travel literature of the late Middle Ages, while highlighting what they expect to be fruitful avenues and approaches for future research. The selection of topics is by no means exhaustive, but nevertheless presents a rich and diverse range of current approaches in both general surveys and case studies. Other approaches not represented in the volume, but which the editors recognize as integral to the future of the discipline, are related to the discussion of ideas of race, gender, monster theory, and the sensory turn. A certain emphasis on the pilgrimage narratives of Burchard of Mount Sion on the one hand and Felix Fabri on the other hand could not be avoided. In accordance with their length, complexity, and influence, these two texts have received increasing scholarly attention in the past decade,[20] which is also reflected in this volume.

Before turning to the contents itself, it is also worth reflecting on some other things not represented in the volume. The origins of this collection find themselves in a workshop held at the University of Innsbruck on 4–5 April 2019.[21] This provided a rich environment where we were able to discuss the various approaches that each of us involved were taking. Since then, the world has obviously changed quite dramatically, and timescales, participants' commitments, and so on have meant that the volume does not represent the full range of ideas and perspectives

19 Marianne O'Doherty, Richard Hakluyt and the 'Vulgate Latin' Version of Mandeville's Travels, in: Viator 50,1 (2020), pp. 317–353.

20 On Burchard cf. e.g. Ingrid Baumgärtner, Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land, in: Peregrinations. Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture 4,1, Special Issue: 'Mapping' (2013), pp. 5–42; Jonathan Rubin, A Missing Link in European Travel Literature. Burchard of Mount Sion's Description of Egypt, in: Mediterranea. International Journal for the Transfer of Knowledge 3 (2018), pp. 55–90; Rubin (note 12). On Felix Fabri cf. Folker Reichert and Alexander Rosenstock (eds.), Die Welt des Frater Felix Fabri, Weißenhorn 2018.

21 We would like to acknowledge the assistance, financial and otherwise, of the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, the Vice-Rectorate for Research at the University of Innsbruck, and the Department of Classical Philology and Neo-Latin Studies of the University of Innsbruck in organizing this workshop.

presented at the original workshop. Some not involved in this volume have gone on to publish elsewhere and it is worthwhile directing the reader to their excellent work. Andrew Jotischky's work on Latin pilgrim perspectives of Eastern Orthodox monks and monasteries, influenced by ideas of Orientalism, provides a refreshing take on travelers' encounter with an 'Other' by moving away from the usual Christian-Muslim dichotomy to think about how Latin pilgrim authors wrote about their Eastern Christian counterparts.[22] Irene Malfatto's work on the cognitive experiences of Franciscan travelers has challenged the idea that these religious men were confined by the tradition of authority in what they described and how they described it.[23] Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli's work on the public of Latin travel narratives, still in development, is breaking new ground as regards questions of audience and participation.[24] Marianne O'Doherty's work on the vulgate tradition of Mandeville's travels serves as an excellent case study of the inter-relationship between Latin and vernacular texts, the ways they can and did influence one another, and the way interest in travel narratives produced in Latin persisted into the early modern period.[25] And finally, Michele Campopiano's work on the Franciscan library on Mount Sion, which has resulted in a book published in 2020, evaluates the role of the Franciscans on Mount Sion in codifying the later medieval pilgrimage itinerary and experience in the Holy Land.[26] While these authors are not represented by chapters in this volume, we would nevertheless like to thank them for their contribution to it and the field.

The volume itself is separated into two sections. Part I, "Texts, Maps, and Manuscripts", deals with codicological approaches and manuscript studies, speaking to the ways in which these can provide valuable insights into reception and afterlife of the texts, consumers, and creators in question. In their respective contributions, Jonathan Rubin as well as Eva Ferro and Michael Schonhardt present the results

22 Andrew Jotischky, The Image of the Greek: Western Pilgrims' Views of Eastern Monks and Monasteries in the Holy Land, c.1200–1500, in: Speculum 94,3 (2019), pp. 674–703. For an alternative perspective on this subject see also Nickiforos I. Tsougarakis, Perceptions of the Greek Clergy and Rite in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Accounts to the Holy Land, in: Nikolaos Chrissis, Athina Kolia-Dermitzaki and Angeliki Papageorgiou (eds.), Byzantium and the West: Perception and Reality (11th – 15th c.), Abingdon 2020, pp. 230–242.

23 Irene Malfatto, Authority, Curiosity, and Experience: John of Marignolli and the Power of the Individual in Medieval Franciscan Travel Writing, Medieval Globe (forthcoming). See also Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, The Authority of Written and Oral Sources of Knowledge in Ludolf of Sudheim's *De itinere Terre Sancte*, in: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 51,1 (2021), pp. 37–48.

24 Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, A quoi servent les récits de voyages ? Réflexions sur les lectures et la réception d'un genre littéraire au Moyen Âge, in: Ludmilla Evdokimova and Alain Marchandisse (eds.), Le Texte médiéval dans le processus de communication, Paris 2018, pp. 81–93.

25 O'Doherty (note 19).

26 Michele Campopiano, Writing the Holy Land: The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the Construction of a Cultural Memory, 1300–1500, London 2020.

of their research focused on the 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' of Burchard of Mount Sion. Beyond the important advancement of our knowledge of Burchard's text, manuscripts, and early reception, these case studies also serve as a guide to the ways in which collaborative approaches to these texts can pay dividends, as well as to the problems in editing dynamic texts with diverse manuscript traditions. A possible way of preparing digital editions of pilgrimage narratives is then suggested in the contribution of Susanna Fischer. In her contribution she addresses a set of short Latin pilgrimage texts dated to the 15th century, each containing a written description of a grid map of Palestine ('Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'), in which the holy places are located in a grid scheme. The chapter also describes the processes involved in creating a digital edition of these texts.

Part II, "Authors, Audiences, and Concepts", deals more closely with questions of authorial intent and audience and demonstrates the wide range of people who formed the public for these texts. Thus, it provides further insights into the readership of Latin travel literature, as well as how the genre of travel literature fits into a wider corpus of the Latin literature of the Middle Ages. The different approaches assembled in this section range from literary studies closely engaging with the textual surface all the way to historical and anthropological perspectives looking beyond the text. In her contribution, Jana Valtrová discusses the relation of author and audience on the level of emotions, combining the theoretical approaches of emotional communities and 'hidden transcripts' for her interpretations of John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck. Community identities and expectations of the audience also play a significant role in the contribution of Stefan Schröder, who studies the emergence and the different functions of the 'Muslim Other' in late medieval Latin pilgrimage texts from Thietmar to Bernhard of Breydenbach. Schröder focuses on the way that descriptions of this 'Other' are increasingly deployed and constructed to shape an idealized image of the 'Christian Self'. Philip Booth also thinks about the ways in which descriptions of 'Others' are utilized in pilgrimage texts, but argues for their being integral parts of pilgrimage narratives and medieval travelers' perception of themselves. Drawing on theoretical models derived from the anthropology of pilgrimage and tourism studies, Booth suggests several new ways that the burgeoning field of pilgrimage studies can help inform our understanding of medieval travel narratives. Martin Bauer provides a Neoplatonic reading of Petrarch's 'Itinerarium ad sepulcrum domini nostri Yehsu Cristi', which can explain the peculiarities of this 'fringe text' of pilgrimage narratives. The interrelationship of sermons and pilgrimage texts in Felix Fabri's 'Evagatorium' is explored by Yamit Rachman Schrire, who concludes that the interaction of different literary genres plays a key role for engaging different audiences with the text. Finally, by blending methodological reflection and case studies of Felix Fabri's writings in her essay dedicated to the memory of Jacob Klingner, Kathryne Beebe re-evaluates the phenomenon of 'imagined pilgrimage' and its relevance for the interpretation of medieval travel literature.

In sum, both sections complement each other in speaking to the need to see Latin travel literature as a discrete and fundamentally important facet of medieval Latin literature as a whole, containing material which communicates profound messages about the physical and literary worlds which birthed these texts. Overall, this volume will serve not only as a vital statement on the current state of research into the Latin travel literature of the Middle Ages, but also represents a crucial step forward in identifying new directions for research and collaboration. It is hoped that it will fundamentally enhance our understanding and knowledge of this crucial genre of medieval Latin literature.[27]

Our valued colleague and friend Jacob Klingner was sadly not able to attend the workshop in Innsbruck due to his illness. He passed away on 26 May 2020. This volume is dedicated to his memory.

27 We would like to acknowledge the work of Maria Judmaier and thank her for compiling the indices for the volume. Our thanks also to Ingrid Baumgärtner for her generous support throughout the process, as well as the anonymous reviewers, editors, and copy-editors who have done so much to enhance the quality of the volume.

PART I
TEXTS, MAPS, AND MANUSCRIPTS

Jonathan Rubin

Authorial and Scribal Interventions in Medieval Accounts of the Holy Land

Burchard of Mount Sion's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' as a Test Case

Abstract Burchard of Mount Sion's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' is a Latin account of the Holy Land composed in the 1280s. Its detailed nature as well as its carefully crafted structure made it popular in late medieval and early modern times. The 'Descriptio' was not only widely read and cited, it was also constantly re-edited, first by its author and later by generations of scribes and editors. Following a recent study which resulted in the production of a *stemma codicum* of the so-called 'long version' of the 'Descriptio', the present paper further investigates such editorial processes, aiming to provide new insights into both the nature of Burchard's own efforts to revise his work, and the ways in which, intentionally and unintentionally, later scribes brought about changes in this popular treatise. Inter alia, this study traces the ways in which the cultural gap between Burchard and some of these scribes – for example with regard to their acquaintance with the Holy Land's geography – shaped the development of the 'Descriptio' and its reading from the time of its original composition until the present.

Zusammenfassung Die ‚Descriptio Terre Sancte' Burchards von Monte Sion ist eine lateinische Beschreibung des Heiligen Landes aus den 1280er Jahren. Aufgrund ihrer Detailtreue und ihrer sorgfältig ausgearbeiteten Struktur fand sie im späten Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit weite Verbreitung. Die ‚Descriptio' wurde nicht nur viel gelesen und zitiert, sie wurde auch ständig in neuen Versionen und Redaktionen überarbeitet, zunächst von ihrem Autor, danach durch Generationen von Schreibern und Herausgebern. In Anlehnung an eine kürzlich durchgeführte Studie, die zur

Contact

Prof. Jonathan Rubin,
The Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, Bar Ilan University, Israel,
jonathan.rubin5775@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4423-7013

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Erstellung eines *stemma codicum* der sogenannten ‚Langversion' der ‚Descriptio' führte, untersucht der vorliegende Beitrag diese redaktionellen Prozesse mit dem Ziel, neue Einblicke in Burchards eigene Revision seines Werkes zu geben und näher zu beleuchten, wie spätere Schreiber diesen populären Text absichtlich und unabsichtlich bearbeiteten. Unter anderem wird in dieser Untersuchung nachgezeichnet, wie die kulturellen Unterschiede zwischen Burchard und einigen dieser Schreiber – etwa im Hinblick auf die Kenntnis der Geografie des Heiligen Landes – die Entwicklung der ‚Descriptio' und ihre Lektüre seit ihrer Entstehung bis heute prägten.

1 Introduction

While Latin accounts of the Crusader-period Holy Land form a corpus that is well known and often studied, very little has been done to investigate the ways in which authors and later scribes / editors intervened with these accounts after their composition.[1] This is an important subject for two main reasons. First, such an analysis can bring us much closer than is otherwise possible to the experiences and intentions of the authors of such texts. Most importantly, perhaps, it can reveal in what ways authors' knowledge and views changed over time. Second, it can tell us much about the manner in which such works were received and enable us to pursue questions such as what parts of the texts were considered redundant by later authors or how knowledge gained by later editors was integrated into an existing text.

In order to study these questions, one should ideally have a large manuscript tradition, which has been reasonably well analysed, so that the relationships between its different redactions would be at least tentatively known. With such knowledge, one could proceed and investigate the changes which took place in various stages in the development of the text under consideration. The so-called long version of Burchard's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' provides just such a case. The manuscript tradition of this text, which is extant in around 60 manuscripts, has recently received considerable attention. As a result, five families of manuscripts have now been identified and the relationships between them have been analysed.[2] The tentative *stemma* of the long version of Burchard's 'Descriptio' looks like this:

1 This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant no. 1443/17).

2 For a complete list of the witnesses of the long version of the 'Descriptio', for their division into families and for the relationships between them see Jonathan Rubin, The Manuscript Tradition of Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terre Sancte*, in: The Journal of Medieval Latin 30 (2020), pp. 257–286. The distinction, within the 'Descriptio's' textual tradition, between the long and short

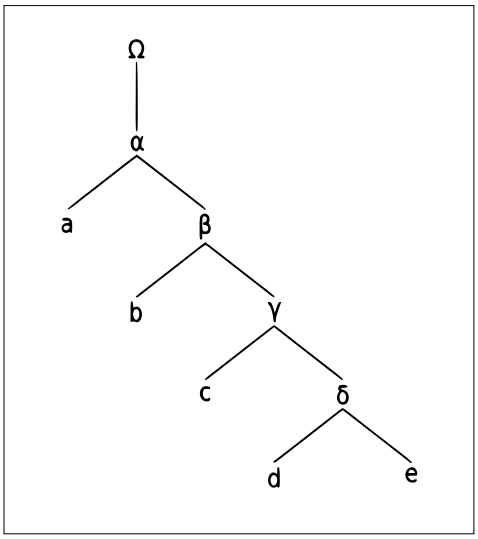

Fig. 1 | Stemma of the long version of Burchard's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte'

A few words of clarification are in order regarding the *stemma*. Family ***c*** is the one on which Laurent based his edition, while in his very recent edition Bartlett chose to follow a manuscript from the ***e*** family.[3] Families ***a*** and ***b*** also deserve a word of introduction: in recent years two papers have been published on the 'Descriptio' using manuscripts which provide a text considerably longer than that published by either Laurent or Bartlett.[4] In both of these manuscripts the 'Descriptio' does not end, as does Laurent's text, with Burchard entering Egypt, or with an abbreviated account of Egypt, as in Bartlett's edition.[5] Rather it includes a detailed account of Egypt, followed by a description of Burchard's journey to Bologna. These manuscripts are London, British Library, Additamentum 18929 and Zwickau Ratsschulbibliothek, MS I XII 5 (referred to below as London and Zwickau respectively). While the former also includes an account of Burchard's journey back to the East, the latter ends abruptly with his impressions of Lucca. Our analysis shows that the Zwickau manuscript belongs to ***a*** and London to ***b***. Both families include additional manuscripts, but

versions goes back to Laurent, who published an edition of this text in the late 19th century (see next note). In recent years there developed a consensus among scholars that the so-called long version is closer to Burchard's original, though the relationships between them require further study.

3 Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor, ed. by Johann C. M. Laurent, Leipzig 1864. The 'Descriptio' is on pp. 2–100; Burchard of Mount Sion OP, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, ed. and trans. by John R. Bartlett, Oxford 2019. For the place of the manuscripts used by the two editors within the general manuscript tradition of the 'Descriptio', see Rubin (note 2).

4 See Jonathan Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*. A Newly Discovered Extended Version, in: Crusades 13 (2014), pp. 173–190; Id., A Missing Link in European Travel Literature. Burchard of Mount Sion's Description of Egypt, in: Mediterranea 3 (2018), pp. 55–90.

5 For the description of Egypt as it appears in different witnesses of the 'Descriptio', see Rubin, A Missing Link (note 4).

unfortunately all of these other witnesses are abbreviated in one way or another. The fact that London and Zwickau are located in different branches is highly significant because it proves that the 'new' sections found only in these two manuscripts are, in all likelihood, authentic, and it suggests that any new edition of the 'Descriptio' should be based first and foremost on the consensus between them.

In any case, the stemma presented above (which is based on a comparison of all available witnesses, and on the notion of common errors) can now help us to look at the changes which the 'Descriptio' underwent both when it was still in Burchard's hands and in those of the scribe with whom he worked, and later, when it was subject to the interventions of subsequent scribes / editors. Hopefully, insights resulting from such an analysis will also shed light on problems relevant to the transmission of other, similar, texts, which probably underwent comparable processes, but whose history is not well understood.

In section 2 of this paper, we shall look at problems related to the archetype of the 'Descriptio' and suggest that the available evidence shows that Burchard himself placed marginal notes in the manuscript he prepared. We will also argue that it is possible to identify traces of the intervention in the text of a scribe working for Burchard. In sections 3–5 we examine three categories of textual changes which are attributable to later scribes / editors. Each of these categories will be illustrated by comparisons between manuscripts representing different branches within the textual tradition of the 'Descriptio'.

2 The Archetype

In our attempts to explore the archetype of the 'Descriptio', two characteristics of its manuscript tradition are of particular importance. One is the existence of common errors, which are unlikely to have been introduced by Burchard, in all of the extant families. Here is one example, as it appears in Laurent's edition and with very minor differences in Bartlett's (the brackets are Laurent's):

> *Et dicitur Decapolis a X civitatibus principalibus in ea sitis. Que sunt: Tiberias, Sephet, Cedes Neptalim, Asor, Cesarea Philippi,* ***Capharnaum*** *[quam Iosephus Iuliam appellat], Iotapata, Bethsayda, Corrozaym, Bethsan, que eciam Scythopolis dicebatur.*
>
> Decapolis is named from the ten major cities located in it. They are: Tiberias, Safad, Kedesh Naphtali, Hazor, Caesarea Philippi, Capernaum (which Josephus calls Julia), Jotapata, Beth-saida, Chorazin, Beth-shean (also called Scythopolis).[6]

6 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Laurent (note 3), p. 46 (emphasis added). For a parallel text and the English translation, see Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 3), pp. 64–65.

In this passage Burchard enumerates the ten cities to which, he thought, the name Decapolis referred. What is noteworthy for our purposes is that *Capharnaum* is followed by a comment which should actually refer to Bethsaida, hence Laurent's brackets.[7] Given Burchard's familiarity with Josephus' work, it is unlikely that this was his own error. Rather, as Laurent has already suggested, it is much more likely that it was a scribe who inserted this comment in the wrong place. As this gloss appears following the toponym Capernaum in the great majority of long-version witnesses of the 'Descriptio', and across its five families, one must assume that this error was already present in the archetype (**α**).[8] In other words, what seems to have happened is that Burchard added this comment on the margins of a draft which he then handed to the scribe preparing the archetype, who misunderstood the location of the comment within the text.

To this error, which probably originated with the copyist who prepared the archetype, one may add two additional errors which occurred at the same stage. The first has to do with the description of the city of Acre. Again, this error is found in witnesses belonging to all five families:

- Zwickau, fol. 115v ***(a)***: *Est autem munita valde milicia et castris fortissimis scilicet hospitalis, templi et arcis civitatis.*[9]
- London, fol. 4r ***(b)***: *Est etiam munita multa militia hospitalis, templi et domus teutonice et castris eorum et arcis civitatis.*
- Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.V.17, fol. 3r–v ***(c)***: *Est munita multa milicia hospitalis, templi et theutonie et castris eorum et arcis civitatis.*
- Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conv. Soppr. C.VIII.2861, fol. 2v ***(d)***: *est etiam munita multa militia templi et hospitalis et domus theotonice et castris eorum et arcis civitatis.*
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 288, fol. 3v ***(e)***: *Est eciam munita multa militia hospitalis templi et domus teothonice et castris eorum et arcis civitatis.*

The word *arcis* ("of the citadel") is likely an error for *arce*, as noted by Laurent, who corrected this phrase.[10] While some witnesses, mainly in the ***e*** family, include different

7 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Laurent (note 3), p. 46, n. 283; cf. Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 3), p. 64. Denys Pringle, Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 1187–1291 (Crusade Texts in Translation), Farnham 2012, p. 269, n. 202.

8 For more details on the variants of this phrase in the different families of the 'Descriptio', see Rubin (note 2), p. 279.

9 "It is very well defended by a body of soldiers as well as by extremely strong castles, that is, those of the Hospital, the Temple and of the city's citadel." Unless otherwise noted, the translations from Latin are mine.

10 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Laurent (note 3), p. 23. Bartlett also faces a difficulty here since the manuscript he chose as his base text provides *arcis*. He preferred to correct it using two witnesses which provide *arcibus*. Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 3), p. 14.

readings (such as *arcibus*),[11] the fact that this error appears in numerous witnesses across all families of the tradition suggests that it originates in the common archetype and that the different readings result from attempts by scribes to correct the text.

Another error which appears across the manuscript tradition and is likely to have originated in the archetype (**α**) is the appearance of the form *Barach filius Achynoe* ("Barach son of Achynoe") instead of *Barac filius Abinoem* ("Barac son of Abinoem") as in the Vulgate (Jdg. 4.6).[12] Out of all of the extant witnesses, only three include the proper form, one instance of which is due to a reader's correction.[13] It is impossible to say whether this error originated with Burchard or with his scribe / copyist, but, be that as it may, it is clear that the archetype of the long version included several errors, at least some of which should be attributed to a scribe / copyist rather than to Burchard.

The second characteristic of the textual tradition of the 'Descriptio' which is meaningful for the reconstruction of the archetype is the different placement of a considerable number of comments in witnesses belonging to various families. To mention just one example, the note about the dates on which Burchard visited Mount Gilbo'a (discussed below) appears in different locations in the Zwickau and London manuscripts. In the former it appears at the end of the discussion of the Spring of Iezrael, while in the latter (as well as in the representatives of ***cde***) this note appears just before the discussion of *Gynim* (mod. Jenin, the West Bank). This makes it likely that this comment was originally placed on the margins of the archetype, and that, struggling with the question of where exactly it should be placed, different scribes / editors arrived at different solutions. As already noted, additional examples of this phenomenon can be found in the manuscript tradition of the 'Descriptio'.[14]

In other words, the archetype which stands at the basis of our tradition was complex. On the one hand, it already included within its text misplaced marginalia, as well as some other errors which would be difficult to ascribe to Burchard himself. At the same time, it also contained further authorial marginal notes. How can this be explained?

My suggestion is as follows. In the first stage, Burchard prepared a copy of his work. In the margins of this copy he added some notes. Burchard then gave this copy to a scribe. This scribe prepared a copy, into which he sometimes inserted Burchard's marginalia in the wrong location, and in which he also made some slight grammatical errors. The manuscript was then returned to Burchard, who added in its margins further comments, some of an autobiographical nature, which would later be differently placed by various scribes. It would also seem that Burchard did not fully examine

11 For example, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 466, fol. 38v; Brussels, KBR, MS 733–741, fol. 145r.

12 Some manuscripts include very corrupted forms of that name, such as *Ethinee*. See, for example, Rimini, Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga, SC-MS 71, fol. 280v.

13 Salzburg, St. Peter, Stiftsbibliothek, b IX 22, fol. 105v; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 9530, fol. 12v. For the reader correction, see: Hamburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Geogr. 59, p. 20.

14 For another autobiographical note which, in all likelihood, was placed in the margins of the archetype and later wrongly placed within the text, see below p. 24.

the manuscript for scribal errors, which explains why several errors of this kind are common to all of the extant families.

While this archetype did not survive, or at least has not hitherto been identified, such a witness is extant for the work of a near contemporary and fellow friar of Burchard's. The detailed study of a manuscript now in Berlin which contains Riccoldo of Monte Croce's pilgrimage account has shown that while it was produced by an unknown scribe, it also includes annotations and revisions by Riccoldo himself who, at the same time, did not completely remove errors from the copied text.[15] The evidence provided above suggests that Burchard may have worked in a similar manner, and that the archetype (**α**) may have resembled this Berlin manuscript of Riccoldo's 'Liber peregrinationis'.

Having made some tentative comments on the nature of the archetype of the 'Descriptio', we can now move on to the question of changes inserted into it by scribes / editors. Within this context, I propose to explore here three categories of such interventions: omission of personal information (section 3), loss of geographical information (section 4), and interventions resulting from a cultural gap between Burchard and later scribes / editors working on his text (section 5). This investigation will demonstrate the importance of philological analysis not only for understanding what the author meant to convey, but also for assessing the ways in which later generations perceived and understood – or misunderstood – his work.

3 The Omission of Personal Information

The first aspect of the development of the text which becomes evident when one looks at the transmission of the 'Descriptio' is the massive omission of personal, or autobiographical, information in some manuscripts. In other words, our stemma shows that some scribes tended to omit autobiographical comments which Burchard had placed in his text.

A significant example of this occurs at a very early point in the 'Descriptio', when Burchard explains his reasons for compiling this text. Here is the text as it appears in the different families of the long version:[16]

- Zwickau, fol. 113v ***(a)***: *Verum,* ***ego frater Burcardus ordinis fratrum predicatorum****, videns* […] *ipsam terram, quam pedibus meis pluries pertransivi*

15 Pringle (note 7), pp. 55–57; Riccoldo of Monte Croce, Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre. Traduction, ed. and tr. by René Kappler (Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge 4), Paris 1997, pp. 11, 22–27. The manuscript is Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 466.

16 Here, as in similar cases below, I add in the footnotes references regarding the readings found in additional witnesses belonging to each of the families.

et [quam] ***per x annos, quibus frater provincie illius fui****, quantum potui consideravi diligenter, et notavi et studiose descripsi.*[17]

- London, fol. 2r ***(b)***: *verum* ***ego Burchardus ordinis predicatorum****, videns* […] *terram ipsam quam pedibus meis pluries pertransivi quantum potui consideravi et notavi diligenter et studiose descripsi.*
- Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 145, fol. 174r ***(c)***: *verum videns* […] *terram ipsam quam pedibus meis pluries pertransivi quantum potui consideravi et notavi diligenter et studiose descripsi.*[18]
- London, British Library, Harley 3995, fol. 141r ***(d)***: *verum ego* ***frater Broccardus ordinis fratrum predicatorum*** *videns* […] *terram ipsam quam pedibus meis pluries pertransivi et quantum potui consideravi et notavi diligenter et studiose descripsi.*[19]
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 288, fol. 2r ***(e)***: *verum videns* […] *terram ipsam pedibus meis pluries pertransivi quantum potui consideravi et notavi diligenter et studiose conscripsi.*[20]

Clearly, the Zwickau manuscript provides the most complete picture with regard to Burchard's identity, noting not only his name and his organizational identity but also the fact that he spent ten years in the Dominican province of the Holy Land. The London manuscript ***(b)*** and the representatives of ***d*** do not include the reference to the time Burchard spent in the East but do provide his name and affiliation. The manuscripts checked from families ***ce***, however, omit these basic details (with the exception of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. fol. 464).[21]

Another example of the omission of details regarding Burchard and his actual journeys occurs in his discussion of Mount Gilbo'a. In this often-cited passage, Burchard argues that although the biblical text says that "mountains of Gilbo'a, let there be no dew nor rain upon you" (Sam. 2, 1.21) this is not in fact a dry region. In support of his argument Burchard shares his own experiences of the mountain:

17 "Truly, I, Brother Burchard of the Order of Preachers, seeing […] have both recorded and studiously described that land through which I have frequently passed on foot and which I have diligently inspected in so far as I have been able during the ten years in which I was a brother of that province."

18 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A I 28, fol. 196r, and Rimini, Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga, SC-MS 71, fol. 271r (both belonging to ***c***) provide very similar texts.

19 Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale, 1082 (250), fol. 91r–v and El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, O.III.34, fol. 32v (both belonging to ***d***) provide very similar texts.

20 Brussels, KBR, MS 733–741, fol. 123v, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 722 A, fol. 1v, and Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Trotti 500, fol. 89v (all belonging to ***e***) provide a very similar text. Interestingly, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. fol. 464, which belongs to the same family, does provide Burchard's name and affiliation (46r–v): *ipsam quam pluries ego frater Brocardus ordinis fratrum predicatorum pertransivi pedibus meis eiusque statum notavi diligenter et in hoc libello* [?] *studiose descripsi.* This is likely to be a result of contamination or the use of information coming from a colophon.

21 For the Berlin manuscript, see previous note.

- Zwickau, fol. 124v ***(a)***: *quia cum essem in mo[n]te hoc* ***anno d. mcclxx4*** **[sic]** ***in die beati Martini*** *venit super me pluvia ita quod fui usque ad carnem penitus madefactus* […] *alia insuper vice s.* ***anno domini mcclxxxiii in festo omnium sanctorum*** *sub divo dormiens in eodem monte cum aliis multis fui cum ipsis rore penitus infusus nocte illa.*[22]
- London, Add., fol. 17v ***(b)***: *quia cum in* ***die beati Martini*** *ibi essem, venit super me pluvia ita quod usque ad carnem fui madefactus* […] *alia etiam vice per noctem dormivi in eodem monte sub divo cum aliis multis et fuimus omnes infusi rore supra modum. Hoc fuit* ***anno domini 1283***.[23]
- Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 145, fol. 180v ***(c)***: *quia cum in* ***die sancti Martini*** *essem ibi venit super me pluvia ita quod usque ad carnem fui madefactus.*[24]
- London, British Library, Harley 3995, fol. 147r ***(d)***: *quia cum in* ***die beati Martini*** *essem ibi venit super me pluvia ita quod usque ad carnem fui madefactus.*[25]
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 288, fol. 16r ***(e)***: *quia cum in* ***die beati Martini*** *essem ibi venit super me pluvia ita quod usque ad carnem fui madefa[c]tus* […] *alia insuper vice dormivi per noctem in eodem monte sub divo cum aliis multis et fuimus omnes infusi rore supra modum. Istud accidit* ***anno domini mcclxxxiii in festo omnium sanctorum***.[26]

As can be seen, in the Zwickau manuscript Burchard mentions two instances in which he got wet on the Gilbo'a, providing the precise dates: St Martin's day (11 November) 1274, and the Feast of All Saints (1 November) 1283. London provides a very close text but omits the year of the first incident and the day of the second. Representatives from the ***e*** family provide information which is quite close to that included in Zwickau and London but those from ***cd*** omit most of the information we saw, leaving only the mention of St Martin's day, without noting the specific year to which it relates. A similar omission occurred within the ***a*** family, as is attested to by a manuscript (now in Leiden) whose text is very close to Zwickau in terms of common errors, but which provides this reading:

22 "Since when I visited that mountain in the year of the Lord 1274, on St Martin's day, it rained so heavily on me that I was completely soaked to the flesh […] Moreover, on another occasion, that is in the year of the Lord 1283, on the Feast of All Saints, sleeping on the same mountain, under the open sky, with many others I was completely soaked with them by dew that night."

23 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 525, fol. 65v (also belonging to ***b***) provides a very similar text.

24 Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Pap.-Hs. 152, fol. 27r–v (also belonging to ***c***) provides a very similar text.

25 El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, O.III.34, fol. 41v (also belonging to ***d***) provides a very similar text.

26 Brussels, KBR, MS 733–741, fol. 154v (also belonging to ***e***) provides a very similar text.

> *quia cum in die Martini essem in valle Iesrahel vidi pluviam valde magnam in eodem monte, cuius eciam reliquie ad nos descenderunt.*[27]
>
> because when I visited the Valley of Jezreel on Martin's Day I saw very heavy rain in that mountain, remains of which descended to us.

The omission of the dates of Burchard's visit to the Gilbo'a thus occurred several times, suggesting that the notion that such details had no place in an account of the Holy Land was not limited to the quirks of one particular scribe.

That the omission of dates was not unusual for scribes / editors can be further demonstrated by an additional case in which, to the best of my knowledge, only the Zwickau manuscript provides a date. This appears in the context of Burchard's comments on the balsam garden that he visited in Egypt, comments that appear as he describes Ein-Gedi. Notably, in the Zwickau manuscript we read:

> *Ortum istum balsami in Babiloniam translatum cum essem in Egipto anno domini 1248 [sic] oculis meis vidi. Mandavit enim me soldanus …*[28]
>
> I saw that balsam garden which had been transferred to Babilonia with my own eyes when I was in Egypt in the year of the Lord 1248. The sultan ordered that I …

It is noteworthy that this comment is clearly misplaced in the Zwickau manuscript, appearing between the accounts of Bethany and Bethphage. This implies that, as in the case of the comments concerning the Gilbo'a, this too was originally a marginal comment that was mis-inserted by a scribe.

The decision by medieval scribes / editors to omit biographical information concerning Burchard probably reflects wider tendencies in the learned culture of the Late Middle Ages. Given the Holy Land's special significance for Latin Christendom, accounts of the land were deemed important for the information they provided regarding this territory. The biographic information they included, on the other hand, probably seemed redundant to many readers and thus also to some scribes / editors. Indeed, if such texts were intended to be used as handbooks, personal comments may have even been perceived as a sort of interruption. Additionally, such details may have been omitted in order to make narratives repeatable and therefore timeless. While these attitudes are very far removed from those of modern historians, they had considerable consequences for recent scholarship. For example,

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27 Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, BPL 69, fol. 105v. A very similar text appears in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 46, fol. 13r and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 41 Weiss., fol. 186r, both of which belong to the same family.

28 Zwickau, fol. 128v. The date of 1248 is clearly an error for 1284, which fits very well with the other dates noted in the text. See Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio* (note 4), p. 181.

while several historians have raised the possibility that Burchard was a Dominican, they were only able to support this by evidence from rubrics and colophons.[29] As we have noted, there are in fact numerous manuscripts which explicitly mention Burchard as a Dominican, but given Laurent's limited selection of manuscripts on the one hand, and the dominance of his edition on the other, scholars remained unaware of this for as long as his edition served as the sole basis for the study of the 'Descriptio'.

4 The Loss of Geographical Information

The second phenomenon which clearly emerges when one compares the manuscripts closest to the probable archetype with others further removed from it is the manner in which geographical information concerning the Holy Land was lost, or became vague and inaccurate. This is particularly relevant to sites which lack a biblical past. Clearly, it was much easier for scribes to handle place names which they knew from the scriptures, even when those were difficult to read, than to transcribe, for example, an Arabic toponym they had never before encountered.

An interesting example has to do with a Templar site known during the Frankish period as *Casel Destreiz*, *le Destroit*, *Destrictum* or *Petra Incisa*.[30] This site is referred to by Burchard as he discusses the division of Greater Syria into several smaller 'Syrias'. The third of these, Burchard says:

- Zwickau, fol. 114r ***(a)***: *incipit a predicto a fluvio* [sic] *Valanie ab aquilone et extenditur versus austrum usque ad Petram Incisam sive* ***Districtum*** *sub monte Carmali* [sic]. *Qui locus hodie Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur et est milicie templi.*[31]
- London, fol. 2v ***(b)***: *incipit a predicto fluvio Valamie* [sic] *ab aquilone et extenditur versus austrum usque ad Petram Incisam sive* ***Districtum*** *sub monte Carmelo. Qui locus hodie Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur et est militie templum* [sic].[32]
- Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 145, fol. 174v ***(c)***: *incipit a predicto fluvio Valanye et protenditur usque ad austrum usque ad Petram Incisam sive* ***Dis-***

29 Pringle (note 7), p. 47; Paul D. A. Harvey, Medieval Maps of the Holy Land, London 2012, p. 94; Ingrid Baumgärtner, Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land, in: Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture 4.1 (2013), pp. 5–41, here p. 12.

30 Denys Pringle, Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. An Archaeological Gazetteer, Cambridge 1997, pp. 47–48.

31 "[B]egins from the said river of Valanie in the north and extends south as far as Petra Incisa or Districtum below Mount Carmel. This place is called today Pilgrims' Castle and belongs to the Order of the Temple." The other manuscripts belonging to this family omit this discussion.

32 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 525, fol. 60v (belonging to the same family) provides an almost identical text.

trictam *sub monte Carmeli. Qui locus hodie Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur et est milicia templi.*[33]

- Brussels, KBR, MS 9176–9177, fol. 25r ***(d)***: *incipit a predicto fluvio Velanie ab aquilone et extenditur adversus Castrum Peregrinorum quod est milicie templi.*[34]
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 288, fol. 2v ***(e)***: *incipit a predicto fluvio Valanie ab aquilone et extenditur versus austrum versus ad Portam Incisam sive* ***Distictam*** [sic] *sub monte Carmeli. Qui locus hodie Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur et est militie templi.*[35]

That the toponym which should have been referred to here is *Districtum* is made clear not only by the above-noted reference to Pringle's "Secular Buildings", but also by what seems to have been the source for Burchard's comment. Both William of Tyre and Jacques de Vitry refer to *Districtum* in a very similar context and Burchard may have taken his information from either of the two, although the latter is more likely to have served as his source in this case.[36]

Clearly, then, the scribes of the London and Zwickau manuscripts were accurate in copying the proper toponym, which was well known in the Frankish period. The manuscripts representing ***ce*** seem to indicate that *Districtum* was understood by at least some scribes not as a place name but rather as an erroneous form of an adjective of *Petram*. Hence, they modified the word from *Districtum* to *Districtam*. The representatives of the ***d*** family can attest to one of two developments. Either the scribe / editor whose work stands at the foundation of this part of the tradition skipped from *austrum* to *castrum,* thus missing the word *Districtum*, or he intentionally avoided the toponym which made little sense to him. In any case, this example shows what sometimes happened when scribes / editors who were not well acquainted with the actual Frankish-period Holy Land struggled with toponyms which were easily identifiable to those who had first-hand experience of it.

This confusion on the part of medieval scribes / editors uninformed about the Crusader-period Holy Land continues to leave its mark on modern scholarship.

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33 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.I.28, fol. 197r, belonging to the same family, provides a slightly different text: *incipit a predicto fluvio Valanie ab aquilone et extenditur versus austrum usque ad Petram Incisam sive Districtam sub monte Carmeli. Qui locus hodie Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur et est milicie templi.*

34 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76.56, fol. 94r (belonging to the same family) provides the same text.

35 Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 722 A, fol. 2v (belonging to the same family) provides a slightly different text: *versus austrum usque ad petram incisam.*

36 *[a]b austro vero Phenicis statim coniungitur, inter partes eius precipua* […] *nunc autem in duas divisa est. Quarum prima Maritima dicitur* […] *a rivo Valanie* […] *habens initium, finem autem ad Lapidem Incisum, qui hodie dicitur Districtum.* Willelmus Tyrensis, Chronicon, ed. by Robert B.C. Huygens (CCCM 63–63A), Turnhout 1986, vol. 1, p. 587. *Tertia autem pars Syrie, Syria maritima et Syria Phenicis nominatur* […] *habens initium a predicto rivo [rivus Valenie], finem vero ad Lapidem Incisum qui dicitur Districtum, hodie vero Castrum Peregrinum* [sic] *nominatur.* Jacques de Vitry, Histoire orientale, ed. and trans. by Jean Donnadieu, Turnhout 2008, p. 442.

Laurent provided the following text: *incipit a predicto fluuio Ualanie ab aquilone, et extenditur uersus austrum usque ad Petram incisam siue desertam.*[37] In his recent edition, Bartlett provides an alternative reading which also does not include the actual Frankish name of the site:

> *incipit a predicto fluuio Valanie ab aquilone, et extenditur uersus austrum usque ad Petram incisam siue districtam sub monte Carmeli, qui locus hodie Castrum peregrinorum dicitur, et est militie templi.*[38]

Another example of the same kind of difficulties occurs in Burchard's account of a site known as *Maldoim* or *Castrum Dumi*, located to the north-east of Jerusalem. Here is the reference as it appears in representatives of the different groups:[39]

- Zwickau, fol. 128v ***(a)***: *et effusione frequenti sanguinis locus idem* ***Rodeburg*** *appellatur.*[40]
- London, fol. 22r ***(b)***: *ab effusione frequenti sanguinis locus ille nomen accepit.*[41]
- Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.V.17, fol. 11v–12r ***(c)***: *ab effusione frequenti sanguinis locus ille nomen accepit.*[42]
- El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, O.III.34, fol. 45r ***(d)***: *ab effusione frequenti sanguinis locus iste nomen accepit.*[43]
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 288, fol. 20v ***(e)***: *ab effusione frequenti sanguinis locus ille nomen accepit.*[44]

What we see here is the omission of a German toponym probably used by at least some of Burchard's contemporaries in the Holy Land, but, in all likelihood, unknown to scribes working in the West, and consequently omitted by the common ancestor of ***bcde***.[45]

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37 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Laurent (note 3), p. 21.

38 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 3), p. 10. While Bartlett does inform his readers that Jacques identifies Pilgrims' Castle with a site known as *Districtum* (n. 19), he does not mention in the apparatus that London in fact provides this form.

39 This passage is also studied by Ferro and Schonhardt in the present volume, pp. 62–63.

40 "And on account of the frequent shedding of blood that place is called Rodeburg." Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, BPL 69, fol. 108r (from the same family) provides a very similar reading.

41 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 525, fol. 68r (from the same family) provides a very similar reading.

42 Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 145, fol. 182v (from the same family) provides a very similar reading.

43 Brussels, KBR, MS 9176–9177, fol. 33r (belonging to the same family) provides a slightly different text: *ab effusione sanguinis frequenti locus ille nomen* [sic].

44 Brussels, KBR, MS 733–741, fol. 158v (from the same family) provides a very similar text.

45 One may argue against this that the phrase provided by ***bcde*** refers to the name *castrum/casale Adumim* (meaning 'red' in Hebrew) which appears several lines earlier in the text. This, however,

An additional example of the corruption of geographical information in witnesses more distant from the archetype has to do with a village in the Bethlehem area. In the ***a*** family we read:

> *de Bethleem ad ½ leucam contra occidentem est Bezeel villa.*[46]
>
> From Bethlehem half a league to the west is the village of Bezeel.

This phrase almost certainly refers to the village of Bayt Jālā, which still exists today,[47] but all of the other witnesses of the 'Descriptio' provide forms that are further removed from the village's name like: *Bezek*, *Boreth* (which is unique to the ***b*** family), *Berech* and so on.[48] In that sense, this case is similar to that which we have just seen with regard to *Districtum*, where concrete geographical information became corrupted under the hands of copyists.

What makes this case even more intriguing is the fact that almost all witnesses belonging to ***bcde*** add, at the end of the discussion of this village several lines later, the following phrase, which is not in ***a***:[49]

> *In hac villa captus est Adonibezech cesis summitatibus manuum eius et pedum.*
>
> In this village Adonibezech was captured, his thumbs and big toes having been cut off.

This phrase is a clear reference to Jdg. 1.5–6, where we read:

> *Inveneruntque Adonibezec in Bezec, et pugnaverunt contra eum, ac percusserunt Chananeum et Ferezeum. Fugit autem Adonibezec: quem secuti conprehenderunt, caesis summitatibus manuum eius ac pedum.*
>
> And they found Adonibezek in Bezek: and they fought against him, and they slew the Canaanites and the Perizzites. But Adonibezek fled; and

seems improbable as Burchard is unlikely to have expected his readers to know that *adumim* is the Hebrew word for red.

46 Zwickau, fol. 133r. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 46, fol. 27r has precisely the same text. Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, BPL 69, fol. 113r and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 41 Weiss., fol. 193r have the same text except that they say *orientem* for *occidentem*.

47 Pringle (note 7), p. 304, n. 413.

48 See, for example, *Borech* (London, fol. 32v), *Bezek* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. oct. 293, fol. 88v), and *Berech* (Oxford, Magdalen College, MS Lat. 43, fol. 38r).

49 See, for example, London, fol. 32v ***(b)***; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Geogr. 59, p. 50 ***(c)***; Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conv. Soppr. C.VIII.2861, fol. 20r ***(d)***; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 466, fol. 55r ***(e)***.

> they pursued after him, and caught him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes. (KJV)

The additional phrase that appears in ***bcde*** thus refers to biblical *Bezek*, rather than to 13th-century *Bezeel*, and cannot in any manner be tied to the site that Burchard had in mind. To this one may add that *Bezek*, as the biblical context makes clear, should be sought to the north of Jerusalem, and is identified today to the north of Nablus, while the context makes it clear that the site discussed by Burchard was situated near Bethlehem, to the south of Jerusalem.

It would thus seem that the addition of this phrase should be explained in the following manner. The original toponym, which was *Bezeel* or a closely related form of that name, was substituted in some manuscripts with *Bezek*, probably because the latter was better known in the West on account of its biblical background. This quite naturally led a certain scribe to add a biblical quote related to *Bezek* to his text. Later scribes generally saw no reason to omit this comment. This example seems to reveal the influence of a scribe / editor who, without concrete familiarity with the actual 13th-century Holy Land, intervened in the 'Descriptio' at a rather early stage in its textual tradition.

Again, this erroneous reading obviously posed difficulties for modern editors and translators of the 'Descriptio', but, notably, both Pringle and Bartlett realized that Burchard was referring here to Bayt Jālā. On the other hand, both scholars were understandably unable to explain the presence of the reference to Adonibezek in this location.[50]

The cases of *Districtum*, Rodeburg, and Bezeel / Bezek are telling in regard to the gap between Burchard's acquaintance with the geography of the Holy Land and that of many of his readers. While Burchard was certainly interested in the Holy Land first and foremost as the arena in which most of what is described in the Bible took place, he was also attentive to the land as he actually encountered it. For that reason, he included in the 'Descriptio' information concerning, for example, military positions of both the Franks and the Mamluks or references to settlements which had no biblical past. Many Western users of his text, however, were probably less interested in such aspects of his work and less able to correctly understand them. Some of them therefore omitted such references or adapted them, while others were unable to be critical of such interventions. Finally, we also saw that, in some cases, the dominance of the biblical training of scribes / editors could have led them to expand the text they had before them beyond the intentions of its original author.

50 Pringle (note 7), p. 304; Bartlett (note 3), pp. 158–159 and n. 583.

5 The Cultural Gap between Burchard and Later Scribes / Editors Working on His Text

The cultural gap between Burchard and the scribes / editors working on the 'Descriptio' later on can be shown not only with regard to the geographical acquaintance with the 13th-century Holy Land, but also in other areas, for example acquaintance with Islam. Here are some of Burchard's most significant comments on Islam as provided by the ***ab*** families:

> *Sarraceni Mahumetem predicant et legem eius servant. Dominum* [abbreviation slightly corrupted] *Ihesum Christum maximum prophetarum dicunt et eum* [Zwickau: *eundem*] *de spiritu sancto conceptum et de virgine natum, sed negant passum. Sed cum ei* [Zwickau: *eis*] *placuit* [Zwickau: *placuerit*] *dicunt eum* [Zwickau add.: *in celum*] *ascendisse et sedere ad dexteram Dei, Maumetem vero ad sinistram.*[51]
>
> The Saracens preach Muhammad and keep his law. They say that the Lord Jesus Christ is the greatest of the prophets, and that he was conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of a virgin, but they deny that he suffered. But they say that when it pleased him he ascended and he sits at the right of God, Muhammad at his left.

What is noteworthy for our present discussion is that quite early on in the tradition of the 'Descriptio', a scribe / editor inserted into this passage a comment which is not found in ***ab***. The result can be seen when one looks at the parallel text as provided by a manuscript today in Oxford, belonging to family ***e***:

> *Sunt autem* […] *Saraceni qui Machometum predicant et legem eius servant. Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum maximum prophetam dicunt, etiam eum de spiritu sancto conceptum de virgine natum fatentur. Negant tamen passum et mortuum, sed quando ei placuit dicunt eum ascendisse in celum et ad dexteram patris sedere* ***quia filium dei confitentur****. Machometum vero dicunt sedere ad sinistram dei.*[52]

As can be seen, while the text generally follows that provided by London and Zwickau, we have here (marked in bold letters) a statement not found in those manuscripts, namely that the Muslims agree with Christianity that Christ is God's son. While there

51 The text here is from London, fol. 37r with variants from Zwickau, fol. 137r.

52 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Hist. e. 1, fol. 27r.

are some variations among the witnesses I checked for this passage, representatives of ***cde*** do include these words (sometimes with the addition of *eum*).[53]

That this erroneous statement should not be attributed to Burchard is made clear not only by the stemma, but also by its location, which interrupts the structure of the sentence. Furthermore, on the basis of other pieces of evidence from the 'Descriptio', and his affiliation to the Dominicans of the Holy Land, Burchard is likely to have been rather well informed about Islam, so that it is improbable that he would make such an error.[54] The development of this passage thus bears witness to the insertion of a mistaken statement concerning the Islamic understanding of Christ by the editor who shaped the common ancestor of ***cde***.

Another noteworthy example which reveals the discrepancies between Burchard's cultural world and that of his scribes / editors occurs at the beginning of Burchard's discussion of the various religious groups found in the Holy Land. Following Laurent's edition, the opening words of this chapter are known to scholars in the manner presented by ***cde***, all of which provide the following text with slight variations:

> *Sunt in ea habitatores ex* [*de* ***d***] *omni natione que sub celo est et vivit quilibet secundum ritum suum et ut veritatem dicam peiores sunt nostri Latini* [...].[55]
>
> There are in it inhabitants from every nation under heaven and each lives according to its own rite and to tell the truth our Latins are worse [...].

In other words, in the text provided by these families, Burchard begins his survey of the population of the Holy Land with the Latins, and, specifically, with the declaration that they are the worst of all. Notably, however, the Zwickau and London manuscripts, representing ***a*** and ***b*** respectively, provide a completely different text:

> *Sunt in ea habitatores ex omni natione* [Zwickau add. *ut credo*] *que sub celo est et vivit quilibet secundum ritum suum. Sarraceni Mahumetem predicant.*[56]

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53 See, for example, Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 145, fol. 191v ***(c)***, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, O.III.34, fol. 57v ***(d)*** (which, however, adds immediately *deum autem esse negant*), and Philadelphia, UPenn Ms. Codex 60, fol. 36v ***(e)***.

54 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Laurent (note 3), p. 53; Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 3), p. 82 (though note that the comment "Hoc ego legi in alcorano" does not appear in Zwickau). For Burchard's connection to the Dominicans of the Holy Land, see Rubin 2018 (note 4), pp. 56, 58, 66–67. For the study of Islam by the Dominicans of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, see Jonathan Rubin, Learning in a Crusader City. Intellectual Activity and Intercultural Exchanges in Acre, 1191–1291 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series), Cambridge 2018, pp. 114–138.

55 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Laurent (note 3), p. 88; Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 3), p. 190. See also Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.I.28, fol. 228v ***(c)***, Brussels, KBR, MS 9176–9177, fol. 41r ***(d)*** and Brussels, KBR, MS 733–741, fol. 170r–v ***(e)***.

56 London, fol. 37r; Zwickau, fol. 137r.

As can be seen, in these witnesses, the survey begins with the Muslims. This is very significant, as until now it would have seemed that Burchard dramatically opened his discussion of the great variety of religious groups in the Holy Land with the Franks, whom he perceived as the worst of all. While the manuscripts of families ***ab*** also present very harsh comments concerning the Latins of the Holy Land, these comments do not open this section. It is therefore possible to conclude that the common ancestor of ***cde*** included significant changes to this part of the text. This may perhaps be explained by post-1291 trends in the West. At the time, a strong emphasis on the thoroughly negative portrayal of the Franks of *Outremer* would have made it easier to explain why God did not lend support to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and enabled the Mamluks to capture and destroy it. Additionally, for the Latin readership in the West, the account of Islam may have become less significant than it was for Latin residents of, or travellers to, *Outremer* and could therefore be moved down in the text.

6 Conclusion

To conclude, a stemma describing the relationships between the various families of the long-version witnesses is a necessary step if we are to reconstruct the text of the 'Descriptio' as closely as possible to that of the archetype. But the stemma also enables us to trace specific kinds of changes made in the text, both when it was still in the hands of Burchard (and of a scribe working with him) and later, through the intervention of various scribes / editors. We have thus seen, for example, that Burchard added marginal notes to his text both before and after his scribe made a copy of it, and that some of these were of an autobiographical nature. We have also seen how personal information tended to be omitted by later scribes / editors. Furthermore, the investigation of the textual development of the 'Descriptio' enables us to reveal the gap between Burchard and later users of his work in terms of their knowledge of such topics as non-biblical sites in the Holy Land and the basic tenets of Islam.

These findings demonstrate the importance of philological work for the reconstruction of the archetype, as well as for a better grasp of the ways in which authors such as Burchard worked. Furthermore, they show that this approach is necessary if we are to study the ways in which generations of scribes / editors engaged with a text such as Burchard's 'Descriptio'. Moving outside the discussion of this important work, it is likely that some of the processes traced above occurred in other Latin accounts of the Holy Land. We have already seen that the development of Riccoldo's pilgrimage account shares some characteristics with the 'Descriptio' in terms of the relationship between the work of the author and that of a copyist working with him. Furthermore, evidence for the omission, by scribes / editors, of personal information relating to the original author has been identified in the textual

tradition of Thietmar's 'Peregrinatio'. According to Philip Booth, a manuscript now in Wolfenbüttel presents "the removal of all elements of the text's prologue which communicates anything of the individuality of the text."[57] Booth also identified an extreme case in which an anonymous scribe / editor attempted to "pull from Thietmar the bare bones of a standard pilgrimage itinerary."[58] Christine Gadrat's work on Ludolf of Sudheim's 'De itinere Terre Sancte' raises similar issues. Most notably, she argues that different versions of this text provide varying amounts of biographical information concerning Ludolf.[59] Much additional work is required in order to reach clearer conclusions with regard to these and other texts, but such findings suggest that a careful study of the manuscript traditions of Latin accounts of the Holy Land is a promising undertaking, likely to shed light on the practices and cultural worlds of both their authors and readers.

57 Philip Booth, Thietmar. Person, Place and Text in Thirteenth-Century Holy Land Pilgrimage, Ph.D. Diss. University of Lancaster, 2017, p. 46.

58 Ibid., p. 56.

59 Christine Gadrat, The Authority of Written and Oral Sources of Knowledge in Ludolf of Sudheim's *De itinere Terre Sancte*, in: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 51,1 (2021), pp. 37–48, here p. 38.

Eva Ferro and Michael Schonhardt

The Manuscript Circulation of Burchard's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' and Its Contexts

Abstract In this paper, the authors analyse the manuscript transmission and circulation of Burchard's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte'. The first sections are dedicated to an overview of the geographical distribution of the text's manuscripts, showing how the transmission was concentrated in several key areas. Thereafter, the paper analyses the contexts within which the seven manuscripts of the ***a*** and ***b*** families were transmitted. Furthermore, the paper shows how Burchard's text spread across Europe in different phases, with each phase connected with the movement of manuscripts in certain directions. Based on these observations, it establishes the historical context of the 'Descriptio's' textual development as well as its author's own fate and thus explores Burchard's late-career biography and discusses his connection to the cities of Magdeburg and Erfurt. As a result, the paper concludes with the hypothesis that Burchard settled in the Dominican house at Erfurt after concluding his travels and from this point his text was transmitted in two main versions (a shorter and longer version) throughout Europe.

Zusammenfassung In diesem Beitrag wird die handschriftliche Überlieferung und Verbreitung von Burchards ‚Descriptio Terre Sancte' analysiert. Die ersten Abschnitte bieten einen Überblick über die geografische Verbreitung der Handschriften und zeigen, dass sich die Überlieferung auf mehrere Schlüsselregionen konzentrierte. Anschließend erfolgt eine Untersuchung der Kontexte, in denen die sieben Handschriften der ***a***- und ***b***-Familien überliefert wurden. Darüber hinaus lässt sich erkennen, wie sich Burchards Text in verschiedenen Phasen in Europa

Contact

Dr Eva Ferro,
Württembergische Landesbibliothek,
Konrad-Adenauer-Str. 10,
D-70173 Stuttgart, Germany,
ferro@wlb-stuttgart.de

Dr Michael Schonhardt,
Department of History, University
of Kassel, Untere Königsstraße 86,
D-34109 Kassel, Germany,
m.schonhardt@uni-kassel.de

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verbreitete, wobei jede Phase mit einer Bewegung der Handschriften in bestimmte Richtungen verbunden war. Ausgehend von diesen Beobachtungen wird der Versuch unternommen, den historischen Kontext der Textentwicklung der ‚Descriptio' sowie den weiteren Lebensweg des Autors zu rekonstruieren und Burchards Verbindung zu den Städten Magdeburg und Erfurt herauszuarbeiten. Als Ergebnis lässt sich festhalten, dass Burchard nach Abschluss seiner Reisen am dominikanischen Konvent in Erfurt tätig wurde und sein Text von dort aus in zwei Hauptfassungen (einer kürzeren und einer längeren) europaweit verbreitet wurde.

1 Introduction

The 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' is one of the most important sources for the geography, history, and topography of the Holy Land in the late Crusader period.[1] Not only does it provide a detailed and reliable description of the Holy Land and its neighbouring regions, but it also bears witness to the movements and cultural interests of its author Burchard of Mount Sion, an important clerical member of Crusader society, who died after 1285. This Dominican of high social standing travelled the Holy Land not just as a foreign pilgrim; he lived there for more than ten years as part of the Dominican province *Outremer*. He travelled frequently from Acre, capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as a diplomatic envoy through the Mediterranean and thus he wrote his description of the Holy Land not as a stranger, but as a well-informed insider.[2]

Against this background, it is unfortunate that our knowledge of Burchard's whereabouts stops quite abruptly in 1285. In that year, after extensive travels across the Mediterranean, which included Italy, he was welcomed by the King of Jerusalem

1 Research for this article has been funded by the Israel Science Foundation (grant no. 1443/17).

2 A biographical overview is given in Denys Pringle, Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291 (Crusader Texts in Translation xxiii), Farnham, Burlington 2012, pp. 46–51. Whereas most manuscripts only provide limited information about Burchard's life and the reasons for his travels, two manuscripts provide more detailed biographical background as well as new information about Burchard's further travels outside the Holy Land, cf. Jonathan Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: A Newly Discovered Extended Version, in: Crusades 13 (2014), pp. 173–190 and Jonathan Rubin, A Missing Link in European Travel Literature: Burchard of Mount Sion's Description of Egypt, in: Mediterranea 3 (2018), pp. 55–90, as well as Ekkehart Rotter, Windrose statt Landkarte, in: Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 69 (2013), pp. 45–106, here pp. 70 and 83. Recently, a biographical overview has also been published as part of the introduction to the edition: Burchard of Mount Sion, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, ed. and trans. by John R. Bartlett, Oxford 2019.

in Cyprus, where he spent some time at a Dominican house there.[3] These further travels are only narrated in a recently discovered continuation of the 'Descriptio' in the MS London, British Library, Add. 18929.[4] Whether Burchard returned to Europe afterwards or went back to Acre we do not know, as this portion of his travel account ends with his stay in Cyprus. One way of investigating this post-1285 lacuna is by studying the extensive manuscript tradition of Burchard's text. Not only can these manuscripts be analysed as unique witnesses of the historical context in which they were produced, but they also illustrate important patterns of transmission that may help to inform us about Burchard's whereabouts and activities after 1285.

In the following, these manuscript patterns shall be analysed based on an extensive manuscript list of the 'Descriptio's' so-called 'long version', assembled from catalogues and literature by Eva Ferro, Jonathan Rubin and Michael Schonhardt.[5] In addition, a corpus of seven manuscripts of the so-called ***a*** and ***b*** families will be analysed in more detail.[6] By doing so, this paper provides both an overview of the geographical distribution of the text (section 2) as well as a study of contexts of transmission of the seven manuscripts of the ***a*** and ***b*** families (section 3). Overall, we will show that Burchard's text spread across Europe in various different phases, with each phase being connected with the movement of manuscripts in certain directions. Consequently, we aim to explore Burchard's late-career biography and discuss his connection to Magdeburg and Erfurt (section 4).

2 The Geographical Distribution of Burchard's 'Descriptio'

While there have been numerous attempts over the years to produce an exhaustive list of the manuscripts of Burchard's 'Descriptio', each attempt has encountered or created its own set of problems.[7] This means that until recently a reliable list of this

3 Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio* (note 2), p. 190.

4 On this manuscript and its text see Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio* (note 2), p. 175.

5 An abbreviated printed version can be found in Jonathan Rubin, The Manuscript Tradition of Burchard of Mount Sion's Descriptio Terre Sancte, in: The Journal of Medieval Latin 30 (2020), pp. 257–286. The version of this list used for this paper can be accessed online at https://daks.uni-kassel.de/handle/123456789/40. Here, the information on manuscripts of the long version used in this paper are listed as well as references to catalogues and literature consulted. In addition to this literature, all manuscripts have been analysed using digital reproductions.

6 The textual tradition of Burchard's long version has been divided on philological grounds by Rubin (note 5) into five families ***a*** to ***e***. Whereas families ***c***, ***d*** and ***e*** represent later stages of the text's development, families ***a*** and ***b*** have to be considered as near to the author. For further discussion on these families see also Rubin in this volume.

7 The first such attempt was Reinhold Röhricht, who identified 106 manuscripts, though many either do not contain anything of Burchard's text, only contain excerpts, or are no longer extant. See Reinhold Röhricht, Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae. Chronologisches Verzeichnis der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie, Berlin 1890, pp. 56–60. However, a closer look at this list shows that

kind did not exist and any proper study of the transmission of the 'Descriptio' was nearly impossible. To rectify this, we compiled an up-to-date list of all known manuscripts of the long version.[8] This process revealed two shortcomings. Firstly, Burchard's text is commonly confused with other texts, such as Jacques de Vitry's 'Historia Hierosolymitana' or the travel account by Burchard of Strasbourg. Secondly, the geographic and temporal contexts of the various catalogues have resulted in a large

many of these manuscripts either do not include Burchard's text at all or provide merely later rewritings or excerpts. For instance, Burchard's 'Descriptio' is not included in London, British Library, Cotton Galba A VII; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 407; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. theol. 4° 141; Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Morbio 290; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, H.I.12; Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, XXXIV 7 (shelfmark not in use); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 554; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5265; or St Petersburg, Oeffentliche Bibliothek, 6, 4° (old shelfmark, manuscript unknown to library).
A further attempt was made by Thomas Kaepelli in the third volume of his 'Scriptores Ordinis Praedictorum Medii'. Kaepelli distinguished between a shorter 'a' version of the text and a longer 'b' text of which he identified 41 manuscripts. But Kaepelli's work was heavily reliant on Röhricht and has thus fallen foul of unreliable codicological information. See Thomas Kaeppeli, Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi, 4 vol., Rome 1970–1993. Burchard is mentioned in vol. 3, pp. 257–260. In 2013, Ekkehard Rotter produced a useful list of the short versions of the text (32 in total), but this list only noted 28 long-version manuscripts, including the hitherto neglected witness Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I, XII, 5. See Rotter (note 2). Most recently, Bartlett (note 2) produced a list of 60 manuscripts based mainly on the work of Röhricht, Kaepelli and the Laurent edition. See Burchard of Mount Sion, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, in: Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor, ed. by Johann C. M. Laurent, Leipzig 1864, pp. 3–18. Unfortunately, Bartlett's list of manuscripts is incomplete and not always reliable. He missed several known manuscripts, e.g. Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I, XII, 5 or Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A I 28 (which is actually already included in Kaeppeli's list). Other manuscripts were wrongly included, such as Chicago, University of Chicago Library, MS 70, which seems to be a reworked and abbreviated version of the text. Oviedo, Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral de Oviedo, Ms. 18 and Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, Ms. 2761 (listed without shelf numbers) contain a compilation based on Burchard as well as Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', but not the actual text of the longer version. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 354 Helmst. which also transmits a compilation rather than the 'Descriptio'. Two manuscripts (Prague, Národní Knihovna, III. H. 15 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4852) transmit the shorter version. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, H.I.12 provides completely different texts, according to the library. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, D.IV.21, however, does contain the longer version but is not included in the list. †Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F. 152, has been lost since World War II, but Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 781, indicated as missing, still exists. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 9177 should be Brussels BRB 9176–9177; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 739 does not seem to exist, but it might be a confusion with Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 733–741 which includes the longer version.

8 Cf. note 5 above. First, we reviewed existing lists and checked the listed manuscripts either by researching library catalogues or directly asking the holding library if they contained the text. At the same time, we updated the codicological information according to the present state of research, and found new witnesses by searching in established databases as well as in indices of library catalogues, either for the author, the title of the 'Descriptio' or the known incipit of the longer versions. Also, we checked editions of similar texts for manuscripts that might contain Burchard's 'Descriptio'. In addition, we studied all manuscripts by means of digital reproductions.

amount of variation as far as Burchard's name is concerned,[9] and a number of different incipits – mainly present in early families of the text – are used to indicate the 'Descriptio'.[10] Despite these hurdles, we updated the list of known manuscripts of the long version of Burchard's 'Descriptio', which currently comprises 64 known witnesses, as well as five excerpts of different length, dating from around 1300 up to the 16th century.[11]

2.1 Statistical Analysis of the Manuscript Tradition

The number of long-version manuscripts (64) provides a good starting point for a quantitative exploration of the manuscript's transmission, because it helps to place Burchard's 'Descriptio' contextually within the transmission of similar texts. If we add the 32 manuscripts of the short version as listed in Rotter, we come to an overall transmission of the text in 96 manuscripts. Compared to 150 manuscripts of the history of Jacques de Vitry,[12] 82 Latin manuscripts of Marco Polo's travel account,[13]

9 Although Burchard is currently identified as Burchard of Mount Sion, several different names have been used in older literature and catalogues, such as Burchard of Barby, Burchard de Saxonia, as well as Brocardo in Romance languages.

10 Most witnesses of the long version give the incipit *Cum in veteribus historiis legamus* (sometimes *legimus*). However, two manuscripts of the important ***a*** family start with the incipit *Quia vidi quosdam devocione* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 46 and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 41 Weiss.). Other manuscripts are missing the first part of the text, and hence also possess different incipits. It is therefore quite possible that manuscripts of the ***a*** family have not been identified by older catalogues which were relying on Laurent's edition.

11 Four of these manuscripts were to our knowledge previously not known to include Burchard, namely Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. hist. e. 1; Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, b III 31; Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, b X 30; and Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 8052. Additionally, one manuscript that was thought to be lost, namely Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. oct. 293 (which used to be the manuscript Hildesheim, Gymnasialbibliothek, MS 17), has been rediscovered. The earliest manuscripts that can be dated are Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 145 (between 1319 and 1323) and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Sopp. F.IV.733 (which is older than 1322). One Oxford manuscript is dated by its online description to the late 13th century (https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6433). The latest premodern manuscript that can be clearly dated is Nancy, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 1082, which can be dated precisely to 1514 according to its colophon. Also, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 9530 can be dated on palaeographical grounds to the 16th century. One manuscript from Siena was even written in the 18th century, but excluded in this analysis.

12 Jacques de Vitry, The Historia Occidentalis: A Critical Edition, ed. by John Frederick Hinnebusch (Spicilegium Friburgense 17), Fribourg 1972, p. 33.

13 Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, La diffusion et la circulation manuscrite d'un texte médiéval, l'exemple du *Devisement du monde* de Marco Polo, in: Élisabeth Malamut and Mohamed Ouerfelli (eds.), Les échanges en Méditerranée médiévale. Marqueurs, réseaux, circulations, contacts, Aix-en-Provence 2012, pp. 273–288, here p. 276.

11 manuscripts of Thietmar's pilgrim's account,[14] and eight manuscripts of Burchard of Strasbourg's text,[15] the 'Descriptio's' long version seems to have been well received among contemporaries.[16] A chronological analysis of these witnesses (cf. table and diagram below) suggests that the text became available to European scribes and readers quite early,[17] and continued to enjoy a high level of popularity throughout the Middle Ages. In the 14th century the text had already been widely copied and it continued to be valued during the 15th century, as well as during the course of the early modern period, when several printed editions of Burchard's 'Descriptio' made the copying of manuscripts superfluous.[18] Nevertheless, a few manuscripts were still copied in the 16th century.[19]

Tab. 1 | The table shows the dissemination of manuscripts across time, indicating manuscripts close to the turn of a century as 'ex/in'.

Century	13ex/14in	14	14ex/15in	15	15ex/16in	16
MS	5	21	9	25	1	3

While measuring the popularity of Burchard's text through analysis of the chronological distribution of manuscript production dates (Fig. 1) is quite straightforward, assessing its geographic distribution proves more difficult, as in many cases the manuscripts' original area of provenance cannot be established.
Nevertheless, a total of 44 manuscripts can be localized with a reasonable degree of certainty. None of these originated in France, though Burchard's text was later translated into Old French around the middle of the 15th century.[20] Only seven of

14 Philip Booth, Thietmar. Person, Place and Text in Thirteenth-Century Holy Land Pilgrimage. Ph.D. Diss. University of Lancaster, 2017, p. 43.

15 Christiane M. Thomsen, Burchards Bericht über den Orient. Reiseerfahrungen eines staufischen Gesandten im Reich Saladins 1175/1176 (Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik 29), Berlin, Boston 2018, p. 478.

16 Isidore's 'Etymologies', for instance, can be considered an ubiquitous text: they were transmitted in over 1,000 known manuscripts, cf. José María Fernández Catón, Las Etimologias en la tradicion manuscrita medieval estudiada por el Prof. Dr. Anspach, in: Archivos leonese 19 (1965), pp. 121–384.

17 As mentioned in note 11, the earliest manuscripts that are precisely datable date back to before 1322 and 1323; one manuscript has been dated to the end of the 13th century.

18 Röhricht lists 22 printed editions before the 19th century, 13 of them produced in the 15th and 16th centuries, cf. Röhricht (note 8), pp. 58–59.

19 Nancy, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 1082 (a. 1514) and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 9530.

20 Only one manuscript survives from Alsace. The French translation was written by Jean Miélot on order of Philip the Good on 1455, cf. Georg Doutrepont, La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne. Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le téméraire (Bibliothèque du XVe siècle 8), Paris 1909, pp. 260–262. We were able to identify two manuscripts

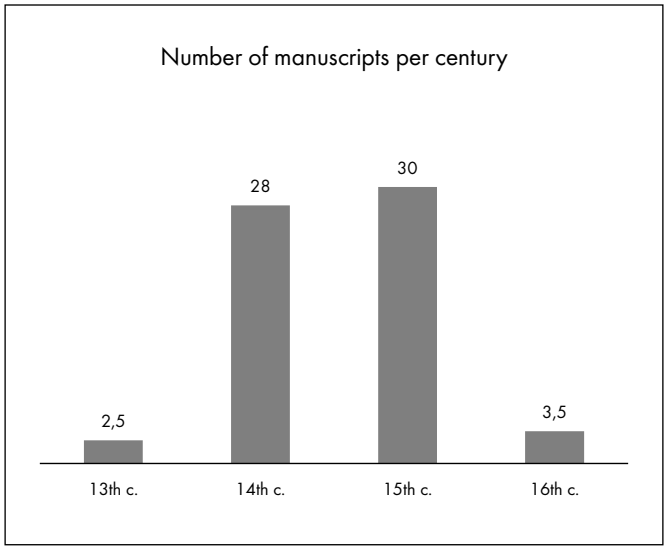

Fig. 1 | The diagram groups manuscripts strictly by centuries, counting manuscripts close to the turn of a century as 0.5 for each neighboring century (Michael Schonhardt).

the manuscripts can be traced to more central regions of the Empire (Saxony and Thuringia) with the vast majority (more than 50 %) coming from the Alpine regions which we now associate with the modern-day Republic of Austria and the northern Italian peninsula. More generally, as is clear from the map (see Fig. 2), the distribution of manuscripts is concentrated in the eastern and southern regions of Central Europe.

Moreover, these witnesses, when grouped according to geographic distribution, as well as by the various sub-archetypes which are assumed to have existed as part of the transmission of the text, allow us to draw interesting conclusions about the text's development and popularity. These sub-archetypes contribute to the stemma (see Fig. 3) as established by Jonathan Rubin and printed here again for the convenience of the reader.[21]

The number of manuscripts transmitted in the different families varies. Some families are smaller than others, with groups ***a*** (4) and ***b*** (3) each comprising less than five manuscripts. Others are larger, with families ***c*** (19), ***d*** (13), and ***e*** (25) each comprising more than ten. The families can be separated primarily based on a series of common errors within each group, but also based on the different ending to the text which is transmitted in each group. In its most complete form (Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I XII 5, belonging to the ***a*** family, and London, British Library, Add. 18929,

that transmit the French translation of Burchard's long version: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Français 9087 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Français 5593.

21 See also Rubin (note 5) and Rubin in this volume.

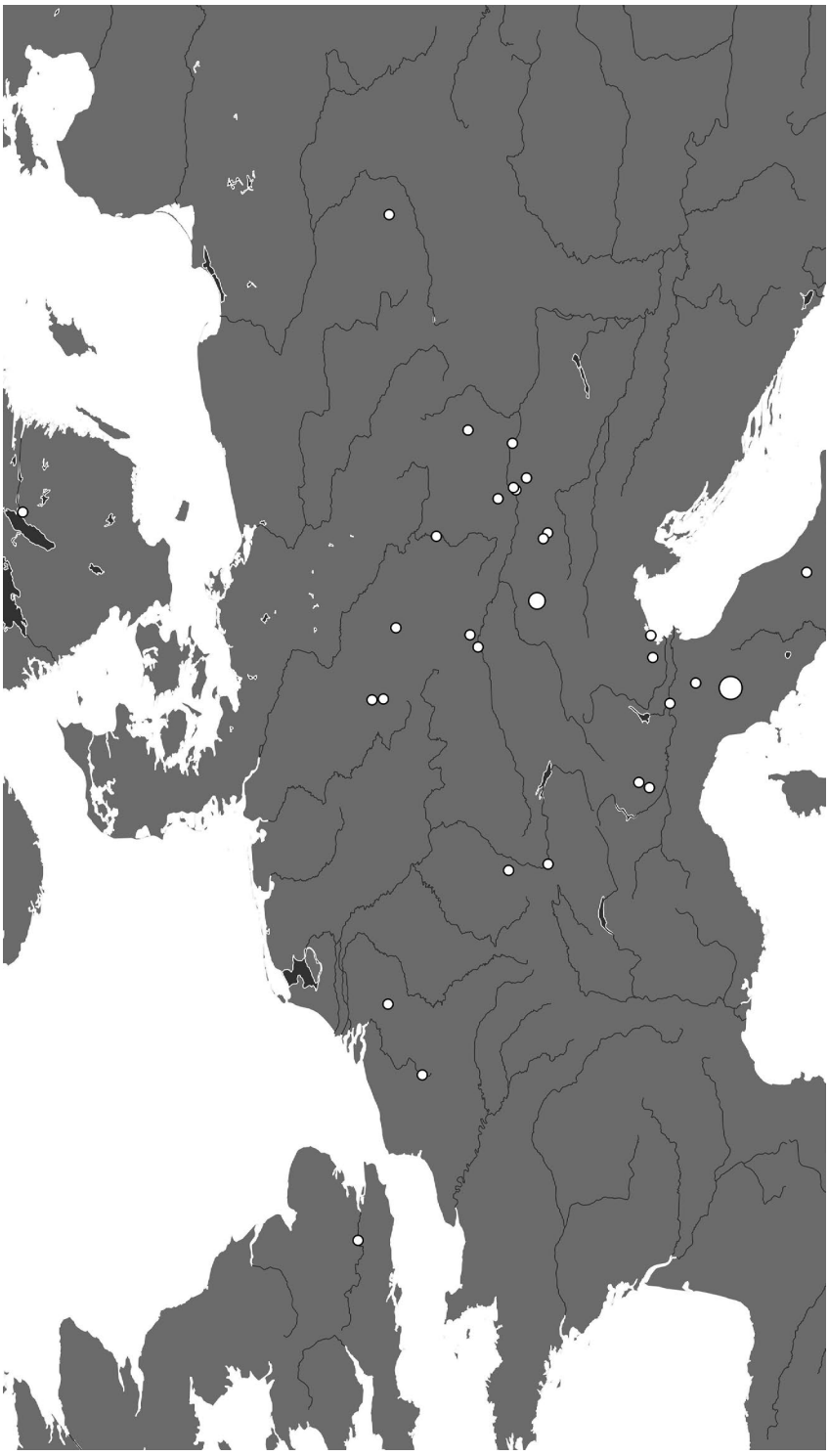

Fig. 2 | The distribution of the manuscripts of Burchard's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' (Michael Schonhardt).

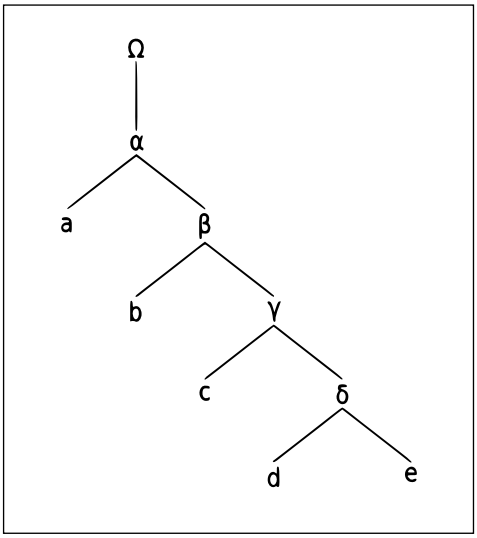

Fig. 3 | Stemma of the long version of Burchard's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' (Jonathan Rubin).

belonging to the ***b*** family), Burchard's text comprises not only the core 'Descriptio' itself, but also a detailed description of Egypt, as well as a travel account reporting Burchard's journey through the Mediterranean via Italy sometime in 1284. Whereas this complete text can be found in manuscripts from families ***a*** and ***b***, the ending of the text is different in families ***c***, ***d***, and ***e***. In all three of these families, the Mediterranean travelogue is entirely absent, and the Egypt section appears in abbreviated form. In the ***e*** manuscripts, the truncated Egypt section appears in its fullest form, while the ***c*** and ***d*** families present their own individual abbreviated Egypt sections, each of which are shorter than those found in ***a***, ***b***, or ***e***. The *explicit* of each of these groups (***c***, ***d***, and ***e***) also allows us to distinguish them from each other. The ***e*** family manuscripts each end with the phrase *Sarraceni bona fide.*[22] The ***d*** family manuscripts instead end with the phrase *videre et audire devotissimum est,* with the copyists for this family often adding a note to indicate that nothing further should be copied, thus showing disinterest in anything beyond the scope of the Holy Land.[23] The ***c*** family manuscripts all end quite abruptly with the phrase *lapidatus est Jeremias.* Consequently, copyists within this family often added something like *non plus inveni,* "I could not find anything else" or similar to show that they themselves were surprised to not

22 This section is not present in Laurent (note 7).

23 For instance, in Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 9176–9177; Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, O.III.34; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Sopp. C.VIII.2861; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76.56; Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 8052; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Sopp. F.IV.733; London, British Library, Harley 3995; Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 43; †Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F. 152; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, D.IV.21.

find more information following this point.[24] The groups ***c*** and ***d*** thus differ in that the Egypt section in group ***d*** seems to have been truncated on purpose, for lack of interest in anything beyond the Holy Land, whereas group ***c*** seems to have suffered an accidental loss in its transmission history.

Taking this into consideration and given the fact that groups ***c*** and ***d*** must derive from sub-archetypes that originally included a fuller version of the Egypt section as found in group ***e***, it is surprising that not a single witness of the 32 manuscripts of these families (50 % of the total transmission) shares the same *Sarraceni bona fide* ending that is only present in group ***e***. This would suggest that the manuscripts of both groups were copied from an incomplete or fragmentary copy of their sub-archetype or that something else obstructed the more complete copying. At first glance, this pattern of textual transmission seems problematic, given that, as attested by the wide circulation of the ***e*** group (the biggest manuscript family), medieval readers were highly interested in the Egypt section preserved in this version of the text. It seems surprising that copyists did not take the time to transcribe the Egypt section in full. There may, however, be a simple explanation: if sub-archetypes $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ and $\boldsymbol{\delta}$ had been available to scribes only for a very short time, this may have led to the replication of abbreviated and incomplete copies of the text. To understand how this could happen, it is useful to look at the geographical distribution of the different manuscript groups. As mentioned above, certain clusters of transmission can be identified. Generally, most of the manuscripts were produced in the areas of modern-day Austria and the northern part of the Italian peninsula and remained there. But if the families of the manuscripts are taken into account, the picture becomes more differentiated.

2.2 The Textual Development of the 'Descriptio'

The map (Fig. 4) shows the geographical distribution across the families. Families ***a*** and ***b***, the closest ones to the archetype, are clustered in Saxony and Thuringia,[25] which makes sense considering Burchard's presumed biography. However, if we take a look at groups ***c***, ***d***, and ***e***, we get quite a different picture. None of the manuscripts from these groups can be found in this region and only few in the rest of the Empire as a whole. Instead, each of these families has a distinctive centre of transmission of its own. Manuscripts of family ***c*** are clustered in Austria, whereas witnesses of family ***d*** are mostly present in Italy. Family ***e*** can be found both in Italy as well as in

24 For instance, in Hamburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Geogr. 59; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A I 28; Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Pap.-Hs. 152; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3341; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3759; Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 315; Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 145.

25 In the following, we use the present-day meaning of Saxony and Thuringia, if not indicated otherwise.

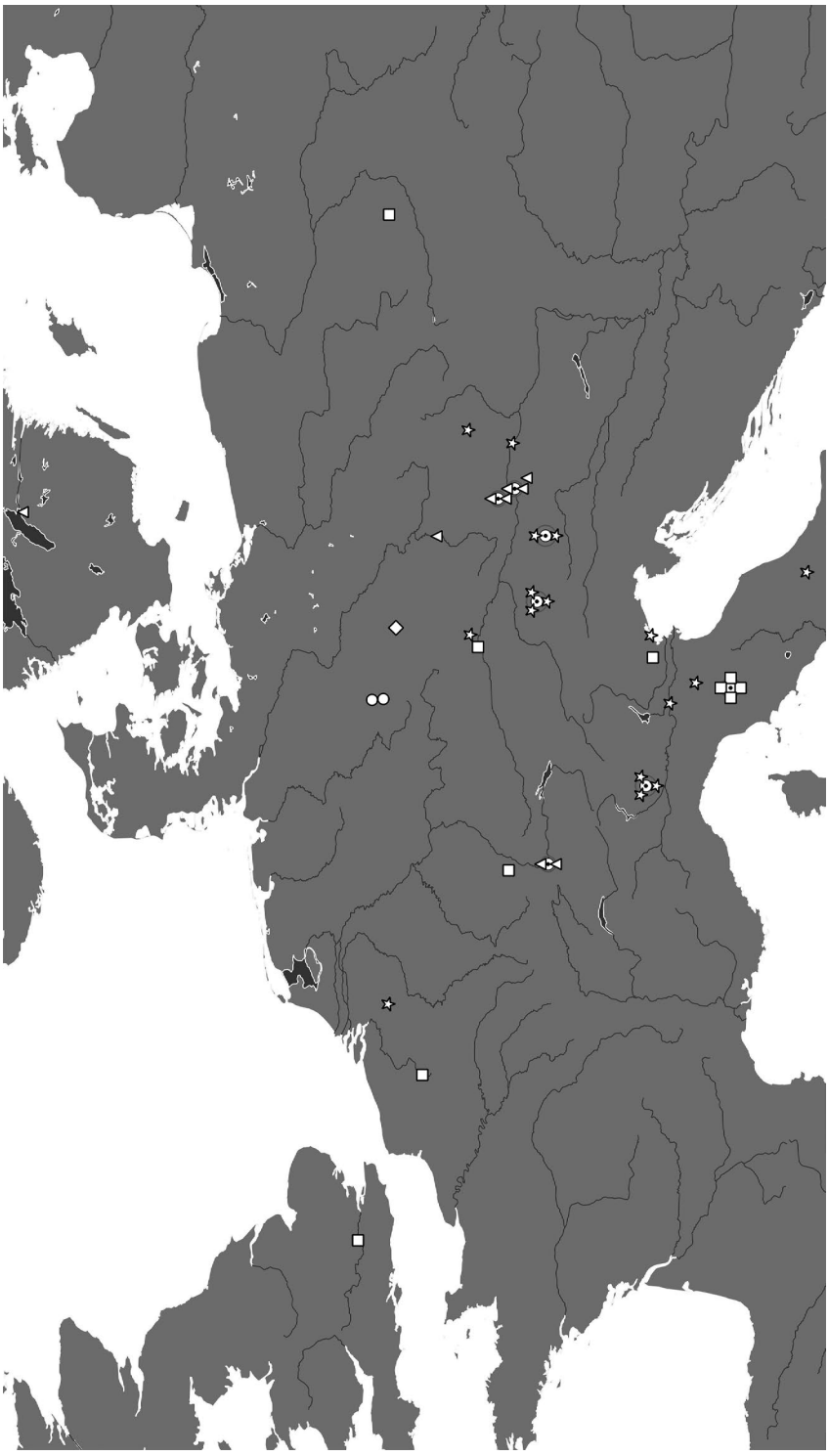

Fig. 4 | The geographical distribution of Burchard's 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae' across the families (diamond: family ***a***, circle: family ***b***, triangle: family ***c***, square: family ***d***, star: family ***e***) (Michael SCHONHARDT).

Austria, although all the ***e*** witnesses from Austria, with the exception of one,[26] are dated to the 15th century and not before, suggesting that the text of this group originated in Italy and spread to Austria later on. This chrono-spatial distribution must have happened very quickly, because groups ***c***, ***d,*** and ***e*** include some of the earliest manuscripts, dating back to the beginning of the 14th century. By the 1320s, roughly speaking, all three groups could already be found in this Alpine region, suggesting that all sub-archetypes were in existence by this early period.

As a more precise location can be attributed to the manuscripts of both groups ***a*** and ***b***, namely Saxony and Thuringia, and since groups ***a*** and ***b*** represent textual families closer to the archetype, it is likely that the early development of the text also took place in this region. Given what we know of Burchard's biography, this suggests that Burchard indeed returned to Europe before or in the context of the fall of Acre in 1291. Jonathan Rubin has shown that the earliest sub-archetypes (**α** and **β**) were most likely the product of scribes working from a manuscript glossed by Burchard himself.[27] This suggests that a working copy of the text was available to them and that the author was probably still active in this region at the end of the 13th century.

By the first decade of the 14th century, the 'Descriptio' again underwent distinctive changes, leading to the emergence of new sub-archetypes (**γ** and **δ**) and of the manuscript families ***c***, ***d***, and ***e*** based on these sub-archetypes. These families must have developed around 1300, because they were already widely transmitted in Europe between 1300 and 1325 (cf. Fig. 4). This textual development must have taken place quickly and within a very limited number of manuscripts, as otherwise there would be a greater diversity within the manuscript groups especially in the ending of the 'Descriptio'. Furthermore, all extant manuscripts which depend on sub-archetypes **γ** (group ***c***) and **δ** (group ***d***) appear to stop right before or in the middle of the Egypt section, while the sub-archetypes themselves must have included the full section on Egypt, which was then transmitted into family ***e***. One plausible explanation for this could be that the manuscripts transmitting these sub-archetypes were only available to scribes for a short time, meaning that they could not be copied completely. In any case, the 'Descriptio's' early witnesses must have travelled quickly and at the same time spread widely. According to the manuscript evidence, they moved from Saxony and Thuringia into the Alpine regions within a few decades or even years.

This leads to the question of what could explain this pattern of textual development and manuscript transmission. To answer that, it is necessary to consider the earliest

26 There is one exception, namely an early manuscript from Admont, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. hist. e. 1. However, in the beginning of the 14th century, many manuscripts were bought by Abbot Engelbert of Admont in Italy, thus making it quite probable that the manuscript was purchased there, see Andrea Rzihacek-Bedo, Medizinische Wissenschaftspflege im Benediktinerkloster Admont bis 1500 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Ergänzungsband 46), Vienna 2005, p. 43. This seems to be further confirmed by the characteristics of the scribe's hand, but cannot be said for certain without further study.

27 Rubin in this volume, p. 18–21.

manuscripts of the 'Descriptio', namely Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76.56 (first quarter of the 14th century), which has been recently studied in more detail by Ingrid Baumgärtner and Eva Ferro.[28] This manuscript consists of three codicological units written by three different scribes, with Burchard's text present in the second unit (88r–101v). Written by a scribe in the early 14th century, it contains excerpts from Eusebius, an anonymous text about geographical parts and ages of the world, excerpts from Rufinus and Jerome, and finally Burchard's 'Descriptio'. Importantly, this part of the codex has been shown to be more than just a distinct codicological unit and should be seen instead as an independent booklet, a *libellus*, comprising two small quires of three bifolia folded in the middle. The second quire, which comprises the 'Descriptio', also possesses one additional bifolium placed in the middle of the quire, containing a full-page map of the Holy Land. Signs of usage on this parchment – now in the middle of the quire – indicate that initially this map was used independently, as a folded bifolium. Later on, Burchard's 'Descriptio' was added, on a single quire, and the bifolium was bound in the middle of this quire. The text of the 'Descriptio' written on this new quire was also continued, very precisely, in the empty space around the map, on the outer layer of the bifolium. This means that the codicological unit, as currently transmitted, is not representative of the original state of the codex. Instead, the *libellus* containing Burchard's 'Descriptio', with the older map in its middle, was designed to be portable, allowing its user to take it with them on their travels. Such *libelli* were produced much more cheaply and quickly than a codex, and they were perfect for such a purpose. Given the original design of a *libellus*, it is likely that this copy of Burchard initially belonged to a pilgrim, who wanted to or did travel to the Holy Land, with the *libellus* being added to the present codex at a later date.

Such a scenario perhaps provides one possible explanation for the peculiar combination of textual development and manuscript transmission presented above, with the text spreading extremely quickly and widely in a very limited number of now-lost manuscripts. It can easily be imagined that travellers or pilgrims preparing for the journey to the Holy Land copied one of the earlier archetypes in Saxony and Thuringia into some form of portable booklet.[29] Such *libelli* may then have been carried further south, following the pilgrim routes through Austria to Italy, where they hoped to board a ship to the Holy Land, maybe at Venice. On their journey, they may have stopped in monasteries and other religious institutions, where they could have temporarily shared their *libellus* for copying. However, when the traveller or pilgrim left, the booklet would

28 Ingrid Baumgärtner and Eva Ferro, The Holy Land Geography as Emotional Experience: Burchard of Mount Sion's Text and the Movable Map, in: Christoph Mauntel (ed.), Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Medieval World (Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung 14), Berlin, Boston 2021, pp. 247–272.

29 Although pilgrimage to the Holy Land obviously became much more difficult after 1291, it was possible and undertaken by people such as William of Boldensele, a Dominican from Minden (not too far from Magdeburg), in 1334, cf. Colin Morris, The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600, Oxford 2005, pp. 301–302.

have no longer been available. Furthermore, booklets such as these could very easily get lost or simply destroyed and thus were less likely to survive than larger, more static book copies, and since a *libellus* is much more fragile than a codex it would have been more susceptible to the loss or damage of pages. This in turn might help to explain why manuscript groups ***c*** and ***d*** exclusively present fragmented versions of the text, despite the certain presence of the full text in their corresponding sub-archetypes. The emergence of groups ***c*** and ***d*** can, therefore, be tentatively linked to pilgrims to the Holy Land copying the text according to their particular needs and circumstances. This suggested scenario sheds light on how texts, or parts of those texts, on pilgrimage were transported and copied during the travels of their owners. Further research in this area beyond the scope of this present chapter, on the provenance and distribution of manuscripts of pilgrimage texts, is necessary to evaluate the processes of transmission during the journey or in certain centres or libraries.[30]

3 The Contexts of Transmission

Although establishing the broader transmission of the manuscripts of the 'Descriptio' leads to several insights into the historical background of its textual development, the information presented thus far does not bring us any closer to understanding Burchard's own fate post-1285 (the year his travel account ends). However, we can address this question by narrowing our focus to individual manuscripts belonging to the ***a*** and ***b*** families.[31] By analysing these manuscripts' insights into the historical context of the early stages of textual development, we can gain a better understanding of the author's original *exemplar* and, by association, Burchard's whereabouts and activities after 1285. Currently, seven codices are known to be members of these families:[32]

Manuscripts of the ***a*** family:

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 46 (14th c.)
Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, BPL 69 (15th c.)
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 41 Weiss. (15th c.)
Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I XII 5 (15th c.)

30 Cf. the introduction in Anthony Bale and Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrimage and Textual Culture in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Production, Exchange, Reception, in: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 51,1, Special Issue (2021), pp. 1–8 and Michele Campopiano, Writing the Holy Land. The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the Construction of a Cultural Memory, 1300–1550, Cham 2020.

31 See Rubin (note 5).

32 Another manuscript, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 18.2 Aug. 4° is closely related to the a family, but has been reworked in parts by a late medieval friar William of Zierickzee who travelled to the Holy Land in 1447 and mixed his own accounts with older literature, cf. Leonhard Lemmens, Das Pilgerbuch des Franziskaners Wilhelm Walter von Zierickzee, in: Franziskanische Studien 6 (1919), pp. 262–272.

Manuscripts of the ***b*** family

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 525 (a. 1353)
London, British Library, Add. 18929 (14th c.)
Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, A CVI 2 (14th c. ex.)

Based on the origins of each codex, the seven manuscripts can be roughly put into three categories:

1. Manuscripts of unclear origin:
   Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 46 ***(a)***

2. Manuscripts with connection to the late medieval Low Countries:
   Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, BPL 69 ***(a)***
   Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 41 Weiss. ***(a)***

3. Manuscripts from or with a connection to Saxony or Thuringia.
   Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I XII 5 ***(a)***
   Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 525 ***(b)***
   London, British Library, Add. 18929 ***(b)***
   Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, A CVI ***(b)***

3.1 Manuscript of Unclear Origin

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 46 is a 14th-century manuscript comprising 141 folia in folio format.[33] It includes a fragmented version of Burchard's 'Descriptio' (1r–18r; explicit: *fit oneri arieti ad portandum*),[34] as well as an anonymous world chronicle in seven books (19r–141v). The manuscript does not bear any codicological indication of its place of origin but can be traced back to the early modern French diplomat Jacques Bongars (1554 in Orléans to 1612 in Paris),[35] who acquired it at some point in the 16th

33 Hermann Hagen, Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana), edidit et praefatus est Hermannus Hagen, Bern 1875, pp. 58–59.

34 This version of the 'Descriptio' has been mistakenly identified by Paolo Chiesa as a witness of William of Zieriksee's pilgrim's account, which is in fact closely based on an exemplar of the ***a*** family, cf. Paolo Chiesa, 'Opus Perfecti Magisterii'. Un 'Regimen de Iter Agentibus' Ricavato da Bernardo di Gordon, in: Francesco Monaco and Luca Carlo Rossi (eds.), Il mondo e la storia. Studi in onore di Claudia Villa, Florence 2014, pp. 153–178, here p. 159.

35 Bongars had a strong interest in matters of philology and history, particularly in the history of the Crusades. He prepared an edition of medieval texts on the Crusades in two volumes in 1611 ('Gesta Dei per Francos', VD17 3:656141B and VD17 3:656145G). Although his fourth volume about the Holy Land and the Crusades did not include Burchard's 'Descriptio', his second volume included Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', which is closely based on Burchard, thus explaining the interest of the philologist. This volume also gives information about how Bongars acquired manuscripts of this text via his personal connections. On

or 17th century. Bongars was not only interested in the diplomatic craft but was also an erudite and well-connected scholar of philology as well as an editor. His famous library consisted of several hundred medieval and early modern manuscripts, mainly collected from monasteries in the Orléans region (such as Fleury) or around Strasbourg, but also on his travels or during his studies in Marburg and Jena. After his death, this collection was sold and finally ended up in the Burgerbibliothek, Bern. Given the fact that no witnesses from France have survived, it is most likely that Bongars found this codex in Germany, maybe in or around Jena, but this suspicion cannot be confirmed. Another link could be to the Low Countries, where Bongars also had contacts.

3.2 Manuscripts with Connection to the Late Medieval Low Countries

Two manuscripts of the ***a*** family can be localized to the late medieval Low Countries. One of these, Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, BPL 69, dates from the 15th century. Its 115 folia contain Martin of Opava's widely transmitted 'Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum' (fol. 1r–94r),[36] a smaller chronicle excerpt (fol. 96r–99r), as well as a fragmented version of Burchard's 'Descriptio' (fol. 99r–115v) ending with *se cum tabernaculis suis transferunt.* Unfortunately, this paper manuscript does not provide any clues about its precise origin, although it is localized (with a question mark) by the library's database as well as Gumbert's "Illustrated Inventory" to the region of Arnhem. This is presumably because of the artistic resemblance of some miniatures to Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, BPL 50, which can be safely localized there.[37] Other catalogues neither corroborate nor undermine this localization, so there is no obvious reason to doubt it.[38]

A second manuscript can also be traced to the Low Countries, more specifically to Flanders: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 41 Weiss.,

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Bongars and his library see Florian Mittenhuber, Ein Leben für den König, die Bücher und die Wissenschaft: zum 400. Todestag von Jacques Bongars (1554–1612), in: Librarium: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Bibliophilen Gesellschaft 55 (2012), pp. 82–96; Thomas Klöti and Florian Mittenhuber, Bongars Quellenwerk zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, in: Cartographica Helvetica: Fachzeitschrift für Kartengeschichte 50 (2014), pp. 51–55. For an examination of his erudite connections see Ruth Kohlndorfer-Fries, Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik. Die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jaques Bongars (1554–1612) (Frühe Neuzeit 137), Berlin 2009, pp. 86–108. Interestingly, it has been argued that Bongars journey to Eastern Europe was meant to end in Jerusalem, also explaining a possible personal interest in the 'Descriptio', cf. Walther Ludwig, Die abgebrochene Orientreise von Jacques Bongars im Licht neuer Forschungen, in: Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich (ed.), Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). Gelehrter und Diplomat im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus, Tübingen 2015, pp. 89–96.

36 A new edition of this text can be found online: Martin von Troppau, Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum. Online-Edition, ed. by Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken (MGH 2014), http://www.mgh.de/ext/epub/mt/ (01.06.2020).

37 Peter Gumbert, Illustrated Inventory of Medieval Manuscripts, vol. 2, Leiden 2009, p. 40.

38 See Philipp Molhuysen, Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscript, vol. 3: Codices bibliothecae publicae latini, Leiden 1912, pp. 38–39. The database entry can be found at: https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/1alf3en/UBL_ALMA21222166490002711 (05.06.2020).

a 15th-century composite manuscript comprising 254 folia. Part A includes Cicero's 'Oratio in Q. Caecilium' (fol. 1r–50r) as well as a chronicle from Flanders (fol. 51r–88v), thus pointing to that region as place of origin at least for this part. Its watermark also makes this provenance likely.[39] Part B comprises a number of texts on geography and travel, such as Roger Bacon's 'De regionibus' (fol. 91r–120v) and Marco Polo's travel accounts (fol. 121r–160v), as well as 'Itinerarium' (fol. 160v–179r), Odoric of Pordenone's 'Liber de Terra Sancta' (fol. 224r–235v), John of Plano Carpini's 'Historia Mongalorum' (fol. 236r–253v), and Burchard's 'Descriptio' (fol. 179v–197v), followed by an anonymous text on the Holy Land (fol. 197v–225v). It should be noted that this copy of the 'Descriptio' is wrongly identified by the catalogue as Jacques de Vitry due to the uncommon incipit *Quia vidi quosdam devocione.*[40] Although the manuscript cannot be localized with any more precision, it is nonetheless an interesting witness, because it proves the 'Descriptio's' ongoing relevance in an erudite context despite its historically outdated content. Moreover, at least in this context, the compiler's focus seems to have shifted from an interest in the Holy Land to a broader interest in travel accounts and cultural-geographical descriptions of Asia in general, judging by the manuscripts transmitted alongside the 'Descriptio'. In the 15th century, it seems, Burchard's 'Descriptio' was still seen as a valuable source for geographical and ethnographic knowledge.

Regarding the geographical transmission of Burchard's 'Descriptio', these manuscripts – together with William of Zierickzee's compilation in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 18.2 Aug. 4°, a manuscript that relied heavily on the text as transmitted in the ***a*** family – suggest that Burchard's ***a*** family was available outside medieval Saxony and Thuringia by the 15th century, but not before. This makes it likely that these manuscripts represent a later stage of transmission specific to the northern parts of Central Europe, which was based on the two sub-archetypes nearest to the author (**α** and **β**), strengthening the idea, expressed above, of a development of the other sub-archetype **γ** and **δ** far from these regions. Unfortunately, the manuscripts do not offer further meaningful insight into their production context.

3.3 Manuscripts from or with a Connection to Medieval Saxony or Thuringia

The remaining four manuscripts can all be connected to the regions of medieval Saxony and Thuringia. Interestingly, whereas all of the first three manuscripts characterized above belong to the ***a*** family, all the manuscripts of the ***b*** family can be

39 The watermark (Briquet 14177) can be found in southern France as well as Utrecht.

40 Hans Butzmann, Die Weissenburger Handschriften (Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Neue Reihe 10), Frankfurt a. M. 1964, pp. 161–164. The manuscript is also described in detail in Chiesa (note 34), pp. 156–157. However, Chiesa identifies the manuscript's version of the 'Descriptio' with William of Zierickzee's pilgrimage account which was based on a witness of the ***a*** family, thus transmitting the same, rare incipit, cf. note 21, p. 159.

found exclusively in these geographical areas. The first is now kept in London: British Library, Add. 18929.[41] It can be dated to the 14th century and contains Burchard's description of the Holy Land (fol. 1r–42r), an elaborate version of his journey and description of Egypt (42r–44v), an account of his further travels in the Mediterranean (44v–49v) and a further short geographical description of the Holy Land (49v–50v). Together with the manuscript from Zwickau, London is the only manuscript from the Burchard tradition which transmits the continuation recounting his travels outside of Western Asia and Egypt.[42] The manuscript continues with a Latin abridgement of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat (fol. 52r–69v),[43] an excerpt from William of Conches 'Philosophia mundi' (69v–71v),[44] followed by a chapter of Thomas de Cantimpré's 'Liber de natura rerum' (71v–78v).[45] The codex ends with the narration of around 30 miracles by the Virgin Mary (79r–86v) which can be traced to a Dominican context, and also transmits further excerpts and homilies (87r–102v).[46]

At first glance, the similar layout of the various parts of this manuscript suggests that its texts had already been compiled during the Middle Ages.[47] However, further palaeographical and codicological analysis reveals that only the first fol. 1r–51v – Burchard's 'Descriptio' – constituted the original manuscript unit. Only in this part of the manuscript are the columns numbered with Arabic numerals. Furthermore, after the diagram of the Holy Land at the end of Burchard's text (fol. 51r), parchment of at least three folia, originally part of this booklet, were cut out, probably because they were empty. This likely happened at the occasion of rebinding, when the small booklet containing the 'Descriptio' was bound together with other, previously independent, codicological units. This hypothesis is further strengthened by strong traces of usage on fol. 52r, the beginning of the presumed new codicological unit comprising the legend of Barlaam, and again after three empty pages on fol. 79r, where the miracles of Mary were copied. Thus, the codex in its present form should be considered

41 Harry Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 3 vols., London 1883, vol. 2, p. 129.

42 See Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio* (note 2), pp. 175–177.

43 The text seems to be an abbreviated version of 'De sanctis Barlaam et Iosaphat' in the 'Legenda aurea' (inc.: *Barlaam cuius historiam*, BHL 981b), see Constanza Cordoni, Barlaam und Josaphat in der europäischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Darstellung der Stofftraditionen – Bibliographie – Studien, Berlin, Boston 2014, pp. 66–70.

44 The excerpt is based on chapters I–V of the 4th book of William's 'Philosophia' and has a strong emphasis on the scientific facts, cutting out William's philosophical argument. See William of Conches, Philosophia, ed. by Gregor Maurach, Pretoria 1980, pp. 88–94.

45 Thomas Cantimpratensis, Liber de natura rerum. Editio princeps secundum codices manuscriptos, ed. by Helmut Boese, Berlin, New York 1973, pp. 423–426. The chapter is taken from 'De Ornatu Caeli', which is closely based on William's 'Philosophia'.

46 Joseph Klapper, Erzählungen des Mittelalters in deutscher Übersetzung und lateinischem Urtext, Breslau 1914, pp. 7–8.

47 All parts of the manuscripts show a two-column layout divided by double lines indicated by pricking marks on top and on the bottom of the page, creating a consistent number of lines throughout the manuscript.

a codicological reworking, where several independent units were bound together at a later date. On the other hand, the similar page layout could suggests that these codicological units originated from the same *scriptorium* or library.

This library can be identified as the Benedictine monastery of St Peter, Erfurt, a city in the heart of Thuringia, owing to the presence of a note of possession on fol. 1r that reads: *Liber sancti petri in erfordia*, thus explicitly mentioning the city Erfurt and the monastery of St Peter. In addition, there appears a note on the first page of this *libellus* that states the name of the buyer of the book, a certain Hermannus Macre.[48] Although this buyer had been previously identified as Haymarus monachus,[49] he should instead be identified as an alderman from Erfurt, whose name – Hermann Macer or Macre – is listed as a signatory in charters from the end of the 13th century.[50] It is not clear if Hermann bought this book with the intent of gifting it to the monastery, or if the manuscript came to St Peter at some later time. Regardless, at least the first part of this codex containing a ***b*** family's version of Burchard's 'Descriptio' shows a strong connection to Erfurt.

Importantly, this manuscript is not the only witness from the ***b*** family with a connection to Erfurt, with Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 525 also attesting to such a link.[51] This carefully planned manuscript is particularly interesting because it was written by a single scribe who also signed his work at the end of the volume on fol. 127rb: *Scripsit hae* [sic] *omnia Johannes Laurentius sacerdos de Utenhusen Anno domini 1354.* Johannes Laurentius, who should be seen as the owner, user, and, possibly, *spiritus rector* of this codex was a priest from Ottenhausen, about 35 kilometres from Erfurt. We can therefore assume that he planned and realized the project of creating this manuscript (completed in 1354) according to his own particular needs and interests.

Regarding the version of the 'Descriptio' (copied on fol. 58r–74r) in this manuscript, it should be noted that there is no mention of Burchard as the author. Indeed, the text is generically indicated as 'Liber de Terra Sancta' and preceded by a list of cities and places with the corresponding page number. The 'Descriptio's' text ends prematurely on fol. 73v, with the explicit: *que sunt oneri arieti ad portandum*,[52] and is followed by a short passage about the mountains of the Holy Land with the incipit: *Montes Bethel sunt in Iudea.* The end of Burchard's 'Descriptio' and the beginning of this still unedited text 'Montes Bethel' is almost unperceivable, showing the scribe was perhaps unaware that these final passages did not belong to Burchard's text. This is further suggested

48 *Liber de terra sancta quem comparavit frater Hermannus macre.*

49 W. A. Neumann, Beiträge zur Bibliographie der Palästinaliteratur im Anschluss an eine Besprechung, in: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 4 (1881), pp. 224–244.

50 Christian Mehr, Vor Petrarca: Die Bergbesteigung eines Mönchs auf Vulcano, in: Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 101 (2019), pp. 317–346, here p. 322.

51 Peter Burkhart, Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig, vol. 2: Die theologischen Handschriften, part 1 (Ms 501–625), Wiesbaden 1999, pp. 38–42.

52 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 46 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 41 Weiss., and Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, A CVI 2 also share this explicit, as it makes a lot of sense to stop the text at this point, if one is not interested in the description of Egypt.

by the fact that the scribe put the word *explicit* only after the 'Montes Bethel' section. Following 'Montes Bethel' he also attached an explanation of the winds, with the different names and directions of the winds explained and translated into German, clearly an aid to understanding Burchard's way of structuring his text. Notwithstanding this addition, this information demonstrates a clear link between these two manuscripts of the ***b*** family and the city of Erfurt, and in the case of the Leipzig manuscript, this connection is further indicated through the so-called *Mitüberlieferung*.

Indeed, the *Mitüberlieferung* is of particular importance when considering the context of this codex's production. Aside from Burchard's 'Descriptio', the codex also transmits a carefully orchestrated ensemble of other texts which reflect not only the interests of Johannes Laurentius, but also allow for this manuscript to be localized. As Laurentius indicates in his table of content, 12 texts can be found in the manuscript:

1. Jacobus de Cessolis: 'De moribus hominum' (2r–15v)
2. Ps-Augustinus: 'De obitu Hieronymi' (15v–19v)
3. Henricus de Frimaria: 'Explanatio Passionis Dominicae' (19v–23v)
4. 'Expositio super Canticum Canticorum' (24r–28v)
5. Henricus de Frimaria: 'De quattuor instinctibus' (28v–34v)
6. Henricus de Frimaria: 'Expositio orationis Dominicae' (34v–38v)
7. Henricus de Frimaria: 'Expositio salutationis angelicae' (38v–41r)
8. Hermannus de Saxonia: 'Confessorium' (41r–44r)
9. 'De aliquibus sanctis et festis' (44r–57v)
10. Burchard of Mount Sion: 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' (including 'Montes Bethel') (58r–74r)
11. Henricus de Frimaria: 'Expositio decretalis cum Marie' (74v–90v)
12. 'Tractatus virtutum' (90v–127r)

These texts can be categorized as theological, legal, and hagiographical literature. The largest part of the manuscript is occupied by a series of seven shorter works penned by the scholar Henricus de Frimaria. The prominent place these texts have in the codex not only reveals the importance of this particular author for Johannes Laurentius, but can also help to us deduce its historical context. Henricus de Frimaria (b. 1245) was a German scholar from Gotha, a prominent figure within the Augustinian order, and nominated provincial leader of the Augustinians of Thuringia and Saxony in 1315. In 1317, he became *Magister regens* of the Augustinian *studium* in Erfurt, where he was active for over 20 years until his death in 1340.[53]

According to the manuscript catalogue, the Leipzig manuscript is the oldest extant source for one of Henricus' works and was produced only 13 years after his death,

53 For a biographical overview see Adolar Zumkeller, Heinrich von Friemar der Ältere, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 4, Munich, Zürich 1989, col. 2091, as well as Robert Glenn Warnock, Heinrich von Friemar d. Ä., in: Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon, vol. 11, Berlin, New York 2004, cols. 623–624.

thus placing the scribe of Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 525 in close proximity to Henricus and to Erfurt. This connection can further be substantiated by the presence of a legal treatise by another author, Hermann of Saxonia, known as '*Confessorium*' or '*Summula*'. Written by the Franciscan author Hermann of Saxonia or Hermann Topelstein, he was a native of Thuringia, being the offspring of a knightly family of the region as well as a member of the Franciscan house of Mühlhausen.[54] We do not know much else about Hermann, but he was probably active in Erfurt as *lector* at the local Franciscan *studium* around 1330–1340, again only 13 years before our manuscript was produced.[55] Lastly, the saints mentioned in the hagiographical part of the codex also point to Erfurt as its place of origin, particularly the mention of the *Translatio Severi*, since the relics of Severus, bishop of Ravenna, had been translated to Erfurt in the ninth century and deposited in the church of St Peter.[56] Taken together, the evidence strongly suggests not only that the manuscript was prepared by a priest from Thuringia, but also that Johannes Laurentius himself had at some point been active in Erfurt, where he had access to the new scholarly literature produced there, quite possibly as a student of the local schools and *studia*.

This connection to Erfurt can, at least indirectly, also be found in the last manuscript of the ***b*** family, Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, A CVI 2.[57] This late 15th-century manuscript belonged to the Prague Metropolitan Chapter and indicates its content at the beginning of the book: *Conscripta quedam et questiones super ewangelium Matthei. Concordancie super Bibliam ultimo loca* [unclear word] *et specialiter sancta describuntur* ("Notes and *quaestiones* on the Gospel of Matthew, concordances of the Bible, lastly the description of places [unclear word] and in particular of holy places"). Most of the codex (fol. 1r–233r) is dedicated to the first of these texts, which can be identified as a commentary on the Gospel of St Matthew written by the Augustinian Augustinus de Ancona or Augustinus Triumphus.[58] This text is followed by

54 Erich H. Reiter, A Treatise on Confession from the Secular / Mendicant Dispute: The Casus abstracti a iure of Herman of Saxony, O.F.M., in: Mediaeval Studies 57 (1995), pp. 1–39, here pp. 4–5.

55 Volker Honemann, Das mittelalterliche Schrifttum der Franziskaner der Sächsischen Ordensprovinz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung deutschsprachiger Zeugnisse, in: Volker Honemann (ed.), Geschichte der Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz, vol. 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Reformation, Paderborn 2015, pp. 603–730, here p. 663.

56 For this vita see Otto Buchner, Der Severi-Sarkophag zu Erfurt und sein Künstler. Samt Übersetzung der Vita und Translatio Sancti Severi des Priesters Liutolf, Erfurt 1903, pp. 23–31. Severus was venerated in Erfurt on 31 January, as indicated by the liturgical calendar. See Hermann Grotefend, Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit (HTML version from Dr H. Ruth), http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste/grotefend/kalender/dioec_11.htm (01.06.2020). For the translation of Severus's remains, cf. Matthias Werner, Die Gründungstradition des Erfurter Petersskloster (Vorträge und Forschungen, special volume 12), Sigmaringen 1971, p. 35.

57 Adolf Patera and Antonius Podlaha, Soupis Rukopisu knihovny Metropolitni kapitoly Prazské, vol. 1, Prague 1910, pp. 134–135.

58 Adolar Zumkeller, Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken (Cassiciacum 20), Würzburg 1966, p. 73; Josef Kürzinger,

an anonymous concordance of biblical passages dedicated to moral education for preachers (until fol. 309r). The text starts with an alphabetical table followed by the incipit *Contra peccatum simpliciter*, whose unknown author is sometimes wrongly identified with Antonius of Padua.[59] This text is also transmitted in other manuscripts from Bohemia (such as Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, CE 2° 131),[60] as well as in manuscripts from Magdeburg and from other places in that region.[61] After a couple of versified summaries of the books of the Bible, as well as smaller texts, Burchard's 'Descriptio' appears on fol. 324r–351r.

Importantly, this version of the 'Descriptio' can be seen as a twin copy of the one found in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 525, since it transmits not only a very similar version of Burchard's text, but it also ends with the same short anonymous text about the mountains of the Holy Land 'Montes Bethel', transmitted at least to our present knowledge only in these two codices. This makes it likely that Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, A CVI 2 or at least its *exemplar* and Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 525 share a common production context.

'Montes Bethel' is then followed by a text (fol. 351r–355r) written by the same scribe, which is also the unique to the source: 'De iubilellis', a treatise composed by Dietrich of Nyem in 1403, in which he argues against the abuse of indulgences.[62] Dietrich was active at the papal court in the second half of the 14th century. However, he directly addressed this treatise to the *magistri et doctores* of Erfurt, as the concluding paratext says (fol. 355ra):

> *Hec est epistola compilata per dominum Theodericum Nyem quondam episcopum Verden abbreviatorem et scriptorem litterarum apostolicarum domini nostri pape magistris et doctoribus Erffordie commorantibus directa.*
>
> This epistle was put together by Dietrich of Nyem, who once was the bishop of Verden and who summarized and wrote the apostolical letters of our pope. This epistle was directed at the professors and doctors living in Erfurt.

Handschriften philosophischer Werke des Augustinus Triumphus, in: Philosophisches Jahrbuch 53 (1940), pp. 355–361; Agostino d'Ancona, in: Dizionario biografico degli Italian 1, Rome 1960, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/agostino-d-ancona_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ (15.06.2020).

59 See Valentin Rose, Verzeichnis der Lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 2, Berlin 1902, pp. 377–378.

60 Sirka Heyne, Die mittelalterlichen Codices Erfordenses in der Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt / Gotha, Gotha 2005, pp. 24–25.

61 See Rose (note 59), pp. 377–378.

62 About Dietrich of Nyem see Hermann Heimpel, Dietrich von Nieheim, in: Neue Deutsche Biographie 3 (1957), pp. 691–692, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118525549.html (01.06.2020), as well as Hermann Heimpel, Dietrich von Niem (Nieheim), in: Aloys Böme et al. (ed.), Westfälische Lebensbilder, vol. 5, Münster 1937, pp. 176–192. The text is edited in Hermann Heimpel, Dietrich von Niem (c. 1340–1418) (Westfälische Biographien 2), Münster 1932.

He especially criticized a certain Augustinus de Undinis, who was active in the city and had made the inhabitants of Erfurt 'blind'.[63] The codex ends with various sermons on fol. 355r–367r. Of course, this textual reference to Erfurt does not constitute a direct connection of this codex to the city, as texts were not restricted in their circulation to the intended receiver. However, the fact that this text is uniquely transmitted in this manuscript suggests that it did not experience a wide circulation. Considering the close connection between the Leipzig manuscript and the Prague manuscript, it does not seem implausible to suggest that Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, A CVI 2's exemplar had its provenance in Erfurt. Reinforcing this notion is the fact that from the 1360s there was a close relationship between Erfurt's *studia* and the university in Prague, making it even more likely that 'De iubilellis' (or indeed the manuscript itself) found its way to its present location from Erfurt, alongside Burchard's ***b*** family 'Descriptio'.[64]

Whereas the three manuscripts mentioned above all belonged to the ***b*** family, the last manuscript analysed here is a very important witness from the ***a*** family: Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I XII 5.[65] This manuscript can be dated on palaeographic grounds to the 15th century and was gifted to the church of St Mary in Zwickau by a certain Johannes Heynemann, as stated in the manuscript itself.[66] Like the Leipzig manuscript, it contains texts written by Henricus de Frimaria, the leader of the Augustinian church in Erfurt, alongside Burchard's 'Descriptio'. Preceding this it contains an abridgement of Petrus Lombardus 'Sentences' called 'Filia magistri', a work that in the Middle Ages was attributed to Henricus,[67] as well as Henricus' explanation of the mysteries of mass, a text which is transmitted in only seven

63 Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, A CVI 2, p. 354vb reads: *frater Augustinus de Undinis qui Erffordie interdictum posuit et ibidem videntes cecos fecit.*

64 Robert Gramsch, Erfurt – die älteste Hochschule Deutschlands: vom Generalstudium zur Universität (Schriften des Vereins für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt 9), Erfurt 2012, p. 31.

65 The manuscript is described in Renate Schipke, Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau: Bestandsverzeichnis aus dem Zentralinventar mittelalterlicher Handschriften, Berlin 1990, pp. 58–60.

66 Although the name Johannes Heynemann can be found several times during the Middle Ages and early modern times, he can be probably identified with a cleric from Zwickau mentioned in charter from 1438. See Emil Herzog, Schenkung der Lengenfelder Hoyermühle zum Martinsaltar der Zwickauer Marienkirche, vom Jahre 1438, in: Jahresbericht des Voigtländischen alterthumsforschenden Vereins 20/21 (1845/46), pp. 81–84, p. 81. Here, Johannes is mentioned as celebrating at St Martin's altar, making it likely that he was in fact a cleric of St Mary's, which had such an altar which was then demolished during the reformation in 1525. See Emil Herzog, Chronik der Kreisstadt Zwickau: Topographie und Statistik, Zwickau 1839, p. 95.

67 Although the text might be falsely attributed to Henricus de Frimaria, this work was often attributed to this author in medieval codices, cf. Franklin T. Harkins, Filiae Magistri, Peter Lombard's Sentences and Medieval Theological Education 'on the Ground', in: Philipp W. Rosemann (ed.), Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, vol. 3, Leiden, Boston 2015, pp. 26–78, here p. 39.

manuscripts.[68] Thus, this manuscript points not only towards Erfurt, but towards the context of *studia* in particular, since abridgements like the 'Filia magistri' were often utilized for basic theological training of novices or mendicant friars who had to be acquainted with all four books of the 'Sentences'.[69] The Zwickau manuscript also contains various notes that handle a plethora of topics like the properties of herbs, the different forms of sin, the years passed from creation, and some verses on the Trinity in German.[70] Various notes scattered around the book by the same hand suggest that the manuscript was not intended as an instrument of theoretical theological studies, but rather for enabling priests or friars in their practical pastoral activities such as preaching. All in all, the manuscript seems to have had a very similar function to Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 525: to provide a religious man with the knowledge he needed for his daily duty plus some general knowledge, useful for day-to-day business. Given the particular educational content, it is possible that the owner, Johannes Heynemann, produced or acquired the manuscript in a regional centre of education. While at this stage of research it cannot be proven that this centre was Erfurt, although this is likely given the close proximity to Zwickau, it makes sense at least to understand the production of this (***a*** family) version of Burchard's 'Descriptio' as having occurred in or around a Saxon or Thuringian convent.

This preliminary analysis indicates that the majority of the witnesses of the families ***a*** and ***b*** point towards Saxony and Thuringia, and to the city and erudite milieu of Erfurt in particular. From the beginning of the 13th century, the city harboured many religious houses and *studia* (Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian) and was famous as a prominent centre of learning throughout Europe. Studies have also shown that these religious houses formed the nucleus of the important university of Erfurt that was established in 1392 or perhaps earlier.[71] Judging by the manuscript evidence, it seems likely that both early versions of Burchard's 'Descriptio' circulated in Erfurt among the local intellectuals active at the various schools and *studia* – be that Franciscan or Dominican – and were copied within these contexts.

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68 Adolar Zumkeller, Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken (Cassiciacum 20), Würzburg 1966, p. 138.

69 For purpose and usage of this text see Harkins (note 67), pp. 26–78; ibid., pp. 34–35. On the 'Filia magistri' see also Philipp W. Rosemann, The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences (Rethinking the Middle Ages 2), New York 2007, pp. 33–52, as well as Raymond-M. Martin, Filia Magistri: Un abrégé des Sentences de Pierre Lombard, in: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 2 (1915), pp. 370–379.

70 See Schipke (note 65), pp. 58–60.

71 Helmut G. Walther, Ordensstudium und theologische Profilbildung: Die 'Studia generalia' in Erfurt und Paris an der Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert, in: Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds.), Meister Eckhart in Erfurt (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 32), Berlin 2005, pp. 75–94, here p. 92. See also Sönke Lorenz, Studium Generale Erfordense: Neue Forschungen zum Erfurter Schulleben, in: Traditio 46 (1991), pp. 261–290, and Sönke Lorenz, Studium generale Erfordense: zum Erfurter Schulleben im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 34), Stuttgart 1989. For the uncertain date of the foundation of the University of Erfurt see Gramsch (note 64), pp. 98–99.

4 Burchard's Connection to Magdeburg and Erfurt

Taking the above into consideration, we are now able to tentatively suggest certain things pertaining to Burchard's career after the end of his diplomatic mission to Cyprus in 1285. Manuscript evidence suggests that the core of Burchard's 'Descriptio' was probably compiled in the Holy Land, with additional details (as evidenced in the ***a*** family) added to the text up to 1285.[72] This version can be identified with the now-lost archetype **Ω**.[73] However, as Rubin has indicated in this collection,[74] **Ω** was not the final product of the author's engagement with his material and the ***a*** and ***b*** families show further refinement and expansion of the text, possibly by Burchard and probably in conjunction with various scribes. Access to scribes and to a place to rework his text could point towards this stage in its development having occurred at the Dominican house in Cyprus where Burchard resided in 1285. However, the distribution of manuscripts connected to both the **α** and **β** sub-archetypes around northern Central Europe strongly suggests that this reworking, commenting, and copying took place in Europe after his final return from the Holy Land.

Burchard's late-career biography should perhaps, therefore, run as follows. Sometime in 1284, Burchard made the decision, for whatever reason, to leave the Holy Land. By this point the archetype (**Ω**) of the 'Descriptio' was to some extent complete, or at least the material for it assembled, and Burchard travelled through Mediterranean with a copy of this book in hand. While in Italy, he was ordered by the Dominican master to return to the Levant, to serve as a diplomat in various matters and these travels through the Mediterranean, written down in the manner of an ongoing travelogue, ended in Cyprus in 1285. After spending some time at the Dominican house in Cyprus, he then decided to return to his home in Germany, via Italy, without adding a duplication of the travelogue for the return journey.[75] If correct, it is plausible to date his return to Germany between 1285 and 1286, immediately after the end of his travel account. In all likelihood, the process of rewriting his 'Descriptio' (**Ω** into **α** and **β**) took place in a Dominican institution in Germany after 1286 and possibly before 1291 owing to the lack of any mention of the capture of Acre in that year.[76]

Placing Burchard in Germany after 1285 leads naturally onto the oft-discussed topic of Burchard's place of origin. Most have connected him with Magdeburg, a city in medieval Saxony, some 120 kilometres north of Leipzig. This hypothesis is based

72 See Rubin, A Missing Link (note 2), pp. 60–61.

73 For the philological establishment of this archetype see Rubin (note 5).

74 Rubin in this volume, pp. 18–21.

75 Such as the volcanos in southern Italy, see Mehr (note 50).

76 Though given the focus of Burchard's text largely on a biblical past rather than a historical present, he may have omitted references to the siege and fall of Acre because it did not fit into his wider vision for the work. A similar omission occurs in Riccoldo's 'Liber peregrinationis', which was certainly composed after the fall of Acre, cf. Martin M. Bauer, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis: Epistole ad Ecclesiam triumphantem (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 24), Stuttgart 2021, p. 17.

on a number of arguments, but mainly on grounds of textual references that seem to indicate Burchard's close relationship to this city.[77] One of these is based on the dedication of Burchard's abbreviated version of the 'Descriptio' (the short version) to a Dominican friar, also named Burchard, who was *lector* in Magdeburg.[78] Later in this short version other references to Magdeburg can be found, for instance when Burchard, trying to give his reader an impression of Jerusalem's dimensions, compares the holy city to Magdeburg.[79] Furthermore, he compares the distance between Acre and Nazareth to the distance between Magdeburg and Barby, a village not far away, although this reference must be treated with caution.[80] Indeed, references to Magdeburg are not limited to the 'Descriptio's' short version. In the description of Egypt found in London, British Library, Add. 18929 and Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I, XII, 5, Burchard also describes a giraffe, explaining that the animal had an extremely long neck. To help the reader visualize this peculiar and unknown animal he observes that the animal could touch the roof of the church in Magdeburg with its mouth.[81] Overall, these passages show Burchard's close familiarity with Magdeburg

77 The debate is summarized by Bartlett (note 2), pp. xxvii–xxx.

78 The dedication reads: *Dilectissimo in Christo Iesu patri fratri Burchardo lectori fratrum ordinis praedicatorum in Magdeburch, frater Burchardus de monte Syon cum omni deuotione orationes in Domino Iesu Christo,* "For our most beloved father in Christ Jesus, Brother Burchard, teacher of the brothers of the Order of Preachers in Magdeburg, Brother Burchard of Mount Sion with all devotion [offers] prayers in the Lord Jesus Christ." Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 2), pp. 226–227.

79 *[V]idetur autem mihi, et in hoc consenserunt, qui mecum ibi fuerunt et utramque nouerunt, quod Ierusalem amplior multo sit et longior, quam antiqua ciuitas Magdeburgensis, quam includit murus circumiens de sancto Georgio usque ad nouam ciuitatem exclusiue,* "It seems to me, and those who were with me and know both places agree, that Jerusalem is much wider and longer than the ancient city of Magdeburg, which is enclosed within a wall running round from St George's as far as the new city but not including it." Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 2), pp. 260–261.

80 This reference is based on Laurent, who explicitly referred to Canisius in his introduction: *Priorem textus recensionem expressit Canisius, cuius editio hos, ad quos attendas, locos continet: 'Distat autem (Nazareth) ab Accon per septem leucas. Quod spacium melius estimare potui, quia sepius illuc pertransiui. Videtur michi esse sicut de Magdeburg in Barboy'* ("Nazareth lies 7 leagues from Acre. I have been able to reckon this distance better, because I have often passed through there. It seems to me to be just like the distance from Magdeburg to Barby" (translation from Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett [note 2], p. xxx). However, as Bartlett (ibid.) rightly claims, this reference has never been printed by Canisius (or Basagne for that matter). This is even more confusing, as Laurent himself stated in his review of Canisius's edition that he found this additional passage which is not present in Canisius himself in a manuscript from Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms. I F 211, see Johann Laurent, Burchardus de Monte Sion, in: Serapeum 21 (1860), pp. 1–11, here p. 5. Indeed, the passage in question can be found on fol. 235v as well as in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 569, fol. 194r. Given this important biographical detail, it is unfortunate that Bartlett did not collate these manuscripts for his edition.

81 London, British Library, Add. 18929, fol. 44v: *De Babylonia recedens ductus sum ad locum ubi erant 6 leones et 6 elephantes et 60 strutiones in curia et onageri plures. Vidi etiam ibi quoddam mirabile animal, quod scraph Arabica* [sic] *dicitur, dispositionis mirabilis super modum. Habet enim in longitudine pedes 16 vel amplius, pellem sicut iuvenis capreolus maculosam, s[cilicet] rubeum*

and its Dominican church, making it likely that Burchard spent some time there at one point or another in his life or had at least some other connection to the city.[82]

Nevertheless, a closer examination of these passages suggests that Burchard did not just refer to the city's size or its churches because of his own familiarity with the city, but because of his reader's familiarity with it. Burchard the author used these examples so that the receiver of his text, Burchard the *lector*, could more easily comprehend his descriptions. Burchard explicitly refers to the church in Magdeburg as "your church" *(ecclesie vestre in Magedeburc)*, not "our church", making it quite clear that, despite his intimate knowledge of the city, he did not consider Magdeburg as his city.[83] In fact, the only indication which Burchard gives as to his own place of origin occurs when he signs the prologue to the short version as "Burchard de Monte Sion", thus emphasizing his affiliation with the Holy Land, rather than with Magdeburg or any other place in Latin Europe.[84] So while he knew the city of Magdeburg and its environs well, the evidence does not suggest he was in situ while finishing the 'Descriptio'. It was his readers and not him who possessed a personal connection with the city.

Still, his familiarity with the wider region and his close connection to a Dominican *lector* there prove that Burchard must have been active in the area. Yet if we are to put aside the idea that Burchard lived in Magdeburg when he was working on his text, we must also consider alternative locations. With this in mind, we return to the city of Erfurt. We have already demonstrated how the earliest textual families of Burchard's text demonstrate a strong connection with the city of Erfurt and the Dominican house there. If Burchard himself had been present at Erfurt when he was completing the revision of his text, then this would help to explain the strong association with Erfurt within the ***a*** and ***b*** families of the 'Descriptio'. Working in Erfurt, he could have also frequently travelled to Magdeburg, with both cities housing Dominican houses belonging to the same province.[85] This could explain not only why Burchard was in contact with a *lector* there, but also shed light on his own role inside the Dominican order after his return from the Holy Land, with the possibility that, just like his acquaintance in Magdeburg, our author also taught novices and became a *lector*.[86] Though we cannot, with confidence, prove Burchard's post-1285 place of

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colorem albo permixtum. Priores pedes et crura ita sunt alta, et collum ita longum, quod pro certo dico quod tectum ecclesie vestre in Magedeburc tangere posset ore. Posteriora vero crura demissa sunt, et corpus similiter, ita ut modico ibi sic altius quam camelus. Est autem animal in multis terris rarum et invisum, edited in: Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio* (note 2), p. 184.

82 See Bartlett (note 2), p. xxx.

83 Although it seems likely that Burchard would return to his region of origin, this is by no means certain. Since as we have seen Burchard's references to Magdeburg are most likely there for his readers, he could have integrated them after settling in the region.

84 See Bartlett (note 2), p. xxx.

85 Walther (note 71), pp. 91–92.

86 Bartlett argues that the short version's dedication suggests that the *lector* in Magdeburg was Burchard's superior: "It was at this Lector's command and request *(iussione et petitione)* that Burchard had written his account; the Lector was therefore Burchard's superior, but

residence beyond pointing to the broad area of Saxony / Thuringia, recognizing the problematic nature of the traditional Magdeburg connection and the advancement of this Erfurt hypothesis allows new avenues of investigation into Burchard's career.

Given the fact that abridged versions of relevant texts were used at Dominican houses for didactical purposes, this social context might also suggest that the short version of the 'Descriptio' was created with a specific Dominican and educational audience in mind.[87] It is to be remembered that it is exclusively this short version which features Magdeburg as an important point of comparison throughout. This, in turn, poses an interesting problem in the context of the 'Descriptio's' textual development. If Burchard was working or teaching at Erfurt, one could easily imagine how word of his text travelled along the highly frequented roads between Erfurt and Magdeburg. There, his Dominican colleagues might have seen the need for a description of the Holy Land for the education of future preachers and requested a more concise version of the text. Although the relationship between the short version and the various archetypes of the long version has yet to be studied in detail,[88] preliminary analysis suggests that the short version might even pre-date the emergence of the sub-archetypes **α** and **β**.

That the short version is based on an archetype of the 'Descriptio' close to the author's original can be shown by a striking example in the description of a castle called Adomin or Adumim (which means 'red' in Hebrew).[89] According to Burchard's short version, this place is called Rotenburg (red castle) in German due to the massive bloodshed that took place there:

> *De Iericho ad quattuor leucas contra occidentem, in uia que ducit Ierusalem, ad sinistram deserti Quarentene, Adomin castellum, ubi ille qui descendit ab Ierusalem in Iericho, incidit in latrones, quod etiam tempore moderno multis ibidem contingit. Locus idem theutonice Rotenburch appellatur, propter multum sanguinem fusum ibi, est enim locus ille horribilis et periculosus ualde.*
>
> Four leagues to the west, on the road leading to Jerusalem, to the left of the desert of Quarentena, is the castle of Adummim, where the man who descended from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, as also happens to many at the same place in modern times. That place is called in German

nevertheless one who respected Burchard's comprehension and experience of the Holy Land." Bartlett (note 2), p. xxx. However, the humble style of this dedication letter should not be overemphasized but was part of the genre.

87 Similar arguments have been made about the works of Riccoldo of Monte Croce. See Philip Booth, The Dominican Educational and Social Contexts of Riccoldo of Monte Croce's Pilgrimage Writing, in: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 51,1 (2021), pp. 49–78.

88 Cf. the discussion on the connection of the short and long version in Bartlett (note 2), pp. xliii–lviii.

89 See also Rubin in this volume, p. 27.

> Rotenburch, on account of the great quantity of blood shed there; for it is a fearsome and very dangerous place.[90]

Not only does this philological explanation demonstrate the careful methodology used by Burchard in presenting the topography of the Holy Land, but it is also very telling when compared to the corresponding passage in the long version. Most manuscript families either omit this passage or omit the important information about the German name of the castle Rodeburg, making the explanation useless and thereby committing a very telling copying mistake. This error can already be found in manuscripts of the ***b*** family, suggesting a mistake made early in the text's transmission history. For example, in London, British Library, Add. 18929, fol. 22r, we can read:

> *De Iericho 4 leucis contra occidentem via que ducit in Iherusalem ad sinistram Quarentone* [sic] *est castrum Adunim ubi ille qui descendit ab Ierusalem in Jericho incidit in latrones quod modernis temporibus multis contingit ibidem et* ***ab*** *effusione frequenti sanguinis locus ille nomen accepit.*

It is only in the ***a*** family that this passage seems to have been copied correctly. In Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I, XII, 5, fol. 128v, for instance, one reads:

> *Item de Iericho 4 leucis contra occidentem via que ducit in Ierusalem ad sinistram deserti Quarentene est Casale Adonyum ubi ille qui descendit ab Ierusalem in Iericho incidit in latrones quod et modernis diebus multis contigit ibidem et effusione frequenti sanguinis locus idem Rodeburg appellatur.*

If we assume that this extra information was not added by a later redactor or interpolator, we can also assume that the Rodeburg information was included in the original Ω text, and by extension that this archetype or the sub-archetype α served as the source for the short version of the 'Descriptio'.

Moreover, a very small but peculiar passage can help to address this issue further. The previously mentioned passage on the giraffe (for the Latin text see note 81) poses a problem regarding the textual development of Burchard's 'Descriptio', since it suggests that not only the short version, but also the long version could have been, in some way, addressed to an audience in Magdeburg.[91] However, whereas the short version clearly addresses the Dominican *lector* Burchard of Magdeburg in the opening letter, the long version lacks any other reference to the city or to any particular audience. On the contrary, the long version's prologue is clearly intended for a general Christian public:

90 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 2), pp. 257–258.

91 See Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio* (note 2), p. 178.

> *Verum uidens quosdam affici desiderio ea saltem aliqualiter imaginari, que non possunt presentialiter intueri, et cupiens eorum desiderio satisfacere, quantum possum, terram ipsam, quam pedibus meis pluries pertransiui, quantum potui, consideraui, et notaui diligenter, et studiose descripsi hoc lectorem scire uolens, quod nihil in hac descriptione posui, nisi quod uel presentialiter in locis illis existens uidi, uel stans in montibus aliquibus uel locis aliis oportunis, ubi accessum habere non potui, a Syrianis uel a Saracenis aut aliis terre ipsius habitatoribus diligentissime, quod querebam, interrogans annotaui.*
>
> However, seeing some affected by the desire to have at least some mental picture of what they cannot see in reality, and wishing to satisfy their desire as far as I can, I have thought to the best of my ability about that land which my feet have often travelled, and I have diligently noted and assiduously described it, wanting the reader to know this: that I have set down nothing in this description but what I have either seen for myself when present in those places, or what I noted down from my most careful questioning of Syrians or Saracens or other inhabitants of the land when standing on some mountains or other convenient places, when I could have no direct access.[92]

If the long version had been intended for Burchard's brothers in Magdeburg, one would expect the author to address them in the same way as he did in the short version. Since no other passage in the long version shows any reference to Magdeburg, the phrase "your church in Magdeburg", found in the giraffe passage, seems quite out of place. An explanation for this can be found if we consider that the passage in question is not really part of the core of the 'Descriptio' itself, but belongs to the addenda found in British Library, Add. 18929 and Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. I, XII, 5.[93]

This might suggest that, after his return to Europe, Burchard himself (or other scribes / redactors) created and dedicated versions of the 'Descriptio' which were intended for local readers in different regional and institutional contexts. Thus, the reference to Magdeburg in Burchard's continuation of the long version could indicate that he was not only writing a shorter version for his Dominican colleagues, but that Burchard held, in his notes or memory, other interesting observations which never made it into one of the extant textual archetypes. These additions were for some reasons not included in the later transmission of the short version. The absence of these additions in later versions of the short text could be explained by their limited didactical value outside a Dominican context.

92 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 2), pp. 6–7.

93 Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio* (note 2), p. 175.

Hence, this suggests that some additional passages were not created in the context of his reworking of **Ω** into **α** (and further development into **β**), but in the context of the development of the shorter version, in which the reference to Magdeburg made sense. These passages were then also added to **α** and **β**, possibly unintentionally. Although it is not conclusive, this chain of evidence suggests that the short version is not only older than **β**, but even precedes the sub-archetype **α**. It seems that, encouraged by the *lector* Burchard of Magdeburg or some other person probably based in Magdeburg, Burchard of Mount Sion, or perhaps a scribe or redactor involved in the revision process, re-engaged with **Ω** and the notes Burchard had made along the way. This preparation of a short version for another audience, and the change of perspective that came along with such a process, might explain the need for a further engagement with the long version of the 'Descriptio', finally leading to Burchard's sub-archetypes **α** and **β**.

5 Conclusion

To conclude, the analysis of textual development and manuscript transmission allows some insights into the historical contexts in which Burchard's 'Descriptio' developed and also helps establish Burchard's late-career biography. Concerning the distribution, the manuscripts of the long version show two distinct stages of transmission: an earlier one, with a small number of manuscripts of the ***a*** and ***b*** family, close to the authorial versions **Ω** and its derivation **α** and **β**, experiencing isolated transmission in the northern part of Central Europe; and a later one with a large bulk of manuscripts divided into three families belonging to the slightly later versions **γ** and **δ**, respectively families ***c***, ***d***, and ***e***, mainly transmitted in Austria and Italy, most likely in the context of pilgrimage.

A closer examination of manuscripts of the ***a*** and ***b*** families was undertaken to shed light on the *Mitüberlieferung* and on the early historical contexts of the 'Descriptio's' longer version which could be traced back to the Dominican house at Erfurt. Combined with a preliminary analysis of the textual evidence, this examination leads to a scenario in which the archetype **Ω** might have already been created before 1284 in the Holy Land. However, Burchard's travels, which he carefully described, did not end the way he thought they would. In Italy, Burchard was sent back to the Mediterranean by the master of his order, to conclude some diplomatic business that he also noted in his itinerary. Having completed his task as an envoy in 1285, he seems to have returned to the area of Saxony and Thuringia, where he settled down, maybe at a Dominican institution in or around Erfurt. Here, the 'Descriptio' was reworked several times before 1291. First, a short version based on the archetype **Ω**, as well as some additional paragraphs, was compiled on the request of the *lector* Burchard of Magdeburg, probably to provide a version suited for educational purposes. In a next step, marginal notes were incorporated into the text during the creation of archetypes **α** and **β**. Interestingly, of these many

early versions only the short version became successful, leading to 31 known manuscripts, a high number compared to the seven witnesses of the ***a*** and ***b*** family.[94] In our opinion, this development could be connected with the social context of a Dominican house, where shorter texts with a clear educational purpose were more often needed and thus copied. Only after the emergence of families ***c***, ***d***, and ***e*** did Burchard's long version develop very quickly into a widely transmitted and much-appreciated text that was used, until early modern times, by travellers, pilgrims, and scholars alike.

94 Bartlett (note 2), pp. xl–xli.

Susanna Fischer

The Transmission of a 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' from the 15th Century

Towards a Digital Edition of a Textual Description of a Grid Map

Abstract In my contribution, I address a set of short Latin pilgrimage texts dated to the 15th century, each containing a written description of a grid map of Palestine ('Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte') in which the holy places are located in a grid scheme. After some introductory considerations of maps, grid maps, and pilgrimage narratives, I discuss in the first instance the source of the 15th-century description of Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis'. The focus of the contribution lies in the transmission of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' and on the nature of a possible exemplar map or text. The discussion of the transmission leads to considerations about the adequate presentation of the text in a digital edition, visualized by a grid scheme.

Zusammenfassung Der Beitrag befasst sich mit einer Reihe kurzer lateinischer Pilgertexte aus dem 15. Jahrhundert, die jeweils eine textuelle Beschreibung einer Karte Palästinas (‚Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte') enthalten, in der die heiligen Stätten in einem Gitternetz angeordnet sind. Nach einleitenden Überlegungen zu Landkarten, Rasterkarten und Pilgererzählungen steht zunächst die Quelle der ‚Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte', Marino Sanudos ‚Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' aus dem 15. Jahrhundert, im Zentrum. Der Schwerpunkt des Beitrags liegt auf der Überlieferung und auf der Frage nach einer möglichen Vorlage der ‚Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'. Den Abschluss bilden Überlegungen zu einer adäquaten Darstellung des Textes in einer digitalen Edition, die auf einer Visualisierung durch das Rasterschema beruht.

Contact

Dr Susanna Fischer,
Department of History, University of Kassel, Untere Königsstr. 86, 34125 Kassel, Germany,
susanna.fischer@uni-kassel.de

Department of Greek and Latin Philology, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, 80539 München, Germany,
susanna.fischer@lmu.de
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0548-5268

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1 Introduction

The existence of a description of a map, without a map to accompany it, may seem like something of an oddity to our modern sensibilities. Any textual description of a map might normally be seen as ancillary to the apparently more informative and recognizable image of a visual map. After all, a picture speaks a thousand words. However, in the set of texts discussed in the current chapter this expectation is subverted. In each of these manuscripts, only a description of a Holy Land map survives without the accompanying map itself. This chapter will therefore address the seemingly unusual survival of these text-maps-without-maps and how these might be better understood and used.

But, before embarking on the discussion of these textual descriptions of a map, it is first of all necessary to consider the relationship between pilgrimage texts and maps or diagrams prior to the 15th-century emergence of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'. Useful not only as a tool for orientation, these diagrams and maps were able to help users to visualize the journey to the Holy Land.[1] However, diagrams are very rarely found in the corpus of pilgrimage texts.[2] Only a few manuscripts within the Adomnán of Iona / Bede pilgrimage narrative tradition, written between second half of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries, contain diagrams.[3] Outside of this tradition, up until around the 12th century, illustrations are rarely found transmitted in either pilgrimage narratives or similar texts like Jerome's 'Liber de locis'.[4] That said, examples of plans of Jerusalem or maps can be found as part of texts within other genres, such as biblical commentaries, or in encyclopaedic contexts. An early example of this is a diagram entitled *Figura terre repromissionis,* which represents the distribution of the land among the 12 Israelite tribes. It dates from the middle of ninth century and is found transmitted on the last page of a commentary on the Book of Joshua.[5] The purpose of this diagrammatic representation is to clarify the text and it serves to aid in the memorization of the tribes and their territories by means of a rough topographic orientation, the topographical order being a well-known strategy of ancient mnemotechnics.[6]

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1 Cf. for a detailed analysis on the maps and diagrams P. D. A. Harvey, Medieval Maps of the Holy Land, London 2012.

2 Cf. on the diagrams Susanna Fischer, Erzählte Bewegung. Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert) (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 52), Leiden, Boston 2019, pp. 134–150.

3 Of around 50 transmitted manuscripts of Adomnán's 'De locis sanctis' only four contain diagrams. Adomnan, De locis sanctis, ed. by P. Geyer, in: Itineraria et alia Geographica (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175), Turnhout 1965, pp. 219–297. Beda Venerabilis, De locis sanctis, ed. by I. Fraipont, in: Itineraria et alia Geographica (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175), Turnhout 1965, pp. 245–280.

4 Harvey (note 1), pp. 17–30.

5 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 11561, fol. 43v. Discussed by Harvey (note 1), p. 21.

6 'Rhetorica ad Herennium' 3, 28–40; Cicero, 'De oratore' 2, 350–360; Quintilian, 'Institutio oratoria' 11, 2, 1–26; Mary Carruthers, The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200, Cambridge 1998, p. 269.

However, starting from around 1300, maps based on the 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' of Burchard of Mount Sion began to be transmitted separately from this pilgrimage narrative and in manuscripts of the 'Descriptio' itself, we find diagrams showing the structure of Burchard's text.[7] Moreover, it is in the 14th century that the first European grid maps we know of are transmitted, in connection with Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis'.[8] In these maps, a grid with quadrants is placed over the region of Palestine, though only some of the manuscripts of Sanudo contain these grid maps.

This short overview shows that pilgrimage texts referring to diagrams or maps also function independently from the diagrams or maps which they refer to. Thus, the core of my contribution addresses not maps but rather textual descriptions of maps. The set of Latin pilgrimage texts I will analyse refer to a *figura*, a grid map of Palestine, which is not transmitted in the extant manuscripts alongside the pilgrim text. The actual *figura* has not survived, but textual descriptions of it are transmitted in four manuscripts, as seen in the overview (cf. Table 1), and this short text is referred to in one of the extant manuscripts as the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'.[9] In addition, a further description of a grid map is embedded in the 15th-century pilgrimage narrative of Johannes Poloner. Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' and related grid maps serve as the sources for all the textual descriptions of a grid map discussed here.

The aim of this contribution is to improve our understanding of textual descriptions of grid maps, since the function of these descriptions deserves further consideration. To seek preliminary answers to this question I will examine how the text of the 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' of Marino Sanudo (book 3, 14, 3) refers to the extant grid maps of Palestine (section 2). Based on this examination, I will analyse the description of the grid map transmitted in Johannes Poloner's pilgrimage narrative dated to 1422 (section 3). Next, I will explore the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte', transmitted to four manuscripts dating from the 15th century, and its transmission (section 4) while also thinking about the nature of a possible exemplar map and/or text (section 5). Finally, I will reflect on possible new directions for the editing of pilgrimage texts that also includes the visualization of these findings about the text's transmission and show how a digital edition of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' could be realized (section 6).

7 See below note 23.

8 Edition: Marino Sanutus dictus Torsellus, Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis, in: J. Bongars (ed.), Gesta Dei per Francos, Hannover 1611, the description of the map: pp. 246–249 (repr. ed. by Joshua Prawer, Jerusalem 1972).

9 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18736, fol. 201r.

Tab. 1 | Overview of manuscripts mentioned.

'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'[i]	M_1 = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, rar. 801, fol. 126r–129v (written by Hartmann Schedel)
	M_2 = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18736, fol. 201r–204v ('Mauritius Parisiensis')
	N = Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III, 93, fol. 171r–172r
	V = Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3851, fol. 3r–4v
Johannes Poloner, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae'	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 354 Helmst. 280ra–303vb[ii]
	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14583, fol. 454r–488v[iii]
	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 721, fol. 71v–85r
	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7488, fol. 85r–95v
	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26630, fol. 260–272

i Cf. https://www.pilgrimage.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/ (01.04.22).

ii Cf. Bertram Lesser, Die mittelalterlichen Helmstedter Handschriften der Herzog August Bibliothek. Teil 2: Cod. Guelf. 277 bis 440 Helmst. und Helmstedter Fragmente, *Wiesbaden*. Preliminary description: www.diglib.hab.de (01.04.22).

iii Cf. Julia Knödler: http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31784519 (01.04.22).

2 Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' and the Related Grid Maps as a Source of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'

Before turning to the 'Declaracio', we must first discuss the related grid maps found transmitted in connection with manuscripts of Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis'. Marino Sanudo Torsello the Elder was born in Venice in about 1260 and his book was written in an attempt to initiate a new crusading expedition.[10]

10 Cf. Nathalie Bouloux, Culture et savoirs géographiques en Italie au XIV[e] siècle, Turnhout 2002, pp. 45–61, here pp. 53–56; Harvey (note 1), p. 108; Ingrid Baumgärtner, Das Heilige Land kartieren und beherrschen, in: Ingrid Baumgärtner and Martina Stercken (eds.), Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit, Zürich 2012, pp. 27–75, here pp. 67–70; Michelina Di Cesare, Studien zu Paulinus Venetus. De mapa mundi, Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 43–63; Stefan Schröder, Religious Knowledge within Changing Cartographical Worldviews. Spatial Concepts and Functions of Maps in Marino Sanudo's 'Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis' (c. 1321), in: Christoph Mauntel (ed.), Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Medieval World, Berlin, Munich, Boston 2021, pp. 189–219, here pp. 190–193. On Marino Sanudo and the maps accompanying his work cf. E. Vagnon, Cartographie et représentations de l'orient méditerranéen en occident (du milieu du XIII[e] à la fin du XV[e] siècle), Turnhout 2013, pp. 131–169; Peter Lock, Marino Sanudo Torsello, The book of the secrets of the faithful of the cross. Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis, Farnham 2011, pp. 1–11; Evelyn Edson, Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's schemes and Vesconte's maps, in: Rosamund

The grid maps associated with this work were however not produced by Marino himself, but are the work of Pietro Vesconte (d. 1330), the Genoese geographer and cartographer who was also known for drawing portolan charts.[11] We know that, from 1321, Marino dedicated his work to important people and produced copies and maps for them in the hope that the addressees would take preparations for a crusade.[12] We also know, as noted by Harvey, that Marino Sanudo dedicated just the map(s), without the book, to some addressees.[13] It shows that Sanudo apparently trusted the persuasive visual effect of the maps to communicate his point. Despite this, his efforts were unsuccessful, and he died in 1343 without having mobilized the expedition he had hoped for.

The three books of the 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' are transmitted, with or without maps, in various different redactions.[14] In 1309, Sanudo had already dedicated an early version of the 'Liber', with one book entitled 'Condiciones Terre Sancte', to Clement V. Later, in the years 1312–1321 he added two more books as well as maps, including a grid map, which is most significant for the present discussion, in addition to a portolan map and a *mappa mundi*. The 14th part of the third book, which consists of a detailed geography of the *Terra Sancta*, is of special interest.[15]

With regard to the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte', it is important to note the function of the 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', as the aim of Sanudo's book and the related maps, is to promote a new crusade expedition. Although the text of the

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Allen (ed.), Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, Manchester 2004, pp. 131–155.; Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto: zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel, Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 14 (1973), pp. 1–37; Konrad Kretschmer, Marino Sanudo der Ältere und die Karten des Petrus Vesconte, in: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin 26 (1891), pp. 352–370. Cf. also Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, Fra Niccolò Guidalotto's City View, Nautical Atlas and Book of Memories: Cartography and Propaganda between Venice and Constantinople, in: Ingrid Baumgärtner, Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby and Katrin Kogman-Appel (eds.), Maps and Travel in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Knowledge, Imagination, and Visual Culture, Berlin 2019, pp. 342–362, here pp. 346–347.

11 Cf. on Portolan maps Tony Campbell, Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500, in: John B. Harley and David Woodward (eds.), The History of Cartography, vol. 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean, Chicago, London 1987, pp. 371–463. Michele Bacci and Martin Rohde (eds.), The Holy Portolano: The Sacred Geography of Navigation in the Middle Ages, Berlin 2014.

12 Discussed by Harvey (note 1), p. 109; Lock (note 10), pp. 15–16; Edson (note 10); Di Cesare (note 10), pp. 43–63.

13 Harvey (note 1), p. 112.

14 Cf. the discussion in Lock (note 10), pp. 12–15. Harvey (note 1), p. 112 and Di Cesare (note 10), pp. 47–52. Arturo Magnocavallo, I codici del 'Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis' di Marino Sanudo il Vecchio, Rendiconti / Reale Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere Serie 2,31 (1898), pp. 1113–1127. Determining the relations between the manuscripts is extremely difficult, because the author was constantly working on his writing and because of the absence of a critical edition which includes an analysis of the transmitted manuscripts (cf. Di Cesare [note 10], p. 51).

15 Printed in the edition by Bongars (note 8), pp. 246–249.

'Declaracio' closely follows its source, the 'Liber', this function is not traceable. Instead, the focus seems to lie on a better visualization of the location of the holy places.[16]

At this point, and with this in mind, it is useful to take a closer look at the surviving grid maps of the Holy Land. In total, nine grid maps of the Holy Land survive,[17] with seven transmitted with Marino Sanudo and the other two with the 'Chronologia magna' of Sanudo's contemporary, Paulinus Venetus (cf. Figs. 2–3).[18] In these maps, a grid of 28 squares from East to West and 83 from North to South is placed over Palestine (cf. the scheme in Fig. 1). As Harvey shows, the same area is covered in each: the coast is at the bottom and East is at the top. In the East, the map extends to the mountains of Gilead and Petra, in the North to Damascus, and in the South to the southern limit of the Dead Sea. The colouring is similar in all the nine grid maps: water is green, mountains brown, the names of the tribes and also their boundaries in red.[19] We do not know anything about the origin of the grid, and we can only guess about the sources for its measures, the 28 *spatia* – 28 leagues or 56 miles.[20] It is possible that the innovative idea of the grid was developed in the process of copying maps.[21] Yet this grid is not only a useful tool for helping to copy the map. In connection with the pilgrimage text, it serves as an instrument to help identify the location of a (holy) place and the relative distances between them.

Turning now to the part of Sanudo's text which describes the map, we must first ask how the text of the 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' (mainly 3, 14, 3) is connected to these grid maps. And because we can be confident that a number of the manuscripts of Sanudo's text circulated without a map, another important question to address is how the text functions without the map. Firstly, and unusually, in several chapters of the third book of the 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', it is the scheme of the grid that structures the text. In contrast, texts on the Holy Land are usually structured according to the itinerary or an imagined itinerary of a traveller and by the constraints of the biblical narrative, meaning that one place is described and then connected to the next place, usually with directions and exact distances. Thus, the reader can, in their imagination, follow the route of the traveller. We find this structural scheme as early as the fourth

16 Schröder (note 10) however shows how Sanudo's map of the Holy Land recalls the biblical as well as the crusading past.

17 Cf. for this section the detailed discussion in Harvey (note 1), pp. 107–127, esp. p. 114.

18 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4939, fol. 10v–11r, see Figs. 2 and 3, and Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1960, fol. 265v–266r. On the discussion of Marion Sanudo's and Paulinus Venetus' works and on the use of a common exemplar manuscript cf. Di Cesare (note 10), pp. 43–63.

19 Harvey (note 1), p. 114.

20 Ibid., p. 116. On the grid maps in general cf. ibid. pp. 107–127.

21 Cf. e.g. Harvey (note 1), p. 103, where Harvey prints an example of a grid which was erased but is still visible (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 4). Arabic or Chinese influences are discussed. Vagnon mentions a connection of the techniques of artists and mapmakers, which seems possible (Vagnon [note 10], pp. 171–173). Of course, the grid also structures the map as a whole.

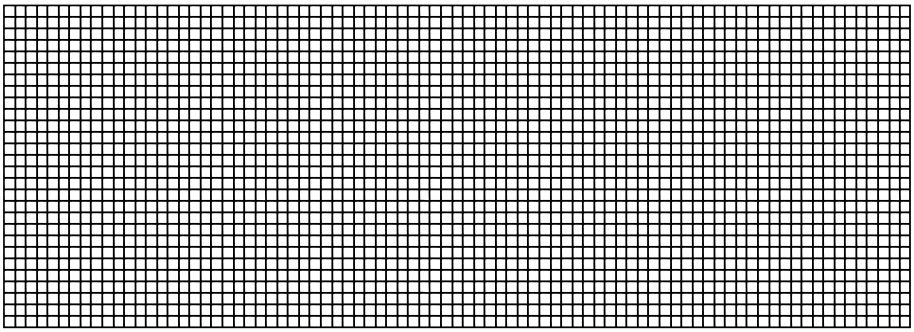

Fig. 1 | Diagram of the grid map described by Marino Sanudo: a grid of 28 squares from East to West and 83 from North to South is placed over Palestine.

century in both the 'Itinerarium Burdigalense' and the pilgrimage narrative of Egeria.[22] Indeed, this scheme dominates pilgrimage narratives right up to the 15th century. In the 13th century, Burchard of Mount Sion attempted to deploy a new structure and although his 'Descriptio' became the most important source for later pilgrimage narratives and maps of the Holy Land, his new structure was not adopted in most of the texts / maps based on Burchard.[23] Rather than use a grid, Burchard's text situates the most important places *(civitates et loca in scripturis magis nota)* in a diagram or compass rose.[24] Accon (Acre) is the centre. From this centre, he draws four lines, corresponding to the four parts of the world. These quarters are each divided into three parts. And the 12 parts that are created by this (the *divisiones*), corresponding to the 12 winds of heaven, serve as the structure for the 'Descriptio'. In contrast, Marino Sanudo structures his text using a grid scheme: "Let's imagine *(imaginemur)* the *terra promissionis* divided by lines into twenty-eight strips *(spatia)* extending from Mount Lebanon to the desert that leads into Egypt and – into eighty-three strips drawn with lines crossing the others from west to east, so that we have many squares *(plurima loca quadrata)*, each of one league or two

22 Cf. on the structure of pilgrimage texts Fischer (note 2), pp. 42–53.

23 Burchard of Mount Sion OP, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, ed. by J.R. Bartlett, Oxford 2019. Cf. Susanna Fischer, Zur Überlieferung lateinischer Pilgertexte: Strukturierung, Auswahl und Sammlung der Informationen über das Heilige Land, in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 53 (2018), pp. 78–104; Jonathan Rubin, Burchardus of Mount Sion's Descriptio Terrae Sanctae: A Newly Discovered Extended Version, in: Crusades 13 (2014), pp. 173–190; Ekkehart Rotter, Windrose statt Landkarte, in: Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 69 (2013), pp. 45–106; Ingrid Baumgärtner, Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land, in: Peregrinations. Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture 4,1, Special Issue: 'Mapping' (2013), pp. 5–42. It is important to note that unlike Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', the text of Burchard is not transmitted with maps (but with a windrose, e.g. in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 569, fol. 186v). See the discussion in Rotter and Baumgärtner, this note.

24 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 23), p. 6. Cf. Harvey (note 1), chs. 9, 11 and 12; Baumgärtner (note 23). On windroses: Rotter (note 23).

2

Fig. 2–3 | Paulinus Venetus, 'Chronologia magna', Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4939, fol. 10v. and 11r (source: gallica.bnf.fr).

3

miles."[25] In the following text, starting from the East and going to the West, the *spatia* or strips (or, if we imagine a table, the lines) are described, one after another:

> *In nono spatio, quadro 22 Corazaym, in principio maris Galileae.*
>
> In the ninth space, square 22 is Corazym at the beginning of the Sea of Galilee.[26]

The grid structure described by Marino Sanudo is, therefore, more precise than Burchard's division of the land, as the exact location in the grid is given. In this example we can see that the text bears some similarity to a list:

> *[In primo spatio] in 76 est Petra deserti, siue Mons Regalis.*
>
> In square 76 is Petra of the desert or Mons Regalis.[27]

However, more information is sometimes added, as in the case of:

> *[In 18 spatio] in 55 est Gabaa Saulis, vbi oppressa fuit vxor Leuitae, Iudic. & vnde Saul oriundus fuit, 1 Reg.*
>
> In square 55 is Gabia of Saul where the wife of the Levite was killed (Judges); and where Saul was born (1 Kings).[28]

These examples serve to demonstrate the way in which the information is structured by the accuracy of the grid, with the position of holy places located more precisely when compared to the itinerary scheme. In addition, the location of the places in the grid scheme serves as an authentication strategy. The text describes not just an itinerary, but a pilgrimage to holy places. Thus, the places mentioned are linked to the history of salvation. The map becomes traceable or imaginable in the textual description. The accuracy of the map verifies and authenticates the events of salvation history, which are in turn measured and located by the exactness of the grid scheme.

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25 Marino Sanudo, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' 3, 14, 3. Translation: Lock (note 10), p. 392. *Imaginemur itaque Terram Promissionis dividi per lineas in xxviii spatia, quae protenduntur a monte Libano usque ad desertum quo itur in Aegyptum and in lxxxiii spatia: tractis lineis super priores transversaliter ab Occidente in Oriens, ita quod resultent, ad quantitatem unius leucae sive duorum milliarium, plura loca quadrata* (ed. Bongars [note 8], p. 246).

26 Marino Sanudo, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' 3, 14, 3, ed. Bongars (note 8), translation: Lock (note 10), p. 393.

27 Marino Sanudo, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' 3, 14, 3, ed. Bongars (note 8), p. 246, translation: Lock (note 10), p. 392.

28 Marino Sanudo, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' 3, 14, 3, ed. Bongars (note 8), p. 248, translation: Lock (note 10), p. 396.

As the grid allows for easy replication in different times and places, the presentation in the grid produces the impression of both measurability and timelessness.[29]

In summary, Sanudo explains the grid scheme in a way that is similar to Burchard's description of the compass rose, in particular as both authors use *imaginari* or *imaginatio* when they are talking about their structure. Most significantly, while the authors describe their text's structure, they do not refer to the presence of an actual map or diagram within the same manuscript. Without the actual map, for us the grid structure seems difficult to imagine, but as the rhetorical treatises of antiquity and the Middle Ages suggest, there is the possibility that this scheme loaned itself to more complex imagination and memorization than we can comprehend today. The structure of the grid inspires the imagination of the holy space, allows for it to be orientated, and serves as a mind map for building a "mental grid".[30]

3 The Textual Description of a Grid Map in Johannes Poloner's 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae'

There exist other shorter texts, derived from the description in Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', which use a grid scheme as a reference to describe the location of holy places. These are the 15th-century 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' (see section 4) and a description which forms part of Johannes Poloner's 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae' pilgrimage narrative, dated to around 1422. Johannes Poloner was a German pilgrimage author,[31] who came from Ratisbon and died in the Holy Land

29 Baumgärtner (note 10), p. 70 ("der Eindruck von Messbarkeit und Zeitlosigkeit").

30 The 14th-century author Giovanni di Fedanzola used the grid scheme of Marino Sanudo in his 'Descriptio Terre Sancte', which is transmitted in one manuscript (also without a map) and dated before 1333. Giovanni di Fedanzola da Perugia, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae: Ms. Casanatense 3876, ed. by Ugolino Nicolini and Renzo Nelli, Jerusalem 2003. In his text, he addresses how useful the grid for the pilgrim is: *[S]ciendum est autem quod per situationes predictorum locorum per spatia et quadra, sicut ponantur superius, si subtiliter inspiciantur, potest homo ad notitiam distantiarum omnium predictorum locorum ab invicem faciliter pervenire, ut autem perregrinantibus preter predictam descriptionem via melius et brevius pateat peregrinandi quoad comunia loca et consueta, maxime usque Ierusalem.* In the edition of Nicolini and Nelli, this note, p. 74.

31 On Johannes Poloner cf. Franz Fuchs, Johannes Poloner, Verfasserlexikon, 2. völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, 11 (2004), cols. 1253–1255; Susan Edgington, A Rough Guide to the Holy Land. Pilgrim's Use of the Mount Zion Library in the Fifteenth Century, in: I. Shagrir, B. Z. Kedar and M. Balard (eds.), Communicating the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Sophia Menache, London 2018, pp. 157–168; Vagnon (note 10), pp. 182–183; the notes in the edition of Tobler, pp. 497–522 (Johannes Poloner, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, ed. by Titus Tobler, in: Titus Tobler [ed.], Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. et XV., Leipzig 1874, pp. 225–281); Susanna Fischer, Das Heilige Land im Gitternetz. Die Strukturierung von Raum und Zeit in der Descriptio terrae sanctae des Johannes Poloner, in: Zeit in Bewegung, Die Temporalität des Reisens, 1350–1600, Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 93,4 (2019), pp. 393–402.

in 1441.[32] The 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', on the other hand, is transmitted in six manuscripts, with the manuscript which is currently found in Wolfenbüttel likely to be the autograph.[33] In this manuscript several other excerpts of pilgrimage texts are transmitted, also copied, in all likelihood by Johannes Poloner.

At this point it is important to consider the use of the grid scheme in Johannes Poloner's pilgrimage narrative. First and foremost, it is very interesting that in describing Sanudo's grid scheme, Johannes Poloner, unlike both Burchard and Sanudo, never uses the word *imaginari*. However, like Sanudo's 'Liber', the 'Descriptio' is not merely a list but contains biblical information about the holy places. Although no map has survived, it becomes clear that Johannes Poloner refers to a now-lost map which he seems to have added to the text:

> *Item sub fimbria montium secundae Arabiae usque ad Iordanem fuit regnum Og* […]. *Hoc regnum ad differentiam aliorum citrinum pinxi.*
>
> Likewise from the edge of the mountains of Arabia Secunda, even to the Jordan, was the kingdom of Og […] I have painted this kingdom yellow to distinguish it from others.[34]

His use of a now-lost map is further confirmed by the phrase *in colle, quam in hac carta viridem pinxi*, "upon a hill which in this map I have painted green."[35] Furthermore, this map used symbols (e.g. a sword) that are explained and described in the text, for example: *In modica distantia versus aquilonem signavi locum cum gladio, ubi Iosue pugnavit contra regem Assur.*[36] Thus, in contrast to Marino Sanudo, Johannes Poloner directly refers to the map and states that he himself drew it,[37] referring to the differ-

32 Information about his place of origin and about his death can be found in an addition to Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14583, fol. 469v. Cf. Julia Knödler: http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31784519 (01.04.2022).

33 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 354 Helmst. 280ra–303vb. Cf. Bertram Lesser, Die mittelalterlichen Helmstedter Handschriften der Herzog August Bibliothek. Teil 2: Cod. Guelf. 277 bis 440 Helmst. und Helmstedter Fragmente, Wiesbaden (forthcoming). Preliminary description: ww.diglib.hab.de (01.04.2022). Not all parts of the text of this manuscript are yet edited.

34 Johannes Poloner, 'Descriptio Terre Sancte', ed. Tobler (note 31), p. 257. Translation: Aubrey Stewart, John Poloner's Description of the Holy Land (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 6), London 1894, p. 26.

35 Johannes Poloner, 'Descriptio Terre Sancte', ed. Tobler (note 31), p. 254. Translation: Stewart (note 34), p. 24.

36 Johannes Poloner, 'Descriptio Terre Sancte', ed. Tobler (note 31), p. 258. "I have marked with a sword the place where Joshua fought against the King of Assur." Translation: Stewart (note 34), p. 27.

37 In the narrative of Johannes Poloner, the narration of 'personal' experience seems to be more authentic than in other texts. Generally, one has to be careful, because apparently authentic personal experience or opinion was often copied in the texts. Cf. Fischer (note 2), pp. 38–41. In the 'Declaracio mappe', for example, we find the words: *Ego autem discredo, quia vidi Iordanem*

ent colours he used.[38] Moreover, it is clear that Johannes Poloner's map relies on the explanations of this text. This is in line with a concept expressed by Paulinus Venetus in the Paris manuscript (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4939, fol. 9r) as part of the beginning of the text beneath the accompanying *Mappa Mundi*. He states regarding his work, that the text *(scriptura)* and the drawn image *(pictura/figura)* do not function independently of one another. Neither can the geographical content be shown adequately in the text without the figure nor the other way around.[39] It seems that *figura* and *scriptura* are also intricately connected for Johannes Poloner and it is highly likely that there was at least the intention to include a sketch of a map in the work where he marked the places mentioned in the text with the corresponding symbols. To see whether such a relationship between text and image was always implied, we turn our attentions away from Johannes Poloner's text and towards the unusual example of the text referred to previously as the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'.

4 The 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'

The 'Declaracio' is transmitted in three manuscripts: one from the Vatican (V),[40] one from Munich (M_1),[41] and one from Nuremberg (N).[42] Alongside these, a further description is transmitted in a different Munich manuscript (M_2) in connection with

in montibus Bethanie hoc mare ingredientem (not in M_2, but in Nürnberg, StB, Cent. III, 93, fol. 171v). *Ego* seems to be comparable to the *N.* mentioned in the words *secundum hanc tabulam quam ego N. peregrinus in Ierusalem repinxi in sancto monte Syon* (Nürnberg, StB, Cent. III, 93, fol. 171r), which can be replaced by every author or copyist.

38 Cf. Vagnon (note 10), p. 183, see also p. 181 on the description of the map in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3851.

39 *Universi orbis hec descriptio ponitur tam in scriptura quam pictura. Non enim unum sine alio suficit quia confinia provinciarum per scripturam ad oculum videri absque figura non potest et figura sine scriptura confuse omnia representat.* Cf. Bouloux (note 10), p. 63. Tanja Michalsky, Stadt und Geschichte im Überblick. Die spätmittelalterliche Karte Roms von Paolino Minorita als Erkenntnisinstrument des Historiographen, in: Tillmann Lohse and Benjamin Scheller, Europa in der Welt des Mittelalters. Ein Colloquium für und mit Michael Borgolte, Berlin 2014, pp. 189–210, here pp. 201–204. Michele Campopiano, Écrire / décrire la Terre sainte: les Franciscains et la représentation des lieux sacrés (début du XIV^{e}–début du XVI^{e} siècle), in: N. Bouloux, A. Dan and G. Tolias (eds.), Orbis disciplinae. Hommages en l'honneur de Patrick Gautier Dalché, Turnhout 2017, pp. 167–182, here p. 173. Cf. on the connection of map and text Bettina Schöller, Transfer of Knowledge: *Mappae Mundi* Between Texts and Images, in: Peregrinations. Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture 4 (2013), pp. 42–55 or Jürg Glauser and Christian Kiening, Text – Bild – Karte. Kartographien der Vormoderne, Freiburg i. Br., Berlin, Vienna 2007. Tanja Michalsky, Karten schaffen Räume. Kartographie als Medium der Wissens- und Informationsorganisation, in: Ute Schneider and Stefan Brakensiek, Gerhard Mercator. Wissenschaft und Wissenstransfer, Darmstadt 2015, pp. 15–38.

40 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3851, fol. 4r–5v. Cf. the transcription in Vagnon (note 10), pp. 393–394.

41 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, rar. 801, fol. 126r–129v.

42 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III, 93, fol. 171r–172r.

the name of an otherwise unknown Magister, Mauritius Parisiensis.[43] This attribution is found in the heading of the 'Declaracio' in a later hand, which records: *Declaracio mappe terre sancte – per magistrum Mauricium Parisiense*. The text transmitted in M_2 is a short version, but despite this it only differs from the text transmitted in the three other manuscripts in a few sentences. The last passage of the text contains the sentences (fol. 203r) that form the beginning of the text in the other manuscripts and at the end of the text information on colouring is added: the *spacia* are drawn with red lines *(per lineas rubeas)* and the other lines are drawn in black *(per lineas nigras)*. This, in itself, is interesting, as of the transmitted grid maps only the one from Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4939, fol. 10v–11r) has a grid of different colours similar to what is described here in this version of the textual map.[44]

The manuscripts N and M_1 are closely connected as they contain common errors, for example *ad ad* (N, fol. 171r; M_1, fol. 126v), while the text in V possesses more errors in general. How the manuscript V is connected to the manuscripts from the Southern German region remains to be seen. As V seems to have been written in Italy, there might be a connection to maps that were produced in this region.

M_1 is bound together with the printed version of Hans Tucher's pilgrimage narrative.[45] It is written in the hand of Hartmann Schedel (see Fig. 4) and it seems very likely that he copied M_1 from the Nuremberg manuscript, which is dated 1457.[46] Hartmann Schedel, born in 1440 in Nuremberg, and living there permanently from 1466 onwards, was involved in the collecting and copying of a great number of books.[47] Regarding the dating of N, it is improbable that the text written by Schedel (M_1) is the work of Hans Tucher himself, as has been assumed in research.[48]

The 'Declaracio mappe' in these manuscripts is a short text. It is an abbreviated version of what could have been seen in a *figura*, as the following examples illustrate:[49]

43 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18736, fol. 201r–204v. Cf. Harvey's transcription (note 1), pp. 126–127.

44 Harvey (note 1), p. 122.

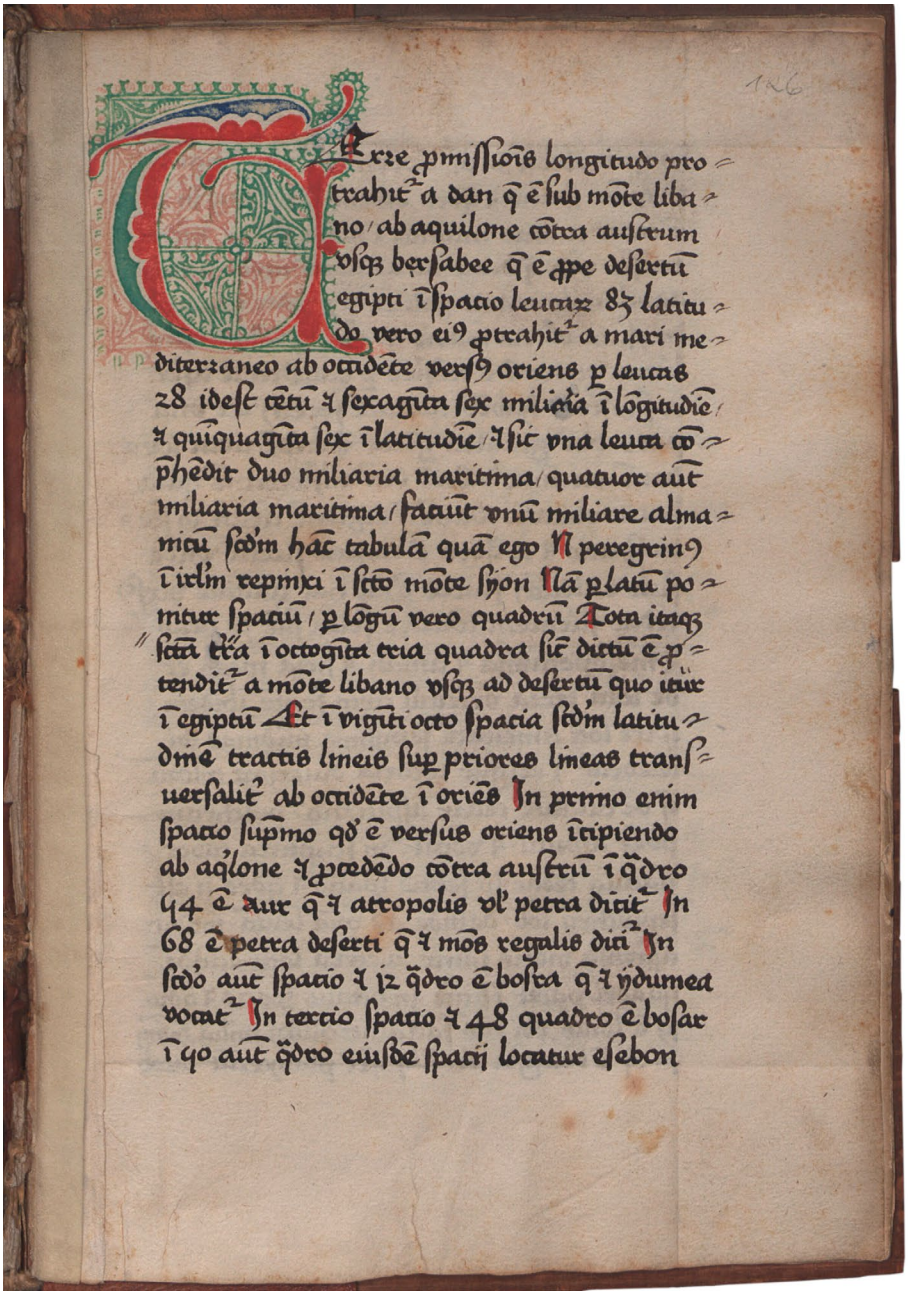
45 On Tucher: Hans Tucher, Die Reise ins Gelobte Land Hans Tuchers des Älteren. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts von Randall Herz, Wiesbaden 2002.

46 Cf. the description of the manuscript: Ingeborg Neske, Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften: Varia: 13.–15. und 16.–18. Jh. (Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg 4), Wiesbaden 1997, p. 34.

47 Franz Fuchs, Hartmann Schedel und seine Büchersammlung, in: Alois Schmidt (ed.), Die Anfänge der Münchener Hofbibliothek unter Herzog Albrecht V. (= Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte. Beiheft 37), Munich 2009, p. 153. Hartmut Beyer, Die Bibliothek Hartmann Schedels: Sammelleidenschaft und Statusbewusstsein im spätmittelalterlichen Nürnberg, in: Perspektive Bibliothek 1 (2012), pp. 163–192.

48 Edgington (note 31), p. 157: "These manuscript additions are almost certainly the work of the author Hans Tucher."

49 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3851, (V) fol. 4v.



Terre p̄missiois longitudo pro-
trahit⁹ a dan q̄ ē sub mōte liba-
no / ab aquilone cōtra austrum
vsq; bersabee q̄ ē ꝑpe desertū
egipti ī spacio leuc̄ 83 latitu-
do vero ei⁹ ꝓtrahit⁹ a mari me-
diterraneo ab occidēte vers⁹ oriens p leucas
28 idest cētū ⁊ sexaginta sex miliaria ī logitudie /
⁊ quinquaginta sex ī latitudie / ⁊ sic vna leuca cō-
phēdit duo miliaria maritima / quatuor aut
miliaria maritima / faciūt vnū miliare alma-
nicū sc̄dm hāc tabulā quā ego N peregrin⁹
ī circ'm repmpsi ī sc̄to mōte syon N̄ā ꝓlatū po-
nitur spaciū / ꝓ logū vero quadrū Tota itaq;
sc̄ta tr̄a ī octogīta tria quadra sic dictū ē ꝓ-
tendit⁹ a mōte libano vsq; ad desertū quo itur
ī egiptū Et ī viginti octo spacia sc̄dm latitu-
dinē tractis lineis sup̄ priores lineas trans-
uersalit⁹ ab occidēte ī orien In primo enim
spacio sup̄mo q̄d ē versus oriens ītipiendo
ab aq̄lone ⁊ ꝓcedēdo cōtra austrū ī q̄dro
64 ē aur q̄ ⁊ atropolis vl' petra dicit⁹ In
68 ē petra deserti q̄ ⁊ mos regalis dic⁹ In
sc̄do aut spacio ⁊ 12 q̄dro ē bostra q̄ ⁊ ydumea
vocat⁹ In tertio spacio ⁊ 48 quadro ē bosar
ī qo aut q̄dro eiusdē spacij locatur esebon

Fig. 4 | 'Declaracio mappe', Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, rar. 801, 126r (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

> *Cetera loca eiusdem quadri patent in figura*
>
> The places of each square are apparent in the image.

> *Hec omnia clarent in figura prepicta*
>
> All this becomes clear in the drawn image.

On the other hand, the following statement provides us with some information as to how the text was copied:

> *Secundum hanc tabulam quam ego N. peregrinus in Ierusalem repinxi in sancto monte Syon* (V, fol. 4r)
>
> After this image that I, the pilgrim N., copied in Jerusalem on the holy Mount Sion.

The "*N.*" / *nomen* should have been replaced by the name of the copyist,[50] but we find the sentence exactly like this in all the three manuscripts without a name having been inserted, leading to the conclusion that the text was copied from an exemplar text and / or map. Furthermore, in these manuscripts a *Cronica Syon* (in N, fol. 171v) is mentioned. In a recent study, Campopiano has shown that the Franciscans of Mount Sion provided a collection of material for the pilgrims to use and to copy.[51] There could, therefore, have been a grid map within several texts made available to pilgrims to copy and this much seems to be indicated in the manuscripts themselves by the phrase *sequitur aliud rescriptum ex chronica Syon* (V, fol. 5r: "Something else follows copied from the Chronica Syon"). The existence of a grid map in Jerusalem is not unlikely, as Vagnon has noted, if we consider Marino Sanudo's efforts, even after his death, through his will to distribute his maps to places as far away as Jerusalem.[52] But the appearance of this sentence in all the texts does not have to mean that all the manuscripts must have been written there and that a map had to accompany all of them. It is highly likely that this sentence, as well as the other references to that map, were added to one manuscript and then copied further while the manuscripts circulated.

50 Edgington (note 31), p. 165.

51 Campopiano (note 39). Michele Campopiano, Writing the Holy Land. The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the Construction of a Cultural Memory, 1300–1550, Cham 2020.

52 Vagnon (note 10), p. 176.

5 The Exemplar of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'

The mention of a *tabula* or *figura* leads to two questions: was a map ever included in these manuscripts or were these phrases only copied from the text of an exemplar?[53] And what was the nature of the exemplar map and / or text which the author or copyist had before their eyes?[54] Essentially, the phrase *figura prepicta*[55] might have simply been copied verbatim from the text of an exemplar rather than referring to an actual image which the copyist had seen. Considering the processes and limitations involved in the copying of a map during the journey or in a library on Mount Sion, it seems improbable that there would have been enough time to copy a complex grid map or even an incomplete version of it. Thus, we must work on the assumption that it is unlikely that there was a map added to all the manuscripts of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte', even though it makes mention of a *figura* or *tabula*. After all, when we compare the text to Johannes Poloner's description of the grid map, we find the process of drawing described much less clearly.[56] That being said, it is possible that the exemplar was a map and that a version of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' was initially accompanied by a map, but that in the copies taken from the map this drawing disappeared. Generally, the discussion about an exemplar has to stay speculative at this point as the relations and dependences of the manuscripts of Sanudo and related texts have not been, as yet, sufficiently researched.

Based on the assumption that the author or copyist had an exemplar map before their eyes,[57] any such exemplar could be considered to be similar to the transmitted grid maps which have survived. This hypothesis is supported by two factors related to the connection between map and text in the transmitted grid maps.

First, in the transmitted maps connected to Sanudo,[58] we find five pieces of text written beneath the map, labelled with the letters A–E. These letters refer to the respective letters written on the map.[59] After the description and location of holy places in the grid, there follows, in N, M_1, and V, a section that relates to a larger area

53 Cf. on this question also Edgington (note 31), p. 165 and Nicolini and Nelli (note 30), p. xx.

54 Cf. Campopiano (note 51), p. 125.

55 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3851, (V) fol. 4v.

56 Maps were not only copied from other maps, but also created on the basis of texts. Could the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' be used as the basis for map making? By noting the location of each element in the grid map, the map can be copied by using only the text. The information provided on colouring could be a hint for the mapmaker. But only if the text also provides enough information on the rivers and their ways through the land, as it is provided by the Sanudo text, but not in the short descriptions of the 'Declaracio mappe'.

57 On the question of the exemplar cf. Edgington (note 31), p. 163 and Campopiano (note 51), pp. 119–126, here p. 125.

58 Maps A–G in Harvey (note 1), p. 107.

59 Discussed by Harvey (note 1), p. 117.

of the grid.[60] Comparing this section with the legends written beneath the map on a transmitted grid map,[61] we can observe how these texts are related:

'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' (N, M_1, and V)	Legend 'D' of the Sanudo grid maps, transcription by Bongars (note 8), p. 288
Sequitur. Aman extenditur supra mare mortuum et circuit ei littus australe usque ad montem Seir, qui est ultra mare mortuum. Versus oriens fere ad duas dietas et coniungitur deserto Pharan habens a latere desertum Synay et mare rubrum. A mari mortuo usque ad mare rubrum sunt quinque diete. Cum quo putatur continuari per aquam Marach. Dicunt quidam quod aqua Iordanis mari mortuo non misceatur, sed a terra asorbetur.	*Amon extenditur supra mare mortuum, & circuitus eius latus Australe, vsque ad montem Seyr, qui est vltra Mare Mortuum ad tres dietas, in confinio vbi habitauit Ismael socer Esau, & coniungitur deserto Pharam, habens a latere desertum Synay, & Mare Rubrum* [...].[62] *Secundum Saracenos, dietae quinque, & inde vsque ad Mare Rubrum, V dietae, cum quo putant continuari Mare Mortuum per aquas Marat, de quibus Ex. 15. finis autem apparens est in deserto Pharam: & dicunt quidam, aquas Iordanis, aquis huius maris non misceri, sed potius a terra absorberi.*[63]

'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' (N, M_1, and V)	Legend 'E' of the Sanudo grid maps, transcription by Bongars (note 8), p. 288
Deserto Cades miserunt filii Israel exploratores qui post quadraginta dies reversi erant. Murmurante itaque populo ducti sunt in desertum per viam maris rubri, et post triginta annos redierunt ad locum eundem et circuierunt montem Seyr et terram Amon, et capta terra regis Seon et regis Basan venerunt ad Jordanem.[64]	*Desertum Cades, vnde miserunt filii Israel exploratores, qui post XL dies, huc redierunt, & murmurante populo, iussi sunt redire in desertum per viam maris Rubri, & post XXX annos redierunt ad locum istum: vnde mouentes castra contra Orientem, circuierunt montem Seyr & terram Amon, & capta terra Seon Regis Esebon, & Og Regis Basan, venerunt ad Iordanem contra Iericho.*

60 While the text in M_2 ends.

61 Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, ms Pal. lat. 1362, fol. 7v–8r.

62 Cf. the source, the text of Sanudo's 'Liber', ed. Bongars (note 8), p. 250: *Vltimo sequitur pars terrae Amon, quantum durat Mare Mortuum: & circuit eius latus Australe vsque ad montem Seyr, qui coniunctus est deserto Pharan iuxta Cadesbarne, habens a latere desertum Sinai, & Mare Rubrum.* – "Last, comes part of the land of Amon which reaches all the length of the dead Sea and its south side circles round to Mount Seyr which joins the desert of Pharan near Cadesbarne, having on its side the desert of Sinai and the red Sea." Translation: Lock (note 10), p. 399.

63 Cf. the text of the 'Liber', ed. Bongars (note 8), p. 252: *Inter quae maria computantur dietae quinque, & ex hiis putant esse aquas intermedias, quae Exod. XV aqua Marath appellantur. Dicunt etiam aliqui quod aquae Iordanis non intrant Mare Mortuum, sed cum illuc perveniunt absorbentur a terra.* – "Five days [journey] are reckoned between the two seas and they think that from these seas come the waters in between that were called the waters of Marath in Exod[us] 15. Also, some say that the waters of Jordan do not enter the Dead Sea, but when they approach it they are absorbed by the ground." Translation: Lock (note 10), p. 401.

64 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III, 93, fol. 171r. Cf. the text of the 'Liber', ed. Bongars (note 8), p. 251: *& adhuc ultra, contra Mare Rubrum, est Cadesbarne, vnde Moyses misit exploratores: vbi*

Second, in the Paulinus Venetus map, in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4939,[65] we find a text or a legend beneath the map with three headings written in red: *Explicacio de quibusdam oppidis et notabilibus locis terre promissionis* (fol. 10v), *De montibus* (fol. 10v), and *De fluvibus et aquis* (fol. 11r). The text is shorter, but clearly follows the description by Marino Sanudo. The references to the grid scheme are missing, but if we look at the cities in the second column written in red as an example, we can see the same order as in the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte': *Tiberias – Kabul – Samaria – Sychen.*

'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' (N, M1, and V)	**Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4939, fol. 10v, transcription by Di Cesare (note 10), p. 116**
In 18 est castrum ***Rabol****, quod Saraceni vocant Tabulon, idem displicerii de quo Regum 3. c. 9o [= 1 regum 9, 13]. In 43 est Sebaste vel* ***Samaria*** *civitas. Cuius situs erat delectabilis valde versus mare ad montem Carmeli. In 45 est* ***Sichem*** *nunc Neapolis, et ad duos iactus sagitte est fons Iacob, de quo Johannis quarto scribitur. Ad cuius dexteram est mons Garason de quo samaritana Christo dixit: Patres nostri in monte hoc adoraverunt. Vos autem Iudei dicitis, quia Ierosolimis est locus ubi adorare oportet.*[66]	***Kabul*** *Saraceni vocant Zabulon, quod sonat displicencia de quo III Rg. XI.* ***Samaria*** *habet situm pulcherrimum versus mare, a monte Carmeli usque Iopen.* ***Sychen****, nunc Neapolis, iuxta ad duos iactus sagitte est fons Iacob de quo Io. IIII. Ad cuius dextram est Garigi, quem putant Samaritanam Christo ostendisse, quando dixit: Patres nostri in monte hoc adoraverunt.*

Therefore, as the cited examples show, the source of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' could have been a grid map comparable to the maps related to Marino Sanudo's 'Liber'. It is highly probable that the exemplar was a map with long legends and sections

longo tempore manserunt filii Israel; & inde montem Seyr iussi sunt circuire […]*; & inde redierunt per viam Maris Rubri.* – "And still further beyond, towards the red Sea, is Cadesbarne from where Moses sent out the spies. The children of Israel stayed here for a long time and were ordered to journey around Mount Seyr […], and from there they came back by way of the Red Sea." Translation: Lock (note 10), p. 401.

65 https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55002483j/f29.item (01.04.2022).

66 Nürnberg, StB, Cent. III, 93, fol. 171r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, rar. 801, 126r; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3851, fol. 4v. Cf. the transcription of Vat. lat. 3851 in Vagnon (note 10), p. 393. Cf. the text of Marino Sanudo, 'Liber', ed. by Bongars (note 8), p. 248: *In XVII Kabul: Saraceni vocant hoc castrum Zabulon, quod sonat displicentia. III Regum IX.* […] *In XLIII. Sebaste, vel Samaria, situs civitatis erat pulcher valde & aspectus latus versus mare, e monte Carmeli vsque Iopen. In XLV. est Sichem, nunc Neapolis: & ad duos iactus sagittae, est fons Iacob, de quo Ios. IV. ad cuius dexteram est Garizi, quem locum putant Samaritanam ostendisse, quando dixit Patres nostri in monte hoc adoraverunt* – "In 17 is Kabul. The Saracens call it Castrum Zabulon, which sounds different from 3 Kings 9. […] In 43 Sebaste or Samaria. The site of this city was very beautiful and had a broad view towards the sea from Mount Carmel to Jopa. In 45 is Sichem, now Neapolis; two bow shots from it is Jacob's Well for which see Joshua 4. Top right is Garizi which they think is the place that the Samaritan woman pointed out when she said: 'Our fathers worshipped on that mountain.'" Translation: Lock (note 10), p. 395.

of text written above and beneath the grid (like the transmitted maps, cf. Figs. 2–3). Whereas the corresponding visual map has not survived or was not copied, the textual form of this grid map, the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte', circulated further in Europe.

6 Towards a Digital Edition of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'[67]

The 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte', with its unique connection to a grid scheme, opens up possibilities for a visual presentation of the text by means of a digital edition. The case of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' is special and as such different approaches need to be taken when editing it compared to conventional travel or pilgrimage literature. This is because the text is not structured according to the description of a route, by an itinerary structure, but by quadrants, and this makes it particularly suitable for a digital edition. During a one-year project funded by the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich[68] I set out to present the text's unique nature in a visual form. To achieve this, my initial question was how to make the grid scheme function in a digital edition even though no grid map has survived in the manuscripts of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'. Furthermore, I intended to make the processes of transmission visible. That meant that, next to a critical apparatus, the source (Marino Sanudo) and the related texts (Johannes Poloner and the legends of Paulinus Venetus' map) had to be visible. GIS is often used in projects in the digital mapping of medieval texts. However, for this project, it was of secondary importance and might well have distorted our understanding of the medieval text, and so I was determined to avoid the problems encountered by users of GIS who have tried to use it to map past or fictionalized landscapes. Furthermore, this approach differentiates itself from approaches of literary geography because of the nature of the description, which already refers to a map or rather the grid system of a map.[69] The spatial structure of the text is evident, thus questions about the benefits of digital mapping and literary geography are unnecessary.

My approach is different to those of other projects that are digitally connecting itineraries or travelogues and medieval or modern maps, as georeferencing is avoided and a critical apparatus of the text is shown. Examples of other approaches can be seen, for instance, in Anthony Bale's maps of pilgrims' itineraries to Jerusalem and

67 I thank the anonymous reviewer for the valuable suggestions regarding this section.

68 Bayerische Gleichstellungsförderung (BGF), Förderung der Chancengleichheit für Frauen in Forschung und Lehre, Stipendium für den exzellenten wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs.

69 Cf. e.g. J. E. Taylor et al., Mapping Digitally, Mapping Deep: Exploring Digital Literary Geographies, in: Literary Geographies 4 (2018), pp. 10–19; D. J. Bodenhamer, Narrating Space and Place, in: D. J. Bodenhamer, J. Corrigan and T. M. Harris (eds.), Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives, Bloomington 2015, pp. 7–27; Peter K. Bol, What do Humanists Want?, in: Michael Dear et al. (eds.), GeoHumanities: Art, History, Text at the Edge of Place, London 2011. Cf. the Spatial History Project website: http://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.php?id=29 (01.04.2022). And the Spatial Humanities Lab website: https://spatial.scholarslab.org/ (01.04.2022).

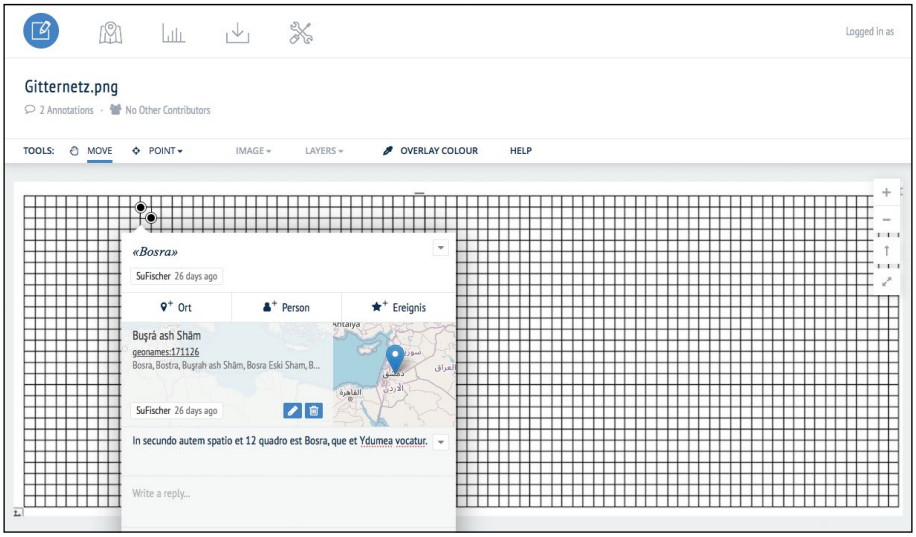


Fig. 5 | Example of the grid scheme in Recogito (https://recogito.pelagios.org/).

Rome,[70] the Mapping Mandeville project,[71] or various other projects using Recogito.[72] Recogito, as a platform, possesses many of the desired requirements,[73] in that it offers a zoomable map with the possibility to highlight areas with on-click pop-up windows (see Fig. 5 for an example of the grid scheme in Recogito).

These technical considerations aside, the first question was what scheme or map should be used as a basis for the edition. The four possible options were: (1) a modern map (GIS), (2) one of the medieval grid maps, (3) an empty grid scheme, or (4) a reconstructed map / scheme of a map. An argument against the use of a modern map with georeferencing (1) is that modern Cartesian maps inadequately visualize medieval geographical conceptions. In addition, the use of a surviving grid map (2) seemed to be misleading or more appropriate for an edition of Marino Sanudo's description. I did not want to start creating a connection between the surviving grid maps and the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' before having explored the relation of the 'Declaracio' to these maps. However, in the process of editing and understanding the processes

70 https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1OQ8VhUakbdVIOmCu860px1TAGEs&ll=41.69396076870975%2C15.137159299999995&z=5 (01.04.2022).

71 https://historiacartarum.org/john-mandeville-and-the-hereford-map-2/ (01.04.2022).

72 https://recogito.pelagios.org/. See M. O'Doherty, Medieval Traditions, New Technologies: Linked Open Geodata and Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, in: The International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing 15 (2021), pp. 60–84 and for instance https://sarahemilybond.com/2017/02/02/the-itinerarium-egeriae-mapping-egerias-pilgrimage-on-candlemas/ or https://recogito.pelagios.org/document/dorvm6vtatvrtt/map (01.04.2022).

73 The Digital Mappa platform (https://www.digitalmappa.org/) is also an interesting interface connecting edition and map.

of transmission I now (in retrospect) think that it might be possible to use Paulinus Venetus' map in Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4939 as the basis for such an edition. Yet I still think that the surviving map (as well as georeferencing) would distract from the important elements of the edition: the text and not the map. Caution is needed here, because the presence of a map might communicate something new or suggest new connections that cannot be found in the texts.

To realize the project in timespan of one year, I decided to use a grid scheme as a basis for the edition. The use of just a grid scheme without any orientation (3) seemed unsuitable for the modern imagination (cf. Fig. 1). Accordingly, to save time, I decided to use a pre-existing reconstruction, namely one drawn by Titus Tobler in 19th century,[74] which was created on the basis of Johannes Poloner's 'Descriptio' and the existing Sanudo maps.[75] To visualize and highlight the problematic use of a reconstructed map in general, the view of the reconstructed map is blurred intentionally when zoomed out on the website. But it is important to emphasize at this point that my edition does not intend to reconstruct the map that might have accompanied the text, but rather to show how the text of the 'Declaracio' refers to the grid scheme.

On the technical side, I wanted to build a website, containing some information on the project, to serve as the core of the digital edition of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte'. I intended to connect the possibilities offered by Recogito with my plan to highlight the described quadrants, and to show the critical text of the 'Declaracio' connected to each respective quadrant through a mouse click. With help of the Digital Humanities Centre of the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (https://www.itg.uni-muenchen.de/), I started to realize my vision for the project.[76] We used the mapping platform mapTiler for the creation of the background layer of map tiles and Leaflet for the interactive zoomable map. Leaflet is an open-source JavaScript library used to build web-mapping applications and create interactive layers, such as markers which create popups when clicked. To return the right data on a mouse click, there are three MySQL database tables: one with the text, one with the coordinates of the quadrants, and one which connects the right text with the right quadrant.

Working with the manuscripts, I realized that a pop-up window was unsuitable for showing the text because, depending on the length of the text, it covered parts of the map. Now, on the mouse click, the text appears below the map. The way this has been implemented can be seen in Figure 6.

Another reason for the presentation of the text in this way is that I also wanted to show the genesis of the text as well as include the sections from Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis', the legends of the maps, and comparative sections of Johannes Poloner.

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74 Printed in the appendix of Tobler (note 31).

75 On the reconstruction cf. Tobler (note 31), p. 206.

76 I thank especially Dr Tobias Englmeier for his support.

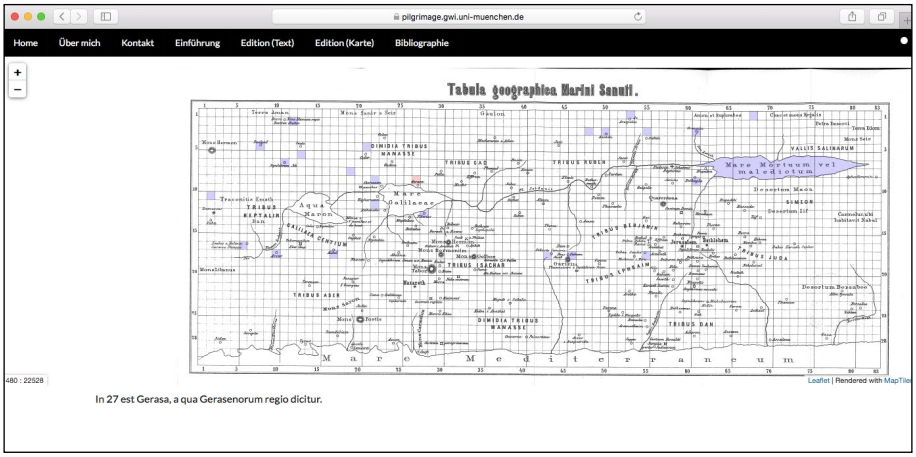

Fig. 6 | Digital edition of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' (https://www.pilgrimage.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/karte/).

When completing my project, I observed two particular problems. First, it is difficult to get an overview of the text or the order of the passages of text. It is possible to read the table line by line, but not to view the text in its entirety. To overcome this and to stay oriented, I also offered the edition in the form of the text (https://www.pilgrimage.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/edition/). A further step in future could be to once again link the passages of text with the map. The second problem I see is the one of mapping 'slippery' geographies, literary texts, or 'fuzzy data'.[77] As the text becomes more narrative or digressive, it becomes difficult to locate the right place on the map to link the text to. On the website, I indicate this problem by not connecting the final sections of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' with the map. Overall, it became clear that this kind of edition, while an extremely useful approach, is only suited for short itineraries and not for detailed narrations.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I analysed a set of texts transmitted in 15th-century manuscripts describing a grid map of Palestine and a similar passage taken from Johannes Poloner's pilgrimage narrative. The 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' is a description of places, set in the grid scheme of a map, but this map is not transmitted with the text. The source of these short texts is Marino Sanudo's 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis'. But while the text of the 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis' refers to a grid scheme,

77 The problem of uncertainty is discussed by scholars working in the field of literary geographies and digital cartographies. Cf. e.g. Taylor et al. (note 69).

the 'Descriptio' of Johannes Poloner refers to a map that is said to have been drawn by Poloner himself. As we have seen, the text of Johannes Poloner is more narrative and more extensive than the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte', which might never be accompanied by a map. From the analysis of the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte', we may draw the conclusion that the direct source was a grid map, which did not survive, with legends similar to the other extant grid maps. Nevertheless, the transmitted text is a 'textual map', a map described by a text and not accompanied by an actual map, and which was circulating in Europe during the 15th century.

As the description of a grid map seems to be especially suited for a digital edition, I undertook the project of producing such an edition based on a map with a grid scheme, the results of which have been detailed above. The schematic structure of the quadrants and the direct reference to a non-existent map makes the 'Declaracio mappe Terre Sancte' a unique text in the genre of pilgrimage literature. It is important for our understanding of this wide and hybrid genre and allows us to explore new possibilities in the editing and the visualization of these texts. And while there is still room for further refinement of the processes used to construct a digital edition of this text, it is clear that experimenting with platforms like Recogito or Digital Mappa possesses much potential for future research into other pilgrimage texts.

PART II
AUTHORS, AUDIENCES, AND CONCEPTS

Jana Valtrová

Struggling with Fear? Emotions in Medieval Travel Accounts about the Mongols

Abstract The mendicant travel accounts to Asia, namely those of John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck, express their fear of the Mongols. The paper demonstrates how understanding such emotional expressions within their travel accounts can help us broaden our understanding of these particular texts. Following Barbara Rosenwein's theory of emotional communities, the paper suggests distinguishing between two different emotional communities and two systems of feelings that meet, combine, and even clash within one travel account – the audience's emotional community and the traveller's emotional community. Besides the problem of their mutual interaction within one text, the paper also examines expressing emotions in a subordinate position by using James Scott's theory of 'hidden transcripts'.

Zusammenfassung Die Berichte der Franziskaner Johannes von Plano Carpini und Wilhelm von Rubruck über ihre Missionsreisen nach Asien zeugen von ihrer Angst vor den Mongolen. Der Beitrag zeigt, wie der Einblick in Ausdrücke von Emotionen unser Verständnis dieser Reiseberichte erweitert. In Anlehnung an Barbara Rosenweins Theorie der emotionalen Gemeinschaften wird versucht, zwischen zwei verschiedenen emotionalen Gemeinschaften und zwei Gefühlssystemen zu unterscheiden, die innerhalb eines Reiseberichts auftreten, kombiniert werden oder sogar aufeinanderprallen: der emotionalen Gemeinschaft des Publikums und der emotionalen Gemeinschaft des Reisenden. Zusätzlich zu ihrer wechselseitigen Interaktion innerhalb eines Textes untersucht der Beitrag unter Zuhilfenahme von James Scotts Theorie der ‚hidden

Contact

Dr Jana Valtrová,
Department for the Study of Religions, Masaryk University, Arne Nováka 1, 602 00, Brno, Czech Republic,
jvaltrova@phil.muni.cz
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4660-6086

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transcripts' auch, wie Emotionen in einer sozial untergeordneten oder zumindest heiklen Position (wie der von Missionaren in einer fremden Gesellschaft) ausgedrückt werden können.

1 Introduction

Emotions of uncertainty and fear of the Mongols had been expressed in medieval European sources soon after their emergence on the European horizon.[1] Even before the Mongols invaded eastern parts of Europe in 1241, accounts from Hungarian Dominicans reported the threat growing beyond the eastern borders of Europe.[2] In a letter from 1238, the Dominican Riccardus mentions that he and his companions did not proceed further east on their journey *propter timorem Tartarorum*,[3] because of their fear of the 'Tartars'.[4]

Expressions of these types of emotions in travel accounts are not surprising and might be considered quite natural. Nevertheless, studying expressions of such emotions in travel accounts can help us to achieve a better understanding of these accounts, their authors, and their experiences with foreign cultures and peoples. In this chapter, I argue that it is fruitful to explore references to emotions in travel accounts, and to attempt to understand them as expressions which reveal contextual information relating to the encounter between the narrators and their environment. This, in turn, opens up new perspectives that can help us to examine the sometimes conflicting voices that are found within a single travel account. Such new perspectives are helpful for studying images of other religious groups found in Christian medieval accounts, as these are often connected to particular, sometimes implicit, emotions. I further argue that certain terms connected to various religious groups are sometimes associated with certain emotions, which need to be taken into consideration

1 The publication of this article was supported by the grant "Image, text and sound in the intercultural and interreligious communication" (MUNI/A/1495/2020) investigated by the Department for the Study of Religions (Masaryk University) in 2021. I would like to thank my colleague David Zbíral for his thoughtful suggestions regarding the topic. I am also very grateful to Susanna Fischer, Philip Booth, and Martin Bauer for their editorial comments and support.

2 Charles W. Connell, Western Views of the Origin of the 'Tartars': An Example of the Influence of Myth in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century, in: Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 3 (1973), pp. 115–137.

3 Heinrich Dörrie, Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen, in: Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 6 (1956), pp. 125–202, here p. 154.

4 On the image of the Mongols in Western sources, see Gian Andri Bezzola, Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–70): Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnung, Bern and Munich 1974, and Felicitas Schmieder, Europa und die Fremden: Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert, Sigmaringen 1994.

when analysing medieval travel reports. As theoretical tools for this analysis, I have adapted Barbara Rosenwein's theory of 'emotional communities'[5] and James Scott's concept of 'hidden transcripts'.[6]

In the following chapter, I address specifically the accounts of the Franciscan friars John of Plano Carpini (1182–1252)[7] and William of Rubruck (1215–1270),[8] who travelled to the Mongols around the mid-13th century. Their accounts are among the most detailed Latin sources reflecting the encounters of Latin Christians with the Mongols in this early period when little was known about their culture, habits, and the potential danger they might represent to the Europeans. Comparing the two authors, whose travels closely coincided with each other, reveals important differences between their travel experiences, their approaches towards various religious groups, and how they related these in their accounts.

2 Travel Accounts as Records of Social, Cultural, and Interreligious Interaction

Before the analysis of the expressions of emotion in the above-mentioned Franciscan reports, one methodological remark is necessary. In reaction to Said's theory of Orientalism, the research of historical travel accounts has strongly focused on the analysis of the authors' discourses of the 'Other', and the conceptual frames and terminologies they used to describe the cultures of the 'Other'. While this is certainly an inevitable step in the investigation, it can sometimes lead to ignoring the role of the 'Other' as an active participant in the described interaction. According to Said, the orientalist approach "shares with magic and with mythology the self-containing, self-reinforcing character of a closed system, in which objects are what they are because they are what they are, for once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical material can either dislodge or alter."[9] While there is a rich and ancient tradition of Western/European imagination about the East, this does not mean that the products of this imagination are rigid and not impacted by the context within

5 Barbara H. Rosenwein, Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages, Ithaca NY 2006.

6 James Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts, New Haven 1990.

7 For the Latin text of his report see Sinica Franciscana, ed. by Anastasius van den Wyngaert, Quaracchi 1929, vol. 1, pp. 27–130, or Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, Storia dei Mongoli, ed. by Enrico Menestò, Spoleto 1989. For the English translation of his report, see Christopher Dawson, The Mongol Mission. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, New York 1955, pp. 3–72.

8 For the most recent edition of Rubruck's account see Guglielmo di Rubruk, Viaggio in Mongolia, ed. by Paolo Chiesa, Milan 2011. For the English translation of the report with notes, see Peter Jackson, The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253–1255, London 1990. The Latin text of his account is also published in van den Wyngaert (note 7), pp. 164–332. For an earlier English translation, see also Dawson (note 7), pp. 89–220.

9 Edward Said, Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the East, Harmondsworth 1995, p. 70.

which they were produced. Even though we can find one-legged creatures in John of Plano Carpini's 'Historia Mongalorum'[10] and John of Marignolli's (d. 1358/59) 'Chronica Boemorum',[11] the motifs are contextually different. In the case of Carpini, they refer to Asian oral lore; in the case of Marignolli, the motif serves as an example of the rational explanation of traditional European lore.[12]

Therefore, this chapter takes the position that any travel account, unless it describes a completely imaginary journey, is not a product of a 'self-generated discourse'.[13] The account's travelling author recorded his interactions with local inhabitants, whose actions should be understood within the context of local culture, the particular historical situation in which they were produced, and in regard to the literary genre. In this respect, I follow the view of Joan-Pau Rubiés, who points out that "[i]t is therefore very important to understand properly what was actually involved in the process of observing and describing a non-European society."[14] Behind the travel narrative (unless it describes an imaginary journey), there is actual interaction with the travelled land, its nature, the people, and their culture.[15]

Rubiés identifies three important aspects, which he considers crucial to the production of travel narratives. First, these are "the tradition in which the authors of descriptions had been educated, including of course the rhetorical models and the information that each of them could be expected to know"; second, "the social strategies and political interests in which they participated, considering in particular the context of production of each text" and, finally, "the experience of otherness in which the narrator may have been involved."[16]

While literary tradition, including *mirabilia*, certainly played an important role within the discourse of travel writing, personal experience also began to serve as an important and valid source of knowledge.[17] Franciscan friars travelling to Asia in the 13th and 14th centuries were, to some degree, questioning the traditional opinions

10 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), pp. 273–274; John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. van den Wyngaert (note 7), pp. 74–75.

11 Kronika Marignolova, ed. by Josef Emler (Fontes rerum Bohemicarum III), Prague 1882, p. 509. For the English translation of selected parts, see Henry Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China II, London 1866, pp. 335–394. The most recent edition is Irene Malfatto (ed.), Le digressioni sull'Oriente nel *Chronicon Bohemorum* di Giovanni de' Marignolli, 2015, http://ecodicibus.sismelfirenze.it/index.php/iohannes-de-marignollis-chronicon-bohemorum-excerpta-de-rebus-orientalibus (30.7.2021).

12 Cf. Jana Valtrová, Beyond the Horizons of Legends. Traditional Imagery and Direct Experience in Medieval Accounts of Asia, in: Numen: International Review for the History of Religions 57 (2010), pp. 154–185.

13 Joan-Pau Rubiés, Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes 1250–1525, Cambridge 2000, p. xiii.

14 Ibid., p. xiii.

15 Ibid., p. xiii–xiv.

16 Ibid., p. xiv.

17 A notorious example is Roger Bacon, cf. Amanda Power, Roger Bacon and the Defence of Christendom, Cambridge 2013, pp. 47–53.

regarding 'unknown' lands and they developed diverse strategies to reconcile potential conflicts between literary traditions and their own observations.[18] This process also involved the ability to communicate with local informants and evaluate the information they provided.

Travel accounts, as defined by Rubiés, are 'translations' of the travel experience and the knowledge of the author into a textual message. The key question of his investigations is "under what conditions did travel literature actually become a form of translation?"[19] Exploring the role of emotions in these accounts offers new ways to better understand this process. In the following text, I suggest how we can uncover the most obscure level of this interaction, which is the author's experience with 'Otherness'.

3 Emotional Communities in Travel Accounts

How can we explore emotions connected to travel if the written accounts are deeply bound with the values, wishes, and expectations of the intended audience of the text? There has already been abundant scholarship in the field of history of emotions,[20] and, in particular, the cultural history of fear.[21] Barbara Rosenwein's theory of emotional communities is especially fruitful with respect to this task. She suggests studying expressions of emotions in historical sources as messages that are targeted at certain audiences. These audiences create 'emotional communities', where certain expressions are meaningful. Rosenwein defines emotional communities as "precisely the same as social communities – families, neighbourhoods, parliaments, guilds, monasteries, parish church memberships – but the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover the systems of feeling: what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they

18 Discussions about the role of literary tradition and personal experience in travel accounts are numerous: Michèle Guéret-Laferté, Sur les routes de l'empire mongol. Ordre et rhétorique des relations de voyage aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles, Paris 1994, pp. 257–282; Scott D. Westrem, (ed.), Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination, New York 1991; Peter Jackson, William of Rubruck in the Mongol Empire: Perception and Prejudices, in: Zweder von Martels (ed.), Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing, Leiden, New York, Cologne 1994, pp. 54–71.

19 Rubiés (note 13), p. xviii. For questions related to the literary representations of the author / traveller see Susanna Fischer, Erzählte Bewegung. Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert) (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 52), Leiden, Boston 2019, pp. 39–42.

20 An overview of major trends in the field of emotion history is provided by Susan J. Matt, Current Emotion Research in History: Or, Doing History from the Inside Out, in: Emotion Review 3 (2011), pp. 117–124.

21 Michael Francis Laffan and Max Weiss, Facing Fear: The History of an Emotion in Global Perspective, Princeton 2012; Joanna Bourke, Fear: A Cultural History, London 2005.

make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize, and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore."[22]

In terms of travel accounts, it is important to think of at least two different emotional communities. The first emotional community, which is identical to the intended audience of the account, including the possible patron, is termed 'the audience's emotional community'. The other community or communities encountered during the actual travel are less frequently addressed in the text. This second community could include a diverse mixture of people who interacted in some way with the travelling author and is referred to here as 'the traveller's emotional community'. While the audience's emotional community remains the same throughout each individual version of the text, the traveller's community varies depending on the circumstances of the travel. The traveller's emotional communities are formed by the companions of the travelling author, local guides, or anyone else with whom the traveller interacts. Any emotional expression is meaningful in the context of communication with either of the two emotional communities – either they address the feelings of the audience, who are expected to understand them, or they are meaningful within the context of the actual travel and refer to the traveller's experience and social interaction. Here I am especially concerned with the issue of emotions as signs which help us to identify these 'emotional communities', rather than with the question of how emotions are expressed, and which emotions are valued by particular communities.

4 Emotions on the World Map

When focusing on expressions of emotions recorded in travel accounts, we can find significant differences between reports related to travels to the Holy Land and the accounts of travel to Asia. The difference stems from the fact that Asia as described by medieval Christian travellers does not represent an 'emotional space' to them in the same sense as the Holy Land.

Places in the Holy Land are marked with Christ's presence, as described in the Gospels. The places of pilgrimage are linked to specific biblical events that prescribe the travellers' mindsets and emotions and provide the author with literary models. Although this does not apply to all itineraries of the Holy Land and pilgrim accounts, some of them contain this level of understanding of the sacred space as places of certain emotions. Travel accounts referring to Asia do not contain this level of emotional expectancy. A specific example of a travel account that clearly reflects the difference between a pilgrim account and a travel account of Asia is the report from

22 Barbara H. Rosenwein, Worrying about Emotions in History, in: The American Historical Review 107 (2002), pp. 821–845.

the Dominican friar Riccoldo of Monte Croce (1243–1320).[23] Riccoldo spent the last decade of the 13th century in Baghdad under Mongol rule. His 'Liber peregrinationis' demonstrates an interesting contrast between a pilgrim account and an Asian travel account.[24] Riccoldo's physical journey around the holy places, which he undertook in the late 1280s and early 1290s, is interspersed with emotions that are revived through the reading and chanting of particular parts of the Gospels at specific places. From this perspective, 'Liber peregrinationis' also draws an emotional map of the Holy Land. With respect to the audience's emotional community, the text describes how the pilgrims were moved to tears of sorrow or joy – such as when they visited the site at the Jordan River where John baptized Christ:

> *Ibi in festo Epifanie inuenimus congregatos Christianos ad baptismum et ad festum ultra decem milia ex omni populo et natione, ubi edificauimus altare iuxta fluuium ubi celebrauimus et predicauimus et baptiçauimus gaudentes et flentes.*
>
> There on the Feast of Epiphany, we found over ten thousand Christians of every people and nation gathered together for baptism and the feast. There we built an altar beside the river on which we celebrated, and we preached and baptized with tears of rejoicing.[25]

It would be an immense simplification to reduce emotions in pilgrim accounts to a mere revival of biblical events. However, the context of pilgrimage creates a particular template for the travel account, which encourages the expression of various emotions at various places. When thinking of discourses of emotions in the context of the Holy Land, one must understand the significance of the particular place to which they are related.

In contrast, travelling to Asia does not imply similar emotional priming. The regions of Asia abound in literary traditions with motifs of an ambiguous and paradoxical nature – the Garden of Eden, human monsters, as well as gold, precious stones, and the nations of Gog and Magog. None of these motifs are unequivocally connected to a specific place. Unlike a pilgrim account describing the Holy Land, the author describing an Asian journey can hardly expect his readers to understand emotions connected to certain places unless the author provides an explanation and the particular context to these emotions. Such an explanation or context could

23 Rita George-Tvrtković, A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq. Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam, Turnhout 2012.

24 Latin text in Riccoldo of Monte Croce, Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre. Traduction, ed. and tr. by René Kappler (Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge 4), Paris 1997. English translation in George-Tvrtković (note 23), pp. 175–227.

25 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Kappler (note 24), p. 54. Translation: Denys Pringle (ed.), Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land 1187–1291, Farnham 2012, p. 369.

involve meeting people after days of lonely travel,[26] entering an impressively large Mongol camp *(orda)*,[27] or a rare visit to a church building, which is linked with the author's great joy.[28]

Expressions of emotions recorded in mendicant travel accounts of Asia are mainly connected to the physical experience of travelling and coming into contact with the local inhabitants.

In Riccoldo of Monte Croce's 'Liber peregrinationis', we can observe a shift between the pilgrim element, and the part devoted to the regions further east in Persia.[29] After Riccoldo concluded his description of the Holy Land, the text that follows is no longer structured as an itinerary of places, but instead becomes an ethnography of diverse religious groups, which he studied with the intention of finding ways to convert them.[30] Understanding this is of vital importance. When speaking of Asia, emotional expressions that would be meaningful to the audience's emotional community cannot be connected to specific places, but instead need to be connected to the people who inhabited these places.

A key aspect that influences the interaction between the traveller and local inhabitants is their 'religion'.[31] We know that the authors related their emotions regarding their interaction with local inhabitants with respect to the audience's emotional community, which already had certain feelings towards various non-Christians. However, this does not mean that all authors and travellers shared a unified set of emotions toward these communities because we also need to consider the social situation and personal experience of the traveller. Revealing more about the traveller's emotional

26 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 68. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 110.

27 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 92. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 131.

28 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 134. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 165.

29 Juliane Schiel, Der "Liber Peregrinationis" des Ricoldus von Monte Croce. Versuch einer mittelalterlichen Orienttopographie, in: Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften 55 (2007), pp. 5–17.

30 Riccoldo explicitly claims his intentions in his 'Five Letters on the Fall of Acre' (1291): "For you, O Lord, I left the world and entered the Order. For you I left the Order, so to speak, and came to proclaim you to the Saracens and Tartars." George-Tvrtković (note 23), p. 145. Latin text in Martin M. Bauer, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis: Epistole ad ecclesiam triumphantem (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 24), Stuttgart 2021, p. 98: *Pro te, Domine, dimisi mundum et veni ad ordinem, pro te dimisi ordinem, ut ita dicam, et veni te nunciare Sarracenis et Tartaris.*

31 It is beyond the scope of this study to address the issue of the conceptualization of a 'religion' in medieval mendicant accounts; here, it suffices to point out that we should reflect on the discrepancies between the medieval understanding (often, but not always, related to the term *lex*) and our modern concept. Cf. Peter Biller, Words and the Medieval Notion of 'Religion', in: Journal of Ecclesiastical History 36 (1985), pp. 351–369; John Bossy, Some Elementary Forms of Durkheim, in: Past & Present 95 (1982), pp. 3–18; Nathan Ristuccia, Lex: A Study on Medieval Terminology for Religion, in: Journal of Religious History 43 (2019), pp. 532–548.

communities can help us to understand which emotions were expressed and why, and also suggest why some information was omitted.

For example, it may have been difficult for the author to positively refer to people who were considered as 'enemies of Christendom'. At the same time, the very same people were important sources of information or may have played a vital role during the author's travel by providing material or other support. Thus, the author needed to bridge the discrepancies between the two discourses.

5 Fear of the Mongols, Joy with the Christians? Religious Communities and Emotions

The terrifying pictures of the Mongol invaders presented in 'Chronica Maiora' by Matthew Paris are well known and fully in accord with the contemporary image of the Mongols coming from Tartarus, or as the envoys of the Apocalypse.[32] To a certain degree, knowledge of the Mongols' impact and reports of their destructiveness obscure our sensitivity towards expressions of fear in travel accounts. It appears to be only natural that friars travelling to the Mongols feared them. However, a closer look into two Franciscan accounts by John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck reveals important details regarding what the friars claimed that they feared, how these fears affected their behaviour and interactions with the local people, and what this might mean for our understanding of their texts. These claims help us better identify the 'audience's emotional community' and enable us to identify potential clashes between the systems of feelings in both the audience's and the traveller's emotional community.

The discrepancies become visible when analysing and comparing the accounts of these two Franciscans who travelled to the Mongols around the mid-13th century. John of Plano Carpini referred to his fears in the prologue to his report:

> *elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficisci. Timebamus enim ne per eos in proximo Ecclesie Dei periculum immineret. Et quamvis Tartaris vel ab aliis nationibus timeremus occidi vel perpetuo captivari, vel fame, siti, algore, estu, contumeliis et laboribus nimiis quasi ultra vires affligi, que omnia multo plus quam prius crediderimus, excepta morte vel captivitate perpetua, nobis multipliciter evenerunt, non tamen pepercimus nobis ipsis ut voluntatem Dei secundum Domini pape mandatum adimplere possemus, et ut proficeremus in aliquo Christianis vel saltem, scita veraciter voluntate et intentione ipsorum, possemus illam patefacere Christianis.*

32 Susanne Lewis, The Art of Matthew Paris in the 'Chronica majora', Berkeley 1987, pp. 286–287. Regarding the role of the Mongols in medieval European eschatological thought see Felicitas Schmieder, Christians, Jews, Muslims – and Mongols: Fitting the Foreign People into a Western Christian Apocalyptic Scenario, in: Medieval Encounters 12,2 (2006), pp. 274–295.

> [W]e chose first to make our way to the Tartars, for we were afraid that in the near future the Church of God would be threatened by danger from that quarter. And although we feared we might be killed by the Tartars or other people, or imprisoned for life, or afflicted with hunger, thirst, cold, heat, injuries and exceeding great trials almost beyond our powers of endurance – all of which, with the exception of death and imprisonment for life, fell to our lot in various ways in a much greater degree than we had conceived beforehand – nevertheless we did not spare ourselves in order to carry out the will of God as laid down in the Lord Pope's mandate, and be of some service to Christians, that, at all events, having learned the truth about the desire and intention of the Tartars, we could make this known to the Christians.[33]

Fear of the Mongols as enemies of Christendom and the necessity to discover more about them appear to be the motive for his journey. The fears listed in the prologue also indicate to the potential reader the content of the report. Overcoming various hardships certainly proved the traveller's dedication to the Church and the Pope, and Carpini's achievements sound hard-earned (which indeed they were).

Although the prologue suggests a great fear of the Mongols, it was assumed that it was generally safe to send envoys to the Mongols at the time of Carpini's journey. According to Peter Jackson, it was probably the statements of the Russian 'archbishop' Peter in 1244[34] which supported this idea. Indeed, there were four embassies sent by the Curia to the Mongols after 1244. Paradoxically, the biggest fear for his life that Carpini expressed in his report was not related to the Mongols at all:

> *Post hec dux predictus usque in Kioviam nobiscum unum servientem transmisit; nichilominus tamen ibamus semper sub periculo capitis propter Luthuanos, qui sepe insultum faciebant occulte quantum poterant super terram Ruscie, et maxime in locis illis per que debebamus transire. Et quia maior pars hominum Ruscie a Tartaris fuit occisa vel in captivitatem deducta, iccirco eis resistere potenter minime possent; a Rutenis tamen per servientem predictum eramus securi.*
>
> After this the Duke sent a servant with us as far as Kiev; however, in spite of this we went in continual danger of death on account of the Ruthenians, who made frequent and secret raids as often as they could upon Russian territory, especially in those parts through which we had to pass. And since

33 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), pp. 227–228. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 3.

34 Peter Jackson, The Testimony of the Russian 'Archbishop' Peter Concerning the Mongols (1244/5): Precious Intelligence or Timely Disinformation?, in: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 26,1–2 (2016), pp. 65–77, here p. 77.

> the majority of the men-folk of Russia had either been killed or taken into captivity by the Tartars, they were unable to offer any effective resistance. However, thanks to the said servant we were safe from the Ruthenians.[35]

Carpini and his company found that their status as envoys guaranteed them a certain level of protection among the Mongols. The Ruthenians were operating outside the scope of the Mongolian administration and thus represented an unexpected danger that could hardly be prevented. William of Rubruck, who travelled to the Mongols between 1253 and 1255, had a similar experience on his outward journey when travelling between the camps of Sartaq and Batu. For him, the biggest fear for his life arose because of various bands of marauders, including Ruthenians, Hungarians, and Alans:

> *In uia uero inter ipsum et patrem suum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni enim et Hungari et Alani serui eorum, quorum est maxima multitude inter eos, associant se XX uel XXX simul, et fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras et arcus, et quecumque inueniunt de nocte interficiunt; de die latitant.*
>
> On the journey between Sartach and his father we went in great trepidation. For their Russian, Hungarian and Alan slaves, who are to be found among them in very large numbers, band together in groups of twenty or thirty and escape by night. They possess bows and arrows, and kill anyone they meet up with in the dark. During the day they lie in hiding.[36]

Therefore, in both cases, their fear for their life was not connected with an organized Mongol rule, but rather with unpredictable bandits, or escaped captives. However, for Carpini, the Mongols represented a different kind of danger, which was connected to their 'idolatrous' customs. Carpini listed many such customs that had to be obeyed in order to avoid severe punishment or even the death penalty.[37] These rules, including prohibitions on stepping over the threshold of a yurt, entering certain areas, or putting knives into a fire were neither evident nor known to the travelling company and Carpini and his companions unwittingly transgressed some of these taboos. As Carpini discovered, the unconscious breaking of some of these rules by

35 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), p. 304. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 52.

36 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 88. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 127.

37 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), pp. 239–240. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 11. The example of the Dominican friar Ascelin of Lombardy, who because of his tactless behaviour was sentenced to death by the Mongols, but finally released, also shows that the Mongols tended to pardon foreign envoys for their unknowingness. There are only indirect accounts of his mission in 'Speculum historiale' by Vincent of Beauvais and in 'Chronica maiora' by Matthew Paris. Chapters which Vincent of Beauvais recorded as coming from the report of Simon of St Quentin were published separately as 'Histoire des Tartares', ed. and trans. by Jean Richard, Paris 1965, pp. 94–113.

himself or other envoys was pardoned by the Mongols and the usual punishment was not applied.[38] William of Rubruck had a similar experience during his journey, although, compared to Carpini, he was better informed about the Mongol customs. The potential danger of unintentionally violating some of the many Mongol customs was, nevertheless, a source of great stress for Carpini.

Carpini was worried that he might be forced into engaging in 'idolatrous' practices. When entering the khan's camp, the envoys carrying their gifts were made to pass between two fires as an act of purification and they were also expected to genuflect in front of the khan.[39] For Christians, the most problematic aspect of their interaction with the Mongols was the requirement that the envoys should bow to an idol of Genghis Khan and / or genuflect in front of it. Passing between fires or bowing to the living khan posed no great problem but bowing or genuflecting before the idol of Genghis Khan was considered by Christian travellers as idolatry and the friars tried to avoid it.[40] The second redaction of Carpini's account is more anti-Mongol in its tone and mentions that the Mongols might force others to follow their practices:[41]

> *Quid ulterius faciant ignoramus; presumitur tamen a quibusdam quod si monarchiam haberent, quod Deus avertat, faceret quod omnes isti idolo inclinarent.*
>
> What they may ultimately do we do not know, but there are some who are of the opinion that, if they became sole rulers, which God forbid, they would make everyone bow down to that idol.[42]

As examples of the Mongol attitude towards Christians, Carpini related stories of Russian dukes who were executed for refusing to perform 'idolatrous' practices. The Russian duke Michail of Chernigov reportedly refused to bow to an idol and as a consequence was put to death.[43] Another example of practices that might challenge Christian laws was the story of a levirate marriage which the Mongols forced upon

38 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), p. 244. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 14.

39 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), pp. 237–240. Translation: Dawson (note 7), pp. 10, 11, 14. Rubruck also relates this practice, see William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 284. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 241.

40 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. van den Wyngaert (note 7), p. 119. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 63. Carpini himself does not say how he managed to avoid this practice, but his companion Benedict the Pole relates that the friars refused to worship the idol of Genghis Khan and were made to only bow their heads. Dawson (note 7), p. 80.

41 Donald Ostrowski, Second-Redaction Additions in Carpini's Ystoria Mongalorum, in: Harvard Ukrainian Studies 14,3–4 (1990), pp. 522–550.

42 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), p. 238. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 11.

43 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), pp. 237–238. Translation: Dawson (note 7), pp. 10–11, 15.

the widow of the Russian duke Andrew of Chernigov and his brother.[44] Carpini obviously related these stories under the influence of his informants, the Russian clerics who often acted as interpreters and sometimes as his main source of information about the Mongols:

> *Et nisi Dominus preparasset nobis quemdam rutenum qui vocabatur Cosmas, qui erat aurifaber imperatoris satis dilectus, qui nos in aliquo sustentavit, ut credimus, mortui fuissemus, ‹vel› nisi Dominus in aliquo alio nos iuvasset.*
>
> If the Lord had not sent us a certain Russian, by name Cosmas, a goldsmith and a great favourite of the Emperor, who supported us to some extent, we would, I believe, have died, unless the Lord had helped us in some other way.[45]

One of the commissions of Carpini's embassy, besides establishing diplomatic contacts with the Mongols, was to remind the Russian bishops that "they should return to the unity of Holy Mother Church".[46] With this aim in mind, his report on Christianity in the East is free from criticism. Unlike Rubruck, Carpini did not emphasize the doctrinal or ritual differences between the Christians of the Latin West and other churches. His report urged all Christians to join forces against the idolatrous Mongols. This diplomatic and social context also prescribed this traveller's emotional community, which included Russian guides but excluded the Mongols.

This aim is also reflected in another feature of Carpini's report. When mentioning Christians at the Mongol court, Carpini avoids using the term 'Nestorians', which he certainly knew. The term 'Nestorians' occurs in Carpini's report within the list of nations that were subdued by the Mongols.[47] However, unlike other friars, he never labelled particular Christians at the Mongol court as 'Nestorians'. This can be explained either by ignorance or intention. In the time of Carpini, the knowledge of eastern Christian churches was limited, as Christopher MacEvitt noted, and the various groups of eastern Christians encountered during the Crusades were sometimes confused.[48] Information that connected the 'Nestorians' with Muslims was produced by Peter the Venerable in 1144, while around 1222 Jacques de Vitry also provided

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44 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), pp. 238–239. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 11.

45 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), p. 324. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 66, cf. also p. 70.

46 Dawson (note 7), p. 51. Cf. Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410, Harlow 2005, p. 94.

47 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. van den Wyngaert (note 7), pp. 55–56 and 89–90. Translation: Dawson (note 7), pp. 20 and 41.

48 Christopher MacEvitt, The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance, Philadelphia 2008, pp. 102–106.

a brief summary of what he considered to be their teaching.[49] More attention was paid to Jacobites or other denominations, such as Armenians, but as MacEvitt has indicated, 13th-century Latin tractates about eastern Christians show a kind of 'theological ignorance', which concurred with his ideas of 'rough tolerance'.[50]

In the context of the Latin missions to Asia, we can observe a significant difference. In medieval mendicant accounts about Asia, the term 'Nestorian' was often associated with 'heresy', which induced emotions of disdain and rejection among the intended audience's emotional community. These associations are evident from the accounts of William of Rubruck, as we will see later, and can be found in the report by Odoric of Pordenone,[51] and the letters of John of Montecorvino.[52] They considered 'Nestorians' as *schizmatici et heretici*.[53]

However, Carpini described the 'Christians' at the court of Güyük Khan in the following words:

> *Iste autem imperator potest esse quadraginta vel quadragintaquinque annorum aut plus, mediocris est stature, prudens est valde, et astutus nimium et multum seriosus, et gravis in moribus; nec unquam videt homo eum de facili ridere vel facere aliquam levitatem, sicut nobis Christiani dicebant qui assidue morantur cum eo. Dicebant etiam nobis Christiani qui erant de familia eius quod credebant firmiter quod deberet fieri Christianus, et de hoc habent signum apertum, quoniam ipse tenet clericos Christianos et dat eis expensas; Christianorum etiam capellam semper habet ante maius tentorium eius, et cantant publice et aperte, et pulsant ad horas secundum morem Grecorum, ut alii Christiani, quantacumque sit ibi multitudo Tartarorum vel etiam hominum aliorum; quod non faciunt alii duces.*
>
> The present Emperor may be forty or forty-five years old or even more; he is of medium height, he is very intelligent and extremely shrewd, and most serious and grave in his manner. He is never seen to laugh for a slight cause nor to indulge in any frivolity, so we were told by the Christians who are constantly with him. The Christians of his household also told us that they firmly believed he was about to become a Christian, and they have clear evidence of this, for he maintains Christian clerics and provides them with supplies of Christian things; in addition, he always

49 Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, Eine christliche Weltchronik von Qara Qorum. Wilhelm von Rubruck OFM und der Nestorianismus, in: Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 53,1 (1971), pp. 1–19, here p. 7.

50 MacEvitt (note 48), p. 25.

51 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. van den Wyngaert (note 7), pp. 424 and 442.

52 Ibid., p. 346.

53 Ibid., p. 424. Similarly, p. 442: *qui nequissimi sunt heretici.*

> has a chapel before his chief tent and they sing openly and in public and beat the board for services after the Greek fashion like other Christians, however big a crowd of Tartars or other men be there. The other chiefs do not behave like this.[54]

Either he did not identify these Christians as 'Nestorians', or he avoided the term completely. The latter would correspond to the overall aims of his report – to address Christian oikumene and mobilize it against the Mongols. Omitting the problematic label 'Nestorian' would have helped Carpini to promote his vision of Christendom as a (potentially) united power defending Christianity against Mongol idolatry.

Although Carpini might have ignored the label 'Nestorians', another Franciscan hardly could. When John of Marignolli travelled across Asia in the 1330s and 1340s, the label 'Nestorian' was already widely used in mendicant writing. However, when reporting his travels in India, he avoided labelling Indian Christians as 'Nestorians' and instead used the term *Christiani sancti Thomae*, the term these groups traditionally used for themselves. Marignolli is also the only medieval European friar to report fruitful cooperation with Indian Christians and, compared to other European medieval travellers, he provides the most detailed information about them.[55] Avoiding the term 'Nestorians' in his writing helped him to allay any suspicion that he was cooperating with 'heretics'. In this case, the author described his 'traveller's emotional community' in such a way as to take into account the emotions of his "audience's emotional community'. It would seem that Carpini adopted the same approach.

Rubruck's perspective of Christians in the Mongol Empire could not be more different from that of Carpini. Rubruck's travel community included people with diverse religious backgrounds, even 'pious idolators',[56] but excluded 'Nestorians', from whom he tried to distance himself, even if he was staying with them. On many occasions, Rubruck portrayed the Nestorians as ignorant heretics with an excessive liking for alcohol:

> *Nestorini nichil sciunt* […] *Et hinc est quod totaliter sunt corrunpti: sunt in primis usuarii, ebriosi, etiam aliqui eorum, qui sunt cum Tartaris, habent plures uxores sicut Tartari* […] *et sunt bigami* […] *sunt etiam omnes symoniaci, nullum sacramentum exhibentes gratis* […] *unde non intendunt dilatationi*

54 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. Menestò (note 7), pp. 326–327. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 68.

55 Emler (note 11), p. 496; Malfatto (note 11), p. 4. Marignolli also recorded local legends connected to the apostle Thomas, his mission in India, martyr death, and miracles occurring at his grave near present day Chennai. Emler (note 11), pp. 507–508. About the premodern history of Indian Christians see Ian Gillman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Christians in Asia before 1500, London, New York 2006, pp. 155–202; Susan Visvanathan, The Christians of Kerala. History, Belief and Ritual among the Yakoba, New Delhi 2004.

56 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), pp. 132–134. Translation: Jackson (note 8), pp. 163–164.

> *fidei sed lucro. Vnde contingit, cum aliqui eorum nutrient aliquos filios nobilium Moal, quamuis doceant eos Euangelium et fidem, tamen per malam uitam et cupiditatem magis elongant eos a ritu Christianorum, quia uita ipsorum Moal et etiam tuinorum, hoc est ydolatrarum, innocentior est quam uita ipsorum.*
>
> The Nestorians there are ignorant. […] And therefore they are completely depraved: Above all they are usurers and drunkards, and some of them, furthermore, who live among the Tartars, have several wives just as the Tartars have […] and they commit bigamy as well, [… t]hey are all simoniacs who do not administer a single sacrament without recompense […] have an eye not to spreading the Faith but to making money. The result is that when any of them rear the sons of aristocratic Mo'als, even though they instruct them in the Gospels and the Faith, nevertheless by their immorality and their greed they rather alienate them from the Christian religion. For the lives of the Mo'als, and even of the tuins (that is idolaters), are more blameless than their own.[57]

He was also critical of their deceitfulness,[58] and their practice of sorcery and divination.[59] He tried to point out their faults in doctrine and practice whenever possible and presented himself as the only one capable of defending Christianity in the theological debate at the khan's court.[60]

While Carpini feared that he might be forced into idolatry, Rubruck never mentioned any such concern. Despite his relative confidence among the Mongols, Rubruck also expressed a specific kind of fear:

> *In crastino mandauit michi quod uenirem ad curiam, afferens litteras regis et capellam et libros mecum, quia dominus suus uellet ea uidere; quod et fecimus, honerantes bigamunam libris et capella, et aliam pane et uino et fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros et uestes explicari; et cicumstabant nos in equis multi Tartari et Christiani et Sarraceni. Quibus inspectis, quesiuit si uellem omnia ista dare domino suo. Quo audito expaui et displicuit michi uerbum; dissimulans tamen respondi* […]

57 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), pp. 132–134. Translation: Jackson (note 8), pp. 163–164.

58 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), pp. 224–230.

59 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 194. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 199. Marco Polo also reported divinations performed by the Nestorians. The Travels of Marco Polo, including the unabridged third edition (1903) of Henry Yule's annotated translation, as revised by Henry Cordier; together with Cordier's later volume of notes and addenda (1920), vol. 2, New York 1993, pp. 241–242.

60 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), pp. 246–248. Translation: Jackson (note 8), pp. 230–231.

> The following day he [i.e. a Nestorian at Sartaq's camp] sent instructions that I was to come to court bringing with me the King's letter, the liturgical items and the books, as his master wished to see them. We obeyed, loading up one wagon with the books and the liturgical items, another with bread, wine and fruit. Then he had all the books and vestments displayed, while a great many Tartars, Christians and Saracens surrounded us on horseback. After he had examined them, he asked whether I intended to present them all to his master. When I heard this, I was struck with fear. But although I did not care for his question I concealed the fact and replied […][61]

A similar situation occurred at the camp of Chaghadai when Rubruck was asked by Chaghadai's interpreter about gifts:

> *Quesiuit quid portaremus domino suo; accepimus unum flasconem de uino, et impleuimus unum uernigal de biscocto et platellum unum de pomis et aliis fructibus. Non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretiosum. Sic tamen ingressumus cum timore et uerecundia.*
>
> He enquired what we were taking for his master. We took a flagon of wine and filled a jar with biscuits and a dish with apples and other fruit. He was disgruntled that we were not taking some valuable cloth. Nevertheless, in fear and diffidence, this was how we entered.[62]

In these instances, it was not the encounter with the khan which caused him fear, but the prospect that he might fail diplomatically. Rubruck knew that the Mongols expected gifts from envoys coming to the court.[63] However, he had no such precious gifts. The only precious objects that he carried with him were liturgical items, vestments, and books, which he feared would be taken from him, thus complicating his journey for two reasons. First, he would lose important equipment for his mission. Second, by providing the Mongols with precious objects, he might signal the submission of his lord, the French king, to the Mongols, because 'gifts' were easily mistaken for a tribute.[64] This role of gifts to the Mongol rulers was already well known to Rubruck, so it was a signal he tried to avoid. He presented himself as a poor Franciscan friar who could not bring any gifts for the Mongols, although at the same time he was

61 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 74. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 116.

62 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 52. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 100.

63 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), pp. 70–74. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 114–115.

64 Cf. Joinville, The Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville, trans. by Ethel Wedgewood, London 1906, pp. 249–250.

carrying a substantial amount of precious liturgical items.[65] Rubruck's reference to fear signals that he cared most about presenting himself correctly with respect to his lord, King Louis, and about his identity as a Franciscan monk who keeps to the ideal of poverty.[66] Equally, while this expression of fear is obviously meaningful in relation to William's interactions with the Mongols, it could also indicate a link with the audience's emotional community. These fears about Mongol tribute, or the loss of these precious religious objects to the Mongols, may have been similarly felt and understood by King Louis himself, members of his court, or other individuals who William knew would read his report and could have been used to demonstrate the difficulty of William's position. Clearly, expressions related to 'fear' in the accounts of Carpini and Rubruck have very different connotations and can be understood with respect to the different emotional communities of the authors – both the traveller's and the audience's.

It is obvious that the expectations of the audience's emotional community might have completely obliterated the systems of emotions within the traveller's community. However, we can attempt to find out where the two emotional systems clashed. This is namely in those cases where the author's interaction with the locals might be considered problematic because of the locals' reputation among the audience's emotional community. We can find several examples where the authors of these texts try to bridge the gap between the perspectives of these two emotional communities. One of these is already discussed above, when John of Marignolli referred to his cooperation with Indian Christians and avoided the label 'Nestorian'. Another is his statement regarding Jews in Asia as sources of certain knowledge. In his chronicle, Marignolli relates information that he gained from his Jewish friends:

> *Ibi dicitur [sc. in libro Iosue] quod cultris lapideis facta est a Iosue circumcisio. Prudentiores tamen Iudeorum, cum quibus de ista materia contuli, qui sunt amici mei, sicut Iudeus Christiano potest esse amicus, dixerunt michi asserendo, quod nunquam de communi lege potuit fieri, nisi cum acutissimo rasorio et de ferro vel de alio nobiliori metallo sicut est es vel aurum, et concordant cum dicto Aristotelis in libro Probleumatum, qui expresse probat, quod incisiones facte cum ere vel aureo cultello citius sanantur, quam ille que fiunt cum ferreo instrumento. Et ita utuntur medici de Cathay, ut ego vidi.*
>
> [It is said there that the circumcision was done by Joshua with a stone knife.] Talking on this matter with some of the more intelligent Jews who

65 For more on the nature of his baggage and its significance for Rubruck's mission, see Jana Valtrová, Christian Material Culture and the Mongols: the Case of William of Rubruck, in: Eurasian Studies 17,2 (2020), pp. 228–243.

66 For more about Rubruck's status, see A.J. Watson, Mongol Inhospitality, or How to do More with Less? Gift Giving in William of Rubruck's Itinerarium, in: Journal of Medieval History 37,1 (2011), pp. 90–101.

> were friends of mine (at least as far as Jews can be friends with a Christian), they observed to me that the general law in question could never be fulfilled except with a very sharp razor, either of steel or of some nobler metal, such as bronze or gold. And they agreed with the dictum of Aristotle in his Book of Problems, where he expressly asserts that cuts made with a knife of bronze or golden are healed more quickly than such made with a steel instrument. And this accords with the practice of the surgeons of Cathay, as I have seen.[67]

While he labels the Jews as his 'friends', he immediately mitigates the strength of his bond with the expression *sicut Iudeus Christiano potest esse amicus*. Such examples of 'bridges' that try to reconcile the perspectives of the traveller's and audience's communities provide a unique opportunity to glimpse the discrepancy between the travel experience and its 'translation' into a written account for a specific audience.

Another example of this sort of bridge is in a short part of a letter by the Franciscan friar Andrew of Perugia (d. 1332). In 1328, he wrote about the state of 'sects' in Mongol China:

> *Sane in isto vasto imperio sunt gentes de omni natione quae sub coelo est, et de omni septa. Et conceditur omnibus et singulis vivere secundum septam suam. Est enim hec opinio apud eos, seu potius error, quod unusquisque in sua septa salvatur.*
>
> In this vast empire there are verily men of every nation under heaven and of every sect; and each and all are allowed to live according to their own sect. For this is their opinion, or I should say their error, that every man is saved in his own sect.[68]

Est enim hec opinio apud eos, seu potius error is an interesting passage because it reveals the author's experience with the multi-religious society, while at the same time showing his respect for the emotions of the audience's community, which, unlike Andrew of Perugia, had no such experience. Therefore, 'the opinion' of the locals recorded in China is referred to as 'their error' for European readers.

Overall, this demonstrates that to successfully identify an author's emotional communities, we must consider two related aspects. First, we must carefully consider the original terms used in these accounts with respect to their possible implicit emotional content. Terms that are today used without any emotional charge may have

67 John of Marignolli, 'Chronicon Bohemorum', ed. Malfatto (note 11), p. 26. Translation: Yule (note 11), p. 390, additions my own.

68 John of Plano Carpini, 'Historia Mongalorum', ed. van den Wyngaert (note 7), p. 376. Translation: Dawson (note 7), p. 237.

had a strong charge in historical sources, such as the label 'Nestorian'.[69] Second, we should not only think about the information included in the travel accounts but also carefully consider what is excluded, omitted, or unsaid.

6 'Hidden Transcripts' among the Mongols

Besides these discursive gaps between the world of the travel experience and the world of the audience, there is yet another feature worthy of attention: an investigation of the so-called 'hidden transcripts'.[70] According to James Scott, people who have a subordinate status and suffer suppression from (an)other social class(es) look for ways to express their disagreement with the respective power relations. Their critique of the *status quo* must be hidden from the ruling classes because it would put them in danger; however, it remains 'open' in the sense that it is presented in public. In the manner of a 'hidden transcript', the critique is understandable to those who share the same status of oppression or disagreement. The final suggestion of this chapter will be that traces of a 'hidden transcript' may be found in Rubruck's account.

Rubruck wanted to spread Christianity and serve his lord and was outraged by Mongolian claims about ruling the world. Understandably, he did not dare to express this opinion directly to the khans, but occasionally expressed it to local Christians:

> *et certe, si permitteretur michi, ego in toto mundo pro posse meo predicarem bellum contra eos*
>
> I would, if permitted, preach war against them [i.e. the Mongols], to the best of my ability, throughout the world.[71]

He preached to the Christians at Möngke Khan's court that they should never fight against other Christians and should instead choose a martyr's death, if necessary.[72] Besides these expressions of disagreement with Mongol rule, Rubruck also relates his loyalty to his order and his king in another way, employing a 'hidden transcript'. The vehicle for this was Latin hymns, which Rubruck tells us he sang on various

69 The term 'Nestorian', although widely used by scholars to designate the members of the Church of the East, has also been questioned as being unsuitable precisely because of its negative connotations. See Sebastian Brock, The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer, in: Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester 78,3 (1996), pp. 23–35.

70 Scott (note 6).

71 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 146. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 173.

72 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 222. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 215.

occasions in front of Mongol rulers.[73] While the Mongols would have had difficulty in understanding these hymns due to their being sung in Latin (if they could have understood them at all), their content would have been familiar to European captives. Importantly, some of the hymns mentioned by Rubruck contain verses referring to 'Tartarus', a term commonly associated with the Mongols.

Through the apparent choice of these hymns at different points in his journey, Rubruck presents in his writing the impression of a gradual growth of his self-confidence in the face of the Mongols. At the beginning of his journey through Mongolian territory, at the court of Sartaq, Rubruck tells us that he chanted *Salve Regina,*[74] a hymn which refers to this world as "a vale of tears" and asks for strength. However, during his first audience with Möngke Khan, Rubruck tells us that he chose a Christmas chant, *A solis ortus cardine*, a hymn which, besides being appropriate for the time it was sung, was also, as other scholars have noted, an audacious choice.[75] One of its final verses reads:

> *Ymnis uenite dulcibus,*
> *Omnes canamus subditum*
> *Christi triumpho Tartarum,*
> *Qui nos redemit uenditus.*
>
> Come, with sweet hymns,
> Let us all sing of the vanquishing
> Of Tartarus by Christ's triumph,
> Who was sold, but redeemed us.[76]

Naturally, writing about the "vanquishing of Tartarus by Christ's triumph" sends a clear message to Rubruck's audience, and understanding this moment as a part of a rhetorical device to encourage this emotional community explains its inclusion in his text. However, if we take Rubruck at his word, allowing for the fact that this may be more than just a rhetorical device and the description of a genuine moment in Rubruck's story, the singing of "vanquishing of Tartarus by Christ's triumph" could also be interpreted as an intended hidden and yet clear message which Rubruck wished to send to local enslaved Latin Christians.

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73 On the importance of music for the Franciscan order, see Peter Victor Loewen, Music in Early Franciscan Thought, Leiden 2013.

74 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 76. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 117.

75 Jackson (note 8), p. 177, n. 1. Jackson here also points out that this hymn was translated into Turkish and can be found in the Codex Cumanicus. William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 154. For more about the hymn, see Carl Springer, Sedulius' A Solis Ortus Cardine: The Hymn and Its Tradition, in: Ephemerides Liturgicae 101 (1986), pp. 69–75.

76 Carl P. Springer, Sedulius, The Paschal Song and Hymns, Atlanta 2013, pp. 200–201.

On the next occasion of meeting the khan, Rubruck writes that he chose to sing *Veni Sancte Spiritus* as an invocation of the Holy Spirit. This choice corresponds to Rubruck's efforts to be granted permission to stay and preach in the Mongolian territories.[77] However, if we once again take Rubruck at his word and assume that he actually did sing this hymn in front of the khan, then several lines of the hymn might also reflect, in the manner of a 'hidden transcript', Rubruck's opinion of the Mongols:

> III.
> *O lux beatissima!*
> *Reple cordis intima,*
> *Tuorum fidelium.*
> *Sine tuo numine,*
> *Nihil est in homine,*
> *Nihil est innoxium.*
>
> IV.
> *Lava quod est sordidum,*
> *Riga quod est aridum,*
> *Sana quod est saucium!*
> *Flecte quod est rigidum,*
> *Fove quod est frigidum,*
> *Rege quod est devium!*
>
> III.
> O most blessed Light! The heart's
> Innermost, most hidden parts,
> Of Thy faithful people fill!
> Not without Thy favor can
> Any thing be good in man,
> Any thing that is not ill.
>
> IV.
> What is sordid make Thou clean,
> What is dry make moist and green,
> What is wounded heal for aye.
> Bend that's rigid to Thy will,
> Warm Thou whatso'er is chill,
> Guide what's devious and astray.[78]

77 For more about Rubruck's claim about his intention to preach among the Mongols and serve the captives, see William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), pp. 150, 244, 260. Translation: Jackson (note 8), pp. 174, 230.

78 Abraham Coles, Latin Hymns with Original Translations, New York 1869, pp. 50–51.

Interestingly, Rubruck also tells us that the meaning of the hymns was sometimes also understood by other people in the Möngke's camp, not only the Christians. Rubruck related that Muslims were "greatly surprised" to hear the Latin hymn *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* during a Christian procession in Möngke Khan's camp.[79] As Claire and René Kappler have pointed out,[80] the sixth stanza contains quite an audacious reference to the *Tartari*:

> *Beata cujus brachiis*
> *Pretium pependit saeculi*
> *Statera facta est corporis*
> *Praedam tulitque Tartari*[81]
>
> On whose dear arms, so widely flung,
> The weight of this world's ransom hung:
> The price of humankind to pay,
> And spoil the Spoiler of his prey.[82]

Again, there are two explanations for these episodes of singing in Rubruck's text. The first is that they were aimed to appeal to the audience's emotional communities. Knowing that his audience would have understood these hymns, and their contents, and by allowing them to believe that these moments genuinely happened, Rubruck encourages his audience with the image of the brave friar acting in a moment of defiance (albeit cautious defiance) against a group of people who he has already established as dangerous and frightening. The second explanation must be put forward more cautiously and is built on the foundation that these episodes of singing actually occurred as Rubruck suggests. If this is the case, these examples show that Rubruck sung these hymns and included them in his account to express the 'hidden transcripts' he deployed while among the Mongols. Notwithstanding the veracity of these moments, these episodes serve to make Rubruck's audience believe that the allusions to the *Tartari* in the hymns were his hidden message to the people around the khan, while also emphasizing the risks he is willing to take. The distribution of the hymns along the narration of Rubruck's journey, as he claims to have sung them, confirms the friar's deep concern for his 'audience's emotional community', which was King Louis and the Franciscan order.

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79 William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', ed. Chiesa (note 8), p. 196. Translation: Jackson (note 8), p. 200, n. 1.

80 Claire and René Kappler (eds.), Guillaume de Rubrouck, envoyé de saint Louis. Voyage dans l'empire mongol, Paris 1985, p. 63.

81 John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations, London 1907, p. 1219.

82 John Mason Neale, Mediaeval hymns and sequences, London 1867, p. 7.

7 Conclusion

Research on emotions within travel accounts may help us to better understand the perspectives of the authors, both on the level of their interaction with their audience and to provide us with at least some glimpses of the circumstances of actual travel. Emotional expressions and judgements in travel accounts help us to identify the 'emotional communities' of the travelling authors. These communities may be considered as twofold – on the one hand, the communities of travel, which include the author's companions, guides, interpreters, and locals, and on the other, the audience's community, which includes the expected readers, donors, and authorities to which the account is addressed. These two types of communities do not share the same 'systems of feelings', as we have seen. Some interactions, namely those with alleged heretics, that occurred during the travel deserve special treatment in these accounts which takes into consideration the audience's emotions. While travel accounts often conform to literary topoi and employ the rules of the genre, as Rubiés pointed out, behind it (unless we are discussing an imaginary journey) is actual contact with the 'Other'.

Unlike pilgrim accounts to the Holy Land, accounts of Asian travel offer more space to the author's personal experiences, which are less bound by the oftentimes fixed spiritual meaning of the pilgrim places. Emotional expressions in Asian travel accounts are usually connected to the physical experience of travel and often to interactions with locals, which are interpreted in relation to the audience's expectations. What becomes crucial in this context are the religious identities of the actors and their labels, which could bear implicit emotional or judgemental meaning, such as the term 'Nestorian'.

One of the most interesting parts of these travel accounts are the passages where the authors provide the perspectives both of the traveller's community and of the audience. In some cases, the author may want to confirm which of the communities he actually belongs to. This may be especially important when the author refers to his past actions, which might call into question his loyalty. The diplomatic missions to the Mongols, which were subjected to various compromises in behaviour that the khan's court required, serve as such examples. One of the strategies for showing the author's position may have been to employ the system of 'hidden transcripts' – actions that publicly but in a concealed way express the feelings of the author.

Fundamentally, exploring the emotional expressions and judgements that the authors use in their accounts contributes to understanding the travel accounts in a nuanced way, especially in reference to interactions between the two types of emotional communities. Moreover, such an approach allows us to observe elements of the least visible level of travel experience: the first step in the 'translation' of the actual personal experience into a travel account.

Stefan Schröder

The 'Muslim Other' in (Late) Medieval Latin Pilgrimage Reports
Origins, Differences, and Functions

Abstract The chapter studies the encounter with the Muslim 'Other' in Latin pilgrimage reports from the 13th to the 15th centuries. It reflects upon the meaning and function of statements about Muslims and Islam and shows how late medieval reports, which increasingly devoted space to describing the faith and cultural practices of other religious groups, became an important medium for conveying 'knowledge' of Islam, adopted from various anti-Islamic writings, to a broader readership. Authors transmitted these negative images of Muslims and the Prophet Muhammad with the aim of strengthening Christian identities. They actively constructed the 'Muslim Other' to outline an idealized image of the 'Christian Self', to prove the superiority of Christianity, and to fashion themselves as pious Christian pilgrims overcoming the obstacles posed by a religious enemy. However, as a result of the reciprocal relationship between the 'Self' and the 'Other', positive images of the 'Muslim Other' were also used to make the reader aware of their own, or their society's, transgressions and lack of faith. Conversely, some encounters between 'Self' and 'Other' reveal glimpses of pragmatic tolerance between Muslims and Christian pilgrims beyond dogmatic cultural borders.

Zusammenfassung Das Kapitel untersucht die Begegnung mit dem muslimischen ‚Anderen' in lateinischen Pilgerberichten des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts. Es betrachtet die Bedeutung und Funktion von Äußerungen über Muslime und den Islam und zeigt, wie spätmittelalterliche Pilgertexte zu einem wichtigen Medium der Vermittlung von ‚Wissen' über den Islam für ein breiteres Publikum wurden, indem

Contact

Dr Stefan Schröder,
Faculty of Theology, Department of Church History, University of Helsinki, Finland, stefan.schroder@helsinki.fi
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2205-2410

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sie Material aus verschiedenen islampolemischen Schriften übernahmen und der Beschreibung von Glaubensinhalten und kulturellen Praktiken anderer Religionsgruppen immer mehr Raum gaben. Die Autoren vermittelten negative Bilder von Muslimen und dem Propheten Mohammed vorrangig mit dem Ziel, christliche Identitäten zu stärken. Sie konstruierten das ‚muslimische Andere' bewusst, um ein idealisiertes Bild des ‚christlichen Selbst' zu skizzieren, die Überlegenheit des Christentums zu beweisen und sich als fromme christliche Pilger zu profilieren, die alle Hindernisse des religiösen Feindes überwinden. Im Rahmen der wechselseitigen Beziehung zwischen dem ‚Selbst' und dem ‚Anderen' wurden jedoch auch positive Bilder des ‚muslimischen Anderen' eingesetzt, um den Rezipienten die eigene oder gesamtgesellschaftliche Sündhaftigkeit und Glaubensschwäche bewusst zu machen. Andererseits offenbaren manche Begegnungen zwischen dem ‚Selbst' und dem ‚Anderen' Einblicke in eine pragmatische Toleranz zwischen Muslimen und christlichen Pilgern über dogmatische Kulturgrenzen hinweg.

1 Introduction

On 1 November of the year 1483, the pilgrim Felix Fabri (1437/38–1502) observed the Muslim festivities on the last day of Ramadan in the city of Alexandria. He reported that the 'Saracens' were in high spirits and celebrated the day throughout the city. He himself, however, felt appalled in particular by the seductive dancing of some young women. He thought their movements so obscene and unrestrained that no man could have watched without being overcome by lustful thoughts. According to Fabri, the dancers imitated with their lascivious gestures the brutish habits of their parents. Usually, this should have been an embarrassment to the parents, but instead, the dancers expected to be complimented. It seemed to him that if the dancers managed to arouse the viewers, the dancers' performance would be worthy of praise similar to – or rather worse than – actors in public plays who performed nefarious acts about gods and humans, as Augustine states in his 'De civitate Dei'.[1]

1 Felix Fabri, Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem, 3 vols., ed. by Konrad Dietrich Hassler, Stuttgart 1843–1849, vol. 3, pp. 202–203. For (partial) translations of his report into English, French and German, see Felix Fabri (circa 1480–1483 A.D.), [Wanderings in the Holy Land], ed. and trans. by Aubrey Stewart, 2 vols., 4 parts (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society vols. 7–10), London 1887–1897. References are made to Stewart's numbering; e.g. 'vol. 1,1' refers to volume I, part i of Stewart's edition (= PPTS vol. 7); Felix Fabri, Les

This is a typical example of describing the 'Muslim Other' in Fabri's 'Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem', the most detailed and extensive late medieval pilgrimage report that we know of. Fabri acted as a general preacher in the Dominican convent of Ulm and wrote the text, which is based on his two journeys to the Holy Land, primarily to enable his fellow brothers to gain a deeper understanding of the Bible. He made extensive use of the available literature and gave an extraordinarily broad picture of the Holy Land and the Near East. His account is also exceptional because Fabri frequently enforced or corrected cultural values through statements that – at first glance – seem to be personal and authentic impressions made during the journey.[2]

With his description of the dancing women in Alexandria, Fabri sought to prove how Islam had corrupted the Muslims and this had led to abominable practices. Already the term 'Saracens', used by most pilgrims to refer to Muslims, had a demeaning connotation. As Fabri explained in a different passage,[3] the 'Saracens' fraudulently claimed the term to hide their descent from Hagar, Abraham's second wife, who was a handmaid and thus of inferior social status in comparison to Sarah (Gen. 16). He was thus in line with many medieval Christian authors who, according to Geraldine Heng, attributed the name "*to* the enemy, as a sly act of self-naming *by* the enemy, [which] is thus not only a brilliant lie, but one that brilliantly names the enemy as liars in the very act of naming them as enemies."[4] Characterizing, moreover, the celebrations and the nightly eating and drinking during Ramadan as immoral practices that serve only the pleasures of the flesh, Fabri intended not only to express his aversion, but also to evoke emotions in his readers and to encourage them to take up a similarly scornful stance towards the Muslims. Fabri's portrayal accentuated the alleged different norms between Christians and Muslims by pointing out that while the Muslims pursued their scandalous festivities, his pilgrim group spent the day (that according to the Christian calendar was also All Saints Day) in appropriate humility, mourning their

errances de Frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte, 1480–1483, ed. by Nicole Chareyron and Jean Meyers (Textes littéraires du Moyen Âge), 9 vols., Montpellier 2000–2021; Felix Fabri, Galeere und Karawane. Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land, zum Sinai und nach Ägypten 1483, ed. by Herbert Wiegandt, Stuttgart 1996.

2 For Fabri's life and works, see Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrim & Preacher. The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502), Oxford 2014; Stefan Schröder, Zwischen Christentum und Islam. Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri, Berlin 2009; Folker Reichert and Alexander Rosenstock (eds.), Die Welt des Frater Felix Fabri, Weißenhorn 2018.

3 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 94–95.

4 Geraldine Heng, War / Empire: Race Figures in the International Contest: The Islamic 'Saracen', in: Ead., The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages, Cambridge 2018, pp. 110–180, here p. 112. For the etymology of the term see Ekkehart Rotter, Sarazenen, in: Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, vol. 26 (2004), pp. 461–465; John V. Tolan, Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination, New York 2002, pp. 10–12. For a critical and fitting assessment of the use of the term in research literature see Shokoofeh Rajabzadeh, The Depoliticized Saracen and Muslim Erasure, in: Literature Compass 16,9–10 (2019), pp. 1–8.

most high-ranking fellow, who died the night before.[5] The description of the death and burial of Count John of Solms and of the pilgrims' grief increases the sharp contrast between the pious Christian pilgrims and the unrestrained rejoicing Muslims. Fabri, moreover, alluded to the norms of his Christian faith, where the period of fasting was supposed to serve inner purification and catharsis. According to Fabri, the Muslims, in contrast, perverted this season into its total opposite. In this way, Fabri took up a familiar stereotype of the 'Muslim Other' outlined in numerous polemical writings by medieval Christian authors.[6]

It was only through such vivid comparisons with Fabri's own and commonly held Christian beliefs that the described practices of the Muslims were defined as 'Other' – and in this case were vehemently dismissed. By accentuating that he was an eyewitness to the celebrations, he sought to verify this stereotype and thus contributed to building or to strengthening a cultural border between Christians and infidels. The debauchery of the 'Muslim Other' is juxtaposed to the 'Christian Self', since Fabri depicts himself as unshaken by the temptations of the foreign and exotic surroundings. His description transmits the message that, as a devout pilgrim, Fabri acted ideally and fulfilled the expectation of behaving according to his own cultural norms. Last but not least, by referring to Augustine he displays his learnedness and finds support for the disapproval of public plays, or at least of the pagan theatrical compositions described by Augustine's 'City of God'.[7] The scene observed in Alexandria can therefore also be seen as a moral reminder to the readers of Fabri's report to amend comparable wrongdoings in the Christian world.

One might still wonder, however, why Fabri devoted so much space to describing the customs of the Muslims in the first place? What role do such passages have in a travelogue to the Holy Land that should focus foremost on the description of the sacred places visited during the journey? And are Fabri's descriptions representative of the genre of the pilgrimage report as a whole? The aim of this chapter is to analytically study the encounter with the 'Muslim Other' in the genre of Latin pilgrimage reports to the Holy Land and to reflect upon the meaning of statements on Muslims and their faith.

This will be done by introducing the reciprocal relationship between the 'Other' and the 'Self' (section 2), before focusing on the 'Muslim Other' and providing a rough

5 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, p. 203.

6 The literature on medieval images of the 'Muslim Other' is vast. For further references, see Tolan (note 4); Id., Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European eyes in the Middle Ages, Gainesville 2013; Norman Daniel, Islam and the West: The Making of an Image, Edinburgh 1960; Michelina Di Cesare, The Pseudo-Historical Image of the Prophet Muhammad in Medieval Latin Literature: A Repertory, Berlin 2012.

7 Fabri referred to chapter 32 of the first book, but what actually comes closer to his rendering is chapter 4 of the second book. See Saint Augustine, City of God. Books I–VII (Writings of Saint Augustine 6), Washington 2008, pp. 68–69 and 79–80. For Augustine's context see Jennifer Herdt, The Theater of the Virtues: Augustine's Critique of Pagan Mimesis, in: James Wetzel (ed.), Augustine's City of God. A Critical Guide, Cambridge 2012, pp. 111–129.

overview of the parallels and dissimilarities in the reports and of how material on Islam and the Muslims from further sources was utilized and elaborated over time (section 3). The relation of Latin pilgrimage reports to accounts written in the vernacular, moreover, shows that the writers adjusted the texts to the audiences they wanted to address (section 4). Largely based on Fabri's 'Evagatorium', I then outline the different functions of the 'Muslim Other' that range from depicting the Muslims as a hostile and mortal enemy, as misguided and backward people, or as a tool sent by God to punish the Christians for their sins, to the noble 'Muslim Other' mirroring the failures of the 'Christian Self' at home and to a people living in an alluring, exotic environment (section 5). Employing the 'Muslim Other' for these different purposes has the overall intention of informing and educating the reader, providing the intended audiences with travel instructions, moral guidelines, and entertaining tales. The travel reports, however, also include statements that cannot be reduced to one specific objective with regard to the communication circuits between the authors of a pilgrimage report and its intended readership. They might give a glimpse of the relations between the pilgrims and the Muslims in 'real life' and thus point to a cultural encounter that, similar to contact systems of trade and diplomacy, is less defined by religious differences (section 6).

2 The 'Other' and the 'Self' in Pilgrimage Reports

According to the definition of J.-F. Staszak, "[O]therness is the result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ('Us', the 'Self') constructs one or many dominated out-groups ('Them', the 'Other') by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined – presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination."[8] The initial in-group in our case is the author[9] of a pilgrimage report and the readers, the intended audiences that he wished to address. The out-groups consist of, first, all the persons a pilgrim encountered on his journey or, more precisely, all the persons the author transforming the traveller's experiences into a written travelogue considered and referred to as somehow different. These include fellow travellers and other Catholic Christians the pilgrims met for instance in Venice (usually the starting point for the passage to the Holy Land in late medieval times),[10] followers of other

8 Jean-François Staszak, Other / Otherness, in: International Encyclopedia of Human Geography, vol. 8 (2009), pp. 43–47, here p. 42.

9 The author does not necessarily have to be the traveller. In other cases, one has to differentiate between the author of a report and scribes who not only copied but also redacted and / or translated the text, leading sometimes to considerable changes. In the following, the male form of the personal pronoun is used for the author, even though a few women are known (such as Margery Kempe) who at least participated in the process of writing a pilgrimage report.

10 For Venice and the depiction of the Venetians in the reports, see Andrea Denke, Venedig als Station und Erlebnis auf den Reisen der Jerusalempilger im späten Mittelalter (Historegio 4), Remshalden 2001; Schröder (note 2), pp. 104–125 and 205–225.

Christian denominations such as Greek Orthodox Christians and several miaphysitic Christians (e.g. Syrian Orthodox, Ethiopian, and Coptic Christians), as well as Jews and Muslims. It includes persons of different social rank as well as ethnic groups, ranging from people coming from other European regions to nomadic Bedouins, black-skinned people from Africa, and Mongols.

In order to describe the encounters in a comprehensible way for the recipients of his text, the author of a pilgrimage report had to use the 'Self' as a starting point. He compared the physical appearances, languages, religious customs, and social practices experienced on the way with his own culture.[11] And in order to explain the cultural encounters, the author relied on textual conventions, metaphors, and analogies that had to be familiar to the readers. As Michael Harbsmeier has pointed out, travelogues are always to be read as a cultural self-portrait of the narrator.[12] The experiences of 'Otherness' displayed in pilgrimage reports and travel reports in general are, therefore, filtered by the conditions, attitudes, values, and learning of the native culture of the authors.[13] They directed the view both of the traveller during his journey and of the writer who, after the return, composed a narrative of the journey with an intended audience in mind. In this discursive and reciprocal process of outlining parallels and differences, the 'Self' and the 'Other' are defined. The author inevitably generated cultural borders between what was regarded as familiar and ordinary and what has been classified as unknown, different, or even abnormal. Constructing and using the 'Other' based on the conceptual framework of the 'Self' means, however, that the author was seldom able to see the 'Other' as an autonomous object that is based on its own distinctive principles.

How the 'Self' and the 'Other' were displayed in the reports was shaped by various further factors. On the one hand, it depended on the settings in which a cultural

11 For a seminal theoretical framework of the reciprocal relation between the 'Other' and the 'Self' in pre-modern historiographical sources, see François Hartog, The Mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History (The New Historicism 5), Berkeley 1988.

12 Michael Harbsmeier, Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen. Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reisebeschreibungen, in: Antoni Mączak and Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (eds.), Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 21), Wolfenbüttel 1982, pp. 1–31, here pp. 6–7.

13 Hans Erich Bödeker, Arnd Bauerkämper and Bernhard Struck, Einleitung. Reisen als kulturelle Praxis, in: Arnd Bauerkämper, Hans Erich Bödeker and Bernhard Struck (eds.), Die Welt erfahren. Reisen als kulturelle Begegnung von 1780 bis heute, Frankfurt a. M., New York 2004, pp. 9–30, here p. 15; Peter J. Brenner, Die Erfahrung der Fremde. Zur Entwicklung einer Wahrnehmungsform in der Geschichte des Reiseberichts, in: Id. (ed.), Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur, Frankfurt a. M. 1989, pp. 14–49, here p. 15. See also Jürgen Osterhammel, Distanzerfahrung. Darstellungsweisen des Fremden im 18. Jahrhundert, in: Hans-Joachim König (ed.), Der europäische Beobachter außereuropäischer Kulturen. Zur Problematik der Wirklichkeitswahrnehmung (Zeitschrift für historische Forschung. Beiheft 7), Berlin 1989, pp. 9–42, here p. 31: "Repräsentationen des Fremden [sind] nie photographisch exakte ‚Bilder', sondern immer durch vorgängige Wahrnehmungsraster gebrochene Konstrukte."

encounter took place. Given that most of the late medieval pilgrims who visited the sacred places stayed only briefly in the Holy Land, travelled in groups, and were guided by Franciscan monks and escorted by Mamluks, few contact situations with the local population occurred in the first place. And if there was cultural contact, it often took place in an atmosphere of mutual distrust that sometimes led to insults, harassments, and violent attacks on both sides.[14] The Franciscan guardians, moreover, warned against and / or prohibited the pilgrims from actively engaging with the locals, particularly non-Christians, and played an important role in shaping the pilgrims' views about the 'Other' both by accompanying the pilgrims to the sacred places (often now controlled by Muslims) and by giving them access to their library that included authoritative works on Islam and further religious communities living in the Holy Land.[15] On the other hand, the definition of the 'Self' and the 'Other' depended on the narrator's individual education, his knowledge, and the capacity to express in written form what he had experienced. He described what he had seen and heard on the way by taking into account available texts by other travellers and scholars that offered additional material on the 'Other'. In purely practical ways, it also depended on whether the traveller was able to make notes during the voyage that could be used as a foundation for writing a report even several years after the actual pilgrimage.

In addition, the motives for writing as well as the expectations of the intended readers had an effect on shaping the travelogue and, consequently, the images of the 'Self' and the 'Other'. When Felix Fabri, for instance, promoted the idea that his text should be copied and made available for friars at other monasteries (including Franciscan convents),[16] he wrote in a more personal style and included some intimate details of his journey. Therefore, he shared his supposed feelings, ranging from fear and awe to joy and wonder, with his readers, turning himself into a protagonist of the journey who could be used as a role model of a pilgrim who accomplished the task of reaching the Holy Land, but who was on numerous occasions tested on his way, struggling and sometimes failing with regard to the moral and spiritual dimension of a pilgrimage. Bernhard of Breidenbach (c. 1434/40–1497), in contrast, decided from the start to publish his 'Peregrinatio in Terra Sanctam' in print.[17] Addressing much broader reading circles, he left out most of his personal cultural encounters and

14 Poignantly characterized by Folker Reichert as "eine Art Kleinkrieg mit ‚schmutzigen Riten'". See Folker Reichert, Pilger und Muslime im Heiligen Land. Formen des Kulturkonflikts im späten Mittelalter, in: Burckhard Dücker and Rolf Kloepfer (eds.), Kritik und Geschichte der Intoleranz, Heidelberg 2000, pp. 3–21, here p. 12.

15 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, pp. 213–214; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, pp. 249–250. For the role of the Franciscans, see also Michele Campopiano, Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrims' Guidebooks: Some Examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion, in: Al-Masāq 24,1 (2012), pp. 75–89.

16 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 5.

17 Bernhard of Breidenbach, Peregrinatio in terram sanctam, Mainz 1486; Id., Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam. Frühneuhochdeutscher Text und Übersetzung, ed. by Isolde Mozer, Berlin, New York 2010.

established a more official tone to his text, probably to corroborate the status of his report as an authoritative overview of the Holy Land. In addition, he combined his travelogue with a call for reforms and for a new Crusade.[18] Accordingly, the cultural encounter with the 'Other' was displayed differently and dissimilarities with the 'Self' were sometimes even fabricated in order to influence the reader's understanding and expectations in particular ways.[19]

As a result of the various factors, the author of a pilgrimage report was flexible in defining the in- and out-groups and in drawing cultural borders. The in-group could at times embrace 'Christianitas' as a whole, the people of a certain 'nation', region, or city, or just include the small 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson) of the travel group.[20] Defining in- and out-groups involves simplifications and socially deep-anchored stereotypes often understood as fixed and inherent characteristics. They frequently include negative prejudices, presenting the out-groups as inferior, roguish, or hostile in order to create a positive identity for the in-group.[21] Such extreme notions in particular make it obvious that the process of 'Othering' also contributes to the formation of 'emotional communities' (Barbara H. Rosenwein).[22] The topics used in the process of 'Othering' the out-groups (e.g. clothing, eating habits, sexuality, gender roles, forms of worshipping) recurrently spark emotional reactions in the reader, and were deliberately intended to do so. Being appalled by the customs of the out-groups contributed to strengthening the identity of the 'Self'. At the same time, references to the in-groups and the native country could invoke delightful or nostalgic feelings.

18 For further references see Stefan Schröder, Between Pilgrimage and Reform: Bernhard of Breidenbach's Travelogue to the Holy Land (1486) as Printed Paradigm, Mirror of Princes and Memory of the Crusades, in: Teemu Immonen and Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser (eds.), Golden Leaves and Burned Books: Religious Reform and Conflict in the Long European Reformation (Cultural History – Kulttuurihistoria 16), Turku 2020, pp. 219–263.

19 Friedrich Wolfzettel, Zum Problem mythischer Strukturen im Reisebericht, in: Xenja von Ertzdorff, Gerhard Giesemann and Rudolf Schulz (eds.), Erkundung und Beschreibung der Welt. Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte (Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis 34), Amsterdam, New York 2003, pp. 3–30, here p. 4.

20 Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London 1983. I use his term in a broader sense beyond his focus on the rise and use of nationalism in (early) modern times, hence arguing that there is always an imagined ideal community at the very beginning of the process to define its identity in order to unite a large group of people who do not know each other face to face.

21 For definitions of terms such as identity, stereotype and prejudice, see Alois Hahn, ‚Partizipative' Identitäten, in: Herfried Münkler and Bernd Ladwig (eds.), Furcht und Faszination. Facetten der Fremdheit, Berlin 1997, pp. 115–158; Klaus Roth, ‚Bilder in den Köpfen'. Stereotypen, Mythen, Identitäten aus ethnologischer Sicht, in: Valeria Heuberger, Arnold Suppan and Elisabeth Vyslonzil (eds.), Das Bild vom Anderen. Identitäten, Mentalitäten, Mythen und Stereotypen in multiethnischen europäischen Regionen, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1999, pp. 21–43.

22 Barbara H. Rosenwein, Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages, Ithaca NY 2006. See also Valtrová in this volume.

As Jürgen Osterhammel has pointed out in the context of analysing early modern sources, various thematic areas or discourses can generally be utilized to draw cultural borders between the 'Self' and the 'Other': (1) ethnography, (2) theology, (3) law and politics, (4) history, and (5) biology and 'race'.[23] In regard to pilgrimage reports, the topic of religion is the most prominent one, but one can find examples for all other discourses as well. The dominance of drawing cultural differences along religious borders is not necessarily because most of the authors – with few exceptions – were clerics, but because their status as Christian pilgrims and their references to the places and events most essential for their faith required a discussion of the differences between Latin Christianity and all belief systems that have been classified as different. Nonetheless, the 'Other' and the 'Self' did not have to form a black-and-white dichotomy between positively connoted aspects of the 'Self' opposed to negative features of the 'Other'. Despite seeing and describing the out-groups usually as static and monolithic entities, the 'Other' always "remains ambiguous in value and meaning. It is both desired and denied. The 'Other' can be uncanny, terrifying, and fascinating" at the same time.[24] The context of the encounter and the different uses of the 'Other' did not necessarily result in creating antagonistic binaries. In addition, the pilgrims did not only contrast the 'Others' with the in-group, but also compared them with each other and sometimes ranked them in a hierarchical way according to their assigned level of cultural evolution and / or physical attributes (e.g. inferior or barbaric) and their religion (e.g. pagan or heretic).[25]

The spatial distance between the living places of the in- and the out-groups is an important factor in assessing the 'Other'. Encountering the nomadic Bedouins for the first time, Fabri explicitly stated that "they were fierce, savage, and terrible to look upon" and concluded that in comparison to "our [sic] Moors and Saracens, whom hitherto we had thought to be scarce human, we regarded the latter as civilized, pious men, almost the same as ourselves".[26] Seeing a group of people he classified as Mongols being offered for sale at a slave market in Cairo, he determined that they were as ugly as beasts and the most repellent among all the people living in the East.[27]

Based on the available 'knowledge' of the in-group, the encounter with out-groups can thus at times range from a 'minor' and 'medium' to a 'vast transcendence'

23 Jürgen Osterhammel, Kulturelle Grenzen in der Expansion Europas, in: Saeculum 46,1 (1995), pp. 101–138, here p. 136.

24 Pamela Sue Anderson, The Other, in: Nicholas Adams, George Pattison and Graham Ward (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Theology and Modern European Thought, Oxford 2013, pp. 83–104, here p. 96.

25 Steam bath: Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 218, and vol. 2, p. 368; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, p. 256, and vol. 2,2, pp. 437–438. On Muslims: Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 323; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,2, p. 384.

26 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 227; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, p. 268.

27 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, p. 40.

of 'Otherness'.[28] This assumed that the social order, lifestyle, and system of values of other Europeans was more familiar than the 'Muslim Other', and that the 'Muslim Other' after centuries of interaction was, in turn, more familiar than that of the 'Mongol Other' or even the 'monstrous races' located at the edges of the world. In following and outlining images developed in classic Greek and Roman sources, medieval geographic and cartographical works as well as reports of travel to the Far East frequently implied a more fundamental experience of 'Otherness' by describing these regions as being populated by ferocious beasts and exotic people that barely seemed human.[29] However, the increasing spatial distance between the native country of the travellers and the homelands of other cultures does not always indicate a cultural gap between the civilized 'West' and the barbaric and marvellous 'East'. The 'East' was where the Christian kingdom of Prester John was located, who was believed to be coming to the aid of Christians fighting the infidels. The 'East' was also where China was situated, described for example by Marco Polo as a country of high culture and great wealth. The pilgrims occasionally referred to Asia and its inhabitants to place the Holy Land, as one particular region of this continent, in space and time. But it is the 'Muslim Other' that is given specific attention in several late medieval Latin reports.

3 The 'Muslim Other' in Latin Pilgrimage Reports: Topics, Sources, and Structure

Pilgrimage reports from the early and high medieval times often consist of just a description of holy places with little information about the actual journey, the conditions under which it took place, and the cultural encounters of the traveller. This, however, changed in later medieval times. While the meaning of the holy places and the indulgences to be achieved at these sites continue to form the core of the texts, some narrators started to include more detailed and vivid descriptions of all aspects of

28 Marina Münkler and Werner Röcke, Der *ordo*-Gedanke und die Hermeneutik des Fremden im Mittelalter. Die Auseinandersetzung mit den monströsen Völkern des Erdrandes, in: Herfried Münkler (ed.), Die Herausforderung durch das Fremde (Interdisziplinäre Arbeitsgruppen, Forschungsberichte 5), Berlin 1998, pp. 701–766, here pp. 714–715.

29 This is the subject of numerous publications. See, with further references, Marina Münkler, Erfahrung des Fremden. Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 2000; Ead., Experiencing Strangeness: Monstrous People on the Edge of the World as Depicted on Medieval *Mappae mundi,* in: The Medieval History Journal 5 (2002), pp. 195–222; Kim M. Phillips, Before Orientalism. Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510, Philadelphia 2014; Folker Reichert, Begegnungen mit China. Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 15), Sigmaringen 1992; Jean E. Jost, The Exotic and Fabulous East in The Travels of Sir John Mandeville: Understated Authenticity, in: Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge (eds.), East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World, Berlin 2013, pp. 575–594; Rudolf Wittkower, Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters, in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942), pp. 159–197.

the journey. This transformation reflects the changing motives for writing an account of the journey to the Holy Land as well as the changing expectations of the intended audiences. The reports still had to enable the reader to contemplate scripture and to envision Christ's deeds and passion. And many late medieval pilgrim texts relating to the journey to the Holy Land focus simply on the description of the sacred sites.[30] But there was also a demand to provide information on the Holy Land's geography, fauna and flora, history, and present state. The reports were expected to give helpful instructions to travellers who planned to embark on such an enterprise themselves. Through devoting more space to the actual travels, including obstacles and dangerous moments, the pilgrims intended to document the success of the journey and to prove their piety and bravery. Finally, the authors wanted to educate and entertain their audiences, whereas the latter expected both spiritual and moral guidance while also wanting to learn more about alien and exotic worlds abroad.

This move from 'Holy Geography' to 'Palestinography' or rather 'ethnography'[31] led to considering the beliefs, demeanour, and customs of people living overseas. As the ruling and probably largest group of the population living in the Holy Land, Muslims were mentioned in many reports, since the encounter with them became an impacting factor that could define the outcome of the pilgrimage. Moreover, influenced by the extensive anti-Islamic literature outlined over the centuries and the crusading rhetoric that was vastly invigorated in the context of the expanding Ottoman Empire and specifically after the capture of Constantinople in 1453,[32] some pilgrims felt the need to include elaborate descriptions of the followers of Islam and to depict the 'Muslim Other' as the most dangerous antagonist to the 'Christian Self'. Among the Latin pilgrimage reports at the end of the 13th and 14th centuries providing detailed information about the 'Muslim Other' are, for instance, the texts of Burchard of Mount Sion (travelling in the 1280s), Riccoldo of Monte Croce (c. 1288–1302), Symon Semeonis (1323), Jacobo of Verona (c. 1335), and the Vulgate Latin version of the famous 'Book' of the enigmatic John Mandeville. Of the 15th-century pilgrims to the Holy Land, the Latin reports of Jean Adorno (travelling in 1470), Alessandro Ariosto

30 For the great variety of the genre pilgrim texts and their narrative structures see Susanna Fischer, Erzählte Bewegung. Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert) (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 52), Leiden 2019.

31 See Aryeh Grabois, Islam and Muslims as Seen by Christian Pilgrims in Palestine in the Thirteenth Century, in: Asian and African Studies 20,3 (1986), pp. 309–327, here p. 312; Sylvia Schein, From 'Holy Geography' to 'Ethnography'. 'Otherness' in the Descriptions of the Holy Land in the Middle Ages, in: Ilana Zinguer (ed.), Miroirs de l'altérité et voyages au Proche-Orient. Colloque International de l'Institut d'Histoire et de Civilisation Françaises de l'Université de Haïfa, 1987, Geneva 1991, pp. 115–122, here p. 117.

32 For the manifold literature on the Turkish Fear and the demonization of the Turk see with further references Almut Höfert, Turcica, in: David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds.), Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, vol. 7: Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500–1600), Leiden, Boston 2015, pp. 516–531; Paul Srodecki, Antemurale Christianitatis. Zur Genese der Bollwerksrhetorik im östlichen Mitteleuropa an der Schwelle vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit (Historische Studien 508), Husum 2015.

(c. 1475–1478), Paul Walther of Guglingen (1481), Felix Fabri (1480 and 1483), and Bernhard of Breidenbach (1483) stand out for including whole chapters on Islam and Muslims. Further Latin reports such as those by William of Boldensele (c. 1334), Ludolf of Sudheim (c. 1336), and William Tzewers (1478) mention Muslims and their beliefs briefly in some passages.[33] Frequently, there are intertextual relations between these reports, with authors shaping their texts by copying parts, taking up and expanding topics, or by just alluding to images and ideas.

The earliest report known that offered a more detailed image of the 'Muslim Other' was written by Thietmar, a German monk, who travelled to the Holy Land around 1217. With his references to Ramadan fasts, the Hajj, Mecca and the tomb of Muhammad, daily prayers and washing rituals, the veiling of women in public, Muslims' hidden consumption of wine, polygamy and images of paradise, Thietmar's account already comprised many aspects recurrently discussed in the later reports.[34] Subsequent pilgrims also included pseudo-biographical descriptions of the Prophet's life and death and thus told about the origin and history of Islam. Moreover, they discussed the Qur'an and Islamic law, the shape of mosques and minarets, as well as the call to prayer, the Arabic language and / or alphabet, the Muslims' 'nature', their clothing and eating habits (e.g. halal butchering, prohibition on eating pork, readymade food kitchens), and the custom of circumcision. In addition, they differentiated between separate groups of Muslims. The term 'Saracens' was used not only to refer to all Muslims, but also to separate the settled population living within or around urban centres from the 'Arabs' as the nomadic Bedouins, the 'Mamluks' as the ruling elite in Egypt and the Holy Land, and the 'Turks' or 'Turkomans' as the subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Sometimes, the pilgrims also showed some understanding of the distinct religious groups and movements of Islam (e.g. Sunnis and Shiites, Sufis) and included detailed descriptions of political, economic, and social structures (e.g. on the Sultan and his court, the strength and training of the Mamluk army, trade with spices and exotic animals, marriage and divorce, inheritance law).

The pilgrims based their descriptions on observations made during their journey and by referring to oral sources (e.g. local Franciscans, merchants, translators, guides, and Mamluks from European countries who converted to Islam).[35] But written texts that shaped the image of the 'Muslim Other' had a considerable impact on

33 With a systematic search, more reports dealing with the 'Muslim Other' written by authors from further geographic regions could be added to the list. Given the loss of sources over time and the state of current research on pilgrim texts, the focus on sources from Italian and German speaking areas does not reflect a more or lesser interest in the 'Muslim Other' in other parts of Europe.

34 Thietmar, Peregrinatio: ad fidem codicis Hamburgensis, ed. by J. C. M. Laurent, Hamburg 1857; Thietmar, Peregrinatio. Pilgerreise nach Palästina und auf den Sinai den Jahren 1217/1218, ed. by U. Koppitz, in: Concilium medii aevi 14 (2011), pp. 121–221; Di Cesare (note 6), pp. 206–208.

35 Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, Dolmetscher und Dragomane in Palästina und Ägypten. Über sprachkundige Galeerensklaven, Renegaten und Mamluken im ausgehenden Mittelalter, in: Das Mittelalter 2,1 (1997), pp. 47–65.

the pilgrims' writings as well, forming another dimension of inter-, para-, hyper-, and meta-textual references within the corpus of pilgrim texts. In general, these sources comprise Crusade chronicles, calls for a Crusade, religious treatises, and the *chansons de geste* that describe the cultural encounter with the Muslims in the context of chivalric and courtly values. Thietmar was influenced, for instance, by Burchard of Strasbourg's (d. after 1194) 'Itinerarium' describing a diplomatic mission to Egypt in 1175.[36] Burchard of Mount Sion might have been aware of Thietmar but instead followed – like many later pilgrims – the popular 'Historia Orientalis' of Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240).[37] He stated that he also studied the Qur'an, but in fact it is unlikely he could read Arabic, in contrast to Riccoldo, who learned the language properly during his stay in Baghdad and was able to study the holy book in its original language.[38] Like Symon Semeonis, Burchard might have relied on the first Latin translation commissioned by Petrus Venerabilis in the first half of the 12th century.[39]

The exhaustive sections dealing with Islam and the Muslims in Breidenbach's 'Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam' were based on multiple sources and were probably not written by Breidenbach himself, but by the Dominican Martin Rath.[40] One main source for them was the pilgrimage report of Paul Walther of Guglingen, whose pseudo-biographical description of Muhammad's life shares similarities with the version of Breidenbach / Rath.[41] Yet ultimately, both reports were also based on the

36 On Thietmar's depiction of the Muslims, see Philip Booth, Thietmar. Person, Place and Text in Thirteenth-Century Holy Land Pilgrimage, Ph.D. Diss. University of Lancaster, 2017, pp. 224–236.

37 For Burchard's report and his sources, see Burchard of Mount Sion, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, ed. by John R. Bartlett, Oxford, New York 2019, pp. cxxvi–cxxxv; Jonathan Rubin, Burchard of Mount Sion's Descriptio Terrae Sanctae: A Newly Discovered Extended Version, in: Crusades (2014), pp. 173–190; Id., A Missing Link in European Travel Literature: Burchard of Mount Sion's Description of Egypt, in: Mediterranea. International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge 3 (2018), pp. 55–90.

38 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre. Traduction, ed. and tr. by René Kappler (Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge 4), Paris 1997; Rita George-Tvrtković, A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq. Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam (Medieval Voyaging 1), Turnhout 2012. For his language abilities see Thomas E. Burman, How an Italian Friar Read his Arabic Qur'an, in: Dante Studies 125 (2007), pp. 89–105; Id., Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560, Philadelphia 2007.

39 Symon Semeonis, Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terrum Sanctam, ed. by Mario Esposito, Dublin 1960, p. 12.

40 Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Mozer (note 17). The information is given by Felix Fabri, who suggested that Breidenbach's whole travelogue was written by Rath. Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, pp. 347, 353.

41 For the standard edition of the report see Paul Walther of Guglingen, Fratris Pauli Waltheri Guglingensis Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam, ed. by Matthias Sollweck (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 192), Tübingen 1892. However, Sollweck omitted Paul Walther of Guglingen's statements on Islam (see p. 293) as given in the sole known manuscript Neuburg an der Donau, Staatliche Bibliothek, 04/Hs. INR 10, pp. 281–303.

'Speculum maius' of Vincent of Beauvais (d. c. 1264) and the 'Legenda aurea' of Jacobus of Voragine (d. 1298) who, in turn, extracted their chapters on the Prophet's life from the Jewish convert Petrus Alfonsi's (11/12th cent.) 'Dialogus contra Iudaeus'. This extremely influential dialogue between his former 'Jewish Self' Moses and his 'Christian Self' Petrus includes a chapter in which Moses asks Petrus why he did not convert to Islam rather than Christianity. This is the starting point for Petrus to give a negative assessment of Muhammad's life followed by a detailed discussion of the theological differences between the two faiths.[42] Breidenbach / Rath went beyond Guglingen and other authors of pilgrimage reports by making stronger use of this latter part as well. They transformed Petrus Alfonsi's dialogue into a scholastic treatise in which they systematically rebutted the doctrines of the Qur'an in 12 lengthy subchapters.

As the case of Breidenbach / Rath shows, most authors collected their sources and wrote up their experiences after they returned from the Holy Land. However, some pilgrims, like Paul Walther of Guglingen and Alessandro Ariosto a few years earlier, might have already gathered material during the journey while exploring the Franciscan library in Jerusalem.[43] In addition, Ariosto probably relied on a Latin redaction of 'The Book of John Mandeville'.[44] Ariosto's second major work, a geographical and historical description of the Holy Land ('Topographia Terrae Promissionis') became a main source for William Tzewers's report.[45] Felix Fabri, finally, had knowledge of all seminal works on the topic, including Breidenbach's report, Petrus Alfonsi's 'Dialogus', the treatise of George of Hungary on the Turks, and Alphonso de Spina's (d. c. 1491) 'Fortalitium fidei'. Moreover, having written the 'Evagatorium', Fabri came across the 'Cribratio alcorano' of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1461) and worked in additional information on the Qur'an in the margins of his manuscript.[46] The pilgrims certainly utilized even more anti-Islamic texts circulating at the time, but that must be examined case by case in a thorough comparison.

However, the writers of the pilgrimage reports did not follow their sources closely at all times. In contrast, they were quite creative in extracting and reconfiguring the information they found in written sources with their experiences.

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42 Petrus Alfonsi, Dialogus, ed. by Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, Darko Senekoviv and Thomas Ziegler, Florence 2019. For more on this work see John V. Tolan, Petrus Alfonsi, in: David Thomas and Alex Mallett (eds.), Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, vol. 3 (1050–1200), Leiden, Boston 2011, pp. 356–362.

43 For the Franciscan library in Jerusalem, see Michele Campopiano, St. Francis and the Sultan. The Franciscans and the Holy Land (14th–17th centuries), in: The Muslim World 109,1/2 (2019), pp. 79–89.

44 Alessandro Ariosto, Itinerarium (1476–1479), ed. by Fabio Uliana (Oltramare 12), Alessandria 2007. Fabio Uliana, Sulle fonti dell' 'Itinerarium' di Alessandro Ariosto, in: Levia Gravia 4 (2002), pp. 55–65, here pp. 62–64.

45 William Tzewers, Itinerarius terre sancte, ed. and trans. by Gritje Hartmann (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 33), Wiesbaden 2004.

46 For references, see Schröder (note 2), pp. 281–282.

Nonetheless, by incorporating such 'knowledge' the pilgrims contributed to popularizing the images of the 'Muslim Other' given in these sources. Since some of the reports were widely copied as well, they became an important starting place for readers interested in the topic. Thietmar's report, for instance, is extant in 11 manuscripts; Burchard's 'Descriptio' in the long version that includes the statements on the 'Muslim Other' is preserved in more than 60 copies and was printed several times up to the 17th century. It influenced many later pilgrims, including Felix Fabri, who claims that he took Burchard's text with him when travelling to the Holy Land.[47] Bernhard of Breidenbach's report was published in print in 1486, followed by a German translation some months later, a Dutch version in 1488 and several later editions including translations into French and Spanish.[48] Not all reports, of course, were widely received. Riccoldo's 'Liber peregrinationis' is known in seven manuscripts, which can be interpreted as a notable distribution. But it was his 'Liber contra legem sarracenorum', known from 28 manuscripts, that was more significant in the end. According to Thomas E. Burman, it was "probably the most influential Latin treatise against Islam in the later Middle Ages", being printed several times and translated into different languages, among them a German translation by Martin Luther.[49] The text of Jacobo of Verona, in contrast, seems to have been largely unknown, since it survives in only two copies and a German translation preserved in two manuscripts from the 15th century.[50] The 'Itinerarium' of Ariosto equally survived in three copies, Jean Adorno's report in two.[51] Only a single and partly fragmented manuscript each is known of the reports of Symon Semeonis and Paul Walther of Guglingen.

Looking at the reports more closely reveals differences in the images of the 'Muslim Other' that result not only from the factors outlined above and the particular sources that have been used. They also differ in terms of structure and emphasis. Thietmar's and Symon Semeonis's references to Muhammad, Islam, and Muslims are largely part of chapters in which they referred to their stays at Damascus (Thietmar) and at Alexandria and Cairo (Symon Semeonis).[52] Burchard of Mount

47 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 382–383: Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,2, pp. 477–478.

48 Hugh William Davies, Bernhard von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land, 1483–4: A Bibliography, London 1911.

49 Thomas E. Burman, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, in: David Thomas and Alex Mallett (eds.), Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, vol. 4 (1200–1350), Leiden, Boston 2012, pp. 678–691, here p. 689.

50 Jacobo of Verona, Liber peregrinationis, ed. by Ugo Monneret de Villard (Nuovo Ramusio 1), Rome 1950.

51 Jean Adorno, Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470–1471), ed. by Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groër (Sources d'histoire médiévale), Paris 1978, pp. 18–20.

52 Thietmar, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Laurent (note 34), pp. 11–13 and 49–50 (description of Egypt and the regions beyond in which Thietmar mentioned Muhammad's tomb in Mecca); Symon Semeonis, 'Itinerarium', ed. Esposito (note 39), pp. 50–55, 58–65, and 90–93. Generally, descriptions of cities in travelogues are frequently a starting point for authors to reflect on foreign and alien

Sion, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, and most of the later pilgrims of the 15th century, in contrast, chose another way. In addition to mentioning Muslims here and there, they incorporated separate chapters in which they systematically described the different nations that dwell in the Holy Land and / or in the East. This also applies to Ariosto's 'Itinerarium', which is less an itinerary than a dialogue between him and his cousin in which they, among other things, discuss the differences between Islam and Christianity.[53]

The idea of a more systematic approach might be related to the way of mentioning and briefly describing the Christian denominations that preside over altars in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[54] Burchard's chapter, moreover, is in line with the systematic organization of his whole report, in which he divides the Holy Land into seven parts in order to give an encyclopaedic overview of its geography, biota, and inhabitants. His chapter 'De habitatoribus Terre Sancte' (or 'De variis religionibus Terre Sancte' according to other manuscripts) follows the geographical overview and includes short paragraphs on Latin Christians, Muslims, Syrians, Greek Orthodox, and other Eastern Christians as well as Bedouins, Turks, and Assassins.[55] Many similar groups are part of Riccoldo of Monte Croce's 'Liber peregrinationis'. They echo his vast travels beyond the Holy Land and his overall motive to missionize among the infidels that compelled him to gather information on the religious differences to argue against their beliefs.[56] In comparison to Burchard, he devoted far more space to the Muslims. Splitting the section into a first part that praises the Muslim works of perfection and a second that condemns their mendacious laws, Riccoldo gave an almost complete image of Islamic doctrines and customs.[57]

Some writers of the 15th century shared this systematic approach. Jean Adorno provided a detailed description of the Muslims and the Bedouins.[58] Even more extensive is Breidenbach / Rath's segment on the "customs, rituals and errors" of the

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cultures. They occasionally structured their portrayal similar to the genre of *laudes urbium* in which information on the population, economy, government, main buildings, fortifications, etc. are given in a systematic way. See Schröder (note 2), pp. 101–102.

53 Ariosto, 'Itinerarium', ed. Fabio Uliana (note 44), esp. chapters XIV and LIX–LXX, pp. 64–71 and 237–278.

54 Fabri provided one of the most detailed descriptions of the various Christian communities in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, pp. 347–353; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,2, pp. 430–439.

55 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 37), pp. 190–199; Burchard of Mount Sion, Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, in: Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor, ed. by Johann C.M. Laurent, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1873, pp. 1–94, here pp. 88–94.

56 See also George-Tvrtković (note 38), pp. 31–34. For further references regarding the Dominican and Franciscan missionary efforts see Anne Müller, Bettelmönche in islamischer Fremde: institutionelle Rahmenbedingungen franziskanischer und dominikanischer Mission in muslimischen Räumen des 13. Jahrhunderts, Münster 2002.

57 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Kappler (note 38), pp. 154–201; George-Tvrtković (note 38), pp. 210–227.

58 Adorno, 'Itinerarium', ed. Heers and de Groër (note 51), pp. 66–97.

different people living in the Holy Land at the end of the first part of the travelogue that comprises the pilgrimage to the Holy Land (the second part deals with the journey to Mount Sinai). The quite polemical and insulting description of Muslims at the beginning of this section is more than twice as long as the chapters on the other communities (Jews, as well as Greek Orthodox, Eastern, and Latin Christians).[59] It is followed by further lamentations on the desolate state of the East and Charles III's vision of hell ('Visio Karoli Grossi') in order to show the dramatic and dangerous situation that would need immediate efforts to reform 'Christianitas' and to liberate the Holy Land.[60] The chapters on the people living in the Holy Land are each introduced by a woodcut produced by Erhard Reuwich, a professional painter engaged by Breidenbach to generate visual evidence of the journey. The woodcut showing a group of three men and two women in 'oriental' clothing, possibly inspired by sketches of Muslims that Reuwich encountered in Venice,[61] is an impressive example of the efforts within the genre of pilgrimage reports that produced 'Otherness' by using a visual medium (Fig. 1).

Felix Fabri included a systematic chapter on the people that dwell in Jerusalem (*Haec gentes hodie habitant in Ierusalem*) as well. Like Breidenbach / Rath, Fabri placed this chapter at the end of his report on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He stated that he used the reports of Burchard of Mount Sion and Bernhard of Breidenbach in addition to Vincent of Beauvais and the 'Chronicon' of Antonius of Florence. Fabri's chapter is shorter than that of Breidenbach / Rath, but extending the list he differentiated between 16 communities (several Islamic groups, Greek Orthodox and Eastern Christians, Jews, and Latin Christians).[62] Moreover, he incorporated descriptions of his cultural encounters with the 'Muslim Other' as well as additional fundamental information on Muslims, Muhammad, and Islam in numerous further passages. Fabri reported his travel experiences as day-to-day events which are frequently enlarged to discuss particular issues – which explains Fabri's decision to entitle his report 'Evagatorium' (from *evagare* = to digress / deviate).[63]

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59 Bernhard of Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio' (note 17), fol. 56r–75r (Muslims), 75v–89r (Jews, Greeks, etc.). Bernhard of Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Mozer (note 17), pp. 284–409 (Muslims), 410–451 (Jews, Greeks, etc.).

60 Schröder (note 18), pp. 249–252.

61 Frederike Timm, Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs. Die ‚Peregrinatio in terram sanctam' (1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift, Stuttgart 2006, esp. pp. 195–200. See also Elizabeth Ross, Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book. Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* from Venice to Jerusalem, Pennsylvania 2014, pp. 74–75, 83–85, who argues that Reuwich's woodcut was used as model by the famous Venetian painters Vittore Carpaccio and Giovanni and Gentile Bellini.

62 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, pp. 323–328. Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,2, pp. 384–392. Regarding the Islamic groups, he differentiated between Muslims, Turks, Bedouins, Mamluks, Assassins, and 'Mahometans', characterizing the latter as an obscure group following a secret law very different from that of the Muslims.

63 See, for instance, Fabri's chapters on the prohibition of wine and of Islamic 'clerics' as part of his description of Egypt. Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 83–105.

Fig. 1 | Illustration of a group of female and male Muslims and table of the Arabic alphabet in Bernhard of Breidenbach, Eyn vorred yn diß nachgende werck der fart vber mer zu de[m] heiligen grab vnsers herren ihesu cristi gen Jerusalem, Mainz: Erhard Reuwich 1486, fol. 90r. (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc. c.a. 1727, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

4 Modifications in Latin Reports and Relation to Vernacular Travelogues

Before further elaborating on the image and functions of the 'Muslim Other' in particular pilgrimage reports, it is important to take into account modifications and variants within the manuscript tradition. As the result of changes, additions, or omissions made by the author himself or by scribes while copying the report or preparing it for print, the descriptions of Muslims can vary within a single author's work, sometimes resulting in conflicting images of the 'Muslim Other'. One example is the text of Burchard of Mount Sion.[64] According to the recent edition of his report, the beginning of the paragraph on the Muslims reads that they claim:

> *Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum maximum prophetarum dicunt, et eum de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, de uirgine natum fatentur; passum et mortuum* ***non*** *negant, sed quando eis placuet dicunt eum ascendisse in celum, et ad dextram Patris sedere, quia filum eum Dei confitentur. Machometum uero sedere ad sinistram dei et* ***nuntium dei ad eos tantum missum*** *dicunt.*
>
> that the Lord Jesus Christ is the greatest of the prophets, and confess that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin. They do *not* deny, however, that he suffered and died, but, when it pleases them, they say that he ascended to heaven, and sits at the Father's right hand, because they confess that he is the Son of God. But they say that Muhammad sits at God's left hand *and that he is God's messenger sent only to them.*[65]

According to the copies on which the 19th-century edition by Johann C. M. Laurent is based, however, the very same passage has a slightly different reading. Here, the Muslims:

> *Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum maximum prophetarum dicunt, et eundem, Spiritu Sancto conceptum, de uirgine natum fatentur.* ***Negant tamen passum et mortuum****, sed quando eis placet dicunt cum ascendisse celum, ad dextram Patris sedere, quia Filium Dei cum confitentur. Machometum uero contendunt sedere ad sinistram eius.*
>
> call our Lord Jesus Christ the greatest of the prophets, and confess that He was conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. *But they deny that He suffered and was buried*, but choose to say that He ascended into heaven, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father, because they

64 See also the contributions of Rubin as well as Ferro and Schonhardt in this volume.

65 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 37), pp. 192–193 (emphasis added).

> admit Him to be the Son of God. But they declare that Muhammad sits on His left hand.[66]

In the first citation, the impression is given that there are almost no fundamental differences between the religions apart from the belief that God sent Muhammad exclusively to the Muslims and that he has a somewhat equal status as a prophet to Jesus. Admitting the conception by the Holy Ghost, the virgin birth, and, at times, the death and resurrection of Jesus means that according to Burchard they agree on some of the core doctrines of Christianity. The statement is not totally wrong, since the Qur'an indeed affirms the virgin birth of Jesus (Sura 19:17–21). However, some Christian conceptions (idea of the Trinity, Jesus as God's son, crucifixion of Jesus) were rejected early on by Islamic authors in their argumentations against Christian theology with the aim of differentiating between the community of 'believers' and the 'people of the book'.[67] Christian authors in their anti-Islamic writings, in turn, used the deviant opinion of Muslims on Jesus's status and on his death as proof of the heretical character of Islam. The same applies to most pilgrimage reports.[68]

The second citation, in contrast, not only omits the idea that Muhammad was a prophet specifically sent to the Muslims, but also says more clearly that the Muslims reject that Jesus died and was buried, therefore also implying that he did not rise from the dead. This rendering, which indeed resembles the Islamic belief that Jesus was replaced by somebody else and ascended into heaven without dying at the cross (Sura 4:157–158), introduces a completely different meaning. It could be explained by different redactions of the text, by changes of particular scribes copying Burchard's text with the aim of either correcting or rigging the statement, and evokes the question of which version represents the wording in the lost archetype.[69] Looking at a very

66 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Laurent (note 55), p. 89 (emphasis added).

67 Stephen R. Burge, The Theological Dynamics of Medieval Christian–Muslim Relations, in: David Thomas (ed.), Routledge Handbook on Christian–Muslim Relations, New York 2017, pp. 207–215; Ian R. Netton, Theology and Christian–Muslim Relations, in: David Thomas (ed.), Routledge Handbook on Christian–Muslim Relations, New York 2017, pp. 311–319; Fred M. Donner, Early Muslims and the Peoples of the Book, in: Herbert Berg (ed.), Routledge Handbook on Early Islam, London 2017, pp. 177–193.

68 Jacobo of Verona, for instance, explicitly stated that while the Muslims admit that Christ is the son of the Virgin Mary (which is a correct assessment), they disprove that Christ is God's son and that he died on the cross. See Jacobo of Verona, ed. Monneret de Villard (note 50), p. 103. As in Mandeville's Vulgate Latin version, Jacobo stated that the Muslims believe that at the moment of Judas's treason and Christ's captivity, they miraculously switched their images, and Judas was crucified instead of Christ. John Mandeville, The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts, ed. by Ian Macleod Higgins, Indianapolis 2011, p. 213.

69 According to Jonathan Rubin, The Manuscript Tradition of Burchard of Mount Sion's Descriptio Terre Sancte, in: The Journal of Mediaeval Latin 30 (2020), pp. 257–286, the manuscripts on which Bartlett (note 37) based his edition are not close to the archetype. For further criticism on the edition see Ingrid Baumgärtner and Eva Ferro, The Holy Land Geography as Emotional Experience. Burchard of Mount Sion's Text and the Movable Map in: Christoph Mauntel (ed.),

similar, but less noticeable passage of Burchard's report, I tend to believe that the second citation might be closer to the friar's original version even when the majority of the preserved copies should support the first citation. In the context of describing the birthplace of St John the Baptist and its veneration by Muslims, the text outlines the differences between the religions by equally asserting that the Muslims "say that Christ is indeed the Word of God, but they deny that he is God".[70]

It is worth mentioning that most of the many 16th-century Latin and German prints of the text transmit the second citation's reading that thus had a more substantial impact in later times. This includes Lucas Brandis's 'Rudimentum novitiorum' of 1475, which interpolates Burchard's long version and is therefore seen as the *editio princeps*. It also includes the Venetian edition of 1519 and the popular collection of travelogues by Simon Grynaeus printed in 1532 and reprinted 12 times until the 18th century.[71] Based on these editions, Sigmund Feyerabend and Michael Herr followed this reading as well. Translating Burchard's text into German, the passage reads that the Muslims "will not affirm that [Jesus] had died and suffered" and "will not affirm that [Jesus] had died and was buried".[72] This example shows that even small changes can have an impact on the image of the 'Muslim Other' and offers glimpses of how the reports were approached and received by later readers / duplicators.

Interventions in the text that led to a different image of the 'Muslim Other' can also be observed in Ludolf of Sudheim's report. His 'De itinere Terre Sancte liber', dedicated to the Bishop of Paderborn, Balduin of Steinfurt, is less a report of his personal experiences of his travels to the East in the 1330s, but rather a description of all regions of the Eastern Mediterranean. Around 30 Latin and ten German manuscripts are preserved in total, and it was actually the first pilgrimage report ever to be published in print in 1468.[73] Like the text of William of Boldensele, another popular

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Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Premodern World (Das Mittelalter. Beihefte 14), Berlin 2021, pp. 247–272, here p. 253. See also the contribution of Rubin in this volume.

70 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 37), pp. 82–83; Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Laurent (note 55), p. 53. According to Bartlett, this passage is significantly modified in a further manuscript. See Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 37), p. 82, fn. 315.

71 Anonymous, Rudimentum Novitiorum, Lübeck 1476, fol. 197ra; Burchard of Mount Sion, Veridica terre sanctae […] descriptio, Venice 1519, s. p.; Simon Grynäus, Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum […], Basel 1532, p. 324.

72 Burchard of Mount Sion, Eigentliche vnd warhaffte Beschreibung […], in: Sigmund Feyerabend (ed.), Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands […], Frankfurt a. M. 1584, fol. 464v: *Diese erkennen Christum auch vor einen grossen Propheten / vnd daß er vom heyligen Geist empfangen / vnd von der Jungfrauwen Marien geboren sey / woellen aber nicht daß er gestorben oder gelitten hab* […]. Grynaeus, Simon, Die New Welt der Landschaften […], trans. by Michael Herr, Straßburg 1534, fol. 101v: *Die erkennen Christum als ein grossen Propheten / vom heiligen geist empfangen / vnd von der jungfraw Maria geborn / aber sie gestond nit / das er gestorben vnd begraben sey worden.*

73 Ludolf of Sudheim, De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber, ed. by Ferdinand Deycks (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 25), Stuttgart 1851. On Ludolf, see Jacob Klingner, Ludolf von Sudheim, in: Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter, vol. 3: Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung (2012), pp. 383–387.

14th-century report that was the main source for Ludolf, he has very little to say about Muslims and almost nothing on Islam.[74] This, however, changes in a possibly later redaction sometimes referred to in research as the "short version" of Ludolf's report that is known in four manuscripts.[75] This redaction, which might have been produced by Ludolf himself or by the Cistercian monk Nicolaus of Huda, omits some information on the territories that Ludolf travelled through, yet now comprises chapters that provided the reader with an overview of Muslims' customs and the deeds of, in his words, the "cunning, filthy and impure" Muhammad.[76] The sources of this description have yet to be examined more closely. However, some information on the Muslims given in Ludolf's "short version" is probably borrowed from an anonymous German travel report from the mid-14th century entitled in research 'Niederrheinischer Orientbericht' (report on the Orient from the Lower Rhine area), as that also became a principal source for the 'Historia trium regum' of John of Hildesheim.[77] Regardless of how we assess this particular case, it adds to the complex interrelations between Latin and vernacular reports across time and language barriers, making us aware that the Latin text was not always produced first and has to be regarded as the basis for a junior vernacular version.

In the case of Breidenbach / Rath, the chapters on the Muslims have been published without major changes in the German and Dutch prints of Breidenbach's 'Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam' and thus transmitted the particular negative image of the 'Muslim Other' to broader reading circles. This report greatly influenced the chapters on Muslims in later pilgrim texts such as in Ambrosius Zeebout's Middle Dutch report of the travels of Joos van Ghistele. However, Zeebout did not always adopt the polemical and aggressive attitude of Breidenbach / Rath's writing and added information from further sources.[78] The same applies for Fabri's 'Evagatorium', despite

74 William provided only a very brief condemnation of Muhammad and Islam when describing Egypt and Cairo. See Guillaume de Boldensele sur la Terre Sainte et l'Égypte (1336). Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra Sancta. Suivi de la trad. de Jean le Long. Présentation et commentaire par Christiane Deluz (Sources d'histoire médiévale 44), Paris 2018, p. 81.

75 Previous research has controversially discussed whether the 'short version' had been produced before the 'long version' edited by Deycks, but it seems more probable to assume that it is a later redaction. See Fischer (note 30), pp. 266–267.

76 Ludolf of Sudheim, De itinere Terre Sancte, ed. by G. A. Neumann, in: Archives de l'Orient Latin 2 (1884), pp. 305–377, here pp. 369–376.

77 Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner, Ein niederrheinischer Bericht über den Orient, in: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 19 (1887), pp. 8–86; Helmut Brall-Tuchel (ed.), Von Christen, Juden und von Heiden. Der Niederrheinische Orientbericht, Göttingen 2019. See also Bernhard Jahn, Niederrheinischer Orientbericht, in: Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter, vol. 3: Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung (2012), pp. 370–371. The anonymous description of the Muslims and the life of Muhammad is more elaborate and the content structured differently in comparison to Ludolf's 'short version'.

78 Alexia Lagast, A Pleasant Plain: A Comparative Study of the Stylistic Aspects of the Late Fifteenth-Century Travel Account of Joos van Ghistele, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Antwerp, 2018, pp. 260–276; Stefan Schröder, The Encounter with Islam Between Doctrinal Image

some particularly vilifying attacks on Muhammad.[79] For instance, the overview of the Prophet's life and misdeeds found in Breidenbach's 'Peregrinatio' is missing. What is more, Fabri did not include most of his comprehensive descriptions of the Muslims' customs and beliefs in his German versions. These comprise a report dedicated to the noblemen that financed his second pilgrimage in 1483 (referred to in research as 'Eigentliche Beschreibung' or 'Pilgerbüchlein'), the pilgrimage guide written to enable nuns to embark on a spiritual journey ('Sionpilger'), and a short prose version of his first pilgrimage in 1480 ('gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein'). Overall, the image of a hostile 'Muslim Other' that intends to deceive the pilgrims and to overthrow Christianity is also formed in these texts, but little is said on the religious differences, on history, and often also on concrete encounters with Muslims. Possibly this is the result of the audiences that Fabri addressed here, whose expectations and education differed from his fellow brethren in the monastery. The noblemen were more interested in the documentation of the events of the journey and places visited than in theology and in the fact that the nuns' contemplation should not be distracted by descriptions of the Muslims' customs that are based on heretical beliefs. His friendly relations with individual Muslims described in the 'Evagatorium' are also still part of his 'Eigentliche Beschreibung'. However, with the Mamluks portrayed in a more positive way in the Latin than in the German text despite being regarded as apostates, there are occasionally instances that show different impressions of the 'Muslim Other' resulting from the ways in which Fabri made his travels conform to the expectations of the particular reader.[80]

The vernacular reports of Konrad Grünemberg and Arnold of Harff are further examples that Breidenbach / Rath's description of the Muslims was not necessarily followed. Even when both authors used Breidenbach's 'Peregrinatio', their descriptions of the Muslims and Islam show substantial differences. Rather than repeating Breidenbach's polemic, they imitated the more neutral tone or less judgemental approach of 'The Book of John Mandeville'.[81] Originally written in French, but swiftly translated into almost all European languages, this well-known text, one of the most popular travelogues of the Middle Ages, was considerably less disparaging about Muslims (despite still conveying various stereotypical and degrading

and Life Writing. Ambrosius Zeebout's Report of Joos van Ghistele's Travels to the East 1481–1485, in: Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Hess (eds.), Fear and Loathing in the North. Muslims and Jews in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region, Berlin, New York 2015, pp. 83–106.

79 See, for example, his rant on Muhammad describing the origins of Islam. Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 242; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,1, p. 274. Cited by Ursula Ganz-Blättler, Andacht und Abenteuer. Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520) (Jakobus-Studien 4), Tübingen 1990, p. 204.

80 Schröder (note 2), pp. 246–248. This is not to say that Fabri always deliberately intended to give this different impression. It might also be the consequence of omitting details.

81 Mandeville, ed. Higgins (note 68). See, with further references, Iain Macleod Higgins, John Mandeville, in: Alexander Mallett and David Thomas (eds.), Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, vol. 5 (1350–1500), Leiden, Boston 2013, pp. 147–164.

allusions, especially regarding Jews).[82] It was a precise mix of pilgrimage and Grand Tour through exotic, bizarre, and wondrous regions, a combination of fact and fiction, that made his text so popular. However, not all contemporaries appreciated the representation of Muslims and Islam in Mandeville's vernacular version. In the so-called Vulgate Latin adaptation of the 'Book', the most widely distributed of in total five separate Latin translations, the segments on the 'Muslim Other' and further religious communities are significantly changed. Rosemary Tzanaki even concluded that the Vulgate Latin version "works almost completely against the spirit of the *Book*'s basis of belief, tolerance and human unity under God. Instead, it stresses the differences between religions, usually describing other faiths in insulting and intolerant language."[83]

It would be improper, however, to deduce from this short overview that one can distinguish a more negative image of the 'Muslim Other' in Latin reports versus a more positive one in vernacular reports. As the example of Burchard of Mount Sion given above has shown, religious differences could also be stated without adding a degrading comment in Latin reports.[84] Plus, Antonio da Crema's enumeration of 30 errors that can be found in the Qur'an, and Francesco Suriano's specifically discriminatory description of the Muslims that ends with his conclusion that "if they could[,] they would walk backwards just to be different from us", are just prominent examples of debasing the 'Muslim Other' and their faith in vernacular reports.[85]

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82 Frank Grady, 'Machomete' and Mandeville's Travels, in: John V. Tolan (ed.), Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays, New York, London 1996, pp. 271–288; Fabienne L. Michelet, Reading and Writing the East in 'Mandeville's Travels', in: Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds.), Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 33), Berlin, New York 2006, pp. 282–302.

83 Rosemary Tzanaki, Mandeville's Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550), Aldershot, Burlington VT 2003, pp. 247–248. Tzanaki's pointed remark however might go too far given the fact that the term 'tolerance' evokes a rather modern conception. For an overview of the different versions, see Mandeville, ed. Higgins (note 68), p. xvii. A similar tendency can be observed in the Latin translation of Marco Polo's report produced by Francesco Pipino, himself the author of a short report of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1320. See Matthew Coneys, Travel Writing, Reception Theory and the History of Reading: Reconsidering the Late Middle Ages, in: Studies in Travel Writing 22,4 (2018), pp. 353–370, here p. 357.

84 Referring to polygamy and homosexuality, Burchard's only polemical judgement relates to the Muslim's alleged sexual practices. See below note 141.

85 Antonio da Crema, Itinerario al Santo Sepolcro 1486, ed. by Gabriele Nori (Corpus peregrinationum Italicarum 3; Pellegrini d'Oltralpe e d'Oltremare a santuari d'Italia 1), Ospedaletto 1996, pp. 124–130; Francesco Suriano, Il trattato di terra Santa e dell'Oriente, ed. by Girolamo Golubovich, Milan 1900, pp. 199–200; Francesco Suriano, Treatise on the Holy Land, ed. and trans. by Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 8), Jerusalem 1949, pp. 203–204.

5 Functions of the 'Muslim Other'

The cultural encounter with the 'Muslim Other' is utilized in the reports in several ways. One objective was to inform the readers about the current conditions within the Holy Land now ruled by Muslims and to inform potential pilgrims of what to expect when travelling to Jerusalem. Describing the difficulties posed by encounters with non-Christians on such a journey, however, gave the author the possibility to emphasize the successful completion of the pilgrimage against all odds, proving one's Christian or knightly virtues. The more challenging and dramatic the journey was, the more appreciation the pilgrim would get when returning home. A more crucial objective was to confirm that Roman Catholicism was superior to all other beliefs, thus strengthening the identity of the writer's in-group by shaping and debasing the out-group. In this context, some travel writers also reflected on the broader Christian–Muslim history. However, the reciprocal relationship between the 'Self' and the 'Other' also enabled the writers to switch roles by criticizing the in-group through idealizing particular practices allegedly experienced abroad. Finally, travelling through far and unknown regions meant being confronted with new things that had to be explained to the reader. This included notions of the exotic and marvellous 'Other' that astonished the pilgrims and were used to entertain the reader.[86]

5.1 Shaping and Ensuring One's Own Identity: The False Prophet and the Deceived Muslims

The most important factor to differentiate the 'Christian Self' from the 'Muslim Other' and to strengthen the identity of the in-group by debasing the out-group was religion. Understanding the Latin Church to be the one true faith left no room for compromise. It allowed only the binary opposition between righteous Catholic Christians and the Muslims, Jews, Pagans, and other Christian denominations that are electively characterized as erroneously, idolatrously heretical etc. To admit that the faith of the 'Muslim Other' had any kind of legitimacy would mean questioning one's own point of view. This was impossible for the pilgrims on their religious journey and for the writers narrating this journey to a Christian audience. Thus, some authors felt the need to unmask the wickedness of the Muslims' faith. This could be done, for instance, in a very concise fashion by explicitly stating one's disgust and therefore referring only to some specific aspects of Muhammad's illicit law,[87] or by providing some extra space to refute Islam step by step, as shown in Bernhard of Breidenbach's

86 This is not an exhaustive list of all possible functions of the 'Other'.

87 Jacobo of Verona, 'Liber peregrinationis', ed. Monneret de Villard (note 50), p. 101.

'Peregrinatio', in which Muhammad's life is portrayed as a continuous chain of sins, lies, crimes, and violence.[88]

Mainly based on Petrus Alfonsi, Breidenbach/Rath described Islam as a heresy that was corrupt to the core. Muslims, moreover, were irrational subjects, who blindly followed impious doctrines and who persecuted, suppressed, and exterminated Christians in all places. Their description of Muhammad as a false prophet, a ruthless murderer and imposter, who used false miracles and was driven by his insatiable sexual desires, his death mirroring his inappropriate life, corresponded to the paradigmatic image of the "legendary Muhammad" developed in medieval anti-Islamic polemics.[89] Sergius, allegedly a heretical Christian monk, and the Jewish figures Audias and Cabalahar, are mentioned to have provided Muhammad with the necessary education to transform his rule, initially only based on violence, into a religious sect.[90] But in contrast to some other pseudo-biographical travesties of Muhammad and, for instance, to the redaction of Ludolf's 'De itinere Terre Sancte liber', Muhammad is not seen as an ill-bred and stupid person who was being used as a puppet by Sergius to gain revenge for his being expelled from the church.[91]

Fabri was no less pejorative when describing the Muslims and their Islamic doctrines: all Muslims follow Muhammad's foul laws, they are worse than other idolaters, their sect is the apex of all heresies, and so sophisticated in its maliciousness that all Church prayers for their salvation are in vain. Fabri judged the Qur'an to be a crude mixture of paganism and elements from the Old and New Testament; it was also the source of some good, albeit distorted, statements on Jesus and the Virgin Mary mingled with indefinite errors and nefarious things.[92] He portrayed virtually all religious signs and principles of Islam as futile efforts to imitate Christianity that, in the end, only confirm the wickedness of the Muslim belief. One example, for instance, is Fabri's rebuke of the crescent as the symbol for Islam installed on the top of mosques and minarets. He saw it just as a mediocre copy of the Christian custom of adorning churches with crosses. Stating that the Muslims probably adopted the symbol from

88 Bernhard of Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio' (note 17), fol. 56r–75r.

89 Michelina Di Cesare, The Prophet in the Book: Images of Muhammad in Western Medieval Book Culture, in: Avinoam Shalem (ed.), Constructing the Image of Muhammad in Europe, Berlin, Boston 2013, pp. 9–32, here p. 20.

90 Referring to sinister figures of heretical or Jewish provenience alone was a pointer to the reader that Islam could not be based on a true revelation that bears any legitimacy. The process of rewriting Sergius Bahira from, according to Arabic-Islamic sources, a honourable Christian eremite who recognized the divine nature of Muhammad (and thus proved from the Muslim point of view that Muhammad is a true prophet) to a wicked Christian heretic who, driven by the devil, was the real mastermind behind Muhammad's rise to power, was already started by Greek Orthodox authors. It was swiftly taken up and further evolved by Latin-Christian authors. See Barbara Roggema, The Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā. Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam, Leiden 2009.

91 Ludolf of Sudheim, 'De itinere Terre Sancte', ed. Neumann (note 76), p. 371.

92 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 96–97. See also vol. 1, p. 366; vol. 2, pp. 130, 176; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,2, p. 456; vol. 2,1, pp. 134, 188.

the sinful cult of Diana and that they preferred the crescent, which according to Fabri seeks to shy away from the light (of truth), over the shining full moon was another proof for him of the Muslims' wicked intentions.[93] The Hajj, as one doctrine that Fabri described in more detail, was represented as an ill-advised voyage to worship the tomb of the devil's son, Muhammad. The tomb was placed in Mecca rather than Medina to be compared with the noble Christian pilgrimage to the empty tomb of Christ as a sign of his resurrection and of the salvation of humankind.[94] According to Fabri, the Christian doctrines are completely reversed in Islam, as he shows his reader when referring (once more) to the fasting season:

> *O monstrosum ieiunium et carnalibus hominibus et bestialibus aptum! Absit, absit a nobis talis praedicator ieiunii, post quod in die expletum sic omni libidini, ingluviei, crapulis et comessationibus per noctem operam impendere praecipit, ut non ob aliud ieiunium instituisse videatur, quam ut postea voluptuosius et appetentius omnium turpitudo libidinis exerceatur.*
>
> O what a strange unnatural fast, fit only for carnal and beastly men! Far, far from us be he that preaches such fasting as this, that after the fast has been fulfilled during the day he bids men spend their night in lust, gluttony, drunkenness, and revelling, so that he seems to have instituted this fast for no other purpose than that after it is over men may indulge all their basest desires with greater enjoyment and appetite.[95]

With these and numerous more examples, the pilgrimage reports belittled Islam as a sect that has no true sacraments. It is represented as being based on a fabricated

93 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, p. 74. Fabri added in the margins of his manuscript that it is even more likely that the Muslims chose the crescent since it (poorly) resembles the shape of a weathercock that is often found on churches as well, thus implying that they would have selected just any random object as symbol as long as it was used at the rooftops of Christian churches. That it is an addition that Fabri added at some later point is not specified in Hassler's edition. It is found in Fabri's autograph Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, MS 19555-2, fol. 100v. For another discussion of the crescent see Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 219; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,1, p. 244.

94 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, pp. 539–542; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,2, pp. 665–670. See also Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 192; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, pp. 219–220. Fabri, moreover, referred to the popular legend of Muhammad's iron coffin that miraculously floated in the air due to some hidden magnetic stones. On the legend in Western sources and on similarities and differences between Fabri, Breidenbach and Ghistele / Zeebout, see Folker Reichert, Der eiserne Sarg des Propheten. Doppelte Grenzen im Islambild des Mittelalters, in: Ulrich Knefelkamp (ed.), Grenze und Grenzüberschreitung im Mittelalter. 11. Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes vom 14.–17. März 2005 in Frankfurt on the Oder, Berlin 2007, pp. 453–469; Folker Reichert, Mohammed in Mekka. Doppelte Grenzen im Islambild des lateinischen Mittelalters, in: Saeculum 56 (2005), pp. 17–31; Schröder (note 78), pp. 100–101.

95 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 517; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,2, p. 636.

revelation and on fake miracles and is devoted primarily to the worldly delights of bodily pleasures, wealth, and power. Christianity, in turn, is both implicitly and explicitly presented as the only true religion, based on real miracles and divine revelation. Reading about the wicked 'Muslim Other' therefore strengthens the identity of the 'Christian Self'.

However, the harsh denunciation of the 'Muslim Other' generally raises two questions: can Muslims be saved by conversion from the fate of damnation and an afterlife in hell? And why does God allow this sect to exist in the first place? When addressed, the first question was given different answers by the pilgrims. Instead of 'potential Christians', Breidenbach / Rath portrayed the 'Muslim Other' as ravaging and mortal enemies who desire nothing else than to shed Christian blood.[96] Including in the report a summary of the recent conquests of Constantinople and further cities as well as of the recent siege of Rhodes in 1480, on every occasion emphasizing the atrocities committed by the Turks,[97] the impression is given that the sword seems to be the only choice that Christians have. Reuwich's woodcut for this segment fittingly displays a group of approaching Turkish combatants, including some janissaries, on horses and equipped with music instruments celebrating their victories, while the image's legend informs the reader that in times of war many would carry firearms instead (Fig. 2).[98] According to Fabri's 'Evagatorium', it seems to be that at least the Mamluk renegades could be convinced to return to the Christian faith, whereas he appears to be more sceptical about Muslims as a result of the continuous deception of Islamic rulers and clerks as well as their stubbornness and simplicity.[99] Jean Adorno concluded likewise that the Muslims "have ears, but hear nothing; they are smart, but understand nothing. Misfortune on them until the end of days!"[100] In addition, he stated that Muslims were completely lulled into their faith by Muhammad and his successors, who had forbidden any discussion on religious matters to protect the Muslims from the irresistible attraction of Christianity.[101]

In contrast, Riccoldo of Monte Croce's statement that the Muslims' theological positions could be easily defeated through pointing to Muhammad's wicked life as well as through "the holy books, the authority of Holy Scripture, the books of the

96 Bernhard of Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio' (note 17), fol. 110r; ed. Mozer (note 17), pp. 511–513.

97 Bernhard of Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio' (note 17), fol. 135r–147r; ed. Mozer (note 17), pp. 668–725.

98 For details on the image see Timm (note 61), pp. 227–229.

99 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 34–35 (personal encounters with Mamluks who admitted to having a poor position among the *secta Mahometi*); Ibid., vol. 1, p. 192; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, pp. 219–220 (Muslims). See also the dragoman *Elphahallo*, who is portrayed by Fabri despite his praise as a stubborn Muslim. Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, p. 32.

100 Adorno, 'Itinerarium', ed. Heers and de Groër (note 51), p. 348: […] *sed aures habent et non audiunt, intellectum habent et non intelligunt. Ve illis in fine dierum suorum.* Cited also by Ganz-Blättler (note 79), p. 202.

101 Adorno, 'Itinerarium', ed. Heers and de Groër (note 51), p. 66 and 74.

Fig. 2 | Illustration of a group of Turkish combatants on horses in Bernhard of Breidenbach, Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam, Mainz: Erhard Reuwich 1486, fol. 136v. (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc.c.a. 1725, CC BY-SA 4.0).

philosophers, and the path of reason"[102] indicates that some pilgrims nonetheless saw potential for converting the 'Muslim Other', even though we do not know how successful his attempts to missionize in fact were. But this attitude is no surprise given his main motive for travelling to the East as well as the efforts of his order to spread the Gospel among non-Christians. A similar optimistic view is, however, given in Mandeville's report, both in the French and in the Vulgate Latin versions. Relying on William of Tripoli's 'De statu sarracenorum', the Mandeville author stated that since Muslims are so close to the Christian faith, they could easily be converted through preaching and explaining Christ's laws in a clear way.[103]

102 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Kappler (note 38), pp. 196–197; George-Tvrtković (note 38), p. 224.

103 Mandeville, ed. Higgins (note 68), pp. 84–85, 214. The Latin version is less enthusiastic though. For Mandeville's source, see William of Tripoli, Notitia de Machometo. De statu sarracenorum,

The second question is even less discussed. By referring to Muhammad's life and the origin of Islam as in the case of Breidenbach/Rath, or by educating the readers with chapters on the crusading past as in the case of Fabri,[104] the 'Muslim Other' is seen from a Christianized historical viewpoint. In short, pilgrims like Fabri saw Muslims as an instrument sent by God to punish the Christians for their sins. Following interpretations inter alia shaped by popular and authoritative authors such as Jacques de Vitry, the Christian misdeeds were seen as the cause of the defeats that ultimately led to the shameful end of the crusading states in the East. They were interpreted as a sign that Christianity in general had lost the right path and that Christians increasingly preferred earthly delights over heavenly paradise. According to Fabri, every time there was a schism in the Christian world, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was lost to the infidels.[105] The 'Muslim Other' was thus a challenging test for 'Christianitas' – a role that essentially has been given to every religious group labelled as heresy in Christian history. Conveyed by the pilgrims' references to how they were ill-treated, insulted, and attacked during their stay, of how they were denied access to some holy places now occupied by the Muslims, who, moreover, transformed holy places into sheds for animals or let them fall into ruin, the Holy Land and its sacred sites became both a military and ideological battleground.[106] By ensuring that the holiness of the places was still intact (e.g. confirming to have sensed a heavenly odour) despite all the efforts of the 'Muslim Other' to desacralize the holy places and to alter and to erase the Christian cultural memory, assurance was given to the readers that salvation history continued and that the Holy Land would be liberated at some point.[107] A more concrete time frame was, however, not given. Whereas Jacobo of Verona, who travelled roughly one generation after the loss of Acre in 1291, provided a list of castles in the Holy Land that should be reconquered

ed. by Peter Engels (Corpus Islamo-Christianum: Series Latina 4), Würzburg 1992. The view of the Mandeville author, who in the words of Macleod Higgins amplified and deliberately overwrote his sources on numerous occasion (Ian Macleod Higgins, Writing East. The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville, Philadelphia 1997, pp. 9, 12), was taken up by Arnold von Harff, who sometimes exaggerated Mandeville's positions even further. See Arnold of Harff, Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat. Nach den ältesten Handschriften und mit deren 47 in Holzschnitt herausgegeben, ed. by Ewald von Groote, Cologne 1860, repr. Hildesheim, New York 2004, pp. 105–106; Id., The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff in the Years 1496–1499, ed. by Malcolm Letts (Hakluyt Society Second Series 94), London 1946, pp. 122–123.

104 For more on this point, see Stefan Schröder, To Follow the Deeds of Godfrey of Bouillon: The Remembrance of the Crusades and Crusading Ideas in Late Medieval Travel Reports to the Holy Land, in: Magnus Ressel (ed.), Crusading Ideas and Fear of the Turks in Late Medieval and the Early Modern Europe (Série Croisades tardives 7), Toulouse 2021, pp. 35–70.

105 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 238; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,1, p. 269.

106 Schröder (note 2), pp. 266–271; Reichert (note 14), pp. 9–12.

107 Schröder (note 2), pp. 146–150.

and therefore might have thought that a timely Crusade was inevitable,[108] pilgrims in the later 15th century were more sceptical as a result of the Ottoman expansion.

Breidenbach / Rath and Riccoldo of Monte Croce (not in his pilgrimage report, but in his epistles) expressed some bewilderment at why God had allowed the Muslims to crush and subjugate so many Christians and why the Islamic faith was, in comparison to previous sects, so persistent and showed no signs of decline even after so many centuries.[109] For Breidenbach / Rath this is the starting point for a lengthy theological chapter. They first presented three arguments of an unnamed scholarly doctor (presumably the Jewish convert Paul of Burgos [c. 1351–1435] with his 'Scrutinium scripturarum')[110] as to why the 'Muslim Other' was different and more relentless than any other sect. According to Breidenbach / Rath, Paul considered that the success of Islam was because (1) they are not idolatrous, (2) they require the following of Islamic laws but not the abandonment of one's personal beliefs, and (3) they share some essential beliefs with Christians, before rejecting these arguments, stating that the doctor (Paul of Burgos) had praised "the shameful and accursed sect of the Saracens" too much (not naming him therefore should protect his honour). For Breidenbach / Rath, the law of Muhammad was even worse than idolatry. The crimes against Christians were beyond any scale and the desecration of churches everywhere would show that the Muslims did not tolerate Christianity at all. However, they declined to present their own explanations of the success of the 'Muslim Other'. They instead referred to Zechariah's Old Testament proto-apocalyptic prophecy that at the end of times, God will cut off and perish two thirds of the land, and the one third left alive will be refined and tested (Zechariah 13:8–9).[111] Allegorically reading the land as the Israelites that are in Breidenbach / Rath's understanding represented by (Latin) Christians, many (two thirds) will perish during this time of tribulation, whereas the upright ones (one third) will be refined by fire and eventually redeemed from their sins. Thus, they portrayed the Muslims as a sect that might be more evil than any other before, but it was still just another scourge of God sent to test and judge his flock. Even when quoting just this verse from the prophecy, Breidenbach / Rath probably assumed that their readers were also aware of its following last chapter (Zechariah 14). After further travails leading to the capture of Jerusalem, Zechariah foresaw that all gentile

108 Jacobo da Verona, 'Liber peregrinationis', ed. Monneret de Villard (note 50), p. 67.

109 See Riccoldo's 'Epistolae ad Ecclesiam triumphantem'. Riccoldo's doubts are triggered by the news of Acre's fall while in Baghdad. On the letters, largely unknown in medieval times, see Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Kappler (note 38), pp. 210–252; George-Tvrtković (note 38), pp. 34–39, 89–106; Dorothea Weltecke, Die Macht des Islam und die Niederlage der Kreuzfahrer: Zum Verständnis der Briefe an die himmlische Kurie des Riccoldo da Monte di Croce OP, in: Saeculum 58 (2007), pp. 265–295. The most recent edition can be found in Martin M. Bauer, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis: Epistole ad Ecclesiam triumphantem (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 24), Stuttgart 2021.

110 Philip Krey, Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam, in: John V. Tolan (ed.), Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays, New York, London 1996, pp. 153–174.

111 Bernhard of Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio' (note 17), fol. 70v–75r; ed. Mozer (note 17), pp. 380–409.

nations fighting the Israelites / Christians will be stricken with plagues, forcing them to finally acknowledge that God is almighty and worship him. This eschatological indication conveyed the comforting message that regardless of how desolate the current situation might be, in the end Christianity will prevail and be universally acknowledged as the only true faith even by the Muslims.[112]

Exposing the errors of Islam and debasing the 'Muslim Other' for their wrong belief and immoral practices was of course not restricted to the theological discourse. Physiological differences and social customs following Osterhammel's further categories to determine cultural borders were also used. Muslim bodies and clothing occasionally play an important role as well. Fabri made polemical use of this sort of rhetorical inversion when mocking Muslims for their "hermaphroditic" dresses as well as the "animal" sound of the Arabic language and their inability even to articulate one word in German.[113] He also ridiculed Muslims for their superstitions and jeered at Muslim women for not being able to cook the simplest dishes.[114] With such graphic examples, to which could be added additional ones by examining further Latin and vernacular reports, Fabri shaped a foreign reality with inverted norms and customs. He and further authors thus reassured their readers that their own bodies, habits, and values were normal (in fact set the norm) and their own culture was more advanced. Sometimes this is connected to medical or cosmological conceptions that, based on the bodily fluids or place of living, delineate a more elementary difference between the moderate, restrained, and rational temperament and lifestyle of the in-group versus the heated, emotional, and irrational character of the people in the East and South.[115]

In sum, comparisons of this kind show to us that the authors did not aim to give an objective representation of other cultures. The strict application of the Latin Christian authors' religious and social standards meant there could be no discussion of whether the 'Muslim Other' could have a distinct social system based on its own values and customs that had an equal right to exist. The 'Muslim Other' is used to prove the superiority of Christian norms and thus the supremacy of the author's

112 For sources that elaborate in more detail about the role of the 'Muslim Other' during the end of times see Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages, New York 1979, esp. pp. 149–157.

113 Clothing: Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 215; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, pp. 251–252; language: Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, pp. 194–195, 202; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, pp. 223–224, 234; Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 51, 449.

114 Superstition: Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 73–74; cooking: Ibid., vol. 2, p. 113 and vol. 3, pp. 100–101; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,1, p. 111. For these and more examples, see Schröder (note 2), pp. 252–266.

115 John Block Friedmann, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought, Cambridge MA, London 1981, pp. 51–55; Joseph Ziegler, Text and Context: On the Rise of Physiognomic Thought in the Later Middle Ages, in: Yitzhak Hen (ed.), De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem. Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 1), Turnhout 2001, pp. 159–182.

culture. Muslims are framed as 'emotional beings'[116] by outlining the follies of the Islamic religion and by referring to their irrational, stubborn, hot-tempered character. As such, the 'Muslim Other' is the negative counter image of the rational and enlightened 'Christian Self' and separated by strict cultural barriers.

5.2 Self-Understanding and Critical Reflection: the 'Muslim Other' as Role Model of the 'Christian Self'

As a result of the reciprocal interrelation between the 'Self' and the 'Other', a positive depiction of the 'Other' could also serve as a moral example for readers at home. The hospitality and generosity of Muslims, their devotion observed when praying, their purity noted in the context of their washing rituals before entering a mosque, and their mercifulness in the treatment of prisoners can be read as an implicit invitation to the readers to re-evaluate their own behaviour, even when it is said that the Muslims' practices are not proof of an honest, internalized piety. Once again, Felix Fabri used this method of functionalizing the 'Muslim Other' more often than other authors of Latin reports. The most obvious example is his contrasting of the very tidy Dome of the Rock to the very dirty church of the Holy Grave. He condemned the behaviour of the Christians, including his fellow pilgrims, who turned the Holy Church into a place for dumping trash and a noisy bazaar, whereas the Dome of the Rock was thoroughly cleaned by the Muslims on a daily basis.[117] Both holy buildings stand as symbols of the reverence for God of the respective communities of Islam and Christendom.

Fabri's point here is that to the shame of Christianity, the 'infidels' surpass the Christians at least with regard to their observable, outer piety. Categories like 'impure' or 'dirty' are not applied accidentally, but particularly highlight the contradiction with the Christian standards of order and are thus supposed to evoke disgust in the audience.[118] However, this does not necessarily mean acceptance of or respect for the 'Other'. In projecting his ideals of good Christianity on foreign culture, Fabri tried to make his audience aware of how easily people can lose God's way and / or of conditions that endangered the social order at home. One further example is the description of a fistfight between two Muslims in Alexandria during which the opponents throw their knives away in order to avoid spilling blood. Whereas the noblemen of Fabri's pilgrims' party ridiculed this practice from their perspective as boyish and effeminate, Fabri felt that unnecessary spilling of blood and / or killing was a very wise decision. According to Fabri, the Muslims saw homicide as an outrageous crime and

116 Audrey Calefas-Strebelle, Muslim 'Others', in: Susan Broomhall (ed.), Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction, London, New York 2017, pp. 300–303, here p. 303.

117 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 219 and vol. 2, pp. 223 and 229–230; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, p. 257 and vol. 2,1, pp. 249 and 257–258.

118 See in this context the seminal work of Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo, New York 1966.

stated in a later passage of his 'Evagatorium' that they barely execute even the most roguish rascal because of the Muslims' kind-hearted nature.[119] Between the lines, Fabri expressed his reservation about the habit among the noble elite of turning to violence too easily.

Fabri thus aimed to educate the reader and remind him or her to uphold Christian norms and reflect upon his or her sins. In a similar manner, this rhetorical figure is used most prominently in Mandeville's discussion with the Sultan in Egypt about the troubled situation within Christian societies. In both the vernacular and the Vulgate Latin versions, it is the highest-ranked leader of the 'infidels' who is given the role of holding up a mirror to the Christian reader. In the conversation, he reminded his visitor of the corruption and immoral state of Christian realms that weakened the Christians and caused their defeats against the Muslims. If the Christians revoked their sins and united again, the Sultan admitted, they would be far stronger and be able to easily reconquer all territories once under Christian rule.[120] It is not clear if this strategy of using a person that represents the out-group as an authority to judge the lifestyle of the in-group affected and impressed the reader, but it was certainly a common literary scheme.

5.3 The Proximate and Exotic 'Muslim Other' within the Diversity of the World

The functional use of the 'Muslim Other' discussed above sometimes clashed with cultural encounters *in situ*. The encyclopaedic approach of some authors provided the reader with a huge abundance of information on Muslim society that made it difficult to draw clear or fixed cultural boundaries between the 'Self' and the 'Other'. Not everything regarded as different, moreover, was interpreted as a threat. When understood in the sense of 'familiar' versus 'unfamiliar', the concept and understanding of 'Otherness' is more varied, as selected examples from the fields of architecture, living conditions, and communication show.

Regarding architecture, the pilgrims were aware of the different architecture of buildings in Jerusalem or Cairo. According to Paul Walther of Guglingen and Felix Fabri, the houses mostly built from clay bricks differed fundamentally from the constructions at home due to the flat roofs and courtyards. Paul explained to his readers

119 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, p. 39–40 and 140–141.

120 Mandeville, ed. Higgins (note 68), pp. 86–87; John Mandeville, Liber Ioannis Mandevil, ed. Richard Hakluyt, The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, London 1589, pp. 23–79, here pp. 44–45. For such interreligious discussions in travelogues, see Hannes Kästner, Das Gespräch des Orientreisenden mit dem heidnischen Herrscher. Zur Typik und zu den Funktionen einer interkulturellen Dialogszene in der Reiseliteratur des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, in: Horst Wenzel (ed.), Gespräche – Boten – Briefe. Körpergedächtnis und Schriftgedächtnis im Mittelalter (Philologische Studien und Quellen 143), Berlin 1997, pp. 280–295; Christina Henss, Fremde Räume, Religionen und Rituale in Mandevilles Reisen: Wahrnehmung und Darstellung religiöser und kultureller Alterität in den deutschsprachigen Übersetzungen, Berlin, Boston 2018, pp. 246–263.

that without gabled roofs like the houses at home, they would look like ruins. This rendering, in effect, transmitted the image of a mediocre culture unable to properly construct houses. Fabri, in contrast, pointed to the very different climate in the Holy Land and Egypt (high heat, little rain) and concluded that the main function of these buildings was to protect the residents not from cold, rain or snow, but from burglars and the sun.[121] According to Fabri, these buildings, which frequently included a wooden construction on top that he interpreted as an additional sun-protection shield,[122] were the logical result of the specific living conditions abroad. He did not judge this construction style in a negative way.

A second example that drew the attention of the pilgrims were the installations to incubate chickens. Hatching thousands of eggs at the same time with the help of a heating system operated by manure was part of the 'exotic Other' and was already described in the 14th-century Latin reports of William of Boldensele and Ludolf of Sudheim.[123] For some pilgrims like Hans Tucher, it was too incredible to describe, potentially for fear of being called a 'travel liar'.[124] Assuring that they had seen the facilities and the procedures in person while visiting Cairo, Bernhard of Breidenbach and Felix Fabri showed their readers that there was no miracle behind it.[125] Fabri, moreover, referred to renowned ancient and medieval authors who provided evidence that this practice had been in use for a long time, showing that it was just an efficient and probably profitable way to provide food for the population.

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121 Paul Walther von Guglingen, ed. Sollweck (note 41), p. 224; Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 82–83. Fabri, however, was not totally convinced of the stability of the clay construction when admitting that in the case of heavy rain, as is often the case in German territories, the whole city of Cairo would be converted into mud and dirt. Yet in his German version, he added to this point that the residents had no reason to worry, since it never rained in Egypt. Dessau, StB, Hs. Georg 238, fol. 190r.

122 The wooden construction is mentioned in other reports as well (Adorno, ed. Heers and de Groër [note 51], p. 186), but only Francesco Suriano was able to explain that it was a specific device for sustaining some kind of ventilation system in the house (Suriano, ed. Bellorini and Hoade [note 85], p. 191). Moreover, the way it was constructed included astronomical and religious aspects. See David A. King, Architecture and Astronomy: The Ventilators of Medieval Cairo and Their Secrets, in: Journal of the American Oriental Society 104,1 (1984), pp. 97–133; Stefano Bianca, Hofhaus und Paradiesgarten. Architektur und Lebensformen in der islamischen Welt, Munich 2001, p. 221.

123 William of Boldensele, 'Liber', ed. Deluz (note 74), p. 84; Ludolf of Sudheim, 'De itinere Terre Sancte', ed. Deycks (note 73), p. 51.

124 Hans Tucher, Reise ins Gelobte Land, ed. by Randall Herz, in: Die ‚Reise ins Gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480). Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts (Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter 38), Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 564–565.

125 Bernhard of Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio' (note 17), fol. 131r; ed. Mozer (note 17), pp. 606–607; Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), pp. 57–59. There are, however, some inconsistencies in their reports compared to Paul Walther that show how they used personal eye-witnessing to give their description more authority. See also Stefan Schröder, Entertaining and Educating the Audience at Home: Eye-witnessing in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Reports, in: Jenni Kuuliala and Jussi Rantala (eds.), Travel, Pilgrimage and Social Interaction from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, London, New York 2020, pp. 270–294.

The third case concerns the Arabic language. Despite frequent references (e.g. to the incomprehensible, animalistic sound of Arabic) aiming to attest and to enlarge the gap between the cultivated 'Self' and the barbaric and primitive 'Muslim Other', some authors included alphabets and partly also word lists and short sentences in their reports (Latin: Paul Walther of Guglingen, Bernhard of Breidenbach, Jean Adorno; vernacular: John Mandeville, Konrad Grünemberg, Arnold of Harff).[126] The insertion of alphabets and additional information was probably inspired by the (mainly fictitious) alphabets that are part of most vernacular versions of Mandeville's 'Book'.[127] It includes one alphabet that is supposed to represent the Muslims' letters at the end of the relevant chapter, though the lettering, in contrast to the alphabets in the later reports, did not refer to actual Arabic in any way. The main function of including alphabets was to show the author's erudition and to suggest that he picked up this knowledge when abroad. Moreover, the words and short sentences comprising first and foremost, but not exclusively, information regarding travelling (establishing contact, buying food and goods, numbers regarding monetary issues, etc.), could be used as valuable knowledge should the reader be planning a pilgrimage himself. However, by displaying letters, words, and short phrases, practically all authors incidentally admitted that the cultural gap between the 'Self' and 'Other' was not so large at all. The alphabets and foreign words visualized the 'Other' and were a sign of alterity (which includes Adorno's notion that the Muslims write from right to left). The strange look of the letters could be compared to the Latin letters in use at home and, for example in the reports of Mandeville, Breidenbach, and Harff, to further ones (e.g. Greek, 'Egyptian', Hebrew, Persian, Chaldean), enabling the reader to classify them on the basis of how outlandish they looked. But the Arabic alphabet and word lists also showed that the Muslims used an advanced literary language based on grammatical rules, thus affirming their civilized status (of course the pilgrims were not aware of

126 Bernhard of Breidenbach, 'Peregrinatio' (note 17), fol. 88r (alphabet) and 134r–134v (word list); ed. Mozer (note 17), pp. 408–409 and 664–667; Adorno, 'Itinerarium', ed. Heers and de Groër (note 51), p. 92; Konrad Grünemberg, Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486, ed. Andrea Denke, Cologne, Vienna 2011, pp. 468–482 (he provided just a word list based on Breidenbach, but did not copy the Arabic alphabet); Arnold von Harff, ed. Groote (note 103), pp. 111–114. Paul Walther's alphabet and word list which were the templates for Breidenbach are not part of the edition of his report. For more, see Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, Das arabische Vokabular des Paul Walther von Guglingen und seine Überlieferung im Reisebericht Bernhards von Breidenbach, in: Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen 12 (1994), pp. 153–182.

127 The alphabets in Mandeville's 'Book' differ substantially from version to version and from manuscript to manuscript. They were derived from early medieval collections of alphabets that, in most cases, were not based on 'real' languages. See Elmar Seebold, Mandevilles Alphabete und die mittelalterlichen Alphabetsammlungen, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 120 (1998), pp. 435–449; Martin Przybilski, Die Zeichen des Anderen. Fremdsprachenalphabete in den ‚Voyages' des Jean de Mandeville am Beispiel der deutschen Übersetzung Ottos von Diemeringen, in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 37 (2002), pp. 295–320; Kara L. McShane, Deciphering Identity in the Book of John Mandeville's Alphabets, in: Philological Quarterly 97 (2018), pp. 27–53.

the paramount importance of Arabic for Islam).[128] In this context, one wonders if the omission of the Arabic alphabet in most manuscripts and early prints of the Vulgate Latin version of the 'Book' could have been a deliberate decision in order to present a consistent negative image of the supposedly 'backward' Muslims.[129]

In contrast to the author's efforts to draw images of the non-intellectual, superstitious, and emotional 'Muslim Other' following a wicked and devilish faith, the three examples depict the Muslims as rational and skilled people who were capable of adapting to the specific challenges of the environment, were cunning in developing effective ways to sustain their society, and used a language system that involved logic. In this context, the 'Muslim Other' is displayed rather as the 'proximate Other'[130] that is different and seen as sometimes inferior, but also shares some essential principles and shows no huge cultural gap to the 'Christian Self'. This does not mean that the pilgrims acknowledged and / or respected the 'Muslim Other'. Instead, such examples were part of giving a more complete picture of the diversity of the world (or how diverse God created the world to be) that takes into account that things abroad were handled quite differently from home. In addition, they fed the reader's curiosity about how other people lived and organized their existence.

From there, it was no big step to the 'exotic Other' that conveys connotations of the exceptional, peculiar, enthralling, marvellous, or monstrous. In contrast to medieval images of Asia that involved constructions of bizarre, upside-down worlds, the Muslims offered less potential to generate a 'vast transcendence' of 'Otherness'. However, in describing the climate conditions and landscapes (e.g. the desert, annual inundation of the Nile, and its origin in earthly paradise) and mentioning wonderful plants (balsam), unfamiliar fruits (bananas, cantaloupes), outlandish animals (giraffes, ostriches, civet cats), and the savageness of the Bedouins, the authors of Latin pilgrimage reports frequently referred to the fascination with faraway places and placed the Muslims in a setting very different from home. The taste for exotica is, moreover, tangible in testimonials that the pilgrims bought fabrics, clothes, jewellery, and further luxury objects (Turkish carpets, parrots) on their journey.[131]

In the contexts of describing the Muslims and Islam, the alluring facet of the 'exotic Other' was primarily connected with their sexuality. Fabri's example at the beginning of this article[132] gives evidence of the fact that a cultural encounter was once again used to generate a fundamental opposition between the 'Muslim Other' and

128 Michelet (note 82), p. 297.

129 One exception is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4847, with the Arabic alphabet on fol. 42v–43r. For the manuscript, see Przybilski (note 127), p. 302.

130 McShane (note 127), p. 40.

131 Stefan Schröder, Reiseandenken aus Jerusalem. Funktionen sakraler und profaner Dinge nach spätmittelalterlichen Wallfahrtsberichten, in: Philip Bracher, Florian Hertweck and Stefan Schröder (eds.), Materialität auf Reisen. Zur kulturellen Transformation der Dinge (Reiseliteratur und Kulturanthropologie 8), Münster 2006, pp. 87–113.

132 For a further example see Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 224, p. 264.

the 'Christian Self'. Together with the references to the Prophet's alleged insatiable lust, evidenced by his many wives and concubines, ʿĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr's alleged adultery, the practice of polygamy, and the Muslims' paradise as a garden of delights with numerous virgins, the pilgrims created an image of Islam as a "religion 'of the lascivious'".[133] Although Fabri and Adorno praised in one passage of their reports female Muslims for their shyness and modesty (at least in Fabri's case again with the purpose of criticizing conditions at home),[134] condemning the Muslims for celebrating fleshly vices and excesses was the dominant practice. In this way (and accordingly to the function of shaping and defending the identity of the 'Self'), Christian ethics that centred on monogamy and sexual modesty were highlighted to strengthen the Christian reader's identity and reassure him that abstinence and restraint would be rewarded in the afterlife.

On occasion, however, writing on (Muslim) debauchery or the bodily appearance of women as objects of desire should evoke erotic associations on the part of the reader. This is reflected especially in the context of the *Chansons de geste* and further courtly literature, but could not be explicitly addressed in pilgrimage reports written by clerics.[135] Only Arnold of Harff in his vernacular travelogue, designed after the fashion of Mandeville's 'Book' and chivalric romances, subtly played with this notion, stating for instance that the Sultan tried to lure him to convert to Islam by presenting beautiful women and including the sentence "Good women, let me sleep with you" in his Arabic word list.[136] The practice of female Muslims completely covering their faces with a veil made it difficult for the authors to evaluate women based on their beauty ideals. Nonetheless, the veil and the unusual headgear certainly attracted attention. Particular authors of vernacular reports expressed disappointment in "never being able to see a beautiful woman" or compared the women with devils coming straight from hell.[137] Arnold of Harff again used the opportunity to create an image of female

133 Dominique Iogna-Prat, The Creation of a Christian Armory Against Islam, in: Constance Hoffman Berman (ed.), Medieval Religion: New Approaches, New York, London 2005, pp. 300–319, here p. 315.

134 Adorno, 'Itinerarium', ed. Heers and de Groër (note 51), p. 72; Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, p. 104. At least in the case of Fabri it might be seen as another effort to criticize certain conditions at home, whereas Adorno noted that they would use the veil to prevent getting impregnated – a legend that he declared was irrational.

135 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England, in: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 31,1 (2001), pp. 113–146; Jerold C. Frakes, Discourses of the Muslim Other, in: Id., Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses of the Muslim Other in Medieval Germany, New York 2011, pp. 11–46, esp. p. 34.

136 Arnold of Harff, ed. Groote (note 103), pp. 97–98 and 112. In total, the sentence is included in five word lists: Slavonic, Basque, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic. Occasionally, he also listed translations for terms such as "fornication" or "beautiful virgin".

137 Pietro Casola, Viaggio a Gerusalemme, ed. by Anna Paoletti, Alessandria 2001, p. 201; Pietro Casola, Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1494, ed. by Mary Margaret Newett, Manchester 1907, p. 257; Santo Brasca, Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca 1480 con l'Itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista 1458, ed. by Anna Laura Momigliano Lepschy (I cento viaggi 4), Milan 1966, p. 69; Antonio da Crema, 'Itinerario', ed. Nori (note 85), p. 109.

Muslim wantonness by presenting the veil as a perfect disguise that allowed the women to visit other men to enjoy pleasures or further rogueries unrecognized by their husbands.[138] The Latin reports mostly did not cover the issue, possibly because of the fear of being seen as too curious about mundane matters, or of being interested in matters that did not serve to glorify God's might.[139] The exception is once more Fabri's 'Evagatorium', where the Dominican stated that he and his fellow pilgrims were eager to catch a glimpse behind the veils and finally convinced a group of noble female heathens and their servants to briefly lift their veils. It allowed them to determine that the appearance of the noblewomen corresponded to the pilgrims' ideal of an attractive Christian woman. Moreover, the incident enabled Fabri to play with the reciprocal images of 'Otherness' when stating that the pilgrims just pretended to react with disdain and awe at the moment when the black-skinned female servants lifted their veils. In that way, he attributed to the noble female Muslims the belief that European travellers had probably never seen a black person before in order to communicate to his readers the self-assertion of being a well-experienced and learned traveller for whom the existence of black-skinned people was nothing special.[140]

6 Encountering the 'Muslim Other' in Everyday Life

Fabri's description of encountering female Muslims differs from the examples given so far. Even though he relied in his narrative on stereotypical images and depicted the pilgrims as more experienced and more cultured, the gathering apparently took place in a peaceful atmosphere. The emphasis is laid more on the mutual interest in learning more about each other than on confirming cultural boundaries.

Other pilgrimage reports provide some further accounts of casual everyday encounters that point in the same direction. One early example of that kind is Burchard of Mount Sion's last part of his paragraph on the Muslims. After outlining the theological parallels and differences, and condemning the Muslims' sexuality as abnormal, he somewhat surprisingly concludes: "Yet they are very hospitable, courteous, and generous. I have experienced many kindnesses among them and if you serve them in a small way they repay abundantly."[141] Another example is Riccoldo of Monte Croce's amazement at the beauty of Baghdad and his praise for Muslim cultural

138 Arnold of Harff, ed. Groote (note 103), p. 106.

139 Regarding the discourse of curiosity in the Middle Ages, see the classic works of Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750, New York 1998; Christian K. Zacher, Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England, Baltimore, London 1976.

140 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 373; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,2, p. 444. Cited also by Ganz-Blättler (note 79), pp. 187–188.

141 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 37), pp. 192–193. With the last sentence missing in Laurent's edition, there are once again modifications in the manuscript tradition that have an impact on the image of the 'Muslim Other'.

achievements, their studiousness, and friendliness. This cannot be explained just as criticism of the alleged depraved state at home. Moreover, it does not override his scathing denigration of Islam.[142] Fabri's 'Evagatorium', finally, provided its readers with quite a few episodes of friendly interactions. These range from a shared meal in a pleasant atmosphere with a Mamluk, a 'Saracen', and two Jews,[143] and the gracious exchange of food with a Muslim during a stopover,[144] to the swift help of a "heathen gentile Moor" who "showed [Fabri] as much kindness in [his] trouble as the most tender-hearted Christian could have done" after the Dominican fell from his mule.[145] There was also the incident of how Bernhard of Breidenbach's lost purse was found in the desert sand and restored as a matter of course by an Arab when the pilgrims suspected their Muslim aides of robbery and were about to attack them.[146] In addition, Fabri praised his donkey driver Cassa in an extraordinary way and described a mutual, friendly relation that bewildered his Christian companions.[147] He stated without restraint that the pilgrims dispersed in tears when they left Elphahallo, the dragoman, and Calinus *minor*, who escorted them through Sinai and Egypt, and who according to Fabri cared for the pilgrims like a father.[148]

Such episodes are not easy to interpret. To some extent, they relate to the author's intention to highlight other aspects of 'Otherness' or to take into account what could arouse the curiosity of the reader. Reporting even small and random incidents, bodily sensations, and tiny details, could be used as a technique to increase the authenticity of the report as a whole.[149] In addition, they have to be seen in their intertextual context and allegorical meaning. Burchard's statement on the benevolent Muslim might be deliberately placed to emphasize his preceding negative verdict of the sinful Latin Christians living in the Holy Land and the increasing shallowness of Christianity in general.[150] For Fabri's readers, the Arab who unexpectedly came to assist Fabri after

142 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Kappler (note 38), pp. 158–172; George-Tvrtković (note 38), pp. 211–216.

143 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 129; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,1, p. 132.

144 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 189; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,1, p. 205; Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 208; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, p. 242.

145 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, pp. 177–178; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,1, p. 190.

146 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, pp. 543–545; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,2, pp. 671–674.

147 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 1, p. 208; Stewart (note 1), vol. 1,1, p. 242.

148 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, p. 32. Cited by Ganz-Blättler (note 79), p. 212.

149 William Stewart, Die Reisebeschreibung und ihre Theorie im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts (Literatur und Wirklichkeit 20), Bonn 1978.

150 Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio', ed. Bartlett (note 37), pp. 190–193. Burchard relied here on Jacques de Vitry and picked up the image of the moral depravity of Christians that was developed in the 12th century to explain the multiple setbacks and military defeats of the Crusaders. For an interpretation, see John V. Tolan, Burchard of Mount Sion, in: Alexander Mallett and David Thomas (eds.), Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, vol. 4 (1200–1350), Leiden, Boston 2012, pp. 613–616.

his fall from a donkey during a trip in the area of Jerusalem would certainly have evoked the biblical story of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37). Fabri's depiction of Elphahallo corresponded to images of the simple but upright 'noble heathen' that contrast with the mischiefs of Tanquardinus, the Calinus *maior* at Cairo, who is described as a former Jew who converted to Christianity and Islam for opportunistic reasons and who, like a wolf in sheep's clothing (Matthew 7:15), insidiously tried to extort more money from the pilgrims.[151]

However, these examples cannot sufficiently be explained solely through textual strategies that transform the travelogue into a narrative for the intended audiences. They point to the fact that the pilgrims could not have travelled through the Holy Land mainly controlled by Muslims without getting support from the local population and from the authorities. There is a good chance that Burchard indeed experienced some friendly encounters and was willing to let his readers know about them.[152] These episodes provide glimpses of encounters in everyday life that show a "pragmatic tolerance"[153] between pilgrims and Muslims and that the travellers' encounters did not always fit a clear dichotomy between the righteous 'Christian Self' and the evil 'Muslim Other'. According to this view, Islam had to be condemned and its followers had to be seen as doomed, but it was nevertheless possible to single out individual Muslims and ascribe positive attitudes to them. These episodes, moreover, mirror the versatility, flexibility, and peaceful side of medieval Muslim–Christian relations that can also be traced back to areas such as transcultural trade connections, transmission of knowledge, and shared sacred sites in the Holy Land.[154]

In a chapter that praises the way the sea connects all parts of the world, Fabri used the form of a rhetorical question to express his astonishment.

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151 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 2, p. 143 and vol. 3, pp. 20–21, 106–107; Stewart (note 1), vol. 2,1, pp. 147–148. *Tanquardinus* is a malapropism of Taġrī Berdī Ibn 'Abdullah, who acted in various positions at the Mamluk court in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. For more on him, see Bosselmann-Cyran (note 35), pp. 57–64; John Wansbrough, A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507, in: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 26 (1963), pp. 503–530.

152 Since the last sentence is missing in some manuscripts (Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Laurent [note 55], p. 89), one could speculate if this can be explained by a slip of the pen and lack of space or if a scribe deliberately decided to skip this statement because of its positive message.

153 Reichert (note 14), p. 17.

154 For further references, see Nikolas Jaspert, Austausch-, Transfer- und Abgrenzungsprozesse. Der Mittelmeerraum, in: Thomas Ertl and Michael Limberger (eds.), Die Welt 1250–1500 (Globalgeschichte. Die Welt 1000–2000), Vienna 2009, pp. 138–174; Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds.), Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 33), Berlin, New York 2006; Ora Limor, Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem Between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, in: Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (eds.), In laudem hierosolymitani. Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar, Aldershot 2007, pp. 219–231.

> *Quis quaeso umquam F.F.F. credidisset futurum socium infidelium, et familiarem fieri irrenatorum, cui etiam necesse factum est applaudere Turco et confidere et connivere Sarraceno, concordare Tartaro, obtemperare Arabi et Aegyptio, reverentiam exhibere Mahometo, timorem ostendere barbaro? Hoc totum mare conglutinat.*
>
> Who could have possibly believed, I beg to ask, that Frater Felix Fabri once would have been a companion of infidels, a family friend of unchristened people, that he applauded a Turk, comfortably sat together with a 'Saracen' for dining, befriended a Mongol, followed orders of Arabs and Egyptians, bestowed Muhammad reverence and showed fear in front of barbarians? All that is the result of the connectivity of the sea.[155]

Looking at such a nearly conciliatory statement, one is inclined to argue that the peaceful encounter with the 'Muslim Other' at times led to some kind of "de-illusion" followed by a "rearranging in the internal self-dialogue",[156] that the traveller's subjective experiences on the way *(Beobachtungswissen)* resulted in re-thinking or even in changing established knowledge systems *(Toposwissen)*.[157] Taking into account his whole travelogue, however, and stressing again that the process of writing and communicating between author and reader along culturally established patterns makes it difficult, if ever possible, to be confident what the traveller thought and felt when travelling, it is highly unlikely that the journey to the Holy Land fundamentally changed Fabri's and other pilgrims' attitudes regarding the 'Muslim Other'.

7 Conclusion

The analysis of the pilgrimage reports has shown that almost everything and everyone encountered on the journey could be used for various purposes in order to influence the reader and to direct his attention to specific aspects: from religion and social customs to language, race, sex, space, and time. Regarding the 'Muslim Other', however,

155 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 1), vol. 3, p. 439; Wiegandt (note 1), p. 306.

156 Lívia Mathias Simão, Otherness, in: Encyclopedia of Global Studies (2009), pp. 1279–1281, here p. 1281.

157 For these terms see Friederike Hassauer, Volkssprachige Reiseliteratur: Faszination des Reisens und räumlicher ordo, in: Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht, Ursula Link-Heer and Peter-Michael Spangenberg (eds.), La Litterature Historiographique de Origines a 1500 (Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters XI), Heidelberg 1986, vol. 1, pp. 259–283. For a critical assessment of this concept see Marina Münkler, Erfahrung des Fremden. Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 2000, pp. 231 and 284; Bernhard Jahn, Raumkonzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit. Zur Konstruktion von Wirklichkeit in Pilgerberichten, Amerikareisebeschreibungen und Prosaerzählungen (Mikrokosmos. Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung 34), Frankfurt a. M. 1993, pp. 20 and 80.

Islam was the decisive topic to construct and shape the negative image of the hostile, sometimes bloodthirsty and hot-tempered, sometimes naïve and misguided Muslims. In most cases, the in-group (Latin Christians) and out-group (Muslims) were defined as distinct entities with God-given and unchangeable qualities and associated with unambiguous positive or negative connotations. The demeaning and xenophobic descriptions of the 'Muslim Other' by Breidenbach / Rath, written with the purpose to call for a Crusade against the Ottomans, might be the most candid example among the Latin reports of manufacturing an extremely belligerent and merciless 'Muslim Other'. Yet despite the impact of anti-Islamic polemics, despite many offensive and violent incidents between pilgrims and Muslims that could be and have been used to confirm stereotypes, the reports occasionally also include descriptions of encounters that were not overshadowed by religious boundaries. In contrast, they exploited the 'Muslim Other' to also criticize the 'Christian Self', to promote societal reform, and to remind the intended audiences to pursue Christian virtues and ideals. Sometimes, they even portrayed individual Muslims in a very positive way.

The reports reveal that characterizations of the in- and out-groups were situational attributions that could be flexibly adjusted when necessary. When and how the 'Muslim Other' was used to constitute strict or more permeable cultural borders was dependent on the context of the encounter, the intentions of writing both the report and the particular passage, as well as the intended expectations of the audience. As shown, this resulted in quite different ways of dealing with the Muslims and their beliefs. The common aim of all authors was to unveil the 'true' nature of Islam as heresy and to outline the copious misdemeanours of the Muslims in following Muhammad's wicked doctrines. Though relying heavily on authoritative Christian writings on Islam as well as on previous travelogues, and using skilled literary styles, the authors often came up with original viewpoints to describe and interpret the 'Muslim Other'. The modifications within the processes of copying, translating, or using the reports as sources for one's own writings have however shown the impact of the readers, who, as in the case of Burchard of Mount Sion, were able to further change the image of the 'Muslim Other' maybe beyond the original intentions of the author, or who, as in the case of Breidenbach, did not adopt the solely negative description of the 'Muslim Other'.

In sum, it has to be stated that the authors did not make full use of the asymmetric relation between the 'Self' and the 'Other' in all their descriptions of a cross-cultural encounter and not with regard to all the out-groups they defined as different. Within the medieval Latin tradition of pilgrimage reports, it is Felix Fabri in his monumental 'Evagatorium' who assigned some function to the 'Muslim Other' more often than other authors. Writing in the first place for the intimate circle of his Dominican brethren, he was able to give a more nuanced, in some cases also less orthodox image of the Muslims than, for instance, Breidenbach / Rath. In that way, his report is linked to the narratives of John Mandeville and Arnold of Harff, vernacular travelogues that, inspired by courtly literature, deliberately blended fact and fiction and drew more attention to the 'exotic Other' with the aim of entertaining their audiences. Moreover,

the desire and / or requirement to provide their readers with an encyclopaedic overview of the journey, including the topography, history, and the present state of the places the pilgrims visited, sometimes made it difficult to uphold a coherent image of the 'Self' and the 'Other' throughout the whole report. Fabri's 'Evagatorium', with its many reported micro-events, stands out again, while the absence of almost any personal experiences in Breidenbach's report allowed a more one-sided, but more concise, negative image of Islam and the Muslims.

The understanding that the 'Self' is always delineated against the 'Other' points to the fact that travelogues did not provide an unfiltered account of the writers' perception of his culture and the society he was living in. As the pilgrimage reports were not neutral documents of the worlds abroad, they were not "mirrors of the Self" either.[158] Generally, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was a test for the travellers' character and the encounter with the 'Other' was meant to show their religious steadfastness, modesty, and bravery. As a result, the authors used their experiences to morally guide the readers and to fashion their 'Self' accordingly as a pious Christian. The collective identity shaped through narrating 'Otherness' did not necessarily refer to a condition already achieved, but could express the writer's wish to represent how he himself and / or his own imagined community should be seen and / or how it should act.[159] That, in turn, opened up the possibility of ascribing the 'Muslim Other' different roles and to bring some shades of grey into the black and white dichotomy of the shining 'Christian Self' and the obscure 'Muslim Other' without, however, fundamentally questioning the superiority of the Christian worldview.

158 Bödeker, Bauerkämper and Struck (note 13), p. 24.

159 Fritz Hermanns, Sprache, Kultur und Identität. Reflexionen über drei Totalitätsbegriffe, in: Andreas Gardt, Ulrike Hass-Zumkehr and Thorsten Roelcke (eds.), Sprachgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte (Studia linguistica Germanica 54), Berlin, New York 1999, pp. 351–391, here pp. 381–385; Peter Stachel, Identität. Genese, Inflation und Probleme eines für die zeitgenössischen Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften zentralen Begriffs, in: Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 87 (2005), pp. 395–425, here p. 402.

Philip Booth

Beyond Turner
Anthropological Approaches and Medieval Pilgrimage Texts

Abstract Recent years have seen a significant growth within the field of pilgrimage studies. Mainly the purview of anthropologists and ethnographers, pilgrimage studies, and increasingly the interrelated field of tourism studies, are able to provide scholars of medieval Holy Land pilgrimage with a rich array of analytical tools which we can use. This chapter presents some of the more significant developments within the field of pilgrimage / tourism studies and by taking the examples of two medieval Holy Land pilgrims, Riccoldo of Monte Croce and Felix Fabri, attempts to demonstrate ways in which these developments can be put to use. It suggests that we should adopt more fluid understandings of pilgrimage and looks at how the concept of the 'gaze', developed from Foucauldian ideas by John Urry (1990) and others since can serve as a useful model for understanding the role of sight and encounters with the 'Other' in medieval pilgrimage texts. More importantly, it advocates for a diversification in our approaches as medievalists and signals pilgrimage studies as a worthwhile avenue for future exploration.

Zusammenfassung In den letzten Jahren ist ein zunehmendes Interesse der Forschung an Pilgerreisen zu beobachten. Die hauptsächlich von Anthropologen und Ethnografen betriebene Pilgerforschung wie auch die damit eng verbundene Tourismusforschung geben der Forschung zu mittelalterlichen Pilgerreisen ins Heilige Land eine breite Palette von Analysewerkzeugen an die Hand. Dieses Kapitel stellt einige der bedeutenderen Entwicklungen auf dem Gebiet der Pilger- bzw. Tourismusforschung vor und versucht, sie exemplarisch auf zwei mittelalterliche

Contact

Dr Philip Booth,
Department of History, Politics, and Philosophy, Manchester Metropolitan University, Geoffrey Manton Building, Rosamund St West, Manchester, M15 6EB, United Kingdom,
philip.booth@mmu.ac.uk
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5001-5679

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Jerusalempilger, Riccoldo von Monte Croce und Felix Fabri, anzuwenden. Dabei wird nahegelegt, dass Pilgerfahrt als ein fluides Phänomen verstanden werden sollte. Das Konzept des ‚gaze', das seit den 1990er Jahren von John Urry nach Ideen Foucaults entwickelt wurde, kann als nützliches Modell dienen, um die Rolle des Sehens und der Begegnung mit dem ‚Anderen' in mittelalterlichen Pilgertexten besser zu verstehen. Das Kapitel regt zur Diversifizierung von Forschungsansätzen in der Mediävistik an und zeigt auf, dass das Thema Pilgerreisen ein lohnendes Betätigungsfeld für zukünftige Forschungen bietet.

1 Introduction

Since the 1970s, and particularly after 1978 following the appearance of the Turners' seminal "Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture", there has developed within the disciplines of sociology and anthropology a burgeoning and vibrant subfield of pilgrimage studies.[1] The recent popular upsurge in interest in pilgrimage has only enhanced scholarly engagement with a variety of diverse forms of pilgrimage. Within Medieval Studies, the period around the 1970s also witnessed the appearance of some of the field's own formative anglophone works relating to pilgrimage. Works such as Jonathan Sumption's "Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion" (1975), Ronald Finucane's "Miracles and Pilgrims" (1977), and Donald Howard's "Writers and Pilgrims" (1980), as well as the earlier "Jerusalem Journey" by Hilda Prescott (1954) set the foundation for numerous other works about pilgrimage over the decades since.[2] Yet, despite the concurrent development of the field of pilgrimage studies and historical interest in medieval pilgrimage, these two fields have only occasionally impacted upon one another.[3] As noted by John Eade and Diongi Albera in a recent

1 Victor Turner and Edith Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture, New York 2011 (originally 1978). My thanks to the Leverhulme Trust (ECF-2019-539) who supported the research upon which this chapter was based and to Dr Anne E. Bailey for reading and commenting on a draft version of it.

2 Jonathan Sumption, Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion, London 2002 (originally 1975); Ronald Finucane, Miracles and Pilgrims, London 1977; Donald R. Howard, Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity, Berkeley 1980; Hilda F.M. Prescott, Jerusalem Journey: Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century, London 1954.

3 Some important exceptions are Anne E. Bailey, Modern and Medieval Approaches to Pilgrimage, Gender and Sacred Space, in: History and Anthropology 24,4 (2013), pp. 493–512; Kathryn Hurlock, Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage, c.1100–1500, New York 2018; Glenn Bowman, Pilgrimage Narratives of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: A Study in Ideological Distortion, in: Alan Morinis

edited collection on the future of pilgrimage studies, "there has been limited success in bridging the gap between those studying contemporary pilgrimage and scholars involved in historical research."[4]

This lack of engagement with the theoretical models developed by anthropologists and sociologists, and the inverse lack of critical engagement by scholars in these fields with histories of premodern pilgrimage, has nothing to do with an aversion on the part of those studying the history of pilgrimage to the ideas of social scientists or various social-cultural turns in historical research. Recent years have produced some excellent studies on pilgrimage influenced by gender studies,[5] medical or disability studies,[6] the history of the senses,[7] and the spatial turn. However, when thinking specifically about the history of Holy Land pilgrimage, similar developments have not been observable. This is in part because the study of Holy Land pilgrimage, with its strong foundation in first-hand textual accounts, has become increasingly dominated by literary scholars, philologists and historians of book and manuscript cultures (as this volume in some ways stands testament to). Acknowledging this dominance should not, however, be in any way read as a criticism. A focus on textual developments and literary constructs has produced some truly excellent work in recent years which has done a vast amount to uncover the experiences of pilgrims in the Holy Land and how they wrote about it.[8] But at the same time, these literary histories of pilgrimage

(ed.), Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage, Westport 1992, pp. 149–168. However, this list is by no means exclusive.

4 Diongi Albera and John Eade (eds.), New Pathways in Pilgrimage Studies: Global Perspectives, New York 2016, pp. 1–2.

5 See Bailey (note 3) and Anne E. Bailey, Women Pilgrims and their Travelling Companions in Twelfth Century England, in: Viator 46,1 (2015), pp. 115–134, which are representative of a larger body of work by Bailey that addresses women and pilgrimage. See also Leigh Ann Craig, Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages, Leiden 2009; Maribel Dietz, Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, AD 300–800, University Park PA 2005. While women and pilgrimage have formed a major subject of study in recent years, the question of masculinity in pilgrimage writing is an area that still warrants investigation. For the standard discussion of gender and pilgrimage in contemporary pilgrimage, see Jill Dubisch, In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine, Princeton 1995.

6 See Finucane (note 2). For more recent and nuanced work see Ruth J. Salter, Saints, Cure-seekers and Miraculous Healing in Twelfth-Century England, Woodbridge 2021, and Claire Trenery, Madness, Medicine and Miracle in Twelfth-Century England, Abingdon 2019.

7 See Emma J. Wells, Making 'Sense' of the Pilgrimage Experience of the Medieval Church, in: Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture 3,2 (2011), pp. 122–146, with a more detailed study to be found in Wells' unpublished PhD dissertation. Emotions in pilgrimage is a subject which has been relatively untouched (but see Valtrová in this volume), though there exists rich evidence for such a study in the writings of Holy Land pilgrims.

8 For recent works in this line see Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502), Oxford 2014; Mary Boyle, Writing the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages, Woodbridge 2021; Michele Campopiano, Writing the Holy Land: The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the Construction of a Cultural Memory, 1300–1550, London 2020; Susanna Fischer, Erzählte Bewegung: Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen Lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert) (Mittellateinische Studien

are focused on accounts and authors, rather than the actual experiences of pilgrims. As our focus narrows towards literary interpretations of pilgrimage writings, we run the risk of reducing the experiences of medieval pilgrims to abstraction and pure literary constructions, in essence removing the actual pilgrim from the pilgrimage narrative.[9] Those works that do focus more on the pilgrims themselves as opposed to their records often find themselves dwelling on issues of logistics, ritual practices, and the sacred spaces visited by the pilgrims rather than the diverse experiences of individual pilgrims.[10] Such histories often focus on the later period, and depict a world tightly controlled by Venetian 'travel agents' and Franciscan 'tour guides' with pilgrim experiences distilled into the model of a standard pilgrim route.[11] The reality is individual pilgrim experiences were often more nuanced than the standard historical narratives suggest. Accordingly, alongside the excellent work being done evaluating processes of writing and textual transmission, we should endeavour to reach beyond the constructed texts to the experiences of those pilgrims who wrote them. We should do more to foreground the human subjects alongside place and text.

Excitingly, the theoretical developments within the field of pilgrimage studies, and to some extent tourism studies, now provide the analytical tools to properly engage with the lived experiences of medieval Holy Land pilgrims. To do so, however, we need to go beyond the Turners and look to more recent developments with these fields to tease out those approaches that are most valuable and applicable to the study of medieval pilgrims. We, as scholars, need to be open to new ways of thinking, new approaches, and new ideas from outside of our normal disciplinary, temporal, or socio-cultural comfort zones.[12] In order to stimulate discussions on this topic, this

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und Texte 52), Leiden, Boston 2019. See also the recent Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies special issue, 'Pilgrimage and Textual Culture in Late Medieval and Early Modern: Production, Exchange, Reception' 51,1 (2021) with particular note of Anthony Bale and Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrimage and Textual Culture, pp. 1–8.

9 A recent example of moving too far in this direction can be found in Shayne Aaron Legassey, The Medieval Invention of Travel, Chicago 2017. While at times excellent, some parts of the book feel reductive and overly cynical when it comes to appreciating the lived experience of the travellers which it focuses on.

10 The perfect example of this is the sometimes problematic work of John Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades, Oxford 2015, pp. 1–75 and Id., Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185, London 1988, pp. 1–84. Wilkinson's understanding of the practical elements of Jerusalem pilgrimage was, without doubt, excellent, but he was guilty of occasionally mishandling some of the accounts which he translated. A more careful and nuanced successor to these books is Denys Pringle, Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291, Farnham 2012, pp. 1–19, though the focus of much of Pringle's introduction is very much in the same vein as Wilkinson. See also Liz Mylod, Latin Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187–1291, Ph.D. Diss. University of Leeds, 2013 (unpublished).

11 See Nicole Chareyron, Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, trans. by Donald Wilson, New York 2005, as well as Prescott (note 2).

12 Ian Reader, Breaking Barriers, Eroding Hegemony: Reflections on the Importance of Multilingual Studies of Pilgrimage beyond the Anglophone World, in: Albera and Eade (note 4), pp. 181–198.

chapter has the following aims. First, it will look at developments in the fields of pilgrimage studies since the publication of "Image and Pilgrimage" and evaluate the relevance of these developments for the histories of medieval Holy Land pilgrimages. Thereafter, it will take two case studies, the pilgrimages of the Dominican friars Riccoldo of Monte Croce (c. 1243–1320) and Felix Fabri (1437/38–1502), in order to suggest some ways in which these theoretical models might be fruitfully applied to move us towards a deeper understanding of the lived experiences and expectations of medieval Holy Land pilgrims.

2 Beyond Turner: Contesting Pilgrimage in Motion

Engagement with the work of pilgrimage studies has been minimal amongst those writing on the medieval history of Holy Land pilgrimage. The theory of the Turners will sometimes be invoked, but there has not been any concerted attempt to look beyond their ideas to the theories and frameworks which have dominated pilgrimage studies for the last 40 years. Overall, the main theoretical thrusts of the anthropology of pilgrimage can be distilled into four major ideas: first, the Turners' ideas of *communitas* and liminal processes;[13] second, the ideas of contestation as advocated by John Eade and Michael Sallnow;[14] third, an increasing emphasis on motion and movement (internal and external) as an integral part of pilgrimage, with a focus on movement around, between, and away from sacred centres, rather than merely movement towards the sacred;[15] and finally, in recent years, an increased emphasis on fluid definitions of pilgrimage, influenced primarily by a broadening of the conceptual, confessional, and geographical focus of pilgrimage studies to include 'profane' forms of pilgrimage, or pilgrimage outside of Abrahamic (and especially Christian) religious traditions.[16] The Turners' ideas of *communitas* and liminal processes, as perhaps best articulated in the seminal "Image and Pilgrimage", need not be rehearsed again here; their ideas have been restated, summarized, debated, and reconciled countless times across the discipline since they appeared.[17] While we are right to continue to

13 Turner and Turner (note 1).

14 John Eade and Michael Sallnow, Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage, Chicago 1991.

15 Simon Coleman and John Eade, Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion, London 2004, pp. 1–25. See also, Simon Coleman, The Power of Pilgrimage: Religion in a World of Movement, New York, 2022.

16 Albera and Eade (note 4) and Diongi Albera and John Eade (eds.), International Perspectives on Pilgrimage Studies: Itineraries, Gaps and Obstacles, New York 2015.

17 For the perspective of medievalists see Bailey (note 3) and Caroline Walker Bynum, Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality, in: Robert L. Moore and Frank E. Reynolds (eds.), Anthropology and the Study of Religion, Chicago 1984, pp. 105–125. Also Simon Coleman, Do You Believe in Pilgrimage?, in: Anthropological Theory 2,3 (2000), pp. 355–368 and Jacob N. Kinnard, Places in Motion: The Fluid Identities of Temples, Images, and Pilgrims, Oxford 2014, pp. 6–13.

approach these ideas with caution, numerous commentators have shown that despite the extensive (and in many respects) well-founded criticism they have received, when used in a nuanced and prudent manner much merit can be gained from the situational deployment of the theoretical frameworks of the Turners.

With a focus more on the role of place and space in pilgrimage, the idea of pilgrimage as a vehicle for contestation, appearing in the volume "Contesting the Sacred" has also served a key theoretical framework within pilgrimage studies in recent years. In their volume, Eade and Sallnow, along with their contributors, argued that the chief characteristic of pilgrimage was not its ability to form egalitarian, transformative communities of pilgrims *(communitas)* but that pilgrimage was instead best understood in terms of the contested meanings of pilgrim spaces and experiences. Key to this argument was the understanding of pilgrimage spaces as religious voids, as Eade and Sallnow contended: "The power of a shrine, therefore, derives in large part from its character almost as a religious void, a ritual space capable of accommodating divine meanings and practices."[18] In terms of the history of Holy Land pilgrimage, we should be particularly cognizant of the work of Glenn Bowman, who has written extensively about the ways in which the Holy Land and the meaning of its sacred spaces are at once shared and contested by the various (Christian) denominations who engage with them.[19] Speaking of contemporary pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Bowman has argued that:

> The multiplicity of its practices, which devolves from the diversity of interpretative communities which construct those discourses, makes Jerusalem pilgrimage appear anomalous with respect to the single denomination pilgrimages which to date have informed the theoretical apparatus of the anthropology of pilgrimage [...] For it is at the sites whence pilgrims set out on their searches for the centre that pilgrims learn what they desire to find. At the centres where they go in expectation of fulfilling that desire pilgrims experience little other than that which they already expect to encounter.[20]

As medievalists, when thinking about Jerusalem's holy places, we are so often drawn towards narratives of shared sacred space, and anthropologists have, it must be said, been pulled towards thinking about these spaces as shared rather than contested

18 Eade and Sallnow (note 14), p. 15.

19 Bowman (note 3). Also Glenn Bowman, Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land: the Place of Jerusalem Pilgrimage in Various Christianities, in: Eade and Sallnow (note 14), pp. 98–121; Glenn Bowman, Contemporary Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in: Anthony O'Mahony (ed.), The Christian heritage in the Holy Land, London 1995, pp. 288–310.

20 Bowman, Christian Ideology (note 19), pp. 120–121.

spaces.[21] Yet, at the same time, ideas of the sacred spaces as sites of contestation and the meaning of pilgrimage as something up for debate among those involved provides fruitful grounds for future research. We should be open to the idea of there being multiple Jerusalems and diverse experiences among our medieval (Latin) pilgrim subjects. Our understanding of medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage should not be monolithic, even though the formulaic nature of some later medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage texts would have us believe otherwise.[22] This being said, ideas of contestation have themselves come under criticism in recent years and much the same warnings should be issued here as were issued when discussing liminality and *communitas*. While these ideas certainly have merit, they must be applied cautiously and in nuanced ways.[23]

In more recent years, pilgrimage studies have been heavily influenced by the mobile turn. Here, the volume "Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion" stands as a testament to the diverse and variegated ways in which ideas of mobility and motion have been and can be deployed when discussing pilgrimage.[24] Studies of medieval pilgrimage, particularly long-distance pilgrimage like that to Jerusalem, naturally have travel as one of their central focuses. However, the mobile turn emphasizes not only movement *to* the sacred centre, but also from, between, and around those centres. These types of movement – including bowing, crawling, dancing, gesturing, kneeling, processing, reaching, running, touching, walking – provide new angles to interpret the embodied performance of pilgrimage. Importantly, the pilgrimage accounts which we as scholars of medieval pilgrimage base much of our work stand as rich, untapped repositories for this type of research. When thinking about this mobile turn, Coleman and Eade suggested four understandings of the topic: (1) movement as performative action; (2) movement as an embodied action; (3) movement as part of a semantic field, referring "to the need to contextualise the meaning of 'pilgrimage' within local cultural understandings of mobility"; and (4) movement as a metaphor.[25] The third point here has been increasingly taken up in recent years, as attempts to reach a specific definition(s) of the meaning of pilgrimage has led to the internationalization of its study. In this we might discern two related developments. The first has seen pilgrimage studies reach outside of its traditional anglophone boundaries looking at how scholars working in other languages have approached the study of

21 Benjamin Z. Kedar, Studying the 'Shared Sacred Spaces' of the Medieval Levant: Where Historians May Meet Anthropologists, in: Al-Masāq, 34.2 (2022), pp. 1–16; Diongi Albera and Maria Courcucli (eds.), Sharing Sacred Spaces in the Mediterranean: Christians, Muslims, and Jews at Shrines and Sanctuaries, Bloomington 2012; Glenn Bowman (ed.), Sharing the Sacra: The Politics and Pragmatics of Intercommunal Relations around Holy Places, Oxford 2012.

22 See Boyle (note 8) and Campopiano (note 8).

23 Coleman (note 17), pp. 369–362.

24 Coleman and Eade (note 15).

25 Coleman and Eade (note 15), pp. 16–17. Fischer (note 8) is a good example of ways in which medievalists working on Latin travel literature have in some respects have already begun to engage with the idea of movement as metaphor.

pilgrimage.[26] The second has seen pilgrimage studies break the shackles of its often Western and Christian focus as it turns to try and look at pilgrimage in other religious traditions and in other parts of the world.[27]

As a result, researchers are increasingly conscious of the fact that the terminologies which we use to describe these types of mobility are oftentimes inadequate to truly reflect the experiences of our subjects. As Shirley du Plooy has argued: 'it is possible that the symbolic language used by journeyers does not resonate with the categories used by researchers and journeys are excluded from being considered as pilgrimages' as a result.[28] Scholars thus need to be careful about the ways they use language to describe their subjects, while at the same time attempt to avail themselves of as many differing perspectives on sacred mobility as possible.[29] Personally, I have found the work of Leslie Nthoi on Mwali cult pilgrimage in Southern Africa to have been a particularly enriching divergence from my standard reading and has reminded me that we need to pay increased attention to the field more broadly if we are to equip ourselves with the best possible analytical tools for the future.[30] A final point should be made with regard to recent developments as far as the mutual encroachment of tourism studies and pilgrimage studies is concerned.[31] With increasing awareness of the fluidity that exists between ideas of pilgrimage and tourism has come a greater appreciation of the ways in which previous pilgrim–tourist dichotomies should now be considered part of the multivalent nature of human mobility. As such, the theories of tourism studies can also serve as helpful analytical tools when used appropriately. We will turn to some of the more prevalent and salient ideas of tourism studies in due course, but for now let us turn to our pilgrims.

3 Riccoldo of Monte Croce and the Fluidity of Pilgrimage

When looking for embodiments of these ideas, we might turn to the pilgrimage of Riccoldo of Monte Croce (c. 1243–1320).[32] Riccoldo, a native of Florence, joined the

26 Albera and Eade (note 16).

27 Albera and Eade (note 4).

28 Shirley du Plooy, South(ern) African Journeys of Reverence, in: Albera and Eade (note 4), pp. 124–141, here p. 138.

29 Reader (note 12), p. 195.

30 Leslie S. Nthoi, Contesting Sacred Space: A Pilgrimage Study of the Mwali Cult of Southern Africa, Trenton 2006.

31 A sample of recent research in this regard can be found in the following examples: Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman (eds.), Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism, Chicago 2004; Alex Norman, Spiritual Tourism: Travel and Religious Practice in Western Society, London 2011; Dallen J. Timothy and Daniel H. Olsen (eds.), Tourism, Religion, and Spiritual Journeys, Abingdon 2006.

32 For a modern edition of Riccoldo's 'Liber peregrinationis' see Riccoldo of Monte Croce, Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de

Dominican order in 1267 and during the course of his life served in various capacities within the order, with most of his career spent at his home priory of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.[33] Riccoldo is most well known as an author, with many of his texts, including his famed 'Contra legem saracenorum',[34] focusing on Riccoldo's encounter with Islam and the development of an anti-Islamic polemic. However, he is also known for his Eastern travels, spanning several years, which saw him visit the Holy Land before embarking on a preaching mission to Baghdad. Undertaken between 1288 and 1300, these travels are documented in his 'Liber peregrinationis', which was written on Riccoldo's return to Florence around 1300.[35] Riccoldian scholarship can, in some ways, be divided between those interested in Riccoldo as a pilgrim and those interested in Riccoldo as a polemicist and consequently as a traveller. This represents a more pronounced example of a wider dilemma facing the study of medieval travel / pilgrimage, with scholars often responsible for creating artificial divides between those experiences which we associate with the history of travel (ethnography, cultural encounters, etc.) and those which we associate with the history of pilgrimage (religious rituals, sacred spaces, etc.). This means that histories of medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage which deal with all of these elements often compartmentalize the encounter with Islam and interactions with the sacred spaces of the Holy Land into different sections of their works or in different works altogether.[36] Such compartmentalization is only natural given our academic interests, the needs for focus, and the demands of writing which make dealing with these diverse subjects independently a sensible choice. Nevertheless, despite the ways in which we separate discussions of travel, sacred space, and cultural encounters in our work, we must recognize that the pilgrim-authors with

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Saint-Jean d'Acre. Traduction, ed. and tr. by René Kappler (Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge 4), Paris 1997 (with facing French translation). English translations can also be found in Rita George-Tvrtković, A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam, Turnhout 2012, pp. 175–227 and Pringle (note 10), pp. 361–375.

33 For more details on Riccoldo's life see George-Tvrtković (note 32) and Emilio Panella OP, Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, in: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 58 (1998), pp. 5–85.

34 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur florentin en orient à la fin du XIII^{e} siècle. Le 'Contra legem Sarracenorum' de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, ed. by Jean-Marie Mérigoux OP, in: Fede e Controversia nel '300 e '500 (= Memorie Domenicane N.S. 17 [1986]), Pistoia 1986, pp. 1–144, here pp. 1–59.

35 For the dating of Riccoldo's writings see Philip Booth, The Dominican Educational and Social Contexts of Riccoldo of Monte Croce's Pilgrimage Writing, in: The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 51,1 (2021), pp. 49–78, here pp. 50–57.

36 See for example, Aryeh Grabois, Le pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au Moyen Âge, Brussels 1998, and Chareyron (note 11); both books deal with encounters with foreign or exotic peoples, places, cultures, and landscapes in separate chapters to those which deal with, say, the Holy Sepulchre or logistics of travel. For Riccoldo specifically, see Pringle (note 10), whose translation focuses purely on Riccoldo's travels in the Holy Land, even cutting the parts of the text associated with his travels to Baghdad, and George-Tvrtković (note 32) who says little to nothing about Riccoldo's encounter with sacred space in her work.

whom we engage did not necessarily see these various elements of their pilgrimage experience as being so neatly classified.

Riccoldo represents a perfect example of this. Many readers of his 'Liber peregrinationis', myself included at times, have seen the text as separated into distinct parts, the first characterized as describing his *pilgrimage* to the Holy Land and Jerusalem and the second describing his *mission* to Baghdad, part of which includes several quite wide-ranging ethnographic discussions. Yet a closer look at the ways in which Riccoldo himself conceived of his journey reveals that he considered the whole of his travels to be associated with the performance of a form of mobility which we might describe as pilgrimage. Thinking specifically about the language Riccoldo uses in his 'Liber peregrinationis' to describe his time in the East, he deploys the term *peregrinatio* and its derivatives some nine times during the course of his account.[37] Riccoldo's usage of these lexical items throughout his account betrays a nuanced understanding of the polysemy of these terms. Of course, while we often equate *peregrinus* with its modern derivatives such as 'pilgrim', 'pilger' or 'pèlerin' or *peregrinatio* with pilgrimage, the original meanings of these words possessed a much broader set of meanings. In Classical Latin, the meaning of *peregrinus* was more accurately understood as 'foreigner' or 'alien' and *peregrinatio* as a 'journey abroad'. Though these terms came to be closely associated with forms of mobility that we might understand to be pilgrimage, through the course of the medieval period the fluidity of these original meanings were never lost and would have been keenly appreciated by Riccoldo given his levels of education. Indeed, the dexterity with which he uses these terms demonstrates the subtle meanings he could tease from the language he used. As such, foregrounding this usage is important for understanding Riccoldo's conception of 'pilgrimage', especially in light on the pervading belief that the form, experiences, expectations, and beliefs of the pilgrim themselves, in large part, determines what we as scholars understand pilgrimage to be.

Many of these uses of *peregrinatio* can be found in the introduction of Riccoldo's text and these occurrences clearly establish what Riccoldo understood the term *peregrinatio* or *peregrinus* to mean. For example, he writes:

> *Cogitaui, inquam, non esse tutum quod ego longo tempore sederem et otiosus essem et non probarem aliquid de labore paupertatis et longe peregrinationis, maxime cum in mente mea reuoluerem quas longas et laboriosas peregrinationes adsumpseram adhuc secularis existens, ut addiscerem illas seculares scientias quas liberales appellant. Suscepta igitur obedientia domini pape mediante magistro ordinis incipiens peregrinationem transiui mare ut loca illa corporaliter uiderem que Christus corporaliter uisitauit et maxime locum in quo pro salute humani generis mori dignatus est, ut memoria passionis eius in mente mea imprimeretur tenacius et sanguis Christi pro nostra salute*

37 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', ed. Kappler (note 32), pp. 36–38, 52, 114.

> *effusus esset michi robur et firmamentum ad predicandum et moriendum pro illo qui mihi sua morte uitam donauerat.*[38]
>
> I thought, I repeat, that it would not be wise for me to sit idly around and not experience something of the hardship of poverty and lengthy pilgrimage, especially when I turned over in my mind what long and laborious pilgrimages I had undertaken while still living in the world, in order to learn those worldly sciences that people call liberal. Having received the pope's permission through the mediation of the master of the order, I began my pilgrimage and crossed over the sea, so that I might see in person those places that Christ bodily visited, especially the place where He deigned to die for the salvation of humankind, so that the memory of His Passion might be impressed on my mind more firmly and that the blood of Christ that was shed for our salvation might give me strength and steadfastness to preach and die for Him, who gave me life by His death.[39]

In equating his eastern 'pilgrimage' with his 'pilgrimage' for secular education, Riccoldo here highlights three qualities which he felt characterized pilgrimage. First, that in a qualitative sense a pilgrimage required labour (which included poverty). Second, that in a temporal sense a pilgrimage needed to be long. And third, that a pilgrimage needed to be transformative.[40] Though this final point is made explicit only at the end of the quoted passage, the fact was that Riccoldo's secular education *had* changed him through the acquisition of knowledge.[41] His secular learning was an important part of him, and thus we can expect that Riccoldo felt his physical pilgrimage had transformed him in the same way by his use of this comparison. Our understanding of Riccoldo's conceptualization of pilgrimage is further supplemented by his deployment of pilgrimage descriptors just prior to this statement. Here, Riccoldo writes in reference to Christ's earthly ministry:

> *et ipse altissimi filius suam peregrinationem tamen nobis diligenter ad memoriam reduceret ut ea non essemus ingrati dicens exiui a patre et ueni in mundum et quomodo etiam cito natus et pauper et paruulus nec sibi nec*

38 Ibid., pp. 36–38.

39 Pringle (note 10), pp. 361–362.

40 For the importance of transformation as an aspect of pilgrimage see (amongst others) Barbara Nimri Aziz, Personal Dimensions of the Sacred Journey: What Pilgrims Say, in: Religious Studies 23,2 (1987), pp. 247–261; Alan Morinis, Introduction: The Territory of the Anthropology of Pilgrimage, in: Morinis (note 3), pp. 1–17; Richard Scriven, Geographies of Pilgrimage: Meaningful Movements and Embodied Mobilities, in: Geography Compass 8,4 (2014), pp. 249–261, here pp. 251–252.

41 For more on Riccoldo's secular education see Panella (note 33) and Martin M. Bauer, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis: Epistole ad Ecclesiam triumphantem, Stuttgart 2021, pp. 6–11.

> *matri pepercit a longa et laboriosa peregrinatione sed cum matre pauperi et sene baiulo peregrinatus in Egiptum ut fugeret aduersarios.*[42]
>
> and that He Himself, the Son of the Most High, carefully recalled His pilgrimage to memory for us so that we should not be unthankful, saying, 'I came from the Father and have come into the world', and also that, despite being newly born, poor and small, He did not spare Himself or His mother a long and laborious *journey*, but with His poor mother and with an old man carrying Him he *travelled* to Egypt to escape His enemies.[43]

Here, again, we have the same qualitative and temporal markers of pilgrimage *(longa et laboriosa peregrinatione)* and indeed the appearance of this phrase twice in Riccoldo's introductory remarks speaks to the prominence which this conceptualization had for him. However, he implies here another quality of pilgrimage, namely that the act of pilgrimage was Christo-mimetic. In undertaking *longa et laboriosa* travel in a distant land, the pilgrim emulates Christ. Indeed, the construction of Riccoldo's pilgrimage itinerary speaks to the fact that this carefully curated representation of his travels around the Holy Land is meant to further portray Riccoldo's movements as following those of Christ.[44]

Conscious of Riccoldo's own understanding of the meaning and significance of pilgrimage, it is worth noting one additional use of the same linguistic marker later in his account. Having detailed his experiences in the Holy Land, Riccoldo's journey continues through lands he refers to as *Armenia* and *Turchia* before reaching the areas ruled over by the Mongol Ilkhanate. Upon arriving at this point in his journey, Riccoldo diverges from narrating his itinerary and embarks on a lengthy ethnographic discourse on the Mongols (referred to as the *Tartari*).[45] At the conclusion of this, Riccoldo brings his reader's attention back to subject at hand with the phrase: *Nunc prosequamur de nostra peregrinatione* (Now we will continue with our pilgrimage).[46] The addition of this phrase, in this instance, demonstrates a recognition that his descriptions and discussions of the Mongols were tangential to the main objective of the 'Liber peregrinationis' namely to *prosequamur* or describe in detail his pilgrimage. But while this implies that the Mongols were not part of his pilgrimage, it also implies that the other parts of his journey, outside of the Holy Land, and engaging with other groups such as Muslims, Eastern Christians, and Jews in Mesopotamia were understood to fall within the bounds of what he understood as pilgrimage. The

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42 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', Kappler (note 32), p. 36.

43 Pringle (note 10), p. 361 (emphasis added). Note here Pringle's decision to translate *peregrinationem* as 'pilgrimage', but *peregrinatione* as 'journey' and *peregrinatus* as 'travelled'. In many ways this is indicative of the problems facing scholars of medieval pilgrimage.

44 Bauer (note 41), pp. 14–16 and Booth (note 35), p. 54.

45 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', Kappler (note 32), p. 78–114.

46 Ibid., p. 114; George-Tvrtković (note 32), p. 198.

sections that follow this statement include discussions about the lands of Turkey and Persia, the cities of Mosul and Baghdad, and descriptions of peoples like the Kurds, the Jacobites (and the debates he had with them), the Nestorians (and debates held with them also), and, importantly, the Muslim groups he encountered. None of these other groups earn themselves a similar postscript to the Mongols, which begs the question: why are these groups considered a part of Riccoldo's pilgrimage journeys and the Mongols are not?

Part of the answer comes in Riccoldo's intentions for embarking on his pilgrimage. Before recounting, in an almost pros and cons style, the beliefs and cultural markers of Islam, Riccoldo states:

> *Nos igitur, cum desideraremus euacuare perfidiam Maccometti et intendentes eos aggredi in sua sede et in loco generalis studii necesse habuimus aliquantulum conuersari cum eis et recipiebant nos sicut angelos Dei in sui scolis et studiis et in monasteriis et in ecclesiis seu sinagogis et domibus eorum.*[47]
>
> Since we desired to nullify the perfidy of Mahomet, we intended to confront them in their capital and in the place of their *studium generale*. It was necessary for us to converse with them a good deal, and they received us as angels of God in their schools, and *studia*, in their monasteries and churches or synagogues, and in their homes.[48]

The reason, therefore, for the Islam's inclusion in Riccoldo's conceptualization of pilgrimage (and the same could be said here about the Jacobites, Nestorians, and Jews) was that Riccoldo's intention was for his 'long and laborious pilgrimage' to involve preaching specifically to these groups. Riccoldo's journey was not part pilgrimage, part mission; Riccoldo's pilgrimage was mission, or indeed his mission was a pilgrimage.

In many ways, this ties into Riccoldo's Christo-mimetic conceptualization of pilgrimage. In commencing his pilgrimage in the Holy Land, Riccoldo follows Christ. But as Riccoldo moves from the Holy Land towards the East, he moves from acting as Christ in the Holy Land towards acting in the place of his Apostles fulfilling the commandment of Matthew 28:19, and the expectations of his Dominican vocation, to "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit".[49] (Though in continuing in his long and laborious travels Riccoldo never ceases to act in a Christo-mimetic manner.) Indeed, this image of Riccoldo operating within the age-old monastic emulation of the *vita apostolica* also elucidates the moments where he depicts himself as involved

47 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', Kappler (note 32), p. 156.

48 George-Tvrtković (note 32), p. 211.

49 Matthew 28:19 NRSV.

with public debate with the inhabitants of the east.[50] Riccoldo describes or references three such debates in his 'Liber peregrinationis': the first is a brief reference to a debate in a synagogue in Mosul between Riccoldo and local Jewish leaders;[51] the second is a more elaborate account of a debate occurring between himself and Mosul's Syrian Orthodox community;[52] the third occurs in Baghdad, where Riccoldo engages in a debate with the local Nestorian Christians.[53] In each of these moments, Riccoldo stands before these groups as Paul stood before King Agrippa.[54] Preaching, debating against people not of his faith, and the emulation of the Apostles and Christ are all integral parts of Riccoldo's understanding of his pilgrimage's meaning.

In fact, with this in mind, as we return to those parts of Riccoldo's narrative which deal with more overt and traditionally understood pilgrimage spaces (those of the Holy Land specifically) we see that just as his pilgrimage did not end once he headed East, his mission did not start when he left the Holy Land. He speaks of preaching and baptizing at the Jordan as part of the Eastern Christian celebration of the Epiphany.[55] Furthermore, when speaking about Galilee at the beginning of his 'Liber peregrinationis', Riccoldo frequently refers to preaching. At the town of Magdala, he states:

> *uenimus .VI.m. ad Magdalum castellum Marie Magdalene iuxta stagnum Genesar, et flentes et eyulantes pro eo quod inuenimus ecclesiam pulcram non destructam sed stabulatam, cantauimus et predicauimus euangelium Magdalene.*[56]
>
> we came after six miles to Magdala, the village of Mary Magdalene beside Lake Ginnosar; and weeping and crying because we found the beautiful church not destroyed but made into a stable, we chanted and preached the gospel of Magdelene.[57]

We find the same construction of *cantauimus et predicauimus* used repeatedly in this section, when speaking the mountains of Galilee, the tax post of Matthew, and the place of Christ's post-resurrection appearance to the disciples on the shore of Galilee.[58] Most significantly, we see a similar construction used at Cana, where he states:

50 Giles Constable, Three Studies in Medieval Religion and Social Thought, Cambridge 2009, pp. 143–248.

51 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', Kappler (note 32), p. 122.

52 Ibid., pp. 126–130.

53 Ibid., pp. 150–154.

54 Acts 26 NRSV.

55 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', Kappler (note 32), p. 54.

56 Ibid., p. 42.

57 Pringle (note 10), p. 363.

58 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', Kappler (note 32), pp. 40–44.

> *Ibi inuenimus locum nuptiarum et loca et formulas ydriarum. Ibi cantauimus et predicauimus euangelium nuptiarum. Ibi rogaui Christum quod sicut aquam in uinum conuerterat, ita aquam mee insipiditatis et indeuotionis conuerteret in uinum compunctionis et spiritualis saporis.*[59]
>
> There we found the place of the marriage feast and the places and shapes of the jars. There we sang and preached the gospel of the of the marriage feast. There I asked Christ, just as He had changed water into wine, so to convert the water of my insipidity and lack of devotion into the wine of repentance and spiritual flavour.[60]

First, of all we should note that through use of the formulaic *Ibi…* construction, Riccoldo is indicating and demonstrating he is very much writing here in the tradition of pilgrimage narratives.[61] Yet in repeating the phrase *cantauimus et predicauimus* Riccoldo places preaching, as well as worship, at the centre of his pilgrimage narrative. Crucially, here again, there appears the expectation that pilgrimage can serve a transformative function in the form of a request for Christ to figuratively change Riccoldo's inward person in the same way as he had changed water into wine. He voices a similar wish moments later when describing Bethsaida, where he says he asked Christ *quod ad sanctam suum discipulatum uocaret et faceret me piscatorem hominum* ("to call me to His holy discipleship and to make me a fisher of men"),[62] and again on the mountains of Galilee where he asks *quod me totaliter a desiderio terrenorum leuaret et mentem mean ad celestia transferret* ("to remove completely from me all earthly desires and to turn my mind to heavenly things").[63]

It cannot be forgotten that in holding mission as a central facet of pilgrimage, Riccoldo expected (or at least hoped) that his sacred journeyings would have a transformative effect on not just himself, but the communities which he encountered by virtue of their conversion (though it appears few did convert). By comparison, Wayne Fife, in an examination of late-19th, early-20th century British missionaries in Papua New Guinea, has suggested the ways in which these missionaries envisaged their transformational missionary journeys (for themselves and the communities they evangelized) in language akin to that used to speak about pilgrimage.[64] Indeed, Fife's describes pilgrimage as "an internal and external journey toward an ideal destination. The individuals involved in this form of physical and spiritual movement, which

59 Ibid., p. 38.

60 Pringle (note 10), p. 362.

61 Fischer (note 8), pp. 44–46.

62 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', Kappler (note 32), p. 40; Pringle (note 10), p. 362.

63 Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Peregrinatio', Kappler (note 32), p. 40; Pringle (note 10), pp. 362–363.

64 Wayne Fife, Extending the Metaphor: British Missionaries as Pilgrims in New Guinea, in: Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman (eds.), Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism, Chicago 2004, pp. 140–159.

normally involves hardships and difficulties, expect the experience to change their relationship with the sacred." This seems to speak precisely to the ways in which Riccoldo thought about his own pilgrimage journeys, of which missionary activities were very much a central part.[65]

Naturally, all this must be approached with a certain degree of caution. We are, after all, dealing not with Riccoldo's direct experience, but rather a curated version of his travels in the East. Nevertheless, it is clear that based on Riccoldo's own writings, we cannot depict his travels as a two-part affair comprising first a pilgrimage, followed by missionary travels. Instead, we must see in Riccoldo's experiences a range of different forms of travel all of which he unified under the multivalent name of *peregrinatio*. For him there was no differentiation between pilgrimage, travel, and mission; these varied forms of mobility were for him all *peregrinatio*. Consequently, histories of Holy Land pilgrimage need not only include histories of Jerusalem-bound travel or engagement with sacred space. They should not be confined by "self-defeating [...] dogmatic assertions of what sacred travel must, or must not, contain."[66] Instead, we must be willing to adopt a fluid understanding of pilgrimage in line with the conceptual fluidity of our pilgrim-authors.

4 Felix Fabri and the 'Tourist' Gaze

Turning now to our second pilgrim, Felix Fabri (1437/38–1502) was Swiss-born Dominican, who took orders in 1452 at the Dominican Priory in Basel before spending his career after 1468 in Ulm involved in the observant reform of the priory there. Felix travelled to the Holy Land twice, once in 1480 and again between 1483 and 1484, the second pilgrimage being prompted by his dissatisfaction with the experiences of his first pilgrimage and his desire to visit Mount Sinai. He was an active preacher and wrote extensively about his pilgrimage experiences, producing several works in both the vernacular and Latin. It is with his Latin 'Evagatorium' which we are concerned here.[67] The 'Evagatorium' stands, among scholars, as one of the most celebrated medieval Holy Land pilgrimage accounts, due to the extensive detail in which it describes the experiences of late medieval pilgrims. Within the richness of Fabri's

65 Ibid., p. 156.

66 Coleman (note 17), p. 364.

67 A fuller list of Felix's works and a deeper exploration of his writings and career can be found in Beebe (note 8), pp. 68–92. The Latin edition of the 'Evagatorium' can be found in Felix Fabri, Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem, ed. by Konrad Dietrich Hassler, Stuttgart 1843–1849, 3 vols., and with a French translation in Les errances de Frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte, 1480–1483, ed. by Nicole Chareyron and Jean Meyers (Textes littéraires du Moyen Âge), 9 vols., Montpellier 2000–2021. An English translation (though incomplete) can be found in Felix Fabri (circa 1480–1483 A.D.), [Wanderings in the Holy Land], ed. and trans. by Aubrey Stewart, 2 vols., 4 parts (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society vols. 7–10), London 1887–1897. References are made to Stewart's numbering; e.g. 'vol. 1,1' refers to volume I, part i of Stewart's edition (= PPTS vol. 7).

text appear repeated moments where Fabri turns away from traditional focus on the sacred spaces of the Holy Land and instead turns his attentions towards recurrent episodes in which he and his companions observed and entered the various mosques he encountered while in the Holy Land.[68] Visiting mosques was not an activity peculiar to Fabri, with several other late medieval pilgrimage accounts describing episodes in which their authors entered or attempted to enter mosques.[69] Nevertheless, despite its relatively common appearance within late medieval pilgrims' accounts, the visitation of mosques presents us with a problematic conceptual challenge. Within a Christian pilgrimage account, a mosque, in a basic sense, is not considered a sacred space and yet we also cannot, given a mosque's raison d'être, categorize it as part of the polar opposite of the sacred in some Durkheimian-esque sacred–profane dichotomy. As we have seen with Riccoldo, the tendency within scholarship has been to deal with pilgrims' descriptions of the Holy Land as part of the history of pilgrimage (or sacred travel), but to designate encounters with exotic and foreign cultures within these texts as part of the history of (profane) travel. In this view, descriptions of visiting mosques should be grouped with Riccoldo's descriptions of the Mongols or as a part of the same literary traditions which produced texts such as Marco Polo's 'Il Milione'. And yet, Fabri's descriptions of mosques are not neatly set apart from the rest of Fabri's experiences in the Holy Land in the same way as Riccoldo's descriptions of his Eastern travels are or in the same way as many descriptions of people of the Holy Land or later medieval descriptions of Egypt are. Instead, mosque visits (as with many of Fabri's discussions of Islam) are interwoven between descriptions of Christian sacred space throughout Fabri's text. The problem this creates is that in a world where mosque descriptions are seen as part of the history of travel, whereas church visits are seen as part of the history of pilgrimage, Fabri's identity within his account would appear to be in a constant state of flux. One moment he is a pilgrim, the next a traveller, then once again a pilgrim. Indeed, much of my thinking for this section was inspired by a question, along these lines, asked at a session of the International Congress at Leeds some years ago: "When Felix visits a mosque, does he at that point temporarily stop being a pilgrim?"[70]

How to reconcile the problems associated with Fabri's repeated visits to Islamic places of worship was one that was not lost on the author himself. The illicit nature of such visits and the dangers associated with them is repeatedly emphasized within Fabri's account.[71] Furthermore, in a lengthy passage Fabri himself discusses four

68 It should be stressed that while Fabri consistently uses the term "mosque" *(muscheam)* to describe these structures, the places he is describing represent a much broader selection of Islamic religious buildings, including shrines and religious schools. See Jessica Tearney-Pearce, Felix Peccatus? The Musings of a Late Medieval Pilgrim on Entering Mosques, unpublished paper presented at Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 2015, p. 3. I am extremely grateful for the opportunity given to by its author to review the paper in preparation for this chapter.

69 Tearney-Pearce (note 68).

70 This question was asked in response to the following paper: Tearney-Pearce (note 68).

71 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 1, p. 216.

potential scenarios where visiting a mosque might be considered permissible act for a medieval Christian pilgrim.[72] These were: (1) to pray or to worship, given that irrespective of the religious association of the space it was still dedicated to God (though Fabri seems to have not been entirely comfortable with this explanation); (2) to preach (though again Fabri is not completely satisfied with this justification); (3) to insult, mock, or cause damage (an idea that here Fabri has no time for at all); or (4) to "behold the mosque and the ritual thereof".[73] It is this final one that Fabri seems to settle on as the best excuse for a Christian breaking the clear rules against visiting mosques, with one of his chief reasons for preferring this idea that, where a mosque occupied a Christian holy place, visiting a mosque could and should be seen as an act of devotion rather than one of curiosity.[74] That being said, several of the episodes of mosque visitation which occur in Fabri's account happen at sites where no such Christian sacred association existed and thus this justification does not completely explain Fabri's reasons for visiting these spaces or for their inclusion in his pilgrimage account. To reconcile mosques as an integral part of Fabri's experiences, not as a curiosity-driven traveller but as a pilgrim, we must look for other explanations.

An alternative interpretation can be found as we consider the influential, if debated, idea of the tourist gaze.[75] Originally developed by sociologist John Urry (1990), and refined over subsequent decades, the existence of a tourist gaze grows out of the broader social theory, advocated by Foucault amongst others, of the 'gaze'. In the Foucauldian sense, the gaze is an expression of power.[76] The act of looking or gazing becomes a means of objectifying and appropriating the thing looked upon. In the tourist gaze, the gazer appears as the tourist or traveller, whereas the subject of the gaze is the host population or culture which the tourist encounters while away from home. Behind the ideas of the tourist gaze is the understanding that:

> People gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education. Gazing is a performance that orders, shapes, and classifies, rather than reflects the world.[77]

72 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 225–230; Tearney-Pearce (note 68), pp. 5–7, 12–18.

73 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, pp. 225–230.

74 This is the point emphasized in Susanna Fischer and Jacob Langeloh, Neugier auf Pilgerreise: *Curiositas* im ‚Liber peregrinationis' des Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (ca. 1301) und in Felix Fabris ‚Evagatorium' (nach 1484), in: Miscellanea Mediaevalia 42 (2022), pp. 505–525, here pp. 517–523.

75 John Urry and Jonas Larsen, The Tourist Gaze 3.0, London 2011. This latest edition of the Tourist Gaze addresses several of the main complaints about the book's original thesis and coverage. Nevertheless, while influential it is not without its critics.

76 Michel Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception, New York 1970.

77 Urry and Larsen (note 75), p. 2.

Importantly, when thinking about medieval Holy Land pilgrimage texts and particularly about Fabri's experiences of mosques, to which we will turn shortly, this means that:

> We don't literally see things. Particularly as tourists we see objects and especially buildings in part constituted as signs. They stand for something else. When we gaze as tourists what we see are various signs or tourist cliches [...] Here what happens is a substitution of some feature or effect or cause of the phenomenon as the phenomenon itself.[78]

The existence of a tourist gaze relies heavily on the concept of authenticity so important to tourism studies. Originally popularized by Dean MacCannell as part of a discussion of Erving Goffman's distinction between 'front and back' spaces, the idea of authenticity remains integral and heavily discussed concept.[79] In summary, MacCannell's refinement of Goffman's 'front and back' distinction argued for the existence of different types of spaces with which tourists were able to interact when travelling. Front spaces represented those spaces tourists were 'allowed' to see and back spaces those which hosts would have preferred to have remained hidden from tourists' eyes. Adding nuance to the Goffmanian dichotomy, MacCannell argued for the further existence of other spaces as part of a conceptual sliding scale between front and back regions. He suggested the existence of grey areas, such as front regions given the appearance of back regions, which in turn could give tourists a window into a world which they *believed* to be an authentic glimpse of the real lives of their hosts. This he termed "staged authenticity".[80] Current thinking has refined MacCannell's theories considerably, acknowledging the existence of three types of authenticity: objective, constructive, and existential.[81] Nevertheless, ideas of authenticity are crucial for the concept of a tourist gaze which advocates the socially constructed way in which we see objects and places within foreign cultures. The experience of tourists is expressed in the conflict between the tourist looking for an authentic view of an exciting, 'Other' world and the hosts wishing to mask the unattractive and private authentic world within which they live with a veneer of 'front regions' disguised as 'back regions'.

Urry's concepts have, naturally, not been universally accepted by scholarship. Dean MacCannell himself has taken issue with the tourist gaze, arguing instead for

78 Ibid., p. 17. See also Bowman, Christian Ideology (note 19), pp. 120–121.

79 Dean MacCannell, Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings, in: American Journal of Sociology 79,3 (1973), pp. 589–603. See also MacCannell, The Tourist: A New Theory of Leisure Class, New York 1976.

80 MacCannell, Staged Authenticity (note 79), p. 598.

81 Yaniv Belhassen, Kelle Caton and William P. Stewart, The Search for Authenticity in the Pilgrim Experience, in: Annals of Tourism Research 35,3 (2008), pp. 668–689.

the existence of a 'second gaze'.[82] MacCannell's objections to Urry's thesis mainly lie with Urry's deterministic image of tourists as "ego-mimetic Foucauldian tourists" who all have miserable lives and seek to overcome their boredom of the mundane through the pursuit of an image of the exotic carefully constructed by the tourism industry.[83] Yet despite this criticism, MacCannell's suggestion is not the complete rejection of the tourist gaze, but an appreciation that this gaze is supplemented by a 'second gaze', one that looks beyond the world presented to the tourist and one that seeks reality rather than accepting what is presented to them at face value. According to MacCannell, the tourist gaze is "installed by the institutions and practices of commercialised tourism. It is fully ideological in its construction. The ideology of the first tourist gaze advances the notion of transparency of visual meaning: what you see is what you get."[84] The second gaze on the other hand is:

> always aware that something is being concealed from it; that there is something missing from every picture, from look or glance […] [it] knows that seeing is not believing […] [it] turns back onto the gazing subject an ethical responsibility for the construction of its own existence. It refuses to leave this construction to the corporation, the state, and the apparatus of touristic representation […] the second gaze may be more interested in the ways attractions are presented than in the attractions themselves.[85]

Alongside this, there have been other, complementary developments of the tourist gaze and the important concept of the 'reverse gaze', with Darya Moaz advocating the existence of a 'local gaze' and therefore a 'mutual gaze' which seeks to work around the egocentric, western, male gaze of the tourist by acknowledging the ability of the tourist gaze's object (the hosts) to itself objectify the tourists in return.[86] This in turn leads to a host–guest relationship which results in, as Moaz asserts: "mutual avoidance, remoteness, and negative attitudes and behaviour. There are no defined 'dominators' and 'dominated,' as both groups simultaneously undergo and exercise power."[87] Interestingly, there are multiple moments where this mutual gaze might be observed in Fabri's text itself, where he himself is subject to the gaze of local communities, but unfortunately a discussion of these must be left for another time and place.[88]

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82 Dean MacCannell, Tourist Agency, in: Tourist Studies 1,1 (2001), pp. 23–37.

83 Ibid., pp. 24–30.

84 Ibid., p. 35.

85 Ibid., p. 36.

86 Darya Moaz, The Mutual Gaze, in: Annals of Tourism Research 33,1 (2006), pp. 221–239.

87 Ibid., p. 225.

88 We might think here of him being watched praying on the steps to the Tomb of the Patriarchs (Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler [note 67], vol. 2, p. 350) or the episode where a group of women drill a hole into his lodgings in Ramla to observe the pilgrims' resting places (Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler [note 67], vol. 1, p. 224).

Naturally, ideas of 'tourism' and 'tourist' are difficult to apply to medieval contexts. These modern phenomena are so closely tied up with modern conceptions of time, work and leisure / pleasure, (mass) production and consumption that direct comparisons between modern tourists and medieval pilgrims and travellers is inappropriate. Indeed, John Urry himself situates the origins of the tourist gaze within the 1840s with the birth of photography and mass tourism in the form of ventures like Thomas Cook's tours.[89] That being said, the experiences of medieval pilgrims and travellers were heavily reliant on sight and thus theoretical models, like the tourist gaze, which explore the relationship between the sight and site (or its inhabitants) are useful for better understanding the relationship between medieval travellers and pilgrims and the things which they gazed upon.[90] Indeed, in her investigation of late antique Christian pilgrimage, Georgia Frank suggested the existence, without explicit reference to the ideas of Foucault and others, of a 'pilgrim gaze', which she concludes should be closely tied to the idea of a 'haptic gaze'.[91] However, the accounts of late medieval pilgrims seems to demonstrate a less direct link between sight and touch. Moreover, there does appear, in Fabri at least, to be a definite sense of the gaze as a way in which to organize, control, and possess objects on behalf of the subject (in this case Fabri), as well as moments where Fabri's gaze seeks to look beyond the seen to the unseen and other moments where he himself becomes to object of a 'local gaze' as mentioned above.

With this in mind, let us turn to looking at the episodes of mosque visitation within Fabri's text. In total, there appear in Fabri's account 11 episodes of mosque visitation or adjacency while in the Holy Land.[92] These can be divided into two groupings, with one group consisting of moments where Fabri gazed upon or engaged with only the exterior of a mosque (adjacency) and others where he was able to physically enter the mosque in question (visitation). The first grouping includes the following episodes. At Mount Sion, Fabri tells how he was able to repeatedly *(ultra decies intraui occulte et locum perspexi)* covertly enter the shrine containing the tombs of David and Solomon since the shrine's custodian had left the door unlocked.[93] And while on Mount Sinai, he describes visiting the mosque

89 Urry and Larsen (note 75), p. 14.

90 The traditional explorations of sight and medieval travel can be found in Mary B. Campbell, The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600, Ithaca 1988; Georgia Frank, The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity, Berkeley 2000; Cynthia Hahn, Vision, in: Conrad Rudolph (ed.), A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe, Oxford 2006, pp. 44–64; Cynthia Hahn, Visio Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality, in: Robert S. Nelson (ed.), Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance, Cambridge 2000, pp. 169–196.

91 Georgia Frank, The Pilgrim's Gaze in the Age Before Icons, in: Nelson (note 90), pp. 98–115.

92 There are of course, several other moments when 'mosques' are mentioned in Fabri's text, but these represent the episodes where the appearance of a mosque in his text is also accompanied by some sort of engagement with it.

93 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 1, pp. 253–254. For the following examples, see also Tearney-Pearce (note 68).

which formed part of the complex at the base of the mountain, taking the chance to do so while its users were away.[94] He describes entering another mosque in south Jerusalem, near the Dung Gate, where an open door allowed him and his companions to enter it freely,[95] and in Jerusalem he describes being given a tour of a mosque which was still under construction by a man he refers to as Thadi, bishop of the Saracens' Temple *(episcopi templi Sarracenorum)*.[96] Fabri also signifies his visit to the Church of the Ascension as a secret, night-time infiltration of a mosque, though he does not use this episode as a moment to say anything about Islam.[97] A final moment of secret entry under the cover of dark occurs at the madrasa found in the former Church of St Anne's, again in Jerusalem.[98] On the other hand, episodes of adjacency are as follows. At Lydda, Fabri is able to gaze through an open door at a mosque housed in walled off part of the Church of St George.[99] Later, at Hebron, Fabri, unable to obtain permission to enter the Tomb of the Patriarchs, is forced to pray on the steps of the mosque instead.[100] At Mount Horeb, Fabri observes a group of Muslim pilgrims outside a mosque sitting across from the Christian church which commemorated the same space.[101] And at Gaza, Fabri tells of a mosque, next to their inn, which they could see inside of via a hole in roof and which one of his companions "defiled" through that hole.[102] The most significant episode within this group occurs at the Dome of the Rock, or the Temple as Fabri refers to it, where although access is denied Fabri feels so confident in his knowledge of the interior of a mosque that he imagines this space for his reader after having described the beauty of its exterior decorations.[103]

What we see in these differentiated experiences with the 'mosques' which Fabri visits is the development of something like front and back regions often discussed in tourism studies. The exterior mosque represents a front region, an area on show to the pilgrims but which for Fabri presents an inauthentic view of Islam. The interiors of these 'mosques' represent a back region, an area which Fabri recognizes as off limits

94 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 501.

95 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 123.

96 Presumably the name of Thadi is a misunderstanding of the Arabic title of *Qadi*, since the person in question here seems to have had some kind of public, but also religious, administrative role. Incidentally, he also assumes that the house of this official is some kind of open mosque. Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, p. 124.

97 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 1, pp. 388–390.

98 This is one of the clear moments where we know Felix's designation of the place as a mosque to be wayward. St Anne's had been converted into a madrasa following Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in 1187. See Denys Pringle, The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus, vol. 3: The City of Jerusalem, Cambridge 2007, pp. 142–145.

99 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 1, p. 225.

100 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 348–350.

101 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 459.

102 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 360–361.

103 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 220–221, 225–230.

or hidden to the travelling pilgrims, but which is the place where an authentic image of Islamic religion can be uncovered. In both cases, Fabri's gaze "orders, shapes and classifies" these spaces, which are then subsequently captured in written form in the 'Evagatorium'.[104] In practice, this means that Fabri's portrayals of these front and back regions remain relatively consistent throughout the 'Evagatorium' and serve as vehicles for his polemic and didactic purposes.

The specifics of these episodes, beginning with those related to what Fabri understands as authentic back regions, deserve closer attention. Of the mosque at Mount Sinai, Fabri says:

> *In hanc tempore absentiae Arabum etiam ingressi fuimus, sed nullam gratiam, nullam devotionem, nullam indulgentiam in ea reperimus, sed domum uacuam, parietes dealbatos, nullam altare ibi invenimus, quia solum inani ritu solvendo ingrediuntur.*[105]
>
> We entered this also when the Arabs were away, but found therein no grace, no religion, no indulgences, but only an empty house with white-washed walls. We found no altar therein, for they only enter it to perform a meaningless ritual.[106]

Similarly, of the mosque near to the Dung Gate he states:

> *Iuxta hanc domum stabat una muschea sarracenica aperta, et quia nullum Sarracenum vidimus, ingressi sumus in eam, sed nihil pulchrum; nihil devotum, nihil desiderabile ibi vidimus, sed tautum habtiaculum uacuum, testudinatum, rotundum, per parietes dealbatum, et lampades et testudines dependentes, et pavimentum mattis coopertum, in quibus genuflexiones et incurvationes suas faciunt in orationibus eorum.*[107]
>
> Near this house there stood a Saracen mosque, with the door open, and as we saw no Saracens we entered into it, but saw therein nothing beautiful, nothing religious, nothing desirable, only an empty building, vaulted, round, with white-washed walls, lamps hanging from the painted roof, and a pavement covered with mats, whereon they go through their genuflections and posturings when they say their prayers.[108]

104 Urry and Larsen (note 75), p. 2.

105 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, p. 501.

106 Stewart (note 67), vol. 2,2, p. 614.

107 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, p. 123.

108 Stewart (note 67), vol. 2,1, pp. 123–124.

Finally, and perhaps most tellingly, Fabri writes of his visit to the shrine of David and Solomon on Mount Sion: *Lampades duae pendent in ea et nullum altare, nulla picture, nulla sculptura, sed parietes dealbati et nudi. Sic etiam sunt aliae Sarracenorum muschkeae vacuae et inanes* ("The paved floor is covered with mats. Two lamps hang in it, and there is no altar, no painting, no carved work, only bare whitewashed walls. *So also are all Saracen mosques, empty and void*").[109] Fabri's view of the interior of these spaces is thus relatively consistent: mosques are empty spaces and this simplicity is looked on disapprovingly by Fabri. Indeed, the emptiness of the mosques seems to be presented as a metaphor for Fabri's perspective on Islam as a religion. Continuing the trend in his description of the former Church of St Anne's, Fabri states:

> *Ingressi autem ecclesiam, quae nunc est muschea, eam diligentius perspeximus, et notavimus, eam ecclesiam ornatam et pulchram fuisse, parietes enim depicti fuerant, sed Sarraceni picturas calce deleverunt et dealbaverunt, in pluribus tamen locis calx decidit, et iterum Christianorum picturae videntur.*[110]
>
> We went into the church, which is now a mosque, and scanned it narrowly. We noticed that this church had once been beauteous and decorated, for the walls had been painted, but the Saracens have destroyed the paintings by covering them with whitewash. Howbeit, in many places, the whitewash has fallen off, and the Christians' paintings can again be seen.[111]

This appears as much as statement about Fabri's hopes for the future of the Holy Land as it is a comment on interior design. The repeated references to emptiness imply the hollow nature of Islam, and the peeling paint of St Anne's walls signifies the hope that one day the void of Islam will fall away, and the beauteous decoration of Christianity will reappear. Islam sits as only a temporary veneer across the sacred landscapes of the Holy Land. In each of these episodes, we see Fabri's gaze linger on these empty spaces and allow him to look beyond the whitewashed walls and to a deeper meaning of the spaces and those associated with them.

However, when we compare these descriptions to those which Fabri provides of the exteriors of these spaces, we are presented with a very different picture. The first such episode occurs at the Church of St George in Lydda, part of which had been given over to being a mosque. As Fabri and his companions leave the church, they are offered a glimpse into the interior of the mosque, though he does not enter it on this occasion. He states: *Stabat autem ostium ex adverso ita, quod in atrium Muschkeae videre poteramus et in Musckeam, et erat paradysus mundum et pulchrum* ("The door

109 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 1, p. 254; Stewart (note 67), vol. 1,1, p. 304.

110 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, p. 131.

111 Stewart (note 67), vol. 2,1, pp. 134–135.

stood over against us, so that we could see into the courtyard of the mosque, and into the mosque itself, and it was like paradise for cleanliness and beauty").[112] From the exterior, or rather from a distance, the image of the mosque, framed by the open door, transforms into a thing of beauty. This pattern repeats itself at several other locations. At Hebron, where Fabri and his companions were unable to gain permission to enter the shrine of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, adjacency again transforms the interior of the shrine into a thing of beauty or splendour. According to local accounts, which Fabri believes on this occasion, the shrine was *plena* […] *ardentibus lampadibus, et lampades in spelunca duplici in aureis sustentaculis pendent et sericis funibus vel argenteis catenulis appendent* ("full of lighted lamps, and that there are lamps in the double cave, which are slung in golden vessels, and which hang by silken cords, or fine silver chains").[113] However, adjacency does not always effect such a transformation. This is most clearly evident with Fabri's description of the Dome of the Rock, or as he refers to it, the Temple. Indeed, it is when discussing the Temple that he finally makes explicit the link between the emptiness of the mosques and the hollowness of Islam as a religion. Though he initially admits to not knowing what one might find within the Dome of the Rock,[114] he later becomes more confident in his assertion that:

> *Aestimant vero inexperti Christiani, quod mirabile sit templum ab intra, cum sit ornatum et pulcherrimum ad extra. Sed in rei veritate nulla ornamenta ab intra sunt, nec altaria, nec picturae, nec imagines, sed habitaculum lucidum, amplum, marmore polito et vario stratum et tabulatam, multis lampadibus ex testudine dependentibus nocte illustratum. Dicunt etiam in eo semper ardere septingentas lampades.*[115]
>
> Ignorant Christians fancy that the temple must be wondrous to behold within, seeing that it is highly wrought and exceeding beauteous without; but in good sooth there are no decorations within, neither altars nor pictures nor images, but only a bright roomy chamber, paved and panelled with marble of divers colours, and lighted at night by many lamps which hang from the vaulted roof, for they say that there are seven hundred lamps always burning therein.[116]

112 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 1, p. 219; Stewart (note 67), vol. 1,1, p. 257.

113 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, p. 350; Stewart (note 67), vol. 2,2, p. 417.

114 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, pp. 221–222.

115 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 225.

116 Stewart (note 67), vol. 2,1, p. 251.

This Fabri develops as he continues:

> *Sunt ergo in templo illo nulla ornamentorum spectacula, nec sunt in eo sacerdotum aut clericorum officia aut sacramenta.* […] *Sic etiam apud Sarracenos non est salus, nec peccatorum remissio, nec virtus aut veritas; sic et templa eorum omni carent sanctitate, consecratione, ornatu et sacerdotio, officiis et sacramentis. Non obstante autem illius templi vacuitate et inania peregrini Christiani, ut dixi, desiderio flagrant, videre in interiora templi huius, et interdum aliqui propter hoc periculis mortis se exponunt.*[117]
>
> So, then, there are in this temple no splendid decorations to be seen, nor are there any services or sacraments performed by priests or clergy. Among the Saracens there is no salvation, remission of sins, virtue, or truth; so likewise their temples have no holiness, no consecration, no decoration, no priesthood, services, or sacraments. Yet, in spite of the emptiness of the temple, Christian pilgrims, as I have already told you, have a burning desire to see the inside of this temple, and sometimes some of them run the risk of death in order to do so.[118]

The explicit correlation between the absence of decoration and consecration within mosques and the absence of salvation, remission of sins, virtue, or truth within Islam as a religion brings these various episodes of mosque visitation together into a single conceptual framework for understanding Islam and Islamic sacred spaces. The outward façade of the front regions that these 'mosques' possess may be enticing for "ignorant Christians" but it is also inauthentic. It does not provide a true vision of what Islam represents. Instead, by infiltrating the back regions, the gaze of the pilgrim is able to look past the inauthentic exterior and see an authentic interior not only on the true nature of these buildings, but also on the true nature of Islam. In some ways, what we are seeing here is the deployment of MacCannell's 'second gaze' but in almost reverse form. For, in fact, Fabri's 'tourist gaze' or 'first gaze', while disregarding the image that it focuses on, seems to have more basis on reality, whereas it is his 'second gaze', not his first, the gaze that penetrates the interior of these buildings, that is "fully ideological in its construction".[119] But this construction is based on his ideologies rather than his hosts. Clearly, for Fabri, the beautiful exterior is something that needs to be looked beyond in order to find a space upon which he can gaze which conforms to his expectations. The empty whitewashed walls are the 'sign' Fabri is looking for, the 'substitution' for the authentic nature of Islam.[120]

117 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, p. 225.

118 Stewart (note 67), vol. 2,1, p. 252.

119 MacCannell (note 82), p. 35.

120 Urry and Larsen (note 75), pp. 2 and 17.

Fabri is very much, in the words of Glenn Bowman, experiencing "little other than that which [he] already expect to encounter".[121]

In essence, Fabri sees and records, and his gaze searches for, the authentic, but that authentic image is based not on reality but on his culturally and religiously determined expectations. In our attempt to integrate these episodes more fully into Fabri's pilgrimage narrative, we could even go as far as to say that Fabri expects to see Muslims in the Holy Land. While, as we have seen, he hopes that one day they will slowly peel away like the paint at St Anne's, for the time being they are part and parcel of the Holy Land experience for Fabri. He even goes as far as to suggest that, under certain circumstances, sharing the Holy Land between Christians and Muslims is not inconceivable. He states:

> *Hodie Christiani parum curarent, quod Sarraceni dominarentur in Ierusalem, dummodo in templum nostrum dominici sepulchri pateret nobis libere ingressus et egressus sine timore, sine vexationibus et exactionibus. Nec Sarracenis cura esset, quod Christiani essent domini civitatis sanctae, si templum eis dimitteremus.*[122]
>
> At this present day the Christians would care little about the Saracens' bearing rule in Jerusalem, provided only that we were allowed freedom to pass in and out of our temple of the Lord's sepulchre without fear, and without vexations and extortionate payments. Neither would the Saracens mind if the Christians were lords of the Holy City, if we would render up the temple to them.[123]

This quasi-acceptance of the Muslim presence in the Holy Land suggests that for Fabri seeing Muslims, engaging with them, entering their places of worship (while serving as a didactic or polemic tool within his text) were in fact an integral part of the Holy Land experience. The presence of Muslims was a necessary part of an authentic Holy Land pilgrimage. This is also why the details of Fabri's interactions with them are not separated off into a dedicated section on Islam, as some earlier writers do. They are interwoven within his text because they are interwoven within the Holy Land. Thus, it does not seem farfetched to suggest that Fabri remains a pilgrim while visiting these places, these mosques and shrines.

121 Bowman (note 3), p. 121.

122 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 67), vol. 2, p. 233.

123 Stewart (note 67), vol. 2,1, p. 262.

5 Conclusions

This chapter has covered a wide array of topics, with the overall aim to demonstrate how current and recent trends in the anthropological study of pilgrimage (and beyond) might be fruitfully applied to the Latin travel narratives with which we are so familiar. In so doing, the chapter has highlighted only a small cross-section of what is an enormously diverse and rich field with which we would all do well to engage more frequently and thoroughly. Beyond the ideas of the Turners, there have been many interesting turns within pilgrimage studies over the last 40 years – contestation, mobility, globalization – and each of these deserve our attention, as do many other turns, like the emotional or sensory turns, which have yet to result in any real or sustained impact on the study of Latin pilgrimage or travel texts.

Over and above this, engaging with the current trend in discussing definitions and meanings of pilgrimage, this chapter has taken the case studies of two medieval Holy Land pilgrims, Riccoldo of Monte Croce and Felix Fabri, and shown how elements of their accounts which might usually be seen as representative of trends in medieval 'travel' narratives can instead be seen as integral parts of their 'pilgrimage' narratives. For Riccoldo, his Eastern travels outside of the Holy Land were clearly conceived of as part a broader form of mobility defined by the multivocal term *peregrinatio*. At the same time, we have seen how the search for an authentic view of Islam in the Holy Land reveals in Fabri the attitude that Islam represents an authentic and indispensable part of the Holy Land experience. Muslims are not an 'Other' appended to an itinerary focused only on Christian sacred spaces, but an essential part of that itinerary. Consequently, we must be careful as scholars not to compartmentalize texts into the history of travel and the history of pilgrimage when the texts themselves display no such divisions. But it should also speak to taking these pilgrimage narratives not as parts in a grand whole of some monolithic unchanging concept of medieval Holy Land pilgrimage. Each of these travellers were distinct, they left their homes for different reasons, wanted to gain different things from the forms of mobility they adopted, and wanted to achieve different things when writing about them. The more we can tease out the nuanced variance between their experiences and approaches, the better able we will be to foreground the human subjects sometimes hidden within this fascinating genre of texts.

Martin Bauer

Imagined Travels and Neoplatonic Pilgrimage in Petrarch's 'Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri Yehsu Cristi'

Abstract Petrarch's 'Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri Yehsu Cristi' (1358) is noteworthy among late medieval travel and pilgrimage literature for its unusual features, such as its epistolary form, its detailed descriptions of Italian antiques, and its author never actually having visited the Holy Land. However, by comparison with other works from the same period, such as the similarly structured letter dealing with the famous ascent of Mount Ventoux ('Ad familiares' 4.1) as well as 'De otio religioso', it can be demonstrated that Petrarch combines elements of pilgrimage literature and Neoplatonic philosophy in order to make a statement about the relationships between classical learning, Christian faith, and the human soul's spiritual journey to God.

Zusammenfassung Petrarcas ‚Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri Yehsu Cristi' (1358) ist aufgrund seiner ungewöhnlichen Merkmale – der Briefform, der detaillierten Beschreibung italienischer Altertümer und des Autors selbst, der nie das Heilige Land besucht hat – ein Sonderfall innerhalb der spätmittelalterlichen Reise- und Pilgerliteratur. Im Vergleich mit anderen Werken aus derselben Schaffensphase wie dem ähnlich aufgebauten Brief über die berühmte Besteigung des Mont Ventoux (‚Ad familiares' 4.1) sowie ‚De otio religioso' lässt sich jedoch nachweisen, dass Petrarca bewusst Elemente der Pilgerliteratur und der neuplatonischen Philosophie kombiniert, um über die Beziehungen zwischen klassischem Lernen, christlichem Glauben und der spirituellen Reise der menschlichen Seele zu Gott zu reflektieren.

Contact

Dr Martin Bauer,
Institute of Classical Philology and Neo-Latin Studies, University of Innsbruck, Langer Weg 11, A-6020, Innsbruck, Austria,
martin.bauer@uibk.ac.at
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6698-2233

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1 Introduction

Within the genre of medieval pilgrimage texts,[1] Petrarch's 'Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri Yehsu Cristi' presents, in many respects, a special case.[2] In the words of Susanna Fischer:

> [w]ährend sonst in den lateinischen Pilgertexten bis ins 15. Jahrhundert Erwähnungen antiker Stätten oder mythologischer Ereignisse und Personen eine Ausnahmeerscheinung sind, beschreibt Petrarca in seinem *Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri* (1358), das nicht auf einer tatsächlichen Reise basiert, eine Reise durch eine Welt voller Spuren der Antike und stellt so einen Sonderfall innerhalb der Gattung der Pilgertexte dar.[3]

Some of these peculiarities may be down to the circumstances of the text's creation, which are outlined in the first paragraphs of the text.[4] Accordingly, Petrarch wrote the 'Itinerarium' in April 1358 for his friend Giovanni Mandelli, then *podestà* of Bergamo and originating from an influential Milanese family. Mandelli planned to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and had suggested that Petrarch accompany him. Petrarch refused out of fear of the sea *(pelagi metus)*,[5] but wrote the 'Itinerarium' in the manner of a letter to his friend as a substitute for his own company. By

1 For the term and concept of 'pilgrimage texts' see Susanna Fischer, Erzählte Bewegung: Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert) (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 52), Leiden, Boston 2019, pp. 7–8.

2 This long-neglected text has found more attention among students of Petrarch in recent years; an overview of the scholarship is given in Chiara Abaterusso, 'Ingrediamur vero iam tandem iter'. Per una rassegna di studi sull'Itinerarium, in: Petrarchescha 7 (2019), pp. 149–158. Modern editions and translations: Francesco Petrarca, Itinerario in Terra Santa (1358), ed. by Francesco Lo Monaco, Bergamo 1990 (with facing Italian translation); Francesco Petrarca, Reisebuch zum Heiligen Grab. Lateinisch / Deutsch, ed. by Jens Reufsteck, Stuttgart 1999 (with facing German translation). Petrarch's Guide to the Holy Land. Itinerary to the Sepulcher of our Lord Jesus Christ. With an Introductory Essay, Translation, and Notes, ed. by Theodore Cachey, Notre Dame 2002 (with facing English translation); Pétrarque, Itinéraire de Gênes à la Terre Sainte, 1358, ed. by Christophe Carraud, Grenoble 2002 (with facing French translation); and now Francesco Petrarca, Guida al viaggio da Genova alla Terra Santa: Itinerarium Syriacum, ed. by Ugo Dotti, Milan 2018 (with facing Italian translation). In the following article, I generally follow the edition of Reufsteck, but use the medieval orthography found in the manuscripts and employed by Lo Monaco.

3 Fischer (note 1), p. 20 ("While otherwise in Latin pilgrimage texts up to the 15th century references to ancient sites or mythological events and people are an exception, Petrarch in his *Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri* [1358] describes a journey through a world full of traces of antiquity which is not based on an actual journey and thus represents a special case within the genre of pilgrimage texts"). My own translation.

4 As is often the case in Petrarch, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that this information may be (partly) fictitious as well.

5 Metapoetic connotations may be intended, cf. Attilio Grisafi, 'Nulla causa potentior quam pelagi metus': paure metaletterarie e altre riflessioni sull'Itinerarium di Francesco Petrarca, in: Itineraria 7 (2008), pp. 73–85.

choosing the epistolary form, Petrarch makes use of a traditional rhetorical topos: both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, letters are typically considered "half a conversation" and a means of lending presence to absent friends.[6] Petrarch himself expresses this topos in the following words:

> *Nichilominus te animo comitabor et, quoniam ita vis, his etiam comitabor scriptis, que tibi brevis itinerarii loco sint. Morem enim secutus amantium, cuius presentia cariturus es, imaginem flagitasti, qua utcunque tuam absentiam solareris, non hanc vultus imaginem, cuius in dies mutatio multa fit, sed stabiliorem effigiem animi ingeniique mei, que, quantulacunque est, profecto pars mei optima est. Hic tibi ergo non amici domicilium corpus hoc, quod videntes quidam totum se hominem vidisse falso putant, sed amicum ipsum internis spectare luminibus licebit, quoniam, ut ait Cicero, mens cuiusque is est quisque, non ea figura que digito demonstrari potest.*[7]
>
> Nevertheless, I will accompany you in the mind, and if you like, also in this text, which shall be a little itinerary for you. For in the way of lovers you have requested a picture of the man whose presence you will be missing, in which you can find consolation during your absence as far as possible – not a picture of the face, which changes a lot over time, but the more enduring picture of my mind and intellect, which is indeed, as little as it is, the best part of myself. Therefore, you may not look at this body as the abode of your friend, of which some erroneously think that they have seen the whole man when they see it. Instead, you may look at your friend himself with your inner eyes. For each man's mind is the man himself, as Cicero says, not the body which can be pointed at with a finger.

Accordingly, Petrarch's text reflects his mind and thus is an appropriate substitute for personal conversations during the trip. This idea motivates the use of the epistolary setting as a conscious literary device which, at least in its elaborateness, is unusual for pilgrimage literature.[8] However, the quoted paragraph also contains an

6 E.g. [Pseudo-]Demetrios, 'De elocutione' 222–235; Gregory of Nazianzus, Letter 51; Iulius Victor, 'De arte rhetorica' 27; Cicero, 'Epistulae ad Atticum' passim; Hieronymus, Letter 29.1; Ruricius of Limoges, Letter 2.51; Adalbertus Samaritanus, 'Praecepta dictaminum' §1 (= Adalbertus Samaritanus, Praecepta dictaminum, ed. by F.-J. Schmale [MGH QQ zur Geistesgesch. 3], Weimar 1961, pp. 32–33); cf. Heikko Koskenniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr., Helsinki 1956, pp. 23–47; Klaus Thraede, Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik, Munich 1970, passim; Michaela Zelzer, Der Brief in der Spätantike. Überlegungen zu einem literarischen Genos am Beispiel der Briefsammlung des Sidonius Apollinaris, in: Wiener Studien 107/108 (1994/95), pp. 541–551.

7 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 7. All translations from Latin are my own.

8 In fact, there are some other letters with embedded pilgrimage narratives, which may have served as an (additional) inspiration for Petrarch, e.g. Jerome, Letter 108 (to Eustochium); Eucherius,

epistemological assessment of perception, which will grow into an important theme of the text. External visual perception, according to Petrarch, does not suffice in giving a complete picture of another person; one must use their *interna lumina*, their "inner eyes", in order to truly see.[9]

This epistemological proposition also serves to legitimize other distinctive features of the text: Petrarch belongs to the group of 'armchair pilgrims' who had not travelled the Holy Land themselves, but who relate the oral account of some informant or construct their work from written sources.[10] Then again, both the title and the first paragraphs of the 'Itinerarium' make clear that Petrarch wanted his fictional travelogue to be read and used as a guide for actual pilgrimage. Indeed, Petrarch defends this seemingly paradoxical approach with an argument difficult to refute:

> *Poscis ergo, vir optime, quoniam me non potes, comites has habere literulas, in quibus que oculis ipse tuis mox videbis ex me, qui ea certe necdum vidi omnia nec unquam forte visurus sum, audire expetis: mirum dictu, nisi quia passim multa que non vidimus scimus, multa que vidimus ignoramus.*[11]
>
> So, you request from me these little writings as your companions, because you cannot take me myself with you. In them you wish to hear something about things you will soon see yourself with your own eyes from me, who has not seen them all yet and may never see them: this would be odd to say, except that we frequently know many things we have not seen, and do not know many things we have seen.

Petrarch thus engages with central themes of both pilgrimage literature and medieval epistemology: vision and visualization, perception and memory, *oculi externi* and *oculi mentis*. First, medieval pilgrims do not typically experience the places they visit through just their physical sensations; instead, they commemorate, visualize, and sometimes even re-enact biblical events associated with each site. Most notably, however, these spiritual practices are usually described as 'seeing' with internal eyes

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'De situ Hierusolimae epistula ad Faustum presbyterum'; and Egeria, 'Peregrinatio'. For different reasons, however, none of them really matches Petrarch's handling of the epistolary setting.

9 The importance of vision in Petrarch is briefly discussed by Paolo Rigo, Tra viaggio reale e topoi narrativi nell' *Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri Yesu Christi* di Francesco Petrarca, in: Andrea Gimbo, Mattea Claudia Paolicelli and Alessandro Ricci (eds.), Viaggi, itinerari, flussi umani. Il Mondo attraverso narrazioni, rappresentazioni e popoli, Rome 2013, pp. 255–266, here p. 265.

10 'Armchair pilgrims' include writers such as Adomnán, Bede, and Petrus Diaconus. While Petrarch does not regularly name his sources and shies away from overly overt intertextual allusions, at least his use of Jerome for depicting Bethlehem (in 'Itinerarium' 62–63) – as well as of Pomponius Mela and Plinius for the geography of the Mediterranean – can be sufficiently demonstrated, cf. the commentary of Lo Monaco (note 2), pp. 91–119.

11 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 9.

(oculi mentis, oculi fidei).[12] An early and influential account of them is given by Jerome, who actively promoted pilgrimage to the Holy Land with the assurance that one "could simultaneously see the physical present and the biblical past in one place."[13] For these spiritual interactions with the holy places, vision alone is not sufficient, but needs to be complemented by the knowledge of each location's role in salvation history. The uninitiated would indeed, to use Petrarch's words, not know what they have seen, and even not see what they could see if they knew.

Second, the experience of pilgrimage was not confined to pilgrims actually travelling to the Holy Land, but could also be reproduced by imaginary 'armchair pilgrimage'.[14] While ultimately going back to Augustinian theory of perception, the medieval *locus classicus* concerning the reader's imagination may be found in Alcuin's 'De Animae Ratione ad Eulaliam Virginem':[15] *Et adhuc mirabilius est, quod incognitarum rerum, si lectae vel auditae erunt in auribus, anima statim format figuram ignotae rei* ("And what is even more wonderful, the mind instantly forms an image of unknown things, if they are read or heard with the ears").[16] Several authors of pilgrimage narratives advertise that readers can use their texts not only

12 One of the most evocative confrontations of *oculi fidei* and *oculi corporis* can be found in the 'Liber peregrinationis' of Riccoldo of Monte Croce where Riccoldo describes his experience at the Holy Sepulchre: *Circumspiciens autem sollicite si vere viderem Dominum meum oculis corporeis pendentem in cruce, non vidi nisi oculis fidei; oculis autem corporis vidi locum crucifixionis et saxum conscissum a summo usque deorsum* ("Carefully, I looked around if I could really see my Lord hanging from the cross with my physical eyes, but I only saw him with the eyes of faith; with the eyes of my body, however, I saw the place of the crucifixion and the rock cleft in two from top to bottom"), Riccoldo of Monte Croce, Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient. Texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre. Traduction, ed. by R. Kappler (Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge 4), Paris 1997, p. 62.

13 The wording is from Philip Booth, Seeing the Saviour in the Mind's Eye: Burchard of Mount Sion's Physical and Spiritual Travels to the Holy Land, c. 1274–1284, in: Jennifer Hillman and Elizabeth Tingle (eds.), Soul Travel. Spiritual Journeys in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Stuttgart 2019, pp. 181–205, here p. 189. See Jerome, Letter 46.5 and 13 (to Marcella); Letter 108.10 (to Eustochium). Jerome's visualizations of the Holy Sepulchre and of the nativity scene in Bethlehem have often been echoed by later pilgrims. Cf. also Fischer (note 1), pp. 66–73 and pp. 110–115.

14 Influential works on imaginary pilgrimage include Kathryne Beebe, Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context: The Imaginary Pilgrims and Real Travels of Felix Fabri's 'Die Sionpilger', in: Essays in Medieval Studies 25 (2008), pp. 39–70; Susanne Lehmann-Brauns, Jerusalem sehen: Reiseberichte des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts als empirische Anleitung zur geistigen Pilgerfahrt, Freiburg i. Br. 2010; Kathryn M. Rudy, Virtual Pilgrimage in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages, Turnhout 2011; Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502), Oxford 2014; Kathryne Beebe, The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century, in: Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai and Hanna Vorholt (eds.), Visual Constructs of Jerusalem, Turnhout 2014, pp. 409–420; see also Kathryne Beebe in this volume.

15 PL 101, 642A–C. In Augustine, important texts are Letter 7 (to Nebridius) and 'De genesi ad litteram' 12.23. For a detailed discussion see Fischer (note 1), pp. 66–81 with further references.

16 PL 101, 642B.

as a practical guide for travelling the Middle East, but also for imaginary travel and for visualizing biblical sites while reading.[17] In his 'Itinerarium', Petrarch alludes to and simultaneously subverts this practice, proposing that he will partake in an imaginary pilgrimage while writing a pilgrimage account, whereas his addressee Giovanni Mandelli, the primary reader of the text, will perform a real physical pilgrimage in the meantime.[18] This innovative setup is directly expressed on the textual level by substituting second-person narrative for the common first-person narrative of traditional pilgrimage texts.[19] Furthermore, it is taken up again at the end of the letter:

> *Sed iam satis itum, satis est scriptum: Hactenus tu remis ac pedibus maria et terras, ego hanc papirum calamo properante sulcaverim, et an adhuc tu fessus sis eundo, certe ego iam scribendo fatigatus sum, eoque magis, quo celerius incessi. Quod enim iter tu tribus forte vix mensibus, hoc ego triduo consummavi. Hic utrique igitur vie modus sit.*[20]
>
> But you have already walked enough, I have already written enough. Until now you have gone through oceans and countries by ship and by foot, I on the other hand have gone through this papyrus with my swift pen, and whether you are already tired of walking or not, I for my part am certainly exhausted of writing, and even more so, because I moved forward at a greater pace. For you have covered the distance in about three months, but I in three days. This is now the proper limit of both our ways.

Thus, instead of a travelling author Petrarch establishes a travelling (first) reader as the focal point of his travelogue. He then sets out to describe the voyage to the Holy Land.

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17 Even Egeria, as early as the 4th century CE, appeals to her fellow sisters' visual imagination, cf. Egeria, 'Peregrinatio' 3.8 and 5.8. See also Theodoric, 'Peregrinatio', in: Peregrinationes Tres. Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus, ed. by R.B.C. Huygens (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis 139), Turnhout 1994, pp. 142–197, here p. 143; John of Würzburg, 'Peregrinatio', in: Peregrinationes Tres. Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus, ed. by R.B.C. Huygens (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis 139), Turnhout 1994, pp. 79–141, here p. 79; cf. Booth (note 13) for the most recent discussion. For Petrarch's own position on virtual travels, compare his 'Seniles' 9.2; cf. Étienne Wolff, Quelques remarques sur l'Itinerarium de Pétrarque, in: Latomus 60 (2001), pp. 176–181, here pp. 180–181.

18 The intriguing and innovative handling of time in Petrarch's 'Itinerarium' is analysed in detail by Michael Stolz, Petrarcas *Itinerarium ad sepulcrum domini nostri Yehsu Christi* im Spannungsfeld der Zeiten, in: Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 93 (2019), pp. 371–391.

19 Cf. Fischer (note 1), pp. 38–42.

20 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 80–81.

2 A Secular Pilgrimage? Petrarch and Italy

Medieval pilgrimage texts typically begin their account of the Middle East with the city of Acre, the usual landing point for travellers from Europe until 1291.[21] Petrarch, on the contrary, starts with the departure from Genoa and describes the journey along the Italian west coast in great detail: more than half of the text, 47 paragraphs out of 81, are concerned with Italy, and a further six with Greece and Cyprus. In contrast, the description of the Holy Land (including Egypt) takes up significantly less space, with Petrarch devoting only about 25 paragraphs to this part of the pilgrimage.[22] It must be noted that in the Middle Ages, Venice had established herself as the most significant port of departure for travellers to the Middle East.[23] Therefore, to choose Genoa as a starting point must have been a deliberate device by Petrarch in order to include his detailed descriptions of the towns and places of the Italian west coast.[24]

The quantitative disproportion privileging Italy also finds its equivalent on a qualitative level if one looks closer at the text. A typical sample of the description of Italy reads as follows:

> *Progredienti tibi Terracina nunc, olim Anxur, primum aderit, mox Caieta, nutricis Eneie nomen servans, ubi, quo prosperior navigatio sit, sacrum Erasmi tumulum adire ne pigeat, cuius opem multis iam in maritimo discrimine profuisse opinio constans est. Hic flexus litorum et pelagi sinus ingens saltusque lauriferi cedriferique et odoratum ac sapidum semper lete virentium nemus arbuscularum.*

21 However, there are exceptions to this implicit 'rule', e.g. Saewulf (around 1100), who begins his pilgrimage account in Apulia, or Bernard the Wise (9th c.), who records his travels from Rome to Jerusalem and back again. Especially, it must be noted that Petrarch's contemporaries Wilhelm of Boldensele and Ludolf of Sudheim give an account of the voyage from Central Europe to the Middle East in their pilgrimage narratives; Wilhelm even starts his journey from Noli in Liguria and thus describes a similar itinerary to Petrarch.

22 To end the journey with a visit to Mount Sinai and Egypt is common among Jerusalem pilgrims, cf. already Theodosius, 'De situ Terrae Sanctae', 'Anonymus of Piacenza', and Adomnán, 'De locis sanctis'. Since the 13th century, however, there is an increased interest in Egypt also both for practical and 'touristic' reasons, cf. Fischer (note 1), pp. 273–274.

23 Cf. Nicole Chareyron, Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, trans. by W. Donald Wilson, New York 2005, pp. 16–46. On Venice, see also Andrea Denke, Venedig als Station und Erlebnis auf den Reisen der Jerusalempilger im späten Mittelalter (Historegio 4), Remshalden 2001.

24 Cf. Wolff (note 17), p. 179; Theodore J. Cachey, The Place of the *Itinerarium. Itinerarium ad sepulchrum domini nostri Yhesu Christi*, in: Victoria Kirkham (ed.), Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works, Chicago 2012, pp. 229–241, here pp. 230–231. For a similar itinerary along the Tyrrhenian coast, see Wilhelm of Boldensele, who does not, however, describe any Italian site in detail: Guillaume de Boldensele sur la Terre Sainte et l'Égypte (1336). Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra Sancta. Suivi de la trad. de Jean le Long. Présentation et commentaire par Christiane Deluz (Sources d'histoire médiévale 44), Paris 2018.

> *In hoc tractu Formie seu Formianum et Liternum sunt, dicam verius, fuerunt: alterum Ciceronis infanda cede, alterum Scipionis indigno exilio nobilitatum et cineribus patrie negatis. Sed hec duo loca extimatione magis animi quam oculis assequeris, alter enim iacet, alter et latet, nisi quod apud Formias adhuc due seu tres magne supereminent arene.*[25]
>
> If you sail on, you will first encounter Terracina, formerly known as Anxur. Shortly afterwards you will come to Gaeta, which retains the name of Aeneas' nurse. There you should not regret going to the holy tomb of Erasmus, so that the journey will be more fortunate. It is certain that his power has helped many in distress at sea. There the shore forms an arch, there is a wide bay and slopes full of laurel and cedar trees, and a fragrant and delicious grove of evergreen trees.
>
> In this area are Formiae (also known as Formianum) and Liternum, or to speak the truth, they were: one place is known for the horrific murder of Cicero, the other for Scipio's infamous exile and his ashes being refused to return home. But you will recognize these two places more with the cognition of your mind than with your eyes: one is in ruins, the other is even buried, apart from two or three heaps of rubble that rise near Formiae.

Petrarch describes the sailing route along the Italian west coast as a series of waypoints, similar to a route map. Whereas the act of travelling itself rarely features in the narrative, the narrator focuses on individual places mostly singled out for their connection with ancient myths or history. This structure is borrowed from the tradition of medieval pilgrimage texts, which usually organize their description of the Holy Land within a similar itinerary framework.[26] There, the waypoints consist mainly of a canon of holy places firmly established since late antiquity, to which biblical narratives are linked.

In contrast, Petrarch defines a new canon of Italian sights, most of which derive their importance from pagan antiquity, thus creating a network of literary places instead of biblical locations. Major focal points are Virgil, who is honoured with multiple quotations throughout the text, and the wanderings of Aeneas. Not surprisingly, the Gulf of Naples is described extensively, and the tombs of Virgil and Pliny the Elder, the accounts of which constitute the exact middle of the text, are almost framed as a destination for secular pilgrimage:

25 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 28.

26 Cf. Fischer (note 1), pp. 42–57. There are only a few exceptions to the rule, such as Burchard of Mount Sion's 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', which is organized geographically by dividing the Holy Land into quadrants. On Burchard, see Fischer (note 1), pp. 240–247. Also Fischer in this volume, pp. 73–77.

> *Hec est civitas ubi Virgilius noster liberalibus studiis operam dedit, cum iam ante patria illum tua Mediolanum tenerioribus annis discipulum habuisset. Hic se carmen illud Georgicum scripsisse, hic se ignobili otio floruisse verecundissime memorat. Hanc dulcem vocat ille Parthenopem, id enim est aliud de nomine conditricis civitati nomen. Demum peregre moriens inter extrema suspiria sue meminit Neapolis et huc revehi optavit, ut, quam vivus amaverat, vita functus incoleret.*
>
> *Hinc tandem digresso biceps aderit Vesevus, vulgo Summa monti nomen, et ipse flammas eructare solitus. Ad quod olim spectaculum visendum cum experiendi noscendique cupidine perrexisset Plinius Secundus, vir scientie multiplicis et eloquentie floride, vento cinerem ac favillam excitante compressus est: miserabilis tanti viri exitus! Sic Neapolis hinc Mantuani, inde Veronensis civis ossa custodit.*[27]
>
> This is the city where our Virgil devoted himself to the liberal studies, after your hometown had this Milanese fellow as her student at a young age. He mentions very modestly that he wrote his famous 'Georgics' here and lived here in fameless peace. He calls this city the sweet Partenope, which is another name of the city after its foundress. Finally, when he died abroad, he remembered his Naples at his last gasps and wished to be brought back there so that, having completed the course of life, he could dwell in the city he had loved in life.
>
> When you finally sail off from here, you encounter the two-headed Vesuvius, called 'Monte Somma' by the people, and it is also accustomed to breathe fire. When Pliny the Elder, a man of diverse learning and florid eloquence, set out to see this remarkable spectacle, driven by desire for knowledge and understanding, he was crushed to death as the wind stirred up volcanic ash and cinders: a miserable end for such a man! Thus, Naples guards the bones of the Mantuan citizen at one place, those of the Veronese at another.

In contrast, the description of the Holy Land seems arid and summary at first glance, maybe even perfunctory. Contrary to his depiction of Italy, Petrarch deviates from the traditional model of pilgrimage texts in that he rarely gives any place names and does not follow a recognizable route map. Instead, he claims that his addressee has already made his mind up anyway and does not need further guidance:

> *Itaque tametsi multa tibi in medio querenda et visenda monstraverim, que poteras improvisus forte solumque vie finem cogitans preterire, hic, quid te moneam, non habeo. Omnia enim iam, hinc antequam pedem domo*

27 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 39–40.

> *moveas, preconcepta animo et diu agitata sunt tibi* […]. *Neque vero tu aliam ob causam tantum laboris ac negotii suscepisti, nisi ut in illa morte Domini sacra urbe locisque finitimis videres oculis, que animo iam videbas: amnem scilicet, quo lotus est Cristus; templum seu templi ruinas, in quo docuit; locum, ubi summa cum humilitate passus est corpore, ut nos animi passionibus liberaret; sepulcrum, ubi sacratissimum corpus illud substitit, dum ipse mortis et inferni victor ad regna hostis spolianda descenderet, unde etiam reversus idem corpusque iam immortale recipiens pressis gravi sopore custodibus resurrexit. Sion preterea et Oliveti montem, ad hec et unde in celum ascendit, quo ad iudicium reversurus creditur, ubi ventis et fluctibus imperavit, ubi cibo exiguo maximam turbam pavit, ubi aquam vertit in vinum.*[28]
>
> Even if I have suggested many things you could investigate and see on your journey, which you may have passed without taking notice, unprepared and only thinking about the end of your expedition, now I have nothing to point out to you. For everything has been already premeditated in your mind and considered at length, before you set out from home […]. But indeed, you would not have taken upon yourself so much labour and effort, if not to see with your own eyes in the city that is sanctified by the death of the Lord and in its surroundings, what you have already seen with your mind: for example, the river where Christ was baptized; the temple or rather its ruins, where he taught; the place where he physically suffered with the greatest humility to liberate us from the passions of the soul; the tomb where this holiest body persevered, while he himself, the victor over death and the underworld, descended to despoil the realm of the fiend; and when he returned, he adopted an already immortal body and rose from the dead, while the guardians were shrouded in heavy slumber. Furthermore, Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives, which he ascended and from which he ascended to heaven, whence he will come again for the last judgement, as we believe; the place where he commanded the winds and the floods; the place where he fed a huge crowd with minimal food; the place where he turned water into wine.

To explicitly deny descriptions of holy places is admittedly rare, but not completely unheard of, in other pilgrimage texts. A possible, if distant, parallel is provided by Magister Thietmar, a German pilgrim of the early 13th century, who in his account of the Holy Land refuses to elaborate on Jerusalem (of all places!) with the following words:[29]

28 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 55–57.

29 Nevertheless, Thietmar proceeds with a succinct description of Jerusalem deliberately engineered to demonstrate the sorry state of Christian places under Muslim rule. For another case of avoidance of the earthly Jerusalem cf. also Jerome, Letter 58 (to Paulinus).

> *De sancta civitate quia multi multa dixerunt et quia de ea multa dici possunt, me aliqua dicere duco ociosum.*[30]
>
> Because many people have already said many things about the holy city, and because there could be much said about it, I consider it superfluous to say anything about it.

But more importantly, Petrarch's Holy Land is conspicuously not described as a geographical entity, but as a purely spiritual place. Even though he uses the *locus-ubi* scheme known from pilgrimage texts, he does so without supplying most of the place names.[31] As a consequence, the history of salvation is recalled, but deliberately not linked to a geographical framework. Petrarch consciously eschews a precise localization in the physical world in order to concentrate on the acts of salvation only visible for the spiritual eye or the *oculi fidei*. This is also demonstrated by his description of Bethlehem, where he imitates the vision of St Paula from Jerome's 108th letter. Like his hypotext, Petrarch fades out the physical surroundings and focuses on the biblical narrative, which his addressee can visualize at this place.[32]

This noticeable difference in the treatment of Italy and the Holy Land cannot be a coincidence, and certainly not inability on the part of the author. It is a deliberate stylization, which should attract attention and thus should be put into context. Scholars have suggested that the numerous ancient places of the Tyrrhenian coast had acted as a primary motivation for Petrarch writing the 'Itinerarium' and that there were strong autobiographical overtones to the description of Italy.[33] Indeed, Petrarch parades his own literary achievements, placing himself next to classical literature, and even advertises his own unfinished epic 'Africa' while describing the Tyrrhenian coast.[34] It has even been argued that the 'Itinerarium' should be seen as

30 Magister Thietmar, 'Peregrinatio' 9, in: Mag[istri] Thietmari Peregrenatio, ed. by Johann Christian Mauritz Laurent, Hamburg 1857, p. 26; Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio. Pilgerreise nach Palästina und auf den Sinai in den Jahren 1217/18, ed. by Ulf Koppitz, in: Concilium Medii Aevi 14 (2011), pp. 121–221, here p. 148. On Thietmar, see Philip Booth, Encountering Muslims and Miracles: The Holy Land Pilgrimage of Thietmar, 1217–1218 (forthcoming).

31 On the *locus-ubi* scheme see Fischer (note 1), pp. 52–54.

32 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 62; Jerome, Letter 108.10; cf. Fischer (note 1), pp. 110–113, esp. p. 112 (my own translation): "What is noticeable in the description of Bethlehem is that Paula's actions and the biblical event she experienced are at the centre of Jerome's portrayal. What is actually seen is not said and is also of no importance. It is important that the history of salvation can be relived on site." Petrarch uses the verb *contemplari*, the meaning of which oscillates between seeing and imagining.

33 Cf. Wolff (note 17), p. 179; Francesco Stella, The Landscape as a Memory Construction in the Latin Petrarch, in: Lucie Doležalová (ed.), The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages (Later Medieval Europe 4), Leiden, Boston 2009, pp. 215–239, here pp. 222–225; Cachey (note 2), pp. 24–31.

34 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 19. A similar attitude to the authors of classical antiquity can be found in the last book of Petrarch's 'Ad familiares', in which the dead poets are framed as Petrarch's familiar friends.

a humanist's pilgrimage to the places of ancient literature rather than a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[35] Whereas the notion of an autobiographical agenda in the text is surely significant and will be considered at the end of this contribution, I would like to challenge the last interpretation. Petrarch's description of the Holy Land, strange though it may seem, is more than a mere pretext or negligible accessory.

3 A Neoplatonic Pilgrimage? Petrarch and the Holy Land

In the following section, I will argue for a Neoplatonic reading of the 'Itinerarium'. To my knowledge, this has not been attempted so far, although the influence of Augustine and Christian Neoplatonism on Petrarch is well known and has informed the interpretation of other texts, such as 'Ad familiares' 4.1.[36] A typical feature of Neoplatonic allegorical literature is the ascent from the physical world to the vision of God by means of contemplation. High and late medieval examples can be found in Bernardus Silvestris' 'Cosmographia', Alan of Lille's 'Anticlaudianus', Dante's 'Commedia', and, of course, the aforementioned letter 'Ad familiares' 4.1 by Petrarch himself, which is worth a closer look and can provide a key to understanding the 'Itinerarium'.[37]

In this famous letter, Petrarch gives an account of his ascent of Mount Ventoux on 26 April 1336 to his fatherly friend and teacher, the Augustinian monk Francesco Dionigi. For a long time, this letter has primarily been interpreted as direct historical evidence of a new, modern experience of nature, and Petrarch has even been styled the "father of alpinism".[38] Only in the course of the 20th century have scholars recognized the symbolic character of the ascent and now predominantly advance an allegorical interpretation of the text.[39] It is entirely possible that both the letter and the ascent

35 Cf. Pasquale Sabbatini, L'itinerarium di Petrarca. Il viaggio in Terrasanta tra storia, geografia, letteratura e sacre scritture, in: Studi rinascimentali 4 (2006), pp. 11–22.

36 See e.g. Dorothee Gall, Augustinus auf dem Mt. Ventoux: Zu Petrarcas Augustinus-Rezeption, in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 35 (2000), pp. 301–322; Martin M. Bauer, Krise und Gottesschau: Konstruktionen autobiographischen Erzählens bei Rupert von Deutz, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis und Francesco Petrarca, in: Vienna Doctoral Academy – 'Medieval Academy' (ed.), Narrare – Producere – Ordinare. New Approaches to the Middle Ages, Vienna 2021, pp. 29–44.

37 For the most recent edition of this letter see Rodney Lokaj (ed.), Petrarch's Ascent of Mount Ventoux. The Familiaris IV,1. New Commented Edition (Scriptores Latini 23), Rome 2006.

38 This interpretation goes back to Jacob Burckhardt's seminal book 'Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien' ('The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy') from 1860, accessed in Jacob Burckhardt, Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien, ed. by Horst Günther (Bibliothek der Geschichte und Politik 8), Frankfurt a. M. 1989, pp. 294–297; cf. e.g. Morris Bishop, Petrarch and his World, London 1964, p. 104; Karlheinz Stierle, Petrarcas Landschaften. Zur Geschichte ästhetischer Landschaftserfahrung (Schriften und Vorträge des Petrarca-Instituts Köln 29), Krefeld 1979, passim, esp. pp. 22–27; Hans Robert Jauß, Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik, Frankfurt a. M. 1982, pp. 140–142.

39 E.g. Lynn Thorndike, Renaissance or Prenaissance?, in: Journal of the History of Ideas 4 (1943), pp. 65–74; Michael O'Connell, Authority and Truth of Experience in Petrarch's Ascent of

of the mountain are completely fictional, especially since it is unlikely that such an ingeniously constructed text, peppered with quotations, was written in the hostel immediately after their return, as Petrarch wants us to believe.[40] Even the date of the letter is laden with symbolism: in 1336, Petrarch turned 32, the same age as Augustine when he converted to Christianity. However, as Giuseppe Billanovich has shown, the version we read today was undoubtedly created during Petrarch's last stay in Vaucluse, around 1353, that is 17 years after the event described and only a few years before the 'Itinerarium'. If there had ever been a historical ascent of Mount Ventoux, it is certainly presented in a highly literary revision.[41]

The addressee, Francesco Dionigi de San Sepolcro, is also significant. He was professor of theology in Paris and also Petrarch's confessor for some time. In particular, he made Petrarch familiar with the ideas of Augustine; the copy of the 'Confessions' Petrarch took to Mount Ventoux being a gift from him. It is therefore all but inevitable that the letter to the confessor gradually develops into a kind of autobiographical confession or 'conversion narrative'.[42] While Petrarch often misses the right path and needs numerous detours to finally reach his goal, he finds time for self-reflection and to contemplation of the human condition.[43] Petrarch's wrong turns are contrasted with the straight and determined ascent of his younger brother Gherardo, who in 1343 had decided to lead a contemplative life in the charterhouse of Montrieux. In this way, Mount Ventoux becomes an allegory of human life, just like the forest at the beginning of the Dante's 'Commedia', and the ascent to the summit is turned into a Christian-Neoplatonic ascent to God.[44]

Mt. Ventoux, in: Philological Quarterly 62 (1983), pp. 507–520; Ruth Groh and Dieter Groh, Die Außenwelt der Innenwelt. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Natur 2, Frankfurt a. M. 1996, pp. 17–82; Jens Pfeiffer, Petrarca und der Mont Ventoux (Zu Familiares IV,1), in: Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift N. F. 47 (1997), pp. 1–24; Gall (note 36); Dieter Mertens, Mont Ventoux, Mons Alvernae, Kapitol und Parnass. Zur Interpretation von Petrarcas Brief Fam. IV, 1 'De curis propriis', in: Andreas Bihrer (ed.), Nova de veteribus: Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt, Munich et al. 2004, pp. 713–734; Lokaj (note 37), esp. pp. 28–43; a good overview of the scholarly discussion can be found in Heinz Hofmann, War er oben oder nicht? Retraktationen zu Petrarca, Familiares 4, 1, in: Wolfgang Kofler, Martin Korenjak and Florian Schaffenrath (eds.), Gipfel der Zeit. Berge in Texten aus fünf Jahrtausenden. Karlheinz Töchterle zum 60. Geburtstag, Freiburg i. Br. 2010, pp. 81–102. For a slightly different philosophical interpretation see also Tomáš Nejeschleba, Petrarch's Ascent of Mount Ventoux and Philosophy, in: Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej 64 (2019), pp. 81–94.

40 Petrarch, 'Ad familiares' 4.1.35.

41 Giuseppe Billanovich, Petrarca und der Ventoux, in: August Buck (ed.), Petrarca (Wege der Forschung 353), Darmstadt 1976, pp. 444–463, first published as: Petrarca e il Ventoso, in: Italia medioevale e umanistica 9 (1966), pp. 389–401. See also Ugo Dotti, La figura di Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro in Petrarca, in: Belfagor 55 (2000), pp. 564–571.

42 On 'conversion narrative' and autobiography in late medieval epistolography see Bauer (note 36). Compare also Donald Beecher, Petrarch's "Conversion" on Mont Ventoux and the Patterns of Religious Experience, in: Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme N. S. 28 (2004), pp. 55–75.

43 Petrarch, 'Ad familiares' 4.1.9–15.

44 On Neoplatonism in the letter see also Gall (note 36).

Compared to the continuous philosophical self-examination, the physical ascent of the mountain fades into the background; when he finally reaches the summit, Petrarch's brother has to call his attention to the marvellous view. Even then, there is no trace of a real experience of landscape in the text: Petrarch can perceive the elemental force of the Alps only indirectly through the literary authority of Livy and Pomponius Mela; while considering the breath-taking panorama he only thinks of his antiquarian knowledge of Athos and Olympus.[45] This predominance of ancient authorities over the travellers' own experience is, however, a typical phenomenon in medieval pilgrimage texts and travel accounts.[46] It also reminds us of the first part of the 'Itinerarium', in which the places portrayed gain value mostly through ancient authorities as well.

Finally, at the summit of Mount Ventoux the peripety of the letter is staged in the way of a book oracle, analogous to the garden scene of Augustine's 'Confessions', which itself serves as hypotext in a *mise en abyme*.[47] Petrarch flips the book open at random and finds a critique of his admiration for the physical world:

> *Et eunt homines admirari alta montium et ingentes fluctus maris et latissimos lapsus fluminum et oceani ambitum et giros siderum, et relinquunt se ipsos.*[48]
>
> And people go to admire the heights of the mountains, and the mighty waters of the sea, and the farthest rivers, and the scale of the ocean and the circles of the stars, and they lose themselves.

In the letter, this impulse leads to a conversion experience and a turn towards transcendence. Taking his cue from Augustine, Petrarch asks why people seek in the external world what they could easily find in themselves.[49] He spends the remainder of the tour in silent contemplation. Thus, the allegory of ascent gets ingeniously redefined. In the first part of the letter, physical and spiritual ascent correspond to each other. In the second part, they become disassociated from each other. Physical descent now

45 Petrarch, 'Ad familiares' 4.1.17–25. This peculiarity has already been noted by great naturalist Alexander von Humboldt at the beginning of the 19th century, cf. Alexander von Humboldt, Kosmos. Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung, Frankfurt a. M. 2004, p. 214, n. 82, first published in five volumes 1845–1862. See also William M. Barton, Mountain Aesthetics in Early Modern Latin Literature, London, New York 2017, p. 216.

46 Cf. Herbert Donner, Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land. Die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästinapilger (4.–7. Jahrhundert), Stuttgart 1979, p. 32; Sylvia Schein, From 'Holy Geography' to 'Ethnography'. 'Otherness' in the Descriptions of the Holy Land in the Middle Ages, in: Ilana Zinguer (ed.), Miroirs de l'Altérité et Voyages au Proche-Orient, Geneva 1991, pp. 115–123, here pp. 115–116; Fischer (note 1), pp. 41–42.

47 Petrarch, 'Ad familiares' 4.1.27.

48 Augustine, 'Confessions' 10.8.15.

49 Petrarch, 'Ad familiares' 4.1.32. On the antithesis *intus–foris* in Augustine's 'Confessions', see Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, Die 'aula memoriae' in den Konfessionen des heiligen Augustin, in: Revue des Études Augustiniennes 84 (1968), pp. 69–89.

correlates with spiritual ascent. This is Petrarch's innovative take on the Platonic and Neoplatonic model of a gradual ascent to the vision of God: within the physical world, man can at best reach the threshold of transcendence, after which the soul has to detach itself from its earthly receptacle and continue the path in the spiritual world alone.[50] In the two most influential medieval poems influenced by Neoplatonism, Alan of Lille's 'Anticlaudianus' and Dante's 'Commedia', the threshold of transcendence is indicated by a change in the soul's guide: from Ratio to Fides or from Virgilio to Beatrice, respectively. In Petrarch's interpretation, on the other hand, the threshold of transcendence lies at the summit of Mount Ventoux, at the highest physical point on earth that he is able to visit. From there his soul can continue the ascent to God while he himself descends back into the valley.

The letter ends appropriately with the similarly Neoplatonic appeal to Francesco Dionigi to pray that Petrarch's soul will succeed in arriving at the supreme One, Good and True, i.e. God: *ad unum, bonum, verum, certum, stabile se convertant.*[51] The question of whether this will ultimately come to pass remains unanswered. But the two halves of the letter – the ascent inspired by Roman antiquity and the descent marked by Christian Neoplatonism – can be read as Petrarch's metapoetic reflection on the two central themes of his Latin oeuvre and their relationship to each other: the imitation of classical antiquity in 'Africa', 'De viris illustribus', and the letters on the one hand, and the imitation of Augustine in the 'Secretum' and the philosophical-theological treatises on the other.[52] Since classical literature had inspired the entire enterprise from the outset and consequently is capable of leading Petrarch – like Virgilio in Dante's 'Commedia' – to the threshold of transcendence, it acquires an independent anagogical value, even if it remains subordinate to the spiritual contemplation that reaches beyond.[53]

Petrarch himself explicitly links his Neoplatonic ascent of Mount Ventoux both to human life and more specifically to earthly life as a pilgrimage to God *(peregrinatio).*[54] Did he implement a similar concept within his 'proper' pilgrimage text, the 'Itinerarium'? A first clue is provided by the following statement, taken from the account of the Holy Land:

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50 See Augustine, 'Confessions' 7.17.23, a passage Petrarch alludes to in 'Ad familiares' 4.1.15. Cf. Pfeiffer (note 39), p. 11.

51 Petrarch, 'Ad familiares' 4.1.36.

52 For this interpretation of 'Ad familiares' 4.1 see Bauer (note 36). Similar metapoetic analyses have been advanced by Groh and Groh (note 39), pp. 304–307; Mertens (note 3), pp. 724–725 and pp. 733–734. The conflict between pursuit of earthly reputation and orientation towards Christian values is fundamental in Petrarch's literary work, cf. Bernhard Huss, 'Roma caput rerum'? Geschichtsinszenierung, episches self-fashioning und christlicher Selbstzweifel in Petrarcas Africa, in: M. Disselkamp et al. (ed.), Das alte Rom und die neue Zeit. Varianten des Rom-Mythos zwischen Petrarca und dem Barock, Tübingen 2006, pp. 23–44, here pp. 42–44.

53 Cf. also Jens Halfwassen, Die Idee der Schönheit im Platonismus, in: Methéxis 16 (2003), pp. 83–96, esp. pp. 93–96; Stefan Büttner, Antike Ästhetik. Eine Einführung in die Prinzipien des Schönen, Munich 2006, pp. 178–190.

54 Petrarch, 'Ad familiares' 4.1.12–13.

> *Sequendus in terris querendusque nobis Cristus est, ut vel sic discamus eum ad celum sequi et ubi aliquando habitavit diu quesitum tandem, ubi habitat, invenire.*[55]
>
> We must follow Christ on earth and seek him out so that we precisely by this means learn to follow him to heaven and to find him finally at the place where he lives now, whom we have sought for a long time at the places where he once had lived.

Here, Petrarch contrasts earthly pilgrimage, which supposedly encompasses travelling the physical world and seeing with one's physical eyes, with a spiritual vision of God only attainable through pious contemplation. Travelling to the Holy Land in order to "follow Christ on earth", as his addressee Giovanni Mandelli does, is therefore only the first step. The physical pilgrimage must be completed through spiritual pilgrimage, a practice of meditation Petrarch provides for in his remarkably non-geographical account of the Holy Land. Instead of mapping routes to a physical landscape, he describes paths into the spiritual world. Thus, the 'Itinerarium', as a whole, employs a similar bipartite structure to the letter 'Ad familiares' 4.1: in the first part, it deals with the physical world already described by ancient authorities; in the second part the focus shifts to inner contemplation eventually enabling the vision of God through the *oculi mentis* or *oculi fidei*, as exemplified in Bethlehem.

Further evidence can be adduced from Petrarch's rendition of the legend of Augustus at Alexander's tomb in Alexandria. Asked if he wanted to see the tomb of Ptolemy as well, Augustus allegedly answered that he wanted to see the king, not dead bodies.[56] For the use of Giovanni Mandelli, Petrarch reframes this witticism as *sanctos cupias videre, non mortuos* ("you should wish to see holy men, not dead men"). In the context of the 'Itinerarium', these "dead men" can only refer to the ancient authors of the first part, such as Virgil and Pliny, whose tombs and legacy Petrarch described at length in Naples.[57] Again, a clear distinction is made between a physical world represented by pagan antiquity, where dead men are just dead, and the spiritual world bursting with eternally living saints and martyrs. In this perspective, the first part of the 'Itinerarium', though seemingly more detailed and fleshed out, is in fact only a description of the physical world and thus inherently inferior to the outwardly vague account of the Holy Land as a purely spiritual, non-geographical place.[58] The striking stylistic difference in Petrarch's description of Italy and his description of

55 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 64.

56 Ancient sources for this story are Suetonius, 'Life of Augustus' 18, and Cassius Dio, 'Roman History' 51.16.5.

57 Cachey (note 2), p. 31 inexplicably misconstrues the anecdote as being Petrarch's justification for ending his travelogue with Alexander's tomb ("the king") instead of the Holy Sepulchre (which would thus, bizarrely, correspond to the "dead bodies" in his interpretation).

58 Cf. also Stolz (note 18), pp. 387–388.

the Holy Land undoubtedly serves to accentuate this ontological imparity between the physical world visible through the eyes of the body and the spiritual world that eventually leads to the vision of God.

Again, there seems to be a distinct autobiographical element in the transition from the Italian landscape accommodating the classical authors and Petrarch's own 'Africa' on the one hand, to the Neoplatonic spirituality of the second part on the other. If we compare the treatise 'De otio religioso', probably finished around 1357 and thus in direct proximity to the 'Itinerarium', we can get another view of Petrarch shaping his autobiography as a story of spiritual pilgrimage and crediting Augustine's 'Confessions' with catalysing his conversion:

> *Et sane quod nunc assero ante non multos annos forte vel tacite negassem: Illi gratias qui michi oculos aperuit ut aliquando viderem quod cum magno discrimine non videbam, quemque nunc etiam caligantes oculos purgaturum spero ad reliqua que damnosa tarditate nondum video, quam in me hactenus minus miror, cum Ieronimum ipsum de se fatentem audiam, quod sibi in libris gentilium occupato cum se ad sacra vertisset eloquia, ut verbo eius utar, 'sermo horrebat incultus'.* […]
>
> *Sero, iam senior, nullo duce, primo quidem hesitare, deinde vero pedetentim retrocedere ceperam, ac disponente Illo, qui malis nostris ad gloriam suam semper, sepe etiam ad salutem nostram uti novit, inter fluctuationes meas* […] *Augustini Confessionum liber obvius fuit.* […]
>
> *Ab illo igitur primum raptus et a semitis meis parumper abductus sum. Accessit sacer et submissa fronte nominandus Ambrosius, accessere Ieronimus Gregoriusque, novissimus oris aurei Iohannes et exundans lacteo torrente Lactantius: ita hoc pulcerrimo comitatu Scripturarum Sacrarum fines quos ante despexeram venerabundus ingredior et invenio cuncta se aliter habere quam credideram.*[59]
>
> And sure enough, not many years ago I would have denied openly or tacitly what I now assert: thanks to him, who opened my eyes so that I now see what I did not see with all my judgement, whom I now hope to purify my clouding eyes for the remaining things which I do not yet see due to my fatal tardiness. At which I am not so much surprised, as I hear Jerome himself confess that having studied pagan literature, he was, in his own words, taken aback by the plain style, when he turned to holy scripture. […]
>
> Very late, in mature age, without any guide, I started to hesitate and then to gradually retrace my steps. And through his will, who always knows how to use our shortcomings to his glory and often to our salvation,

59 Petrarch, 'De otio religioso' 2, in: Il 'De otio religioso' di Francesco Petrarca, ed. by Giuseppe Rotondi (Studi e Testi 195), Vatican City 1958, pp. 103–104.

> in the midst of my uncertainties [...] I came across Augustine's book of Confessions. [...]
>
> By this I was first taken away and driven off my usual ways for a while. In addition, there was holy Ambrose, who can only be named with a humble face, there were Jerome and Gregory, and very recently also John Chrysostome and Lactantius, who pours forth a milky flow of words. Thus, accompanied by this most lovely fellowship, I entered the realms of Holy Scripture which I had disregarded earlier, and I found that everything was different than I had thought.

The metaphors of vision and travel, which we already encountered in the 'Itinerarium', are once again noteworthy. Here, the wording at first recalls the famous statement of Paul in 'Corinthians' 13:12. With his vision purified from earthly residues, Petrarch is then able to cross the threshold to transcendence and to enter the wholly spiritual world of Holy Scripture, which corresponds to the equally spiritual space of the Holy Land in the 'Itinerarium'.

With all these parallels, there can be little doubt that Petrarch saw the genre of pilgrimage texts as yet another opportunity for self-fashioning.[60] However, the autobiographical element is not confined to the first, 'Italian' part of the 'Itinerarium', as previous scholars have suggested, but pervades the whole text as a kind of 'conversion narrative'.[61] The 'Itinerarium' should be seen as a unified whole held firmly together by an overarching Neoplatonic framework. Pilgrimage becomes a metaphor for human life, which in Petrarch's philosophical view ideally proceeds from the study of ancient authors to the recognition of God as the true point of reference.

4 Petrarch and Virgil

But this does not necessarily mean that the Petrarch of the 1350s completely disavows classical learning in favour of his newfound attraction to Christian spirituality. It should be stressed that in the letter about Mount Ventoux, classical education had played an important part for inspiring the ascent at the outset. The intricate relationship of classical antiquity and Christianity can be seen most clearly in Petrarch's use of Virgil in the 'Itinerarium'. As we have seen, Virgil is an important focal point in the first, Italian part. But his influence does not completely vanish after that. At

60 The importance of self-fashioning in Petrarch is widely acknowledged. Cf. e.g. Karlheinz Stierle, Francesco Petrarca: ein Intellektueller im Europa des 14. Jahrhunderts, Munich, Vienna 2003, pp. 345–474; Huss (note 52), p. 28; Peter Kuon, Petrarcas Selbstkanonisierung, in: Bernd Engler and Isabell Klaiber (ed.), Kulturelle Leitfiguren – Figurationen und Refigurationen, Berlin 2007, pp. 57–68. Roberta Antognini, Il progetto autobiografico delle Familiares di Petrarca, Milan 2008, pp. 31–114.

61 Cf. Bauer (note 36).

a key point in the second part, the journey from the Holy Land to Egypt, Petrarch quotes from the 'Aeneid' again:

> *Durum iter, fateor, sed ad salutem tendenti nulla difficilis via videri debet. Multas ubique difficultates, multa tibi tedia vel hominum vel locorum hostis noster obiciet, quibus te ab incepto vel retrahat vel retardet vel, si neutrum possit, saltem in sacra peregrinatione hac minus alacrem efficiat. Hic vero preter cetera nativam locorum ingeret asperitatem penuriamque rerum omnium. Sed meminisse conveniet omne optimum magno pretio constare et Virgilianum illud in tuos usus transferre, ubi ait: vicit iter durum pietas* [Verg. Aen. 6.688 = Proba 664], *et illud Lucani paululum immutare: durum iter ad leges animeque ruentis amorem* [Luc. bell. civ. 9.385]. *Nichil tam durum, quod virtus ardens et pietas incensa non molliat.*[62]
>
> A hard journey, I concede, but for one who strives for salvation no way can seem difficult. Our fiend thwarts you with many difficulties, many obstacles of men and places, by which he deters you and holds you back from the journey you have begun, or if this is not possible, makes you at least less efficient in your holy pilgrimage. But in this region, he even adds the native roughness and the shortage of all things to the other obstacles. But it shall be fit to remind you that each excellent commodity comes at a high price and to put the following quotation of Virgil to your use, when he says: piety conquered the hard journey. And to change Lucan's adage a little bit: hard is the journey to the laws and an impassioned soul's journey to love. Nothing is so hard that ardent virtue and passionate affection could not mollify it.

Vicit iter durum pietas is a quotation from the sixth book of the 'Aeneid', in which Aeneas traverses the underworld to visit his deceased father Anchises and which also served as inspiration for Dante's Virgilio. The words form part of Anchises' opening speech after their lachrymose reunion. Medieval Christian Neoplatonists like Bernardus Silvestris had interpreted Aeneas and Anchises as the human soul and God the Father, respectively, and the sixth book of the 'Aeneid' accordingly as a pilgrimage to God through the physical world.[63] Petrarch's quotation thus draws on contemporary Neoplatonic readings of Virgil's 'Aeneid'.

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62 Petrarch, 'Itinerarium' 66.

63 Bernardus Silvestris, 'Commentum super sex libros Eneidos', in: The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Virgil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris, ed. by Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones, Lincoln 1977, pp. 9–10; cf. Alexander Cyron, Das ‚Commentum super sex libros Eneidos' des Ps.-Bernardus Silvestris. Formen der Kommentierung und didaktische Struktur, in: Das Mittelalter 17 (2012), pp. 25–39.

This is remarkable, as in the first part of the 'Itinerarium', Petrarch consistently presents a literal, positivist interpretation of Virgil's work. But when he moves on to the spiritual world of the Holy Land, he also starts advancing an allegorical interpretation of the 'Aeneid', thereby exemplifying the anagogical force of classical literature in accordance with the fourfold sense of medieval hermeneutics. Consequently, classical learning and humanist values are not to be rejected in principle. Instead, they can lead mankind on to the search for the supreme Good – a thoroughly Neoplatonic concept.

5 Conclusion

As demonstrated, it proves fruitful to examine Petrarch's 'Itinerarium' within the wider context of medieval travel literature: against the backdrop of literary tradition, it becomes clear that Petrarch builds upon longstanding typical elements of pilgrimage narratives to inscribe his text into a recognized genre. However, by choosing an elaborate epistolary setting, by imbuing the text with antiquarian material sourced from classical antiquity, and by imposing a subtle anagogical structure from a classical landscape on the spiritual world of the Bible, he also innovates and adds new dimensions of meaning. Having shaped the journey's first, antiquarian part as a traditional pilgrim's itinerary, Petrarch may have even intended a subtle critique of traditional pilgrimage in the vein of Jerome's 'Letter' 58 or Gregory of Nyssa's 'Letter' 2, who advise Christians to seek God in their own hearts.[64]

The peculiarities and innovations of the 'Itinerarium' can be explained through a Neoplatonist reading, corresponding to Petrarch's stance in his roughly contemporary 'Ad familiares' 4.1 and 'De otio religioso', among other writings. By equating pilgrimage with life and framing the journey as a Neoplatonic conversion narrative, the text works as an autobiographical reflection on the relationship of classical learning and Christian spirituality. For Jerome, being a *Ciceronianus* and being a *Christianus* had been mutually exclusive.[65] To Petrarch, both travelling to the sources of classical culture and travelling the physical world are a transitional, yet significant step on the way to fully seeing the Neoplatonic-Christian supreme Go(o)d with his spiritual eyes.

64 On this debate on pilgrimage cf. Georgia Frank, The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity, Berkeley 2000; Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity, Berkeley 2005.

65 Cf. Jerome, Letter 22.30 (to Eustochium).

Yamit Rachman-Schrire

Reading Allegory into the Landscape of the Holy Land

Sermons Integrated into Felix Fabri's 'Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem'

Abstract This chapter deals with sermons integrated into the 'Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem', a pilgrimage account composed by Dominican pilgrim and preacher Felix Fabri, based on his two pilgrimages to the Holy Land in the 1480s. Via a close analysis of the content and context of the sermons, I discuss Fabri's employment of the landscape of the Holy Land as *itself* a subject for preaching, relating to two distinct layers of interpretation he employs in his writings, the literal and the allegorical, to befit the needs of various audiences: pilgrims and monks. Thus, the chapter offers a window into the mutual and nuanced relationship between the content of a sermon, the site where it was delivered, and the implicit audiences, as they are reflected and re-established in Fabri's text.

Zusammenfassung Dieses Kapitel befasst sich mit den Predigten, die der dominikanische Pilger und Prediger Felix Fabri in sein ‚Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem' integriert hat, einen Pilgerbericht, der auf seinen beiden Pilgerreisen ins Heilige Land in den 1480er Jahren basiert. Durch eine genaue Analyse von Inhalt und Kontext der Predigten kann gezeigt werden, wie Fabri die Landschaft des Heiligen Landes als Thema für Predigten nutzt. Dabei bezieht er sich auf zwei unterschiedliche Ebenen der Interpretation, die wörtliche und die allegorische, die er auch sonst in seinen Schriften anwendet, um den Bedürfnissen verschiedener Zielgruppen (Pilger und Mönche) gerecht zu werden: So bietet das Kapitel einen Einblick in die wechselseitige und nuancierte Beziehung zwischen dem Inhalt einer Predigt, dem Ort, an dem

Contact

Dr Yamit Rachman-Schrire,
Postdoctoral Fellow, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus, 91905 Jerusalem, Israel
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3769-8871

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sie gehalten wurde, und den impliziten Zuhörern, wie sie in Fabris Text reflektiert und konstruiert werden.

1 Introduction

In the 'Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem', based on his two pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1480 and in 1483/84, the Dominican pilgrim and preacher Felix Fabri tells of a sermon he delivered to his fellow pilgrims.[1] Given on the day of the feast of the Visitation, while on board the galley making its way from Venice to Jaffa's shores, Fabri records the following about the sermon:

> *Eodem die, hora qua Missae celebrari consueverunt, convocavi omnes peregrinos theutonicos et eis sermonem feci de peregrinatione beatissimae Mariae Virginis, quam peregit in visitatione et transitu per montana Iudae, et regulas nostrae peregrinationis ex eius devotissima peregrinatione collegi et proposui, et praeconia ac laudes nostrae peregrinationis exposui et peregrinationem hanc Ierosolymitanam extuli. Sed montis Synai visitationem super omnia laudavi, volens movere aliquos, ne nimis trepidarent. Eram enim ego intentionis peregrinationis Synai, sed nulli hoc manifestavi, nec aliquis mihi de se, et ideo vehementer timui, ne forte in tanto peregrinorum agmine nullus esset ad montem Synai iturus, sicut et in priori peregrinatione contigit. Si ergo finita fuit dies illa et iterum noctem in galea egimus.*
>
> On that same day, at the hour at which Mass is accustomed to be celebrated, I called together all the German pilgrims and preached them a sermon about the pilgrimage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which she performed *during* her visitation, when she went into the hill country of Juda; and from her most devout pilgrimage I derived rules for our own pilgrimage, which I recommended to them; and I set forth the praises and glories of our pilgrimage, and extolled the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But above all I praised the visiting of Mount Sinai, desiring to move some to do so, lest they might be afraid. For I was determined to go on the pilgrimage to Sinai, but I had told no man thereof, nor had any man told me that he was going, wherefore I greatly feared that it might chance that in all that great band of pilgrims there might not be one who was going to Sinai,

1 This study was supported by the Israel Science Foundation, grant 1821/21. I would like to express my gratitude to Reuven Amitai and Iris Shagrir for their generous help and support. I wish to thank Anna Gutgarts and the anonymous reviewer for their helpful comments and suggestions.

> even as it befell me on my former pilgrimage. Thus ended this day, and we again passed the night on board of the galley.[2]

According to Luke 1:39–56, immediately following the Annunciation, Mary went to visit Elizabeth, then pregnant with her son, John the Baptist. Both Elizabeth and the baby in her womb acknowledged through word and deed the special child in Mary's womb. Though Fabri does not bring the full content of the sermon itself, he testifies to its goals: first, to offer the biblical story of Mary's visitation as a model for pilgrimage, and second, to encourage his fellow pilgrims to set out on a pilgrimage to Sinai. The last point – Fabri further emphasizes – was meant to serve his own interests, for he yearned to reach the desert.

Taking the sermon on Mary's visitation as my point of departure, in what follows I would like to discuss the place of sermons within the 'Evagatorium', as well as Fabri's employment of the landscape of the Holy Land as *itself* a subject for preaching, relating to two distinct layers of interpretation found in his writings, the literal and the allegorical, to befit the needs of various audiences: pilgrims and monks.

2 Preaching in the Holy Places

Already a well-known preacher prior to his visit to the Holy Land,[3] and self-conscious of his status within the group of pilgrims, Fabri mentions how he was often asked by his companions to deliver a sermon. At the same time, he compares his own experience as a preacher during his two voyages, demonstrating the different manner in which his words were received by the varying groups of pilgrims. While on his first pilgrimage, he felt that his fellow pilgrims on the ship were often inattentive to his words; on his second pilgrimage, he tells his readers:

> *In secunda vero peregrinatione fuerunt magis nobiles et maturi viri, qui erant gratissimi, et rogabant me pro verbo Dei, quibus et complacui omnibus diebus*

2 Felix Fabri, Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem, ed. by Konrad Dietrich Hassler, Stuttgart 1843–1849, here vol. 1, p. 188. English Translation: Felix Fabri (circa 1480–1483 A.D.), [Wanderings in the Holy Land], ed. and trans. by Aubrey Stewart, 2 vols., 4 parts (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society vols. 7–10), London 1887–1897, here vol. 1,1, p. 214. References are made to Stewart's numbering; e.g. 'vol. 1,1' refers to volume I, part i of Stewart's edition (= PPTS vol. 7); I have slightly altered the English translation of the PPTS. The English translations of the biblical passages are taken from the King James Version. On Fabri cf. also the edition: Felix Fabri, Les errances de Frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte (1480–1483), ed. and trans. by Jean Meyers and Michel Tarayre, vols. 1–9, Paris 2013–2021.

3 Jacob Klingner, Just Say Happily: 'Felix Said so,' and You'll Be in the Clear: Felix Fabri OP (1440–1502) Preaching Monastic Reform to Nuns, in: Medieval Sermon Studies 46 (2002), pp. 42–56; Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrim & Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502), Oxford 2014, p. 95.

> *festivis. Verum multorum nobilium inimicitias praedicando acquisivi, qui se notatos et proclamatos de certis vitiis aestimabant.*
>
> At my second pilgrimage, there were more noble and respectable men on board, who were very pleasant companions, and who were wont to ask me to preach the Word of God to them, which I did on all holy days. Yet I gained by my preaching the dislike of many noblemen, who believed that I marked them and held them up in my sermons as examples of certain vices.[4]

In this segment Fabri reflects on the reception of his sermon by his audiences, and thus offers a view of the close relationship between the content of a sermon (and its success) and the attentiveness of the hearers. To demonstrate this point, he returns to the Bible and cites two sources, the first, Ecclesiasticus 32:6: *Ubi auditus non est, non effundas sermonem, et importune noli extolli in sapientia tua* ("Where there is no hearing, pour not out words, and be not lifted up out season with thy wisdom");[5] and the second, Matthew 7:6: *nolite dare sanctum canibus neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos* ("Do not give dogs what is sacred; do not throw your pearls to pigs"). Here, Fabri employs both quotations to refer to the link between 'words' and 'hearers'. However, whereas the first quotation is supposed to be understood 'literally', the second should instead be understood metaphorically. In this, we see right at the start of his composition Fabri's ability to juggle between layers of interpretation, a strategy that could easily be deciphered by his readers – the novices and other monks in the Dominican monastery in Ulm.

Fabri's urge to deliver sermons was perfectly fulfilled after arriving in the Holy Land, at the actual holy places. While in many cases these sermons are mentioned only briefly, there are a few examples of sermons which are included in their entirety.[6] For example, Fabri tells of a sermon he delivered to the newly made knights – his lords – in praise of holy knighthood. Fabri explains that the sermon was delivered in the "vulgar" German tongue because these knights were not proficient in Latin,[7]

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4 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 1, p. 133; Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,1, p. 148.

5 Ecclesiasticus (also known as "*Sirach*" and "Ben *Sira*"; not to be confused with Ecclesiastes) is one of the wisdom books that, despite being written in Hebrew by a Jewish author, was never part of the Hebrew canon of scriptures, though it is quoted in the Talmud. The Greek translation of the Bible (the Septuagint) introduced the book to the Christian canon of the scriptures. For the canonical status of the book, its author and historical context, see The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version, ed. by Michael Coogan, New York 2010, pp. 1457ff.

6 Cf. Max Häussler, Felix Fabri aus Ulm und seine Stellung zum geistigen Leben seiner Zeit, Berlin 1914, pp. 99–102; Klingner (note 3), p. 43 n. 11.

7 For multilingualism in the account of Felix Fabri, see Albrecht Classen, Multilingualism in Medieval Europe. Pilgrimage, Travel, Diplomacy, and Linguistic Challenges. The Case of Felix Fabri and His Contemporaries, in: Albrecht Classen (ed.), Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World, Berlin, Boston 2016, pp. 279–312. There is a vast material concerning the transition in the language of the sermon from Latin to the vernaculars. For bibliography see Augustine Thompson,

and following a short explanation of the circumstances in which the sermon was delivered, Fabri dedicates the next chapter to a treatise on the sermon, which is cited verbatim, and directed to the knights in the second person plural:

> *Zelus devotionis et Dei magni amoris, milites optimi, in vobis spiritum excitavit, quo tamquam viri magnanimi sic allecti estis ad obsequia Redemtoris, ut vobis delectabile putaretis, velle rem propriam exponere derelicto solo natalis regionis, quaerentes has peregrinas et sanctas, pio quidem moti proposito, ut scilicet loca haec sanctissima venerantes deoscularemini.*
>
> Devout zeal and love towards Almighty God hath stirred you up, my most worthy knights, so that, like the great-hearted gentlemen that you are, you have been attracted towards your Redeemer's grave, and made to think it a pleasant thing that you should hazard the loss of your own possessions by leaving the country of your birth to seek these foreign and holy lands. Herein you have been moved by your pious intentions of worshipping and kissing these most holy places.[8]

Later in the sermon, Fabri addresses the devotional sentiment of his audiences as he reminds them of the significance of the Holy Land's landscape, where the events of the New Testament took place: beginning with Mary's conception and the Nativity, through the sufferings of Christ and His blood that is saturated in the earth, to the Resurrection and the implied salvation. He then elaborates on the Holy Land in the present, which is under the rule of the Mamluks, manifesting a call for active action:

> *Expergiscimini ergo, milites strenuissimi, et ad ulciscendam Dei nostri iniuriam et populi Christiani opprobrium consurgite ad instar quondam robustissimorum Machabaeorum, et occisis aut profligatis perfidis in Christianae reipublicae haereditatem Domini reducere studete.*
>
> Wherefore rouse yourselves, most valiant knights, and avenge the insults offered to our God and the shame of the people of Christendom, even as did those most doughty Maccabees of old, and make it your aim to slay or put to flight the infidels, and bring back the heritage of the Lord into Christendom.[9]

From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event, in: Carolyn Muessig (ed.), Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages, Leiden, Boston 2018, pp. 11–37, here pp. 17–18. Constable summarizes: "Most subsequent scholars have accepted the view that medieval sermons were given to two distinct audiences in two different languages, and that sermons preserved in Latin were presented to a lay audience in the vernacular and sermons delivered in the vernacular were written down in Latin." Giles Constable, The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century, in: Viator 25 (1994), pp. 131–152, here p. 132.

8 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 2, p. 15. Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,2, p. 624–626.

9 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 2, p. 16. Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,2, p. 626.

In its tone and content Fabri's sermon bears traces of crusading imagery, enhanced by the employment of the Maccabees as a model to be followed by the Christian knight.[10] Fabri connects different points in space and time, juxtaposing the knights with the Maccabees, and the Holy Land of the present with Jerusalem during the times of the Romans and in the period of Christ. In this he suggests causal relations between the knights' acts in the present and a promised completion of Christian salvation history.

Throughout the 'Evagatorium', Fabri occasionally refers to the *act of preaching* in the holy places, by invoking the figure of Christ as a role model for the preacher. Fabri mentions the biblical sermon of the Beatitudes, informing his readers that this sermon was delivered by Christ at three different places and occasions: on a hill close to Bethlehem, on a mountain in Galilee, and in the plains.[11] Fabri then explains that although the Gospels do not mention that Christ repeated the same sermon on three different occasions, "this is an ancient tradition of the saints" *(antiqua sanctorum traditio habet)*,[12] adding that: "for a preacher who has a good and profitable subject will often preach upon it many times, both in the same place and in diverse places" *(Sicut praedicator bonam et utilem materiam habens eam quandoque aliquoties praedicat, et in eodem loco, et in diversis)*.[13]

As Fabri himself declares, the source for the tradition that Christ had preached the same sermon three times is to be found in the attempt to solve the discrepancies of Matthew 5:1–12 and Luke 6:20–26. It already appears in the writings of the Church Fathers, for example in Augustine of Hippo, who asserts that on the mountain Christ delivered an extensive sermon which is described in Matthew. He then delivered an abridged and more suitable form of the same sermon to the multitudes who congregated at the foot of the mountain, which is the sermon narrated in Luke.[14] In his interpretation Augustine urges us to reflect on the affiliations between the content of the sermon, its audience, and the site where it was delivered. As a preacher and a good narrator, Fabri, too, understood those affiliations, and acknowledged the strength of repetition in driving the preacher's points home.

10 See, for example, Bernard of Clairvaux's 'Liber ad milites Templi de laude novae militiae'. The memory of the Maccabees was appropriated to describe Christian military activities in the 10th and 11th centuries, and especially in the 12th century with the advent of crusading. Among the vast material concerning this subject, see Stephen J. Spencer, Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291, Oxford 2019, pp. 65–68; Julian Yolles, The Maccabees in the Lord's Temple: Biblical Imagery and Latin Poetry in Frankish Jerusalem, in: Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (eds.), The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources, vol. 7: Commentaria, Leiden, Boston 2017, pp. 421–439.

11 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 1, p. 400. Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,2, p. 502–503.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Augustine, 'De sermone Domini in monte', accessed in: Augustine of Hippo, Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, ed. and trans. by Richard Trench, London 1851, pp. 159–160. It is possible that Fabri declares the number three due to the typological significance of the number, or as a reference to the three times that Christ is said to have prayed in agony.

3 Literal and Allegorical Reading of the Landscape of the Holy Land

What is the role of a certain place in the content of a sermon? And what role does the location of its delivery play in a sermon? One chapter of the 'Evagatorium', entitled "The cave of St James the apostle, wherein he lay hid while the Lord was being taken *(De specu S. Iacobi Apostoli, in quo latitavit in captione Domini)*, offers a glimpse into the manner by which the landscape of the Holy Land became a suitable theme for a preacher.[15] A close reading of the literary strategies employed by Fabri in this chapter invites the reader to decipher the process of composing a sermon which deals with and derives from the geography and topography of a specific site.

Fabri begins with a short description of the topography of the place, which has two stories of deep caverns and holes cut like windows in the upper chambers. He then adopts a more personal tone, as he mentions the visual similarities between the site on the Mount of Olives and the stone forms of a site in Swabia near Gmünd which is called Eberstein: "He who has seen the one has seen the other, save that this one [in the Holy Land] is larger and has the deeper cave" *(Si quis eandem videt, vidit et illam, nisi quod illa est maior et profundiorem habet cavernam)*.[16] By drawing this parallel, Fabri invites his readers to imagine the site in the far-away Holy Land in a way that would invoke familiarity,[17] perhaps even intimacy. Fabri then shifts to another interpretational level – that of the sacred history of the site, its traditions, and the narratives associated with it. Fabri elaborates on a specific cave where St James the Lesser sought refuge when Christ was taken prisoner, where he was also buried; in the same place, Fabri tells us, Christ appeared to James after the Resurrection, and gave him food.[18] The last point he ascribes to Josephus Flavius and St Jerome, thus infusing his text with an authoritative tone establishing the sacredness of the place, which is not only connected to St James but is also a place where Christ revealed himself.[19]

15 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 1, p. 411–414. Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,2, p. 518–521.

16 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 1, p. 411. Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,2, p. 518. I have slightly altered the English translation of the PPTS.

17 According to Legassie, "[m]editants were encouraged to use elements of places familiar to them from experience to construct these virtual places". Shayne Aaron Legassie, The Medieval Invention of Travel, Chicago 2017, p. 120.

18 According to Jerome, James had promised not to eat after the Last Supper before he had seen Jesus risen from the dead; the risen Christ appears to him and offers him food. Hieronymus, 'De Viris illustribus' 2.2: *post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert: Dominus autem cum dedisset sindonem servo Sacerdotis, ivit ad Iacobum, et apparuit ei. Iuraverat enim Iacobus, se non comesturum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus. Rursusque post paululum: Afferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem. Statimque additur: Tulit panem et benedixit, ac fregit, et dedit Iacobo iusto, et dixit ei: Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus.* For a discussion of this tradition as well as other Apocryphal writings concerning James the Lesser, see Els Rose, Ritual Memory: The Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500–1215), Leiden, Boston 2009, p. 134.

19 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 2, p. 412. Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,2, p. 519.

After referring to the history of the site, Fabri returns to his own days, mentioning that a visit there would merit indulgences, and adding, on a more personal note, that he himself used to often visit there and read his prayer book, exploring the caves, and sometimes pretending that he was in the midst of a convent of brethren.[20] Here Fabri, in a rather incidental manner, refers to a central line that can be found in the *artes praedicandi*, where preachers are encouraged to seek out some place of privacy where they can practice voice and gesture before they preach to others.[21] We see how Fabri, in a subtle manner, imbues his text with a didactic agenda especially suited to his readers-audiences who were themselves also preachers or future preachers.

At this stage, Fabri arrives at his main argument: he declares that he read in some ancient pilgrims' guides that members of the Dominican order used to inhabit the site. He then declares that this place was very fit for brethren of the Order of Preaching Friars, offering a curious literary construct in which he reads the topographical conditions of the site as an allegory for the nature of the Dominican order, by elaborating on the specific features of the site: its situation, light, and vegetation. Thus Fabri states that, like the enlightened Mount of Olives, so is the order of preachers lighted by theological and moral science; similar to the brook which takes away all refuse from the city, so the order of preachers washes away all uncleanness from the world;[22] the cedars, which are evergreen, lofty and incorruptible, parallel the order's three vows of "the verdure of chastity, the loftiness of poverty, and the incorruptibility of obedience";[23] geographically, the place lies in a valley without the walls of the city, as a symbol for the preaching friars that ought ever to dwell in the valley of humility; the ruggedness of the rocky place parallels the hardship of the life of a preacher; the solitary place meets the needs of contemplation; its narrowness prevents the mind from wandering.[24]

In this chapter Fabri moves between different layers of interpretation. While the opening of the chapter is highly descriptive and provides what can be dubbed a literal narration of the landscape, in what follows he transits to an allegorical layer of interpretation, in which the actual landscape of the Holy Land provides a geographical

20 Ibid.

21 See for example, the 14th-century treatise by the English Dominican Thomas Waleys, 'De modo componendi sermonis', discussed in Phyllis Roberts, The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon, in: Carolyn A. Muessig (ed.), Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages, Leiden, Boston 2018, pp. 39–62, here p. 47.

22 As Ora Limor has shown, the Valley of Jehoshaphat has a special role in Fabri's description, as it links together past history with eschatological future; filth and dirt become a metaphor for sin and evil, for the fate of humankind and the fearful wrath of God. Ora Limor, Placing an Idea: The Valley of Jehoshaphat in Religious Imagination, in: Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (eds.), Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel, Leiden, Boston 2016, pp. 280–300, here p. 295.

23 Stewart (note 2), vol. 8, p. 520; Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler, vol. 1,2, p. 413: *sic praedicator habet virorem castitatis, altitudinem paupertatis, et imputribilitatem obedientiae in tribus votis.*

24 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 1, pp. 412–414. Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,2, p. 519–521.

index in which each feature of the topography – the cave, the rocks, the valley, and the vegetation – is encoded with a cosmic and theological meaning exclusive to the Dominican order.

We should bear in mind that the intended audience of Fabri's 'Evagatorium' were his brothers in the Dominican monastery, and, as Kathryne Beebe has noted, among other aims, Fabri's intention in the 'Evagatorium' was also to provide a wealth of material for the sermons which his audiences – the Ulmer brothers – would later be expected to preach.[25] Fabri thus applies, to the landscape of the Holy Land, a strategy of allegorical interpretation which he and his audiences are familiar with, derived from the study of the scriptures and biblical exegesis. As an interpretive strategy, allegorical reading is very common in medieval commentaries of the Bible, and specifically of the Song of Songs.[26] In many cases the subjects of an allegorical reading are geographical figures such as rocks, caves, and gardens. For example, Bernard of Clairvaux's famous interpretation of the "clefts of the rock" (*in foraminibus petrae*, Song of Songs 2:14) as an allegory of the wounds of Christ, or Honorius of Autun's interpretation of the "enclosed garden" (*hortus conclusus*, Song of Songs 4:12) as an allegory of Mary's virginity.[27]

Allegorical reading of the landscape is to be found not only in biblical exegesis of the scriptures, but also in other late medieval and Renaissance works, both literary and artistic, in which geographical features signify another layer of meaning. Eminent examples are Dante's "dark wood" *(selva oscura)*, which is full of shadows and signifies the hero's inner turmoil,[28] or Petrarch's well-known letter on the ascent of Mont Ventoux, in which he offers the peaks of the mountains and the routes which he wandered along as an allegory for the quest for a meaning of life, and the ascent of the mountain as an allegory of the ascent of the soul to God.[29] Trecento painters too, in paintings of St Francis' stigmatization at La Verna, exploited the rugged background of La Verna to signify the crack of the Golgotha in Jerusalem, which was formed at the time of the Crucifixion, thus portraying Francis as an *alter Christus* and La Verna as the *alter Golgotha*.[30] Similarly, the rugged background behind the Virgin in Leonardo da Vinci's 'The Virgin of the Rocks' invites the beholder to meditate on the

25 Beebe (note 3), p. 100.

26 For allegory as a major factor of medieval commentaries on the Song of Songs, inviting elaboration on the level 'beyond' the apparent surface, see E. Ann Matter, The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity, Philadelphia 1990.

27 Jill Ross, Figuring the Feminine: The Rhetoric of Female Embodiment in Medieval Hispanic Literature, Toronto 2008, pp. 111–116.

28 Dante, Inferno, Canto 1:1–3; Jeremy Tambling, Allegory, London 2010, pp. 3 and 32. For a summary of the allegorical associations of Dante's *selva oscura* – sinfulness, error, alienation from God, see Robert Pogue Harrison, Forests: The Shadow of Civilization, Chicago 1992, p. 82.

29 See Tomáš Nejeschleba, Petrarch's 'Ascent of Mont Ventoux and Philosophy', in: Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej 64 (2019), pp. 81–94. See also Bauer in this volume.

30 Yamit Rachman Schrire, Christ's Side-Wound and Francis' Stigmatization at La-Verna: Reflections on the Rock of Golgotha, in: Isabella Augart, Maurice Sass and Iris Wenderholm (eds.), Steinformen. Materialität, Qualität, Imitation, Berlin, Boston 2019, pp. 45–57.

biblical phrase: "My dove in the clefts of the rock" (Song of Songs 2:14), as proposed by Durant Waite Robertson.[31]

Allegorical readings of the landscape of the Holy Land are also to be found in earlier pilgrims' accounts. For example, pilgrims occasionally refer to natural phenomena of the Holy Land as proof of God's grace.[32] As Ora Limor has pointed out, Renaissance travellers, including Felix Fabri

> coped with the conflict between the imagined landscape and the real one because the latter did not seem to fit its designation. In a broader sense, we can define this conflict as a clash between the literal and the allegorical and also between reason and faith.[33]

Late medieval audiences, readers, and spectators alike, and particularly audiences from monastic or ecclesiastical backgrounds, were well acquainted with allegorical interpretation as a strategy to indicate another layer of meaning. Dorothea French has shown how late medieval pilgrims, including Felix Fabri, conceived Mount Calvary as both the allegorical and literal centre of the Earth.[34] Yet what is innovative in this segment of Fabri's text is that the allegorical interpretation he employs serves a point that is exclusive to his order. In this chapter, Fabri adopts allegorical interpretation, not to make a point about the Holy Land as an agent in Christian salvation history, but rather to weave the order of preachers into the landscape of the Holy Land. Fabri's reading of the landscape is an extraordinary example of what Denis Cosgrove and others have argued: namely, that landscape is always a reflection of social systems and cultural practices. At the same time, however, landscape is also itself an agent that shapes them in turn.[35]

By comparing the geographical features of the place to the Dominican Order, Fabri claims the topography of the Holy Land for the Dominican Order. Fabri emphasizes the potential role of the Holy Land in sermons, given that this is the place where the biblical story occurred. One could speculate that preaching specifically in the holy

31 Durant Waite Robertson, In Foraminibus Petrae: A Note on Leonardo's 'Virgin of the Rocks', in: Renaissance News 7 (1954), pp. 92–95.

32 Ora Limor, Wondrous Nature: Landscape and Weather in Early Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives, in: Orit Bashkin, Adam Beaver and Joshua Levinson (eds.), Jews and Journeys: Travel and the Performance of Jewish Identity, Philadelphia 2021, pp. 46–62.

33 Limor (note 22). For an allegorical reading of the landscape of the Holy Land in terms of universal Christian truth in Fabri's account, see Rachman Schrire (note 30).

34 Dorothea R. French, Journeys to the Center of the Earth: Medieval and Renaissance Pilgrimages to Mount Calvary, in: Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (ed.), Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade, Kalamazoo 1992, pp. 45–81.

35 Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, Introduction: Iconography and Landscape, in: Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds.), The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments, Cambridge 1988, pp. 1–10.

places during Fabri's visit had a special importance, due to movement restrictions put in place by Mamluk authorities.

Towards the end of the chapter, Fabri summarizes his short treatise, concluding in the rather wide view that the Holy Land offers many opportunities to the preacher:

> *In quibus notatur materia praedicanda, ut praedicet vel de monte Oliveti, de virtutibus; de monte offensionis, de vitiis; de Akeldamah, de morte; vel de valle Hennon, de Gehenna aeternae damnationis. Vel debet praedicare montibus et vallibus, hoc est, sapientibus et insipientibus debitor esse debet* […] *vel contemplativis et activis; vel religiosis et saecularibus; iustis et peccatoribus; bonis et malis.*
>
> Herein may be noted the variety of subjects for a preacher, who may preach either about the Mount of Olives, or virtues, about the Mount of Offence, or vices, about Aceldama, or death, or about the Valley of Hinnon, that is, about hell and eternal damnation. Or he may preach to the mountains and to the valleys, that is, he may be a debtor both to the wise and to the unwise […] or to the contemplative and the active; or to the religious and to laymen; to just men and sinners; to good and bad.[36]

Here again Fabri offers a connection between 'content', 'place', and 'audience'. The places of the Holy Land provide subjects for sermons that could be delivered to a variety of audiences. Similar to liturgy, preaching at the actual holy places had the potential to revive the biblical stories *in situ*; sermons in the holy places invited the pilgrims and devotees to draw parallels between the present and the past, and perhaps to yearn for a Christian Renaissance in the Holy Land.

As Shayne Aaron Legassie has shown, "[t]he written account transformed the raw material of the traveller's memory into something systematic and visualizable, for the edification and wholesome delight of readers."[37] For Fabri's recipients, the place names, such as 'the Mount of Olives', 'the Mount of Offence', 'Aceldama', or 'the Valley of Hinnon', evoke the imagination of the biblical events associated with them. The names of these sacred sites held symbolic meanings and associations that exceed their geographical substance and boundaries, offering the recipients the opportunity to contemplate the sacred landscape of the Holy Land even if they have never set foot there. At the same time, Fabri's mention of the names of these places added an authoritative layer to his words and voice.

36 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 1, p. 413–414. Stewart (note 2), vol. 1,2, p. 521.

37 Legassie (note 17), p. 117.

4 Mary's Visitation as a Pilgrimage

I wish to return now to Fabri's sermon on the Visitation. Though Fabri did not mention the full content of his sermon, he noted its goal: convincing his fellow pilgrims to set out on a pilgrimage through the desert, for he himself yearned to arrive there. In order to do so, Fabri proposes to interpret Mary's visitation as an act of *pilgrimage*, and implicitly suggests seeing the figure of the Virgin as a model for the pilgrim.

Traditionally, preachers employed Mary's visitation as a model for humility and chastity to be followed by young nuns or females.[38] The Franciscan theologian Bernardino of Busti (1450–1513), in a sermon on the Visitation, highlighted that Mary remained for about three months in Zechariah's house, not travelling around the countryside, to teach us "to flee the conversations of men, which ought to be avoided especially by virgins and other young women."[39] Another 15th-century preacher, the Dominican Gabriele da Barletta, asserted that Mary never even went to the window of her room in order to escape public view. Both preachers foreground Mary's habits of solitude.[40]

Fabri, on the other hand, in his sermon on the Visitation, emphasizes not Mary's enclosure, but rather the actual travel she performed through the terrain of the Holy Land, from her house in Nazareth to her cousin's house in the Judean hills. In this, he departs from the medieval tradition, and offers an innovative line of interpretation of Mary's visitation, which he views as a pilgrimage. The subject of Fabri's sermon might be seen in the context of late medieval sermons, which tended to emphasize Mary's role during the Passion. As Spivey Ellington has shown, it was in these works that Mary shed her traditional role as a model of modesty and humility to become an individual in her own right. These sermons frequently included dialogue and dramatic action, the intent of which was to draw the reader into the events of the Passion so that he or she could better identify with them.[41]

The theme of Mary as a model for the pilgrim is integrated into a later chapter of Fabri's 'Evagatorium', which is entirely dedicated to this theme: '*De loco respirationis*

38 Donna Spivey Ellington, From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Washington 2001, p. 145. Mary C. Erler suggests that Nicholas Love's portrayal of Mary's Visitation to her cousins should also be read in the context of local "supervised" pilgrimages of women, cf. Mary C. Erler, Home visits: Mary, Elizabeth, Margery Kempe and the feast of the Visitation, in: Maryanne Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg (eds.), Medieval Domesticity. Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England, Cambridge 2008, pp. 259–276, here pp. 267–268.

39 Bernardino of Busti cited in Ellington (note 38), p. 144.

40 In fact, Ambrose interprets the Vulgate's phrase: "Mary stood up and went with haste through the mountains *(montana festinatione)*" as a recommendation for: "[L]isten, virgins, do not run around to others' houses, do not linger in the streets, or get together in public to gossip. Mary was earnest at home, hurried in public, and stayed at the home of her relatives."

41 Donna Spivey Ellington, Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon: The Virgin's Role in Late Medieval and Early Modern Passion, in: Renaissance Quarterly 48 (1995), pp. 227–261, here pp. 231–232.

et pausationis beatae Virginis in tali peregrinatione existentis' ('On the site where the blessed Virgin Mary recovered and rested when taking her pilgrimage').[42]

In this chapter Fabri tells us that the Virgin Mary regularly used to set out on three pilgrimages: once a year she visited Nazareth, where the angel Gabriel told her she would conceive and give birth to Christ; once a month, Mary travelled to the grotto in Bethlehem where her son was born; and once a day, every day, she visited the sacred sites of Jerusalem where her child lived and taught, and where he was crucified and resurrected. By the end of this chapter, Fabri addresses the question of the exact nature of Mary's pilgrimages, declaring, in opposition to some of the Church Fathers, who believed Mary's pilgrimages should be understood in a spiritual sense, that for him they were physical as Mary "was in truth a pilgrim" *(vere peregrina fuit)*.

A close analysis of this chapter suggests it might have been composed as a sermon. Not only does it form a separate literary unit in the 'Evagatorium', but its catechetical rhetoric also suggests this.[43] However, more important for our discussion here is the point that Mary's figure as a model for the pilgrim is a recurring theme in Fabri's text. Yet in the chapter that is dedicated to Mary's pilgrimages in Jerusalem, Fabri portrays a more ambiguous model for the pilgrim, as he offers Mary not only as a model for actual pilgrimage, but also as a model for spiritual pilgrimage. Thus, Fabri tells us that, each day, after she completed the circle of the holy places in Jerusalem, Mary went back to her oratory on Mount Sion, where she prayed in front of two stones which were miraculously brought to her by angels from Mount Sinai. As Fabri suggests, these stones were brought to her so that she would not have to set out on an actual pilgrimage to the desert, but instead could venerate Mount Sinai through the stones.[44]

By integrating a sub-narrative of a spiritual pilgrimage of the Virgin, Fabri offers a model for the pilgrims who cannot arrive in the Holy Land with their bodies, but only through their imagination. We see that Mary's figure as a model for pilgrimage becomes more flexible due to the changing demands of each audience: on the voyage

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42 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 1, p. 401–408. The chapter spans eight pages in the printed edition of the text and forms a discrete unit that can be read separately. See Yamit Rachman-Schrire, A Voyage to the Land of Mirrors: Felix Fabri's Narration of the Virgin Mary's Pilgrimages as a Model for Late Medieval Mendicant Piety, in: Journal of Medieval History 46 (2020), pp. 596–620.

43 Rachman-Schrire (note 42).

44 These two stones appear also in another text of Fabri, 'Die Sionpilger', whose addressees are the Sion pilgrims *(Syon bilgrin)*, named after Mount Sion in Jerusalem – pilgrims who travelled to Jerusalem in spirit (to be distinguished from the pilgrim knights – *Ritterbilgrin* – who went to Jerusalem in body as well). In 'Die Sionpilger', Mary's veneration of the Sinai stones suggests a model for a mental pilgrimage. Felix Fabri, Die Sionpilger, ed. by Wieland Carls (Texte des Späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit 39), Berlin 1999, p. 139. For a discussion of the stones and their historiography: Rachman-Schrire (note 42), pp. 617–618. For the manner in which details taken from accounts of real voyages were integrated into guides for pilgrimages of the imagination, see Kathryne Beebe, Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context: The Imaginary Pilgrims and Real Travels of Felix Fabri's 'Die Sionpilger', in: Essays in Medieval Studies 25 (2008), pp. 39–70.

to the Holy Land, while preaching to his fellow pilgrims with the intention of convincing them to go on a pilgrimage to Sinai, Mary emerges as a model for corporeal pilgrimage; in the chapter which is dedicated to Mary's pilgrimages and is intended for his brothers in Ulm, he offers a more pluralistic model of the Virgin which befits the needs of audiences who could not have arrived at the holy places themselves. Sinai as the goal for a spiritual pilgrimage of the Virgin Mary should also be read in the context of the prohibition on female pilgrims entering the Monastery of St Catherine, as Fabri testifies.[45] We see then how the addressees determine the content and rhetoric of each sermon. Indeed, Sinai itself, as an actual geographic place, also changes its role: in the chapter on Mary's pilgrimages Sinai is a site that could be (and perhaps also should be) venerated on Mount Sion. This is based on the unique theological and teleological connection between the two mountains: Sinai the Mount of the Old Covenant, where Moses received the Law, is being replaced (via the relocation of the stones) by Mount Sion, the Mount of the New Covenant, where the tongues of fire fell on the disciples on Pentecost – Mount Sion is the *telos* of Mount Sinai and, therefore, it is only there that the stones could be fully invested with their meaning.[46] However, in the sermon of the Visitation, addressed to the pilgrims on the boat, Sinai is no longer a goal for spiritual voyage, but becomes a goal for actual physical pilgrimage.

Fabri's 'Evagatorium' is a curious literary construct on which he worked for more than a decade, basing his words on notes he took while in the Holy Land. The composition itself interacts with different literary genres, among them sermons. The intertwining of sermons in the composition of his pilgrimage emphasizes its didactic agenda and indicates the various ways in which different genres are entangled in pilgrimage writings. For Fabri, the pathos of a sermon is inherent in the actual act of pilgrimage.

45 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 2), vol. 2, p. 503. My thanks to Susanna Fischer for bringing this matter to my attention.

46 See Yamit Rachman-Schrire, Steintransfer ohne menschliches Zutun: Wie der Berg Sinai auf den Berg Zion gelangte, in: Monika Wagner and Michael Friedrich (eds.), Steine aus der Ferne. Kulturelle Praktiken des Steintransfers, Berlin, Boston 2017, pp. 114–24.

Kathryne Beebe

Jacob Klingner, Felix Fabri, and the Interpretation of Imagined Pilgrimage

Abstract In this essay dedicated to the memory of Jacob Klingner, I discuss his work and address both the question of how late medieval enclosed nuns used pilgrimage accounts, as well as the methodological steps that best allow us to understand this particular historical phenomenon. I show that the Poor Clares of Pfullingen were far more likely to have read their vernacular adaptation of Felix Fabri's Latin 'Evagatorium' pilgrimage account simply as such, rather than as an imagined pilgrimage, as other studies have argued. I also demonstrate that this over-interpretation of pilgrimage accounts as imagined pilgrimage can be avoided by comparing the texts in question with multiple pilgrimage works for a wide range of attributes.

Zusammenfassung Im Gedenken an Jacob Klingner befasst sich dieses Kapitel mit seiner Arbeit zu Felix Fabri und behandelt sowohl die Frage, auf welche Weise Pilgerberichte in spätmittelalterlichen klausurierten Nonnenklöstern rezipiert wurden, als auch die methodischen Schritte, die uns ermöglichen, dieses besondere historische Phänomen besser zu verstehen. Dabei lässt sich zeigen, dass es sehr wahrscheinlich ist, dass die Klarissen von Pfullingen die volkssprachliche Adaption von Felix Fabris lateinischem ‚Evagatorium' als Pilgerbericht gelesen haben und nicht, wie andere Studien erwogen hatten, als imaginäre Pilgerreise. Die Überinterpretation von Pilgerberichten als imaginäre Pilgerreisen kann vermieden werden, indem beim Vergleich mit anderen Pilgertexten weitere Aspekte in den Blick genommen werden.

Contact

Dr Kathryne Beebe,
Associate Professor of Medieval History, Department of History, University of North Texas, 1121 Union Circle, #310650, Denton, TX 76203, USA,
Kathryne.Beebe@unt.edu
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2261-5105

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1 Introduction

Felix Fabri, author of the Latin pilgrimage account known as the 'Evagatorium', referred to himself within the text as *fff (Frater Felix Fabri)*.[1] At the 2016 international conference dedicated to Fabri, held in celebration of the 500th *Jubiläum* of the Stadtbibliothek Ulm,[2] the late Jacob Klingner and I realized that those of us gathered there could be signified as *ffff: Frater Felix Fabri Freunde*, or friends who had been brought together through our shared interest in the friar's written work and sermons. Jacob was a generous scholar, a model of courage, and a 'Friar Felix Fabri Friend' *par excellence*. I first read his work when I began my study of Fabri as a graduate student. Admiring his article "Just say happily: 'Felix said so', and you'll be in the clear!…", I wrote to Jacob, and he shared with me information, insights, and the unpublished transcriptions of several previously unknown Fabri sermons, which he himself had identified.[3] Jacob's unselfishness enriched my dissertation and my subsequent monograph on Fabri,[4] and his example became for me a model of scholarship and friendship.

The personal challenges and losses that he faced at the end of his life he met with humor (he once greeted me with the words, "As you see, I've become a monopod") and a seemingly unwavering generosity of spirit. Whether over a meal at the Joseph-Roth-Diele in Berlin, coffee in Ulm's Fischerviertel, or fresh strawberry tart on the terrace of his home, Jacob brimmed with ideas and plans for the future, many of them involving Fabri. Jacob was keen that scholars and the wider public recognize Fabri's skill as a literary writer, and his interests ranged even more broadly; he spoke about exploring *Minnesang* and *Minnerede*, among other themes.[5]

An academic project that Jacob was unable to see to completion was a German translation of Fabri's 'Evagatorium', which will be published by his colleagues Susanna

1 Felix Fabri, 'Evagatorium', Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 19555.1, fol. 1r.

2 The proceedings were published as Folker Reichert and Alexander Rosenstock (eds.), Die Welt des Frater Felix Fabri (Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek Ulm 25), Weißenhorn 2018. Jacob's contribution, "Felix Fabri und Heinrich Seuse," appeared on pp. 113–147.

3 Jacob Klingner, Just say happily: 'Felix said so', and you'll be in the clear! Felix Fabri OP (c. 1440–1502) Preaching Monastic Reform to Nuns, in: Medieval Sermon Studies 46 (2002), pp. 42–56.

4 Kathryne Beebe, Pilgrim & Preacher: the Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502), Oxford 2014.

5 Jacob Klingner, ‚Gegenspiele'. Zur Überlieferung von Minnesang und Minnerede in der ‚Weingartner Liederhandschrift', in: Eckart Conrad Lutz and Klaus Ridder (eds.), Wolfram-Studien, XXI: Transformationen der Lyrik im 13. Jahrhundert. Wildbader Kolloquium 2008, Berlin 2013, pp. 267–286. He also had an interest in imagined pilgrimage, which is the focus of this essay, but among the laity – while I study it here among enclosed nuns: see Jacob Klingner, Reisen zum Heil – Zwei Ulmer ‚Pilgerfahrten im Geiste' vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, in: Martin Huber et al. (eds.), Literarische Räume: Architekturen – Ordnungen – Medien, Berlin 2012, pp. 59–73.

Fischer and Andreas Beriger.[6] Jacob judged Fabri's text worthy of translation and wanted to expand its audience – to make it available to Germanophone scholars who are not proficient in Latin. In this essay, which I dedicate to the memory of Jacob, I focus on texts that demonstrate that late medieval scribes – including Fabri, himself – also saw value in expanding the audience for Fabri's multiple pilgrimage works in both Latin (the 'Evagatorium') and in the vernacular (the 'Pilgerbuch' and the 'Sionpilger').[7]

In 1484, Fabri wrote the 'Pilgerbuch', which is a German account of his 1480 and 1483–1484 pilgrimages to the Holy Land.[8] Then, sometime before 1489, he produced his Latin 'Evagatorium', which is a much more detailed account of his two pilgrimages that includes many theological, historical, and ethnographic asides – as well as a section describing the history of Ulm and Swabia.[9] Finally, probably in 1492, he finished his German 'Sionpilger', which is an instruction manual for taking imagined pilgrimages to the Holy Land, Rome, and Compostela.[10]

In this essay, I centre my analysis on a section of a manuscript that contains a vernacular adaptation of Fabri's 'Evagatorium'. The manuscript Stuttgart, Württembergische

6 Felix Fabri, Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem, lat. / dt. Ausgabe mit Kommentar, ed. by Susanna Fischer and Andreas Beriger, Berlin (in preparation).

7 Fabri wrote four separate accounts of his pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1480 and 1483–1484: the 'Gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein' (c. 1482), which covered his 1480 journey; the single extant manuscript is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 359. It was printed as Felix Fabri, Bruder Felix Fabers gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein, ed. by Anton Birlinger, Munich 1864. The 'Pilgerbuch' (1484 or later), which covers both journeys and whose autograph manuscript is Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°. It was first printed as Felix Fabri, Eigentliche beschreibung der hin unnd wider farth zu dem Heyligen Landt gen Jerusalem, und furter durch die grosse Wüsteney zu dem Heiligen Berge Horeb Sinay, darauss zu vernemen was Wunders die Pilgrin … zu erfahren und zu besehen haben, etc., Frankfurt a. M. 1556, and despite several modern works that summarize it or adapt extracts, there is no modern critical edition of the text. The 'Evagatorium' (also after 1484), which likewise covered both journeys; the autograph manuscript is Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 19555.1–2. See Felix Fabri, Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabie et Egypti peregrinationem, ed. by Konrad Dietrich Hassler, Stuttgart 1843–1849; and Felix Fabri, Les errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte, ed. and trans. by Jean Meyers and Michel Tarayre, vols. 1–9, Paris 2013–2021. Finally, he wrote a vernacular guide for 'imagined pilgrimage' known as 'Die Sionpilger'. The earliest extant manuscript, from 1493, is Ulm, Stadtarchiv, A [5925]. See Felix Fabri, Die Sionpilger, ed. by Wieland Carls (Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit 39), Berlin 1999. In this essay, I will focus upon the 'Pilgerbuch', the 'Evagatorium', and the 'Sionpilger'.

8 There is no scholarly consensus on either the chronology of production and transmission or even the 'identities' of the texts containing pilgrimage works (or redactions) attributed to Fabri. My chronology and the identities I assign to texts here should be seen as provisional. See Beebe (note 4), pp. 130–152 for a discussion. I am currently researching these issues for a revised account in a future publication.

9 The autograph manuscript of the 'Evagatorium' is Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 19555.1–2. The 12th, and last, tractatus of the 'Evagatorium' that covers the history of Ulm and Swabia has been edited as Felix Fabri, Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi. Traktat über die Stadt Ulm, ed. and trans. by Folker Reichert (Bibliotheca Suevica 35), Konstanz 2012.

10 The autograph is no longer extant. The earliest redaction is Ulm, Stadtarchiv, A [5925] (former shelfmark: Cod. U 9727). A colophon on fol. 409r dates the manuscript to 1493.

Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB I 26 (HB I 26 from this point forward) was produced in the convent of the Poor Clares in the southwest German town of Pfullingen c. 1498–1500 or after 1511.[11] The convent was reformed by the Observant Movement in 1461, and the nuns' spatial mobility was accordingly restricted by its policy of enclosure.[12] Folios 75r–214v of the manuscript contain a German translation and redaction of Fabri's 'Evagatorium' and are divided into two parts.[13] The first, longer section relates his 1483–1484 pilgrimage (a 'footnote' makes a very brief reference to his 1480 pilgrimage), and the second, shorter section describes the city of Jerusalem. The text contained on fol. 75r–214v, which I will refer to in the rest of this essay as the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' or the Pfullingen nuns' vernacular 'Evagatorium', does not include the last section of the 'Evagatorium' on Ulm and Swabia found in Fabri's autograph manuscript.

Following Felix Heinzer, I have in the past interpreted the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' as having been read by its enclosed female monastic readers not simply as a pilgrimage account, but rather as an imagined pilgrimage.[14] Here, I define imagined pilgrimage to be the practice of performing an intentional, devotional exercise of going on pilgrimage in the mind, rather than in person – and an event that goes beyond the less 'transcendental', vicarious experience that accompanies the reading of any narrative.[15] That Heinzer and I interpreted a vernacular adaptation of a Latin pilgrimage account as one used by enclosed nuns for imagined pilgrimage is not unusual; rather, it appears to place us within a broader academic trend. For example, Kathryn Rudy argues similarly that Thietmar's Latin pilgrimage account, 'Iter ad Terram Sanctam', translated into Middle Dutch as 'Vanden berg Synay', was subsequently employed c. 1440 by enclosed nuns in Leiden for the new purpose of imagined pilgrimage.[16] However, a finding from my more recent research has caused me to take a closer look at all of these arguments concerning the use of pilgrimage accounts by enclosed nuns for imagined pilgrimage. In my survey of the emerging field of imagined pilgrimage studies, I found that scholars may have misinterpreted texts as having been used for imagined pilgrimage, when they were far more likely to have been used merely for

11 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB I 26.

12 Bert Roest, Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares Between Foundation and Reform, Leiden 2013, p. 191.

13 It is neither simply a "translation" nor "excerpts" *(Auszüge)* of the 'Evagatorium', as I and Felix Heinzer, respectively, have stated; see Beebe (note 4), p. 154 and Felix Heinzer, Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 39), Leiden 2008, p. 513.

14 Heinzer (note 13), pp. 515–517; Beebe (note 4), pp. 152–173.

15 See my overview of the field of imagined pilgrimage studies in Kathryne Beebe, Imagined Pilgrimage, in: Andrew Jotischky and William Purkis (eds.), A Companion to Medieval Pilgrimage, Leeds (forthcoming).

16 Kathryn Rudy, Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent. Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages (Disciplina Monastica 8), Turnhout 2011, pp. 49–57. Cathleen Fleck makes the same claim, citing Rudy, in: Cathleen Fleck, The Crusader Loss of Jerusalem in the Eyes of a Thirteenth-Century Virtual Pilgrim, in: Elizabeth Lapina et al. (eds.), The Crusades and Visual Culture, Farnham 2015, p. 148.

Passion devotion.[17] Therefore, as I returned to research that I began a decade and a half ago on Felix Fabri and imagined pilgrimage[18] in order to prepare a paper for the 2019 workshop, "New Directions in the Study of Latin Travel Literature ca. 1250–1500," and this subsequent volume, I did so with a heightened awareness of the possibility of over-interpreting texts as imagined pilgrimage – and found that this is precisely what I had done in my earlier work.

In this essay, I show that it is very unlikely that the enclosed nuns of Pfullingen used their vernacular 'Evagatorium' for the meditative exercise of imagined pilgrimage, as Heinzer and I had argued. My analysis below demonstrates that these monastic women were far more likely to have read it simply as a pilgrimage account. I show that Heinzer and I ended up probably reading too much into this text because the comparative analyses that we conducted to arrive at our shared conclusion were quite limited, an understandable effect of the fact that both of us – and especially Heinzer – only made the claim somewhat in passing. The much more extensive comparative analysis that I present below offers a way to avoid the over-interpretation of imagined pilgrimage for scholars interested in understanding how pilgrimage accounts were used in monastic settings. We can do so by carefully comparing the text in question with *several* pilgrimage works – including one that has been shown convincingly to have been used for imagined pilgrimage – for *a wide range* of attributes. It is, in large part, by keeping Fabri's Latin 'Evagatorium', which Jacob Klingner found so compelling, firmly in the frame of analysis that I am able to interpret the use of its vernacular adaptation on firmer empirical footing.

An ecumenical approach to literary theory guides my methodology for investigating how the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular 'Evagatorium'. I consider all approaches to understanding literature to be legitimate and useful, whether these be nearer to the objectivist and experimental (e.g. formalism) or subjectivist and experiential (e.g. reader-response criticism) end of the spectrum of literary theory.[19] At the objectivist pole, meaning is determined by the structure of the text itself, while at the subjectivist end it emerges through the unique experiences of individual readers. The research question with which Heinzer, Rudy, and I have been concerned – i.e. how did enclosed nuns use pilgrimage accounts? – is one that employs a reader-response approach, but its associated methods can provide us with only a very limited amount of data concerning these particular texts. We do not have written statements by these women, nor observations by onlookers describing how they used these texts, so our means for gathering information to answer our reader-response research question

17 Beebe (note 15).

18 Research published as Beebe (note 4).

19 For an overview of the current state of the field, see Jeffrey J. Williams et al. (eds.), The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism, 3rd ed., New York 2018.

are limited to techniques such as the analysis of marginalia and Kathryn Rudy's innovative "dirty books" spectrometry.[20]

We can, however, increase the quantity of information that we use to answer our question and thereby improve the quality of our interpretation by including the insights and associated methods of literary approaches from all along the spectrum of literary theory. Below, I generate a more robust evidential base than either Heinzer or I had produced, and I answer the reader-response question of how the Pfullingen nuns used their 'Evagatorium' by utilizing the attendant techniques of not only a subjectivist perspective, but also those in an intermediate position and at the objectivist end of the spectrum of literary theory. Thus, I analyse the objectivist narrative features (person, tense, setting, and plot); *as well as* the intermediate authorial intent, 'fellow travelers' (associated texts), and provenance; and the subjectivist marginalia. I then compare these attributes of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' (whenever possible) with those of examples of Fabri's Latin 'Evagatorium', 'Pilgerbuch', and 'Sionpilger'.

I structure this essay as follows. In the first section, I describe in detail the particular arguments and evidence found in Heinzer's and my own interpretations of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' being used for imagined pilgrimage. In the second, larger section, I present my comparison of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' with the Latin 'Evagatorium', the 'Pilgerbuch', and the 'Sionpilger' for the five main attributes mentioned above and discuss how this evidence supports the novel hypothesis that the Pfullingen nuns read their vernacular 'Evagatorium' simply as a pilgrimage account during table reading or in private study. In my conclusion, I discuss the avenues for further research that these findings indicate.

2 The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' Read as an Imagined Pilgrimage

In this section, I present the evidence that Heinzer and I marshalled in support of our argument that the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular 'Evagatorium' for imagined pilgrimage. I show that our interpretation rests on three main findings: the restriction of these (and other) monastic women's mobility; the nature of the other texts – or 'fellow travelers' – in HB I 26 and those of its copies in two other manuscripts; and the marginalia in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and in examples of the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch'. I end the section with an evaluation of the methods that we used to arrive at our imagined pilgrimage conclusion and demonstrate that our comparative analyses could have been much more extensive.

Heinzer and I argued that while on the surface it might appear that the Pfullingen nuns were reading their vernacular 'Evagatorium' simply as a pilgrimage account as one might expect, they were, in fact, actually using the text for a different purpose.

20 Kathryn Rudy, Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer, in: Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art 2,1/2 (2010), https://doi.org/10.5092/jhna.2010.2.1.1.

We both claimed that there is sufficient evidence to determine that this text was instead used by the Pfullingen nuns for practicing imagined pilgrimage. Both of us made this assertion somewhat in passing in monographs dedicated to broader phenomena.[21] For his part, Heinzer asked, rhetorically, "Had one not probably read this text primarily as a 'script' for an inner, spiritual pilgrimage?"[22] I wrote that the Pfullingen nuns "were likely to read these texts as guides not for practical journey advice, but for advice for a journey of the soul."[23]

Heinzer and I both claimed that the Pfullingen nuns used the Fabri pilgrimage account in HB I 26 for imagined pilgrimage because being enclosed – and therefore unable to travel – caused them to create a virtual version of the in-person pilgrimage for which they pined. Heinzer wrote that the Pfullingen nuns were unable to satisfy their desire to visit the Holy Land physically because of the restriction of their mobility due to enclosure, and "[p]recisely this situation leads to the result that one brings the Holy Land and its sites into the monastery, as it were, and enacts it within enclosure."[24] He provided a few comparative examples to demonstrate that this restriction of mobility had indeed led late-medieval enclosed women in southwestern Germany to practice imagined pilgrimage: a "spiritual sea journey" in an Alsatian convent; the Villingen Clarissans' virtual visits to Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and Rome within their convent; and the use by Fabri's charges of his 'Sionpilger'.[25] For my part, I argued that the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' was used for imagined pilgrimage because "[t]he women reading these texts in the confines of the Pfullingen house, following the strict rules for enclosure promoted by the Observance Movement, had little chance of ever going on pilgrimage themselves."[26] I too invoked the 'Sionpilger', arguing that the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', "like the 'Sionpilger', fitted into the reading patterns of Observant women's houses as a spiritually useful description of the Holy Land."[27]

A second reason that Heinzer and I both gave for finding that the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular 'Evagatorium' for imagined pilgrimage was that it was included in a manuscript containing spiritual texts. Heinzer describes HB I 26 as

21 See Heinzer (note 13), pp. 515–517; Beebe (note 4), pp. 152–173.

22 "Hat man diesen Text nicht vielleicht doch in erster Linie als ‚Drehbuch' für eine innere, geistliche Pilgerfahrt gelesen?" Heinzer (note 13), p. 517.

23 Beebe (note 4), p. 155.

24 "Genau diese Situation führt auch dazu, dass man sich das Heilige Land mit seinen Stätten gleichsam ins Kloster holt und im Inneren der Klausur inszeniert." Heinzer (note 13), p. 516.

25 Heinzer (note 13), pp. 516–517. He states that Fabri wrote the 'Sionpilger' for the Dominican sisters of Ulm ("*die Ulmer Dominikanerinnen*"), but there appears to have been no such female community; the extant copies come from Medlingen and Medingen. See Beebe (note 4), pp. 149–151. See also Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, Jerusalem behind Walls: Enclosure, Substitute Pilgrimage, and Imagined Space in the Poor Clares' Convent at Villingen, in: The Mediaeval Journal 3,2 (2013), pp. 1–38, for a thorough discussion of the Villingen practices.

26 Beebe (note 4), p. 155.

27 Ibid., p. 159.

"a colorful mosaic of different spiritual texts".[28] I found the manuscript to be a "spiritual landscape of readings,"[29] and went on to discuss the texts accompanying copies of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' in contemporary manuscripts now held in Wolfenbüttel and Eichstätt.[30] "Considering the 'fellow travellers' of the Stuttgart, Wolfenbüttel, and Eichstätt manuscripts as a whole," I concluded for this group of books I termed the 'Three Sisters', "it is clear that at the end of the fifteenth century the German translations of Fabri's 'Evagatorium' were read more as a spiritual pilgrimage guide than as an actual one."[31]

I included a third piece of evidence in support of our imagined pilgrimage interpretation. It came from my comparative analysis of the marginalia in the examples of the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Sionpilger'.[32] I found that the low frequency of marginal notes in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' was far more similar to that in the extant copies of the 'Sionpilger' than it was to the much higher frequency of such markings in the examples of the Latin 'Evagatorium'. I concluded, therefore, that the pages of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' "were read much more in the same devotional context as the 'Sionpilger', not in the preparatory or school-time leisure of the [Latin] 'Evagatorium'."[33]

As I mentioned above in my introduction, Heinzer's and my conclusion that the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular 'Evagatorium' for imagined pilgrimage rests on our very limited comparative analyses. We compared only the text's *provenance* (with imagined pilgrimage texts – including the 'Sionpilger' – from other late-medieval southwest German enclosed women's convents), *fellow travelers* (with the other texts in HB I 26 and those accompanying the copies of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' in the other two 'sisters'), and *marginalia* (with the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Sionpilger'). We did not compare the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' with other texts for two of the five important attributes that I mentioned in my introduction: the narrative features of person, tense, setting, and plot, and the feature of authorial intent. Furthermore, Heinzer and I did not include the Latin 'Evagatorium' or 'Pilgerbuch' in our provenance comparisons; neither of us compared the 'fellow travelers' of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' with those of the Latin 'Evagatorium', the 'Pilgerbuch', or the 'Sionpilger'; and I left the 'Pilgerbuch' out of my comparison of the texts' marginalia. In the following section, I demonstrate that a more extensive comparative analysis of the attributes of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' points to a very different conclusion about its use.

28 "[E]in buntes Mosaik unterschiedlicher geistlicher Texte." Heinzer (note 13), p. 513.

29 Beebe (note 4), p. 154.

30 For a discussion of the Wolfenbüttel and Eichstätt manuscripts, see Beebe (note 4), pp. 155–159.

31 Beebe (note 4), p. 159.

32 Ibid., pp. 164–176.

33 Ibid., p. 171.

3 The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' Read Simply as a Pilgrimage Account: Extending the Comparative Analysis

In this section, I extend and, where necessary, revise the comparative analyses that Heinzer and I employed to determine how the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular 'Evagatorium'. The logic behind using a comparative approach to interpret the use of something that people have made – in this case, a particular text – is of course that objects with similar functions generally have similar features. Here, I compare the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' with the Latin 'Evagatorium', the 'Pilgerbuch', and the 'Sionpilger' for five attributes that I discussed in my introduction. I begin at the objectivist end with the narrative features of person, tense, setting, and plot. I continue with provenance, authorial intent, and 'fellow travelers', which are the attributes that are associated with intermediate approaches. I finish at the most subjectivist end with marginalia. Although some of the information that I present in this section comes from my monograph on Fabri, I have produced most of these findings through new research, including, in a number of cases, a re-analysis of material that appears in my book. My comparative analysis in this section of my essay shows a clear – and very different – pattern from the one that Heinzer and I identified. Here, I instead demonstrate that the features of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' are much more similar to those of the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch' than they are to the characteristics of the 'Sionpilger'.

3.1 Narrative Features

The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' has much more in common with the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch' for the narrative features of person, tense, setting, and plot than it does with the 'Sionpilger'. These differences in similitude are clear in the four passages, one from each of these sources, which I present below. All are drawn from the same stage in one of the journeys that they relate: Fabri's stop at the community of Mestre, shortly after passing through Treviso and immediately before arriving in Venice.

The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', the Latin 'Evagatorium', and the 'Pilgerbuch' are accounts of Fabri's two pilgrimages to the Holy Land (1480 and 1483–1484), written primarily in first person and in past tense.[34] The temporal setting of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' differs somewhat from that of the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch': it relies on the mention of feast days to indicate the absolute passage of time, while the other two structure the narrative using particular dates in 1483–1484 (month and number). The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' reads as follows:

34 As mentioned above, the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' only 'footnotes' Fabri's first (1480) pilgrimage on its first folio.

> *Darnach wz der suntag Cantate kamen wir in ein stat masters genant vnd kamen an dz ort da dz wasser in dz mer fallt in dz gesalczen wasser.*[35]
>
> Afterward, which was Cantate Sunday, we came into a city named Masters (Mestre) and came to the place where the water descends into the sea in salty water.[36]

In contrast, the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch' mention specific dates for the same part of the narrative, as seen in the following excerpts:

> *Vicesima septima die, quae erat dominica Cantate, Missam Tarvisii audivimus et cibum sumpsimus. Post prandium vero equos, quos Martyres nominant, conduximus, pro nobis et nostra supellectili ad mare ducendum, et profecti sumus contra maris oram; et in oppidum Masters venimus, volentes procedere usque in Margerum, ubi limbus est maris magni.*[37]
>
> On the 27th [of April], which was the Sunday called 'Cantate,' we heard Mass at Treviso and dined. After dinner we hired some of the horses which they call 'Martyrs' to carry ourselves and our baggage to the sea, and we set out towards the seashore. We arrived at the town of Mestre, desiring to proceed further, to Malghera, which stands on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea.[38]
>
> *Vnd am xxv tag dess apprils kamen wir gen tervis / vnd verkaufent da vnser ross vnd schickent vns vff dz wasser Doch von tervis bÿs gen masters / dingtent wir andri ross die man nempt martrer / vnd do wir gen masters kament.*[39]

35 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB I 26, fol. 75v. In this passage, the pilgrims begin the day, 'Cantate Sunday' (the fourth Sunday after Easter Sunday), in Treviso and travel to their next stop, the town of Mestre. In 1483, Cantate Sunday fell on 27 April.

36 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

37 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 7), vol. 1, pp. 81–82. The month of April is specifically mentioned at the beginning of the narrative of the second journey, 13 April, some folios earlier; in Hassler's edition, this occurs on p. 66.

38 Translation by Aubrey Stewart in Felix Fabri (Circa 1480–1483 A.D.), [Wanderings in the Holy Land], ed. and trans. by Aubrey Stewart, 2 vols., 4 parts (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society vols. 7–10), London 1887–1897, here vol. 1,1, p. 77. Volumes 7–10 refer to the numbering of the texts within the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (PPTS) series. Within this, Stewart's translation of Fabri's Wanderings is divided into two main 'volumes', with two parts each: thus, volume 7 of the PPTS is Stewart's vol. I, part I. References in this piece will be made to Stewart's numbering; e.g. 'vol. 1,1' refers to volume I, part I of Stewart's edition.

39 Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 10v.

> And on the 25th day of April we arrived in Treviso, and sold our horses and proceeded by water. However, from Treviso to Mestre we hired other horses that one calls "Martyrs" and thus we came to Mestre.[40]

In contrast, the 'Sionpilger' describes not two particular pilgrimages to one destination, but rather provides instructions – including prayers and hymns – for making three imagined pilgrimages to three different destinations (the Holy Land, Rome, and Compostela) and is narrated in the third person and present tense. Temporal structure in the 'Sionpilger' is provided by ordinal *days*, rather than by specific *dates* or feast days. For example:

> *Die xviij tagraiß ist nach dem ampt von Teruis in die statt masters Durch die gand sÿ vnd komen gen marger in das castell • das vff dem land des mers ligt • do sich das mer an hebt Da seind im land vil schiff vnd schifflitt • Vnd an dem ort vff dem land bÿ dem mer beliben die bilgrin die nacht bÿ sant N*[41]
>
> The eighteenth day's journey is: after Mass, they [the Syon pilgrims] go from Treviso to the city of Mestre. They pass through and arrive in Malghera at the castle that lies on the edge of the sea, where the sea advances. There in that land are many ships and sailors, and at that place on the land by the sea, the pilgrims stay the night [in vigil] with Saint N[42]

The narrative features of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', like those of the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch', clearly do not encourage a meditative reading as do those of the 'Sionpilger'. The first three describe Fabri's first-person journeys to particular places on exact dates or feast days in the past. This immanent specificity is far less suitable for the transcendental practice of imagined pilgrimage than the much more generic person, tense, and temporal structure of the 'Sionpilger'. Thus, underlying the difference in genre between the pilgrimage accounts of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', the Latin 'Evagatorium', and the 'Pilgerbuch', on one hand, and the spiritual exercise of the 'Sionpilger' on the other, is this dissimilarity of narrative features.

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40 25th April is not a mistake. The narrative in the Dessau autograph copy of the 'Pilgerbuch' and the narrative in the printed edition of 1556 differ from that in the 'Evagatorium' and in HB I 26. The Dessau 'Pilgerbuch' does not specifically mention 'Cantate Sunday': the narrative proceeds from the date of 25 April, through the journey through Mestre (date unspecified). The naming of the date of 27 April is reserved for the pilgrims' arrival in Venice: *Am xxvii tag apprilis kament wir gen venedi zu der fleuten vnd belibent vil tag* (Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 11r). This is indeed the same day in which the pilgrims arrive in Venice in the 'Evagatorium' after stopping in Mestre on the same day, but the way the dates are related differ between narratives.

41 Fabri, 'Sionpilger', ed. Carls (note 7), p. 93.

42 "N" here indicates Fabri's 'wildcard' designation for any saint that the reader wishes to choose to honor in vigil for that particular night.

3.2 Authorial Intent

The authorial intent displayed in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' is also much more like that which is expressed in the Latin 'Evagatorium' and 'Pilgerbuch' than in the 'Sionpilger', as can be seen in the following passages from these texts. The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' reads as follows:

> *Nach dem legt ich hin die bilger kleider vnd richt mich wider in min zell vnd an min predig ampt vnd sass da nider vnd schrib min gancze bilgerfart an . Zum ersten in latin den gelerten Darnach in tůtsch etlichen hern vnd ritern zu lieb vnd kůrczwyl Och in sunderheit zu trost den geistlichen closterlůten die vmb gots willen gefangen sind . vnd geplöckt vnd gestöckt mit strenger gehorsam dz sy ab miner liplichen merfart zu dem irdischen irl'm. nemen ein form zu farn in geistlich v̀ber dz mer diß ellenden vnsteten lebens zu himelschen irl'm*[43]
>
> Afterward, I put by my pilgrims' clothing and addressed myself once again to my cell and to my preaching duties, and sat myself down and wrote out my whole pilgrimage – first in learned Latin, afterward in German for a few lords and knights for love and amusement. Also especially for the comfort of spiritual people who dwell in the cloister who by God's will are imprisoned, and locked up and prevented from travelling by strict obedience, that they, from my corporeal 'sea journey' to the earthly Jerusalem, should take an example so as to travel in spirit over the sea of this woeful, unstable life to the heavenly Jerusalem.

The following are three passages from the Latin 'Evagatorium' that indicate authorial intent:

> *Accipite ergo, mei desideratissimi, hunc vobis promissum fratris vestri Felicis* Evagatorium, *et pro solatio duntaxat in eo legite* […]. *Sed vobis cum tribuo, ut tempore remissionis fructuosioris studii et vacantiarum diebus pro vitando otio et recreatione sumenda, cum hilari iucunditate eum, si vacat, legatis.*[44]
>
> So receive, my very dear brothers, these Wanderings that your brother Felix had promised you and only read in them for comfort […]. But I leave it to you so that you may read it with joy and good humor, if you have the leisure, when you rest from a more fruitful study, and during the days of relaxation, to avoid idleness and to relax.[45]

43 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB I 26, fol. 184r.

44 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 7), vol. 1, p. 4.

45 Although my translation differs slightly, I am grateful to Jean Meyers and Michel Tarayre for their French translation of this passage in Felix Fabri, Les Errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en

> *Sed et religiosis et reverendis confratribus nostris Minoribus Ulmae, vobiscum commorantibus, quaeso communicetur, ut et iuvenes eorum legendo* Evagatorium *in stabilitate firmentur, et ex descriptione sanctorum locorum scripturam sacram lucidius intelligant, et in devotione et contemplatione magis proficiant.*[46]
>
> And of course, I ask that it be communicated to our religious and reverend confreres, the Friars Minor of Ulm, who abide with you, so that their young brothers, by reading these Wanderings are encouraged to stay in their monastery, and that they understand Holy Scripture more clearly from the description of the holy places, and that they progress in devotion and contemplation.

> *Porro me in equo sedente omnes fratres circumstantes obnixe petierunt, ut loca sancta diligenter notarem, et conscriberem ad eosdemque deferrem, ut et ipsi, etsi non corpore, mente tamen possent circa loca sancta recreari: quod et fratribus promisi.*[47]
>
> However, as I sat upon my horse, all the brethren flocked round me and eagerly begged me to take careful note of all the holy places I saw, and to write an account of them and bring it to them, so that they also, if not in body, but in mind, could refresh themselves round about the holy places: I promised the brethren that I would do this.[48]

Authorial intent is also expressed in the following passages from the 'Pilgerbuch':

> *Aber ich hab mit fliss die dinge eigenlich vnd mit vil worten beschriben / von dess wegen dz die vnerfarnen ouch trostung vnd vnderrichtung da nemin* [sic] */ vnd irem verwundren dester bas zum end kumin* [sic][49]
>
> But I have diligently described these things well and with many words / for the purpose that those who have not travelled may also take comfort and instruction from this / and accordingly arrive at the end of their puzzlement.

Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte. Tome I – Traités 1 et 2, ed. by Jean Meyers and Michel Tarayre, Paris 2013, p. 79.

46 Fabri, 'Evagatorium', ed. Hassler (note 7), vol. 1, p. 5.

47 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 67.

48 My translation here, with a few differences, is based on Stewart (note 38), vol. 1,1, p. 58.

49 Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 1v.

> *Aber so ich vir war weis / dz diss biechli kommen wirt iweren* [sic] *kinden / vnd hùsfrauwen / iweren dieneren knechten vnd megten in die hendt / vnd wirt iweren pureren vnd eignen lùten vor gelesen. so hab ichs dester lenger gemachet. Es wirt ouch noch witer komen / ich well oder ich well nùt. jn die stett vnd jn die clöster geistlichen vnd weltlichen mùnchen vnd closterfrouwen / von der wegen ich vil jn zùgen hab gemacht bÿ den heilgen stetten. die ich ùch vnderwegen hett gelasen* […] *Wen min meinung ist nùt . dz nemen dz biȯchli lesin . jn denen stunden so man ernsthaftig sol sin / vnd mit tapferen sachen sol vmgan / Aber so ein mensch sunst miesig giengen / vnd zeit ver luri /*[50]
>
> However, I know in truth that this little book will come into the hands of your [the lords who accompanied Fabri on his 1483–1484 pilgrimage] children and wives, your servant boys and maids, and will be read out before your boys and your own people. Thus, I have made it that much longer. It will also go still further – perhaps, I'm not sure – in the city and in the monastery, to spiritual and worldly, to monks and nuns, and on this account I have made many insertions about the holy places that I would have left out along the way for you […] Since my idea is not that someone should read this little book in the hours in which he should be serious and should address himself to weighty affairs, but instead so a person might proceed leisurely and pass the time.

Finally, there is this passage that indicates authorial intent from the 'Sionpilger' copy produced by Susanna von Binzendorf at the enclosed women's convent of Medingen:

> *der vatter* […] *vnd mit fleißiger pet gepethen von den Closterfrawen in schwaben sant dominicus ordens* […] *vnd von den Closterfrawen zu medingen vnd medlingen* […] *Das er sein bilgerfart wol setzen alß ain bild ainer gaÿstlichen bilgerfart ab der sÿe möchten nemen ain fromme der gaÿstlichen bilgerfart* […] *so wöllend sÿe in jrer rẅ vnd in jrem closter leben stett beleiben vnd mit gůttem willen vnd gůter mainung mit ettwaß v̈bungen guter werckt tügendlich bilgerin des hailigen lands werden*[51]
>
> the father […was] with emphatic appeal requested by the Dominican nuns in Swabia […] and by the nuns of Medingen and Medlingen […] that he might set down his pilgrimage as an image of a spiritual pilgrimage from which they might take a spiritual pilgrimage devotion […] thus they wished to remain constant in their repose and in their cloistered life, and

50 Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 1v–2r.

51 Fabri, 'Sionpilger', ed. Carls (note 7), pp. 529–530.

> with good will and good intention, with a few exercises of good work, become virtuous pilgrims of the holy places

The authorial intent expressed in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', the Latin 'Evagatorium', and the 'Pilgerbuch' differs from that which is indicated in the 'Sionpilger' in two significant ways. The first three texts are meant for the general emotional comfort (*trost*, *solatio*, and *trostung*, respectively) of readers, while the last is said to be used for a particular devotion *(ain fromme)*. Also, the first three are to be read for enjoyment (for amusement "*kůrczwyl*," for joy and good humor "*cum hilari jucunditate eum*," and not seriously "*ernsthaftig*," respectively), while the 'Sionpilger' is meant to be used for exercises of good work *(vbungen guter werckt)*.

While both the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and the Latin 'Evagatorium' have passages that might, at first glance, appear to suggest that these texts were intended to be used for imagined pilgrimage, the only one of the four Fabri works compared here that contains an explicit statement that the text be used for imagined pilgrimage is the 'Sionpilger' (a spiritual pilgrimage devotion, "*ain fromme der gaÿstlichen bilgerfart*"). The sea over which the enclosed nuns reading the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' are meant to travel spiritually is a metaphorical one (the sea of this woeful, unstable life) as they progress towards their salvation, not a literal body of water that they are to imagine themselves crossing as part of an imagined pilgrimage. Reading the text is not a spiritual exercise but is instead a more mundane activity that has a spiritual benefit as a knock-on effect. Additionally, Fabri's account of his brethren's request in his Latin 'Evagatorium' indicates that he intended for it to be used by them to enjoy and be comforted by the vicarious experience of their reading about the holy sites, rather than to perform an imagined pilgrimage. They would refresh themselves *(recreari)* by using their minds *(mente)* to think of themselves being at these locations, rather than use the text to conduct the spiritual exercise of imagined pilgrimage, *à la* the 'Sionpilger': nowhere in this passage does he use the Latin equivalent for a contemplative devotional exercise, such as an "*ain fromme der gaÿstlichen bilgerfart*" or an "*vbungen*". In line with the intended use for comfort and enjoyment of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and his Latin 'Evagatorium' and 'Pilgerbuch', Fabri's brothers would engage in a refreshing mental, immanent reading practice that was different from the more rigorous metaphysical or transcendental exercise of imagined pilgrimage.

3.3 Provenance

The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' has a provenance that is similar to those of all three of Fabri's major pilgrimage works with which I am comparing it here. Heinzer and I correctly pointed out in our analyses that both the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and the 'Sionpilger' were possessed by female monastics in enclosed convents. However, a more extensive comparative analysis reveals that extant copies of the 'Sionpilger' were also held by *male* monastics, and that the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch' were

present in enclosed women's convents, as well. Copies of the 'Sionpilger' were produced in the Dominican men's convent of Ulm in 1492 and 1493, and the Dominican enclosed nunneries of Maria-Reutin on the Nagold and Gnadenthal zu Stetten held copies of the Latin 'Evagatorium' (1509) and the 'Pilgerbuch' (c. 1522), respectively.[52]

3.4 'Fellow Travelers'

The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' is very similar in genre to its 'fellow travelers' in HB I 26 and its Wolfenbüttel and Eichstätt 'sister' manuscripts, but it is quite different from the written works that accompany a copy of the 'Sionpilger'. It made sense for Heinzer and me to classify the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and the other works in the manuscript as being spiritual in nature; they certainly were not examples of some of the other broad genres of late medieval texts, such as administrative records or secular poetry. The same can be said of my categorization of the texts accompanying the copies of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' in the Wolfenbüttel and Eichstätt manuscripts as being spiritual, as well. However, when our comparative analyses of their 'fellow travelers' are extended beyond genre and the manuscripts containing the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and its copies, it becomes very clear that while the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' might be rightly classified broadly as spiritual, it is very unlikely that it was used by the nuns there for a meditative, devotional exercise such as imagined pilgrimage.

A helpful tool for extending my analysis is Cynthia Cyrus's typology for the books that were made by monastic female scribes in late medieval Germany.[53] She divides these books at her highest taxonomic level into three types: "practical administrative resources," "liturgical resources," and "spiritual and erudite literature."[54] Cyrus subdivides the last of these types into "private devotional books," "books for table reading," and "books for study." Finally, Cyrus characterizes each of these three kinds of "spiritual and erudite" books by texts representing particular narrow genres. As she maintains, private devotional books were

> the medieval equivalent of personal books. These include books of hours, contemplative books, and guides to holy living, but by far the most numerous of the books of this type are the prayerbooks, the *Gebetbücher*, which form the largest single category of books copied by women scribes.[55]

52 Beebe (note 4): for 'Sionpilger', see pp. 149–152; for 'Pilgerbuch', see pp. 147–148; for the Latin 'Evagatorium', see pp. 134–135.

53 Cynthia Cyrus, The Scribes for Women's Convents in Late Medieval Germany, Toronto 2009, pp. 90–119.

54 Ibid., pp. 90–119.

55 Ibid., p. 109.

The *Gebetbuch*, a likely example of which I will discuss in detail below, is, according to Cyrus,

> a private collection of prayers. It seems on many occasions to have been copied by a woman for her own use, and may have been compiled over many years. […] Just as the liturgical books form the central core for corporate worship, the *Gebetbuch* is the icon of the private devotion, reflecting a personal and intimate choice of patron saints, intercessory figures, and spiritual requests in the collections of prayers found therein.[56]

Books for table reading included "legends and vitae" (including "the writings on many saints"), writings by "the early Church Fathers," "catechetical literature," "mystical treatises," and "the sermon and the hortatory literature."[57] Finally, the books for study that Cyrus mentions are "chronicles and histories," "grammars and vocabulary lists," "the writings of scholastic authors," "poetry and song," and "plays and epics."[58] Although Cyrus does not include the attribute of the book's actual physical size in her typology, we can reasonably assume that private devotional books were, on average, smaller than books used either for table reading or for study.[59]

It is possible to extend our comparative analysis here to include not only the narrower genres of the 'fellow travelers' and the books' dimensions, but, additionally, another manuscript that contained the 'Sionpilger' and several accompanying texts. However, is not possible also to include examples of the Latin 'Evagatorium' or the 'Pilgerbuch' in this analysis, because neither appears to have been bound with 'fellow travelers' during the late medieval period.[60] Table 1, below, displays the 'fellow travelers' and dimensions for the 'Three Sisters' in which the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and its copies are found, and also for the Vienna manuscript containing the 1495 copy of the 'Sionpilger' that originated in the enclosed women's convent of Medingen.[61]

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56 Ibid., p. 109.

57 Ibid., pp. 114–116.

58 Ibid., pp. 117–119.

59 See Anne Herbert Lynley, The Unique Illumination of a Reformation Book, in: The Journal of the Walters Art Museum 74 (May 2019), https://journal.thewalters.org/volume/74/note/re-forming-a-reformation-book-the-unique-illumination-of-a-new-walters-acquisition (19.09.2022).

60 Beebe (note 4), p. 153 for the 'Evagatorium' and pp. 159–160 for the 'Pilgerbuch'. The 'Pilgerbuch' had 'fellow travelers' in its early modern printed version: see Beebe (note 4), pp. 159–164.

61 The 'fellow traveler' information in Table 1 comes from tables in Beebe (note 4), p. 154 (HB I 26), p. 156 (Wolfenbüttel), and p. 158 (Eichstätt); information concerning the dimensions of the manuscripts is drawn from the Appendix in Beebe (note 4), pp. 221–233. The other copies of the 'Sionpilger' were self-standing works, like those of the 'Evagatorium' and 'Pilgerbuch'. See Beebe (note 4), pp. 196–199, for a discussion of the Vienna 'Sionpilger' manuscript, which is Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. 413 (Hübl 248).

Tab. 1 | *Mitüberlieferung* of the Fabri text

Manuscript (Fabri text)	'Fellow travelers' of Fabri text	Page dimensions (cm)[i]
HB I 26 (Pfullingen 'Evagatorium')	• Pierre d'Ailly: a meditation on the virtues of St Joseph • Sermon on the twelve virtues of Abraham • Life of the Blessed Agnes of Prague • Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1452 • Lesson on silence by a Father of the Friars Minor • Antiphon 'Alma redemptoris mater' • *Miraculum In der stat Liconia des künigs von Engelland* (a German translation of a section of Alphonsus de Spina's 'Foralitium Fidei') • History and 'Wonders' of Jerusalem and Sinai	22 × 13[ii]
Wolfenbüttel (Copy of Pfullingen 'Evagatorium')	• Hans Tucher, 'Reise ins Gelobte Land' extract • The miracle of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome • *Miraculum in der Stadt Licania des Königs von England* • 'Das Buch Tobie'	21 × 15
Eichstätt (Copy of Pfullingen 'Evagatorium')	• Hans Tucher, *Gestalt des Heligen Grabes* • Hans Tucher, scribe's afterword • Hans Tucher, 'Über Kairo und Alexandrien' • Hans Tucher, 'Heiligtümer in Alexandrien. Rückreise'	21 × 15
Vienna ('Sionpilger')[iii]	• Indulgences of the seven churches of Rome • Hours of the Passion of Christ • Marian psalter, Rosary Prayers • Allegory on the 15 steps of the Temple in Jerusalem	15 × 10

i Dimensions are rounded to nearest whole number.

ii The dimensions of the Pfullingen text itself are 18–22 × 11–13 cm: Beebe (note 4), p. 226. The online catalog of the Südwestdeutschen Bibliotheksverbundes gives the dimensions of the entire manuscript page as 22 × 13 cm. See SWB-Online-Katalog (klassisch) – results/title data, https://swb.bsz-bw.de/DB=2.1/PPNSET?PPN=165162201 9&INDEXSET=21 (19.09.2022).

iii Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. 413 (Hübl 248).

As seen in Table 1 above, the 'fellow travelers' of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' in the 'Three Sisters' represent very different genres from those of the 'Sionpilger' in the Vienna manuscript. The genres of the accompanying texts in the 'Three Sisters' are those that are characteristic of either the table reading or study types in Cyrus's schema, while the 'fellow travelers' of the 'Sionpilger' fit better with the more meditative genres of her category of private devotional books. For the 'Three Sisters', the genres of "legends and vitae," "the sermon and the hortatory literature," and "chronicles and histories" are particularly well represented by texts such as the miracle of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the sermon on the twelve virtues of Abraham, and the history and 'wonders' of Jerusalem and Sinai, respectively. Only one of the 'fellow travelers' of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and its copies in the 'Three Sisters', the antiphon 'Alma redemptoris mater' on a single folio in HB I 26, fits with the prayerful texts characteristic of Cyrus's private devotional books. In contrast, three out of the

four 'fellow travelers' of the 'Sionpilger' in the Vienna manuscript (the hours of the passion, the psalter and prayers, and the allegory) are texts for meditation, which are characteristic of private devotional books. Additionally, the 'Three Sisters' are all significantly larger than the Vienna manuscript, which was written almost entirely by the scribe Susanna von Binzendorf (only two of the more than 500 folios in the manuscript contain material that is not in her hand).[62]

This extended comparative analysis shows that on the basis of 'fellow travelers' and size, the 'Three Sisters' can be categorized as books for table reading (or perhaps for study), while the Vienna manuscript containing the 'Sionpilger' and its 'fellow travelers' is best understood as a private devotional book.[63] With its meditative texts, single author (nearly), and smaller size, the Vienna manuscript was also likely to have been a particular kind of private devotional book: a prayerbook or *Gebetbuch*. The texts in the 'Three Sisters' might indeed be classified as belonging to the broad genre of spiritual literature, as Heinzer and I observed, but my juxtaposition of these manuscripts with a prayerbook containing a copy of the 'Sionpilger' has made it clear that it is much more likely that they – and the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and its copies that they contained – were used for table reading or for study, rather than for private devotional activity.

3.5 Marginalia

Finally, the marginalia in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' are more like those in the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch' than in the 'Sionpilger'. While it may be true that the frequency of marginal notes in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' is more like that in the 'Sionpilger' than in the Latin 'Evagatorium', as I had pointed out, it is nevertheless possible to extend this comparative analysis to add a qualitative investigation to my existing quantitative one, and to include another Fabri work: the 'Pilgerbuch'. In my previous interpretation of the use of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', I equated a low frequency of marginalia in a text with its devotional use, and a higher frequency of these additions with scholarly use.[64] While logical, this association based on quantity leaves out the very important aspect of the quality, or meaning, of the marginalia.

The marginalia in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', while similar in their low frequency to those in the examples of the 'Sionpilger' from both men's and women's houses, differed from those in the latter work in having a decidedly non-devotional character. The infrequent marginalia in the 'Sionpilger' examples marked mostly

62 Beebe (note 4), p. 197.

63 For further discussion of table reading in a late medieval female monastic context, see Jonas Carlquist, The Birgittine Sisters at Vadstena Abbey: Their Learning and Literacy, with Particular Reference to Table Reading, in: Virginia Blanton, Veronica O'Mara and Patricia Stoop (eds.), Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Hull Dialogue, Turnhout 2013, pp. 239–251.

64 See Beebe (note 4), pp. 171–173.

specific points or lines in the texts where there were opportunities to acquire indulgences or read prayers.[65] In contrast, the similarly scarce marginalia in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' were red tabs that marked the *pages* on which its two sections (the journey narrative and the description of Jerusalem) began and where shifts in the narrative occurred, such as the description of Bethlehem, the beginning of the Sinai and Egypt stage of Fabri's journey, and the 'wonders' of Egypt.[66]

The marginalia in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' are much more similar to those in the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch' in terms of their navigational quality (the former), and also of their low frequency and non-devotional character (the latter). For example, I found that "[m]ost of the marginal notes" in the 1509 example of the Latin 'Evagatorium' that most likely originated in the enclosed women's convent of Maria-Reutin "serve to break up the text and provide markers to help readers navigate the narrative, which was presented in large, continuous blocks of text."[67] Additionally, red *maniculae* point to a number of items in the index at the end of the 1484–1488 Latin 'Evagatorium' autograph, thereby "aid[ing] a scholarly reading of the text – or a reading designed to enhance sermon composition, as the index promoted the navigation of the text by topic."[68] Finally, the post-1484 'Pilgerbuch' autograph from Fabri's Dominican house in Ulm is very similar to the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', in that its readers' marginalia are of a relatively low frequency and ignore the indulgences that the readers of the 'Sionpilger' so regularly marked.[69]

In sum, by extending the comparative analyses that Heinzer and I had conducted, I have been able to identify a number of patterns that our investigations did not reveal. I have shown that the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' is much more like the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch' than the 'Sionpilger' for the attributes of narrative features, authorial intent, and marginalia; very similar to the Latin 'Evagatorium', the 'Pilgerbuch', *and* the 'Sionpilger' for the trait of provenance; and very unlike the 'Sionpilger' for the aspect of 'fellow travelers'. Perhaps most important for evaluating Heinzer's and my interpretation of how the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' was used is a final pattern: for *not one* of the five attributes studied is it more like the 'Sionpilger' than the Latin 'Evagatorium' or the 'Pilgerbuch'. Here in this analysis, the text that was clearly both meant and used for imagined pilgrimage – the 'Sionpilger' – is a true outlier.

65 See Ibid., pp. 171–173.

66 See the table in Ibid., p. 170.

67 I mistakenly included this example of the Latin 'Evagatorium' in my discussion of the marginalia in the 'Pilgerbuch': Ibid., p. 174.

68 Ibid., p. 168.

69 For example, see Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 53r, where the text discusses the pilgrims' procession within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the acquisition of indulgences *(applas)*, but the marginal notes only indicate the places visited and do not mark out available indulgences.

It of course remains a logical possibility that the enclosed nuns of Pfullingen *could have* used the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' for the meditative and transcendental practice of imagined pilgrimage, as Heinzer and I had asserted. However, the weight of the evidence that my new comparative analysis has generated certainly lies with the interpretation that the monastic women of Pfullingen instead read – or listened to – their 'Evagatorium' simply *as a pilgrimage account* during their more relaxed and immanent activities of meals or study. Contrary to what I argued in my earlier work, the Pfullingen nuns are far more likely to have "looked to extract information from" their vernacular 'Evagatorium' than to have "sought to peer deeper *into* the text," as did the readers who used the 'Sionpilger' for imagined pilgrimage.[70]

4 Conclusion

I have shown in this essay that the Pfullingen nuns were much more likely to have read their vernacular 'Evagatorium' merely as a pilgrimage account, rather than as an imagined pilgrimage, as Heinzer and I had argued. I arrived at this new conclusion by extending our initial comparative analyses to include additional texts and attributes. This reinterpretation has implications for future research in a wide range of areas, including imagined pilgrimage, enclosure, and gender, but here I must limit my discussion mostly to the very similar study by Rudy that I mentioned in my introduction. I end my conclusion with a few words about Jacob Klingner, to whose memory this essay is dedicated.

If a more extensive comparative analysis can reveal that one vernacular adaptation of a Latin pilgrimage account was probably *not* used by enclosed nuns for imagined pilgrimage, as had been argued, then applying this methodology to other, similar studies could have the same effect. There are indications that this kind of re-analysis of one of the many imagined pilgrimage interpretations in Rudy's *magnum opus* on the practice might find over-interpretation, as well.[71] As I mentioned in my introduction, Rudy determined that Regular Canonesses in the Low Countries used the text 'Vanden berg Synay' (c. 1440), which she considers to be a translation of the 13th-century Latin pilgrimage account, 'Iter ad Terram Sanctam', for imagined pilgrimage.

As part of a brief discussion of 'Vanden berg Synay' in her monograph on imagined pilgrimage, Rudy describes the text not as a spiritual exercise containing prayers and hymns, like the 'Sionpilger', but instead as "a readable adventure narrative,"[72] which would seem to resemble more closely the similarly entertaining pilgrimage accounts of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium', the Latin 'Evagatorium', and the 'Pilgerbuch'. This correspondence of narrative features suggests that the Canonesses might

70 See Beebe (note 4), p. 176; italics in second quote in original.

71 Rudy (note 16).

72 Ibid., p. 54.

have simply read their vernacular adaptation of a Latin pilgrimage account in the same way that I have shown that the Pfullingen nuns did with their own. A more extensive comparative analysis of the Canonesses' 'Vanden berg Synay' could determine if imagined pilgrimage has indeed been over-interpreted in this single example from Rudy's impressive broader study, just as I have shown that it was in Heinzer's and my own investigations. Furthermore, these three historiographical examples suggest that we should investigate whether or not we have been underestimating the influence of Latin pilgrimage accounts on vernacular literature; counter to what we appear to have been arguing, they may have contributed not only their form, but also their original function.

Latin texts like Fabri's 'Evagatorium' – and the German / Latin parallel edition of it that Jacob Klingner endeavoured to produce – may therefore be more important than we had thought for interpreting how late medieval monastics used texts like the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium'. Jacob was indeed right to see the Latin 'Evagatorium' as a significant piece of literature. His scholarly contributions, which include this insight, will be missed, along with the warm personal interaction that he frequently shared with us. So often during the preparation of this piece, I regretted not being able to ask his opinion, over *Kaffee und Kuchen*, about particularly knotty issues. For example, would Fabri not have bothered writing the 'Sionpilger' if he had thought that his female charges could go on an imagined pilgrimage simply by using the existing Latin 'Evagatorium', a vernacular adaptation of it like the one held by the Pfullingen nuns, or his 'Pilgerbuch'? I like to think that Jacob would possibly agree with me that our mutual *Freund*, *fff*, knew exactly what he was doing when it came to tailoring his work to fit the needs of a specific audience, and I take both *trost* and "solatium" in Jacob's work and the memory of his friendship.

Index of Places

Index of Persons

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