

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

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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 Pilger-texten 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 TRENER, *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 Kathryn 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)* (Mittelaltersprache 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

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 Kathryn 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; Dioni ALBERA and Maria COURCUCL (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

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:

Cogitavi, 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 adumpseram 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 robor 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

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 aliquantum 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 predicauius 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 predicauius* 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 rogauimus 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 clichés [...] 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

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 sarracenicā 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 Zion: *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 beautiful and decorated, for the walls had been painted, but the Saracens have destroyed the paintings by covering them with whitewash. However, 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 beautiful 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.