itants.[12] But—although Riccoldo focuses on these topics—the part of the *Liber peregrinationis* describing the holy places is clearly written in the literary tradition of pilgrimage narratives.[13] As in earlier pilgrimage texts, the narration about the holy places concentrates strictly on biblical matters. Given this character of Riccoldo's book, the present article is not about the author's experience with the foreign world and foreign religion—not with "the other", the unknown, but with the known, Christianity. I intend to show in my interpretation how Riccoldo does not elaborate on the holy places in a descriptive way in the *Liber peregrinationis*, but how he visualizes the places by focusing on processionality and performance.[14]

This article aims to discuss the *Liber peregrinationis* in the light of the literary tradition of pilgrimage narratives focusing on narrative strategies, in particular on the narration of motion and performance.

In the first part of my contribution, I will position Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis* in considerations of imagination and memorization in connection with pilgrimage narratives. In the second section, I will discuss the structure of the *Liber peregrinationis* as a whole. In the third part, I will analyse Riccoldo's originality in narrating the movements through the holy places by providing a close reading of selected passages from his book. By examining the prologue and specific examples from his narration, including the descriptions of Bethlehem, the Valley of Josaphat, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, I will discuss how the encounter with the holy places is modelled as a performative act imbued with theatrical elements.

PILGRIMAGE NARRATIVES, IMAGINATION AND MEMORIZATION

In the 12th century, Theodericus describes in the prologue of his *Libellus de locis sanctis* the connection between the reading of the text (*lectio sive narratio*) and *memoria*.[15]

12 On Riccoldo as a missionary cf. Reltgen-Tallon 2015; Roberg 2015; Rouxpetel 2015.

13 Cf. on the literary tradition of pilgrimage narratives Fischer 2019, pp. 13–36.

14 Cf. Fischer 2019, pp. 177–192.

15 Theodericus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, p. 143, ll. 13–16: "Hoc autem studio idcirco nos desudasse lector omnis agnoscat, ut ex hac ipsa lectione sive narratione Christum in memoria semper discat habere et eum in memoria retinens studeat amare." Cf. on Theodericus, Lehmann-Brauns 2010, pp. 151–186; Fischer 2016.

Pilgrimage narratives can create a mental topography of the Holy Land and thus function as a memory aid.[16]

Considering pilgrimage narratives and imagination or memorization, it is important to differentiate between the imagination or memorization described in the narrative and the possible imagination or memorization of a recipient of the text.

Texts on pilgrimage describe how a biblical event is memorialized and imagined at the actual place of the event. A striking Late Antique example is Hieronymus' letter to Marcella (Epist. 46,5,3) where he discusses the visualization of salvation history events upon entering the Holy Sepulchre: "quod quotienscumque ingredimur, totiens iacere in sindone cernimus salvatorem ..." The presence at the holy place (*sepulchrum Domini*) connected with motion (*ingredimur*) leads to an "inner" seeing experience (*cernimus*). The interior seeing is a reaction to a physical seeing by the physical eyes or the description of it in narration. In reading and re-enacting the pilgrimage, the boundaries between exterior and interior seeing dissolve.[17] In the process of reading, the narrated movement through the holy places as well as the seeing of these places leads to an interior seeing of mental images.[18]

Not only the simple motion through the holy space, but also rituals performed in the places can be described. The actual *peregrinatio* has a clearly performative dimension connected with physical activity, which is inscribed in the narration of the pilgrimage. In the holy places, various liturgical, ritual or imitative practices are performed, which are intended to create proximity to the biblical events. These performances are recorded in the text. Capturing the unique act of pilgrimage in writing not only documents the pilgrimage but makes it repeatable in the imagination. In this way, a scheme is created: the pilgrimage can be re-enacted in reading the narrative about it.[19] Central to the re-enactment is visualization, which represents the stimulus for an imagination of the holy place and subsequently the imagination of the particular event of salvation history.

16 See Carruthers 1998, p. 40: "Jerusalem pilgrimage as a map for remembering". Cf. Ousterhout 2012, p. 144: Jerusalem becomes a "meditative map". For the special conception of the *ars memorativa* cf. e.g. Quintilian, *Inst.* 11,2,2. For a medieval mental building cf. Hugo's of St Victor Arche. See the discussions by Carruthers 1998, pp. 243–246; Assmann 1999, pp. 115–119; Wandhoff 2003, pp. 106–109; Fischer 2019, pp. 66–73.

17 Cf. Largier's observation on prayer and meditation. The distinction between interior and exterior, which Largier analyses in the examples of 12th and 13th centuries, changes: "Where theories of religious anthropology seem to propose an opposition between interior and exterior (...) practices of prayer formulate a dynamic relationship where interior and exterior turn into aspects of communication, conversion and transformation." (Largier 2014, p. 58).

18 Cf. Fischer 2019, pp. 73–81.

19 Cf. Kiening 2011, pp. 177, 183.

In pilgrimage narratives, interior seeing is described with the words *videre oculis mentis* or similar expressions. The interior seeing is contrasted to the physical seeing. John of Würzburg mentions the bodily gaze (*intuitu corporeo*, line 24). Burchard contrasts *intuitus mentis* with the physical seeing of the *oculi corporei* (p. 194). For the exterior seeing, Riccoldo mentions the *oculi corporei* and for the inner seeing of salvation history the *oculi fidei*. (p. 70).[20] As pilgrimage narratives document, the truth of the biblical event can become visible to the inner eyes. Pilgrimage narratives stimulate the imagination, as they provide readers with material for mental images and invite them to meditation.[21] Therefore, some authors emphasize in the prologues that their text is not mainly written for those people who plan to travel to the Holy Land but particularly for those who cannot go there.[22] In this way, the text functions as a surrogate for a pilgrimage.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE *LIBER PEREGRINATIONIS*

Before showing how the visualization of the holy places is connected with performance in Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis*, it is necessary to discuss the structure of the book as a whole.

The transmission of the text sheds light on the use and on the structure of Riccoldo's writing. The *Liber peregrinationis* is known from seven manuscripts. The text

20 *Oculi fidei* is already used by Hieronymus in connection with the visit of a holy place: in the *Epitaphium Paulae* (Epist. 108,10,2; CSEL 55), where the pilgrimage of Paula is depicted. Schleusener-Eichholz (1985, p. 1059) shows that the metaphor of piety *oculi fidei* had been used since Hilarius. Because only the pious possess these eyes (Ambrosius, *Expositio psalmi* 108,11,7 [CSEL 62,237], cf. Schleusener-Eichholz 1985, p. 1060), we can understand the use of these words in the Epitaphium as a homage to Paula's piety. In pilgrimage narratives, the words *oculi mentis* or *fidei* are not used in the context of gnosis or contemplation of God, cf. Schuppisser 1993; Lentes 2002; Ganz 2006. On seeing with the inner eye, cf. also Fischer 2019, pp. 111–117.

21 On virtual pilgrimages as a practice in convents in the late Middle Ages, cf. Rudy 2016; cf. also Lehmann-Brauns 2010; Fischer 2016; 2019, pp. 62–90, on strategies of visualization in pilgrimage narratives.

22 For example, John of Würzburg, *Descriptio terre sancte*, p. 79, ll. 20–27: "quam descriptionem tibi acceptam fore estimo, ideo scilicet, quia evidenter singula per eam notata tibi, (a) quandoque divina inspiratione et tuitione huc venienti, sponte et sine inquisitionis mora et difficultate tanquam nota tuis sese ingerunt oculis, vel (b), si forte non veniendo haec intuitu non videbis corporeo, tamen ex tali noticia et contemplatione eorum ampliorem quoad sanctificationem ipsorum devotionem habebis." Cf. Fischer 2016.

is transmitted with different titles[23] and alongside other texts that fall within two distinct contexts. The Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3343 manuscript only contains Riccoldo's description of "Saracens" on folios 80v–85v, which can not only be seen as a fragment of the *Liber peregrinationis* but also as a self-contained *tractatus* about Islam. The *Liber peregrinationis* or parts of it are transmitted either in the context of writings on Islam[24] or of pilgrimage narratives such as the *Descriptio Terrae Sancte* of Burchard of Mount Sion.[25]

In the narrative of the *Liber peregrinationis*, we find a rupture which we can trace back to its transmission. The two-fold structure of the text is evident: the first part is about *peregrinatio* (36–76) and the second about *religiones* (76–204). Also, if we look at the content, from a geographical point of view we can divide the *Liber peregrinationis* into two parts:[26] the stay in the Holy Land and the stay in the Orient, which is treated in the larger part of the text. Thus, the *Liber* differs from other pilgrimage narratives. The prologue[27] shows how the content of the following chapters goes beyond a description of holy places:

> Here begins the book of the pilgrimage of Friar R[iccoldo] of the Order of Preachers. In this book are briefly included the kingdoms, peoples, provinces, laws, rites, sects and heresies and the monsters that I have found in eastern parts so the brothers who wish to take up the task for Christ of extending

23 Cf. on the transmission of the *Liber peregrinationis* the contribution of Marco Robecchi in this volume. The text is transmitted with the title *Liber peregrinationis* only in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 466, as *Itinerarius* in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 2687 and in the two manuscripts from Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, in the fragment from Turin (Bibliotheca Nazionale, H. II. 33) with the title *Historia de variis religionibus*, cf. ed. Kappler, pp. 24–25.

24 In Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3343; lat. 6225; Turin, Bibliotheca Nazionale, H. II. 33.

25 Cf. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 466 and see the distinct constellation of the transmitted texts in the two manuscripts from the Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, (Cod. Guelf. 40 und 41 Weiss.) with authors such as William of Boldensele and Odoricus de Pordenone.

26 Cf. Cappi, 'Introduzione', in Ricoldus de Monte Croce, *Libro della peregrinazione*, pp. xxi–xxii.

27 In the manuscript Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 466.

the faith may know what they require and where and how they can best proceed.[28]

Right at the beginning of the *Liber,* Riccoldo answers the question of why he writes about his pilgrimage. His aim is to provide material for missionary friars. Thus, the aim of his writing is to preserve knowledge.[29] The missionary character of Riccoldo's writing is emphasized compared to other pilgrimage narratives. But in the first part of the book, focused on the description of the holy places, this new aspect is not central.

The two parts of the writing are connected through the structure of the itinerary ("Wegstreckenschema"). Mainly in the second part of the *Liber*, the description of the journey is interrupted by digressions. The second part can be divided into three major thematic parts: on the Tartars, on the Oriental Christians and on the Saracens.[30] First, a digression on the Tartars interrupts the description of the journey (78–114). The excursus is marked in the text: *Et hec de Tartaris dicta sufficiant. Nunc prosequamur de nostra peregrinatione* (114). The next shorter digression is on the *Curti* (119–121). Discussing the Jacobites (124–136) and the Nestorians (136–150) religious debates take on a central role in the book.[31]

It is worth observing how the narrative is structured and how the different topics are connected. The journey through the Holy Land is described like a procession through the holy places. This structure of the narration changes in what follows, and the processional description of the way becomes less important. Digressions on other people and their religions gain importance and finally, talking about the Saracens, the

28 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 361: "Incipit liber peregrinationis fratris R. ordinis predicatorum. Continetur autem in hoc libro sub breuitate regna, gentes, prouincie, leges, ritus, secte et hereses et monstra que inueni in partibus orientis ut fratres qui uellent laborem pro Christo adsumere pro fide dilatanda sciant quo indigent et ubi et qualiter magis possunt proficere" (ed. Kappler, p. 36).

29 Pilgrimage narratives in general also document, authenticate and perpetuate the pilgrimage. An obvious function is the function as a pilgrimage guide for potential travellers. As we already discussed, the text can also serve as an aid for a mental pilgrimage, cf. Lehmann-Brauns 2010; Fischer 2016; Rudy 2016; Fischer 2019, pp. 62–90.

30 Schiel observes that Riccoldo takes a different role as an author in these parts of the text: "Der Augenzeuge Riccoldo begegnet in vielerlei Gestalt, und seine Wahrnehmungs- und Beschreibungsweise variiert ganz offensichtlich je nach Umfeld. So erscheint der Dominikaner im Heiligen Land als frommer Pilger, bei den Türken und Tataren als neugieriger Reisender, unter den orientalischen Christen als gewissenhafter Missionar und im Umgang mit den muslimischen Sarazenen als theoretisierender Scholastiker." Schiel 2007, p. 9. The different perspective might also be caused by using different sources as pilgrimage narratives in the first part of the text.

31 Cf. Teeuwen 2012.

structure of the *itinerarium* is replaced with the form of a *tractatus*. With two thematic chapters, *de monstris* and *de Sabbeis qui interpretantur batiste*,[32] the *Liber peregrinationis* ends.

Nevertheless, the *Liber peregrinationis* is formed by Riccoldo as a consistent whole. Before the encounter with different religious groups, the author's own belief is strengthened through an imaginative journey to the roots of Christianity. The description of the pilgrimage through important holy places is—so to say—the prologue of the encounter with foreign religions.[33] This function is not only important for the documented journey of Riccoldo the missionary, but also for the recipient of the writing.

PERFORMANCE AND PROCESSION

At the beginning of the *Liber peregrinationis*, Riccoldo reflects on the reasons for his travels. Stylistically, the beginning of the book contrasts with what follows, which mainly consists of shorter sentences with formulaic descriptions. In long-winded sentences Riccoldo explains the motivation for his pilgrimage in the succession of Christ. Riccoldo refers to the incarnation of Christ as *peregrinatio* and cites John 16:28: *exiui a patre et ueni in mundum* (36).[34]

At the beginning of the second chapter, Riccoldo mentions a popular reason for pilgrimage, i.e., to physically see the places that Jesus Christ physically visited:

> "I 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."[35]

32 Only transmitted in the manuscript Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 466.

33 Cf. Schiel 2007.

34 The flight to Egypt is also described as a *peregrinatio*: "quomodo etiam cito natus et pauper et parvulus nec sibi nec matri pepercit a longa et laboriosa peregrinatione" (36).

35 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 362: "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 effusus esset in robur et firmamentum ad predicandum et moriendum pro illo qui mihi sua morte uitam donauerat" (ed. Kappler, p. 38).

Consider the words that seeing the holy places impresses (*imprimeretur*) the memory of the passion in the mind. These words highlight the connection between seeing the holy places and gaining a deeper understanding of the history of salvation. The desire to gain strength to preach and to die for Christ exceeds the usual *topoi* in prologues of pilgrimage narratives.[36] With these words Riccoldo adds a personal colour. The description of the pilgrimage is important to Riccoldo's spiritual development—and to the spiritual development of his readers. Through the narration the reader can participate in this spiritual experience. The textual representation of the journey serves in a special way as an aid to transfer the experience of the holy places and the space of salvation into the here and now of the recipient. In Riccoldo's text the narration is presented as a continuous sequence of described places while other information that is not directly related to the holy places and biblical events is treated separately. By following Riccoldo's lead, the recipient is able to imagine the pilgrimage.

Riccoldo models the beginning of his pilgrimage as a processional movement through the holy places connected with personal prayer. Christian Kiening defines processionality ("Prozessionalität") in connection with the passion structured in stations, as bound to concrete or imaginative forms of motion in space and time, to liturgical or ritual practices.[37] In texts and images representing processional sequences, Kiening discusses the imaginative dimension of processionality ("imaginäre Dimension des Prozessualen"), arguing that texts or images do not simply document these sequences. At the same time they offer patterns to form and to practise these sequences in a performative way: through reading or looking at images.[38] This processional dimension is inscribed in Riccoldo's text through the description of performance and motion in the holy space.

In the *Liber peregrinationis*, motion is presented in a more intense way than in other pilgrimage narratives. In contrast to the mainly passive description in other pilgrimage writings—consider the frequent use of *ostenditur*[39]—Riccoldo uses the active form such as, for instance, *ibi inuenimus*. The description of Cana, the first place mentioned after leaving Acre, is an illustrative example:

36 Cf. e.g. John of Würzburg, *Descriptio terre sancte*, pp. 79–80.

37 "Bindung an konkrete oder imaginative Formen der Bewegung in Raum und Zeit, an liturgische, kultische oder rituelle Momente", Kiening 2011, p. 181. Cf. also Fischer 2019, pp. 178–183.

38 "[Sie] sind ja nicht einfach Dokumente solcher Abläufe. Sie bieten vielmehr (zugleich) Muster, diese performativ zu gestalten, durchzuführen oder zu vollziehen: im Lesen oder Betrachten", Kiening 2011, p. 178.

39 Cf. e.g. already in Egeria, *Itinerarium* 1,1,1; 2,3,22; 2,5,29.

> 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 marriage feast. There I asked Christ, just as He had changed the water into wine, so to convert the water of my insipidity and lack of devotion into the wine of repentance and spiritual flavour. From there we came by a straight course of fifteen miles to the village of Gennesaret.[40]

Riccoldo[41] always talks about himself and the group with which he travels in the first-person plural. Thus, the reader is able to participate, to identify with the group and to go on a virtual journey from one holy place to the next one, as she or he is following the way described in the narrative: *iuimus cum multis cristianis in Galileam et primo peruenimus .XX. miliaria ad Cana Galilee* (38). Naming Cana first establishes a close relation to salvation history, as Cana has a special significance as the place where the signs of Christ begin: *ubi Christus fecit initium signorum* (38).

In the following, Riccoldo describes four stations, the already mentioned Cana, Genesareth, Bethsaida and the Mount of Beatitudes, where he follows the same scheme in his description: firstly the movement to the holy place is described—with *uenimus, ascendimus* or *descendimus*; secondly the holy place is identified, at Cana by the verb *inuenimus*, at the other places by naming the biblical episode and the performance of singing: *cantauimus Evangelium*; finally, there is a prayer that begins with the formula *ibi rogaui Christum / Dominum* and is directly connected to the corresponding holy place.

The often-used verbs *descendere, ascendere* and *uenire* mark the processional movement from place to place and give an impression of monotony. This kind of description is usual and can be found in most pilgrimage writings. Apart from the direction or the distance, the reader gains only information about the holy places that is already well known from the scripture. The appearance of the places is not mentioned.

In contrast to other pilgrimage narratives, the main characteristic of Riccoldo's narration is the description of performance. The example of Lake Genesareth is meaningful in this regard: "There on the way down the mountain overlooking the sea we sang the gospel of those two demoniacs whom Christ cured there of a legion of demons,

40 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 362: "Ibi inuenimus locum nuptiarum et loca et formulas ydriarum. Ibi cantauimus et predicauimus euangelium nuptiarum. Ibi rogaui Christum quod sicut aquam in uinum conuerterat, ita aquam mee insipiditatis et indeuotionis conuerteret in uinum compunctionis et spiritualis saporis. Inde recto curso uenimus .XV. m. ad casale Genesaret." (ed. Kappler, pp. 38–40).

41 "Riccoldo" refers to Riccoldo as the narrator of the *Liber*.

which Christ allowed to enter into some pigs."[42] As in the description of Cana—*Ibi cantauimus et predicauimus euangelium nuptiarum*—the author portrays the performative acts of pilgrims. In every place, biblical events become present through singing (and preaching). In the example of Genesareth, the description of the chant goes along with a processional movement. The description, not of only one, but of several chants in different places is unusual in pilgrimage literature. The integration of personal prayer in the writing is new. At the first four places, four prayers are described. They form a four-step scheme beginning with the desire to experience the divine and ending in the renunciation of the mind from the secular world and its turn to heaven.

The first prayer addresses the spiritual attitude that provides a basis for the experience of the divine. The second prayer focuses on temptation and includes the liberation from demons (*Ibi rogaui Dominum quod me ab infestationibus demonum liberaret*, 40). The third prayer expresses the desire to become the disciple of Christ. In the succession of Peter, the *piscator hominum* (Matthew 4:19) is mentioned. Linked to this is the idea of baptism—this wish is aimed at the missionary frater. Finally, on the Mount of Beatitudes Riccoldo's prayer asks for a detachment from the secular world and a turn towards the celestial: "There I asked the Lord to remove completely from me all earthly desires and to turn my mind to heavenly things."[43]

Because of these prayers the pilgrimage can be understood as a spiritual base for the following missionary journey,[44] and as a spiritual prologue for the mental journey of his readers.

ASPECTS OF THEATRICALITY

Following the description of the four prayers, the imitation of Christ is addressed as another performative act: Riccoldo breaks bread at the site of the feeding of the 5,000 (p. 40). This bodily act of imitation makes the past biblical event present. There is a progression in the description of the veneration. In the first place, i.e. Cana, liturgical and para-liturgical practices such as chanting and sermons are depicted. Additionally, biblical events are imitated here.

42 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 362: "Ibi in descensu montis super mare cantauimus euangelium de illis duobus demoniacis quos Christus curauit ibi a legione demonum quos Christus concessit intrare in porcos" (ed. Kappler, p. 40).

43 Trans. Pringle 2012, pp. 262–263: "Ibi rogaui Dominum quod me totaliter a desiderio terrenorum leuaret et meam mentem ad celestia transferret" (ed. Kappler, p. 40).

44 Cf. George-Tvrtković 2012, p. 33.

> From there we went up a mile to the mountain near there where the Lord made a meal from five loaves of barley bread; and we sang the gospel and preached, and afterwards, sitting in rows on the grass and hay, we all broke bread and ate with joy and tears.[45]

The imitative part of the performance at the place of the feeding of the 5,000 is formed like a liturgical practice. The repetition of gestures and actions of the Gospels relates to liturgical rites.[46] In the next place, at the *locus tabulae*, the text is similarly formed—with *manducauimus omnes* there is a reference to the Eucharist:

> From there, returning around the Sea of Galilee, we came after two miles to the place of the Table (*locus tabule*), which is between Capernaum and Bethsaida in the place where the Lord appeared to the disciples after the Resurrection, standing on the shore, and called them in front of the sea and invited them to eat. We sang and preached the gospel, and we all ate where He ate bread and fish with them.[47]

The tears that are shed at the holy places are mentioned on several occasions in the *Liber peregrinationis*.[48] Tears are usually seen as a sign of piety.[49] However, in pilgrimage literature up to the 14th century tears as a personal and emotional reaction are rarely to be found.[50] In not only describing personal prayer but also describing emotional reactions, Riccoldo's *Liber* differs from the literary tradition of pilgrim-

45 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 363: "Inde ascendimus .I.m. ibi ad montem ubi Dominus fecit conuiuium de quinque panibus ordeaceis et cantauimus euangelium et predicauimus, et postea sedentes per ordinem super herbam et fenum fregimus panem et mandicauimus omnes cum letitia et lacrimis" (ed. Kappler, p. 40).

46 Cf. Kiening 2011, p. 142; Müller 2004, p. 128. Cf. on Riccoldo and perfomance Fischer 2019, pp. 183–192.

47 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 363: "Inde regirantes iuxta mare Galilee, uenimus .II.m. ad locum tabule que est inter Cafarnaum et Betsaydam, in loco ubi Dominus apparuit discipulis post resurrectionem stans in litore et uocauit eos de mari et inuitauit eos ad prandendum, et cantauimus et predicauimus euangelium, et manducauimus omnes ubi manducauit cum eis panem et piscem" (ed. Kappler, pp. 40–42).

48 Cf. *Liber peregrinationis*, pp. 44, 50, 54.

49 See the introduction to Gertsman 2012 for the *donum lacrimae*.

50 Cf. Miedema 1998, p. 78, about pilgrimage narratives: "one gains the impression (...) that it was highly unusual to report on which ways a visit to these places had affected the author emotionally or in which ways he had devoted himself to any of the holy places."

age narratives. The depiction of the emotional affection[51] as a result of proximity to Christ in spatial terms and the repetition of gestures of salvation invites the reader to participate. The tears indicate less the *compassio* with Christ's suffering but stimulate the affective participation of the reader in the emotions during the stay at the holy place. The reference to the Gospels intensifies the experience as a memorization and visualization of salvation history.

The place of the baptism of Christ is another example that connects the imitation of the biblical event with the chant of the Gospels:

> There on the feast of the Epiphany we found over ten thousand Christians of every people and nation gathered together for baptism and the feast. There we built an altar beside the river on which we celebrated, and we preached and baptized with tears of rejoicing. While all the people were being baptized and were singing "Kyrie eleison", so great was the weeping and crying that I thought the angels had descended from heaven and were crying out with us in plaintive tones. Then we sang the gospel, "When all the people were baptized", etc.[52]

Here, the imitation is placed in a temporal setting and dated on the feast of Epiphany. The reference to the ecclesiastical year creates a setting that makes events cyclic and repeatable. Temporal and spatial proximity, liturgical rites, the ritual of the baptismal bath and the chant evoke an emotional participation. The description of the vision that the angels come down from heaven and sing with the faithful intensifies the narrated experience of salvation.

It is evident, therefore, that performative acts are central to Riccoldo's description of the holy places. In the following three examples—Bethlehem, the Valley of Josaphat, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—I will demonstrate in a close reading how theatrical elements are used depicting these sacred sites.

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51 For emotions in medieval literature in general see Schulz 2012, pp. 112–116.

52 Luke 3:21. Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 368: "Ibi in festo Epifanie inuenimus congregatos christianos ad baptismum et ad festum ultra decem milia ex omni populo et natione, ubi edificauimus altare iuxta fluuium ubi celebrauimus et predicauimus et baptiçauimus gaudentes et flentes. Cum autem omnis populus baptiçaretur et clamaret Kyrie eleison tantus fuit fletus et ululatus quod putabamus angelos descendisse de celo et uoce querula clamantes nobiscum. Et tunc cantauimus euangelium 'Factum est autem cum baptiçaretur omnis populus' etc." (ed. Kappler, p. 54).

Bethlehem

The description of the place of Christ's birth is a good starting point to discuss theatrical aspects in Riccoldo's writing. In pilgrimage texts written before the *Liber peregrinationis* we read that visitors to Bethlehem imagined the child lying in the manger.[53] Riccoldo takes it one step further as he writes that there is a real child lying in the manger. Riccoldo and other pilgrims play the role of the three magi:

> There we celebrated, preached and gave communion to the people. After the celebration of mass, we found in the manger the most beautiful infant son of a poor Christian woman, who lived next to the church, and rejoicing in him we adored the newborn Christ in the manner of the Magi and after giving the little one presents we returned him to his mother.[54]

In research, it is an essential insight that the late medieval forms of individual devotion include theatrical elements without being theatre,[55] such as in passion piety,[56] where the events around the crucifixion are imagined in meditation like an imagined theatre.[57] Müller refers to this form of piety as "theatrical piety".[58] The difference between theatre that creates an illusion and theatrical piety is the desired participation in the imagined events. Therefore, the aim of the role played by the three pilgrims in our example is not theatrical mimesis, but rather to gain an intense closeness to salvation history that is sought in a bodily-mimetic way.

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53 Cf. for instance Paula in Hieronymus' depiction in Epist. 108,10,2 (CSEL 55): "Postquam uidit sacrum uirginis diuersorium et stabulum (...) me audiente iurabat cernere se fidei oculis infantem pannis inuolutum uagientem in praesepe, deum magos adorantes, stellam fulgentem desuper, matrem uirginem, nutricium sedulum, pastores nocte uenientes (...) paruulos interfectos, Herodem saeuientem, Ioseph et Mariam fugientes in Aegyptum."

54 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 370: "Ibi celebrantes et predicantes et populum comunicantes post missarum sollemnia inuenimus in presepio pulcerimum infantem filium paupercule cristiane que habitabat iuxta ecclesiam et in eo letantes adorauimus Christum natum ad modum Magorum, et dantes paruulo munera reddidimus matri" (ed. Kappler, p. 60).

55 "Auch die spätmittelalterlichen Formen individueller Devotion enthalten theatrale Elemente, ohne doch Theater zu sein" Müller 2004, p. 129.

56 On passion piety cf. Haug & Wachinger 1993.

57 Müller 2004, p. 127: "imaginäres Theater".

58 Müller 2004, p. 128: "Theatralisierte Frömmigkeit".

The Valley of Josaphat

The passage on the Valley of Josaphat[59] is another striking example for the development of "theatrical piety" in Riccoldo's narrative: "There indeed, contemplating the place of judgement in the valley of Jehoshaphat between the Mount of Olives and the Mount Calvary we sat weeping and fearful, awaiting judgement."[60]

Past, present, and future merge in the imaginative reality of salvation history. In the text, the pilgrims envision the Last Judgement, with performance (*flentes et trementes*) stimulating their imagination of the event.This example illustrates how performance enables pilgrims to participate in the imagined event.[61] Participation and commitment are taken a step further in the following example. The narration about the Valley of Josaphat concludes with a reservation of a seat at the right hand of God, symbolized by a stone.

> We discussed moreover, where the most just Judge would sit on high and where would be to His right hand and where to His left hand. Then we chose a place to the right and each made a mark on a stone as a record. I also erected and marked a stone there and accepted a place to the right for myself and for all those who had heard the word of God from me and who had persevered in the faith and the truth of the Gospels; and I marked the stone in this way at the request of many faithful witnesses, who stood there weeping.[62]

The seat is not only marked for Riccoldo himself but also for his audience. Through the narration the recipient can participate in the ritual act of reservation. In the process of reception and imagination the reader can follow the narration remembering that there is also a place marked for her or him to the right of God.

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59 The visit to the Valley of Josaphat is described in the chapter on the second visit of Jerusalem (*ut compleremus desiderium nostrum de uisitatione sepulcri*, p. 62). At the first visit the pilgrims couldn't see the Holy Sepulchre (*non potuimus intrare nolentibus sarracenis*, p. 48).

60 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 372: "Ibi uero in ualle Iosaffat considerantes locum iudicii inter montem Oliueti et montem Caluarie sedimus flentes et trementes expectantes iudicium" (ed. Kappler, p. 64).

61 Müller 2004, p. 127.

62 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 372: "Conferentes autem ubi resideret in alto iustissimus Iudex, et ubi esset ad dexteram et ad sinistram elegimus mansionem ex tunc ad dexteram et quilibet signauit in lapidem in testimonium. Ego autem erexi et signaui ibi lapidem et accepi locum ad dexteram pro me et pro omnibus illis qui a me uerbum Dei audierant, qui perseuerarent in fide et ueritate euangelii et sic signaui in lapide sub inuocatione multorum fidelium testium qui presentes flebant" (ed. Kappler, p. 64).

Sepulchrum Christi

The highlight of the pilgrimage is the visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We read in the *Liber peregrinationis* how the place of the crucifixion evokes a maximum of emotional participation and *compassio*:

> This is a place of such devotion that if one did not weep out of compassion for the Son crying out and dying on the cross, one would be disposed to weep out of compassion for the mother, weeping at the feet of Christ while He dies for us. O soul, o soul of sinful man, how could you afterwards vivify and govern a body of such corruption and contradiction? Why has the sorrow of death not been made for me the sorrow of compassion? If I had already been devout as I thought, I would have been able to die of sorrow or joy from the completion of so great a desire.[63]

The encounter with the holy place is stylistically formed and emphasized by the use of exclamations and rhetorical questions. The vivid presentation may recall paintings of the crucifixion scene. The repetition of central words such as *flere – fleret – flentis, morientis – morientis – (mortis) – mori, dolor – dolor – dolore* intensifies the address to the reader. Riccoldo reflects on *compassio*,[64] as the word is mentioned three times in this section. *Compassio* is a central aspect in writings devoted to Passion piety.[65] The change of the tenses, from past to present, actualizes the emotional experience and results in an oscillation between past and present. The individual and factual experience of the visit is depicted for the readers' eyes, while at the same time every reading actualizes the visit with its emotional experience.[66] The expectation is highlighted so that despite the temporal distance the visitor present at the site of crucifixion can see Christ through corporal eyes: "Moreover, looking around anxiously to see if I should

63 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 373: "Ibi est locus tante deuotionis quod si quis non fleret compassione filii clamantis et morientis in cruce, flere cogitur compassione matris flentis ad pedes Christi morientis pro nobis. O anima, o anima peccatoris hominis quomodo potuisti postea uiuificare et gubernare corpus tante corruptionis et tante contradictionis; quare non factus est michi dolor mortis dolor compassionis? Si uere fuissem deuotus ut credebam, dolore uel gaudio mori potui de completione tanti desiderii" (ed. Kappler, p. 68).

64 On *compassio* cf. Mertens Fleury 2006; McNamer 2009; Mertens Fleury 2010.

65 On passion piety cf. Haug & Wachinger 1993; Köpf 1997.

66 Cf. Kiening 2011, p. 189 on the change of tenses in German 15th-century pilgrimage narratives: "Dadurch wird das Ereignis, im Heiligen Land gewesen zu sein, im gleichen Atemzug zu einem individuell historisch–faktischen und einem für andere Individuen je neu aktuellen und wiederholbaren."

truly see with the eyes of my body my Lord hanging on the cross, I saw only with the eyes of faith (*oculis fidei*)."[67]

In another section of the book, on the way to Emmaus, the pilgrims imagine in the conversation about Christ, that Christ himself becomes a bodily companion: "talking of Christ, that He might draw near and go with us through the meadows and beautiful places."[68]

However, at the site of crucifixion, Riccoldo narrates what he can see with his bodily eyes: "With the eyes of my body however I saw the place of crucifixion, the rock split from top to bottom (...)"[69]

The narration culminates in a staged "search" for Christ. Riccoldo is the director of procession that is spontaneously formed by the pilgrims. In the narration, the temporal gap to the time of crucifixion does not exist anymore: "From there, wanting to go to the Sepulchre and look for the Lord whom we had not found on Mount Calvary, for they had already taken Him down when I, miserable as I am, arrived there late, I said (...)."[70]

Riccoldo came too late in the "Passion play" he staged. Christ was already taken from the cross.

The processionality we find in Riccoldo's book culminates in the procession organized by Riccoldo himself, which passes through the sacred space: "I said, 'Let us go and look for Him at the tomb where they have laid Him.' Gathering together the Christians who were there, numbering more than a hundred, I organized a procession."[71]

It is striking that in Riccoldo's work the ritual measurement,[72] which we find in other pilgrimage narratives, in paces or body length, is missing. The space is "possessed" in a different bodily way, through performance. The movement through the sacral space is connected with liturgical rite:

67 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 373: "Circumspiciens autem sollicite si uere uiderem Dominum meum oculis corporeis pendentem in cruce, non uidi nisi oculis fidei" (ed. Kappler, p. 70).

68 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 375: "Et conferentes de Christo ut ipse appropinquans iret nobiscum per prata et loca pulcerima" (ed. Kappler, p. 72).

69 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 373.

70 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 373: "Inde uolentes accedere ad sepulcrum et querere Dominum quem non inueneramus in monte Caluarie, iam enim deposuerant eum cum ego miser tarde perueni dixi ..." (ed. Kappler, p. 70).

71 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 373: "... dixi 'eamus et queramus ad monumentum ubi posuerunt eum' et congregans Christianos qui tunc erant ibi ultra centum, ordinaui processionem" (ed. Kappler, p. 70).

72 On ritual measurement cf. Lentes 1995; Shalev 2011; Rachman-Schrire 2012, p. 364.

> We started at the column (...) proceeding along the way in a regular fashion and asking each other, "Who will roll away the stone for us" etc. Afterwards, as we were approaching, we sang in a loud voice and repeated, "Praise to the Paschal Victim." At each step, one person sang the verse, and all responded. Surrounding and moving around the Sepulchre anxiously searching, since we were not finding the Lord, someone exclaimed, "The Lord, my Hope, has risen and is going before them into Galilee. " This he said in such a loud voice that outside the whole church a noise and tumult resounded among the Saracens.[73]

In the procession, we find dramatic and dialogic elements. The movement around the Sepulchre is narrated, as well as what the pilgrims say to each other, and it is noted that with every step they sing chants of the Easter liturgy. Thus, repeating these motions, the holy space could also be created in a different place far away from the Sepulchre.[74] The performance organized by Riccoldo has even (involuntary) listeners, namely the Saracens, whose reaction to the loud song of the faithful can be heard inside the church. Nevertheless, this "play" is not a theatrical play, since its main aim is to create proximity to biblical events by imitation.

Surprisingly the Holy Sepulchre is not described in detail, in contrast to 12th-century pilgrimage narratives such as John of Würzburg's *Descriptio Terre Sancte* or Theodericus' *Libellus*, which contain elaborate descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre. In the *Liber peregrinationis*, the inner space of intense devotion superposes the real space of the Holy Sepulchre:

> We entered the Sepulchre however and found that a large stone at the mouth of the tomb, albeit rolled away beside the entrance. We came out without

73 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 374: "et nos plane procedentes per uiam et conferentes ad inuicem quis reuoluet nobis lapidem etc., et postea cum adpropinquaremus alta uoce canentes et repetentes 'uictime pascali laudes' ad omnem passum unum uersum unus precinebat et omnes respondebant, et circumdantes et circumeuntes sepulcrum cum querentes sollicite non inueniremus Dominum clamauit quispiam tam alta uoce 'surrexit Christus spes mea' p.s.i.G. quod extra totum templum rumor et tumultus insonuit inter Sarracenos." (ed. Kappler, p. 70).

74 Cf. Ousterhout 2012, pp. 149–150: "But what lies behind this curious bit of guerilla theatre is, I believe, the recollective memory of the play of the Visitation to the Sepulchre, popular throughout medieval Europe and presented at Easter time."

> finding the Lord. Next, they showed us the garden and the place where He appeared first to Mary Magdalene (...).[75]

The real appearance of the Holy Sepulchre is not important to this rememorization of salvation history based on biblical events.

CONCLUSION

My aim was to interpret Riccoldo's description of the holy places focusing on performative elements. To achieve this, I examined the literary tradition of pilgrimage narratives and the structure of the *Liber peregrinationis* as a whole. In Riccoldo's work as in the literary tradition, the visualization and the seeing of the biblical world plays a pivotal role. Riccoldo's text illustrates that the significance lies not in the physical sights of the holy places, but in the internal visualization of biblical events. This aspect contrasts with the subsequent passages of the *Liber peregrinationis* describing a foreign (oriental) world through a lens of personal experience.

By emphasizing imagination and memorization we highlighted the function of the first part of Riccoldo's work as a spiritual journey for his audience. The encounter with the holy places is visualized through descriptions of procession, performance and theatricality using a visual and emotional language absent in the later sections of the *Liber peregrinationis* devoted to the Orient.

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75 Trans. Pringle 2012, p. 374: "Intrantes autem in sepulcro inuenimus magnum illum lapidem ad hostium monumenti, sed reuolutum iuxta hostium, et exeuntes, cum non inueniremus Dominum, ostenderunt nobis ortum et locum ubi primo apparuit Marie Magdalene ..." (ed. Kappler, p. 70).

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Contextualizing Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's Experience with Religious Conversion*

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's work is usually studied for the author's knowledge of, and personal experience with, the Muslim world[1]—in particular, Islamic doctrines, rituals and cultural habits. Less explored are Riccoldo's encounters with the followers of other religions—the Jews,[2] Eastern Christians,[3] Mongol Shamanists, Buddhists and others.[4] Although his focus on the study of Islam is clear, his conceptualization of followers of other religions and their "sects" (*sectae*) is also worthy of scholarly attention. It offers an image of his missionary practice, its prospects, and also to a certain degree its results among the inhabitants of the Persian Ilkhanate. This paper tackles Riccoldo's experience with converting non-Christians and non-Catholics to the Christian faith as expressed by the Western Church. My analysis focuses on a statement by Riccoldo contained in his *Libellus ad nationes orientales*,[5] which concerns the effectiveness and facility of conversion: "... experience proves that the Tartars are more easily converted

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1 The total amount of time that Riccoldo spent as a missionary in the Near East is considered to be about twelve years; for details, see George-Tvrtković 2012, p. 14.

2 Cf. Walker 2011.

3 Cf. Rouxpetel 2015.

4 About the religious situation in the Ilkhanate at the time of Riccoldo, see Jackson 2017, pp. 298–300.

5 Dondaine 1967; Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Libellus ad nationes orientales*, electronic edition 1997 & 2014.

than the Saracens, and the Saracens than the Jews, and the Jews [more easily] than the [heretical] Christians."[6]

This contribution aims to contextualize this statement with regard to Riccoldo's experience as reflected in his works,[7] and also to compare it with the records of other Mendicant friars operating in Asia through the 13th and 14th centuries. The broader chronological and geographical context of sources used in this study reveals regional and religious particularities that document the variety of Mendicant experience as well as modes of its documentation.[8]

Besides Riccoldo's *Libellus ad nationes orientales*, *Epistolae ad Ecclesiam Triumphantem*[9] and *Liber peregrinationis*,[10] the present study considers a selection of Franciscan and Dominican sources. These sources refer to various areas of Asia and date between the second half of the 13th century and 1340s. They include the report by William of Rubruck (1215–1270);[11] letters from the Franciscan friars John of Montecorvino (1247–1328),[12] Andrew of Perugia[13] and Peregrine of Castello,[14] a letter from Pascal of Vittoria (d. 1339),[15] an account and letters from a Dominican friar Jordan of Catalan (d. around 1336?),[16] and the account by a Franciscan friar John of Marignolli

6 "Sed tamen quantum ad effectum appropinquationis et conuersionis est totum contrarium in predictis, nam, experientia teste, tartari facilius conuertuntur quam sarraceni, et sarraceni quam iudei, et iudei quam christiani." Dondaine 1967, p. 163; Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Libellus ad nationes orientales*, electronic edition 1997 & 2014, https://www2.historia.su.se/personal/villads-jensen/Riccoldo/1.prohemium.pdf. Article 11 (August 2019).

7 For an analysis of Riccoldo's works with respect to his education see Booth 2021, pp. 49–78.

8 Cf. Szpiech 2013.

9 Five letters were written shortly after the fall of Acre in 1291. English translation in George-Tvrtković 2012, pp. 137–173. On the *Letters* cf. also Shagrir 2012.

10 Latin text in Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche-Orient*; English translation in George-Tvrtković 2012, pp. 175–227.

11 About his life and mission, see Jackson 1990, pp. 1–55; English translation of Rubruck's report Jackson 1990, pp. 59–278. For the Latin report, see van den Wyngaert 1929, pp. 164–332. A most recent edition of Rubruck's account is provided in the 2014 Latin–Italian edition by Paolo Chiesa.

12 Latin text in van den Wyngaert 1929, pp. 340–355. For an English translation, see Dawson 1955, pp. 224–231, or Yule 1866, vol. 1, pp. 197–218.

13 van den Wyngaert 1929, pp. 373–377. English trans. Dawson 1955, pp. 235–237.

14 van den Wyngaert 1929, pp. 365–368. English trans. Dawson 1955, pp. 232–234.

15 van den Wyngaert 1929, pp. 501–506. English trans. Yule 1914, pp. 81–88.

16 Gadrat 2005.