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THE ROLE OF THE FRANCISCANS
IN THE TRANSLATION OF THE SACRED SPACES
FROM THE HOLY LAND TO EUROPE

THE FRANCISCAN CUSTODY OF THE TERRA SANCTA

The presence in the Middle East of the Franciscan Friars, or Friars Minor, the Order founded by Francis of Assisi (Italy), officially approved by the Pope in 1221, started in the same years. The founder himself visited the region in order to preach the Gospel to the Muslims seen as brothers and not enemies. The mission resulted in a meeting with the Sultan of Egypt, Malik al-Kamil, surprised with his unusual behaviour. The Franciscan Province of the East extended to Cyprus, Siria, Lebanon, and the Holy Land. Before the taking over of Acre (on May 18. 1291) and the end of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem on the eastern Mediterranean coast, Franciscan Friaries were present at Acre, Sidon, Antioch, Tripoli, Jaffa and Jerusalem¹.

From Cyprus, where they took refuge and from the coastal cities where they stayed as chapelains, the Franciscans started planning a return to Jerusalem, given the good political relations between the Christian governments and the Mameluc Sultans of Egypt. Around the year 1333 friar Ruggero Garini or Guerin succeeded in obtaining permission from the Sultan Muhammad al-Nasir to officiate in the Holy Sepulchre, on Mount Calvary, in the Church on the Tomb of the Virgin at Gethsemani, and in buying the Cenacle on Mount Zion and some land to build nearby a monastery for the friars, using the diplomatic influence and funds provided by the King and Queen of Naples. With two Papal bulls, *Gratias Agimus* and *Nuper Carissi-*

¹ Golubovich G. Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franceseano, Voll. I-XIV, Firenze 1906-1933; *AA.VV.* The Custody of the Holy Land. Jerusalem, 1979; La Custodia di Terra Santa e l'Europa / Ed. M. Piccirillo. Roma Il Veltro, 1983; Piccirillo M. Insediamenti francescani in Terrasanta, Atti delle seconde Giornate di studi medievali di Castiglione delle Stiviere (Mantova), a cura di R. Salvarani e G. Andenna. Brescia, 2004, p. 257-280.

mae, of November 21, 1342, Pope Clement IV, approved and created the new entity which will be known as the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land (Custodia Terrae Sanctae). Some years later they could also enter the Basilica of Nativity in Bethlehem with the permission of Sultan al-Mudhaffar.

The friars, were under the jurisdiction of the Father Guardian (Superior or Custos) of the monastery on Mount Zion. Their principal activity was to ensure liturgical life in the Christian sanctuaries, and to give spiritual assistance to the pilgrims coming from the West, to European merchants resident or passing through the main cities of Egypt, Syria and Lebanon.

In 1551 the Friars were expelled by the Turkish Authority from the Cenacle and from their adjoining monastery. However, they were granted the permission to purchase a Georgian monastery of nuns in the north west quarter of the city, which became their new monastery which developed in the Latin Convent of Saint Saviour (known as Dayr al-Latin, in Arabic).

In 1620 the Franciscans received in Galilee, from Fakhr ed-Din, the Druse Amir of Sidon, Mount Tabor and the venerated Grotto of the Annunciation in Nazaret. In the following year they could partly rebuild the church of St. John the Baptist at 'Ayn Karim on the mountain of Judea, where they opened a new friary.

Historically, the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land resulted in a continuity with the keeping and record of the local Biblical and Christian traditions transmitted by local guides Jews, Muslims or Christians alike. Over the centuries, in fact, the Franciscans published several important books in different languages supplying, revising and updating a wealth of information useful for the guidance of pilgrims — as a result of first hand experiences with the intention of improving the knowledge of the Holy Land among the Christians of Europe.

Works such as *Il Libro d'Oltramare* (A Voyage beyond the Seas) by Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, published in 1346; *Trattato di Terra Santa* (Treatise on the Holy Land) by Fr. Francesco Suriano, written in 1485; *Piante dei Sacri Edifici* (Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land) by Fr. Bernardino Amico, which came out in 1609; and the work in two volumes of Fr. Francesco Quaresmi, *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae* (The Illustration of the Holy Land) that appeared in 1639, bear good witness to this effect.

Recently has been published in Jerusalem the Description of the Holy Land written by Father Giovanni Fidanzola who was Provincial of the Franciscan Province of Syria in 1330². In the small codex held in the Casanatense

² *Fra Giovannidi Fedanzola da Perugia. Descriptio Terrae Sanctae. Ms. Casanatense 3876 / Ed. U. Nicolini, R. Nelli. Trad. italiana e note: S. De Sandoli, E. Alliata. English transl. by J. Boettcher. Coord.: A. Bartoli Langeli, A. Niccacci, Jerusalem, 2003.*

Library in Rome (Ms 3876) Father Giovanni draw a plan of the Holy Sepulchre which remains the first most ancient document of its kind before the publications of the XVI century of which we will deal in this lecture.

THE FRANCISCAN JERUSALEM

In Jerusalem the last main concern of the Friars Minor was that of explaining to the pilgrims entrusted to them the reason why the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre with its Rock of Calvary and the Tomb of Jesus were inside the walls and not outside as presumed by the Christian tradition. This belief is very much based on the words of the Letter to the Hebrews in which is written: “Jesus also suffered outside the gate, to consecrate the people by his own blood. Let us then go to him outside the camp, bearing the stigma that he bore” (Hebrews 13, 12–13).

Father Francesco Suriano published in Venice in 1485 and 1514 a Treatise on the Holy Land, which was in form of a dialogue between him (Father) and his sister, (Sora, a nun, at the time, in the convent of Foligno near Perugia and Assisi in Central Italy). In the text, the sister made this request of him, “First I beg you to tell me of the site of the city, how is it placed, and how is it built and if it is now what it used to be as in the time of Jesus Christ, the Messiah”. To which Father Francesco replied, “The city is situated on a hill to the east, and its circumference is about four miles. At the time of Christ, it was narrow and long like the city of Perugia. And it encompassed within it all of Mount Sion together with the fortress and Castle of David the prophet. And know that Christ was crucified outside the west Gate (pg. 24)”³.

A topographical concern can already be found in the guide written by Brother Niccolò da Poggibonsi (1346–1350); he entitles chapter XII of his book “A Voyage beyond the Seas. How the Holy Sepulchre was enclosed within Jerusalem”. In it, Niccolò writes: “Almost in the centre of Jerusalem is the Holy Sepulchre of Christ...[which] was outside of Jerusalem during the time of Christ...”⁴.

In the previous chapter, Br. Niccolò had already elaborated on the Holy City of Jerusalem, providing his readers with a description of it and showing synthetically what remained of the “most holy, the most royal, and most noble, and magnificent [city] above the cities of the world... now destroyed and deserted... But she is so, who now is desolated, and has already been unmade

³ Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente di Frate Francesco Suriano / Edito da P. Girolamo Golubovich. Milano, 1900, p. 24.

⁴ Il Libro d'Oltremare. A Voyage beyond the Seas by Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi (1346–1350) / Transl. by Fr. T. Bellorini and Fr. E. Hoade on the Occasion of the Sixth Centenary. Jerusalem, 1945.

three times from her foundation. Nothing remains of her ancient structure, except the Golden Gate, through which Christ entered on Palm Sunday, Mt. Zion, the place of the Friars Minor and of the Sepulchre of David and Salomon. Inside in our place is where Christ celebrated the Last Supper with his disciples and washed their feet... All these places is inside our Monastery and its area... Jerusalem is on the heights, so that from whatever side you choose to go to her, you have to still go upward... Jerusalem is low in a valley between Mt. of Olives and Mt. Zion...”⁵

Another witness to this Franciscan antiquarian topographical concern is Mr. Villamont, who visited Jerusalem in the year 1588. The French pilgrim attributes the information to his guide, Fr. Gianfrancesco della Salandra who was Custos (i.e. Superior of the Franciscan Missions) from 1568–1601. In his journeys, published in Lyon in the year 1607, he wrote: “The city is the same one that existed back in the time of our Lord. For this purpose, I will refer to that which I have learned from a religious of the Order of St. Francis of Calabrian (Southern Italy) origin; he had already lived in Jerusalem for the span of 20 years and observed both the old and new Jerusalem. In fact, as I spoke with him, he told me that the city originally ran from the Water gate or Spring of Siloam toward the east, forming a semicircle on the southern side until the west gate near where the Tower of David stood above a rocky slope stretching from the southern side of Mount Zion, and eventually curving like a bow”⁶.

These topographical considerations had been already inserted in a topographical map of the city published in Rome in 1578 by Fr. Antonino de Angelis da Lecce⁷. He did so upon his return to the Christian regions after having served 7 years in the Holy Land.

The aforesaid antiquarian topographical considerations were also certainly discussed in the convent of Saint Saviour, where we find together with Fr. Gianfrancesco della Salandra, the presence of both Fr. Antonino to whom we owe the first map of Jerusalem and Fr. Bernardino Amico who copied it in his more known work “*Il Trattato delle Sacre Piante*” (Treatise of the Sacred Edifices).

At the time of Mr. De Villamont visit, Fr. Antonino had already published his Map of Jerusalem in the year 1578. And in his book Fr. Bernardino Amico adds that Fr. Gianfrancesco helped Fr. Antonino in his topographical endeavor saying that, “Fr. Antonino D'Angioli, having lived about 8

⁵ Ibid., p. 10 s.

⁶ Bagatti B. *Un Custode di Terra Santa archeologo pioniere*, P. Gianfrancesco della Salandra (1568–1601) // *Custodia di Terra Santa (1342–1942)*. Jerusalem, 1951, p. 92.

⁷ Amico B. *Trattato delle Piante e Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa...* in Firenze 1620, p. 55.

years in these lands, made the following plan of the city of Jerusalem with the help of Most Rev. Fra Francesco della Salandra who later became Guardian (i.e. Superior of the Convent of residency), living for a span of 40 years in the Holy Land...”⁸

The Map of Fr. Antonino quoted and used by modern scholars and contemporary authors, such as Adrichomius, Zuallart, Breuning and Fr. Bernardino Amico, was known as the *Lost Map of Jerusalem* until its reappearance in recent years in the collection of Alfred Moldovan in New York who then published the document in 1983⁹. The first publication study by Maldovan and a careful re-examination of the Map in Tel Aviv where the Map had been exposed in the year gave it possible to study it¹⁰.

THE MAP OF FR. ANTONINO DE ANGELIS FROM LECCE, ROME 1578

The title of the Map, "HIERUSALEM", is written in a central label held by two winged putto(s) on top of the large copper engraving measuring (55×81 in; 140×206 cm) on two sheets joined in the middle. A long Italian dedicatory inscription is inserted in a second label standing out from a cardinal's coat of arms located in the lower left corner of the map. Fr. Antonino presents himself as a Friar Minor Observant born in Lecce, in Apulia; he dedicates his work to Cardinal Francesco Alciati, deputy protector of the Franciscan Order.

The Map — he explains — was created in Jerusalem during 7 years of service to the Holy Shrines; it was published in Rome on September 8, 1578. The engraving of the original drawing was carried out by Mario Cartaro/a who signed the work, adding his name outside the text of the dedicatory label as *Marius Cartara incidebat*. Cartara was a known engraver active in Rome until 1613, the year of his last dated work. It is to him that we owe the presence of terrestrial globes, city maps, and the most famous of all, the Map of Rome, published in 1576, two years prior to the Map of Jerusalem¹¹.

On the right-hand side of the Map in a rectangular frame, between a winged putto on the bottom and the coat of arms of the Franciscan Order on top, is written a long caption of the names of all the places of this city. Rising above it is a compass card/rose (austral, gregale, sirocco, mistral, a cross

⁸ Ibid., p. 130.

⁹ The Lost De Angelis Map of Jerusalem, 1578 // The Map Collector, 24, September 1983, p. 17–24). L'articolo mi è stato gentilmente inviato dall'Autore. An exhibition held in the Judaica Museum of the Cymbalista Synagogue in the campus of the Tel Aviv University gave me the opportunity of seeing the precious document of Franciscan Palestinology.

¹⁰ Piccirillo M. La Gerusalemme Franciscana, in Una Gerusalemme toscana sullo sfondo di due Giubilei: 1500–1525, a cura di S. Gensini, Firenze 2004, 93–119.

¹¹ Citato da Maldovan in The Map Collector, p. 5.

toward the east, west) with the arrow pointing toward north. The stairs in *Passi Ducento* is placed toward the bottom. And in the caption, the progressive numbers that refers to the identified monuments in the map initiate from the Golden Gate. There follow 90 labels identifying the edifices of the City inside and outside the walls¹².

Certainly, soon after its publication, the Map was known and used everywhere in Europe, due to its documentary novelty compared to previous maps. Maldovan, founder and editor of the Map noted that “the impact of De Angelis's work on subsequent plans of Jerusalem was considerable”¹³.

The first to make use of the De Angelis Map was John Zuallart in the Italian edition of his book, “*Il Devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme*” (The most devout journey to Jerusalem), published in Rome in 1587 following his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1575. The author adds a map engraved by Natale Bonifacio (without any reference to his source!). However, in the French edition, “*Le très devot Voyage de Jerusalem, Antwerp 1608*”, Zuallart quotes “Padre Antonio De Angelis, Neapolitan from Lecce, who, in 1575, put at our disposal a most beautiful and most accurate topographical map of the Holy New City with the Holy Sites in and outside the city”. Therefore, the pilgrim had the opportunity to meet Fr. Antonino in Jerusalem in the convent of Saint Saviour, where he stayed as a guest to discuss with him problems arising from the historical topography of the Holy City. There he received from the Franciscan a sketch of the Map ready to be engraved and printed.

¹² Dedication Label: “*To the most illustrious and most Rev. Lord of mine and Patron Colmo, the Lord Franco Cardinal Alciati, deputy protector of the whole Order of Saint Francis, Friar Antonino de Angelis Minor Observant from Lecce.*

For seven years straight, my most illustrious Patron, I lived in the city of Jerusalem. During that time, I visited those most holy places, all witnesses to my redemption, and I wanted to make a drawing for my consolation

Once back in Italy, I instilled in many people an endless desire to see published this small task of mine. Although I didn't want to give my approval, nonetheless, because of the continual demands, I could no longer refuse.

Therefore, under the shadow of Your most illustrious Lordship, today I present it to the world. I am convinced that, by your kindness, you will not attribute this doing to a sin of presumption, rather you will accept it willingly, judging this dedication as a sign of my dedication, though so little compared to your Greatness. Since I could not satisfy with deeds what is according to my desire and being a minor brother among the poors of Saint Francis, I will not be lacking of loving words of prayer to the Lord God for the exaltation and prosperity of your most illustrious person, kissing, at the same time, your hands with the highest devotion. From Rome in the convent of Santa Maria Aracoeli, on September 8, 1578”.

Below: “Table of all the places of this city. Marinus Cartaro incidebat”.

¹³ “The impact of De Angelis's work on subsequent plans of Jerusalem was considerable. This is revealed in the printed comments attached to their work by artists and publishers who produced later plans of the city”. The Map Collector, p. 5.

The Dutch Christian van Adrichem (known with the Latin name of Adrichomius, 1533–1585) author of the book, “*Jerusalem et suburbia eius sicut tempore Christi fluvuit*” (Jerusalem and its suburbs in Jesus's time, published in Koln in 1584), had a map drawn of Jerusalem which he re-published in the *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum*, Koln in 1590. In this new publication, he specified that he owed it to Fr. Antonio for the topographical details of the city, even though his map follows that of the Breidenbach tradition. Andrichomius wrote: “[I made use of] a topographical drawing of the city of Jerusalem by Fr. Antonio de Angelis of the Friars Minor, who lived for a long time in Jerusalem. [The drawing was] published in Rome in 1578 in the convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli”.

The text was drawn from the lengthy dedication added to the map after Andrichomius became aware of it thanks to Gaspare della Croce, son of the most nobleman Francesco who, on his return from Rome, showed him the Map along with other antiquarian news¹⁴. Inside the Turkish walls, a line indicates the route of the walls of the old Jerusalem, which cuts out the north-western corner leaving out the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre.

PADRE BERNARDINO AMICO, ROMA 1609, FIRENZE 1620

It is enough to say that Fr. Antonino's Map, since the early years of its appearance, had not only an outstanding response from people; it exerted a great influence especially on scholars and pilgrims interested in the map-making of Jerusalem¹⁵. The real copy of it is that drawn by his confrere Fr. Bernardino Amico, a contemporary of Fr. Antonino, in his book “*Il Trattato dei Sacri Edifici*” (The Treatise of the Sacred Buildings);

As we have already said, it is to Fr. Bernardino that we owe the 3 interesting facts. First, we owe to him the detail of the help given by Fr. Gianfrancesco della Salandra to Fr. Antonino in preparing the Map. Second, the detail of the place from where Fr. Antonino set out to do his Map, namely, at *Domini Flevit*, a sanctuary located at the middle point of the western slope of the Mount of Olives where Christians gather to commemorate a page of the Gospel. Thirdly, we owe to Fr. Bernardino his word of praise for the laudable Map

¹⁴ “De Angelis Minoritae qui diu Hierosolymae habitavit, an. 1578. Romae in conventu Mariae in ara coeli ab eo in lucem edita, quam honorabilis viri Francisci a cruce filius D. Gasparus a Cruce Antverp. I.V.D. peritissimus, jam pridem Roma reversus, una cum variis ejusdem urbis antiquitatibus liberaliter mihi exhibuit”. The quotation in *Catalogus Auctorum*, quibus usi sumus in *Descriptione Terrae Sanctae Hierosolymae etc.*, in *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum cum tabulis geographicis aere expressis Auctore Christiano Adrichomio Delpho, Coloniae Agrippinae, Anno MDCLXXXII*, p. 287.

¹⁵ Rehav Rubin in his study: “Image and Reality. Jerusalem in Maps and Views”, Jerusalem 1999, finally does justice to the Franciscan Authors of the XVIIth century to whom we have been referring, i.e. Fr. Antonino, Fr. Amico, and Fr. Quaresmi. Naturally, every map-maker adapts the drawing to his ideas and taste.

done by his confrère, Father's Antonino. In fact, of this map he stated that it was "the best of [any other map] currently circulating which presents the city in its actual form". The only notable differences are the numbering of the monuments which coincide with one another, and the fact of having entrusted Fr. Antonino's Map to two skilful engravers, Antonio Tempesta in Rome and Jacques Callot in Florence, who took some inventive liberty in its interpretation.

Father Amico writes: "Since I could not delineate the plan of the City of Jerusalem with that true and perfect rule of perspective as required in other building designs done by me, my intention was neither to include the plan of the City of Jerusalem nor to measure the site geometrically, for if the Muslims had become aware of it, it could have been the cause of serious trouble.

But to satisfy devout and anxious friends who have much entreated me, I have included two plans, both from opposite angles, in order to please everybody. And the reason is that I have seen many plans of several celebrated authors, all different with regards to sites and particular places, and not without great errors which presently I do not wish to get into here. If I were to do so, it would require a discourse on each one, and this would offend against the order of brevity and be to me a great annoyance. And the learned versed will see these by looking at the drawings; and on my part the conviction is growing that they made such mistakes through simple negligence rather than ignorance, and being chimerically minded among themselves, they had not willed to see site or place, as also Fr. Antonino D'Angioli, who having lived about 8 years in these lands, made the following plan of the said city, with the help of Most Rev. Fr. Francesco della Salandra who later became Guardian, and who had lived for a space of 40 years in the Holy Land: which being an aerial view from where our Lord wept, which lies in the centre of Mount Olivet, a place most suited for a complete view, it is the best of those in circulation, presenting the city in its present state...And I have not hesitated to embellish it and to correct it in some defects, as anyone comparing this with the abovementioned one of Fr. Antonino will not fail to see".

Of the copy of Fr. Amico, two editions have been put out: one engraved by Antonio Tempesta, published in Rome in 1610 and the other engraved by Jacques Callot in Florence, published in 1620.

The apologetic and topographical attempt of the work stands out particularly in the text which accompanies the sketch of the second plan of the city at the time of Jesus. The chapter XLV is entitled, "A fairly good and true design of the ancient city of Jerusalem" which in the contemporary plan of the city becomes, "A true and real plan of the city of Jerusalem as seen today".

Describing in Chapter XLV, "the design of the ancient city", Fr. Amico specifies more exactly the aim of his work: "The following plan is the second from the opposite side, as I have said in a previous statement. And this

serves only to demonstrate how the site was at the time of Christ, and that by sketch of drawing rather than with my written description, showing by the numbers all the places of the Passion and Death of Our Lord, and the known sites that are within and without the city. I shall force myself to remove that bad opinion of some who wish with poor reason to state that this is not the City, but that it has been transferred and that Holy Mount Calvary is found inside it, as is seen in the previous plan; availing themselves of the saying of St. Paul to the Hebrews Chapter 13,13: *Christus extra portam passus est*. And they add: even to-day it is inside, therefore it has been transferred. The author who advances this query affirms that such say so because they have never seen these countries, nor this city...”

With this overturned table with respect to the previous one, Fr. Amico makes his contribution to the graphic clarification of the historical-topographical problem in discussion. In this sketch, the topography of the city at the time of Christ, is seen from a bird's eye view from the west. On the front, there is depicted the Upper Royal Palace (i.e. Herod's Palace) while to the north, in the corner formed by the city walls, we have the Rock of Calvary (# 38) and the Holy Sepulchre outside La Porta Juditiaria (i.e. The Gate of Judgement). On the eastern hill, one can see the prominence of the Temple area, of the northern quarter of the city (the New City), and in the background toward the east, beyond the Kedron Valley, the sites of the Passion with Bethfage and Bethany on the Mount of Olives.

The conclusion is taken for granted, “My devout and inquisitive reader should know that the site of this Holy City is that which always has been and will be, because it is positively surrounded by mountains and valleys...and to the south lay the valley of the dead bodies upon which stands Mount Calvary...”¹⁶

THE PLAN OF JERUSALEM BY FATHER FRANCESCO QUARESMI, 1639

On Fr. Antonino and Fr. Bernardino also depends the map inserted by Fr. Francesco Quaresmi in the second volume of his monumental “*Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*” published at Antwerp in 1639, but written during his long stay in the Holy City during the first two decades of the century¹⁷.

¹⁶ The Franciscan were proud of their privilege as custodians of the Holy Places, a task bestowed on them by the Holy See. Therefore, it was natural to paint the map of Jerusalem in the cloisters or churches of their monasteries. In Agrigento, on the wall near the main door of the convent, was copied the Map of Breidenbach tradition. The map of Father Antonino was copied to decorate the Franciscan church of Saint Mary in Lugano and the cloister of the Franciscan convent in Brescia (*Piccirillo M. La raffigurazione di Gerusalemme nei conventi francescani // Religioni e sacri Monti a cura di A. Barbero e S. Piano, Atti del Convegno Internazionale Torino-Moncalvo, Casale Monferrato 12–16 ottobre 2004*, p. 141–152).

¹⁷ F. Quaresmii *Historica, Theologica et Moralis TERRAE SANCTAE ELUCIDATIO* in qua pleraque and Veterem et Praesentem eiusdem Terrae statum spectantia accurate explicantur

At the bottom of the last page of Chapter XX dedicated to the description of the city, is added this topographical note, "Here must be inserted the view of the New Jerusalem *Hic inserenda novae Ierosolymae imago*¹⁸". In the Map, the title then becomes, "Accurate image of the New Jerusalem and of the surrounding sites *Novae Ierosolymae et Locorum circumiacentium accurata imago...*"

The city is seen with a bird's eye view from the Mount of Olives. The sanctuaries on the mountain are explained by legends added on the bottom of the page, "Ascension and Gethsemani" (n. 86: *Ubi Christus ascendit in coelum*).

On the background of the city to the west, the vineyards recall the sanctuaries of Ain Karim (*Montana Judaeae*), Bethlehem, Emmaus castellum (n. 114), and the Abbey of Saint Samuel (n. 115).

The name of the engraver of this beautiful and accurate work is not given. However, there is clear reference to the map of Fr. Antonino and Fr. Amico which Fr. Quaresmi probably knew in Jerusalem in 1616 during his long stay in the convent of St. Savior. After 13 years, he returned to Europe with his book "*Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*". Before its publication, he went back to Jerusalem for an additional 9 years.

The Franciscan antiquarian-apologetical concern clearly stands out in the second annotation, always at the bottom of the page and written at the of the Chapter XXXVIII. It goes like this, "Here must be inserted the view of part of Jerusalem, of Mount Calvary and the Sepulchre of the Lord, as it was at the time of Christ". *Hic inserenda imago partis Jerusalem, montis Calvariae, et sepulchri Domini, ut erat tempore Christi*.

Meanwhile, in the margin of the previous page, we read, "Christ on the cross had not Jerusalem behind, but on the left side". *Christus in cruce non habuit Jerusalem a tergo, sed a sinistro latere*.

A scientific discussion with practical consequences also for painters! "Joannes Molanus, *De Sacris imaginibus*, lib. 4, cap. 4, Adrichomio suffragari videtur, dum ait: Crucifixus est autem (*ac proinde pingi debet*) dorso versus Jerusalem et orientem, facie respiciens ad occidentem, dextera ad aquilonem, sinistra ad meridiem, ut docet Sedulius..."

Based on his own visual experience, his knowledge of antiquarian-historical sources of the Holy City, and on the discussions held with his confreres during his long staying in the convent of Jerusalem, Fr. Quaresmi proposes his solution, entrusting it to a painter. He does this because in the in-

varii errores refelluntur veritas fideliter exacateque discutitur et comprobatur. Opus non tantum ad Terram Sanctam proficiscentibus sed etiam Sacrae Scripturae studiosis Divini Verbi praeconibus utilissimum, I-II, Antverpiae 1639. (L'opera fu riedita dal P. Cipriano da Treviso a Venezia nel 1880). Fr. Francisci Quaresmi *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*. Brani scelti e tradotti da S. De Sandoli (S B F — *Collectio maior* n. 32), Jerusalem 1989.

¹⁸ *Historicae Theologicae ac moralis Elucidationis Terrae Sanctae Liber Quartus, Caput XX*.

introduction of his work, he confesses that he doesn't know how to draw. The city wall starts from the Gate of Judgement on the left; it then becomes a corner before continuing on to the west until it reaches the Tower of David (Herod's Palace). The corner stands in the background of the sites of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, in the garden where in the fourth century was built the structure of the Holy Sepulchre by order of Constantine. Some illustrations with explanatory legends and scenes identify the episodes.

Jesus, as he carries his cross, is accompanied by a squad of armed soldiers; he walks along his Sorrowful way helped by Simon of Cyrene and followed by a group of pious women until he reaches Mount Calvary (Mons Calvariae). At the foot of Jesus' cross, between two thieves, depicted with his back against the city walls and his face toward the west, is indicated the mark of the earthquake which rocked Jerusalem at the death of Christ (*scissura montis*).

To the right side of Calvary, other illustrations locate the episodes of the Easter events which will then be commemorated in the compound of the Constantinian Basilica, such as the place of the Anointing before the entombment (*Ubi Christus inunctus*), of some admirers of Jesus (*Noti Christi a longe aspicientes*), of a group of women looking on the place of the Jesus' entombment (*Mulieres aspicientes contra sepulchrum*), the place of the Sepulchre with Angel announcing the Resurrection of Jesus, the place where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene, and where He finally appeared to his Mother.

FATHER BONIFACIUS FROM RAGUSA AND THE RESTORATION OF THE AEDICULE OF THE TOMB IN THE HOLY SEPULCHRE (1555)

In the chronicles of the Custody of the Holy Land we often read of the restorations of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and of the basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem carried out by the Franciscans.

The main effort was carried on in Bethlehem at the time of Father Giovanni Tomacelli da Napoli in the year 1479 for the restoration of the wooden roof of the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The permission was given by the Sultan Qaitbay¹⁹.

More known is the restoration of the aedicule on the Tomb in the Holy Sepulchre carried on by Father Bonifacius born in Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in Dalmatia, who was Superior of the Holy Land for eleven years, from 1551 to 1560, and then from 1562 to 1564. The restoration was completed in 1555 after an intense diplomatic campaign conducted in person by Father Bonifacius with voyages to Europe, Constantinople and Persia to obtain economic aid and the necessary permits from the Turkish authorities²⁰.

¹⁹ Firmani Tradotti da P. N. Risciani, Jerusalem, 1931, p. 348–352.

²⁰ His most famous work, of a liturgical and descriptive character, is entitled “*Liber de perenni Cultu Terrae Sanctae et de eius fructuosa peregrinatione*”, edited in Venice in 1573 (2nd ed., Venice, 1875).

Father Bonifacius described his restoration in a letter to the Jesuit Father Cresterum: "It seemed necessary to level the structure to the ground, so that that which would be constructed might be stronger and last longer. When the existing one was destroyed, the tomb of the Lord appeared clearly to our eyes, carved in the rock. In it could be seen depicted two angels, of whom one had an inscription which said: "He is risen and is not here", whereas the other, indicating the tomb, proclaimed: "Behold the place where he has been laid". As soon as the figures of these two angels came into contact with the air, they almost completely disappeared. When it was necessary to remove one of the slabs of alabaster that covered the tomb ...there appeared to us that ineffable place in which for three days the Son of Man reposed... The place that had been bathed by the precious blood and by that measure of ointment, with which it was anointed for burial, and which let out everywhere beams of light, as if they were luminous rays of the sun, was discovered by us, and venerated with devout sighs, with spiritual delight and with tears, together with the others who were present (there were in fact not a few Christians, both Oriental and Western), of whom, filled with celestial devotion, some shed tears, others were profoundly excited, and all were stupefied and drawn to a type of ecstasy. At the centre of the holy site we found a piece of wood which had been deposited there and which was wrapped in a precious cloth. However, as soon as we picked it up with great devotion and kissed it, the contact with the air caused the cloth to be consumed leaving only a few threads of gold. There were a few inscriptions on this piece of precious wood, but so consumed by time that no complete phrase could be read, although at the top of a membrane there could be read in Latin capital letters: 'Helena Magni...'”²¹

In what did the restoration consist in? Father Bonifacius had the aedicule recovered with a roof in stone (it must be remembered that the dome of the Crusaders was a wooden cone which terminated with an opening), and erected above it a fastigium in the form of a dome, supported by six little arches each of which rested on two little columns. Father Bonifacius had obtained it from the Greek Fathers in exchange for a large bronze chandelier. The same Father recounts that the columns came from Mt. Sinai and were in porphyry (probably in red granite)²².

²¹ Latin text in "Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum. Documenta S. Evangelii Loca Respicientia", E D. Baldi, Jerusalem, 1955, p. 696–699.

²² "This same Father (Bonifacio da Stagno di Ragusa) had the great dome of the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre restored and there he also had made the little dome of the aedicule, inside of which is the tomb of Jesus Christ. This little dome is supported by twelve little domes of marble, which Father Bonifacio obtained from the Greeks, in return for a large round chandelier, which had been offered to our Church by the King of Poland" (*Cirelli P. Antonio*. Gli Annali di Terra Santa // Ed. by. P. S. Mencherini, Florence 1918, p. 43). The restoration was executed at the expense of Charles V and Philip II, king of Spain (*Cas-sini da Perinaldo F.* Storia di Gerusalemme. Rome, 1857, vol. II, p. 195).

THE SACRED EDIFICES OF FR. AMICO AND THE MODELS
OF THE HOLY SHRINES

This restoration of the aedicule with its necessary planning in a certain way has to be seen as the first step of another important activity of the Franciscans in the Holy Land which developed at the end of the same century, that is the making of the models of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem reproduced by the Palestinian artisans of Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

The great merit of having made known the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and of the other still standing sanctuaries in Europe in its architectonic reality belongs to Father Bernardino Amico, two centuries before the orientalist David Roberts made known its interior with his water-coloured lithographs published in 1842–1849²³. To him goes the merit not only to have surveyed and published the sacred edifices, but to have entrusted then the practical execution of scale models to the skill of the artisans of Bethlehem.

Father Bernardino was born in Gallipoli in the land of Taranto in Puglia. Around the year 1591 we find him in the Holy Land, as he himself recounts in his work²⁴. He was Father Guardian of the holy Sepulchre, of the convent of Bethlehem and in 1597 of the Franciscan community in Cairo, Egypt, where he restored the chapel of Matariyah in which the habitation of the Holy Family in Egypt was remembered. From Cairo he returned to Europe with his drawings which he entrusted on July 20, 1609 to the engraver Antonio Tempesti/a of Rome, who finished the work on March 28, 1610. The text was illustrated with 20 copper plates, 50×35 cm., with 38 drawings. In 1620 Father Bernardino edited a second edition of his work which was printed in Florence and illustrated with engravings by Jacques Callot. This much more refined Florentine edition has 47 illustrations engraved on 34 copper plates, 29×21 cm, in that the illustrations are not pictures without text, but accompany the text describing the monuments. The scale of the buildings is based on the Neapolitan “canna” (2.234 cm)²⁵.

The greatest documentary value of the work is precisely in its illustrations. The text (in an Italian which was little pleasing to the Florentines) is only a long caption that explains and illustrates the drawing (a very practical

²³ Roberts D. *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Egypt, Nubia*. London, 1842–1849 (New Edition: *The Holy Land: 123 Coloured Facsimile Lithographs and The Journal from his Visit to the Holy Land*. London–Israel, 1982), p. 47–63.

²⁴ Amico B. *Trattato delle Pianta et Immagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa*. Romae MDCIX. A modern edition in English has been published in Jerusalem: *Amico B. Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land* / Transl. from the Italian by Fr. Theophilus Bellorini and Fr. Eugene Hoade with a Preface and notes by Fr. Bellarmino Bagatti. Jerusalem, 1953.

²⁵ Bagatti B. *Fra Bernardino Amico disegnatore dei santuari palestinesi alla fine del '500* // *Studi Francescani*, X (XXXV), n. 4, 1938, p. 307–325.

and didactic method also followed by Father Corbo in his work dedicated to the holy Sepulchre²⁶). It is a profile of the actual state of the monument, with an interpretation proper to Amico who uses orthogonal projections, combining them with prospective views and didactic supplements to render the drawing clearer and more explicit. His greatest virtuosity is displayed in the prospective views, which he himself explains how to interpret, and in the drawings “with transparent bodies”, as he calls them, with which he aids us to see the interior of the building. The author dwells on the architectonic structures, leaving aside for the most part the decorative aspect, even though in passing he writes that he delighted in the painting: “On Calvary there are two altars, one on the Levant and the other for the West. In that of the Levant there is a painting of the Deposition from the Cross sketched by my hand”.

The author writes that he has drawn “according to the rules of perspective and according to their true size”.

Proud of the exactness of his work, he challenges “those who delight in using the compass” to find “even one point of difference or of error between the plan and the elevation”. This affirmation is not always reliable for the monuments which were difficult of access, such as the mosque of Omar, the tomb of Rachel or the Cenacle, but it certainly is for the drawings of the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, even though the author confesses to take a certain license in the case, for example, of the aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre restored by Father Bonifacius: “The bases are roughly made of different heights, and likewise the columns are likewise of different sizes, and the work is round in eight angles and slanted, and all told, according to my judgment, they are relics of other buildings. However, I have made them equal, in part due to negligence and in part to make the drawing more beautiful. Nevertheless, I thought to inform you, so that the truth would also have its place”.

With good reason Father Bagatti holds him to be “the only illustrator of the Holy Places working according to precise measurements and with a strictly scientific character”. For this reason subsequent authors have made frequent use of his drawings to illustrate their works, beginning with Father Quaresmi²⁷. The drawings served in Europe as the basis for the reproductions of the various chapels of the “Sacri Monti” reproductions of Jerusalem and its sanctuaries. The illustrations served, by express will of the author, for the artisans of Bethlehem to construct the models. Together with the plans and architectonic elevations which we would call technical, simpler drawings were added in order to be understood and executed by the artisans, as he himself writes in the accompaniment to the illustration of the aedicule: “Plan and profile of the Most Holy Sepulchre. “Reason and duty would have indi-

²⁶ See note n. 9.

²⁷ Four of the copper engravings that illustrate the work are from Father Amico, although he is not cited.

cated, that each piece of these venerable and holy sites, drawn in perspective, should have their profiles according to the order of architecture; but I have omitted them so as not to increase the volume, since expert artisans will be able to find all from the plans and the descriptions. However, with regard to the plan of the Most Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord, I have not wished anything to be lacking, for the consolation of simple artisans who wish to reproduce it for others, so that they can do so with facility, making use of the scale, from which they can find every detail"²⁸.

In one illustration Father Amico situates the basilica in its urban context, using, as he says himself, some drawings of a fellow Franciscan, Fra Antonino degli Angeli, who was aided by Father Gianfrancesco Salandra. The plan is inserted only for its practical utility: "It was not my intention to put in the plan of the city of Jerusalem, because I could not delineate it with that true and perfect rule of perspective which was called for, as has been done for other buildings. Nor has it even been possible to geometrically measure the site, because if the Turks became aware of it, a great disturbance could have arisen. However, to satisfy the devout and curious friends who have insistently requested it", he chose that of Father Antonino de' Angioli of the Friars Minor of the Observance, who "having lived for roughly eight years in these regions", had made it. However, Father Amico did not neglect "to embellish it and improve some shortcomings"²⁹. The plan had been published in Rome in 1578 and was utilized by scholars engaged in studies of Palestine and Biblical geography.

The promoter of these works was, as we have seen, Father Gianfrancesco Salandra of Basilicata, who remained in the Holy Land for exactly 33 years, from 1568 to 1601, in contrast to his fellow Franciscans who normally stayed only for a few years³⁰.

It is due to these scientific and documentary interests combined to that more prosaic but necessary one of providing work for the Christians who lived near the sanctuaries, that we have the models of the holy Sepulchre preserved in our museums. Up until now, I have gathered the documentation of 28 complete models and 20 of the aedicule over the Tomb³¹.

²⁸ *Amico B.* Trattato delle Piante et Immagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa. Romae MDCIX, p. 19.

²⁹ Plate XLIV.

³⁰ *Bagatti B.* Un custode di Terra Santa archeologo pioniere. P. Gianfrancesco della Salandra (1568-1601) // Various authors. Custodia di Terra Santa 1342-1942. Jerusalem, 1942, p. 89-93.

³¹ The 1994 list brought up to date is in *Piccirillo M.* Un modellino della Basilica del Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme conservato a Malta (printed in the *Atti* of the exhibition "Genova nell'Età Barocca. Splendori e fruscii. Argento e seta nell'arredo liturgico ligure". A new model has been exhibited in Lisbon in the exhibition "Encontro de Culturas. Oito Séculos de missionação portuguesa", 1994. Catalogue p. 81, 86-87. To the models of the Holy Sepulchre

Father Bagatti has gathered a sufficient literary documentation in order to date the period of maximum production of such models to the 17th and 18th centuries, taking 1808 as the terminus ante quem, the year of the fire which immediately preceded the restoration of 1810 which altered the Crusader sanctuary. The terminus post quem is the latter part of the 16th century, and more precisely, not before 1554, the year in which the bell tower of the basilica was deprived of its steeple. It must also be borne in mind that the aedicule over the Tomb normally represented corresponds to that built by Father Bonifacius of Ragusa in 1555³². Documentary dates bring us to the decisive work of Father Bernardino Amico for the improvement and development of this handicraft.

The structure in olive wood of the models is decorated with an incrustation in mother of pearl more or less rich and varied with floral and geometric motifs, symbols and scenes of the Passion, coats of arms, among which there is almost always that of the Holy Land with its five crosses over the square before the entrance, and that of the Franciscans with its two arms in a cross over the aedicule, or the holy name of Jesus IHS in rays at the base of the bell tower, and inscriptions referring to the four cardinal points. The common characteristic of those models is the possibility of taking them apart and putting them together again at will so as to be able to view the interior, the central and lateral chapels and principally the aedicule over the Tomb at the centre of the Anastasis. The individual parts are signed with a letter or number that evidently refers to an explanatory legend that would have been given in the act of acquisition³³. The text was normally written in Italian with the possibility of crude errors³⁴.

CONCLUSION

From the complementary activity of Father Bonifacius De Stefani of Ragusa, father Gian Francesco della Salandra, Father Antonino De Angelis, Father Bernardino Amico and Father Francesco Quaresmi arose the Sacred Mountains of Europe, and in the Holy Land the sacred artisan work with re-

(Basilica and Aedicule) we must add the Chapel of the Calvary (only one in the Oxford Ashmolean Museum), the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem (three) and the isolated Grotto of the Nativity (seven).

³² Bagatti B. *L'industria della madreperla a Betlemme // Custodia di Terra Santa 1342–1942*, p. 133–152.

³³ The complete accompanying legend has been preserved with the model brought to Hattem in Holland in 1669 by the pilgrim Karl Quina from a Calvinist family. The text is on three pages with 48 numbers with the explanations in Italian: *Tavola della chiesa del Santissimo Sepolcro di Nostro Signore Gesù* (St. Vandenberghe, *Het Model van de Heilige Grafkerk te Jeruzalem en Gelijkaardige Maquettes in Binnen en Buitenland, Brugge Stedelijke Musea Jaarboek*, 1983–1984, p. 301 f.).

³⁴ As in the model conserved in the national Museum of Munich belonging to the Jesuit Father Ferdinando Orban (1655–1732) where it is written: Turis Canpane; typus SS. Sepulchri Dni Nri Jesu Christi; Bucho che si dice eser mezo mundi; chiesa d. Greci; Locum untionem Dni Nri Jesu Cri (Ibid., p. 297).

gard to the Holy Places: models of sanctuaries, crosses and other objects in olive wood and mother of pearl.

Father Quaresmi, as the author of the *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, back in Europe he never forgot the Holy Land. In this work of awakening public opinion, he became the promoter in Europe of the liturgical action called the Deposition of Jesus from the Cross, that he himself celebrated for the first time in Lucca, imitating the practice that is still celebrated on Calvary in the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in the evening of Good Friday. This initiative should be seen in the light of another important work of devotion tied to the Holy Places that began to become diffused in Europe due to the preaching of the Franciscans returning from the Holy Land, the New Jerusalems and the Sacri Monti (Sacred Mountains)³⁵ that Father Quaresmi mentions in the introduction to his great work *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*: “Other pilgrims returning from Jerusalem represented in their homeland a reproduction similar to those places illustrious for the footsteps and miracles of our Saviour, because, although they can no longer continue to see and venerate those most holy sites, at least they and others can have them present in models...”

The restoration of Father Bonifacius, the surveying of Father Amico and the description of Father Quaresmi are certainly the fruit of the responsibility and the professional capacity of each of them, but these works are also to be understood as the result of a certain climate in which they lived in the Franciscan community of Jerusalem. The critical interest for what was ancient and true in contrast to the false and improbable, in order to be able to adequately respond to the pilgrims who were entrusted to their authorized guidance, motivated the brothers of the community to a more accurate examination of the traditions that were passed on. Father Antonino's map of Jerusalem with its historical implications, the drawings of Father Amico and the descriptions of Father Quaresmi with their insistence on what was seen and measured, correspond adequately to these exigencies, indulging only for practical utility in certain scientifically unverifiable hypotheses.

The illustrations of Father Amico as well as the description of Father Quaresmi are the fruit of a direct experience of the sites, which is the great advantage that the Franciscans of the Holy Land have always had with respect to their colleagues overseas. In this way, in the convent of Saint Saviour in Jerusalem, the basis was laid for modern scientific Palestinology.

The Map of Jerusalem of Father Antonino, known to and used by scholars already well before its publication in Rome in 1578, had a consid-

³⁵ Various authors. La ‘Gerusalemme’ di San Vivaldo e i Sacri Monti in Europa / Ed. S. Gensini, Montaiione (Fi) 1989; *Neri D.* Il Santo Sepolcro riprodotto in Occidente. Jerusalem, 1971.

erable influence on the future cartography of the city, as shown recently by Rehav Rubin³⁶.

From the map of Fr. Antonino to that of Father Amico, and eventually to the map published by Father Quaresmi as illustrated in his "*Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*", one can say that all are works born with the same will of illustrating the Holy City of Jerusalem how it really is with its monuments.

Rubin writes: "The map (of Fr. Quaresmi) like that of de Angelis, is both detailed and reliable, based on first-hand information, and will be used here to exemplify the great value of maps as sources of historical and historical and geographical study of Jerusalem... The study of the two bridges over the Kidron Valley, shown in the front of the map, provide a special example of the importance of historical and geographical information from such maps... Quaresmius's reliability is upheld by our ability to trace these bridges up to our own time: the northern bridge exists even today and the old road from Jerusalem to Jericho is built over it. The southern bridge is shown near Absalom's Tomb; it was part of a road leading from the south-eastern corner of the city down to the Kidron Valley and then up to the Mount of Olives. This bridge still existed at the beginning of the twentieth century..."

The map of Fr. Antonino and the other maps of Jerusalem were born in a rich cultural period very much experienced by the Franciscan community of Saint Saviour in Jerusalem. A debt of gratitude is owed to Fr. Gianfrancesco della Salandra who, being in the Holy City for more than 40 years, developed a deep knowledge of the city and became the team-leader of historical-antiquarian discussions for the benefit of the pilgrims who were guided to the Holy Places by the Franciscans.

³⁶ Image and Reality. Jerusalem in Maps and Views, Jerusalem 1999. The scholar identifies two groups following the Map of Breidenbach, and a third group following the Map of Father Antonino. "It should be emphasized", writes Rubin, "that although de Angelis was a Franciscan monk and his general focus was mainly on Christian holy places, nonetheless, his fidelity as a map-maker to the city, as seen by him, can be recognized by the prominence given to Muslim crescents on the mosques. In contrast, however, no crosses are depicted on the Christian churches. ... The size of the De Angelis map with its many details and from the fact that it was drawn out from a direct knowledge of Jerusalem acquired during a period of eight years, add considerably to its value as a source of information about the city of that period. This is especially true with regards to the Christian religious traditions and to the routes followed by pilgrims in Jerusalem". According to his judgement, it is a reliable and detailed map which was later copied by many other authors who visited Jerusalem.

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РОЛЬ ФРАНЦИСКАНЦЕВ В ПЕРЕНЕСЕНИИ САКРАЛЬНЫХ
ПРОСТРАНСТВ ИЗ СВЯТОЙ ЗЕМЛИ В ЕВРОПУ

Исторические источники достаточно ясно показывают интерес Франциска Ассизского и его последователей к Святой Земле. Среди первых провинций, созданных в 1217 г., мы находим Провинцию Утрмер в Святой Земле Обетованной, также известную как Сирия. Здесь, в Египте, в 1219 г. Франциск Ассизский встретился с султаном Малик аль-Камилом — эпизод этот весьма поразил современников.

Присутствие францисканцев, продолжающееся вплоть до наших дней, породило литературные труды, путеводители, описания и карты, составленные францисканцами для западных паломников. В описании Святой Земли 1330 г. находим точный план храма Гроба Господня, а также план-набросок Сионской горницы.

Интерес францисканцев к Святой Земле породил тягу к воспроизведению святынь Иерусалима и Вифлеема на Западе. Это стремление, в последующие века распространившееся по всей Европе, получило развитие в создании многочисленных *Sacri Monti* (Святых Гор), начиная с Грота Рождества в Варалло. Впечатления от Святых Мест Иерусалима и их почитание соединились в одно целое, что стало импульсом для реалистических воспроизведений Нового Иерусалима.

Среди ключевых фигур, которым мы обязаны созданием документов, освещающих эту тему, были брат Бонифаций из Рагузы (в 1555 г. он восстановил эдикулу Гроба Господня), брат Джанфранческо делла Саландра (известный во второй половине XVI в. топографическими историческими исследованиями Иерусалима), брат Антонио де Анджиоли да Лечче (он в 1578 г. издал в Риме первую подлинную карту Иерусалима), брат Бернардино Амико (чьи точные, с соблюдением масштаба чертежи и зарисовки священных зданий были опубликованы в Риме и Флоренции в начале XVII в. и послужили основой для воспроизведения различных капелл на Святых Горах) и, наконец, брат Франческо Кварезми (он своим общедоступным описанием Святой Земли — *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, опубликованным в Антверпене в 1639 г., заложил фундамент знаний о Святой Земле).

К планам и архитектурным профилям, которые мы могли бы назвать техническими, отец Бернардино Амико добавил в своей работе более простые рисунки и чертежи, чтобы текст был понятнее. Их выполняли художники из Вифлеема, Иерусалима и Эйн-Карема; он сам указал это в сопроводительном тексте к иллюстрации эдикулы Гроба Иисусова: «План и профиль Святейшего Гроба Господня. Рассудок и

чувство долга укажут, что каждая часть этих достопочтенных и святых мест, показанных в перспективе, должна бы иметь свои профили в соответствии с архитектурным ордером; но я исключил их, чтобы не увеличивать объем книги, так как эксперты-мастера смогут все понять по планам и описаниям. Однако, что касается плана Святейшего Гроба Нашего Господа, мне бы не хотелось что-нибудь упустить, во утешение простых мастеров, ибо он позволит им воспроизводить его в других местах, используя масштаб, и в нем они смогут найти каждую деталь».

Благодаря этим научным и документальным изысканиям, сопровождавшимся более прозаической, но необходимой работой, обращенной к христианам, проживавшим поблизости от святилищ и францисканских монастырей, мы имеем модели храма Гроба Господня, хранящиеся в наших музеях. К настоящему времени мы собрали данные о примерно 30 полных моделях и более 10 воспроизведений только эдикулы, возведенной вокруг самой Гробницы.

Одновременно отец Багатти собрал достаточный объем литературных сведений с целью датировать период максимального производства подобных моделей в XVII–XVIII вв. При этом 1808 г. можно назвать *terminus ante quem* — это был год пожара, непосредственно предшествовавшего реставрации 1810 г., заметно изменившей облик святилища, созданного крестоносцами.

Terminus post quem приходится на вторую половину XVI в., а если точнее — на период не ранее 1554 г., когда колокольня базилики лишилась шпиля. Следует также принять во внимание, что эдикула над Св. Гробом, какой ее обычно изображают в моделях, соответствует той, что была выстроена отцом Бонифацием из Рагузы в 1555 г. Документированная дата указывает на принципиально важные работы отца Бернардино Амико по улучшению и развитию ремесла по изготовлению этих «образцов».

Модели делались из оливкового дерева, украшенного более или менее богатыми инкрустациями из перламутра, в которых использовались растительные и геометрические мотивы, а также символы и сцены Страстей и гербы. Над входом в базилику обычно помещался герб Иерусалима с пятью крестами или герб францисканцев с двумя руками на кресте (Иисуса и св. Франциска). У основания колокольни изображалось имя Иисуса (IHS) в окружении лучей, и надписи, указывающие четыре стороны света. Общепринятое достоинство таких моделей — их транспортабельность, возможность их сборки на новом месте, такое устройство, которое позволяет раскрыть образец и рассмотреть интерьер, центральную и боковые капеллы и главную эдикулу над Гробом в центре Ротонды Воскресения. Каждая часть помечалась буквой или цифрой, повторявшейся в легенде-пояснении, которая содержалась в

документе о приобретении данной модели. Текст, как правило, составлялся на итальянском и зачастую имел грубые ошибки.

Кроме того, мастера изготавливали точные модели базилики Рождества в Вифлееме, Пещеры и эдикулы Святого Кальвария. Это ремесленное производство сохраняется по сей день.

Благодаря присутствию францисканцев в Святой Земле и их литературной деятельности карта Иерусалима изображалась во многих церквях и сооружениях францисканских монастырей Европы, например, в Лугано, Брешии и Кальтажироне на Сицилии.

Реставрация, проведенная отцом Бонифацием, карта отца де Анджиоли, рисунки и чертежи отца Амико, а также вдохновленные ими модели, описание Святой Земли отца Кварезми и многие другие труды настойчиво фиксировали и распространяли точно измеренные образы. В этой деятельности нашла отражение та культурная атмосфера, в которой существовала францисканская община в Иерусалиме после изгнания из Первой Обители, расположенной вблизи Сионской горницы. Полученные францисканцами знания легли в основу современного палестиноведения.



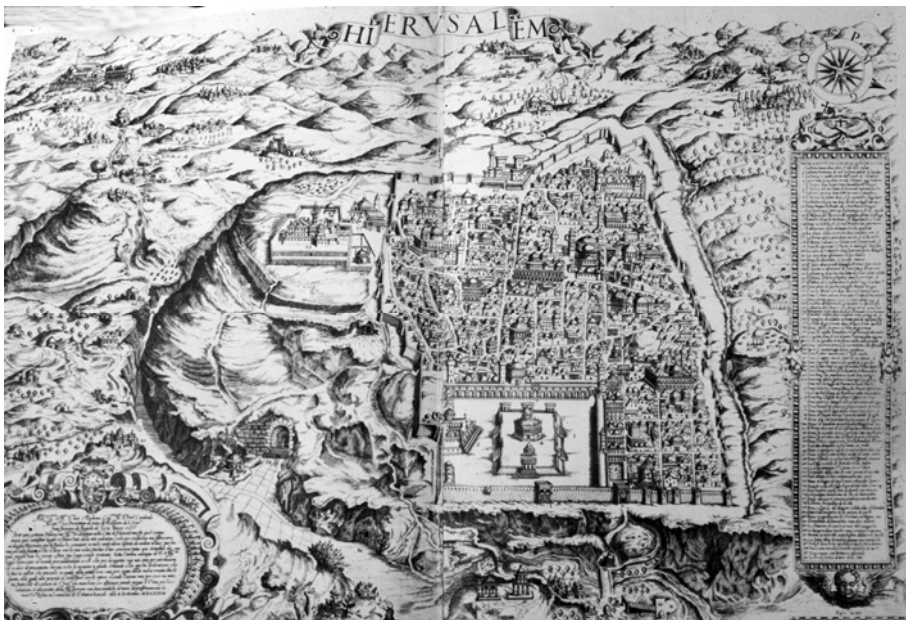
1. Jerusalem. Aerial View of the Holy Sepulchre.



2. Jerusalem. The Old Franciscan Monastery on Mount Zion.



3. Jerusalem. The Franciscan Monastery of St. Saviour.



4. Plan of Jerusalem by Fr. Antonino de Angelis da Lecce (Rome, 1578).



5. Fr. Bernardino Amico's *Trattato dei Sacri Edifici*, Firenze 1620.



6. Jerusalem by Fr. Bernardino Amico (Florence, 1620).

*a**b*

7a, b. Jerusalem 1610 in the Franciscan Monastery of St. Joseph, Brescia (fresco)



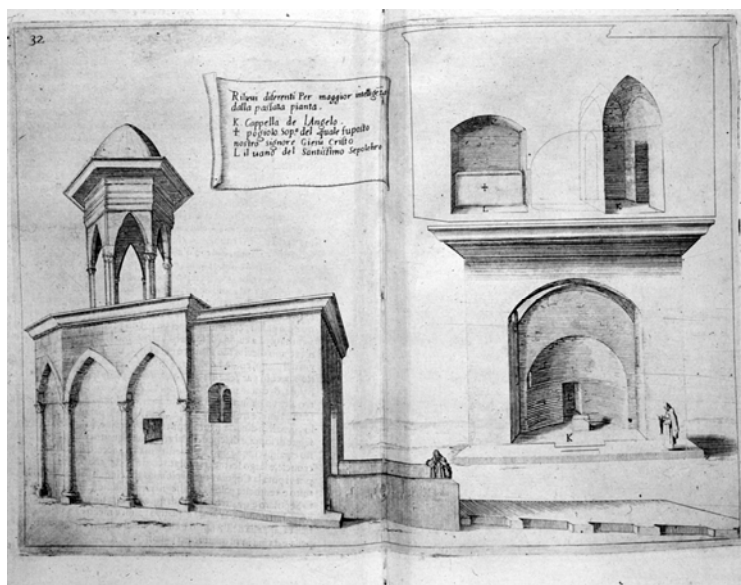
8. Historica Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio by Fr. Francesco Quaresmi, 1639.



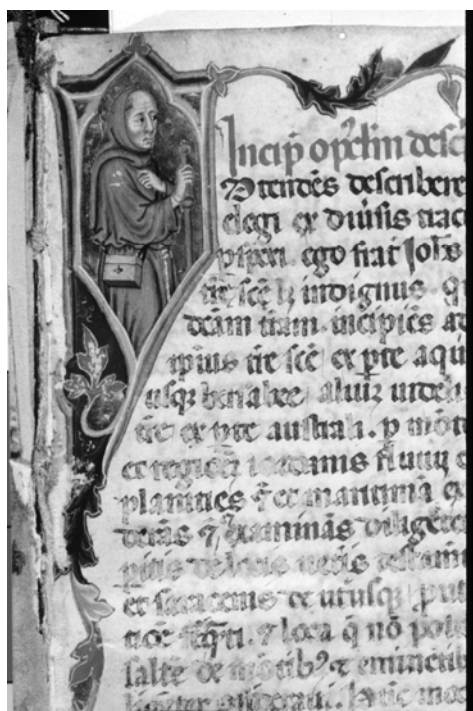
9. Jerusalem by Fr. Quaresmi.



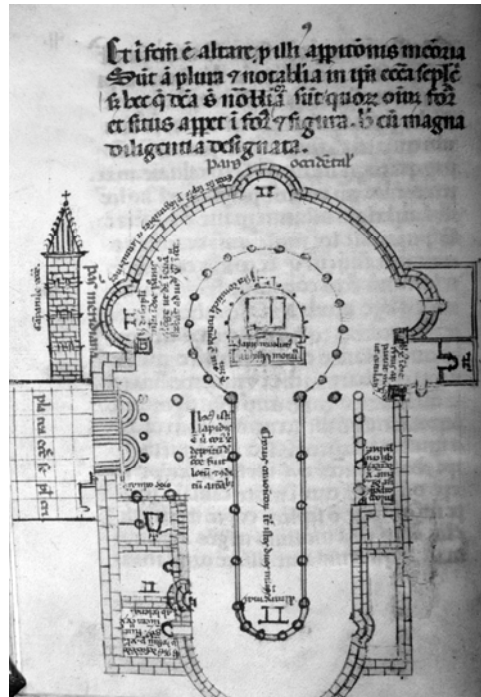
10. The Area of the Holy Sepulchre by Fr. Quaresmi.



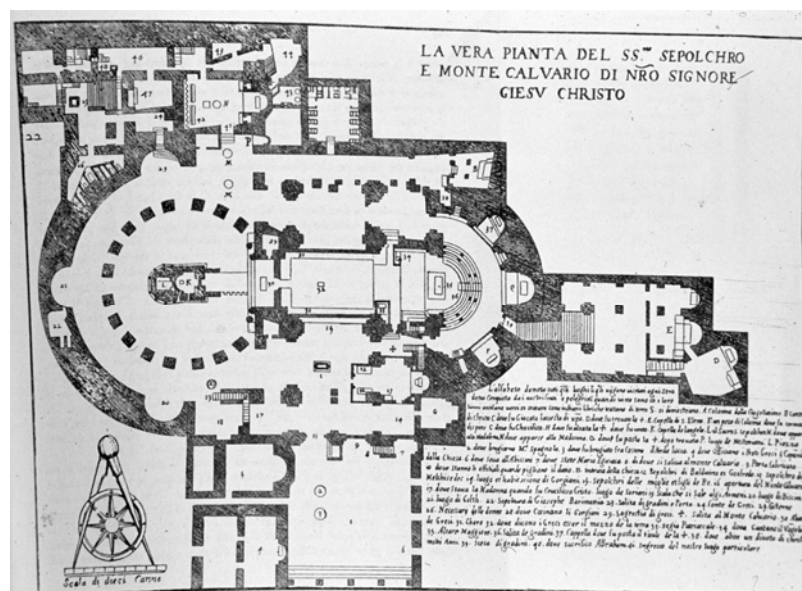
11. Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre by Fr. Amico.



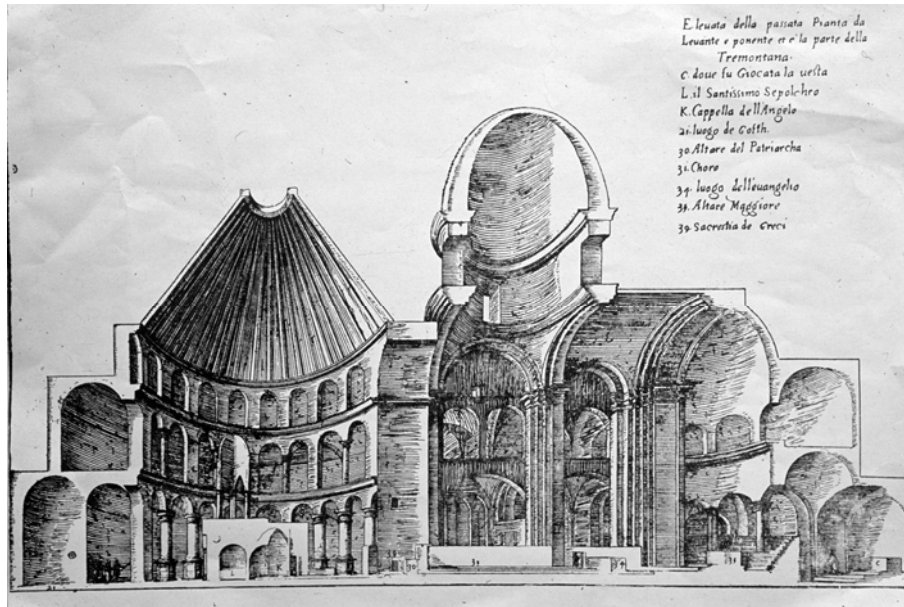
12. Page of the manuscript by Fr. Giovanni da Perugia.



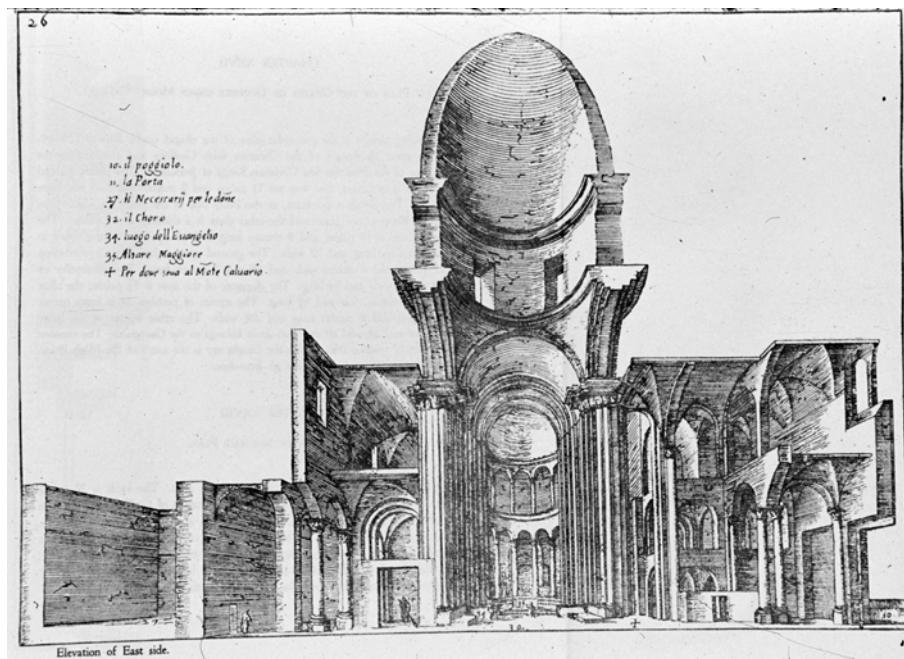
13. Plan of the Holy Sepulchre by Fr. Giovanni da Perugia, 1330 ca.



14. Plan of the Holy Sepulchre by Fr. Amico.



a



b

15a, b. Section of the Holy Sepulchre by Fr. Amico.



16. Model of the Edicule on the Tomb XVIIIth Cent. (Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).



17. Models of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Basilica of Nativity in Bethlehem (Florence, Museo degli Argenti).



18. Model of the Holy Sepulchre XVIIIth Cent. (Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).