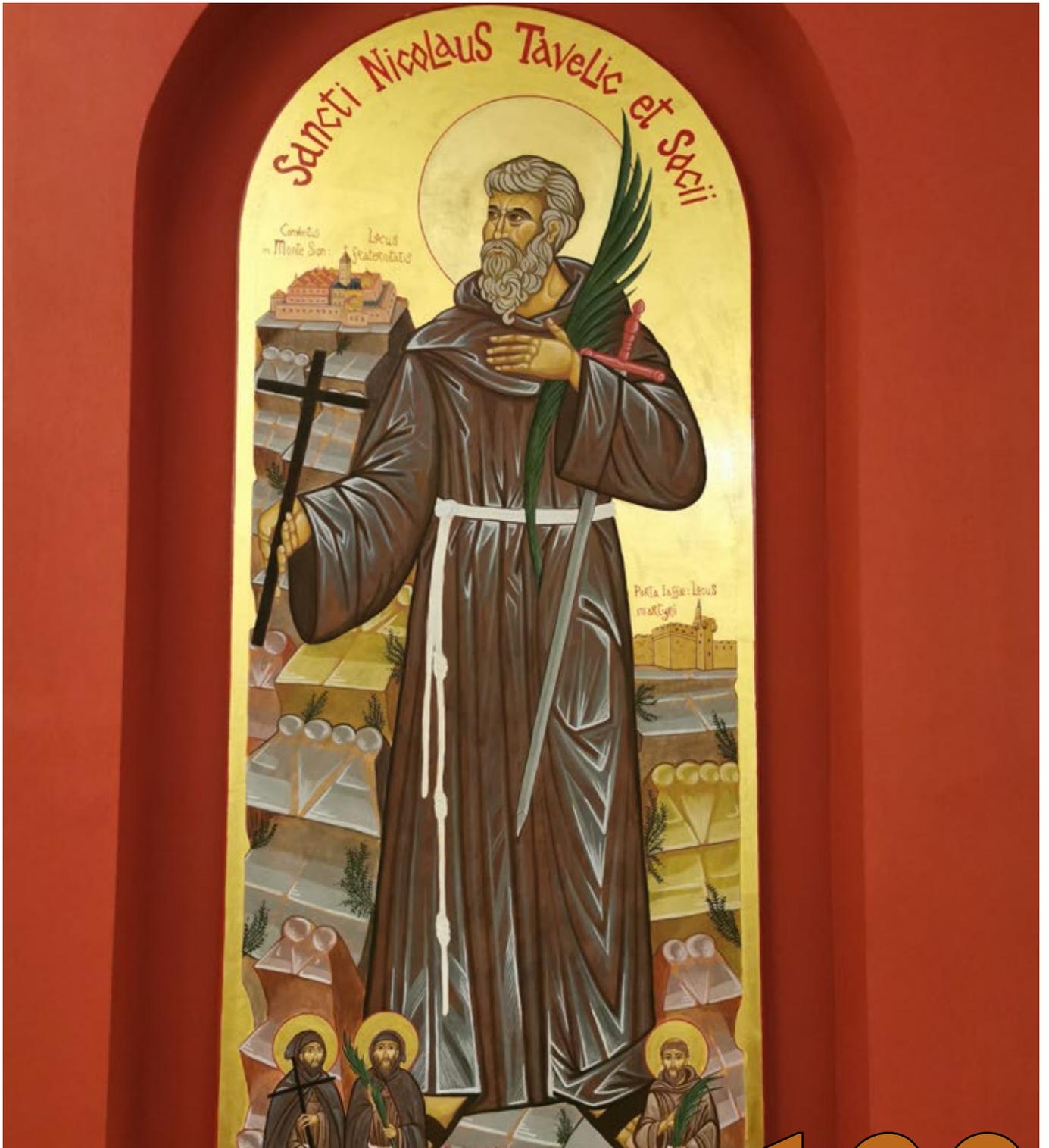


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## EDITORIAL

### A REACHING OUT TO RECOVER WHAT WE LOST

The COVID-19 emergency has brought with it the closure of all academic institutions and the unexpected interruption of live courses and lectures in universities, colleges and schools. It has hampered the possibility of research in libraries and archives. The ability to adapt even to crises such as the one we are going through has led many to discover the usefulness of online teaching, learning, study and research.

The many hours spent closed indoors are a unique opportunity to reflect, pray and study. Maybe this is one of the positive effects of the pandemic that has hit our entire humanity without making distinctions of colour, race, religion, or social status. It has made us aware of the limitations of human existence, and of the need to reach out to a universal solidarity. Our world is now a global village, and we are all in the same boat, as Pope Francis stated in his reflection during the rainy evening in Saint Peter’s Square, under the merciful gaze of a mediaeval Crucifix.

In face of this challenge to our culture and to our very existence, it is important to keep in mind that we have trusted too much upon our plain-sailing boat, steered by our selfish interests in politics, economy, technology, military strategy. It is a deadly mistake that has been committed more than once in history, many a time in the name of religious ideology and fundamentalism, which have nothing to do with a genuine faith.

The experience of the crusades was one of those moments in which one culture clashed with another in the name of religion. It was not religion to blame, but rather thirst for an economic and political advantage of one block upon the other: Christendom against Islam, in the name of the holiness of an earthly city and land, which provided a unique opportunity for economic and political expansion, and for petty feudal interests for prestige and riches in the name of the Cross or of Muhammad.

Last year we have recalled the courage of Saint Francis of Assisi, who crossed the sea to go to Egypt during the Fifth Crusade, and meet sultan al-Mālik al-Kāmil, and speak to him face to face about the Gospel of Christ, without pretending to convert this devout Muslim to the Christian ideology of popes, kings, princes and knights-in-arms, although praying that the Muslim overlord would discover the true face of the faith of the Cross. His enterprise was seemingly a complete failure, except for the fact that he did succeed in giving a different picture of Christianity than the one presented by weapons of the *crucesignati*.

After the loss of the crusader dream at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, other Franciscan missionaries and thinkers tried to come to grips with how to recover what had been lost to western civilisation by changing strategy and methodology. Just as we

are doing at this very moment, they had to learn to adapt. Not that they lost their allegiance to the crusader ideal of conquering the Holy Land. They did not forget that the ideal of carrying the Cross among those who were considered to be “Saracens and non-believers” was still a calling to be followed, but in a different way. These learned Franciscans tried the way of persuasion through dialogue, based upon study and learning. They were still sons of their times, and they still dreamt of one unified army and navy which could guarantee the safety of the Christian strongholds in Outremer. However, for them, the use of the force of arms was not to be the only method to follow. Indeed, it would have to be used only as a last resort. Their writings still resemble treatises on military strategy. Fidenzio da Padova, a Franciscan of the Holy Land, is a case in point, being ready to compose a plan for the recovery of the Holy Land. However, in heart, these men were convinced that their calling was that of being missionaries. For this reason, dialogue based upon intellectual openness to cultures, languages and religions, was fundamental. They were innovators.

To reach their objectives they were not afraid to face their opponents, or rather, the opponents of a culture that would not accept the need of opening up to an encounter, even though it would be an encounter with an equally one-sided and obtuse approach to diversity in belief. Some even went as far as offering their own lives as voluntary martyrs. In this issue we shall be commemorating a group of Franciscan friars who died as martyrs in Jerusalem after they brazenly went to preach to the Muslims. Nikola Tavelić, Adeodat of Rodez, Peter of Narbonne and Stefano da Cuneo were canonised by Pope Paul VI in June 1970, fifty years ago. Their martyrdom, seen from a purely historical perspective, does not add much to the crusader ideal of dying for the faith by wielding the sword or, in this case, the word of preaching to convert. The same can be said of another Franciscan penitent, a great intellectual, namely Ramon Llull. He also was an ardent apostle of the Gospel among the Saracens, but his methodology was based upon the effective result of dialogue through learning and study.

In this present circumstance that makes us aware of the need to find new ways of communication, the methodology of these Franciscans, as seen in the background of their times, can provide us with clues. It throws light on two fundamental needs, namely the need to avoid religious syncretism or even indifference in the name of genuine human dialogue, and the need to open up to a new understanding of diversity of belief. These two aspects go hand in hand. In a world that has tried to suffocate the true sense of a God-centred religion in order to create a super-religion centred upon the worship of mankind’s unlimited potentiality, we need to discover the true power of communication in order to build bridges of mutual understanding, without being dominant or over-indulgent in our dealings with “Saracens and other non-believers.”

Noel Muscat ofm

# SAINTS NIKOLA TAVELIĆ AND COMPANIONS, FRANCISCAN MARTYRS IN JERUSALEM (1391):

## 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THEIR CANONISATION

Noel Muscat OFM

On Sunday 21 June 1970, precisely 50 years ago, in the Vatican Basilica Pope Saint Paul VI canonised four friars Minor who were martyred in the whereabouts of Jaffa Gate (in Arabic, *Bab al-Khalīl*, or else, during Crusader times, *Bab Mihrab Dawud*) in Jerusalem, on 14 November 1391. These brothers were Nikola (we keep his original Croatian name) Tavelić from Šibenik in the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia, Adeodat Aribert of Rodez, Pierre of Narbonne, and Stefano of Cuneo. The four brothers lived in the friary of Mount Zion, at the Cenacle, where the Order of friars Minor established its first stable presence in Jerusalem in 1333, and where the Custody of the Holy Land was established in 1342.

The Franciscan historian of the Holy Land Custody, Narcyz Klimas, presents a panoramic view on the historical context in which the martyrdom of the friars resident in the first friary of the Custody on Mount Zion took place.<sup>1</sup>

The historical context of the martyrdom is described by various sources, among which we prefer to follow the historical account by Girolamo Golubovich, who also lists all the relevant sources and presents a critical edition of the account of the martyrdom.<sup>2</sup> The section is entitled: *1391 - Gerusalemme - Martirio del B. Nicolò de Tavileis dalmata e dei tre suoi compagni uccisi per la fede in Gerusalemme*.

Among the sources listed by Golubovich we find Mariano da Firenze,<sup>3</sup> Mark of Lisbon,<sup>4</sup> Ridolfo da Tossignano,<sup>5</sup> Luke Wadding,<sup>6</sup> Antonio

da Melissano,<sup>7</sup> Arthur du Monstier,<sup>8</sup> Francesco Quaresmi,<sup>9</sup> Juan de Calahorra,<sup>10</sup> João Baptista de S. Antonio,<sup>11</sup> Marcellino da Civezza,<sup>12</sup> and Donato Fabianich.<sup>13</sup> It would be interesting to study all these sources, some of which are quoted textually in the notes. Here we limit ourselves to the critical edition of the account of the martyrdom as presented by Golubovich, based on the original account written by Brother Gerard Chauvet (Calveti), Guardian of Mount Zion and eye-witness of the martyrdom.

The celebration of the canonisation, as well as the 6<sup>th</sup> centenary commemoration of the martyrdom of these four Franciscan brothers was also the occasion for the publication of studies on these martyrs, even though many of these studies concentrated upon the figure of Nikola Tavelić, because of the cult that he already enjoyed in his home town of Šibenik and in Dalmatia.<sup>14</sup>

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### *The Franciscan Martyrs of Jerusalem*

Nikola Tavelić was born in Šibenik, Dalmatia towards the year 1340. In 1365 he entered the Order of Minors in the province of Slavonia, at Bribir, a village in the county of Šibenik-Knin, in the south of what is modern Croatia. Having a vocation for missionary evangelisation, Nikola went to evangelise the Bogomils in the vicariate of Bosnia, where he remained for twelve years. It was there that he met his confrere Adeodat of

Rodez, who hailed from the small town of Rodez in the region of Toulouse. Adeodat had arrived in the vicariate of Bosnia in 1372. Both brothers were united in friendship and mutual collaboration in their evangelising ministry, which eventually led them to go to the Holy Land in 1384. Peter of Narbonne was a member of the province of Provence, but for a number of years he lived in Italy, where he was companion of Brother Paoluccio di Vagnozzo Trinci of Foligno (1309-1391), who is considered to be the founder of the reform of the Regular Observance in Italy (1368). Peter lived for fifteen years with Paoluccio in the hermitage of Brogliano, in the mountains between Foligno and Camerino. It was from this hermitage that the reform of the Regular Observance spread all over Umbria and the Marches. When Peter of Narbonne left as a missionary to the Holy Land in 1381, he was therefore a friar Minor who belonged to the Observant reform. Stefano da Cuneo was a member of the Franciscan province of Genoa, but he had been missionary in the vicariate of Corsica.

Nikola Tavelić and his companions lived in a moment in which the Observant reform in the Order of Minors was still in its incipient stage. However, there were certainly many links with this reform. The fact that Peter of Narbonne was a friar of the Observant reform shows that, during this phase of the Order's history in which the conventual tendency of the brothers living in the big family of the *Communitas Ordinis* was seeing a new fervour in those brothers who were advocating reform in the Regular Observance, it would have been quite normal for a friary like that of Mount Zion to welcome brothers from both ends of the spectrum of the minoritic Order under the same roof. The link of these brothers with the Observant reform is also seen in a testimony given by Saint James of the Marches, in the sermon *De excellentia Ordinis Sancti Francisci*,<sup>15</sup> quoted by Golubovich, in which this great reformer of the Franciscan Observance, in 1449, that is, 58 years after the martyrdom, states that in Šibenik he had met two blood brothers of Nikola Tavelić. James of the Marches had been visitor in Bosnia in 1432-1433, and later on he became vicar of the vicariate of Bosnia until 1439.

The cult of Nikola Tavelić alone was confirmed and approved by Pope Leo XIII for Dalmatia on 6 June 1889. The request for the confirmation of the cult was presented by the Friars Minor Conventuals of Dalmatia, who spoke of Tavelić as *Ordinis*

*Minorum Conventualium S. Francisci Martyri et Beato nuncupato*. The same Pope extended the cult for the Order of Friars Minor with a decree of 28 May 1898. Pope Pius XI then extended the cult for the entire Croatia in 1937. It was only in 1966 that Pope Saint Paul VI confirmed the cult of the other companions of Tavelić, and in 1967 the feast of the Blessed martyrs was extended to all the Franciscan Order.<sup>16</sup>

The same Pope Saint Paul VI canonised the holy martyrs of Jerusalem in the Vatican Basilica on 21 June 1970. We shall examine the words of the Pope on the occasion of the canonisation, but before we will take a look at the historical account of the martyrdom as presented by Golubovich.<sup>17</sup>

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### *Historical account of the martyrdom of Nikola Tavelić and Companions*

The text of the *Passio* of Tavelić and Companions, presented by Golubovich, shows the great courage and fearless attitude of these brothers in front of the difficulty of preaching Christ to those who were considered to be infidels. For the moment let us leave aside our contemporary judgement of this action, which might be considered as too rash and imprudent. We have to read the facts with the eyes of those who were living in 14<sup>th</sup> century Jerusalem, under the rule of the Mamluks, a time in which Christians were suffering vexations and harassment by the Muslim overlords. The Franciscans had been present in the friary of Mount Zion ever since 1335, when the first nucleus of the Franciscan friary was built, thanks to the kind services of Robert of Anjou, king of Sicily, and his wife Sancia of Majorca. Ever since 1342 the Franciscans were also the official Custodians of the Holy Places in the name of the Church of Rome.

Golubovich states that there are two versions of the report sent by Brother Gersrd Chauvet of the province of Aquitaine, Guardian of Mount Zion, both of which are conserved in the Vatican Archives. Golubovich presents the second version, which is introduced by a letter sent to the Consul of the Catalans in Damascus on 1392. Here we provide an English translation of the document. The Latin original as presented by Golubovich, follows the first critical edition published in 1881 by Paul Durrieu.<sup>18</sup>

“[Letter of Fr. Gerard to the Catalans of Damascus]

Noble lords, I begin by recommending you devoutly to Christ Jesus, as is fitting. I believe that you are aware of how four of our Friars, very holy and devout men, inflamed by divine charity, approached the Cadi of Jerusalem, and with a fervent spirit they spoke to him in my presence about many and various arguments against the [Muslim] law and prophet. For this reason, they underwent various torments, and thus they consumed their martyrdom to the praise of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to the honour of our faith, as you will be able to read in the acts of their martyrdom, if you so wish. These [Muslims] continue to persecute us to death and they have not stopped doing so to this very day. Indeed, we were led to the lord of Gaza with great expense; each day they invent new rumours about us and they are never satisfied; they are eating away at our poverty, and they take everything away from us, except for the chalices and liturgical vestments. I am not able to explain to you all the tribulations and harassment to which we are subjected. Indeed, we bear up with all this in patience, we are ready also to die and suffer all this willingly, since Christ Jesus wanted to suffer a most cruel death for us sinners, even though He was a blameless and innocent lamb. That is why I want to express in front of you, our lords and friends, all the tribulations and privations we suffer with full confidence. I have been wanting to do so for a long time, but I was hindered by them [Muslims]. May God enlighten them and show them the way to salvation! We all pray God for you and we are your chaplains; may you also be mindful of us in this tribulation we suffer. There is no need to write anything else at this point. Keep well in the Son of the glorious Virgin.

Written in the sacred friary of Mount Zion in the city of Jerusalem, on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of January, in the year of the Lord 1392.

To the noble lord N., consul of the Catalan nobles in Damascus, and to the other Catalan gentlemen residing in the same place. As reported and sent by Brother *Gerard*, Guardian of the sacred friary of Mount Zion.”

“[Report of the martyrdom]

In the name of the Lord, Amen. To the praise, glory and honour of the almighty God, of the entire orthodox faith, of the entire heavenly host and of the most holy and universal Church of Rome.

May all of you who read this present letter be informed that, in the year of the Lord 1391, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the month of November, four Friars of the Order of Minors, who hailed from various provinces in the world and who were living in Jerusalem, in the friary of Mount Zion, men who were adorned with virtue, wholly devoted to God, fully obedient to their superiors and following a rigid way of life, and who were most perfect and proven in all perfection of religious life, and whose names are the following: Brother *Deodatus de Rucinio*, of the province of Aquitaine, Brother *Nicholaus* of the province of Slavonia, Brother *Stephanus de Cunis*, of the province of Genoa, Brother *Petrus de Narbona*, of the province of Provence, who were all friars who had lived for many years in the perfection of religious life, some of them in the vicariate of Bosnia, and others in the vicariate of Corsica, from where they transferred with great devotion to the holy city of Jerusalem, where they lived in regular observance for many years; these friars suffered a most atrocious martyrdom in Christ, as will appear from the account that follows.

These friars we have mentioned, after having discussed the matter among themselves for a long time, namely as to how they could win over to God those souls who the devil was holding captive, and how they could offer to almighty God the fruit of their labours in this holy land of Jerusalem, leaving behind them all fear, they prepared themselves as best they could, first by consulting some masters of theology who were living in that place, as well as other proven brothers who lived with them and could enlighten them by their counsels. Thus armed with reasonable arguments drawn from Holy Scripture and approved by doctors of theology, as they had read them in various places, and comforted in the Lord, in order to show in what perfect manner a man can be strengthened through the progress of human merit, against carnal and animal desires which underlie the law of those who live in the sect of Muhammad; in this way, on the day we have already indicated, namely on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of November, which was feast of Saint Martin, around the hour of tierce, they proceeded in an orderly manner to carry out their plan of action. On that same day, therefore, and during the hour indicated above, the same abovementioned brothers went out together, each one carrying a parchment, on which was written what we shall describe later on. The writing was in

Italian and in Arabic. Carrying these parchments with them, the brothers first went to the temple of Solomon, but when they wanted to go in they were prohibited from doing so. When the Saracens asked them what they were intending to do, they answered: 'We want to speak with the Cadi (that is, their bishop or prelate, according to the Latin meaning of the word), and we have many useful and wholesome words for the benefit of your souls.' The Saracens answered thus: 'This is not the house of the Cadi, but come with us and we will show you the way to the house of the Cadi.' Thus, they were led to the house, and they presented their parchments and read them aloud in front of the Cadi, and at the same time they explained them by strong arguments in these words:

'Lord Cadi and all you who are present here, we beg you to listen attentively to what we have to tell you, and to carefully weigh our words, since whatever we are going to say is beneficial, true and just, it is free of any error, and above all it will be highly useful for those among you who will acquiesce to them with a willing soul. The words are the following: You are in a state of eternal damnation, since your law is not the law of God, neither has it been given by God. It is not good, but it is intrinsically evil. Your scriptures do not contain the old or new testaments. Moreover, in your law there are many false beliefs, which are impossible, derisory and contradictory. There are many other things that do not lead men to whatever is good and to virtue, but to evil and to countless vices, which will never be found in the law of Moses, which God has given, and neither in the law of Christ. In this [Christian] law, without any doubt, all those who wish to understand can find all those things, which, contrary to your law, can lead man to the praise and honour of God, and to the love of one's neighbour, to the ultimate end and to the consequent gaining of salvation, that is, to the carrying out of the aim of what one gains in these words, that is, eternal life, or the fruition of the beatific vision of God. Now, if your law is truly the law of God, how come all the prophets are silent as regards to it? Indeed, we find that neither Moses, nor anyone of the prophets, and not even Christ, have ever uttered a single word about it. It cannot certainly be a law of God that law which contains open falsities. Your law, in fact, states that the demons will be saved at the end, and that is why your law is pleasing to them. Regarding Christ your law also states that he was not son of



*Altar dedicated to Tavelič, St. Francis Church, Šibenik*

God, nor that he died on the cross, but that at the end of times God will kill him. It also states that the Apostles were Saracens, and it also has many other lies.'

The aforementioned brothers also spoke against their prophet [Muhammad] by stating: that their prophet was not God's messenger, as they asserted and affirmed and as their law stated; that there is no miracle attributed to him; whereas the prophets of God are witnessed by many and numerous miracles. Elijah and Elisha and all the other prophets worked great miracles which were unheard of before them. Christ also came with great and infinite signs and wonders. On the other hand, Muhammad was a lascivious man, a murderer, glutton, spoiler, who placed man's utmost joy in eating, living in luxury, and wearing precious garments, living in gardens where water is plentiful. He also permitted men to have many wives, concubines and maids. His intention was that of trimming whatever is arduous in faith and whatever is difficult in action, and to concede everything that mundane human begins, and especially Arabs, are prone to like, namely lasciviousness, gluttony and all the other vices. Instead he did not say anything regarding virtues, namely regarding charity, humility and the other

virtues. As a conclusion one can see how astute he was in captivating rational men with all these false arguments, and in commanding them not to believe anything which went against his law, but to annihilate all those who assert the contrary.

When the brothers had finished uttering these words with the fervour of their spirit and with unwavering faith, the aforementioned Cadi and his assistants were furious. Immediately after the friars had proclaimed these words, a great number of Saracens gathered in that place from outside. The Guardian of Mount Zion with a companion and the hospitaller of the pilgrim hospital of Jerusalem were immediately called to convene in that place. Then the aforementioned Cadi addressed the four brothers who were standing in his presence in the following words: 'Regarding the words that you have just pronounced, did you utter them as prudent men and fully in control of your senses, or as fools and crazy persons who are deviant in their reasoning? Moreover, were you sent here by your Pope or by another king of the Christians?' The brothers immediately answered with a great sense of certainty, maturity and discretion, as well as with a great zeal for their faith, and inflamed by affection since they desired his own salvation. They said: 'We were not sent here by any creature, but by God, who willed to inspire us to preach to you and to announce the truth for your own salvation, since in the Gospel Christ says: *Whoever will believe and be baptised will be saved. Those who do not believe will be condemned.* Therefore, if you will not believe and be baptised, you will be condemned to end up in the profound abyss of hell.'

At this point the Cadi interrogated them and said: 'Do you want to recant what you have just said and become Saracens, so that you will not die? Otherwise you will have to die.' The brothers answered with a clear voice and said: 'We do not want to recant anything we have said, but for the sake of this truth we are prepared to die for our Christian catholic faith, and we want to defend it strongly, and it is better for us to die and to suffer all kinds of torments, since the words we have said are true, holy and catholic.'

When he heard this, the Cadi with his councillors, declared the death sentence on the brothers. He had not yet finished uttering his sentence, that all the Saracens who were standing there began to shout at the top of their voices and to say: 'They should die, they should die and

should not live!' In the meantime, they began to strike the brothers with various instruments that came at hand, in such a way that the brothers fell to the ground half-dead; indeed, many thought they had died. They continued to torture them until the ninth hour. After an hour had passed, the brothers opened their eyes and began to speak to one another. When the Cadi saw this, he ordered them to be tied up in chains and to have their feet also fastened by fetters, in such a way that, among the tumult of the crowd, the brothers remained in this position until midnight. Around midnight the brothers were left naked and were tied up strongly to poles, and they were so cruelly beaten that their bodies were nearly totally torn apart, in such a way that they could not hold themselves standing up.

Then the Cadi locked them in an underground dungeon, where he ordered to fasten them so tightly with wooden stocks, that they could hardly find any rest, but were afflicted continually by innumerable torments. At last, on the third day, they were led to the open square where criminals were usually punished, in front of the Emir, the Cadi and an infinite multitude of Saracens, all armed with drawn-out swords, and a great fire was lit up in that place. They again interrogated the brothers as to whether they wanted to recant what they had said and become Saracens, and in this way, they would avoid death. The brothers answered: 'No, but we announce to you that you should convert to the faith in Christ and be baptised. If you will not do so, you will be children of eternal damnation and will be thrown into the eternal fire where you will burn forever. You are telling us to become Saracens. Know, therefore, that for Christ and for our faith in him we are not afraid neither of death nor of the fire of this earth.' In this way the holy men ridiculed them. When the Saracens who were present heard these words, they were inflamed with anger, and all together they ran towards the brothers (among [the Saracens] the one who could inflict the most cruel torment was regarded as the most blessed), and they hacked them to pieces with their swords in such a way that the brothers did not seem to have any human resemblance. After having done this they threw the brothers in the great fire. However, although their bodies were torn apart in pieces, the fire did not succeed in consuming them all through the day. That crowd stayed in that place to behold the spectacle and they continued to add wood to the fire until night fell, and then they dispersed their ashes and hid their bones, in such

a way that the Christians would not be able to find them.

We think therefore that God wanted to reveal His customary and bountiful goodness as well as His most pious mercy, through this difficult and marvellous episode in this holy city of Jerusalem, for the comfort and consolation of all the faithful Christians, both of those who live here, as well as for the pilgrims who arrive here from all parts of the world. These facts have been written down in a few words, because if I had to write down every single detail, I am afraid that the length of my words will generate boredom in the souls of the readers.

The following venerable pilgrims were present, namely:

Lord John Viscount of the County of Brittany, with his servants.

Lord Thomas, son of the marquess of Saluces, a newly-invested knight, with his servants.

Lord John Barrile, from Naples, a newly-invested knight, with his servants.

John de Due, from France.

John of Ravenna, who lives in Rome.

John Campana, from Genoa.

The Hospitaller of the hospital of Jerusalem, with his servants.

Friars [of the Order of] Minors, twelve in number.

Many other women pilgrims and residents, who saw with their own eyes the martyrdom of these friars.

Alphonse Dominici, from Lisbon.”<sup>19</sup>

The narration begins with the decision, taken on 11 November 1391, on the part of the four Franciscans resident on Mount Zion, to go and preach to the Saracens. It is interesting to note how Chauvet describes the holy martyrs: *ex magna devotione ad sanctam se transtulerunt civitatem Jherusalem, ubi morati sunt in observantia regulari annis pluribus*. The insistence upon the life in *regular observance*, without denoting necessarily that the brothers were all members of the reformed family of the Regular Observance in the Order of friars Minor, sheds light upon the style of life of the Franciscan friars on Mount Zion. It can also be seen as an indication of the future progress that was to take place in the Custody of the Holy Land, particularly after the visitation by Saint John of Capestrano as commissary-visitor, when during the years 1434-1439, during the

pontificate of Eugene IV, the Custody of the Holy Land passed under the direct jurisdiction of the Observants.<sup>20</sup>

The four brothers went on the *Haram al Sharif*, or the noble enclosure of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock. The day was well-chosen, since it was the Muslim feast of *Qurban Bayram* (Feast of the Sacrifice), also known as *Eid el-Adha*, which in that year fell on 8-11 November in the Muslim month of *Dhu al-Hijjah*. The author of the account of the martyrdom calls the mosque *Templum Salomonis*, because it was built on the spot where king Solomon had built the Temple, but also on the same place where, during the Crusader era, the Order of the Temple (Templars) had its headquarters. The brothers were thrown out of the Muslim holy site, but they insisted to have an audience with the Cadi. That was when they pronounced their seemingly irreverent and imprudent speech against the Islamic religion, which made the Cadi and the Saracens there present, furious. We do not know whether the brothers could speak Arabic, and the fact that their parchments contained a speech in Italian and Arabic suggests that they needed interpreters to understand what they were saying. The proceedings of the trial of the four brothers are narrated succinctly by Gerard Chauvet, who was personally summoned by the Cadi, since he was the official superior of the brothers.

The attitude of the Cadi was that of anger, mixed with a sense of disbelief at the audacity of the words used by the four brothers. Indeed, the Cadi considered them out of their minds. He was soon assured, however, of their sane intention, particularly when they insisted that they had not been sent to him by the Pope or any other Christian king, but by the Almighty himself. The attitude of the brothers, although it did not hide any contempt towards Muhammad and his religion, was based upon a sincere intention of converting the Cadi and his subjects to the Christian faith. Such an intention was part and parcel of the mediaeval frame of mind, evident especially during the times of the Crusades, of wanting to win over the infidels to the true faith of Christ for the sake of their own salvation. That is why one can find a basis for the validity of this martyrdom as a result of the commandment of charity. We shall see this interpretation particularly evident in the arguments brought forward by Pope Saint Paul VI in the homily on the occasion of their canonisation.

The place of the martyrdom is indicated generally as the main square, or public place, of the city of Jerusalem. This was not the courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre, as some sources seem to suggest, since this is hardly a square, but just a cloister. The main entrance to mediaeval Jerusalem was found beside the Tower of David, or Citadel, where to this very day there is an open space just inside Jaffa Gate. This was the most probable place where the martyrs could have been killed and where their remains were burned by the Saracen mob.

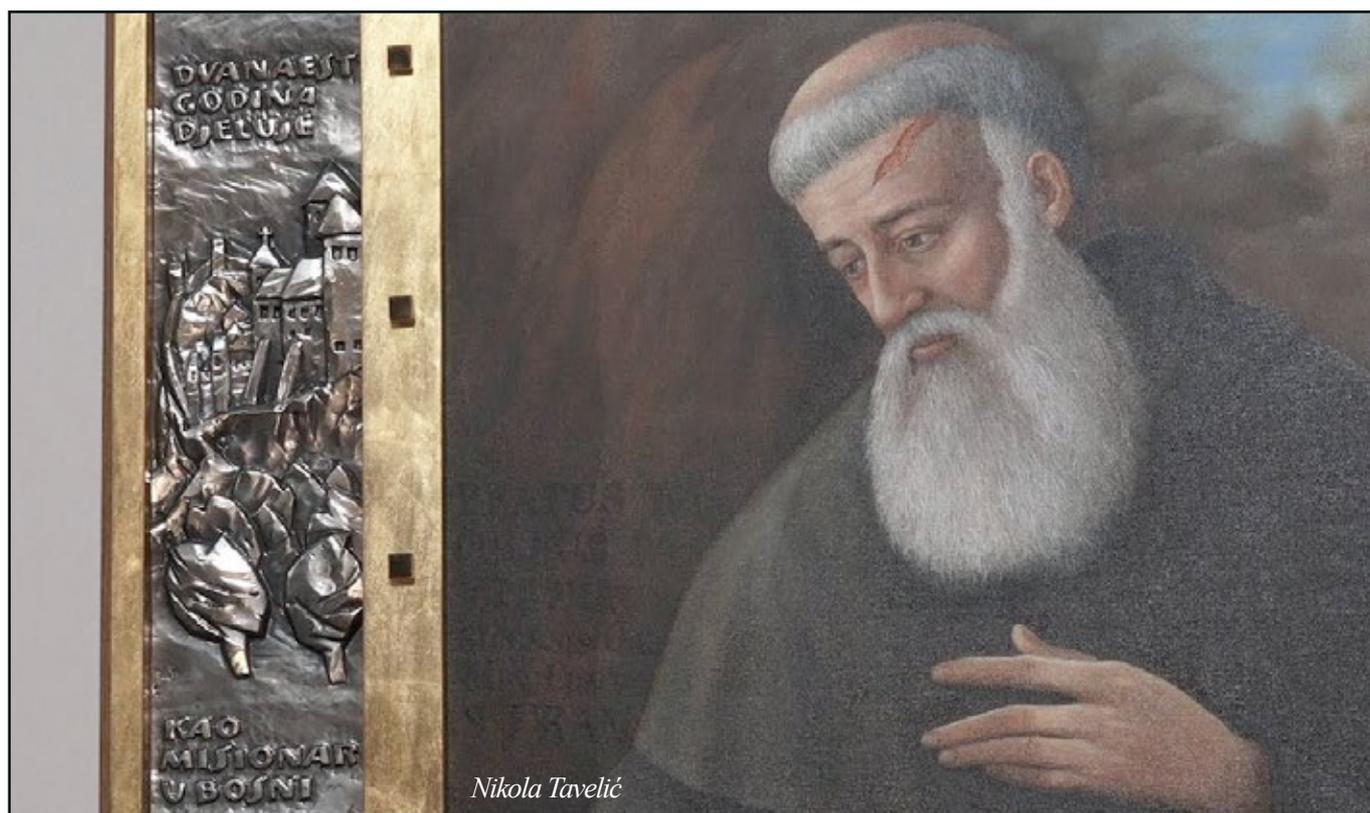
Golubovich also dedicates a section, or appendix, to the study of an anonymous incunabulum that mentions the Franciscan Martyrs of Jerusalem. This incunabulum was discovered by Ferdinand Delorme, one of the Franciscan scholars in the College of St. Bonaventure in Quaracchi (Florence), who had found it in the communal library of Toulouse. The document had as a title: *Tractatus de martyrio sanctorum*. It used to belong to the friary of St. Francis in Toulouse, as seen in a note in Latin that Golubovich copies.<sup>21</sup> The incunabulum speaks about Saint Francis and his desire for martyrdom during his journeys to preach to the Muslims in Morocco and Egypt, and it is a kind of treatise on the theme of martyrdom on the Franciscan Order. The martyrdom of Nikola Tavelić and Companions is recalled in chapter 17, where the author mentions a *cedula*, or document which the brothers read in front of the Cadi of Jerusalem, and of which the author states that a

copy existed in the friary of Mount Zion, where the martyred friars lived.<sup>22</sup>

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### *The Acts of the Process of Canonisation and the confirmation of the cult of Nikola Tavelić*

In 1888 the diocese of Šibenik in Croatia, in the person of bishop Antun Josip Fosco, presented a request to the Congregation of Rites for the confirmation of the cult of Nikola Tavelić, who was a son of the same city in Dalmatia. This confirmation was published on 6 June 1889 for the diocese of Šibenik,<sup>23</sup> and was extended to the Franciscan Order in 1898. Golubovich notes two things that, according to him, needed further rectification. First of all, the request states that the Servant of God Nikola Tavelić was a member of the Order of Minor Conventuals (*Ordo Minorum Conventualium*),<sup>24</sup> which is a historical error, given that in 1391 the Order of friars Minor was not yet officially divided between the Conventual and Regular Observance families. If Nikola Tavelić belonged to the *Communitas Ordinis*, or the family of the Order, in the sense that he was a member of the non-reformed branch of the Order, still present in the Holy Land until 1439, then one can understand why he can be considered to be a



“Conventual” friar. The second flaw regarding the request for the confirmation of the cult regards the fact that the other companions of Tavelić were not included in the official petition of the diocese of Šibenik. It was only later that the Order of Friars Minor, in 1898, requested the canonisation of all the four brothers together.<sup>25</sup>

In 1889 Pope Leo XIII confirmed the cult of Nikola Tavelić alone, for the part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that was to be known as Yugoslavia after 1918. In 1961 the martyrdom of the four Franciscans was again object of study by the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, in view of the canonisation.<sup>26</sup> The result of the work was confirmed by Pope Saint John XXIII in 1963. In 1966 Paul VI approved the cult of the other Companions of Tavelić and in 1967 the feast of the Blessed Martyrs was extended to the entire Franciscan Order, to be celebrated on 17 November,<sup>27</sup> even though the *Martyrologium Franciscanum* always commemorated them on their *dies natalis*, namely, 14 November.

The publication of the final document of the canonisation of the Franciscan Martyrs of Jerusalem was ordered by Pope Paul VI on the same day of the canonisation ceremony, as a fitting conclusion to the long period of canonical processes and acts confirming the *ab immemorabili* cult of the Nikola Tavelić and his Companions.<sup>28</sup>

In Croatia the oldest church which commemorates Nikola Tavelić is the Crkva Sveti Frane, or Church of Saint Francis, overlooking Gradski Park in Šibenik. This Franciscan church, belonging to the Conventual Friars Minor, was built during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Gothic style. It consists of a single nave and above the carved wooden doors it has the remains of mediaeval frescoes. A chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross was added in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the church has an organ built in 1762 by the Croatian organ builder Petar Nakić. On the inside, the church was converted to a Baroque style, especially its painted wooden ceiling, dated 1674. The altar dedicated to Nikola Tavelić is found on the left side of the main altar, and commemorates this worthy citizen of Šibenik, who became the first Croatian saint. The paintings on the side altars are the work of different Venetian artists of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Franciscan friary has a precious collection of works of art and ancient manuscripts, among which a 1375 Croatian manuscript known as the “Šibenik prayer.” This church can be considered

as the birthplace of the cult towards Nikola Tavelić in Croatia.<sup>29</sup>

In the Holy Land the cult of Saints Nikola Tavelić and Companions is not marked by any particular shrine or altar dedicated to the martyrs. The place of the martyrdom has always been indicated as being the square inside Jaffa Gate, close to the Tower of David or Citadel. The only historical reminder of the Franciscan martyrs is the small cloister below the Cenacle, close to the place where Jews venerate the Tomb of David. This cloister, plus some adjacent buildings, mark the mediaeval friary of the Franciscans, built by them by Queen Sancia of Majorca in 1335, where the Franciscan martyrs lived during their stay in Jerusalem.

In the Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth, on the left-hand side looking towards the high altar of the upper Basilica, there is an altar dedicated to Saint Francis and to the Franciscan saints and missionaries of the Holy Land, particularly the martyrs of the Custody. The altar commemorates all the saints in a general way, including, of course, Saints Nikola Tavelić and Companions.

In more recent times an altar was dedicated to Saints Nikola Tavelić and his Companions in the chapel of the Apostolic Delegation in Jerusalem. This altar, with a bronze bas-relief of the martyrs, was dedicated by the Bishop Coadjutor of Zagreb (later Archbishop Cardinal of Zagreb), Blessed Alojzije Stepinac, on 25 July 1937, during a Croatian national pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>30</sup> At that time the edifice was a house for Slav religious. In 1948 the Vatican acquired it as the seat of the Apostolic Delegate for Palestine, Transjordan and Cyprus, when Pius XII instituted the Apostolic Delegation in Jerusalem with the Brief *Supremi Pastoris* (11 February 1948).<sup>31</sup>

A small chapel dedicated to the Croatian Saints will be built in the Sanctuary of the Shepherds Field in Bethlehem, and will certainly include a fitting reminder to Nikola Tavelić, who hailed from what is nowadays modern Croatia.<sup>32</sup> A statue of the Franciscan Saints is also planned to be placed in the garden of the Franciscan Friary of San Francesco *ad Coenaculum*, on Mount Zion, close to the original friary where Nikola Tavelić and his Companions lived. The statue is the work of a Croatian artist, and has been commissioned on the initiative of the Friars Minor Conventuals of Šibenik in the name of the Custody of the Holy Land.

## *The homily of Pope Saint Paul VI in the canonisation of Tavelić and Companions*

The homily pronounced by Paul VI on the occasion of the canonisation of Saints Nikola Tavelić and Companions<sup>33</sup> is an erudite reflection on the significance of the voluntary martyrdom of these friars Minor, who offered their lives for Christ in a way that is nowadays considered to be too rash or imprudent. Nevertheless, the Pope shows that voluntary martyrdom is not something new in the history of the Church, and he explains its significance. We here quote parts of his homily.

“Behold, we have recognised the glory of holiness to Nikola Tavelić of Šibenik in Croatia, and to his companions Adeodat ‘de Euticinio’, of the Province of Aquitaine, Peter of Narbonne, of the Province of Provence and Stefano da Cuneo, of the Province of Genoa, all brothers of the Religious Family of the Friars Minor of Saint Francis. [Tavelić] was already venerated before the others with the title of Blessed (1881), and was no less competent than the other companions in sharing the vocation and the heroic destiny of martyrdom, on 14 November 1391 (during the time of Pope Boniface IX, Tomacelli, during the Western Schism). [...]

We are particularly happy of having been able to proclaim the holiness of these martyrs of the faith, and of having confirmed in front of the entire Church the cult, which has been attributed to them ever since the time of their tragic and blessed death, in a special way to Nikola Tavelić, thanks to his fellow citizens of Šibenik and of his fellow countrymen, who always conserved a faithful memory of him, which they surrounded with piety and honour. In this way we have completed a desire which has been nurtured so strongly for such a long time.

Five centuries have passed since the martyrdom of Nikola Tavelić and his Companions. The spontaneous question presents itself: how come the Church has taken so long to canonise their heroic virtue? The study of the circumstances in which their martyrdom was consumed, in which their memory was passed on, in what way the cult of Blessed Nikola was authorised in practice and

according to law, and how the examination of his cause [of canonisation] was re-examined, can give us an answer to this obvious question. However, it is a complex study, a study which presents a characteristic aspect, which cannot be easily interpreted. History tells us that Nikola Tavelić and his Companions were voluntary martyrs, who, rather than undergoing a horrendous agony inflicted upon them, exposed themselves willingly to it.

We have to go with our imagination to Jerusalem, during the time of Muslim occupation, at a moment of relative ceasefire, given that the Franciscans could reside in the city. The four Brothers, protagonists of the tragic missionary adventure, were moved by a double intention: that of preaching the Christian Faith by courageously confronting the religion of Muhammad, certainly not in a cautious or wise manner; and that of challenging and of provoking the risk of sacrificing their own lives. Can we say that this is true martyrdom? A great doctor in this matter, namely Pope Benedict XIV, in his masterly work *De servorum dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, had presented the problem with the aim of solving it, in conformity with the usual doctrine, in a negative way: if a martyrdom is intentionally provoked, it is not true martyrdom. Pope Lambertini, famous for his spicy quips, warns us that one should not rouse a sleeping dog.

In this way we are faced with a number of problems. Does not the historical tradition of the Church boast of other figures of voluntary martyrs? Did not Saint Ignatius of Antioch, this most enlightening figure of a martyr at the beginning of the second century, plead with the Christians of Rome not to impede his foreseen martyrdom? [...]

For our case we have a text, which is maybe decisive in order to explain the psychology of Tavelić and his Companions. This passage is taken from the same Rule of Saint Francis. It is worthwhile to recall it: ‘As for the brothers who go, they can live spiritually among the Saracens and nonbelievers in two ways. One way is not to engage in arguments or disputes but to be subject to every human creature for God’s sake (1Pt 2:13) and to acknowledge that they are Christians. The other way is to announce the Word of God, when they see it pleases the Lord, in order that they may believe in almighty God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Creator of all, the Son, the Redeemer and Saviour, and be baptised and become Christians. Let all my brothers remember

that they have given themselves and abandoned their bodies to the Lord Jesus Christ. For love of Him, they must make themselves vulnerable to their enemies, both visible and invisible, because the Lord says: *Whoever loses his life because of me will save it in eternal life* (Lk 9:4)' (*Regula prima*, c. XVI). The first method was chosen by Saint Francis himself in his journey to Palestine in 1219; although he also *per la sete del martirio, nella presenza del Soldan superbo, predicò Cristo* (Dante, *Paradiso* XI, 100). The second way was the one followed by his fearless disciples, Saints Nikola Tavelić and Companions. [...]

Martyrdom, as we know, means witness, namely a subjective and objective affirmation of the faith. It is a subjective affirmation, since with it the martyr gives witness to his own belief, which identifies itself with his own personality, with the certainty that he possesses, and which he can in no way betray. It is objective, because with such an affirmation the martyr wants to proclaim Christ, he wants to prove that Christ is the truth, and that this truth is more precious than his own life; it is at the summit of whatever exists, of whatever presses upon human preoccupations, of whatever saves. Thus, it becomes the reason for credibility. It acquires a missionary fecundity: *Semen est sanguis christianorum* (Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, c. 50).

At the same time martyrdom is an absolute demonstration of love. Jesus has said: *Greater love has no one than this: to lay down one's life for one's friends* (Cfr. Jn 15:13). That is why the Angelic Doctor comments that martyrdom *demonstrat perfectionem caritatis*, is the demonstration of perfect charity. Therefore, martyrdom also possesses the voluntary element of human action to the greatest degree, namely courage, fortitude, heroism, sacrifice. It represents the dynamic and tragic aspect of the Gospel: *Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven* (Mt 5:10).

Saints Nikola Tavelić and Companions. We remember them today. Their memory becomes ever present. We look at what they did. History becomes our teacher. It proposes a confrontation between these far-away figures of idealist, imprudent friars, who were, however, exalted by a positive love that drew them towards Christ and who were persuaded of the missionary necessity proper to the faith, namely that of martyrs; and our modern mentality, which under the cloak of an

scepticism which evolves, hides a comfortable and compromising cowardice, and which, deprived of superior and interior principles, finds logic in conforming itself to current ideas, to a psychology which is the result of a collective alienation in the search for and in the service of temporal goods alone. We feel in ourselves a kind of uncomfortable sentiment: at the same time, we feel distant from those champions of the faith, and we also feel that they are close to us. They are not anachronistic figures who are unreal to us: on the other hand, they have much to say to us, and they practically scold us for our uncertainty, or our easy fickleness, for our relativism, which at times prefers fashion to faith. These saints are at the same time far away from us and close to us, and we feel that they warn and exhort us with similar words to those which we, some days ago, have uttered: we need to have the courage of the truth! Christian courage.

A second sentiment follows the first one with an embarrassing question: does this mean that we have to embitter the dissents with which society surrounds us? Do we have to attack with polemics and disputes, which break our relations with our time and enlarge the difficulties of our apostolic presence in the world? Is this the example that we should gather from these valorous Saints who are canonised today? No; we do not believe it to be so. If we read their history and especially their persons in a profound way, we see that it was not a spirit of enmity that drove them to martyrdom. It was rather a spirit of love, of naïve love, if you will, and of crazy hope; it was a mistaken calculation, but it was mistaken because of their desire to be of profit and to lead to spiritual salvation those same persons who they provoked to inflict upon them the terrible repression of martyrdom. This is an important detail. It is important for the world of our so-called western civilisation; the Council teaches us so. It is important also for that Islamic world, in which the tragedy of Saints Nikola Tavelić and his Companions unfolded and was consumed. They did not hate the Muslim world; indeed, in their own way, they loved it. And they certainly love it still, and they nearly personify in their story the Christian yearning for the same Islamic world, that the history of our days is making us know better still, thus strengthening the hope of best relations between the Catholic Church and Islam. Was it not the Council who exhorted us *to forget the past and to sincerely work in favour of mutual understanding, as well as to defend and promote*

together, and for all mankind, social justice, moral values, peace and freedom? (Decree *Nostra Aetate*, n. 3).

These are sentiments that lead us to celebrate the Lord in his new Saints, to inspire our life with their example, to invoke for the Church, for Croatia, for the Countries of origin of these martyrs, for the entire Franciscan family and for all the world their celestial protection.”

The canonisation of Nikola Tavelić of Šibenik, Adeodat Aribert of Rodez, Pierre of Narbonne, and Stefano of Cuneo was an occasion in which the Catholic Church expressed its openness to inter-religious dialogue in the post-Vatican Council II era that saw a surge in the Church’s commitment to ecumenism and to dialogue with non-Christians, particularly with the Jewish and Islamic faiths. When one thinks at how the world has evolved since 1970, one is inclined to think that the canonisation of the Franciscan Martyrs of Jerusalem would not have been possible today. Yet, the words of Pope Saint Paul VI in the homily we have just quoted, show an openness never before expressed in the history of the Christianity, or rather, a sincere desire to come to terms with the balance between spreading the Gospel in the commitment of missionary evangelisation, and respecting all faiths and religions as being signs of

God’s presence in the hearts of all men and women of good will.

It is very easy to dismiss the action of Tavelić and his Companions as rash and imprudent to the point of appearing to be even derisive of the Islamic religion. In the last half century since the canonisation ceremony, the spread of Islamic fundamentalism has been accompanied by a growing sense of uneasiness among many well-intentioned persons who would otherwise be very open-minded. Maybe the indifferent attitude to the spiritual realm in western society has led to a kind of syncretistic society, or an indifferent society that does not differentiate between truth and falsehood, between values and non-values. It has often been said that religious fundamentalism does not exist, but that fundamentalism is rather the result of political trends and selfish economic interests that make use of religious differences to destroy any kind of initiative towards peace and decent human co-existence. This may partly be true, but a thorny problem remains unsolved. It is the same problem faced by our martyrs more than 600 years ago.

Is truth to be defended to the point of giving one’s life for it? Can a Christian invite a Muslim to accept the one and only truth, which is the truth of the Gospel? And if he does so, must he not also accept to die for the sake of truth? Our methodology has changed, thankfully, for the better. We are certainly far from being militant crusaders of the faith. Tavelić and his brothers in spiritual arms did precisely this: they behaved like militant crusaders, not by brandishing swords, but by preaching fiery words to the Muslims of Jerusalem. Paul VI states that the martyrs understood that they had to do so out of charity towards their own opponents. They were convinced that they were instruments of God to bring about the salvation of those who were considered to be “Saracens and nonbelievers”. Let us remember, that this expression is used by Saint Francis himself in the *Regula non bullata* of 1221 and in the *Regula bullata* of 1223.

The issue of preaching the Gospel among “Saracens and other nonbelievers” has been at the forefront of all forms of missionary evangelisation on the part of the Franciscan Order during its long history. The 2019 celebrations of the 800 years since Francis went to Damietta during the Fifth Crusade and met the Sultan of Egypt, al-Mālik al-Kāmil were an occasion to reflect upon the commitment towards peace and inter-religious dialogue. This praiseworthy achievement on the part of Saint



Saint Francis Church, Šibenik

Francis and his brothers, however, cannot be fully understood without a similar reflection upon their zeal for preaching Christ and for winning over new disciples to Christ. Unfortunately, not enough has been stated regarding this last aspect of Franciscan missionary evangelisation. Thus, we tend to present only a partial picture of what was, in truth, the *intentio Francisci* regarding the brothers sent among “Saracens and other nonbelievers.”

Missionary evangelisation and martyrdom are very much linked in the Franciscan tradition.<sup>34</sup> We can just mention the example of the famous intellectual from Majorca, Ramon Llull, the *Doctor Illuminatus*, who dedicated his life to the theme of dialogue with Islam, with the aim of forming missionaries to go among the Saracens. He himself embarked upon the dangerous adventure that led him to his martyrdom in Bougie in 1315, when he was 82 years old (he was born c. 1232). The figure of this great intellectual and Franciscan penitent was to have profound repercussions upon the Franciscan notion of martyrdom, and maybe could have been a source of inspiration to the later missionary work of the Franciscans among the Saracens in the region of the Middle East and North Africa.<sup>35</sup>

The martyrdom of Nikola Tavelić and his Companions, and their belated canonisation 50 years ago, constitute a unique occasion for reflection upon the methodology of Franciscan missionary evangelisation as seen within the historical perspective in which it was accomplished. The motives explained by Paul VI in his homily might sound out of place in the face of today’s mentality of mutual respect and tolerance in matters of religion. One wonders, however, whether this contemporary mentality is truly tolerant of Christianity, and whether we Christians are ready to come to terms with our commitment to preach Christ and his Gospel to all men, according to the apostolic mandate we have all received. If we fail to do so, we would be in a position to judge Tavelić and his confreres, but only because we prefer to live a comfortable style of Christianity that goes radically against the Gospel and against the way Saint Francis himself understood his Gospel calling.

## NOTES

1 N. KLIMAS, *La Custodia di Terra Santa alla fine del XIV ed all’inizio del XV secolo*, in *Sv. Nikola Tavelić. Zbornik*

*Radova Četvrtog, Međunarodnog, Znanstvenog Skupa «Franjevački Velikani» o Sv. Nikoli Taveliću*, ed. D. Patafta, V.N. Kovač (Šibenik, 20-21 November 2017), Katolički bogoslovni fakultet Veritas Brat Franjo, Zagreb, 2019.

- 2 G. GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Francese*, Tomo V [1346-1400], Collegio S. Bonaventura, Quaracchi, 1927, sezione 232, pp. 282-297.
- 3 MARIANUS DE FLORENTIA, *Compendium chronicarum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, ed. P.T. Domenichelli, in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 2 (1909), 92.
- 4 MARCOS DE LISBOA, *Cronicas de la Orden de los Fayles Menores*, Alcalá, 1562. Our text is quoted from, MARCO DA LISBONA, *Delle Croniche dei Frati Minori del Serafico P. S. Francesco*, Venezia, 1598, Terza Parte. Libro Primo, cap. 9, p. 8. The title of the section is: *Come furono martirizzati quattro Frati Minori Osservanti per la confessione della fede Cattolica. Cap. IX*: “In quello tempo nella Città Santa di Gierusalemme Fra Nicolo de Taulici da Sibenico, fra Donato da Rucicinio della Provincia d’Aquitania, fra Pietro di Narbona della Provincia di San Luigi, compagno, e discepolo di fra Paolo, padre della famiglia degli Osservanti, e fra Stefano de Tuneli della Vicaria di Corsica, tutti huomini zelosi della Catolica fede, e della loro professione riceverono il glorioso martirio nel modo che segue. Mossi questi buoni Padri dal gran zelo della fede, andarono avanti al Cadi, o Governator un giorno, che i Mori facevano una gran solennità nel Tempio di Salomone, c’hora è una Moschea, dove ve n’erano uniti circa trenta mila, e quivi intrepidamente predicarono la fede di Christo, condanando la falsa legge di Maometto, di che isdegnati i Mori li percosero crudelmente, et in modo che restarono come mezi morti, e così mal trattati firono reserrati in una oscura prigione senza darli ne mangiare, ne bere per tre giorni: nel qual tempo furono miracolosamente sostenuti di celesti cibo, e trovandoli i Mori il terzo giorno costanti, e fermi in quello predicato havevano, li condussero in piazza, e quivi con le spade gli amazzarono, e li tagliarono in pezzi alli 11 Novembre, 1391, onde con la gloria del martirio passarono al celeste Regno: I Mori volendo abbruciare quei santi corpi, li gettarono sopra un gran fuoco due volte; ma per virtù divina semper s’estinse: la terza volta mettendo gran quantità di legna sopra i corpi loro, e accesovi il fuoco per tre giorni glielo mantennero, i quali finiti, tovarono i santi Martiri intieri, senza che li vedesse in loro segno alcuno di fuoco: veduto dai Mori così gran miracolo tutti confusi, benche non si convertissero, sepolirono quei corpi segretamente, accioche i Christiani non li pigliassero, et honorassero, e riuscissero come santi Martiri.” The date 11 November 1391 should be corrected to 14 November.
- 5 PETRUS RIDOLPHIUS A TOSSIGNANO, *Historiarum Seraphicæ Religionis Libri Tres*, Venetiis, 1586, 98: “B. Deodatus de Rucicinio provincie Aquitanie, F. Nicolaus à Sebenico Dalmata, qui annos duodecim morati sunt in Vicaria Bosne, deinde additis duobus alijs sociis F. Petro Narbonensi, et F. Stephano Genuensi, hi diu cogitantes quomodo salvarent proprias animas, adhibito consilio magistris Ioannis de Notho, et magistris Ioannis de Casali, profecti sunt in civitatem Hierusalem anno 1391, die

mensis Novembris in festo Sancti Martini circa horam tertiam, quod diu mente conceperat, tandem ordinato processu ad lucem protulere, postquam pervenerunt Hierusalem, volentes ingredi templum Salomonis non sunt permisi, interrogati quid quærent, unanimes responderunt, Volumus loqui cum vestro Cadi Pontifice de salute animarum vestrarum; at illi dixerunt, Venite nobiscum, ducemus vos domum Cadi: tunc coram eo astantes protulerunt quasdam pagellas litteris Latinis et Arabicis conscriptas, quæ hanc unam sententiam continebant, videlicet, legem Maomethis esse pessimam, et legem perditionis, ut potè quæ docet plures licere habere uxores, ideo religio vestra est mentita, nec ista frequenter salvari potestis. Tunc Cadi vocato Guardiano montis Syon, et duobus alijs, dixit: Vos estis insipientes, et omni stultitia pleni, nisi revocetis quæ nunc temerè protulistis, cui Sancti dixerunt: Potius parati sumus vincula, et carceres, et mortem ipsam subire, quam ne nimiam quidem verbum eorum, quæ diximus, revocare. Tunc Cadi morti eos adjuicavit, sed prius bene percussos pugnis et verberibus in vincula detrusit, ubi fecit eos flagellari, et acrius cedi, nudosque ad stipites ligari, sicque manserunt tres dies: quibus transactis multitudo civitatis acclamabat, ut isti Fratres interficerentur, qui suo prophete detraxerant. Itaque parato ingenti igne in medio foro, rursus interrogati an vellent esse Saraceni, dixerunt, quod non, tunc armati milites, qui illic adstant, trucidare cœperunt eorum corpora, eaque sic dilaniata igne concremere, sed igne deficiente corpora divinitus incombusta, illæsaque remanserunt, quamvis Saraceni quærent ut ad ignotum esset, lateretque Christianos passi sunt autem die xiiij mensis Novembris anno 1392. Quo die celebrantur eorum festum ad honorem Dei, Beati Virginis, et B. Patris Francisci, quibus honor et gloria.”

The year 1392 should read 1391.

- 6 LUKE WADDING, *Annales Minorum*, ad an. 1391, n. 1, Tomus IX, 100: “Passi sunt hoc anno Hierosolymis gloriosum martyrium quatuor invicti Christianæ fidei pugiles, frater Nicolaus de Taulicis a Sibinico, frater Donatus de Rusicinio provincie Aquitanie, frater Petrus Narbonensis socius beati Paulutii Fulginatis, ut superius diximus, et frater Stephanus de Lanich Vicarie Corsicanæ. Zelo fidei, et fervore spiritus agitati abierunt in Templum, seu Mesquitam Sarracenorum, ubi coram Cadi, et innumero populo Christi fidem prædicare, et Mahometis insanias detestari cœperunt. Irruit in eos populus tumultuarie, et verberibus, injuriisque affectos semivivos in carcere absque cibo et potu biduo detinuerunt. Tertia die in medium producti, interrogantur, an ea quæ dixerant in Mahometem, revocare, an vero in sententia perseverare vellent. Intrepidus, et constanter respondentibus ea rata se habere, et plura in dictorum confirmationem adjicere velle, multa inflixerunt rabidi Sarraceni vulnera, et fladiis securibusque minutim corpora ceciderunt III. Idus Novembris. Eorum corpora in rogum bis projecta extinxerunt impetum ignis, et tertio imposita ingenti pyræ, injectaque desuper magna strue lignorum, remanserunt intacta et illæsa, quantumvis per triduum laboraverint Sarraceni in cinerem redigere. Tandem casso, et irrita opere secreto loco sepelierunt, ne invenirentur, et veneratione haberentur a Christianis.”
- 7 ANTONIO MELISSANO DE MACRO, *Annalium Ordinis Minorum Supplementa*, Augustæ Taurinorum

(Turin), 1710, 246: “*Beatorum Martyrum Donati, Nicolai, Petri, et Stephani Martyrum in Palestina enarratur.* Beatorum Donati de Rusicinio Provincie Aquitanie, et Sociorum Nicolai de Taulicis, Petri Narbonensis, et Stephani de Lanich Martyrum, passio gloriosa hunc annum illustrat: Hi Religionis Christianæ, et animarum lucrandarum zelo compulsi, patrijs fedibus relictis in Palestinæ oras transmigravere, Jerosolymamque ingressi, et in publicum procedentes, Templum Salomonis, Turcarum superstitioni deserviens, adierunt, ingenti animi fortitudine, et constantia, Christi fidem audacter prædicantes, Mahumeti sectam exprobrantes, eam ut falsam, iniustam, et impiam coram populo damnarunt: quamobrem ita, et furore percitis a Saracenis, Mauris, ac Turcis, qui ad solemnitatem convenerant, pluribus plagis crudeliter valuparunt: subinde in tritum carcerem semivivi detrusi, sine cibo et potu per triduum remanserunt: exinde extracti et rigido examine tentati, cum in confessione Christianæ fidei et detestatione Mahumetice sectæ constantes experirentur et fortes, parati sanguine proprio testificari veritati, sententiam mortis animo lubenti exceperunt: proinde in plateam Civitatis adducti, gladijs impiorum animadversi, in frusta discerpti fuere die 11 Novembris an. 1391. Eorum corpora Mahumetani semel et iterum proiecerunt in ignem; sed nihil læsa, struem lignorum super ipsis componentes, ac triduo semper augentes, ut citius redigerentur in cineres, perperam ignem foverunt; etenim mira Dei virtute integra remansere. Agit de ipsis Marcus Ulyssiponensis, eosque vocat BB. Nicolaum de Taulicis, Donatum de Rusicinio Provincie Aquitanie, Petrum Narbonensem Provincie S. Ludovici, Socium ac discipulum B. Pauli de Trincis, et Stephanus de Tunellis Provincie Corsicæ: Algezira idem in arbore epilogica refert.”

- 8 ARTHUR DU MONSTIER, *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, Parisiis, 1638, 517: “Tertio Idus Novembris (11 November). Hierosolymis, Passio Beatorum Martyrum, Nicolai, Donati, Petri et Stephani, qui ob liberam Christi prædicationem, et sectæ Mahumeticæ impugnationem: primo alapis et pugnis ac fustibus cæsi, dehinc in carcere, fame et siti macerati; postea in plateam civitatis deducti, gladiis trucidati sunt, et in frusta discerpti: quorum reliquiæ tertio in ignem proiectæ, sed toties illæsa, atque integræ permanserunt.”
- 9 FRANCISCUS QUARESMIUS, *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, Antverpiæ, 1639, Tomus II, Lib. IV, Peregrinationis II, Cap. 5, pp. 54-57. “De aliquibus Fratribus Minoritis, qui in Sancta Ierusalem civitate sanguinem pro Christo fuderunt.” The full account of the martyrdom is found in page 55: “Anno Domini 1391, die 11 Novembris quatuor Fratres Minores martyrij corona decorati fuerunt Jerosolymis. Primus appellabatur Fr. Nicolaus de Taulicis a Sebenico; secundus Fr. Donatus a Raticinico Provincie Aquitanie; tertius Fr. Petrus a Narbona Provincie S. Ludovici, socius et discipulus Fr. Pauli, qui Minoritanæ observentie principium dedit, et quartus Fr. Stephanus de Tunelo Vicarie Corsicæ. Isti cum essent in sancta civitate zelo animarum succensi, quas perire videbant defectu Catholicæ fidei, ut eas ad viam salutis dirigerent, et ad creatorem et Salvatorem Iesum Christum adducerent, allaborabant. Itaque quodam die, Mahometistis admodum solemnibus, ingressi sunt illorum maiorem Mesquitam, quæ templum Salomonis appellatur, quoniam ædificata est

ubi quondam exstructum erat Salomonicum templum, ubi aderant Gubernator, Cadius civitatis, id est, is ad quem spectat iudicare de causis spiritualibus, cum aliis fere triginta millibus Mahometanis, et fortiter viriliterque Spiritu Sancto succensi, impuram Mahometis sectam damnarunt, et Christianam fidem ad salutem necessariam esse prædicarunt. Indigne hoc ferentes Mahometani, in fervos Dei impetum fecerunt, graviterque vulneratos eos et semimortuos in obscurum carcerem coniecerunt, ubi absque cibo et potu tribus diebus manserunt. Quos cum post triduum a Deo conservatos, et in sua fide constantes reperissent Mahometistæ, in forum ad supplicij locum, id est, ante templum Resurrectionis Domini perductos, ut ego arbitror, gladiis occiderunt et in frustra dissecurerunt: qui hunc in modum corona martyrij donari, ex terrestri ad cælestem Ierusalem evolarunt. Corpora illorum cum semel et iterum in accensum rogam inieci fuissent a Mauris, divina virtute a combustionem præservata esse inventa sunt. Tertio tandem magna strues lignorum iisdem imposita, et accensa fuit, quando iterum post tres dies (tot nimirum duravit ignis ille) illæsa irruentia fuere. Quo prodigio obstupefacti quidem, ut solent, sed non conversi Saraceni, clam corpora illa sepelierunt, ne Christiani ea sussurarentur, et ut sanctorum Martyrum Reliquias venerentur.” Quaresmio wrongly states that the friars suffered martyrdom on 11 November 1391, whereas they were martyred on 14 November. He also states that they were executed in the courtyard in front of the Holy Sepulchre Basilica, whereas the place of martyrdom was close to what is today Jaffa Gate.

- 10 JUAN DE CALAHORRA, *Chronica de la provincia de Syria, y Tierra Santa de Gervsalen: contiene los progressos, que en ella ha hecho la religion serafica, desde el año 1219 hasta el de 1632*, Madrid, 1684, Lib. III, cap. 18.
- 11 JOÃO BAPTISTA DE S. ANTONIO, *Paraiso Serafico, plantado nos Santos Lugares da Redempçaõ*, Lisboa, 1741, Tom. III, Lib. I, Cap. 27, 116-119.
- 12 MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, Roma, 1860, Vol. IV, 341-344.
- 13 D. FABIANICH, *Storia dei Frati Minori dai promordi della loro istituzione in Dalmazia e Bosnia*, Parte Prima, Vol. I, Zara, 1863, 140-142: “Giovò molto ad accendere gli animi a quest’opera benefica lo zelo di frate Nicolò dell’illustre famiglia Tavileo di Sibenico. Partito questi nel 1379 per Bossina onde prender parte alle fatiche de’ suoi confratelli, v’attese per dodici anni, fino all’arrivo di frate Donato da Rusticio, inviato colà dal Ministro generale a capo di dodici altri compagni. Si unì a questi, e guidatili per ogni verso di quelle terre, nel novantuno si diresse seco loro nella Palestina a fine di conseguire la palma del martirio, a cui anelava fino dal primo suo ingresso nella Bossina. Comparve, scrive l’autore delle missioni francescane, con Donato da Perpignano, Pietro da Narbona e Stefano da Lanich della Vicaria di Corsica, alle porte della moschea turca, una volta tempio di Salomone, mentre gl’infedeli erano occupati nella preghiera. Se non che, al primo presentarsi che fecero, i custodi del tempio ne gli respinsero dicendo: che avete a fare voi nella moschea, i quali non siete maomettani? Ma questi francamente si fecero a rispondere, se avere dire cosa di alto momento al Cadi; onde non poter impedirgli l’entrata. Di che i custodi forte sdegnati, gli afferrarono e

trasserli difilato alla presenza del giudice della loro legge; al quale per ciò ebbero comodità di porgere un foglio, scrittavi entro in lingua latina e araba questa sentenza: la legge di Maometto essere pessima, e oscena la sua religione; onde andar eternalmente perduto chiunque vi si attenesse. E in tal modo fecero intendere il fine, per cui cercato avevano di entrare nel tempio. Il Cadi pertanto talmente soprappreso, n’avvampò di subito furore, sì che per poco non li fece all’istante medesimo trucidare. Ma tornato in sé, avvisò questa propizia occasione da provare ai principi d’Occidente, i quali eransi richiamati al Sultano del Cairo delle continue vessazioni, che dà suoi ministri venivano senza posa fatte sopportare a’ frati Minori in Gerusalemme, non veramente dal mal talento ciò avvenire, o avidità di danaro, che fosse ne’ seguaci di Maometto, si piuttosto dalla insolenza di que’ frati, che mai non si ristavano dall’insultare pubblicamente al gran profeta e ai suoi seguaci. Onde mandò immantinente per il guardiano di Monte Sion e due suoi compagni; i quali avuti alla presenza, e chiarito loro il fatto de’ missionarii, che eransi osati penetrare dentro la moschea, maledicendo a Maometto, così volto a questi, si fece a rampagnarli: ‘Scellerati e stolti che siete! da chi mai riceveste voi potestà di talmente bestemmiare contra al santo nostro profeta? Deh! cessi una volta simigliante oltracotanza! O voi dunque disdite in su questo punto quel che testè affermaste, o disponete l’anima a crudel morte, preparata con ogni genere di raffinato martirio!’ Qual cosa rispondesse il guardiano di Monte Sion al Cadi, la storia non narra: ma quanto ai missionarii, punto atterriti a quelle minacce, apposero in questa mite sentenza: ‘E che! Credi noi, o Cadi, forsennati, i quali seguitiamo il lume dell’eterno evangelio del Figliuolo di Dio? Ahime! che tu piuttosto versi in folte tenebre di errore, perchè ricusando di ricevere la vita, n’andrai a penare miseramente fra i tormenti dell’abisso! Noi camminando nella luce, sappiamo a qual fine s’indirizza il vostro cammino, onde sostenuti dalla divina misericordia non possiamo fallare: come dunque disdiremo quel che affermammo? Anzi siamo pronti a suggellarne la verità col sangue!’ Le quali parole, anzi che operare alcun buon frutto nell’animo del Cadi, talmente lo mossero a furore, che senza più consegnarli a’ carnefici da cruciarli col ferro e col fuoco, come meglio lor dettasse ferocia. Onde trattili con le mani legate a tergo, in tetra prigionia, in prima non nodorosi flagelli in tutto il corpo gli straziarono; dipoi affisi alla soglia della carcere, consentirono per tre dì a chi si fosse, il metterli in dilegio, e punzecchiarli come meglio venisse a talento; finché il popolo domandone ad alta voce la morte. Acceso un gran fuoco nel mezzo della piazza, dopo averli nuovamente interrogati se volessero rinnegare Cristo, a cui costantemente ripugnarono, sgozzati, ne gittarono in quello ad ardere i cadaveri. Ma introvenne che per prodigio il cielo, quelle fiamme nè anche li toccarono: sicché i cristiani con religioso sentimento raccoltili, furono solleciti di alluogarli in custodia, dove più non avessero a patire insulti dai nemici nel nome cristiano.”

- 14 Among the various studies we include the following: A. CRNICA, *Historico-iuridica dilucidatio vite, martyrii et gloriæ B. Nicolai Tavelic: incliti martyris ordinis minorum splendoris et protectoris gentis croatorum, canonizationi eius aequipollenti dicata recurrente triplici anniversario a diffusione cultus eius et gloriæ*, Roma, 1958; D.

- MANDIĆ, *Documenta martyrii B. Nicolai Tavelić et sociorum eius Ord. Min.*, Roma, 1958; B. PANDŽIĆ, *Chronologia B. Nicolai Tavelić*, in *Antonianum* 37 (1962), 140-144; A. MATANIĆ, *De Martyrio B. Nicolai Tavelić et sociorum apographon "Relationis Sibenicensis" ex anno 1636*, in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 56 (1963), 174-181; A. GHINATO, *Fiamme a Gerusalemme: vita et martirio di S. Nicolò Tavelić e compagni francescani della Custodia di Terra Santa*, Roma, 1970; S. Nicola Tavelić e compagni: *quaderno commemorativo in occasione della canonizzazione dei primi Santi della Custodia francescana di Terra Santa*, Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1970 (Quaderni di "La Terra Santa"); Y. IVONIDES, *Nicola Tavelić da Selenico e compagni martiri*, Edizioni Agiografiche, Roma, 1970; D. LASIĆ, *Come Nicolò e i suoi compagni vollero predicare al cadì di Gerusalemme*, in *Vita Minorum* 41 (1970), 209-212; A. MATANIĆ, *Tavelić Nicola e III Compagni*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Istituto Giovanni XXII della Pontificia Università Lateranense, Roma, 1969, Vol. XII, 148-151; N. DEL RE, *Stefano da Cuneo, Martire, Santo*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Prima Appendice, Città Nuova Editrice, Roma, 1987, 1314-1315; H.G. JURIŠIĆ, *Tavelićeva Prisutnost - De praesentia S. Nicolai Tavelić martyris*, Zagreb 1972; Z. RADOVA, *Sv. Nikola Tavelić Mučenik - Njegovo vrijeme i trajna poruka*. Uredili: D. PATAFTA, N.S.V. KOVAČ, Zagreb, 2019.
- 15 N. DAL-GAL, *Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia: "De excellentia ordinis S. Francisci" (ex codice autographo)*, in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 4 (1911), 303-313. Cfr. in p. 312, the text quoted by Golubovich: "Item frater Nicolaus de Taulicis de Sibirico - cuius duos fratres carnales vidi Sibirichi - frater Deodatus de Rucinio provincie Equitane, frater Petrus de Narbona de provincia Provincie, sotius fratris Paulutii de Fulgineo, frater Stefanus de Laruch (al. Lanich) in Vicaria Corseche multis annis, in Ierusalem MCCCLXXXI die XI novembris audacter coram Cadi et triginta milia saracenorum, et omnes contra fratres concitati, verberibus quasi mortui relictis, die noctuque per tres dies sine cibo potuque, celesti cibo recreati sunt. In tertio die in platea innumerabilibus ictibus corpora eorum incisa sunt. Bis ignis extinctus est super corpora eorum, et tertium usque sero fecerunt ignem super ea, et tamen penitus fuerunt immaculata, et tamen (tandem?) fecerunt humari, ne christiani acciperent."
- 16 A. MATANIĆ, *Tavelić Nicola e III Compagni*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Vol. XII, Roma, 1965, 148-151.
- 17 PAULUS VI, *In sollemni canonizatione Beati Nicolai Tavelić et sociorum martyrum ex ordine Fratrum Minorum, die XXI mensis Iunii a. MCMLXX, dominica quinta post Pentecosten, in Basilica Vaticana peracta*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* LXII (31 Augusti 1970), N. 8, 489: "Ad honorem Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis, ad exaltationem fidei catholicae et vitae christianae incrementum, auctoritate Domini nostri Iesu Christi, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac Nostra, matura deliberatione praehabita et divina ope saepius implorata, beatos Nicolaum Tavelić, Deodatum de Euticinio, Stephanum de Cuneo, Petrum de Narbona, fratres Ordinis Minorum, Sanctos esse decernimus et definimus."
- 18 P. DURRIEU, *Procès-Verbal du Martyre de quatre Frères Mineurs (1391)*, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, Leroux, 1881, Tomus I, 539-546.
- 19 GOLUBOVICH, 283-289. This account is found in the second Register LXVI (*Clemens VII, ann. XIV, part. II*) in ff. 80-81, and bears the title: *De religiosis passis in Jerusalem*. The first Register LXI (*Clemens VII, ann. XII, part. I*) in ff. 1-4, also gives the names of the 12 friars who were residing on Mount Zion, among the names of the witnesses to the martyrdom: "Presentes autem fuerunt Fratres [Ordinum] Minorum XII, quorum nomina sunt hec: Frater Girardus Cabiety, provincie Aquitanie. Frater Johannes de Noto, magister in theologia, provincie Cilicie. Frater Petrus Cocclarius, de Neapoli, provincie Terre Laboris. Frater Johannes de Argentina, Alamannus. Frater Angelus de Perusio, provincie Sancti Francisci. Frater Petrus de Bordegala, provincie Aquitanie. Frater Martinus Cathalanus. Frater Laurencius de Placencia, provincie Rome. Frater Martinus de Sclavonia. Frater Angelus de Marchia. Frater Johannes de Aquitania."
- 20 L. WADDING, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, Tomus X, Romæ, 1734, ad. an. 1434, 225-226: "Circa hoc tempus propter varias querelas male administrati regiminis locum Terræ Sanctæ per Patres Conventuales, decrevit eisdem locis præficiendum esse unum ex Observantibus, sed cum facere omisisset Minister Generalis in Comitibus Ordinis, anno proxime elapso celebratis, et Guardianum instituisset fratrem Sclarium a Monte Ilcino, de quo supra, in sacra pagina Magistrum, hæreticæ pravitatis Inquisitorem, Pontifex hunc ad se venientem, ut necessaria impetraret privilegia pro bono Terræ Sanctæ regimine, excitavit ut officio in suis manibus renunciaret, substituitque fratrem Jacobum Delphinum, nobilem Venetum, Regularis Observantiæ professorem."
- Come l'orco della fiaba: studi per Franco Cardini*, a cura di M. MONTESANO, SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, Firenze, 2010, 243: "Fra Giacomo Delfini viene nominato Custode di Terrasanta da Eugenio IV il 4 agosto 1434. Il papa aveva evidentemente deciso di dare ascolto a un certo malcontento che si doveva esser levato in merito all'amministrazione dei Luoghi Santi operata dai francescani conventuali, affidandola agli Osservanti. In realtà, Giacomo non fu il primo Osservante ad essere nominato custode: la prima scelta era caduta sul confratello Scolario «a Monte Ilcino» (Montalcino), che aveva però declinato l'incarico. Curiosamente, un'analogia rinuncia sarà poi operata anche dal successore di Giacomo, fra Niccolò da Osimo, nel 1438. Il nostro si trova così singolarmente accerchiato da colleghi dimissionari, quasi a confermare - sia pure in modo molto indiretto - che la situazione del convento di Monte Sion e dell'intera Custodia di Terrasanta fosse in quel tempo piuttosto critica e il ruolo di guardiano e custode non particolarmente ambito."
- B. SALETTI, *I Francescani in Terrasanta (1291-1517)*, Libreriauniversitaria.it Edizioni, Padova, 2016, 175: "Proprio tra gli anni 1434 e 1439 del pontificato (di Eugenio IV) la Custodia di Terra Santa passava agli Osservanti."
- 21 GOLUBOVICH, 290-291: "Ex bibliotheca magni conventus S. Francisci Tholosae. Editus est hic tractatus a quodam clerico primæ tonsuræ Constantinopoli degente et graecis litteris operam dante, maxime ex occasione martyrii quatuor fratrum minorum qui in Hierusalem

- crudeliter necati fuerunt a Saracenis, ut hinc et seipsum et alios christianos ad martyrium animaret. Vid. cap. 17 et 18. Passi autem sunt praedicti quatuor martyres sub medium novembris ann. 1391, et processus martyrii una cum epistola R.P.F. *Geraldi Calveti*, guardiani loci sacri montis Syon, ad patres conventus Villefranchae, habetur in Chronico Ordinis manuscripto in membranis in bibliotheca conventus Mirapiscen. (Mirepoix), et inter praedictos fratres potior est F. *Deodatus Ariberti* de Ruthinio, huius provinciae Aquitaniae. Hic autem liber vel tractatus quadraginta annis ab illo martyrio conscriptus, videlicet circa annum Domini 1432.”
- 22 GOLUBOVICH, 295: “(f. 50r): Et hic procedendi modus ab aliquibus plurimum approbatur, sicut de eo tractatum unum esse audiverimus in monasterio Minorum montis Syon in Hierusalem... Vel si tibi possibile detur illam [cedulam] eorum lingua describi facias... Et sic quatuor illi fidelissimi beati Francisci fratres (de quibus supra mentionem fecimus) Hierosolymis (iam fere xl sunt anni elapsi) fecerunt. Quos cum infideles illi cedulam legisent, pugnis plurimum attritos, custodie manciparunt: et post tres dies in plebis conspectum reductos, per interpretem (si ad eorum perfidiam converti vellent) diligenter et omni instantia temptaverunt. Quod isti abhorrentes, Christum per illum interpretem (ut poterent) annunciarunt, predixeruntque illis damnationem certam, si Christi baptisma non susciperent, et in sua perseverarent perfidia. Quos cum immobiles cognovissent, gladio interfecerunt. Verum quia hanc cedulam brevissime, nudaque solum veritate sanctissimi illi viri ex causa descripserunt (ut eius ostendit copia, quam etiam in conventu montis Syon in Hierusalem haberi audivimus) scribemus et nos aliam modo nostro, et quique alius (ut melius noverit) alteram sibi formare et describere poterit...”
- 23 SACRA RITUUM CONGREGATIO, *Acta processus pro confirmatione cultus B. Nicolai Tavilic*, Romæ, 1888.
- 24 GOLUBOVICH, 289: “*Atti del Processo per la confermazione del culto del B. Nicolò*. Sacra Rituum Congreg. Em.mo ac Rev.mo Domino Cardinali Miecislao Ledochowski relatore. Sebenicen. Confirmationis cultus ab immemorabili tempore praestiti servo Dei Nicolao Tavileo Ord. Min. Conventualium (sic!) S. Francisci, Martyri et Beato nuncupato. Instante Rev.mo Episcopo Sebenicensi Cleri ete totius Diocesis vota depromente.”
- 25 *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*. Anno XVII (1898), Fasc. VII, 107; Fasc. VIII, 129-131: *Brevis notitia circa vitam B. Nicolai Tavilei, Martyris Ordinis Minorum, et cultum ei praestitum*.
- 26 B. PANDŽIĆ: SACRA RITUUM CONGREGATIO - SECTIO HISTORICA, n. 112: *Sebenicensis. Declarationis martyrii B. Nicolai Tavelić sacerdotis professi Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in odium fidei, ut fertur, in civitate Jerusalem interfecti (1391). Positio super martyrio*, Typis Polyglotis Vaticanis, 1961.
- 27 Cfr. Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, an. LXXXVII (Ianuarii-Aprilis 1968), fasc. I-II, 67-68. The Roman-Seraphic Martyrology reads: “Die 14 novembris: Hierosolymis Beatorum Nicolai Tavelic eiusque trium Sociorum Deodati de Ruticinio, Petri de Narbona, Stephani de Cuneo, Sacerdotum ex Ordine Minorum, Martyrum.
- Beati Nicolai cultum Leo decimus tertius, Pontifex maximus, adprobavit; trium autem eius Sociorum cultum Paulus sextus, Summus Pontifex, ratum habuit et confirmavit. Ipsorum tamen festivitas decima quinta Kalendas Decembris celebratur.”
- 28 PAULUS VI, *Litteræ Decretales Beato Nicolao Tavelić eiusque sociis martyribus, sanctorum honores decernuntur*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* LXIII (31 Maii 1971), N. 5, 346-353.
- 29 Cfr. *Crkva i Samostan Sv. Frane*, in <https://www.en.tripadvisor.com.hk> (retrieved 3 April 2020).
- 30 Cfr. *Sveti Nikola Tavelić, prvi hrvatski svetac (1340-1391)*, Studentski katolički centar, Split, 2011, in [http://www.skac.hr/svetacdana/11/14\\_11.html](http://www.skac.hr/svetacdana/11/14_11.html) (retrieved 4 April 2020): “Duhovni vođa hrvatskoga narodnog hodočašća u Svetu zemlju, zagrebački nadbiskup-koadjutor, kasniji kardinal, dr. Alojzije Stepinac svečano je posvetio 25. VII. 1937. u kapeli Apostolske delegature u Jeruzalemu oltar u čast jeruzalemskom mučeniku bl. Nikoli Taveliću.”
- 31 PIUS XII, *Delegatio Apostolica Palestinae, Transjordaniae et Cypri insulae constituitur*. Breve *Supremi Pastoris officium*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, an. et vol. XXXXI (2 Iulii 1949), 322.
- 32 Cfr. <https://www.croatiaweek.com/croatian-chapel-to-be-built-in-bethlehem/> (retrieved 4 April 2020).
- 33 PAULUS VI, *In sollemni canonizatione Beati Nicolai Tavelić et sociorum martyrum ex ordine Fratrum Minorum*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* LXII (31 Augusti 1970), N. 8, 489-495. Cfr. *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, an. LXXXIX (Iulii-Octobris 1970), fasc. IV-V, 165-168. The chronicles of the Order of Friars Minor also record the event of the canonisation, including the declaration by Fr. Constantin Koser OFM, Min. Gen., and Fr. Basilius Heiser OFMConv., Min. Gen, the *allocutio* of Paul VI during the audience granted to 15 thousand Croatian pilgrims led by Cardinal Franjo Šeper, and the historical account of the canonisation ceremony. Cfr. *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, an. LXXXIX (Iulii-Octobris 1970), fasc. IV-V, 275-279.
- 34 C. MACEVITT, *Martyrdom and the Muslim World through Franciscan Eyes*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. XCVII (January 2011), No. 1, 1-23.
- 35 Cfr. Review *Antonianum*, Annus XC (Ianuarius-Martius 2015), Fasc. 3, dedicated to the figure of Ramon Llull. In the presentation to the volume G. BUFFON writes: “It is, in effect, Llull who made possible a transition from a martyrdom-centred mission to the Muslims to an ‘ecumenical’ mission to the Eastern Churches.” Among the studies in the volume: B. FORTHOMME, *La folie comme force réformatrice. Approche dialectique et romanesque selon Raymond Lulle*; S. SARI, *La percezione lulliana della mariologia islamica*; L. DEMONTIS, *Quomodo Terra Sancta recuperari potest. Fidenzio da Padova, Raimondo Lullo e il ‘superamento’ della crociata*; R. DE VIZIO, *Francesco d’Assisi e Raimondo Lullo: continuità e differenze nel loro rapporto con l’islam*; R. RAMIS-BARCELÓ, *Nuevas perspectivas para la historia del lulismo: referencias lullianas desconocidas en textos impresos del siglo XVI*; F. SEDDA, *La predicazione agli infedeli tra Francesco d’Assisi e Ramon Llull*.

# QUOMODO TERRA SANCTA RECUPERARI POTEST FIDENZIO DA PADOVA, RAMON LLULL AND THE "OVERCOMING" OF THE CRUSADE

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The fall of Acre in 1291 conveyed a significance of a death that had been announced. Jerusalem had fallen once and for all in Muslim hands in 1244: from that moment the shreds of Christian domination in the Holy Land acted separately, in spite of the fact that the assizes of the nobles of the kingdom continued to elect regularly the successors to the throne of Jerusalem from the Swabian dynasty. The military Orders, namely the Knights Templar, the Teutonic Knights, the Knights Hospitallers and the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, were not acting in a coordinated manner among themselves. The Mamluks of Egypt could thus acquire easy successes against them. The "burning preoccupation"<sup>1</sup> for the survival of Christian presence in the Holy Land had been felt by the Popes during the XIII<sup>th</sup> century, but whereas some, especially of French nationality, like Urban IV and Clement IV, were mostly preoccupied in fighting the enemies within Christendom and in sustaining the affirmation of the Angevin dynasty, other Popes were asking themselves how to find ways to solve the question of the Holy Land. Gregory X, during the years immediately preceding his election to the papal throne, had visited Palestine, where he had spoken with the provincial vicar of the friars Minor of the Holy Land, Fidenzio da Padova, regarding the Christian presence in Syria and Palestine, and regarding the conditions of Christian captives in Saracen prisons.<sup>2</sup> On this argument, Pope Gregory published a *bull*a in 1272, entitled *Adaperiat Dominus*, in which he insisted upon some religious orders to promote assistance to Christian captives in the lands *in partibus infidelium*.<sup>3</sup> It was probable that the important action of

assistance on the part of the Minors, together with a certain degree of approval on the part of the Islamic principalities, convinced the Pope to promote the minoritic presence in Saracen lands. Fidenzio da Padova, provincial vicar of the Holy Land in 1266-1268, had assisted in many occasions to the harsh conditions of captivity for Christians in those territories which had belonged formerly to the kingdom of Jerusalem and to the principality of Antioch. The capillary presence of the Minors in those regions and the protection and privileges that they had been granted by the Sultan were certainly the result of the diplomatic abilities of Fidenzio in the court of the powerful Saracen sovereign.<sup>4</sup>

The continual journeys and the ample knowledge of Islamic territories made Fidenzio worthy to receive an official appointment on the part of Pope Gregory X in 1274, during the second council of Lyon, namely that of planning and organising a new crusade. It was then that Fidenzio wrote the *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*,<sup>5</sup> after having returned in the Holy Land in the period 1289-1291. The book presents itself as a work of propaganda in which the author speaks about the condition of Christian captives,<sup>6</sup> the weakness of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of the crusader states, and of a new strategy for the reconquest of the Holy Land, aimed at overcoming the ancient concept of the crusade. In the case of Fidenzio one can speak of an "overcoming" of the crusade, thanks to the strategic modalities that he adopts for the reconquest and the best administration of the territories of the Holy Land. The enterprise, far from being purely military, as it had become to all intents and pur-

poses during the XIII<sup>th</sup> century, was now enriched with the cloak of eschatological values, in stark opposition to the moral and civil corruption that had characterised the remains of the territories of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The objective of the friar Minor was that which the Pope had assigned to him, namely the reconquest of the holy places: Fidenzio had elaborated an innovative plan from the political, military and moral points of view.

The *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* makes a careful analysis of the enemy to counteract, an accurate examination of the bad management of the possessions of the feudal kingdom of Jerusalem, and of the heterogenous nature of the dislocated powers and authorities (feudal lords, maritime cities, chivalric orders). The political-military treatise was aimed at finding a solution that would go beyond internal divisions among Christians, beyond partisan interests, and that would trace the guidelines for a clear and precise leadership on the part of the warrior who would be called to command a military *reconquista* and to govern the new territories.

The choice of Pope Gregory X fell upon the friar Minor from Padua because they were not strangers to one another. They had met in the Holy Land when the former, after having abandoned the office of archdeacon in Liege by taking the cross in Paris in 1267, went to the holy places in 1270, and there he met Fidenzio, who had been vicar of the Holy Land since 1266.<sup>7</sup> The future pontiff understood the serious conditions in which the remains of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the other crusader principalities were in after the fall of Jaffa, Caesarea and Antioch. Moreover, he also had the occasion to come to know the friar Preacher William of Tripoli, author of the *Tractatus de Statu Saracenorum*,<sup>8</sup> and to enter once again in contact with Prince Edward I Plantagenet, son of king Henry III of England.<sup>9</sup>

Pope Gregory X did not live long enough to gather the fruits of the work of Fidenzio. In fact, the treatise materialised in a definitive manner only many years after the council and after repeated journeys of the ex vicar of the Holy Land in the lands of Outremer, where he remained at least until 1290.<sup>10</sup> When writing the treatise, Fidenzio accepted the challenge of one of the greatest problems that the Popes of the Christian west had to face ever since the XII<sup>th</sup> century, and he had to give a concrete and practical answer to such problems. Fidenzio proved that he had a great sense of awareness and of critical analysis: his work can be compared

to those writings of other friars Minor of the same period, who travelled far beyond the Holy Land, arriving among the Mongols of the Golden Horde and to the very court of Khanbaliq.<sup>11</sup>

The *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* individuates some essential elements: in the first place, it makes a critical analysis of the Christian feudal institutions and of the Islamic powers in the territories of Outremer; then it stops to outline the values and principles of the new *societas christiana* that would have renewed the Holy Land; it proposes a political-strategic plan for the realisation of this same end; finally, it traces the outlines of government and administration of the new Christian state institution that would have sanctioned the overcoming of the ancient feudal structure.

The internal division and bad administration were critical issues of the Christian dominion in the Holy Land, which immediately presented themselves to the eyes of any critical observer. Fidenzio notes how the territories that remained in Christian hands were badly governed, as if they were “colonies” *ante litteram*, and this as a result of the *diversitas nationum* of the different rulers, who were often conditioned by a strong sense of belonging to their places of origin: they spoke different languages, and the laws and customs varied considerably according to the area of control of each Christian power. The multiplicity of juridical practices and rules did not permit the community to trust upon one unique system of reference, and upon the same code of social action.<sup>12</sup> It was not a question of abstract considerations, with self-centred aims, but rather one of considerations that had to be rooted in reality. For example, the truce that the sultan of Egypt Qalawun concluded in 1283 with Saint Jean d’Acre was not accepted by the other crusader “administrations”, which continued the war against the Mamluks.<sup>13</sup> It is clear that, in such a situation, the Saracens would definitely gain an advantage upon the crusades. It was necessary to find an agreement that would lead to a common strategy, capable of foreseeing and contrasting in an efficient way the moves of the adversary, who was accustomed to break truces unilaterally. It would also bring about the designation of a supreme head of the Christian forces, who would be a valorous military commander and a wise administrator.

The strategy outlined by Fidenzio could not forget to understand those alliances with all the other powers who were hostile to the sultanate of Egypt, namely the Mongols in the first place. Besides this,

the Christians needed to prepare a big fleet in order to effect a naval blockade and an embargo upon all Egypt. The ex vicar of the Holy Land explains, in eleven *rationes*, how the fleet would exert such a great pressure on commerce and upon the incomes of the Saracens to the point of causing them to come to an agreement and to voluntarily hand over the territories of the Holy Land, without the need of fighting a war. For the rest, it was a known fact that the diplomatic action which had allowed Frederick II to obtain Jerusalem and the territories of the kingdom without shooting one single arrow, had worked successfully. The patrolling of the coasts by the fleet would have provided security for Christian commerce, it would counteract Islamic piracy, and above all, it would block Mamluk navigation, thus discouraging any initiative on the part of the sultan to speedily bring about the arrival of troops against the Christians. This blockade would have broken in a short time the commercial incomes of the Saracens, it would have impeded the exportation of their products and the importation of whatever was necessary, including slaves, with whom they normally locked in safety the ranks of their army.<sup>14</sup>

Fidenzio's plan, therefore, was that of a new kind of thinking regarding the crusade, which did not place the use of arms in the first place, as was the characteristic note of preceding enterprises. It was only in the case of failure of diplomatic negotiations that it was permissible to resort to military force. Regarding this note Fidenzio also outlines the figure of the fighter who he radically changes with regards to how he is called and, above all, with regards to the qualities of worthiness that would characterise him. Paolo Evangelisti considers this aspect when he speaks about a substantial and formal requalification of the *crucis signatus*, which "has not been studied much by the historiography that analyses these kinds of treatises."<sup>15</sup> The crusader is no longer a *miles Christi*, but a *pugil Christi*, a fighter who pertains wholly to Christ. When one considers the art of composing treatises, and when one keeps particularly in mind the lexicon of canon law and of the councils preceding this treatise, namely from the I Lateran Council to the II Council of Lyon, one can state that this is certainly a terminological innovation, as Paolo Evangelisti maintains.<sup>16</sup> However, when one extends his view to encompass all written sources in our reach, it is possible to affirm that the image of the *pugil Christi* was an expression which was already in use for decades in sermons and in the language of the curia

and of the pontifical chancery, at least from the time of the pontificate of Clement IV. In fact, Charles of Anjou, who once took the cross against Manfredi, was called *pugil Christi*, both in the sermons of the French cardinal Eudes de Châteaurox,<sup>17</sup> and in some pontifical *bullæ* which mention the new king of Sicily.<sup>18</sup> Besides, such a "terminological innovation" was present even in the epitaph of the funerary monument of Saint Peter, Martyr, in the church of Sant'Eustorgio in Milan, seat of the inquisition. This epitaph was composed by Thomas Aquinas.<sup>19</sup> One should also note how Fidenzio does not invent a new term, but he takes it from a precise context, by sanctioning once more the equating of the crusade against the infidels with the battle of the inquisitors against heretics.<sup>20</sup>

The *pugiles Christi* had to overcome the Saracens by departing from the values that they had to proclaim with their lives: the friar Minor stated that these values were stigmatised because of the erroneous *fides* and the absolute lack values in the fiscal politics, not to speak of moral values, necessary for good governance in Outremer. Fidenzio mentions the *cupiditas*, or the excessive thirst for money, which took the form of an uncontrollable and indiscriminate desire to impose taxes "*super artes, super officia, super loca, super ea que venduntur et emuntur.*"<sup>21</sup>

Fundamental spaces and common goods, but above all respect for the margins of profit of the members of the community, were the necessary ingredients for the good functioning of the new *societas* according to Fidenzio. It was not enough that the *pugiles* would be better gifted from the military and administrative points of view of the *crucis signati*: they had to incarnate also those profoundly Christian values, such as faith and charity, which would render them different from the Saracens. It was only in this way that they would be able to conquer, keep and defend the Holy Land.<sup>22</sup> The *societas* of Outremer had to become a community of persons who lived very important values, like *carietas, castitas, humilitas, pietas, unitas, sobrietas, legalitas, patientia, cupiditatis carentia, orationis frequentia.*<sup>23</sup> They had to be capable of constructing and maintaining solidly united the new society in every social, civil, political and religious aspect. Only in this way could the *pugiles* truly be the rampart of Christianity in Outremer. In his strategic plan Fidenzio also foresaw the enrolment of autochthonous troops and, above all, the importance of attracting those Christian knights who

had passed to the service of the sultan of Egypt, and who would have desired to come back into the ranks of the *pugiles*, receiving a compensation of a revenue or plots of land.<sup>24</sup>

The qualities and virtues that characterised the *pugiles Christi* were to stand out more strongly in the *dux*, the commander-in-chief of the expedition, the one who would have governed the new *societas christiana* of Outremer by dedicating to it his life and his possessions. Besides, the *dux* had to show some other qualities, in addition to the Christian virtues of all the *pugiles*. These qualities during the XIII<sup>th</sup> century commonly connoted the figure of a good sovereign: in the first place the *largitas*, which found its dimension not only as the middle way between *avaritia* and *prodigalitas*, but as an authentic principle of good government. In fact, on this gift could be founded the hope of a long existence of the new *societas* of Outremer: concreteness in the balance between the revenues entering from resources and their just distribution according to the ethics of good government, summarised in the biblical quote *Rex iustus erigit terram, vir avarus destruet eam*.<sup>25</sup> The *dux*, therefore, had to have, as salient traits of his personality, also the following of *cupiditas carentia* and the refusal of the *inordinata concupiscentia*: only thus could he be a true guide for the community. His action of government had to constantly nourish the circulation of resources, codifying “an approach to goods which was not personalistic.”<sup>26</sup> The *dux* had to be aware of the fact that the exercise of power was a mission, a *ministerium* for the community “*ut bene possit gubernare populum Domini*.”<sup>27</sup> If he wanted to govern for a long time and maintain the peace within the community, he had to invigorate constantly the *auctoritas* which he enjoyed, by strengthening it with the seriousness of the commitment that he assumed in a permanent manner, with the humility of listening to the counsels of many, with his personal prestige, with his ability to govern and to administer the resources dedicated to *largitas* and to *legalitas* understood as a certainty of justice in contracts and business,<sup>28</sup> with the ethicality and integrity that should characterise him. In fact, it was his duty, and not an easy one at that, to govern the institutions *in loco* (churches, cities, commercial institutions); to exercise justice on social, ethnic and religious structures; to create new relations with chivalric orders and with feudal lords, who were often seen more as causes of disorders and internal divisions of Christian politics than as precious resources for

the enterprise of Outremer.<sup>29</sup>

The realisation of such an enterprise and its support would call for an exorbitant use of capital. Fidenzio discarded the ecclesiastical thites, guaranteed by the popes on the occasions of crusades. This was a counter-tendency to what other treaties of the period stated in response to the same problem. Fidenzio was probably of the opinion that such resources had to continue to be of service to the good functioning of the Church. Moreover, given that, unlike a crusader enterprise, which was limited in time from beginning to end, the enterprise of Outremer as reorganised by Fidenzio did not foresee an end, and the Church could not be deprived of its sources of financial income for such a long period of time. That is why the *dux* had to make recourse to other kinds of financial revenue. Given that the *dux* assumed his mission in a definitive and permanent way, it was licit for him to devote to it all his personal possessions and to ask for support from lay and ecclesiastical institutions in Outremer, who had to participate in the undertaking with a certain number of *pugiles*, or by donating determinate sums of money. Finally, the *dux* could resort to proceeds of commerce and to the revenues of the lands of those regions, which in the past had constituted the crusader states, once these had returned into Christian hands.<sup>30</sup>

The treatise of Fidenzio, clear and very well articulated, is a punctual, precise and critical answer to one of the greatest problems that the papacy and the Christian monarchies had to face. It is not simply a question of a simple military undertaking under the aegis of the cross, but it is a «rethought» crusade, not having an aim in itself and not being limited in time, but which aimed at establishing a new Christian-Latin *societas* in the Holy Land which, if it would have success, would inevitably become an administrative and social model for the entire *Christianitas*.

This friar Minor was not the only one to write about this vital theme for Christianity. In the period between the second council of Lyon and the fall of Saint Jean d’Acre, some intellectuals of the time also confronted the planning of such an enterprise. Some treatises were composed by the general of the Order of Preachers, Humbert of Romains, by the friar Minor Ghilbert of Tournai, by the friar Preacher William of Tripoli, and by bishop Bruno of Olmütz. In 1291-1292 also Ramon Llull wrote a work on the crusade, in which there emerges an overcoming of the same crusade. His was not any

longer the idea of *passagium* directed principally to the conquest of the Holy Land with the aim of recapturing Jerusalem, but that of a military enterprise in support of something much greater: a religious mission, carried out according to precise indications which, through dialogue with Islamic sages, would have led to the conversion of the followers of Muhammad.<sup>31</sup>

Ramon, who since his conversion in 1265 had developed this project by learning Arabic from an Islamic slave, took the opportunity launched by the Pope and by the events of that period to propose his project: he adapted it to the needs of the moment, namely the retaking of the Holy Land. He explicated such a project in a splendid way in the title *Liber de passagio (Quomodo Terra Sancta recuperari potest)*:<sup>32</sup> The Book of the crusade: the way how to take back the Holy Land. The term crusade, in fact, is a term which is dear to historiography, but it came rather late.<sup>33</sup> During the XIII<sup>th</sup> century the word which identified the crusade in a full sense was *passagium*.

Ramon became aware of how difficult it was for a Muslim to convert to Christianity in an Islamic state, in which there were too many social, cultural and political conditionings which, if they did not impede, they at least constituted an enormous obstacle to conversion. One of these was the threat of the death sentence. The conversion of the infidels had been attempted during the preceding decades with various kinds of approach, all of which were failures: even the approach attempted by Francis of Assisi in front of the Ayyubid sultan, did not lead to any conversion worthy of note.<sup>34</sup>

Llull made his own the mission of conversion of the infidels and transformed it into the principal objective of the “crusade” by renewing it and overcoming it with the proposal of a well-defined and articulated plan, which had to renounce as much as possible to the use of force. Indeed, the use of force was admitted only in the case of carrying out the missionary endeavour without ulterior impediments by using reason and a calibrated language to the public receiving such missionary preaching. The important concepts of the Christian religion were expressed with words created *ex novo* by Llull, with the help of the roots of Arabic words already in existence. In this way, concepts such as that of the Trinity, which were totally alien to Islamic culture, would be presented in a way that would make it easier for the Saracens to understand them. The conversion of the infidels was not to be

forced upon them, but it had to be brought about freely through dialogue with the Muslim *elites*.<sup>35</sup> Only the conversion of educated Islamic persons would have made possible to conversion of a large section of the population of those regions. Ramon knew that the mission for which he was called and for which he was dedicating his entire life, could not end with him, but had to be prolonged in time and spread out. For this reason he asked the Pope and the Christian sovereigns to institute schools in their reigns, in which students might study Arabic and the various cultures of the infidels: this would have favoured the exchange and dialogue between the Muslim and Christian sages, the reciprocal knowledge of religious faith, culture and language. Llull, in fact, had realised that even for important words of common usage, as could have been, for example, the word “man”, Islamic culture attributed different characteristics from Christian culture. Therefore, the dialogue that had to start from points common to both monotheistic religions, could result in being difficult, not fully understandable or even create misunderstandings.

In the eventuality of the loss of the Holy Land, Llull knew that his project would have had greater possibility of being accepted by the pontiff if it would have been useful for the retaking of Outremer.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, he realised that the conversion of the infidels could happen freely only in a territory which had been preventively “pacified” by Christian forces: namely, that in Muslim territories if was extremely difficult for a Saracen to be able to convert in full freedom, without suffering heavy repercussions and conditionings.

Regarding the idea of a crusade that was being affirmed in some European royal courts, namely that of an expedition organised and directed by a monarch, as could be, for example, the French king, and which, according to some, would have the same weight and scope of the *passagium generale* proclaimed by the Pope, Ramon Llull showed himself to be favourable to the initiative taken by the Roman pontiff. Only he had the authority and ability to make this global enterprise come about, and only he, after all, could stamp upon the new crusade Llull’s idea of the conversion of the infidels. For this scope he would engage a wide network of collectors of papal tithes, extended to all Latin Christendom, and then re-invest the riches taken from Saracen domains to finance the missionary undertaking.<sup>37</sup>

In the treatise Ramon Llull proposed the fusion

of the chivalric orders, in particular the knights Templar, Teutonic, Hospitallers, Santiago and Calatrava, in one order to be called order of the Holy Spirit, and which would operate with its grand master in the kingdom of Little Armenia. From 1291 this was the only Christian territory on the continent. It was allied to the Pope and to the king of Cyprus, and was not yet conquered by the Saracens. Beyond the fusion of the military orders which, under a unique general government, would in this way accomplish military actions without rivalries and discordant politics, it was necessary to organise an imposing fleet, to be entrusted to the command of an admiral and *dominus maris*, who would pertain to the new order, and who would maintain the fleet active by destroying all the Saracen ships and ports of Little Armenia *usque ad montem de Barcha*.<sup>38</sup> Moreover he proposed the total embargo to the reign of the Mamluks, an economical embargo ordered by the Pope already in the preceding years, at least covering goods used for war like wood, iron, naphtha, tar, arms and ships, but which the maritime cities and the Christian kingdoms of the Mediterranean were not inclined to respect, given their lucrative commercial dealings with Egypt. However, the Saracens had found a way to elude this embargo: after the victory on the Mongols and Armenians with the second battle of Homs (1281), they signed a treatise in 1285, which obliged the king of Little Armenia to open the markets of his kingdom to the Saracen merchants.

A member belonging to the order of the Holy Spirit was to be *unus magister in theologia, qui habeat secum et de ordine suo viros sanctos et devotos*, who could speak the oriental languages, like Arabic, Turkish, Cuman and Persian, in order to reunite to the Catholic faith the schismatic Christians of those regions.<sup>39</sup> These learned masters of theology and philosophy had the duty to preach *verbum Dei per universum mundum* and to disavow all the *obiectioes infidelium* through preaching and inter-religious dialogue. In this way many infidels would have converted, and in particular those who were best instructed and learned in sciences.<sup>40</sup> Llull specified that the master of theology, the admiral *et eorum subditi*, had to be on the payroll of the *magister militum*, namely the grand master of the order of the Holy Spirit. At this point of his treatise Llull specifies that the grand master should be a *rex valens et devotus*, who is not married or who is ready to leave his wife in order to carry out this duty. The grand master should be accompanied in

Outremer by a cardinal legate, who would also be entrusted to find the necessary money to maintain a certain number of ships, knights and foot soldiers by collecting ecclesiastical tithes and to changing into money the vow for leaving on a crusade.<sup>41</sup>

With regards to military action, Llull admits the Islamic military superiority in Outremer, as a result of their war tactics, which included surprise attacks and sudden retreats. This Blessed from Majorca also wrote that Christian knights, who used to wear heavy armour, were not accustomed to similar tactics,<sup>42</sup> but that they were certainly in advantage when they fought pitched battles. In order to make up for this diversity of waging battle, the Christians could make recourse to the enrollment of Byzantine, Armenian, Georgian or Tartar mercenary troops, which presented effective divisions of light cavalry and mounted archers.

Another advantage of the Saracens, on which Llull insisted, was their military organisation. The Saracens would be placed within the army nearly like the ancient Romans: each unit of ten, hundred or thousand men was commanded by its own official, who was responsible for the conduct and valour of all his subordinates. When the Mamluk sultan would be pushed with all his army to fight against the Christian army, the fleet could operate suddenly and occupy the island of Rashid (or Rasheed, Rosetta), close to Alexandria, and then the Christians could barter it for the Holy Land.<sup>43</sup> Such a diplomatic solution could result in a victory, given that in 1249, during the seventh crusade, after the French crusaders had conquered Damietta, the Ayyubid sultan proposed to Louis IX the offer of Jerusalem in exchange for the restitution of the Egyptian city.

The *Liber de passagio* concludes with an exhortation to the Pope and cardinals to act as swiftly as possible in this direction, in view of the danger that Christianity was facing in the fact of Islamic expansion in Outremer. The treatise presents itself as a well-planned work in order to offer an adequate solution to one of the thorniest and most discussed problems of that time: in this way it presents some ideas which are common or similar to the *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* of Fidenzio da Padova.

Following the same logic of Llull, we can examine the points that both treatises have in common. One can note that both are not works of erudition, but well-articulated strategic plans, ready to be carried out in practice. Fidenzio concluded his treatise

before the loss of Saint Jean d’Acre, and handed it over to Pope Nicholas IV in 1291: in fact, in his treatise, this city of the Holy Land still appears among the Latin domains. Llull wrote his brief treatise in Rome on the following year, 1292,<sup>44</sup> with the intention of presenting it to the Pope who, in spite of having transferred the pontifical see to Rieti, during those months was living in Rome in the papal palace which he had built alongside the basilica of Saint Mary Major.<sup>45</sup> Given that Llull was familiar with the friaries of the Minors, it is plausible to assume that he could have personally met Fidenzio da Padova during that same period in Rome, or else he could have had knowledge of his treatise by speaking to persons who lived in the same environment. While Fidenzio’s treatise is rather long and affronts the question in detail, as we have seen, by analysing, for example, every single quality that should be proper to the *dux*, the work of Ramon Llull is much shorter and synthetic, namely, it expresses very similar ideas, but without going down into details.

The fusion of the chivalric orders, the planning of a crusader fleet that would always be active, the creation of an embargo in the case of the Mamluk sultanate, the organisation and unique direction of the enterprise of Outremer, the financing of the *passagium generale* through donations, the enrollment of local troops, are all peculiar characteristics of the *Liber de passagio* of Llull, which are also contained and further elaborated in the *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* of Fidenzio. This last work has, without any shadow of doubt, exerted an influence upon the Llull’s treatise, which is distinguished, instead, for an important peculiar aspect: namely, that of the *magister* of theology and philosophy who, together with other collaborators, had to proceed with the work of conversion of schismatic Christians first, and then of the conversion of the Saracens, once that the Latin troops were present in the kingdom of Little Armenia. The attempt to reunite the Armenian and Latin churches had already been tried in 1198 by Gregory VI Apirat, the Armenian *Catholicos* of Sis (1194-1203), because the Armenian king Leo I was looking for an agreement with the crusaders. However, the Armenian clergy and population did not adhere to the plan, thus frustrating the union in its substance. After nearly a century had elapsed, in 1288, Pope Nicholas IV moved once again to bring about the unification and sent the Franciscan missionary Giovanni da Montecorvino.<sup>46</sup>

Fidenzio and Ramon both proposed a plan for the retaking of the Holy Land: both treatises present many similar characteristics, starting from, for example, the necessary peace between Christian kingdoms in order to realise such an enterprise. At the same time they distance themselves from one another in their underlying objectives. The friar Minor, in fact, proposed a project that would have consented to the reconquest of the Holy Land and the creation of a new society in Outremer, which would have been capable of mostly embodying the Christian values and of governing and defending itself autonomously. Llull of Majorca, instead, proposed the employment of a naval and land force, which would be in the service of mission and preaching. It was to safeguard the free choice of conversion of schismatic Christians and infidels, matured through dialogue with the Latin *magistri* of theology and philosophy, with the effort to impede those social and political conditionings that would be an obstacle to this conversion.

Both authors were, in different ways, two innovators of the crusade: the first one wanted to improve it in the modalities of execution, in its organisation and in the shared values, which constituted an essential foundation for those who would adhere to such an enterprise; the second author overcame the very concept of crusade: not any more as an action of war and conquest in the face of Islam, but a mission of conversion supported by a «peace-keeping force» *ante litteram*. What Llull had tried to “recover”, after all, were not territories, but persons. Ramon was a builder of peace: maybe he kept in mind the need to overcome the ancient expression *si vis pacem para bellum*, with another expression that Pope John XXIII had brought to a happy realisation many centuries later: *si vis pacem para pacem*.<sup>47</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 For reasons of space we can only present an abridged form of some of the notes of this study. The reader is encouraged to read the original paper in Italian, where one can consult the abundant footnotes in full. The same mindset formed the background of the encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge* of Pope Pius XI in 1937. Those times were closer to us than the ones we are considering, but they were certainly not less dense of preoccupations for the Pope, the Church and the world.
- 2 The question of the detention of Christians in Saracen prisons during the XII-XIII centuries constituted one of the major problems in the management of international relations, to the point of being discussed during the IV

- Lateran Council. Cfr. S. FERDINANDI, *Levante crociato: incastellamento e difesa*, in *I Francescani e la crociata*. Atti dell'XI Convegno storico di Greccio (Greccio, 3-4 maggio 2013), a cura di A. Cacciotti - M. Melli, Milano, 2014, p. 57-184, particularly p. 153.
- 3 Cfr. G. CIPOLLONE, *La bolla Adaperiat Dominus (1272) e l'Ordo Trinitatis et Captivorum*, in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 21 (1983), p. 229-244.
  - 4 F. SIMONELLI, *Fidenzio da Padova*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 47, Roma, 1997, p. 412-414. P. EVANGELISTI, *Fidenzio da Padova e la letteratura crociato-missionaria minoritica. Strategie e modelli francescani per il dominio (XIII-XV secolo)*, Bologna, 1998.
- Biographical note on Fidenzio da Padova added by the editor:* Fidenzio was born in Padua during the first half of the XIIIth century. He entered the Order of friars Minor and in 1266 he became vicar provincial of the Holy Land. In May 1268, when sultan Baybars besieged Antioch, Fidenzio left the friary of Tripoli in Lebanon to go to the enemy camp and help Christian captives. He was regarded as an ambassador of Latin princes, and thus he was able to acquire *firman*s from the Muslim authorities in favour of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. In 1274 Fidenzio took part in the second council of Lyon, as a friend of Pope Gregory X, who met him in Acre in 1271, when he was still a cardinal. The same Pope entrusted Fidenzio with the organisation of a crusade. Fidenzio then returned to the East, where he prepared the material that he used for the *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*. He was certainly in the region in 1289, during the fall of Tripoli, which was taken by sultan Qalawun. Fidenzio remained in the kingdom of Jerusalem until 1290, since he was a witness of the Saracen invasion of Little Armenia. In 1291 he was back in Europe. In the meantime Acre had fallen in the hands of the Muslim armies on 18 May 1291. The date of his death is placed sometime after his return to Italy in 1291. Cfr. F. SIMONELLI, *Fidenzio da Padova*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 47 (1997): [www.treccani.it](http://www.treccani.it) (retrieved 9 April 2020).
- 5 FIDENTIUS DE PADUA, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, in G. GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, II, *Addenda al sec. XIII e fonti del sec. XIV*, Firenze, 1913, p. 9-60.
  - 6 The picture that transpires in the treatise regarding the Saracens is bleak: the *infideles* constrained the Christian *milites* who they captured to abjuration and "to serve their vane and impure traditions." The Custos of the Holy Land, Giovannino delle Olle di Parma, successor of Fidenzio, describes the oppressive conditions of the Christian captives, which the Sultan ordered to be observed even in Egypt in 1280: "ridotti in catene scavavano fosse delle fortificazioni saracene, trasportavano le ceste di terra e venivano sostentati con soli tre pezzi di pane al giorno" (SALIMBENE DE ADAM, *Cronaca*, Bologna, 1987, p. 439). Anna Ajello spoke about this argument in a recent congress: A. AJELLO, *Lex falsa, carnalis et diabolica. I Francescani e l'Islam nel XIII secolo*, in *I Francescani e la crociata*, p. 31-56, in particular p. 52-53. A similar situation was that suffered by the friars Minor in Jerusalem in the following centuries, who were harassed more by the other Christian denominations than by the Mamluks or even the Ottoman Turks. Cfr. A. BENVENUTI, *Gerusalemme, gli Osservanti e la "sindrome da abbandono"*, in *I Francescani e la crociata*, p. 343-362, in particular p. 353-354.
  - 7 L. GATTO, *Gregorio X, papa*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, LIX, Roma, 2002, p. 179-186; ID., *Gregorio X*, in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, II, Roma, 2000, p. 411-422.
  - 8 After his election to the papacy (1 September 1271) Pope Gregory invited the friar Preacher, together with his confrere Nicola da Piacenza, to go to China, to accompany the Polo brothers in their journey and to establish diplomatic relations with the Gran Khan Gubilai.
  - 9 Before becoming Pope, Gregory X had known the prince during some journeys in England, where he went on behalf of Alexander IV, Clement IV and cardinal legate Ottobono Fieschi.
  - 10 P. EVANGELISTI, *La crociata allo specchio. Andare in Oriente per ripensare i paradigmi politici dell'Occidente*, in *I Francescani e la crociata*, p. 273-322, in particular p. 283.
  - 11 EVANGELISTI, *La crociata* cit., p. 283. On the Franciscan evangelising mission to the cities of the Khan, cfr. G. BUFFON, *Khanbaliq. Profili storiografici intorno al cristianesimo in Cina dal medioevo all'età contemporanea (XIII-XIX sec.)*, Roma, 2014; *I Francescani e la Cina. Un'opera di oltre sette secoli*. Atti del X Convegno storico di Greccio (Greccio, 4-5 maggio 2012), a cura di A. Cacciotti - M. Melli, Milano, 2013; P. EVANGELISTI, *Un secolo d'oro. L'impegno diplomatico-informativo e l'azione evangelizzatrice dei francescani in Asia tra il 1245 e il 1368*, in *Picenum Seraphicum*, 19 (2000), p. 255-276.
  - 12 EVANGELISTI, *La crociata*, cit., p. 287.
  - 13 EVANGELISTI, *La crociata*, cit., p. 288-289.
  - 14 J. PAVIOT, *Projets de Croisade (v. 1290 - v. 1330)*, Paris 2008, p. 138-143.
  - 15 EVANGELISTI, *La crociata*, cit., p. 291.
  - 16 *Ibid.* Cfr., in particular, the constitution LXXI of the IV Lateran Council, the I and V constitutions of the I Council of Lyon, and the first constitution of the II Council of Lyon: *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo, G. Dossetti, P.P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi, Bologna, 1991, p. 191-192, 267-271, 295-301, 309-312.
  - 17 L. DEMONTIS, «Vidi stellam de celo cecidisse in terram...» *Il principe Enrico di Castiglia senatore di Roma nei sermoni del cardinale Odo da Châteauroux (1267-1268)*, in preparation. The author eventually published this work under the title: *Enrico di Castiglia senatore di Roma (1267-1268). Diplomazia, guerra e propaganda tra il comune di "popolo" e la corte papale*, Pontificia Università Antoniana, "Medioevo" 28, Roma, 2017.
  - 18 "ad christianissimum principem carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Carolum Sicilie Regem illustrem Christi pugilem indefessum": *Bulla of Pope Clement IV*, in DEMONTIS, «Vidi stellam de celo cecidisse in terram», doc. n. 12.
  - 19 The epitaph reads thus: *Preco, lucerna, pugil Christi, populi, fideique / Hic silet, hic tegitur iacet hic mactatus inique / Vox ovibus dulcis, gratissima lux animarum / Et Verbi gladius, gladio cecidit Chatarorum / Christus mirificat, populus devotus adorat, / Martyrioque fides sanctum servata decorat. / Sed Christus nova signa loqui facit, ac nova tubae / Lux datur, atque fides vulgata*

- refulget in urbe*. The text is published entirely in V.F. O'DANIEL, *First Disciples of Saint Dominic*, Whitefish MT, 2003; Cfr. D. PRUDLO, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (1252)*, Aldershot, 2008.
- 20 The expression *pugil Christi* is also found in other hagiographic examples linked with the crusade and with martyrdom in the hands of heretics or pagans. One of these is the case of the *Memoria Sancti Henrici episcopi et martyris*, which celebrates this bishop of English descent, Henry of Uppsala, who accompanied Erik IX, king of Sweden, in the crusade against the Finns in 1155 and suffered martyrdom in Finland the following year.
- 21 PAVIOT, *Projets* cit., p. 85.
- 22 EVANGELISTI, *La crociata* cit., p. 294-295.
- 23 PAVIOT, *Projets* cit., p. 112. Cfr. also EVANGELISTI, *La crociata* cit., p. 296.
- 24 Fidenzio estimated that these knights amounted to 4000 men: with such a movem the *dux* would have been able to attract a host of knights already endowed with ample experience of fighting in those lands. Cfr. J. PAVIOT, *Projets* cit., 63.
- 25 Prov. 29,4.
- 26 EVANGELISTI, *La crociata* cit., p. 304-305.
- 27 PAVIOT, *Projets* cit., p. 129.
- 28 EVANGELISTI, *La crociata* cit., p. 315.
- 29 EVANGELISTI, *La crociata* cit., p. 308-311.
- 30 PAVIOT, *Projets* cit., p. 128-133.
- 31 RAMON LLULL, *Liber de passagio*, in *Raimundi Lulli opera Latina*, XXVIII/52, ed. B. Garí, F. Domínguez Reboiras, Turnhout, 2003, p. 257-353, in particular p. 282-283.
- Biographical note on Ramon Llull added by the editor:* Ramon Llull was born c. 1232 in Palma, in the kingdom of Majorca, founded by Jaime I of Aragon. His wealthy parents hailed from Catalonia. The Catalan occupation of Majorca meant that the Almohad rule came to an end, and the Muslim population on the Balearic Islands was enslaved. In 1257 Llull married Blanca Picany, and fathered two children, Deménec and Magdalena. He served as tutor to Jaime II of Aragon and became seneschal to the future king. In 1263 he underwent a process of conversion, the result of visions of Christ crucified. He decided to become a member of the Franciscan Order of Penitents, and decided to dedicate his life to convert Muslims to Christianity, to support the founding of religious institutions to teach Arabic and other foreign languages to missionaries, and to write books on the defence of the Christian faith. For nine years, until 1274, he lived as a hermit on Puig de Randa, and learned Arabic from a Muslim slave he had acquired. After this period Ramon travelled through Europe, to meet popes and kings, and to establish colleges for missionaries. In 1276 a college for Franciscan missionaries was established in Miramar. In 1291 Ramon went to Tunis and preached to the Saracens. Back in Europe he went to Paris, but soon returned to Tunis in 1304 and in 1308. He participated in the Council of Vienne in 1311 where, thanks to his ideas, chairs of Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean (Aramaic) were established in the universities of Bologna, Oxford, Paris, Salamanca and in the papal court. In 1297 he met John Duns Scotus in Paris, and like him defended the theory of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. Because of his profound knowledge he became known as *Doctor Illuminatus*. When he was 82 years old, in 1314, Ramon travelled again to North Africa, where he preached in Bougie to an angry crowd of Muslims, who stoned him and left him half-dead. Some Genoese merchants took him back to Majorca, where he died c. 29 June 1315, or beginning of 1316. His most famous works include the *Art Abreujada d'Atrobar Veritat* (*The Abbreviated Art of Finding Truth*), published in 1290, and revised in his later work *Ars generalis ultima* or *Ars magna*, published in 1305, and the *Liber de passagio* (*Quomodo Terra Sancta recuperari potest*). Ramon Llull is considered as an enlightened Catalan writer, poet, theologian, mystic, mathematician and philosopher. In the Franciscan Order he is venerated as a Blessed and a Martyr. Cfr. *Ramon Llull*, in [www.en.wikipedia.org](http://www.en.wikipedia.org) (retrieved 8 April 2020).
- 32 RAMON LLULL, *Liber* cit., p. 257-353.
- 33 RAMON LLULL, *Liber* cit., p. 265.
- 34 When he speaks about true and perfect joy, Francis himself does not include in it the grace of working miracles, or the great glories that many ecclesiastics were justly looking for, among which the conversion of the infidels. Only true peace, which is not disturbed in front of any difficulty, brings perfect joy. Cfr. FAED I, 166-167.
- 35 RAMON LLULL, *Liber de passagio* cit., p. 263.
- 36 Regarding the idea of crusade in Ramon Llull, cfr. J. PERARNAU I ESPELT, *Certes, hipòtesis i preguntes entorn el tema "conversió i croada" en Ramon Llull. "Croada militar" o "croada gramatical"?*, in *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 25 (2006), p. 479-506.
- 37 RAMON LLULL, *Liber* cit., p. 281.
- 38 RAMON LLULL, *Liber* cit., p. 328. Barcha (or Tabarka) could indicate both the island which lies outside the coast of Tunisia, which during the times of Llull belonged to the sultanate of Tunis, or also the island lying outside the Spanish coast of Alicante. With this second hypothesis would be included within the range of action of the crusader fleet all the coasts and naval bases in Islamic hands. However, neither one of the preceding hypotheses could be considered trustworthy, since there are no mountains in those places. This is, instead, evident in the locality known as Barca of Cyrenaica, a region that marked the western boundary of the reign of the Mamluks.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 RAMON LLULL, *Liber* cit., p. 329.
- 41 RAMON LLULL, *Liber* cit., p. 330.
- 42 In reality there were Christian strategists who had been for a long time in the Holy Land, and who had learned similar war tactics and applied them with success in Europe when training Christian knights.
- 43 RAMON LLULL, *Liber* cit., p. 330.
- 44 *Ibid.*: *Datum Romae anno nativitatis dominicae MCCXCII.*
- 45 Nicholas IV died in that palace on 4 April 1292, and was buried in the basilica. Cfr. G. BARONE, *Niccolò IV, papa*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 78, Roma, 2013, p. 357-360; EAD., *Niccolò IV*, in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, II, Roma, 2000, p. 455-459.
- 46 F. LUISETTO, *Arméniens et autres chrétiens d'Orient sous la domination mongole. L'Ilkhanat de Ghâzân 1295-1304*, Paris, 2007, p. 98.
- 47 *Pacem in Terris*, 11 April 1963.

## The delusion of omnipotence



The pandemic of Coronavirus has abruptly roused us from the greatest danger individuals and humanity have always been susceptible to: the delusion of omnipotence. A Jewish rabbi has written that we have the opportunity to celebrate a very special paschal exodus this year; that “from the exile of consciousness.” It took merely the smallest and most formless element of nature, a virus, to remind us that we are mortal, that military power and technology are not sufficient to save us. As a psalm says, “In his prime, man does not understand. / He is like the beasts—they perish” (Ps 49:21). How true that is! The other positive fruit of the present health crisis is the feeling of solidarity. When, in human memory, have the people of all nations ever felt themselves so united, so equal, so less in conflict than at this moment of pain? Never so much as now have we experienced the truth of the words of a great Italian poet: “Peace, you peoples! Too deep is the mystery of the prostrate earth.” We have forgotten about building walls. The virus knows no borders. In an instant it has broken down all the barriers and distinctions of race, nation, religion, wealth, and power. We should not revert to that prior time when this moment has passed. As the Holy Father has exhorted us, we should not waste this opportunity. Let us not allow so much pain, so many deaths, and so much heroic engagement on the part of health workers to have been in vain. Returning to the way things were is the “recession” of which we should have the most fear. “They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; One nation shall not raise the sword against another; nor shall they train for war again.” (Is 2:4) This is the moment to put into practice something of the prophecy of Isaiah whose fulfillment humanity has long been waiting for. Let us say “Enough!” to the tragic race toward arms. Say it with all your might, you young people, because it is above all your destiny that is at stake. Let us devote the unlimited resources committed to weapons to the goals that we now realize are most necessary and urgent: health, hygiene, food, the poverty fight, stewardship of creation. Let us leave to the next generation a world poorer in goods and money, if need be, but richer in its humanity.



Fr. Raniero Cantalamessa OFM<sup>Cap</sup>  
Homily on Good Friday  
Saint Peter’s Basilica  
10 April 2020

## Abbreviations

### Writings of St. Francis

Adm	Admonitiones.
CantAudPov	Cantico Audite Poverelle.
CantSol	Canticum fratris Solis.
LaudDei	Laudes Dei Altissimi.
BenLeo	Benedictio fratri Leoni data.
EpAnt	Epistola ad sanctum Antonium.
EpCler I	Epistola ad Clericos (Redactio prior).
EpCler II	Epistola ad Clericos (Red. posterior).
EpCust I	Epistola ad Custodes I.
EpCust II	Epistola ad Custodes II.
EpFid I	Epistola ad Fideles I.
EpFid II	Epistola ad Fideles II.
EpLeo	Epistola ad fratrem Leonem.
EpMin	Epistola ad Ministrum.
EpOrd	Epistola toti Ordini missa.
EpRect	Epistola ad populorum rectores.
ExhLD	Exhortatio ad Laudem Dei.
ExpPat	Expositio in Pater noster.
FormViv	Forma vivendi sanctae Clarae data.
Fragm	Fragmenta alterius RegulaeNB.
LaudHor	Laudes ad omnes horas dicendae.
OffPass	Officium Passionis Domini.
OrCruc	Oratio ante crucifixum.
RegB	Regula bullata.
RegNB	Regula non bullata.
RegEr	Regula pro eremitoriis data.
SalBMV	Salutatio beatae Mariae Virginis.
SalVirt	Salutatio virtutum.
Test	Testamentum.
UltVol	Ultima voluntas S. Clarae scripta.

### Sources for the Life of St. Francis

1C	Tommaso da Celano, Vita Sancti Francisci.
LCh	Celano, Legenda ad usum chori.
2C	Celano, Memoriale in Desiderio Animae.
3C	Celano, Tractatus de Miraculis S. Francisci.
LJS	Julian of Speyer, Vita Sancti Francisci.
OR	Officium Rhythmicum S. Francisci.
AP	Anonimo Perugino.
L3C	Leggenda dei Tre Compagni.
CA	Compilatio Assisiensis.
LMj	S. Bonaventura, Legenda Maior S. Francisci.
LMn	S. Bonaventura, Legenda minor S. Francisci.
SP	Speculum Perfectionis.
SC	Sacrum Commercium S. Francisci.
ABF	Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius.
Fior	Fioretti di San Francesco.

### Sources for the Life of St. Clare

BICl	Blessing of St. Clare.
1-4LAg	Letters to St. Agnes of Prague..
LCl	Legend of St. Clare.
PC	Acts of the Process of Canonization.
PrPov	Privilege of Poverty.
RegCl	Rule of St. Clare.
TestCl	Testament of St. Clare.

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**Cover picture:**

*Cover pic. Saint Nikola Tavelić and Companions, Martyrs. Friary chapel of St. Saviour Monastery, Jerusalem*