Jesus and the Making of the Modern Mind, 1380-1520

Luke Clossey

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5. Jesus Places

Churches and mosques have different statuses and serve different functions, but some structures—especially those on the shifting borders between the two principal subcults—have been both. Palermo Cathedral, for example, was a church converted into a mosque converted into a church. Jesus was central to many of these transitions. A mosque in Valencia was converted into a church, and a window near its *mihrab*, the niche pointed towards Mecca, was covered and adorned with Jesus images "so that by them all impurity may be purged and abolished."[1] The most famous example is the patriarchal cathedral Hagia Sophia, in the Roman imperial capital of Constantinople. When the Ottomans conquered the city, Mehmed II (1432–81) marched to the cathedral, humbly sprinkled dirt on his turban, placed the priests under his protection, and had the *shahada* declared from the pulpit: there was no God but God, and by implication Jesus became exclusively human.[2] In the eleventh century, Christians conquered the Muslim principality of Toledo in Iberia. As the triumphant invaders approached a mosque, the king's horse abruptly knelt at its front gate, and refused to budge. Investigation revealed that the horse had not become a Muslim, but instead had sensed a wall niche hiding a small Jesus image and a lit lamp. Apparently when the Muslims had conquered Toledo over three centuries earlier, they had respectfully sealed up the niche, and the lamp had miraculously burned through the centuries until the Christians reconquered and rediscovered it. Possibly this mosque had previously been a church, in which case the pious, sensitive horse triggered the building's re-conversion.[3]

Many religious sites were named after some aspect of Jesus's life, or after someone named after him (see Chapter 17). In this chapter, a more systematic

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1   Mark D. Myerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 45, https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520334953

2   Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1965), 149.

3   Julio Porres de Mateo, "Algunas Leyendas Toledanas y su base histórica," *Anales Toledanos* 19 (1984): 136–40. The "Christo de la luz" name is seventeenth-century, but it was known as "ermita de la cruz" in our period.

exploration is undertaken of places with Jesus connections beyond the nominal. The Jesus cult made itself most at home in two kinds of buildings, mosques and churches; their construction and use drew from both kens. Some Jesus buildings marked events in his life, from birth to burial. We will watch Far Western Christians create carefully measured replicas of these buildings, and Muslims inscribe Jesus references into the walls of their shrines. The chapter ends in Florence, with an unusually direct relationship with Jesus—naming him its king in 1495.

Architecture and the Two Kens

Some churches and mosques were prominent for their vast size. We give the prefix "mega-" to those structures with footprints reaching around 8,000 m², the size of two football fields. In 1400, the Christian subcult already had a number of previously built megachurches, including the Hagia Sophia and the mostly thirteenth-century cathedrals at Amiens, York, Cologne, and Antwerp. The Muslim subcult's major megamosques included those in Mecca, Medina, Cairo, and Damascus. In 1400, a wave of new megachurches emerges, either under construction or recently completed, including those at Florence, Ulm, Rome (St. Paul's Outside the Walls), and Bologna, with Milan and Seville dwarfing them all. In the 1440s, the Dughlat emir of Kashgar, to the west of China, built the vast Id Kah Mosque.

Megamosques had large footprints, and the megachurches soared. Both were huge projects, and construction proceeded slowly. The roof of the Liebfrauenmünster in Ingolstadt consumed 3800 trees.[4] Construction of the nave of Canterbury Cathedral was put on hold for a decade after rebel peasants beheaded its archbishop in 1381. Debated design details delayed the Milan Cathedral.[5] Its construction had begun in 1386, and was half completed in 1402, but a lack of agreement and a lack of money stopped work in 1480.[6]

Churches were designed according to deep-ken logic. The thirteenth-century Troyes Cathedral's choir's keystones, decorated with a Jesus image, reached 88 ft 8 in above the ground. "Jesus" in Greek, Ἰησοῦς, corresponded to 888 in the

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4   Barbara Schock-Werner, "Bauhütten und Baubetrieb der Spätgotik," in *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350–1400*, ed. Anton Legner, 3 vols. (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1978), III, 55–65 (58).

5   Robert Odell Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 412.

6   Ernesto Brivio, *The Duomo: Art, Faith, History of the Cathedral of Milan* (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 2003); Arturo Faccioli, *Milan Cathedral: A Historical and Illustrated Guide* (Milan: Veneranda Fabbvrica del Duomo, 1954).

gematria numerology system: I (10) + H (8) + C (200) + O (70) + V (400) + C (200).[7] Churches were often constructed in the cruciform shape of Latin or Greek crosses,[8] had burial grounds (with Jesus-related markers like crosses), and were literally "oriented"—set out with their altars towards the east, the Orient. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) recorded some of the explanations, which cited Old Testament prophecies usually linked to Jesus, or the expectation that Jesus would return from the eastern direction (Mt 24:27).[9]

This trend in church orientation was widespread, but with many local variations, including the opposite ("occidentation") at Rome. Difficulties of a particular local topography might make orientation not worth the trouble. The precise direction identified as east also varied, as the sunrise drifted northward and southward during the course of the year. Some churches oriented themselves to sunrise on the feast day of their patron saint, but many relied on the Easter sunrise. This introduced a further variable, as Easter itself moved through the solar calendar. Some churches navigated these variable cycles by anchoring their orientation towards the sunrise on the day which had been Easter during the years of their foundation.[10]

In contrast, mosques were oriented, usually with greater sophistication, towards Mecca, the direction known as the *qibla*. At the invitation of Ulugh Beg (1394–1449), a grandson of Timur, the mathematician al-Kashi (ca. 1380–1429) arrived in Samarkand and successfully designed a hole in the wall of a *mihrab*, the prayer niche marking the *qibla*, such that the sun shone through it during, and only during, afternoon prayer.[11] In practice, the method for determining the *qibla*, and the results of those processes, could vary. Some were oriented due south, essentially treating the mosque location as if it were Medina, to the north of Mecca. Other mosques' *qiblas* were located by the rising or setting of the sun or some bright star, by the direction of the dominant winds, or by the immediate direction of the local road that ultimately led to Mecca. Less common were

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7   Jean Hani, *The Symbolism of the Christian Temple*, trans. Robert Proctor (Kettering: Angelico Press, 2016), 29–30; Charles-Jean Ledit, *Une cathédrale au nombre d'or* (Troyes: Tetraktys, 1960).

8   In Georgia, churches tend to have hidden apses, so the external form does not appear cruciform. See Ori Z. Soltes, *National Treasures of Georgia* (London: Philip Wilson, 1999), 101.

9   Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, II, q. 84, art. 3.

10   Patrick Arneitz, Andrea Draxler, Roman Rauch, and Roman Leonhardt, "Orientation of Churches by Magnetic Compasses?" *Geophysical Journal International* 198 (2014): 1–7, https://doi.org/10.1093/gji/ggu107; Peter Cunich and Jason R. Ali, "The Orientation of Churches: Some New Evidence," *The Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001): 155–193, http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003581500072188

11   Mohammad Bagheri, "A Newly Found Letter of al-Kāshī on Scientific Life in Samarkand," *Historia Mathematica* 24 (1997): 241–56 (244).

complex calculations using projective geometry or spherical trigonometry. While churches consonated with the eastern direction (deep ken), mosques envisioned a homogeneous world of longitude and latitude (plain ken) to approximate the *qibla*. The *qibla*-finding method of the eleventh-century astronomer al-Biruni (973–ca. 1050) involved determining multiple approximations of his longitude and taking their average. One fifteenth-century manuscript from Samarkand listed accurate and precise *qibla* values for 274 locations. Where the Christian orientation speculations were confident and vague, the Muslim ones were complex and precise.[12]

As an example of time and space coming together in a Jesus place, consider the Reims Cathedral, where Guillaume de Machaut's (ca. 1300–77) compositions (see Chapter 18) resonated: 138.75 m (about 455 ft) in length, 30 m (about 98 ft) in width at the nave, and 38 m (about 125 ft) maximum height. The next page has a pop-up diagram of the Reims Cathedral, which you are invited to print/cut out (see Fig. 5.1). Folding up the southern walls of the church—on the right side of the page—creates a three-dimensional model. A Christian cathedral was a complex space designed to coordinate the mass and the liturgical offices with the hour of the day and the day of the year, two temporal cycles. For each ceremony, the sun was at a unique point in the sky, not to return to that point until a year later. The apparent position of the sun, relative to the perspective of a priest standing at the altar, on Easter 1400, is marked on the diagram.[13]

Deep-ken features were not unusual in Late Traditional architecture. In Prague, Charles IV (1316–78) empowered a new bridge by having its construction begin in 1357, on 9 July at 5:31. Date and time arranged thus created a symmetrical bridge of odd numbers ascending (1, 3, 5, 7) to 9 and then descending in reverse order from 7 (July's number) down through 5 and 3 to 1. This time also saw the sun in conjunction with Saturn, thus dispelling the latter's impact, and the bridge was located to line up the summer solstice with a key tomb in the cathedral. Wooden crucifixes were installed on top of the Charles Bridge, but, not enjoying the same deep-ken protection, did not survive the fifteenth century.[14]

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12 David A. King, "Astronomy and Islamic Society: Qibla, Gnomonics and Timekeeping," in *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science*, ed. Roshdi Rashed, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 1996), I, 128–56; David A. King, "The Sacred Geography of Islam," in *Mathematics and the Divine: A Historical Study*, ed. Teun Koetsier and Luc Bergmans (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004), 161–78 (171).

13 The spirit of this diagram is echoed by the underlying rationalism of the contemporary cross-section illustration of the Milan Cathedral in Cesare Cesariano, *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri dece* (Como: Gotardus de Ponte, 1521), fol. 15v.

14 Zdeněk Horský, "Založení Karlova mostu a kosmologická symbolika Staroměstské mostecké věže," in *Staletá Praha*, ed. Z. Buříval, 9 vols. (Prague: Panorama, 1979), IX, 202–03.
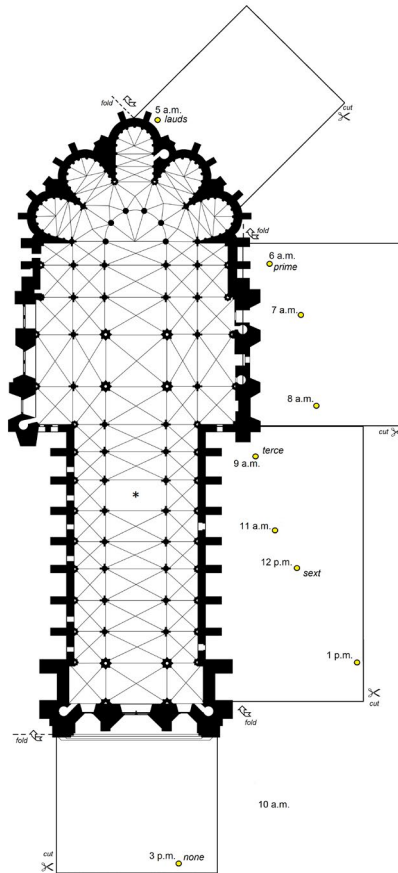
Fig. 5.1 Reims Cathedral, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79), *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (1856). Wikimedia, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plan.cathedrale.Reims.png. Annotations by Luke Clossey (2023), CC BY-NC.

Connections to Life Events

All churches have an immediate link to Jesus because the mass, in which Jesus's body and blood were created, was typically celebrated in a church (see Chapter 9). Some churches and mosques consonated with Jesus also because they stood at, and facilitated pious remembrance of, a key moment in the course of his earthly life, past or future. These structures formed a kind of architectural life of Jesus. A pilgrim might visit some or all of them, and access the power resonating behind and among them. The temporal specifics of the contemporary Holy Land became increasingly interesting to visitors. Three times as many pilgrims wrote

accounts of Holy Land travels in 1480–90 than in any previous decade.[15] The Dutch pilgrim Erhard Reuwich (ca. 1445–1505) used his first-hand experience of Jerusalem to illustrate Bernhard von Breydenbach's account of his own 1483–84 pilgrimage. In addition to featuring the first-ever printed extensive map of the Holy Land and detailed architectural imagery, the Breydenbach-Reuwich guide includes visual and textual information about contemporary local dress and the Arabic language (see Fig. 5.2). Possibly the first illustrated travel guide made in the Far West, it featured Arabic script and a map of Palestine made from personal observation. Such guides spoke to a temporal concern with knowledge about a particular space, although often without any sense of that place changing as time passed.[16]

A place might even be linked to a event to come, in the future life of Jesus. Damascus's Great Umayyad Mosque—built in the eighth century on what had been the Church of St. John the Baptist, which had in turn been built on a temple to Jupiter—had two minarets, the Minaret of the Bride and the more recent (thirteenth-century) Minaret of Jesus, "of Isa," also called "white" or eastern. This minaret derived its name from its deep-ken consonance with an earlier hadith that said Jesus would come from heaven and alight here, while wearing clothing dyed with saffron and "placing his hands on the wings of two Angels."[17]

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15   Pierre Barbatre (1480), Santo Brasca (1480), anonymous pilgrim from Paris (1480), Felix Fabri (1482), Paul Walther (1482), Bernard von Breydenbach (1483), Francesco Suriano (1483), Conrad Grünenberg (1486), anonymous pilgrim from Rennes (1486), Girolamo da Castiglione (1486), Georges Lengherand (1486), Nicolas Le Huen (1487), Jehan de Cucharmoys (1490), Philippe de Voisins (1490). Relatively few pilgrims wrote travelogues, and fewer of those survive; the 1480s peak may not reflect an increase in the total number of pilgrims. See Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. Donald Wilson (New York: Columbia UP, 2005), https://doi.org/10.7312/char13230; Jesse Hysell, "'By Means of Secret Help and Gifts': Venetians, Mamluks, and Pilgrimage to the Holy Land at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 49 (2018): 277–96, https://doi.org/10.1484/J.VIATOR.5.119582

16   Michele Campopiano, *Writing the Holy Land: The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the Construction of a Cultural Memory, 1300–1550* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-52774-7

17   *Sahîh Muslim*, ed. Abul Hussain Muslim Ibn al-Hajjaj, trans. Nasiruddin al-Khattab, 7 vols. (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2007), VII, 335 [7373] 110-(2937). Other traditions located Jesus's touch-down point at Damascus's walls or at the Great Mosque of Mecca. See Muhammad b. Khavandshah Mirkhvand, *The Rauzat-us-safa, or Garden of Purity*, trans. E. Rehatsek, ed. F. F. Arbuthnot, 3 vols. (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1892), II, 182.

Fig. 5.2 Erhard Reuwich, *Map of Jerusalem*, in Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Cologne: Peter Schoffer, 1486). Wikimedia, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peregrinatio_in_terram_ sanctam_Jerusalem_map_in_color.jpg

Infancy in Bethlehem and Egypt

The Church of the Nativity, above the grotto where Mary had nursed Baby Jesus, was in great disrepair in 1400 (see Fig. 5.3). In the fifteenth century, lead, wood, and artisans were sent from England and Venice to repair the roof.[18] In one poem, Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376/77–1445) testified that he had himself seen the cleft that the devil, furious at the Nativity, tore into the wall of the cave.[19] The church was still actively used by a variety of visitors. At the Milk Grotto, where the nursing Mary had let her milk drop upon a stone, pilgrims came to collect a milky substance, white with a hint of red, for healing or blessing. If you removed some milk, an identical quantity would ooze out anew, so there was a constant amount present.[20] New mothers unable to lactate would drink smoothies made from the soil from this church, after which their

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18   William Harvey, *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem* (London: Oxford UP, 1935), xiii.

19   Oswald von Wolkenstein, *The Poems of Oswald von Wolkenstein*, trans. Albrecht Classen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 110.

20   Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2013), 95–96; Grethenios, "Pèlerinage de l'archimandrite Grethenios (vers 1400)," in *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, trans. B. de Khitrowo (Geneva: Fick, 1889), 182.

breasts would spurt milk "like two little fountains."[21] Muslim women living near the church would bake bread, for wide distribution, as its consumption allowed for painless childbirth. Ailing women from both subcults took advantage of these means.[22]

An old tradition located the Cradle of Jesus (Mahd Isa) in Jerusalem. A room associated with the cradle existed in the Stables of Solomon (al-Marwani Mosque) beneath the ground level in the southeast corner of the Temple Mount complex. This was an important site, especially for Muslims. In the 1390s, the pilgrim Ibn al-Sabbah al-Andalusi was in the Holy Land and made a map of the Temple Mount, including Cradle of Jesus.[23] The cradle itself was, and is, a large cavity cut from a marble block laid down on the floor. Its head abutted a wall to line up underneath a carved, fluted alcove. An eleventh-century Muslim, Nasir Khusraw, described the cradle (1.8 x 1.2 x 0.8 m) as "large enough for men to pray in." He noted a tradition that Jesus had been born here—unlike the gospels, the Qur'an did not link the Nativity with Bethlehem—and mentioned a nearby column with gouges left by the fingers of Mary clutched during labour.[24] A Christian twelfth-century report mentioned the devotion shown here, as well as to a wooden crib venerated because Jesus had used it.[25] Other traditions linked the cradle to the Massacre of the Innocents, when the newborn Jesus was hidden there, or to the Presentation of the forty-day-old Jesus at the Temple.[26]

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21 Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato di terra santa e dell'oriente di Frate Francesco Suriano*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich (Milan: Tipografia Editrice Artigianelli, 1900), 124.

22 Muḥammad Ibn-'Abdāllāh Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 4 vols. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP), I, 77. In the late sixteenth century, the Church of the Nativity was still being used by Muslims; see William Frederick Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), II, 682.

23 Ibn al-Sabbah al-Andalusi, *Nisbat al-akhbar wa tadhkirat al-akhyar*, ed. Jum'a Shikha (Tunis: al-Matba'a al-Magharibiyya, 2011), 269; Antonio Constán-Nava, "Edición diplomática, traducción y estudio de la obra Niṣāb al-ajbār wa-taḏkirat al-ajyār de Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ (s. IX H./XV e.C.)" (PhD thesis, University of Alicante, 2014), 709. See Nabil Matar, "The Cradle of Jesus and the Oratory of Mary in Jerusalem's al-Haram al-Sharif," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 70 (2017): 111–25 (118).

24 Nasir Khusraw, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr. (Albany, NY: Persian Heritage, 1986), 26.

25 John of Würzburg, "Descriptio Terrae Sanctae," in *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII., IX., XII. Et XV.* ed. Titus Tobler (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche, 1874), 129–31.

26 Andreas Kaplony, "Die fatimidische 'Moschee der Wiege Jesu' in Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 113 (1997): 123–32; David Myres, "Restorations on Masjid Mahd 'Isa (The Cradle of Jesus) during the Ottoman Period," in *Ottoman Jerusalem, The Living City: 1517–1917*, ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (London: Al Tajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), 525–37; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2007), III, 310–14.

In the fourteenth century, Muslims congregated here to recite Qur'an 19, the surah named after Mary.[27] The *qadi* Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali (1456–1522) wrote a history of Jerusalem that noted the continuation of this practice, which at that time had been supplemented by readings of the account at Qur'an 38 of Jesus's Ascension into heaven.[28]

Fig. 5.3 Konrad von Grunenburg, *Von Konstanz nach Jerusalem eine Pilgerfahrt zum Heiligen Grab im Jahre 1486* (Konstanz: n.p., 1487), 47. Wikimedia, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Konrad_von_Gr%C3%BCnenberg_-_Beschreibung_der_Reise_von_Konstanz_nach_Jerusalem_-_Blatt_47r_-_099.jpg

Further south, the journey of Jesus and his family into Egypt allowed for pilgrimage sites to be identified there, and then be confirmed by subsequent miracles. The Saints Sergius and Bacchus Church, in Cairo, was built over a cave where the Holy Family first stayed upon arrival in Egypt. A church in El Matareya, now a northern district of Cairo, marked the location of Mary stopping to wash Jesus, and had a sycamore tree with healing properties. The Latin word

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27   Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, 74; Myres, "Restorations," 526.

28   Moudjir ed-Dyn, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Abraham jusqu'à la fin du Xve siècle de Jesu Christ*, trans. Henry Sauvaire (Paris: Leroux, 1876), 103.

for mother, *mater*, gave its name to the district because of this connection with Mary and Jesus.[29]

Death and Ascension in Jerusalem

Jerusalem contained a number of sites linked to events in Jesus's Passion. In the gospels, Judas attempted to return to the Jewish authorities the thirty pieces of silver they had given him for betraying Jesus. They refused to accept back this "blood money," and instead donated it for the purchase of land just south of Jerusalem for the burial of foreigners, known as Akeldama, the "field of blood" (Mt 27:7–8). It became a pilgrimage destination in its own right, and, with deepken appropriateness, became a burial site for foreigners who died while visiting the city. The soil there acquired a reputation as an effective solvent and as a deodorant for any corpses buried in it. European pilgrims took samples home with them, as useful holy souvenirs, in particular for application in cemeteries. Even in the Far West, the soil's qualities were reserved for foreigners, however, and Akeldama earth would regurgitate locals buried in it.[30]

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre[31] sits at the site of the Crucifixion and Jesus's tomb, and had long been a focus of Christian devotion before our period. Henry IV (ca. 1367–1413) of England had visited the tomb personally, and later, prompted by rumours that Ethiopia was poised to take Jerusalem, sent (ca. 1400) a report of his devotion and that trip to the Ethiopian emperor.[32] Around the same time wooden carved replicas of the Holy Sepulchre became popular in Novgorod.[33]

The historian Abu Shama of Damascus (1203–68) punned on "Holy Sepulchre," changing the church's name from القيامة *al-qiyamah* to القمامة

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29   Otto Meinardus, "The Itinerary of the Holy Family," *Studia Orientalia Christiana* 7 (1962): 344.

30   Felix Fabri, *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, 2 vols. (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1892), I, 534–38. Bianca Kühnel, Renana Bartal, and Neta Bodner, "Natural Materials, Place, and Representation," in *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Renana Bartal, and Neta Bodner (London: Routledge, 2017), xxiii–xxxiv (xxiii).

31   Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone, 2010), 168–69, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1453n0p

32   F. C. Hingeston, ed., *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860) I, 421–22.

33   O. B. Strugova, "Russian Wooden Icons and Religious Sculpture," in *The Sacred Art of Russia from Ivan the Terrible to Peter the Great*, ed. Paula Marlais Hancock, Carolyn S. Vigtel, and Margaret Wallace (Atlanta, GA: Georgia International Cultural Exchange, 1995), 30–34 (31).

al-qumamah.[34] The shared q-m-m consonant cluster of *qiyamah* and *qumamah* generates a variety of meanings, including resurrection, union, or garbage.[35] Thus this could mean either Church of Resurrection, Church of Union, or Church of the Garbage. The etymological possibilities gave rise to a legend, one version preserved by Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406): having travelled to Jerusalem to recover the cross, the Empress Helena discovered that it had been torn down and covered with garbage. To mark the location, she had built the Church of the Filth; to get revenge on the Jews, she had garbage dumped on the Dome of the Rock's Foundation Stone.[36]

Jerusalem also preserved footprints of Jesus, presumably at the moment of his Ascension into heaven. One foot's print was in the Chapel of the Ascension, on the Mount of Olives, and the other in the al-Aqsa Mosque, on Temple Mount. The latter was just south of the Dome of the Rock, which had the footprint of Muhammad imprinted before he ascended while on his own celestial Night Journey. Presumably because of the proximity of the other footprints, Muhammad's had sometimes been identified as Jesus's.[37]

Replicating Jesus Places

Other churches around Christendom were built to resonate with the Holy Sepulchre. The twelfth-century Round Church in Cambridge was built by the Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre. The knight and mayor Georg Emmerich (fifteenth century) had built a Holy Sepulchre, ca. 1500, in Görlitz, in eastern Saxony.[38] In Bruges, one Pieter II Adornes (ca. 1395–1464) established a Jerusalem chapel (1429) to consonate with the Holy Sepulchre. His son Anselm, after a pilgrimage, on foot, to Jerusalem, returned (1471) and renovated the

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34 Abu Shama, *Livre des deux jardins* منتخبات من كتاب الروضتين في أخبار الدولتين النورية والصلاحية, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, ed. and trans. A.C. Barbier de Meynard, 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898), IV, 321.

35 Zakaria Mohammad, "The Holy Sepulchre and the Garbage Dump: An Etymology," trans. By Salim Tamari, *Jerusalem Quarterly* 50 (2012): 108–12.

36 Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1958), II, 262 (ch. 4, sec. 6).

37 Antoninus of Piacenza, *De locis sanctis quae perambulavit Antoninus martyr circa A.D. 570*, ed. Titus Tobler (St. Gallen: Huber, 1863), 26; Paul Geyer, ed., *Itinera hierosolymitana saeculi IIII–VIII* (Prague: Tempsky, 1898), 107–08; Perween Hasan, "The Footprint of the Prophet," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 335–43; Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 186, 195; John Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), 105, 177–80.

38 Adolf Wrede, *Ernst der Bekenner, Herzog von Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1888), 80–82.

chapel based on his experience in that city. A copper ball topped its tower, and echoed the look of oriental domes. In the chapel itself, a sculptured rock and a painted mural lent themselves to a visual recreation of Calvary.[39] The pilgrimage of Oxford theologian William Wey (1407–76) spurred the creation of a chapel at Edington that had the "likeness" of the Holy Sepulchre. That chapel housed a seven-foot-long guide map, and a reliquary with stones collected from various Holy Land sites.[40]

The churches were designed with the plain ken to be as accurate to the Holy Sepulchre as possible, which, in turn, established a deep-ken consonance. The goal was not to build the best tomb, but the one that consonated most optimally with Jesus's own tomb. In fact, the "best" tomb could even be undesirable—a German bishop in the 1360s became dismayed upon realizing that the tomb designed for him was superior to Jesus's: "it should not be, that my grave is finer than God's."[41] Now the ideal tomb was not the most lavish, but the most precise replica of the Holy Sepulchre. Pilgrims had taken measurements for centuries,[42] but the practice increased in the fifteenth century. The cloister walls of Bebenhausen Abbey, outside Tübingen, had lines, made in 1492, that marked off the length of the Holy Sepulchre.[43] In Florence, the wealthy merchant Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai (1403–81) commissioned Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) to engineer a Holy Sepulchre replica (1467)

39   Nadine Mai, "Place and Surface: Golgotha in Late Medieval Bruges," in *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Renana Bartal, and Neta Bodner (London: Routledge, 2017), 190–206, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315210315-11

40   Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2017), 183–210, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316488362; Kathryn M. Rudy, "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms. 212," *Zeitschrift* für *Kunstgeschichte* 63 (2000): 494–515; Zur Shalev, "Christian Pilgrimage and Ritual Measurement in Jerusalem," *Micrologus* 19 (2011): 131–50. See Francis Davey, ed. and trans., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010).

41   Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005) 357, https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198269281.001.0001

42   Moore, *Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, 26–28.

43   Werner Heinz, "Heilige Längen: Zu den Maßen des Christus- und des Mariengrabes in Bebenhausen," *Mediaevistik* 28 (2015): 297–324.

for use as his own tomb.[44] Pieter Sterckx came to Leuven from Jerusalem, with measurements, in 1505.[45]

Attention on the Sepulchre was part of a broader plain-ken interest in Jerusalem's metrics, which pre-dated, but peaked in, our period. Pseudo-Bonaventure (see Chapter 4) relied on pilgrims' reports of distances between Holy Land locations, and would compare distances in contemporary Italy to distances from Jerusalem.[46] Johannes Poloner in 1433 counted, "with all the diligence that he could," the steps between the Stations of the Cross, a series of locations linked to the last moments of Jesus before his death.[47] Similarly, Martin Ketzel made a pilgrimage in 1468 to recover measurements of the distance between stations. His losing the numbers on his return necessitated a second trip.[48] A 1467 Dutch will calling for the recreation of the Holy Land in Leiden specified that even the number of steps to the top of Calvary be the same (eighteen), and that the Bethlehem crib be duplicated "as near as one can achieve."[49] Archbishop John II of Baden (1434–1503) used measurements

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44 Quoted in Girolamo Mancini, *Vita di Leon Battista Alberti* (Florence: Sansoni, 1882), 465–66. See Ludwig H. Heydenreich, "Die Cappella Rucellai von San Pancrazio in Florenz," in *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, De artibus opuscula 40, 2 vols. (New York: New York UP, 1961) I, 225; Bram de Klerck, "Jerusalem in Renaissance Italy: The Holy Sepulchre on the Sacro Monte of Varallo," in *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, ed. Jeroen Goudeau, Mariëtte Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 227–30, fig. 9.8, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004270855_011; Gastone Petrini, "La cappella del Santo Sepolcro nella ex-chiesa di S. Pancrazio in Firenze," in *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. Franco Cardini (Florence: Alinea, 1982), 339–42.

45 Maria Meertens, *De godsvrucht in de Nederlanden naar handschriften van gebedenboeken der XVᵉ eeuw*, 4 vols. (Antwerp: Standaard, 1931), II, 104.

46 Iohannis de Caulibus, *Meditaciones vite Christi olim S. Bonaventuro attributae* (Brepols: Turnhout, 1997), 88, 269.

47 Johannes Poloner, "Descriptio Terrae Sanctae" [1421], in *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. Et XV.*, ed. Titus Tobler (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1874), 229. See Susanna Fischer, "Das Heilige Land im Gitternetz: die Strukturierung von Raum und Zeit in der 'Descriptio terrae sanctae' des Johannes Poloner," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 93 (2019): 393–402, https://doi.org/10.1007/s41245-019-00092-0

48 Reproduced at Franz Trautmann, *Die Abenteuer Herzog Christophs von Bayern*, 2 vols. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1880), II, 441–42. Doubts have been raised about this letter, which was lost in the nineteenth century. See H. Michaelson, "Adam Krafft's sieben Stationen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 22 (1899): 395–96 and Susanne Wegmann, "Der Kreuzweg von Adam Kraft in Nürnberg: Ein Abbild Jerusalems in der Heimat," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 84 (1997): 94–95.

49 Will of Wouter Ijsbrantszoon (1467), reproduced at D. E. H. De Boer, "Jherusalem in Leyden of de strijd om een erfenis," *De Leidse Hofjes* 8 (1979): 39–75 (52).

from returning pilgrims to create in Trier a path of a length equidistant to that between Pilate's house and the Crucifixion site.[50]

At the end of the century, this enthusiasm for replication extended beyond the Sepulchre to include other Jerusalem sites. In Italy, "sacred mountains" (s*acri monti*) were multiple chapels each linked to one or more events in Jesus's biography, especially the Passion. The first was built at Varallo Sesia, in Piedmont, in 1486, followed by one at San Vivaldo, Tuscany, 1500–16. The designs of these scared mountains at times took a deep-ken interest in consonating with Jerusalem, and at times a plain-ken interest in reproducing its spatial layout, or the experience of pilgrims there. Local hills could correspond to Jerusalem hills, such as Calvary and the Mount of Olives. Varallo's design ignored fifteenth-century Jerusalem, to better evoke first-century Jerusalem for the plain ken. Around 1490, Varallo had installed a part of the stone of the Holy Sepulchre and another stone slab that was "in every way like" (*in tutto simile*) the ones covering the Holy Sepulchre. One Varallo pilgrimage booklet uses *assomigliato* to describe the resemblance,[51] and its sepulchre entrance was inscribed with an assertion of that resemblance.[52] Resembling Holy Land topography, San Vivaldo had such correspondence that the map of Jerusalem, rotated ninety degrees, could be superimposed meaningfully. In Jerusalem, pilgrims went first to the Holy Sepulchre, then the next day to Calvary, the House of Pilate, and finally the Mount of Olives. In Europe, a sacred mountain's chapels could be arranged either according to the narrative of Jesus's life, or according to the order in which pilgrims visited the sites in fifteenth-century Jerusalem. Either arrangement approached the issue with the plain ken.[53]

Other sets of stations of the cross were set up in Córdoba and in Messina. One shrine with the stations of the cross had been built on the island of Rhodes;

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50 Gottfried Kentenich, *Aus dem Leben einer Trierer "Patrizierin"* (Trier: Lintz, 1909), 4–6.

51 *Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varalle* (Milan: Gottardo da Ponte, 1514).

52 De Klerck, "Jerusalem in Renaissance Italy," 222–27 (fig. 9.4–5).

53 Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1983), 102–42. See Santino Langé, *Sacri Monti Piemontesi e Lomabrdi* (Milan: n.p., 1967); Tsafra Siew, "Translations of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage Route at the Holy Mountains of Varallo and San Vivaldo," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 113–32, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004298187_008; Rudolph Wittkower, "'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps," in *Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Margot Wittkower (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 174–83. For "topographical order," see Rudy, "Guide to Mental Pilgrimage," 494–515; Kathryn M. Rudy, "A Pilgrim's Memories of Jerusalem: London, Wallace Collection MS M319," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): 311–25, https://doi.org/10.1086/ JWCI20462767

it was thought to be an accurate copy of the processional route in Jerusalem, which was believed to have been the path walked by Jesus carrying his cross to his execution. In 1504, a copy of the Rhodes shrine was built in Fribourg, in Switzerland. In 1515, a French merchant visiting that city went home to Romans-sur-Isère to build a copy of the Fribourg shrine, a copy of a copy of a copy of the Jerusalem route. All three shrines included seven columns spaced apart, each representing an event of the Passion narrative, with the seventh at a Calvary, the site of Jesus's execution. The French shrine's Calvary was erected on a purpose-built hill. That complex proved so popular with enthusiastic visitors that the shrine's administrator himself went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in 1517, with an architect and a bricklayer, to measure distances between sites, to be able to space the columns correctly. He added seventeen more stations of the cross to the complex, and increased its reputation for accuracy: one guidebook for pilgrims to Romans-sur-Isère boasted that the dimensions of the Holy Sepulchre there and in Jerusalem were identical.[54] Miracles further confirmed the verisimilitude. One grieving father prayed that his deceased son be restored to life, offering to take his resurrected son to the Romans-sur-Isère shrine's Calvary and leave there a two-pound wax image as an offering. After the prayer, he discovered the shroud wrapping the corpse had become covered with crosses, inside and out, and then the boy returned to life.[55]

This plain-ken delight in precise, if ugly, measurements existed in a deep-ken space where the original tomb consonated with its copies. Like with musical intervals, the copies were not the same size as the original, but some fraction of it. Deep-ken beautiful numbers like three and five thus remained in the architecture: the tomb at Florence was one third of the original size, and that at Görlitz, one fifth.[56] The "chord" between original and copy could even be inverted. When Nuremberg pilgrim Hans Tucher (1428–91) beheld Jesus's tomb in Jerusalem in 1479, he was impressed not by how closely the copies he had seen resembled it, but by how much it resembled those copies: the Jerusalem tomb

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54   *Le Voyage et Oraisons du mont de Calvaire de Romans en Dauphiné* (Paris: Gillet Couteau, 1516), fol. 204.

55   Pnina Arad, "Is Calvary Worth Restoring? The Way of the Cross in Romans-sur-Isère, France," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 154–72, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004298187_010; Ulysse Chevalier, *Notice historique sur le Mont-Calvaire de Romans* (Montbéliard: Hoffmann, 1883); Archange de Clermont, *Le Transport du Mont-Calvaire de Hierusalem en France* (Lyons: Didier, 1638), 548–52; Jacques Foderé, *Narration historique et topographique des couvents de l'ordre S.-François, et monastères S.-Claire, érigés en la province anciennement appelée le Bourgongne* (Lyons: Rigaud, 1619), 612–17; Karl Alois Kneller, *Geschichte der Kreuzwegandacht* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche, 1908), 202–04.

56   Gunhild Roth, "Das 'Heilige Grab' in Görlitz," in *Der Jakobuskult in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Dieter R. Bauer (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2003), 259–84.

"very much equals the one in Eichstätt."[57] This plain-ken interest in the actual spatial dimensions of the Holy Sepulchre was balanced by a deep-ken interest in geometrical perfection: the precise measurements, achieved at great expense and labour, were subsequently "improved" during the design of the replica.[58] Of course, the very desire to have the two sets of measurements consonate was fundamentally deep-ken oriented in the first place.

Inscriptions

Some places were linked to Jesus through the presence of an inscription. In Islam, the preference for writing over images as the most appropriate decoration extended from Qur'ans into buildings. Mosques tended to be more inscribed than churches, and often had no other decoration. Scholars today sometimes struggle to come up with explanations that connect the text of the inscription to the function of the buildings or of the architectural elements nearby.[59] One possibility is that memory assisted imperfect literacy: a reader who managed to understand the first word of an inscription might have recourse to memory to supply the rest. Typically, these inscriptions would be in Arabic, but we see Chinese in the Songjiang Mosque, in southern Shanghai, from the Yuan dynasty: two screens surround its northern gate, with the inscriptions 清真寺 (mosque) and 清妙原真 "the clear and mysterious original truth," a reference to God.[60]

Outside of mnemonics, any Islamic inscription stressing the unity of God that was created in a context where Christians were nearby was likely to have been intended to defend Jesus's humanity against assertions of his divinity. For example, Qur'an 112 appeared frequently on tombstones: "Say! He is Allah, The One and Only; Allah the Eternal, Absolute; He begets not, Nor is he begotten…"[61] The implication was that Jesus was not God. A prominent Jesus inscription could

57   Quoted in Helmut Flachenecker, "Das Schottenkloster Heiligkreuz in Eichstätt," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 105 (1994): 65–95 (84).

58   Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1998), 106–19. Every aspect of this account—the date, the surveyors, the connection with Alberti—has been questioned by scholars.

59   Nina Ergin, "Multi-Sensorial Messages of the Divine and the Personal: Qur'an Inscriptions and Recitation in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Mosques in Istanbul," in *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour and İrvin Cemil Schick (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2013), 105–18 (106), https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474468428-008

60   Barbara Stöcker-Parnian, "Calligraphy in Chinese Mosques: At the Intersection of Arabic and Chinese Calligraphy," in *Calligraphy and Architecture*, ed. Gharipour and Schick, 139–58 (150), https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474468428-010

61   Elaine Wright, *Islam: Faith, Art, Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scala, 2009), 97.

also express a message in polytheistic South Asia. In 1389, a dome mausoleum was built in Delhi's Hauz Khas Madrasa complex for the late Firuz Shah (1309–88). Its design sports large medallions on which were inscribed hadith describing the world as a cursed prison to be escaped through prayer, alongside the names of Jesus and the other prophets. A smaller medallion declares that there is no God but Allah, and "Jesus is the spirit [*ruh*] of Allah."[62]

Minaret of Jam

The most famous monument of the Ghurid sultans, not far from the ruins of what may have been their summer capital, was the brick-and-terracotta Minaret of Jam, towering 65 m above a narrow mountain valley between Kabul and Herat. The Ghurids constructed it in the late twelfth century.

From an octagonal base 9.14 m in diameter wound two intertwining staircases up 159 steps (each) to a balcony surmounted by a series of high brick platforms. Only the slightly later Qutb Minar in Delhi has a higher brick minaret. Amid a symphony of stucco, brick, and glazed turquoise tiles can be read a number of inscriptions, in relief, in Kufic script, in bands varying between 1.5 to 3 m tall. The highest is the *shahada*. The middle layer points to victory (Qur'an 61:13) and to the greatness of Muhammad of Ghur (1144–1206), pioneer of the Delhi Sultanate.[63]

The lowest inscription on the shaft wraps Qur'an 19 around in a network of narrow bands, its text emphasizing the humanity of Jesus. Experts disagree on the original intent; how it would have been read in 1400 is no more certain. It might have been an expression of the Karramites' complex teachings on God's deep-ken essence and his deep-ken Creation. The surah was arranged such that Qur'an 19:35 occurred, unexpectedly, at the focal point in the decoration scheme: God "says only 'Be,' and it is." The phrase "'Be,' and it is" was a key tool used by the Karramiyya sect to work out the relationship between the deep-ken essence of God and plain-ken events. Here, and in half its occurrences in the Qur'an,

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62 Anthony Welch and Howard Crane, "The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 123–66 (159); Maulvi Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *A Record of All the Qur'anic and Non-Historical Epigraphs on the Protected Monuments in the Delhi Province* (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1999), 74–76 (no. 76).

63 Finbarr Barry Flood, "Ghurid Monuments and Muslim Identities: Epigraphy and Exegesis in Twelfth-century Afghanistan," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 42 (2005): 263–94, https://doi.org/10.1177/001946460504200301; Werner Herberg, "Topographische Feldarbeiten in Ghor," *Afghanistan Journal* 3 (1976): 57–69; Ulrike-Christiane Lintz, "Survey – the Qur'ānic Inscriptions Monument from Jām, Afghanistan," in *Calligraphy and Architecture*, ed. Gharipour and Schick, 83–102, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474468428-007

this phrase referred to Jesus, to explain how his extraordinary conception did not imply his divinity. In fact, the Karramiyya had been associated with the idea of an anthropomorphic God, which was dangerously close to the Incarnation. The idea that God had a body, in some sense, brought them, in the eyes of their many critics, in the direction of Christianity and of the idea that God himself was subject to change—temporal in nature.[64] Alternatively, the inscription's references to "disbelievers" could commemorate the victory over the Chauhans of Ajmir (1192) which began the conquest of India, bringing Hindu polytheistic subjects under Islamic rule: the text proclaims the triumph of monotheism against the polytheistic opponents. Perhaps by 1400, the inscription's motivation, if not its physical letters, was already obscure.

Dome of the Rock

The Dome of the Rock is a shrine (not a mosque) on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, built in the seventh century by Christians from wood and marble, and decorated with tile in a Persian and Byzantine style. One contrary tradition held that Muslims had built it in response to the Holy Sepulchre—not as an imitation, but as an edifice of equal dignity.[65] Within was the rock upon which Isaac was to be sacrificed (Genesis 22) or from which Muhammad ascended into heaven. The shrine was not uncontroversial: Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) warned against circumambulating the Dome of the Rock, for such honouring of Jerusalem detracts from Mecca: if you pray on the Temple Mount, it should be at the al-Aqsa Mosque.

The octagonal building houses an ambulatory arcade defined by eight piers and sixteen columns.[66] At the top of the arcade is a band of inscriptions, extending for a length of 240 m. The inscriptions repeat Qur'anic defences of the humanity of Jesus: God "bears witness that there is no God but him" (3:18), God "who has no child nor partner in His rule" (17:111), "it would not befit God to have a child. He is far above that" (19:35), God "begot no one" (112:3). The east side displays an extended quotation that makes the implications explicit: "do no say anything about God except the truth: the Messiah, Jesus, son of

64   Flood, "Ghurid Monuments," 272–83; Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), 39–43.

65   This is from the tenth-century geographer Al-Maqdisi. Mukaddasi, *Description of Syria*, trans. Guy Le Strange (London: Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, 1886), 22–23.

66   Charles D. Matthews, "A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymīyyah) on the 'Merits' of Jerusalem and Palestine," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56 (1936): 1–21 (5); Suleiman A. Mourad, "Dome of the Rock," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, ed. Josef W. Meri, 2 vols. (New York: Routledge, 2006), I, 212–14.

Mary, was nothing more than a messenger of God, His word, directed to Mary, a spirit from Him. So believe in God and His messengers and do not speak of a 'Trinity'—stop [this], that is better for you—God is only one God, He is far above having a son..." (4:171). The inscription also goes beyond the Qur'an to invoke God's blessings on "your Prophet and your servant Jesus son of Mary."

Assertions of the unity of God are always potentially anti-Christian; here, in this city prominent in both subcults, the references to Jesus the messenger makes this message explicit. These are the earliest extant dated Qur'anic references. Perhaps these were written for local Christians and Jews, but they were difficult to read: in an elusive Kufic script, awkwardly positioned high above the arches. Presumably their purpose was not a plain-ken transfer of meaning to humans, but rather to reflect an absolute deep-ken power in language, regardless of the presence of human audience.[67] (See Chapter 10.)

Florence under Jesus Rule

So far, this chapter has focused on the design and intentionality behind structures related to Jesus, either by events in his life, or by ongoing worship of him. We turn finally to a place that had a more direct and immediate relationship to Jesus, Florence, a favoured city which he protected and ruled.

Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464) became the *de facto* ruler of Florence in the 1430s, and, in 1492, his great-grandson Piero (1472–1503) inherited his power. Two years into his reign, the French king Charles VIII (1470–98) invaded Tuscany. Piero, unable to find political support in a city increasingly under the sway of the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98), surrendered two towns and four fortresses to the French king, provoking widespread disapproval. On 9 November 1494, the feast of San Salvatore (the Holy Saviour), Jesus finally frightened Piero de' Medici into fleeing the city. In celebration, the new republic designated that day a special holiday, to celebrate Jesus saving Florence from Piero's incompetence.[68]

Thus began the first, Savonarolan, republic (1494–96). Savonarola advised Florence to take [*piglia*] Jesus himself as their king, to replace rule by the Medici, who, he charged, had opposed the cult of Jesus. Savonarola conceded

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67 Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image of the Word*, 2 vols. (Beirut: American University Beirut, 1981), I, 21–25; Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1pncpt1; Oleg Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62 (54).

68 Giovanni Cambi, *Istorie*, ed. Ildefonso di San Luigi, 4 vols. (Florence: Cambiagi, 1786), IV, 6–7.

that monarchy was not a perfect form of government, especially in Italy where a king's intelligence would tend to make him a tyrant. If, however, Florence wanted a ruler, it should have the best ruler, Jesus. His argument took two approaches, both with the deep ken. First, he noted that for every category of things, one member of each category must be the "rule and measure." White was the measure of colours, and fire the measure of hot things. For governments, the measure was rule by God. His second argument looked to Old-New Testament consonance: Ps 2:6 reported God's statement that "I have installed my king on Zion." Savonarola also confirmed that Jesus "wanted" to rule Florence.[69]

In 1495, Savonarola announced that Jesus had become the king of Florence. This happened not through a political election, but as a necessary by-product of the personal reforms of the citizens. The Hall of the Grand Council was newly christened the "Hall of Christ." The *fanciulli*, the young boys enthusiastically following and enforcing the Savonarolan reform, roamed the streets singing a composition that attacked the excesses of Carnival and elevated Jesus, the new king. At the same time, Jesus's mother Mary served as queen of Florence. Indeed, Savonarola described a symbolically complex crown—with a heart miraculously made of many tiny hearts, and topped with a cross—that the Florentine people made for Mary, alongside their petitions for a more pious city.[70]

Jesus's rule conveniently made it inconvenient for anyone else to become king. Savonarola pointed out that anyone "who opposes this government opposes Christ."[71] The Savonarolan partisan Girolamo Benivieni (1453–1542) remarked that "where Christ is king there can be no tyrant," since the would-be tyrant would necessarily have to usurp the throne from Jesus himself.[72] Jesus's rule also removed any cause for the Florentines to be afraid, despite the dangerous times, for "we have a good King."[73]

After Savonarola's 1498 death, the Medici, represented by Piero's brothers Giovanni and Giuliano, returned to power in 1512. Their rule lasted fifteen years. In 1527, Florence once more threw out the Medici, and once more chose

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69   Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Aggeo*, ed. Luigi Firpo (Rome: Belardetti, 1965), 409–28. See John Koenig, "Mary, Sovereign of Siena, Jesus, King of Florence: Siege Religion and the Ritual Submission (1260–1637)," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 115 (2008): 79–92.

70   Girolamo Savonarola, *Compendio di rivelazioni (testo volgare e latino) e Dialogus de veritate prophetica*, ed. Angeli Crucitti (Rome: Belardetti, 1974), 77–80; Joseph Schnitzer, ed., *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Savonarolas*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1910), IV, 160.

71   Koenig, "Mary, Sovereign of Siena," 83.

72   Quoted in Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1970), 218–19.

73   Savonarola, *Prediche sopra i Salmi*, ed. Vincenzo Romano, 2 vols. (Rome: Belardetti, 1969–74), II, 201 (sermon 28).

Jesus as their king.[74] On 9 February 1528, in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, previously the Hall of Christ, the head of the republic, Gonfaloniere Niccolò Capponi (1472–1529), proposed making Jesus the king of Florence, with Mary as his queen. He had been a Savonarola supporter, and gave a speech Savonarola would have applauded.[75] Where the earlier republic had made Jesus king in a subtle, spiritual way, the new republic chose to have a formal "election."[76] The vote overwhelmingly supported his proposal, with 1100 ayes and only 18 nays. To commemorate, and cement, Jesus's rule, an inscription was engraved in golden letters above the portal of the Palazzo, *YHS XPS Rex Populi Flor. S. P. Q. F. consensu deolaratus* [Jesus Christ declared king of the people of Florence, with the consent of the Senate and People of Florence].[77] Jesus's supporters would confirm that support with an oath, and their names inscribed (by a proxy, for those absent) in an official registrar.[78] Such measures would help Jesus's new kingdom last longer than the previous one.

In 1527, the San Salvatore feast was reinstated, and, the following year, legislation recognized the day of Jesus's election as a holiday (9 February). Coins were minted with the crown of thorns, and authorities urged the formal prosecution of anyone dishonouring Jesus.[79] On 29 October 1528, Florence's signoria approved a military banner with the IHS, the city's red cross, and the word *libertas* [freedom], "which is born and has its origin in the said name of Yhs."[80] One military oration (Luigi Alamanni, 28 January 1529) explicitly described the military power of this Name banner. New legislation (22 June 1529) reaffirmed and strengthened the relationship between the city and its king, recognizing that it was *particularissimo et specialissimo* [the most distinctive and special].[81]

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74 Koenig, "Mary, Sovereign of Siena," 92–140.

75 Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Libri fabarum 72, fol. 234v.

76 For example, Michele Lupo Gentile, "Sulle fonti inediti della storia fiorentina di Benedetto Varchi," *Studi Storici* [Pisa]14 (1905): 421-71 (453); Bernardo Segni, *Storie fiorentine*, 3 vols. (Milan: Classici Italiani, 1805), III, 314; Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, ed. Lelio Arbib, 3 vols. (Florence; Nardi and Varchi, 1843), II, 293.

77 There are multiple versions of the text. This is from Segni, *Storie fiorentine*, III, 315. See Iacopo Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze*, ed. Agenore Gelli, 3 vols. (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1858), II, 143–45.

78 Lupo Gentile, "Sulle fonti," 453; Nardi, *Istorie*, ed. Gelli, II, 143–45. See Koenig, "Mary, Sovereign of Siena," 103–05; Cambi, *Istorie*, IV, 5.

79 Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, ed. Lelio Arbib, 3 vols. (Florence: Nardi and Varchi, 1843), II, 370–71; Eugenio Albèri, ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 3 series, 14 vols. (Florence: Clio, 1839), series 2, I, 25.

80 Florence, Archivio di Stato, Signori e Collegi, Deliberazioni in forza di ordinaria autorità 130, fol. 193r (29 October 1328); *Storie fiorentine*, I, 78.

81 Luigi Passerini, *Del Pretorio di Firenze* (Florence: Ricordi e Jouhaud, 1865), 49–50. See Koenig, "Mary, Sovereign of Siena," 116, 139–40.

Jesus's election was a response to the challenges facing Florence. The second republic endured plague and siege until it ended in 1530. At one point, when the danger to the city subsequently increased, Jesus's supporters asserted that the relationship with Jesus had palpable results: Jesus had given power to the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman (1494–1566), the emperor's rival, to limit the imperial threat to Florence. In Siena, and in both Florentine republics, the people's great sin was their failure to appreciate the divine origin of their political good fortune.[82]

Envoi

Eric Alfonso was born in March 2000 after his parents had tried to have a child for nine years without success. Mateus was born in early 2018 after his mother had experienced two miscarriages. Both boys' parents attributed their births to objects, respectively a milk sample and an image, sent from the Milk Grotto. One report tallied 450 miracles in 2017 alone, all linked to this place where Mary had once breastfed Jesus.[83] The Bethlehem milk cult endures today.

Jesus places were located in the intersections between the Christian world and the Muslim, between the deep ken and the plain, between hope and reality. Enthusiasts residing at these sites, or visiting them, or replicating them, used tactics from both kens to harness geographical power for a multitude of worldly and heavenly purposes. It can be difficult today to appreciate this sacred geography's reality. One scholar dismisses Jesus's rule of Florence as "a slogan and a rallying cry" that "could have no reality in the cockpit of politics." Some contemporary Florentines, however, would have disagreed, understanding Jesus to be their real king.[84]

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82   Savonarola, *Scelta di prediche e scritti*, ed. P. Villari and E. Casanova (Florence: Sansoni, 1898), 181; Varchi, *Storiafiorentina*, ed. Arbib, II, 293.

83   Christian Media Center, "The Milk Grotto, where families ask for the intercession of the Virgin Mary," online video recording, *YouTube* (15 May 2018), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gdeT8N0tqpc

84   Lauro Martines, *Fire in the City: Savonarola and the Struggle for Renaissance Florence* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), 107.