On Good Friday, 1626, Franciscus Quaresmius delivered a sermon in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem calling on King Philip IV of Spain to undertake a crusade to ‘liberate’ the Holy Land. *Jerusalem Afflicted: Quaresmius, Spain, and the Idea of a 17th-century Crusade* introduces readers to this unique call to arms with the first-ever edition of the work since its publication in 1631. Aside from an annotated English translation of the sermon, this book also includes a series of introductory chapters providing historical context and textual commentary, followed by an anthology of Spanish crusading texts that testify to the persistence of the idea of crusade throughout the 17th century.

Quaresmius’ impassioned and thoroughly reasoned plea is expressed through the voice of Jerusalem herself, personified as a woman in bondage. The friar draws on many of the same rhetorical traditions and theological assumptions that first launched the crusading movement at Clermont in 1095, while also bending those traditions to meet the unique concerns of 17th-century geopolitics in Europe and the Mediterranean. Quaresmius depicts the rescue of the Holy City from Turkish abuse as a just and necessary cause. Perhaps more unexpectedly, he also presents Jerusalem as sovereign Spanish territory, boldly calling on Philip as King of Jerusalem and Patron of the Holy Places to embrace his royal duty and reclaim what is rightly his on behalf of the universal faithful. Quaresmius’ early modern call to crusade ultimately helps us rethink the popular assumption that, like the chivalry imagined by Don Quixote, the crusades somehow died along with the middle ages.

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Figure 1 Allegorical engraving representing Jerusalem personified. Francisco Jesús María de San Juan del Puerto, *Patrimonio Seraphico de Tierra Santa* (Madrid, 1724). Image courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arizona Libraries.
Jerusalem Afflicted
Quaresmius, Spain, and the Idea of a
17th-century Crusade

Edited and translated by Chad Leahy
and Ken Tully
To my parents, Joan and Ed Leahy

and

To Valentina DeNardis

For her tireless efforts to promote Classical Studies
at Villanova University
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1. Allegorical engraving representing Jerusalem personified. Francisco Jesús Maria de San Juan del Puerto, *Patrimonio Seraphico de Tierra Santa* (Madrid, 1724)

2. Title page of Franciscus Quaresmius, *Ierosolymae Afflictae et humiliatae deprecatio ad Philippum IV Hispaniarum novi orbis suumque Regem Potentissimum et Catholicum. Vt libertatem ex Turcarum tyrannide assequatur* (Milan, 1631)
In 1631, Franciscus Quaresmius published a lengthy sermon calling on King Philip IV of Spain to undertake a crusade to ‘liberate’ the Holy Land from Turkish ‘tyranny’. The work has almost entirely escaped scholarly scrutiny for close to four centuries. No studies, translations, or even partial transcriptions of the Latin original have ever been published. The present book aims to correct this trend.  

*Jerusalem Afflicted* in many regards reads as markedly different from other contemporary calls for Spanish crusade, particularly by communing explicitly with centuries of crusade apologetics and oratory, and by largely eschewing the body of popular prophetic narratives monotonously invoked by Quaresmius’ contemporaries. Quaresmius favors, instead, reasoned exegetical arguments, layered with allusions to legal and economic claims surrounding the Spanish crown’s unique patronage of the Holy Places and possession of the throne of Jerusalem. His politically driven hermeneutic offers an intellectual and moral case for why the Spanish crown must undertake a new crusade, largely side-stepping both the abstractions of eschatology and the material practicalities of military strategy or funding. The Spanish national impetus that informs his arguments can thus be read very much as the product of the Franciscan’s unique situation as a deeply schooled Italian friar who is also a subject of the Spanish crown in the 17th century, steeped in crusade tradition and writing with righteous indignation, invoking the highest moral and spiritual authorities he can muster and twisting the rhetorical screws for all they are worth to spur the king to action.

Quaresmius overtly channels a long tradition of justifications for crusade that stretches back to the 11th-century foundations of the movement. In both invoking and adapting these traditions to his contemporary moment, Quaresmius’ work moves in parallel but distinct ways from the more familiar traditions of imperial messianism in Iberia that similarly call for a Spanish conquest of the Holy Land. The resulting work reads as diaphanously, even jarringly, traditional and, at the same time, breathtakingly fresh and unique. In sum, we are unaware of other works published during the period that are quite like *Jerusalem Afflicted*. We are optimistic that other scholars and students will share our conclusion that the work is worth our time and consideration, not as an historical curiosity but as a text that substantively complements what we know about the place of crusade in the 17th century and, more broadly, about the long postmedieval afterlives of the crusading idea.
Part 1 of this edition begins with a series of introductory chapters. Chapter 1 addresses the work’s place in the broader sweep of crusading chronology, briefly considering scholarly opinions surrounding the evolution of crusade into the early modern period, and reflecting on the fraught politics of time that govern how we understand the place of crusade in the world today. Chapter 2 critically situates Quaresmius’ work in the particular Spanish context for which it was crafted. The chapter foregrounds Iberian and Spanish crusading traditions, surveying the cultural and political resonance of the idea of crusade, considering Spain’s unique claims to possession of the Holy City, and teasing apart the Spanish crown’s complex relationship with the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land—of which Quaresmius was a part—in the late medieval and early modern periods. Chapters 3 and 4 consider the rich rhetorical and theological armature of Quaresmius’ work itself. Chapter 5 offers a brief biography of Quaresmius. Chapter 6 surveys what we know of the work’s material history as a sermon first delivered in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on Good Friday in 1626 and as a physical book printed in Milan in 1631, reflecting on the work’s subsequent critical reception as well. Finally, Chapter 7 succinctly lays out the criteria observed in translating the original Latin text of Quaresmius, as well as the Spanish and Italian texts translated here. We offer these initial chapters not as the definitive last word on Quaresmius but rather as a series of provisional possibilities and suggestions that we hope will orient the reader and serve as an invitation for future work on this hitherto unstudied text.

After these initial chapters, Part 2 presents the first modern language translation of Jerusalem Afflicted. The text references the original marginalia and is accompanied by extensive historical and theological annotations. To conclude the book, Part 3 offers a select anthology of contemporary Spanish and Italian language sources, each appearing for the first time in English translation, annotated, and accompanied by brief critical commentary. These latter sources each in different ways attest to the spiritual, cultural, and political values of the idea of crusade in 17th-century Spain, offering a broader context within which to understand Quaresmius.

This book first emerged as something of a footnote to a footnote. In researching the place of Jerusalem in the historical ‘invention’ of Spain, an obscure 19th-century bibliography yielded a reference to a title with which the researcher in question here—Chad—was wholly unfamiliar: Quaresmius, Ierosolymae Afflictae, Milan, 1631. Efforts to track down the suggestive title led to two separate trips to the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, each visit marked by marathon transcription sessions. While the food and sights in Milan did not disappoint, the Milan exemplar itself yielded an unpleasant surprise: it was missing two leaves, including the all-important title page and another which we would later find contained the author’s outline. Fortuitously, a second obscure 19th-century book, this time a digitized catalog of the National Library of Argentina, yielded an unexpected and wonderful discovery: a second exemplar, that to our knowledge had so far escaped the attention of scholars. Supplementing the Milan lacuna with the Buenos Aires codex, we were left with the first ever complete transcription of
Quaresmius’ *Jerusalem Afflicted*. Further study of the text led us to the conviction that we truly had rediscovered something special that merited further research, a text that needed to be shared with other scholars and students.

This book would not have been possible without the help of many people. We are deeply indebted to W. Marshall Johnston for his scrupulous review of our Latin translation. His suggested emendations on many occasions opened up the clear meaning of the text. We wish to recognize Noah, Eli, Gideon, Mimi, and Neave, and most especially Carolyn and Cheryl, who have all lived with this book in many ways, and who have all helped to make it finally become a reality. We would also like to acknowledge the persistent encouragement of Paula Plastic, who, for more than a decade, urged Chad to track down the vague references that he found to *Jerusalem Afflicted* as far back as 2007 and who additionally lent vital assistance in the preparation of the manuscript of this book. A note of thanks also goes to Jonathan Rockey for his assistance in verifying our Latin transcription, to Jorge Terukina Yamauchi for years of discussion surrounding the topic of this book, and to the following people who in different ways provided feedback, support, and encouragement: Laura Bass, Victor Castellani, Donna Beth Ellard, Carmen Granda, Tayana Hardin, Nicholas R. Jones, Orna Shaughnessy, John Slater, Susanna Throop, Rachel Walsh, and Juan Vitulli.

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Chad Leahy
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Part 1

Introduction
Steven Runciman concludes the third volume of his influential *A History of the Crusades* with an opinion that scholars today, in the main, flatly reject. Speaking of the 1464 crusading efforts of Pope Pius II, the historian declares with sweeping theatricality that

Nearly four centuries before, Pope Urban II by his preaching had sent men in their thousands to risk their lives in the Holy War. Now all that a Pope who took the Cross himself could raise were a few mercenaries who abandoned the cause before ever the campaign was begun. The Crusading spirit was dead.¹

Close to two centuries later, in 1631, Franciscus Quaresmius published *Jerusalem Afflicted*, a work that passionately calls on Philip IV of Spain to lead a new sacred expedition to liberate the Holy Land. In familiar terms that distill centuries of crusading tradition, adapting that tradition to the unique political and social conditions of his own 17th-century world, Quaresmius certainly appears to commune with the ‘spirit’ that Runciman declares dead.

What should we make of an appeal for crusading in the 17th century? One approach, which we do not embrace in the present book, would be to consider the friar as nothing more than a deeply anachronistic anomaly, a sort of delusional crusade-minded Don Quixote feverishly bent on reviving an ancestral practice unmoored from contemporary realities.² This is precisely the sort of image that two near contemporaries of Quaresmius—Francis Bacon (of Protestant England) and Francisco de Quevedo (of Catholic Spain)—share in referencing the prospect of a crusade at the start of the 17th century, despite the two hailing from two quite distinct political and confessional contexts. For the characters in the texts of Quevedo and Bacon, crusades are unambiguously the stuff of ‘locos’ and ‘cracked brains’.³ Such relevant contemporary dismissals might lend credence to the idea that a call for crusade published in 1631 should be read, at best, as an out-of-place relic of something already long gone.

Such an interpretation, however, does no justice to the messy complications of crusading—both as idea and as practice—in the early modern period and beyond. As Susanna Throop has recently argued, ‘even if we conclude that the crusades

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¹ Quaresmius, a Don Quixote?

² Jerusalem Afflicted in the longue durée
ended in the mid-seventeenth century, the legacy of crusading continues to unfold. As a result, crusading cannot be decisively locked into the box of the Middle Ages and the key thrown away’. Reflecting on the complex persistence of crusading, particularly into the early modern period, Christopher Tyerman observes that the proliferation of calls for crusade published even two centuries before Quaresmius, in the 15th century, ‘sits awkwardly with the construct of the crusades as a representative aspect of the culture that the Renaissance was supposed to have abandoned. It challenges the facile, crude demarcation of “medieval” and “modern”. Texts like Quaresmius’ *Jerusalem Afflicted* invite us to problematize the notion that crusading belongs to the pristine medieval world, and that the early modern—with its insinuations of a coming Enlightenment rationality and secularism—is somehow insulated from the backward feudal Catholic barbarism that is popularly associated with crusading.

Such an overwrought narrative derives its deceptive seduction from the politics of time and periodization that Kathleen Davis critiques in *Periodization and Sovereignty*. Liberally glossing Davis, by insisting on the radical otherness of the medieval past, by denying it a measure of continuity or co-presence with modernity, we engage in a problematic political flattening and obfuscation, both of the complex realities of the medieval world and of the contemporary world in which we live today. We should be similarly sensitive to interrogating the temporal frontiers that insulate the ‘medieval’ from the ‘modern’ when approaching the world of Quaresmius, who, in 1631, begs the King of Spain to conquer Jerusalem in ways that might look and sound suspiciously ‘medieval’.

Of course, this is also not to suggest that we should move in the other direction and deny differences. *Jerusalem Afflicted* and other crusade expressions of the 16th or 17th century cannot be considered to be of a seamless piece with the crusading movement as it was experienced a half millennium earlier in the 11th and 12th centuries. For some perspective, it bears noting that today we are closer to Quaresmius in time than Quaresmius was to Pope Urban. Norman Housley, who has explored the ‘Later Crusades’ in more depth than anyone else, takes care to underscore on this front that scholarly interest in exploring the outer temporal fringes of crusading ‘forms a legitimate field of enquiry, so long as we accept that the crusading movement, with its consequences not just of acquiescence but of broad-based popularity and support, had long since come to an end’ by the mid-17th century. Such a position need not enter into conflict with recognizing later phenomena that are clearly indebted to the practices or ideas of crusading. Such phenomena might include, for example, the drafting of an extensive crusade proposal by German philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in 1671–1672; the persistence of structural indices of crusading such as indulgences and taxes ‘during the Veneto-Ottoman struggle for Crete (1645–1669), the second siege of Vienna (1683), and the Holy League of 1684–1697’; the explicit crusading mission of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller, which operated through the end of the 18th century; the founding of the crusade-inspired L’Institut Religieux et Militaire des Frères Armés du Sahara toward the end of the 19th century; the incongruous persistence of the Spanish *cruzada* as a papally
recognized source of funding rooted in crusade, which puttered along until the reforms of Vatican II in the 1960s; or, today, the embrace of crusade ideas in the context of white supremacist or white nationalist ideologies. Elizabeth Siberry begins her study of images of 19th- and 20th-century crusades by recognizing this long history:

Recent writing on the crusades has underlined the fact that the crusading movement did not end with the fall of Acre in 1291 ... In fact, there is ample evidence that crusade schemes were discussed well into the nineteenth century and the term and image are still used widely today.

Speaking of such phenomena in terms of their connection to traditional crusade simply obliges us to acknowledge that a variety of historical, geopolitical, socio-cultural, and religious developments subject ‘crusading’ to diverse processes of reimagining over time. Recognizing the historical specificity of those processes is essential for the early modern period as for any other period in which the idea of crusade is activated or resignified.

What, then, of the specific context in which Quaresmius lived? Scholars have pointed to numerous factors that forced an evolution in crusade ideas in the 16th and 17th centuries. One of these is a shift in the focus of sacred warfare that emerges out of the internecine conflicts of the wars of religion. Contested interpretations of faith, mapped onto opposing political identities, recenter holy war as something waged just as much between Protestants and Catholics, or between Dutch rebels and Spanish tercios, as between Christendom and Islam. At the same time, diverse colonial-imperial endeavors around the world divert attention and resources, placing relevant monarchies at crossed purposes with the prospect of Holy Land conquest. Very significantly, the power of the Ottoman Turks and their allied client polities across the Maghreb also renders the Mediterranean itself a very complicated place, characterized by complex forms of alliance, exchange, conflict, piracy, slavery, and war. From a Habsburg perspective at least, the Ottoman presence in Palestine in this context might be relativized as just one issue in a whole vast sea of trouble centered around Constantinople, Paris, Venice, Malta, or Algiers, rather than around the Levant. Another issue relates to the increasing centralization of powerful monarchies, violently jockeying for position in ways that are not just expressed practically—through diplomacy, economics, or military confrontation—but also symbolically, in the sphere of culture and ideology. Here, the increasingly acute sacralization of national peoples, territories, and cultures yields opposing—and fundamentally incompatible—claims to an exclusive, providentially ordained essence. Divergent aspirations to embodying new Chosen Peoples in new Holy Lands, imagined by reference to the model Holy Land in Palestine, help to generate and sustain narratives that contribute to reinforcing proprietary claims over the Holy Land itself. In the case of Spain, as we will see in the next chapter, there was no doubt: Jerusalem was sovereign Spanish territory, under the patronage of the Spanish king, himself king of Jerusalem, and the only one called to lead the conquest of the Holy Land. Such complex
factors seem to spell doom for the hoary idea that global Christendom might unite
to overcome differences and distractions, coalescing in a new bid to reclaim the
patrimony of Christ from the clutches of Islam. Throop sums up current scholarly
orthodoxy on the matter by noting that

whereas in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries we might describe cru-
sades as Latin Christian holy wars with national inflections, by the sixteenth
century we might describe crusades as national holy wars rooted in a Latin
Christian tradition … No longer were crusades even nominally supranational;
instead they were an explicit expression of relations between nations …
Perhaps we can say that after 1600, wars of Christian nationalism replaced
crusading.18

Spain occupies a special place in scholarly accounts of such processes.19 We will
turn our full attention to exploring specific Spanish connections with crusading in
the next chapter. For now, we would simply like to underscore two key points in
view of the preceding. First, while the idea of crusade may have been fundamen-
tally different in 1631 than it was in 1464 or 1095, the idea of crusade was hardly ‘dead’, as Runciman would have it. On the contrary, it continued to manifest itself
in a variety of important ways through the end of the 17th century and beyond,
including through the granting of actual crusade privileges, as well as through the
expression of powerful ideas of national or imperial destiny, and religious, cul-
tural, and ethno-racial essence, ideas that together helped preserve aspirations of
Holy Land conquest as something deeply relevant and resonant. Second, such re-
levance and resonance were expressed perhaps no more loudly than in Spain. For
these reasons, we urge caution in approaching Quaresmius. The 17th-century idea
of a Spanish crusade, for which the Franciscan advocates, cannot be cavalierly
dismissed as a symptom of misplaced devotion or outsized religious fervor, vapid
backward nostalgia, naked imperial propaganda, or fevered messianic fantasy.
To consider it the dying embers of a fire long since extinguished would be overly
simplistic and inaccurate, and would also be less interesting than alternative inter-
pretations. Jerusalem Afflicted, on the contrary, deserves to be taken on its own
terms as a complex text born at a complex moment in which the idea of crusade
continued to matter a very great deal.

The crusade imagined by Quaresmius—led by the king of Spain in the pursuit
of both universal Catholic and Spanish national interests—conforms to the gen-
eral pattern reviewed earlier. While drinking deeply from the well of earlier tradi-
tion, as we will see, Quaresmius reflects the sensitivities and practical realities of
his moment circa 1631. Jerusalem Afflicted is a text keenly aware of the balance
of relevant international actors, including most particularly the Ottoman Turks
in Palestine, the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in Jerusalem, the Holy
See in Rome, and the Spanish monarchy, situating crusade within a network of
tugging authorities and rival interests. For Quaresmius, the recovery of the Holy
Land is a task that would be of universal benefit to all faithful Christians, but it
is also one that demands to be framed unambiguously as an affair proper to the
King of Spain. Nevertheless, *Jerusalem Afflicted* also overflows the categories of traditional royal or imperial propaganda that we might be tempted to expect with such a ‘national’ crusade project. The Franciscan reminds Philip of his rights and duties as sovereign of Jerusalem, and in the process repeats narratives of a special Spanish relationship with Jerusalem that the crown itself promoted. At the same time, things are, again, complicated. If, on the one hand, he advances a flattering portrait of royal power and destiny, he is also very often critical of the monarch, and is not shy in meting out warnings of harsh judgments and condemnation. The marriage of Jerusalem and her bridegroom Philip that Quaresmius describes is thus a marriage at once of divine destiny, legal obligation, and convenience. Philip is the only king called by God, bound by law, and endowed with the practical resources to rescue his enslaved wife from Turkish oppression. This is, in sum, a nuanced call to crusade that takes the prospect seriously, whether or not such an idea was actually practicable or, as Quevedo and Bacon might say, ‘crazy’. The concluding anthology of texts assembled in Part 3 of the present book, in concert with the remaining introductory chapters of Part 1, urges us to think beyond the otherwise tempting idea of Quaresmius as an oddity, defending moribund traditions. In *Jerusalem Afflicted*, crusade is imagined as still very much alive.

**Notes**

2. For an approach to Quixotic idealism that challenges traditional accounts of Don Quixote’s relationship to the medieval past, see Palmer, ‘Don Quixote’.
3. ‘I am of opinion, that except you could bray Christendom in a mortar, and mould it into a new paste, there is no possibility of a holy war. And I was ever of opinion, that the Philosopher’s stone, and an holy war, were but the rendezvous of cracked brains, that wore their feather in their head instead of their hat’, Bacon, ‘An Advertisement’, 475. ‘I came upon a man on a saddled mule who was talking to himself with such speed, and so absorbed, that even being next to him, he didn’t see me. I greeted him and he greeted me; I asked him where he was going, and after we had exchanged responses, we started to talk about whether the Turk was coming down, and about the King’s forces. He started to talk about how the Holy Land could be won, and how Algiers would be won; in which discourses I figured out that he was a Republic and governance crazy-person’, Quevedo, *La vida del Buscón*, 105–6. All translations are our own unless otherwise noted.
5. Tyerman, *The Debate*, 211.
7. Cohen, ‘Introduction: Midcolonial’, 5–6, for similar reason urges us to consider the past as neither entirely, radically Other nor as unproblematically equivalent to the present, insisting instead on ‘temporal interlacement’ as a mode of disrupting the ‘continuist
Introduction

or alterist ... metanarratives’ that mark divergent readings of the Middle Ages. Heng, ‘Holy War Redux’, 428, advocates for ‘strategic diachronicity’ as a way to ‘revisit what we think we know about the past and about phenomena identified and located in modernity’. In the specific context of Spanish national history, Fuchs, ‘1492’, 494, notes that an almost immovable periodizing split lodges itself in 1492, taken as either the apotheosis of the national teleology of Reconquista or as the starting point of a new culturally complex national modernity projecting itself into empire and colony. This leaves us with the challenge of trying to ‘reimagine the periodization of Hispanic studies so as to privilege neither supersession nor nostalgia’. More generally, De Certeau, The Writing of History, 36, locates tension between present and past as a fundamental aporia of historiography itself, generated by the fact that the old things we study can necessarily only be studied now: ‘founded on the rupture between a past that is its object, and a present that is the place of its practice, history endlessly finds the present in its object and the past in its practice’.

8 Housley, ‘The Crusading Movement, 1274–1700’, 290. Housley, Contesting, 142, writes that ‘[f]rom all points of view, between 1500 and 1600 crusading shrank to become a shadow of its former self’. The following pronouncement of Riley-Smith, What Were the Crusades?, 89, now some decades old, still remains largely relevant: ‘crusading in the seventeenth century still awaits intensive study’.


13 O’Banion, ‘Only the King’ and ‘The Crusading State’.

14 See note 4.

15 Riley-Smith, The Crusades: A History, 333–6, offers a taxonomy of appropriations of crusading, based on different degrees of ‘authenticity’. ‘Pseudo-crusading’ refers to imaginative borrows of crusade imagery and expression that are not substantive, while ‘para-crusading’ strives to carry the torch of the movement in more overt ways.


19 Tyerman, God’s War, 910, calls ‘the experience of late medieval Spain … most notable’. For Housley, The Later Crusades, 452, ‘the conjunction between national war and crusade was a close one in Habsburg Spain’. Such assessments could be multiplied. Throop, The Crusades, 170, expresses a robust consensus: ‘[t]he lack of crusading success in the fifteenth century used to be read as a lack of interest in crusading, but in fact, crusading enthusiasm was being harnessed in European national interests like never before … The gold standard example of this was in the Iberian peninsula’.

1 The idea of the rhizome, borrowed from botany and applied to social and cultural phenomena, is theorized by Deleuze and Guattari as always multiple, asymmetrical, lacking a clear beginning or end, not reducible to clear hierarchies. See Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 3–25. In its ubiquity and entanglement with various fields of religious, political, economic, and social life, Jerusalem here is rhizomatic.

2 In a variety of fields, ‘overdetermination’ is a concept that describes a single observable effect sharing multiple causes. See Althusser, ‘Contradiction and Overdetermination’ and Richards, The Philosophy of Rhetoric, 115. ‘Horizon of expectation’ refers simply
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3 Arciniega García, ‘Evocaciones y ensueños’ and García Martín, ‘La Jerusalén liber-tada’ both touch briefly on some of the points outlined in the following pages.

4 The most notable expression of this idea relates to associations between the Escorial palace, constructed under Philip II (1556–1598), and the biblical Temple of Solomon. The patio of the imposing palace includes statues of David and Solomon, who stand as forebears of the dynasty. See Lazure, ‘Perceptions’ and ‘Possessing’; the articles collected in Ramírez, Dios arquitecto; and Tanner, The Last Descendant, chapter 9. A particularly succinct expression of this idea can be found in Luis de Góngora’s sonnet ‘Sacros, altos, dorados capiteles’, On this, Chaffee-Sorace, ‘Salomón Segundo’. See also Villalpando, In Ezechiel em explanationes et Apparatus Vrbis, ac Temp i Hierosolymitan i (1596) and De postrema Ezechielis prophetae visione (1604), dedicated respectively to Philip II and Philip III. The preliminaries of these latter works compare the Temple of Solomon with the Escorial, and mythologize the relationship of the sitting monarchs, casting them as new Solomons and their respective fathers, Charles V and Philip II, as new Davids. Villalpando, El templo de Salomo n, 3 and 108. In a similar vein, Philip IV’s construction of the Palacio del Buen Retiro (1629–1640) is described as a New Jerusalem in an auto sacramental by Calderón de la Barca. See Reyre, ‘Madrid como nueva Jerusalén’.

5 See Quaresmius, Ierosolymae Afflictae, [6] and [70]. Allusions to king David recur throughout Ierosolymae Afflictae. See, for example, analogies comparing the entreaty of the personified Jerusalem speaking before king Philip with Bathsheba who advocated for herself and her son, Solomon’ before king David. Quaresmius, Ierosolymae Afflictae, [4], [6], and [28]. Throughout, page numbers in brackets refer to the pagination of the original Latin imprint.

6 On Godfrey, first ruler of the Latin Kingdom (1099–1100), see France, ‘The Election and Title’; John, Godfrey of Bouillon; and Murray, The Crusader Kingdom, 6–93. Godfrey came to be fashioned as a legendary, heroic figure, counted among the Nine Worthies: three each from antiquity (Hector, Julius Caesar, Alexander), the Old Testament (David, Judas Maccabeus, Joshua), and Christian times (Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey). Manion, ‘“Perpetuel Memorye”’, 123, notes the utility of these figures in late medieval and early modern Europe—particularly Godfrey—to promulgate crusade ideology and to urge contemporary rulers and nobles to emulate those deeds’. See also Sweetenham, ‘How History became Epic’, 446. For an example of how the Spanish crown itself explicitly lays claim to a lineage reaching back to Godfrey, see Anthology, Documents 3a and 3b. For just one example of the Nine Worthies (los nueve de la fama) in an Iberian context, see Rodríguez Portugal, Chronica.

7 Doussinague, La política internacional, 620–35, provides a Spanish translation of the Bull investinging Fernando with the titles to the crown of Naples (or the Two Sicilies) and Jerusalem. The Spanish monarchy still today under Philip VI maintains its claims to the title, a right enshrined in Article 56.2 of the Spanish Constitution of 1978. See Casa Real, ‘La Monarquía’ and ‘Constitución Española’. The Papal investiture relates to the long dispute between France and Aragon over the Angevine Kingdom of Naples in the 15th century. Even before receiving Papal concession of the title, Aragonese monarchs in Naples were already making free use of it in the 15th century. On the dynastic rivalries at play here, see Abulafia, The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, and Shaw and Mallet, The Italian Wars.

8 This last formula, [15]. The formula ‘my king’ appears already in the opening sentence of the sermon, [3], and repeatedly thereafter.

9 This concern over sovereignty is not exclusive to Quaresmius, however. Anthology, Documents 3a and 3b, offer just one example of the forcefulness with which the
Spanish crown itself sought to defend Spanish sovereignty in Jerusalem in the early modern period.


For a representative sampling, see the *Biblia Polyglotta* (also known as the Plantain or Antwerp Polyglot), overseen by Arias Montano; Amico, *Trattato*; Buyza, *Relación*; Castillo, *El devoto peregrino*; Lope, *Jerusalén conquistada*; Valdés, *De Dignitate Regvm regnorumque Hispaniae*; Vera y Figueroa, *El Fernando*; Villalpando, *In Ezechielem explanations* and *De postrema Ezechielis*. See also Pedrosa, *Relacion sum-maria and Anthology*, Documents 1 and 4.

The title page of Valdés, *De Dignitate Regvm regnorumque Hispaniae*, features a clear example of the heraldic marker of the kingdom of Jerusalem incorporated into the Spanish royal crest. The cross potent representing Jerusalem features on the reverse of the gold escudo series of Spanish coins and on a much more limited number of examples from the silver real series. See Leahy, ‘Dineros en cruzados’, which includes reproductions of relevant coins. Quaresmius, *Ierosolymae Afflictae*, [19], directly alludes to the Jerusalem Cross: ‘in the middle of your crown are five rubies inlaid as a cross, the insignia of kings and protectors of the Holy City which as the sun illuminates the entire world with its most brilliant rays, so that renowned, brilliant city by its own divine brightness illuminates all else’.

On the Order of the Golden Fleece, see Tanner, *The Last Descendant*, chapter 8. The Golden Fleece is also represented on the Spanish royal crest. The connections between the Order and Holy Land conquest could be quite explicit. For example, Bravo, *El vellocino dorado*, f. 18v, calls on Charles V to make all Eastern enemies of the faith pay for their ‘infidelity and bestiality’, calling on him specifically to ‘bathe the walls of Jerusalem in the blood of Turks’: ‘I pray you, flatten all of proud Asia. You are the one who is to give the world a blessed Golden Age. That is what the blessed Golden Fleece that you wear on your neck means’. On the election of Philip II as Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher, see Martínez Teixedó, ‘La Orden de Caballeria’. Quaresmius, *Ierosolymae Afflictae*, [15], directly addresses Philip IV as ‘a knight and supreme commander and chief of the Most Holy Sepulcher of the Son of God, Jesus Christ’. The sacramized knightly ethos that both Orders embrace finds a local Iberian echo in military orders like those of Santiago, Calatrava, and Montesa, whose foundational origins in the so-called reconquest also suggest connections to the idea of holy war. On the later evolution of these very important Orders throughout the 16th and 17th centuries in Spain, see Wright, ‘The Military Orders’.


See Moorman, *A History*, 436–7 and Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 257–93. Quaresmius, [10], also alludes to this foundational purchase as the origin of the Custody: ‘That place which Robert, King of Sicily, purchased at much expense and labor from the Sultan of Egypt for the Minor Friars. Here they lived a praiseworthy
life more than two-hundred and fifty years serving God day and night occupying themselves with psalms, hymns, and other holy exercises’. Complete English translations of *Nuper carissimae* and *Gratias agimus* appear in Poggibonsi, *A Voyage Beyond the Seas*, 102–3. A Spanish translation of both bulls is available in García Barriuso, *España en la historia de Tierra Santa*, 110–3.

16 Such claims of a special relationship of Spanish royal patronage over the Holy Places did not end with the Habsburg dynasty. ‘Patronato Real’ came to be formally institutionalized in 1772 with a polemical Real Cédula [Royal Decree] issued by King Charles III, officially asserting Spain’s privileges and prerogatives in the administration of the Holy Places, making way for the creation of an autonomous Spanish government agency called the Obra Pía de los Santos Lugares [Pious Work of the Holy Places]. In 1853, the Obra Pía was declared a dependent agency of the Ministry of State, later passing under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. While the Obra Pía has undergone a slow but deliberate operation of secularization following the Spanish transition to democracy after the death of Franco in 1975, it still forms part of the bureaucratic structures of the Spanish state today. On the evolution of the modern Obra Pía, see Mantecón. For an historical overview of the institution and its ties to Spain, see Arce, *Expediciones*, 1–90; Buey, *Obra de España*, 600–50 and ‘Historia’, 42–78; Eiján, *Documentos* 7–15; García Barriuso, ‘La Obra Pía de los Santos Lugares’, ‘La Obra Pía y la sombra’, and *España*, vols. I and II; Legísima, ‘La Obra Pía’; Mantecón, ‘Nota’; and Motilla de la Calle, ‘La Obra Pía’.

17 Reyes, ‘En torno a la epopeya’, 120, characteristically dismisses the title as ‘merely honorific’. Much more recently, Arciniega García tellingly entitles his thorough and serious review of early modern Spanish claims to Jerusalem ‘Evocaciones y ensueños hispanos del reino de Jerusalén’ The term ‘ensueños’ points to the symbolic realm of fantasy, illusion, or dreamy aspirations. Despite such common associations that highlight the fundamentally simulacral title, however, the Spanish crown itself took the claim quite seriously in the early modern period. See Anthology, Documents 3a and 3b.

18 Two particularly rich sources of archival documentation on this front are the Archivo de la Obra Pía (AOP) section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) in Madrid and, especially, the Historical Archive of the Franciscan Custody in Jerusalem. In the latter archive, the section of ‘Procura Generale’ includes manuscript registers of donations received in Jerusalem from across Europe, thoroughly documented by year by the Order’s Procurer in the Custody, which tended to be a Spanish friar. Of particular relevance here are the ‘Condotte’ numbers 5, 6, 8, and 9, which cover the years 1615–1909. On these documents, see Quecedo, ‘Cooperación económica de España’; *Cooperación económica internacional*; ‘Influencia diplomática y económica’, as well as García Barriuso, *España*, I, 189–200, 219–30, 281–6. Quecedo also transcribes and occasionally translates sections from these same ‘Condotte’. See also the ‘Libro de las cuentas de la Procura general’, which covers the years 1665–1673 in the VVAA section of the Custody Archive. For a catalogue of the Archive of the Custody’s many holdings, see Maiarelli, *L’archivio storico*. Concerning relevant holdings in the AHN, see especially AOP legajos (file bundles) 4, 167, and 197. The entire Obra Pía archive was only recently transferred to the AHN from the Archive administered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. The substantial section consists of 435 legajos and 22 books, with documents spanning from the 16th century to the 20th century. Most AOP legajos are wildly miscellaneous in terms of content and date of the materials contained, and unfortunately, the only catalogue of the section is the one in hard copy housed within the AHN. Nevertheless, the documents housed in Madrid that we have been able to review in person, and especially letters from friars stationed in Jerusalem, substantiate the financial documents housed in Jerusalem, as many of those remissions were delivered in person by Spanish Franciscans.
Introduction


20 García Barriuso, España, I, 157–75 provides an overview of the extensive archival material relating to this episode, including reproductions and transcriptions of relevant documents. See also an epistle of Bonifacio Stefano de Ragusa, incorporated into his Liber de perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae of 1573 in the 19th-century edition of the work, 278–84. Quaresmius himself first edited the epistle, which constitutes a first-hand account of the reconstruction of the cupula, in Elucidatio, II, lib. V, cap. XVIII. For more, including a complete Spanish translation of Ragusa’s text, see Eiján, Documentos, 25–9, reproduced in Quaresmius, Elucidatio, II, lib. V, cap. XVIII. Another major building project, the construction of the lead roof of the Church of the Nativity, is attributed to the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, in Rocchetta, Peregrinatio. See Arce, Documentos, 65.

21 Aside from the regular presence of Spanish friars serving in the Holy Places, of particular importance here is the naming of Spanish Commissaries and Procurators, a process over which the Spanish crown sought to exercise control. See García Barriuso, I, 261–336.

22 See Arce, Documents, 166, 184–90 and García Barriuso, España, I, 205–17.

23 We are grateful to Fr. Stéphane Milovich for allowing us to view a number of these latter items in person in the convent of Saint Savior in Jerusalem, including an imposingly ornate, six-foot tall Eucharistic baldachin of bejeweled silver and gold featuring the Habsburg bicephalous eagle with the Spanish royal arms on its breast and the name ‘PHILIPVS IIII’ at the base. For images of pertinent objects, see Trésor du Saint-Sépulcre, 119–49.

24 See Arce, Documentos and García Barriuso, España, I, for pertinent examples. See also Leahy, ‘El deseo’, 96–7.

25 See note 10.

26 No study of this phenomenon has been published to our knowledge, but numerous examples can be found in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, in the Archivo de la Obra Pía section. See, in particular AOP 376, which includes a report to Philip IV from the years 1625–1626, contemporaneous with Ierosolymae Afflictae, describing the ‘great damage and scandals that some French Religious have caused and continue causing in Jerusalem, Aleppo, Syria, Cairo, and other parts in these lands of the Turks’, 59r. This is just one of many such communiqués to the King of Spain complaining particularly about the actions of French agents—including friars and diplomatic officers—in the Holy Places, imploring Spanish intervention before the Holy See.


28 On the Franco-Ottoman alliance, see Heath, ‘Unholy Alliance’; Isom-Verhaaren, Allies with the Infidel; Jackson, ‘The Ottoman Turks’; and Malcom, Useful Enemies.

29 What San Juan del Puerto in Patrimonio Seraphico calls the Order’s ‘Seraphic Patrimony of the Holy Land’ is defended forcefully in works like Alzedo Avellaneda’s Iervsalen cavtiva. Although the title of the work alludes to the ‘direct dominion that over the Holy Places their King and Our Lord, the Catholic Majesty Philip IV, has’, Alzedo Avelleneda invests many chapters in justifying the origins, legitimacy, purpose, and spiritual good of Franciscan activities in the Holy Land. The Franciscans here, in the final analysis, are the true possessors and defenders of the Holy Land. See especially 127–84

30 For more on this, see Introduction, Chapter 6.

31 On Spanish crusade bulls, see Goñi Gatzambide, Historia; Housley, ‘The Crusading Movement’ 288–9; and O’Banion, ‘The Crusading State’ and ‘Only the King’.
32 For an overview, see Murray, ‘Indulgences and Penance’.
33 On the idea of Iberian reconquest, see the next section.
35 An iconic example in Spanish letters is the ‘buldero’ in *Lazarillo*, tratado 5.
36 A 1598 bull housed in the Hispanic Society of America, for example, connects promised privileges to ‘those who go to the conquest of the Holy Land’. The holy war idea is also extended here to other ‘powerful enemies’ such as ‘infidel Turks’. The broadside is further headed with a woodcut that includes an image of the Jerusalem Cross. See *Primera predicación*. Also in the HSA, see Pérez de Lara, *Compendio*.
38 Crusade bulls were also widely dispensed in the Indies. See Benito Rodríguez, *La bula de Cruzada en Indias*.
40 Reconquest remains a key component of Spanish nationalist discourse today. On the contemporary political resonance of the idea in 20th and 21st century Spanish nationalisms, see especially García-Sanjuán, ‘Al-Andalus en la historiografía’, ‘La persistencia’, ‘Rejecting al-Andalus’, and ‘Vox, la Reconquista y la salvación de España’.

Important elements in this process include: the persistence of statutes of blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*), first adopted in Toledo in 1449; the establishment of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in 1478 as an institution through which to aggressively police the Catholic orthodoxy of new converts from Judaism and Islam to Catholicism; the fall of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada and the expulsion of Spain’s Jews in 1492; the forced conversion of Muslim subjects within all Spanish realms (a group referred to henceforth as *moriscos*) by the early 16th century; the systematic persecution of heresy and religious dissent, both in Spain and in other parts of Europe; and the creation throughout the 16th century of progressively more restrictive policies aimed at regulating the cultural and religious identities of the *morisco* minority, culminating in the definitive expulsion of Spain’s entire *morisco* population *en masse* in 1609–1614. On all of this, see the previous three notes. We borrow the idea of ‘cultural fantasy’ here from Heng, *Empire of Magic*.

Quaresmius, *Ierosolymae Afflictae*, [22].

Quaresmius, *Ierosolymae Afflictae*, [21]. Medical analogies articulated around terms like ‘contamination’, ‘infection’, ‘amputation’, and ‘cauterization’ appear frequently in early modern Spanish discussions of how to deal with the so-called ‘*morisco* problem’, and Quaresmius here has recourse to the same semantic field. See Vélez-Sáinz.

Quaresmius, *Ierosolymae Afflictae*, [41].

See, for example, O’Banion, ‘What Has Iberia’ on the 12th-century idea of an iter per Hispaniam. Perhaps the most notable body of work relates to Ramon Llull’s 13th–14th-century Holy Land recovery treatises. See Beattie, ‘Ramon Llull’s Crusade Treatises’.

The best study remains Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*. See also Delaney, *Columbus and the Quest for Jerusalem*.


See Gómez de Aguilera y Saavedra, *Ierusalem ibertada*, housed in the Hispanic Society of America. Given the notorious physical and mental debilities of Charles II, such prophecies acquire an air of extreme implausibility.


On the recurrent idea of the ‘bat’, see Givens, ‘“All Things to All Men”’ and Milhou, ‘La chauve-souris’. The logic runs that as bats consume mosquitos, so does the monarch consume Muslims.
On the deep Franciscan associations with such traditions, see Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*.


On this, see Introduction, Chapter 3.

On Iberian crusade romance, see the forthcoming study by Wacks, *Medieval Iberian Crusade Fiction*. On *Vindicata Salvatoris* in Iberia, see Hook, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*; Lida de Malkiel, *Jerusalén*; Wright, *The Vengeance of Our Lord*; and Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb. A Destruccio n deJerusale n* translated into Nahuatl was also represented in Tlaxcala in the 16th Century. On this last work, see Burkhart, ‘The Destruction of Jerusalem’.

Representative titles include the translations of Cairaocio, Sarmiento, and Serdeño, as well as adaptations such as: López Pinciano, *El Pelayo*; Mesa, *La restauración deEspaña*; Vega, *Jerusalén conquistada*; Vera y Figueroa, *El Fernando*; and Yagüe de Salas, *Los amantes de Teruel*. The bibliography on individual works, and in particular Lope’s *Jerusalén*, is abundant. On the more general impact of Tasso’s *Jerusalemme in Spain*, see Arce, *Tasso*, 34–79; Caravaggi, ‘Il dogma Tassiano’, 211–325; Farinelli, ‘Tasso in Ispagna’, 235–86; García Martín, ‘*La Jerusalén libertada*’; Gariolo, *Lope; Lara Garrido, Los mejores plectros, 77–95*; and Pierce, ‘La poesía épica’ and *La poesi a e pica*, 305–18.

See Lara Garrido, *Los mejores plectros, 77–95*.

Arce, *Tasso*, 41, notes that many Spanish Tassian adaptations bend their material to narrate the reconquest rather than Holy Land crusading. Lope’s *Jerusalén* represents a terrific example of forcing Spanish history into the Tassian mold at all costs. Lope apocryphally sends king Alfonso VIII on the Third Crusade along with Richard the Lionheart, Philip II of France, and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, knowingly tying himself up in knots in order to justify the cheeky fabrication in his prologue.


‘Jerusalem: city of God, chosen and glorious, established upon holy mountains, more blessed than all the cities of the world in the height of its location, the felicity of its soil, and the clemency of its sky. It has its seat in the middle of the earth and of Judea, as center and navel of the world, like a fortress among other buildings, like the head on the body, and like the sun that shines among the other planets’. Castillo, *El devoto peregrino*, 23. Variants on this idea, layered with scriptural authority, appear repeatedly in texts of the period.


Out of an abundance of caution, scholars made uneasy by such assertions of sincerity should at least be at ease recognizing that the ‘author-function’—to borrow from Foucault, ‘What Is An Author?’—has an important effect on how we read the text. Behind the afflicted voice of Jerusalem in *Ierosolymae Afflictae* lies that of the historical person Quaresmius, who not only published the sermon but also pronounced it with his own voice on Good Friday in 1626. Quaresmius thus emerges inevitably in the text as a subject whose perceived experiences and emotions inform what the text means for readers.

Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I, 2, 2, defines rhetoric as ‘the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion’. We understand rhetoric in this Aristotelian sense as the diverse means deployed by a given orator to convince his or her audience, especially to take a particular course of action. The rhetoric of sacred oratory in particular was highly theo-
rized in the period, with manuals offering instruction in the art of preaching published in abundance. See the bibliography consigned in Vitulli, ‘Los mocos del predicador’. The primary rhetorical objective of *Jerusalem Afflicted* is tied to persuading Philip IV to undertake a new crusade.

2 Brackets indicate original Codex page number.

3 2 Timothy 2:9.

4 This understanding of the printed word as supplement for oral speech enjoys a long tradition. Here the king will hear the word of Quaresmius through the medium of the text. See, for comparison, Plato’s discussion in *Phaedrus*. See also Ong, *Orality and Literacy*. The analogy between the Word of God (logos) and Quaresmius’ sermon here further freight the sermon with meaning, as his words are compared with the primordial utterance of creation and divine revelation (for example, Genesis 1 and John 1:1–14). On this level, the very communicative structure itself of *Jerusalem Afflicted* demands a ‘favorable hearing’. For more on the material history of the text both as sermon and as printed artifact, see Introduction, Chapter 5.

5 We should note that in terms of length, *Jerusalem Afflicted* is far longer than earlier printed crusade sermons, such as those studied by Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades* and Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*. As a printed text here, the full scholarly apparatus of *Jerusalem Afflicted* adds both substance and length to what we may imagine might have been the original sermon. There is an evident exercise of amplificatio in the sermon’s written form that renders it something clearly not equivalent to its oral delivery. Nevertheless, in terms of structure and content, *Jerusalem Afflicted* remains at core a sermon.

6 The Franciscan mendicants were conspicuous in the development of what has been termed the thematic sermon. Murphy, *Rhetoric*. These sermons were characterized by three-part branched divisions and sub-divisions with subsequent development within each division. There was the regular use of auctoritas to substantiate the argument marked by quotations of biblical texts, quotations from the Church Fathers, an occasional secular citation, and *exampla* for illustration. Edwards, *History of Preaching*. On the fundamental role of the mendicant Orders in crusade preaching in particular, see Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*; Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades*; Lloyd, ‘The Crusading Movement’; and Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology* and *Preaching the Crusades*. As Lloyd, ‘The Crusading Movement’, 45, summarizes, the mendicant orders ‘bore the brunt of local preaching. They were admirably equipped for the task: they were professional preachers by virtue of their apostolic mission, preaching on a regular basis to the populace unlike the enclosed monks of traditional monasticism; they were well trained in the art of preaching; and with their houses spread throughout the West, they possessed a network of centers from which extensive local preaching could be conducted quite easily’.

7 See Byrd, ‘Preaching’.

8 With regard to monastic crusade preaching, ‘Originality was not expected, and was indeed deemed undesirable. The preacher drew upon homilies of patristic texts’. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*. For specific documentation of the many sources Quaresmius cites, see the annotations accompanying *Jerusalem Afflicted*.

9 For more on this, see Introduction, Chapter 4.

10 In its focus on the moral and spiritual justification for crusade, rather than on the nuts-and-bolts aspects of logistics, financing, or military strategy, Quaresmius lies firmly in the tradition of crusade preaching that stretches back to the origins of the movement. To be clear, *Jerusalem Afflicted* does not read properly as a ‘recovery treatise’ of the sort written in abundance especially following the fall of Acre in 1291, though many such works also engage in similar approaches to moving their audiences to action. See Beattie, ‘Ramon Llull’s Crusade Treatises’; Leopold, ‘Crusading Proposals’ and *How
to Recover the Holy Land; O’Banion, ‘What has Iberia to do with Jerusalem?’; and Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*.

11 Byrd, ‘Preaching’, 14, has noted that ‘Although rich in biblical and historical allusions, surviving model crusade sermons were often stripped of their contemporary contexts in order to make them universal or adapt them to preaching for other occasions … Some surviving crusade appeals and treatises retain contemporary allusions, and are the more valuable for this’. Such is definitively the case with *Jerusalem Afflicted*, which is custom-crafted for the particular context of the 17th-century Mediterranean and is addressed not to potential generic crusaders but rather to a very specific royal dedicatee.

12 Church Fathers, Churchmen, and Saints cited include Bernard, Boethius, Bridget, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, Innocent III, Eugenius III, Dionysius the Great, Origen, Urban II, Jerome, Thomas, Paula, Athanasius, Bonaventure, and Francis. It is also worth noting that careful evaluation of Quaresmius’ source materials suggests a high level of fidelity to original context. Not to be neglected is the persistent reference by Quaresmius to biblical heroines such as Bathsheba, Esther, Mary, Martha, and Magdalen.

13 The self-deprecating formulas of *captatio benevolentiae* on display both in Bernard and Quaresmius are very common within the early modern patronage economy in which *Jerusalem Afflicted* participates. Nevertheless, similarities with Bernard here are striking. Letter 319 addresses the church in Rome when it revolted against Pope Eugenius: ‘Indeed, when I consider who I am that write, to whom I am writing, and, at the same time, how differently another may judge my action, I am held back by very shame. However, it is a smaller thing to endure shame before men than to be condemned before God for silence’. Bernard, *Letters of St. Bernard*.

14 Bernard likens the crusaders to the people of Israel exiting Egypt: ‘But if they fell and perished on account of their iniquity, can we wonder that our contemporaries with the same conduct have the same experience?’ Bernard, *Saint Bernard On Consideration*.

15 ‘His land, the land in which the flowers of his resurrection first blossomed. This land evil men have begun to invade and…violate the couch on which our life fell asleep in death for our sakes’. Bernard, *Letters of St. Bernard*. Compare this to [65] ‘And his sepulcher shall be glorious, containing all the treasures of wisdom and the knowledge of God and which all the world is not sufficient to contain. It became the new Solomon’s beautiful new bed in which his body began to bloom again’.

16 For an introduction to the tremendous impact of Innocent III on the theory and practice of crusade, see Bird, Peters, and Powell, *Crusade and Christendom*. For an introduction to Urban’s similarly titanic influence, see Peters, *The First Crusade* and Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*.

17 Quaresmius, *Jerusalem Afflicted*, [14].

18 On Urban’s address at Clermont, which is remembered as fundamentally launching the crusading movement, see Cowdrey, ‘Pope Urban II’s Preaching’ and Peters, *The First Crusade*, 25–46.

19 Lloyd, ‘The Crusading Movement’, 43–44, notes the importance of ‘occasion, audience, and purpose’ in crusade preaching: ‘The first preaching was before assemblies of Church or State, the Council of Clermont being the prototype. Later examples include Innocent III’s preaching at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and that of Innocent IV and Gregory X to the assembled dignitaries at the First and Second Councils of Lyons (1245, 1274). Before secular assemblies, two famous examples are the preaching of St. Bernard before Louis VII and the magnates at Vézelay in 1146, and his dramatic preaching at Conrad III of Germany’s Christmas court the same year. Indeed, it became entirely normal for crusade preachers to utilize such occasions, as well as more recreational gatherings like tournaments, in an attempt to secure the vows of important men in attendance, to launch promotional campaigns more broadly, and frequently to make public a prince’s assumption of the cross’.
Notable biblical male characters include David, Joshua, Joseph, Moses, Judas Maccabeus, Uriah, and Obed Edom.

For more on historical context, see Introduction, Chapter 2.

Prominent historic figures mentioned are Queen Helena, Robert King of Sicily, the Sacred Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, Philip II and III, Alexander the Great, the Knights Templar, Sir Godfrey, Alphonso VI, and Rodolphus Count of Habsburg.

‘When considering how the model sermons portray the crusade and the crusader, it is necessary to keep in mind that, by its very nature, preaching tends to focus on the devotional and moral aspects of life’. Maier, Crusade Propaganda, 54.

Quaresmius appeals to the heart in [15] ‘What shall be the state of your heart, if reflecting on these things, it does not feel pity, if your eyes do not pour forth fountains of tears, if you do not ponder over her liberation?’ He warns Philip of a guilty conscience in [50] ‘Therefore, you are grieved and not just once will your conscience speak to you. Better is death for you than life. Your soul shall be made miserable by the continual goading, as long as you go on neglecting, as it seems, my redemption’. On a more positive note, he promises reward in [71] ‘An eminent work is at hand that you would be executing for God. By His grace, the Just Judge and Most Holy Lord would lead you with renown all the way to glorious victory. You would set your throne in me’.

‘It helped powerfully that crusading was preached in terms of the Holy Land’s significance and plight, as well as, the individual listener’s search for salvation. Devotion towards Jerusalem set up a whole range of emotional resonances and in the hands of skilled preachers these could be cleverly interwoven with their audience’s personal anxieties’. Housley, The Call to Crusade, 36.

‘The effective preacher must be observant and shrewd, so as to make an accurate estimate of the activities and anxieties of his hearers, the better to move them to a change of heart’. Zemler-Cizewski, ‘Guibert of Nogent’s How to Preach a Sermon’.

‘It seems to me that no preaching is more efficacious than that which would help a man know himself, that which brings out into the open all that is deep within him, in his innermost heart, that which will shame him’. Miller, ‘Guibert DeNogent’

The insistence with which personified Jerusalem assails her king with forceful moral condemnation for not rescuing her is notable within the dynamic of patronage typical of many early modern texts. Quaresmius assumes a moral high ground that allows him to assert spiritual authority over his temporal sovereign. One possible explanation for the scarcity of extant exemplars of Jerusalem Afflicted may in fact relate to the fact that the text, at base, is highly critical of the monarch, even as it activates associations with Jerusalemitic kingship and patronage over the Holy Places that might otherwise be deployed in a more flatteringly propagandistic way. Quaresmius here writes not as a typical imperial apologist but more as a spiritual advisor telling the king what is best for his soul and for the greater good of the faith.

Here the marginalia cite Matthew 9:20 ‘And behold a woman who was troubled with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment’.

Latin multiplici culpa perhaps more vividly refers to ‘unchastity with many’.

See Cowdrey, ‘Pope Urban II’s Preaching’.

This passage corresponds to a leaf missing from the incomplete Milan codex. For more on the material history of Jerusalem Afflicted, including hypotheses regarding missing leaves, see Introduction, Chapter 6.


For more on the personification of Jerusalem, see Introduction, Chapter 4, The feminine voice.

On this, see Introduction, Chapter 4, The evolution of evangelism.
Such a promise of the remission of sin for those who take the cross is one of the definitional features of crusading. See Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*

On the vision of Daniel, see Introduction, Chapter 4, Of dreams and visions.

Jerusalem in Hebrew means City of Peace.

There are 48 non-biblical marginalia. Most marginalia are placed alongside citations from notable Church Fathers and Saints and are typically associated with direct quotation or paraphrase in the text of Quaresmius. We have sought to provide the reader with a summary of the original context and a bibliographic reference.

Quaresmius references Ecclesiasticus five times in the letter.

‘All through the Middle Ages we find evidence of hesitation about the character of the Deuterocanonicals. There is a current friendly to them, another one distinctly unfavorable to their authority and sacredness, while wavering between the two are a number of writers whose veneration for these books is tempered by some perplexity as to their exact standing, and among these we note St. Thomas Aquinas. Few are found to acknowledge their canonicity unequivocally. The prevailing attitude of Western medieval authors is substantially that of the Greek Fathers. The chief cause of this phenomenon in the West is to be sought in the influence, direct and indirect, of St. Jerome’s deprecating Prologue’. Ried, ‘Canon of the Old Testament’.

The Psalms are referenced 33 times, while Isaiah (17), Lamentations (12), and Jeremiah (6) combine for a comparable number.

The Book of Kings is cited most frequently at 17 times with a well-balanced selection from the remaining historical books.

The Maccabees served as models of God’s warriors since the First Crusade. Tessera, ‘The Use of the Bible’.

Song of Songs 3:7. Used in reference to the Knights of the Most Holy Sepulcher

*Historia, theologia et moralis terræ sanctæ elucidatio* (1639).

Matthew predominates with 15 citations, followed by Luke (9), John (6), and Mark (3).

The use of the epistles is evenly apportioned, with Romans quoted the most at five times.

Revelation is quoted explicitly on only two occasions [35, 54]. Bracketed numbers refer to the pagination of the original Latin imprint.

‘Thebiblically and patristically oriented nature of monastic preaching and study had the effect of nurturing in the monks an imaginative disposition and a mode of expression biblical in nature. It also fostered a peculiar eschatological view of the world which focused upon the future joys of the heavenly Jerusalem’. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*.

2 Timothy 2:9.

Jeremiah 20.9 ‘I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name: and there came in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was wearied, not being able to bear it’.

For the life of Bridget, see Peterson, *Bridget of Sweden*.

See Habig, *St. Francis of Assisi*.

On the place of the life of Francis particularly as relates to Jerusalem, see Moore, *The Architecture*, part III, and Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*.

On the importance of apocalyptic thought in understanding crusade, see Gabriele, ‘The Shock of Prophecy’ and Rubenstein, *Armies of God* and *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream*.

On the complicated idea of a pastoral, missionary component as an argument for crusade, see Beattie, ‘Ramon Llull’s Crusade Treatises’; Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission*; and Zedar, *Crusade and Mission*.

‘The crusader … was essentially a penitential war-pilgrim: a warrior who sought remission of sins through sanctified military service to the Church. His primary interest was not worldly enrichment or personal aggrandizement, but salvation; the primary means
to this end was not prayer or fasting, but the performance of military service in the just wars of the Church’. Latham, ‘Theorizing the Crusades’.


‘This prominent trope – which exists across many ancient city laments – emerges from the tradition in western Semitic cultures of the ancient Near East that considers major cities to be female, divine consorts of the males gods whose sanctuaries they protected. Ezekiel, for example, utilizes the female persona of Jerusalem as YHWH’s wife’. Boyadjian, ‘Lamenting Jerusalem’. The device is already used by Urban in his address at Clermont. For contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of the speech, see Peters, The First Crusade, 25–46. After Urban, the personification of Jerusalem constitutes a stock trope in crusade appeals.

PSalm 86:1-2.

This prolocutor personification of Jerusalem ultimately may invite us to read Jerusalem Afflicted as a 17th-century example of the familiar hegemonic male scholarly gesture of interpreting for and speaking on behalf of the subaltern. See Said, Orientalism, ‘Introduction’ and Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ It bears noting, however, that in seeking to give voice to the voiceless city, Quaresmius aims to advocate for her salvation in ways that also rhetorically efface his own identity. Throughout, the sermon’s prophetic diction ultimately works to center sacred authority as the sole, inspired source of the shared speech of both Jerusalem and Quaresmius. From this vantage, it is ultimately not Quaresmius that speaks on behalf of Jerusalem but rather God himself.

Judges 4:4.

The Latin ‘injuria’ may refer specifically to rape.

Early modern moralists and theologians were quite explicit in their counsel that women should remain enclosed, removed from the affairs of the world, and should embrace silence and passivity as basic to their fundamental nature as women. For two particularly famous examples of this logic, expressed as precepts to follow, see León, La perfecta casada and Vives, De Institutione Femeinae Christianae. See also Greco and Rose, The Good Wife’s Guide. The reasoning behind such ideas extends beyond divine law to the realm of natural philosophy (or science). Female difference is the product of humoral variances with respect to men that render their very bodies inherently indisposed to the exercise of agency, reason, and force, qualities that Quaresmius associates here with Jerusalem. For a contemporary example of the humoral logic behind gender difference, see Huarte de San Juan, Examen de ingenios para las ciencias. For a brilliant rejection of this logic, penned by a 17th-century woman, see Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, La Respuesta.

In addition to these scriptural examples, Quaresmius points to the historical figure, Queen Helena, and her substantial gifts for church restoration [10].

‘The Lord dressed me in a garment of salvation and placed around me a cloak of gladness. As a bride he adorned me with a crown’ [53].

‘Knowing how to rein in one’s tongue is a sovereign virtue. Many dangers come from overmuch talk’. Greco and Rose, The Good Wife’s Guide.

On the complicated interplay of evangelization and sacred violence in the context of debates over crusading, see Kedar, Crusade and Mission.

St. Augustine, Exposition on Psalm 55.11.

‘With varying degrees of self-reflection, every generation and every community of Christians decides which biblical passages to place in the foreground and which in the background. This principle is of particular importance concerning biblical passages regarding peace and violence’. Lefebure, ‘Violence in the New Testament’.

Quaresmius echoes the sentiments of St. Bernard in his letter to Pope Eugene in which he calls upon the pontiff to ‘draw those two swords that were drawn during the first
passion … I believe the time has come for both swords to be drawn in defense of the Eastern church’. St. Bernard, Epistle 256 (399), To Pope Eugenius.

35 Such a melding of the celestial and terrestrial spheres in crusading justifications is not uncommon. For example, in invoking the image of ‘two swords’ with which to combat both physical foes and evil in defense of the kingdom of Jerusalem—itself a figure of the heavenly destination of the soul—Bernard of Clairvaux elaborates a similar claim. The pursuit of the earthly kingdom allegorizes the pursuit of the heavenly kingdom, and victory in one is associated with victory in the other. See Bernard of Clairvaux, In Praise of the New Knighthood, chapters 1–3. Such ideas also inevitably engage both with Augustine’s theorization of the earthly and heavenly kingdoms in City of God and with the classic Christian idea of life itself as an allegorical journey to a heavenly destination. On this last point, see Ladner, ‘Homo viator’.

36 belle ... accomodari.

37 Quaresmius offers a similar rationale in his Elucidatio 104. ‘Reasonably, indeed without doubt, if the ancient Doctors would have seen the Empire of the Mohammedans and the Antichrist and those a little after that time would have examined more attentively, they would have compared these to it [the prophecy of Daniel 2.43], which concerns the fourth kingdom and the calves of iron discussed by Daniel. They would have embraced with both arms, so to speak, this our exposition’. On the importance of Daniel’s vision in understanding crusade, see Rubenstein, Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream.

38 On the tremendous popularity and influence of Joachimite eschatology in Spain, see Introduction, Chapter 2.

39 One needs to look to the Elucidatio of Quaresmius for a full exposition of his eschatology. In Book I, chapter 104 he speaks at length of the Antichrist and his relationship to the Turkish Empire, where ‘the empire of the Antichrist of iron should arise from the Mohammedan nursery’.

40 In a more directly martial key, Bernard similarly denounces the empty inducements of ‘worldly knighthood’. See In Praise of the New Knighthood, chapter 2. This is a theme common to much crusade preaching. See Cole, The Preaching; Cowdrey, ‘Pope Urban’s Preaching’; and Maier, Preaching the Crusades.

41 Riley-Smith, ‘Crusading’, has argued that the counterintuitive notion of crusading as an ‘act of love’ is essential to understanding the movement.

42 Quaresmius in some limited sense may be engaging here with the discourse of imperial decline that marked much of 17th-century Spanish cultural production. See, for example, Domínguez Ortiz, La crisis; Elliot, Spain and its World, ‘The Question of Decline’, 213–285, and Kamen, ‘The Decline of Spain’. See also Rodríguez de la Flor, Barroco.

1 The biography presented here is based on the following sources: Bottini, ‘Presenza’; Calahorra, Chronica, 563–9; Civezza, Storia, VII, 413–18 and VIII–XI, 597–609; García Barriuso, España; Golubovich, ‘Franciscus’ and ‘Fr. Francesco’; Malossi, Memorie, 150–53; Pizzurosso, ‘Quaresmi’; Sandoli, the introduction to his edition of Quaresmius’ Elucidatio; Tarvisio, ‘In vitam’, xi–xiii; and Wadding, Scriptores, 153

2 We have elected throughout to use the Latin version of the friar’s name, with which he signed his published works: Franciscus Quaresmius. He also appears referenced in contemporary documents alternatively as Francesco or Francisco and as Quaresmi, Quaresmi or, rarely, Quaresminus.

3 Calahorra, Chronica, 563. All translations are our own.

4 Calahorra frames the episode as a sign of the heroic faith of Quaresmius but also as just one of a relentless string of depraved abuses committed against the poor brothers at the hands of diabolical Turks. Such anti-Turkish rhetoric is standard in the vast Franciscan textual production centered on the Holy Land in the 16th and 17th centuries. On the historical articulation of anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim rhetoric in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, see Bisaha, Creating East and West and Tolan, Saracens. By way of example: ‘the thirst for money of that Barbarian [Hamed Pasha] was so insatiable that that
22 Introduction

infernal volcano of avarice that consumed his breast could not be satisfied with any manner of tyranny'. On the episode in question, see Calahorra, *Chronica*, book V, chapters 26–7. Blas de Buyza, author of an important description of the Holy Land published in 1622 who coincided with Quaresmius in Jerusalem, in fact transporting the money used to pay the fees demanded by authorities to release Quaresmius, also describes the same episode, though without mentioning Quaresmius directly. See *Relación*, 4r–v. Quaresmius himself recounts his experiences as President of the Custody in *Elucidatio*, IV, II, chapter 4.

5 ‘Lettere a Federico Boromeo’, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS G 246 inf., doc. 103, 2 April 1626.

6 The influence of this work on centuries of scholarship is difficult to overstate. For Avi-Yonah, ‘Quaresmius’, the *Elucidatio* offers ‘the most complete survey of the remains and legends of the Holy Land as accepted in Catholic circles’. Golubovich, ‘Fr. FRANCESCO’, 68, calls him ‘wonder of learned Palestinologists’ and in a similar vein, Bottini, *Itinerari*, 32, calls the *Elucidatio* the ‘summa of Palestinology’. That said, not all opinions are as charitable. Protesting the ‘colossal proximity of the writer’, Bliss, for example, complains that ‘The huge work of Francesco Quaresmio (1616–26) is the apotheosis of scholasticism. […] The book is full of learning, but this is often learning running riot around matters essentially trivial’. Bliss, *The Development of Palestine Exploration*, 159–60. We should also note that the work is reflective of its moment in wedding scholarship with political polemic and propaganda. See Heyberger, *Les chrétiens*, 197 and Armstrong, ‘Spiritual Legitimisation?’


1 Bottini, ‘Presenza e attivita’, 32. All translations are our own, unless otherwise indicated.

2 *An Appeal for Jerusalem, Afflicted and Humiliated, to his Catholic Majesty, Philip IV, Potentate of the Spains and the New World. That he may secure her liberty from the Tyranny of the Turks*.

3 One of the most substantive examples of engagement comes from Shalev, ‘Antiquarian Zeal’, 109, who lists the title of Quaresmius’ work in a footnote after remarking that ‘The complementary themes of crusading and Christian unity against the infidels were still very much present in European political and religious discourse as late as the mid-seventeenth century’. Shalev does not cite the work directly.

4 ‘Dat. Ex Sanctissimo D. N. IESV CHRISTI Sepulchro, anno Dominicae Incarnationis 1626. In sacratissimo die Parasceues’.

5 For details on Quaresmius’ biography and his various roles within the Order, see Introduction, Chapter 5.

6 Buyza, 48r–v.

7 Buyza, 50r.

8 Buyza, 48r–50r.

9 Buyza, 50r–v. On the importance of embodied affect in the delivery of early modern sermons, see Vitulli, ‘Los mocos’.

10 Writing some decades later, Antonio del Castillo (1656) also mentions that the Franciscans’ celebrations on Good Friday were dedicated each year to the King of Spain. Castillo, *El devoto peregrino*, 435.

11 It is possible, however, that Spanish subjects representing the crown, or with close ties to the crown, may have been present for the sermon. There is no specific documentation substantiating such an hypothesis, though we might note that archives recording ties between the crown and the Custody in the early modern period show a steady flow of friars between Madrid and Jerusalem and an abundant stream of letters in both directions as well. Many such letters position Spanish subjects in the Holy Land as agents of the crown, informing the king of local goings-on related to Custody business, especially with regard to the activities of representatives of France. For a sampling of
Quaresmius, a Don Quixote?

such exchanges, see legajo 4, 167, and 197 in the Archivo de la Obra Pía section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. Many relevant documents are also available in photocopy as part of the personal archive of Agustín Arce, housed in the Archivio Storico della Custodia in Jerusalem. In light of the sustained interchange of people and letters between the Custody and the Spanish court, it would not be improbable to imagine that in addressing his sermon to Philip IV remotely from the Holy Sepulcher, Quaresmius also conceived some members of his audience as witnesses to the spectacular function, even if they are not acting in any official way as royal intermediaries.

12 Works relating to the Holy Land were published in abundance in early modern Europe and a significant proportion of such works are the product of friars who, like Quaresmius, are directly connected to the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. Appearing in a range of genres, such publications serve at once as an outlet for devotional reading practices and as a stimulus for generating alms in support of the Custody’s activities in Palestine. For examples in the context of early modern Spain, see Almia, Carta; Alzeda Avellaneda, Ierusalen cavtiva and Memorial; Amico, Trattato; Anonymous, Breve y sumaria relacion; Anonymous, Breve svmario; Anonymous, ‘Carta’; Anonymous, Copia de dos cartas; Anonymous, Resumen y noticia; Aranda, Verdadera informacion; Buyza, Relación and Svmario; Calahorra, Chronicca; Castillo, El devoto peregrino; Italiano, Viaje; Mejía, ‘Copia de vn capitvlo’; García de la Cruz, ‘Carta’; Montoya, Chronicca; Quaresmius, Historia; Ragusa, Liber; San Juan del Puerto, Patrimonio Seraphico. In many regards, Jerusalem Afflicted engages with the concerns of this early modern Franciscan Holy Land corpus.

13 See Introduction, Chapter 2. On the history of such ties, which persist to the present day as a still active subsection of Spain’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs called the Obra Pía de los Santos Lugares [Pious Work of the Holy Places], see Arce, Documentos y textos and Expediciones; Buey, ‘Historia’ and ‘Obra de España’; Buey and Alvi, ‘Los origenes’; Eiján, España, Relaciones mutuas, Documentos, Hispanidad en Tierra Santa, and El Real Patronato; Garcia Barriuso, ‘La Procuración’; Quecedo, ‘Influencia diplomática’, Cooperación económica de España, and Cooperación económica internacional; Legisima, ‘La Obra Pía’; Mantsé, ‘Nota’; and Motilla de la Calle, ‘La Obra Pía’.

14 Without offering any evidence, Sandoli in the introduction to his edition of Quaresmius’ Elucidatio, i, in fact seems to suggest that the book was ‘sent’ directly to the king, describing it as ‘un libello che inviò a Filippo IV, re di Spagna’. As with Shalev’s reference, Sandoli simply cites the existence of Ierosolymae Afflictae without further engagement.

15 Without question, the three scholars most familiar with this archive, publishing a significant number of valuable document transcriptions from it, were the 20th-century Franciscans Agustín Arce, Samuel Eiján, and Patrocinio García Barriuso.

16 For a catalogue and description of the Custody’s collection, see Maiarelli, L’archivio storico.

17 VBA, INC. 1261/2. On extant copies of Jerusalem Afflicted see next section.

18 On Rolevinck, see Champion, The Fullness of Time, chapter 6. Mazzone is best remembered as a minor composer of madrigals and the work collected in the VBA codex appears quite rare.

19 ‘Ad vsu fris hier.mi de Lampugnano or mi Reg.mi obs’.

20 Quaresmius in fact references Jeremiah, Lamentations, the Babylonian captivity, and Nebuchadnezzar numerous times throughout Jerusalem Afflicted. On the importance of this biblical theme as a means of understanding the crusades, see Rubenstein, Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream, and the introduction to Anthology, Document 2. See also Lapina and Morton, The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources.

21 VBA, INC. 1261/2; BNMM, INV. 000058794.

22 While WorldCat registers neither the VBA nor the BNMM copies, we should note that it does list an edition with the New York Public Library. This unfortunately has proven
to be a phantom copy. We would like to thank the librarians and archivists at the NYPL for their assistance in helping resolve this enigma.

23 Ragusa, *Liber*, 301.

24 Quarto or 4º is a term that refers both to the process of printing, folding, and cutting the sheets of paper that are bound together to form a printed volume, and also to the approximate size of the resulting volume so produced. Early modern books in quarto tend to be of a comfortable size, neither imposingly large nor overly diminutive. Books in quarto are produced by a large sheet being printed with four pages on each side, then folded twice to create four separate leaves, each with printed text on front and back. Such sets of printed leaves from a single sheet, known as gatherings or quires, are routinely identified by letters and numbers that appear at the foot of the printed page, set there by the typesetter in order to assist the composer with the task of properly ordering the book’s pages once they have been printed and folded. The numbered and lettered gatherings are then sewn together and bound. The numbers and letters of gatherings therefore tell us much about how a given book was printed, and can provide key information that can be used, for example, to assist in identifying anomalies in the printed artefact, such as determining a precise number of missing pages for damaged copies, as is the case with the Milan exemplar of *Jerusalem Afflicted*, which is missing leaves A1 and A4. See Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*.

25 It is impossible to determine precisely when the VBA copy was mutilated. It is clear that 19th-century bibliographers, such as Tobler, *Bibliographica geographica Palaestiniae*, 96, record the complete title of the work as it appears on the title page, suggesting that either the Ambrosiana copy was complete at the time or that they were working from an alternative edition (which may or may not be the copy now in Buenos Aires). It is telling, however, that the great Holy Land authority Golubovitch, ‘Quaresmius’, 593, should allude only to the VBA copy, noting that the work is ‘very rare; there is a copy in the Ambrosiana of Milan’. Based on Golubovitch’s description of *Jerusalem Afflicted*, it seems safe to assume that by 1911, the VBA copy was already missing its title page because the title that he lists for the work is the one that appears on page three of the Milan exemplar. It is also telling that Golubovitch appears to have been unaware of any other exemplars.

26 English rendering from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate.

27 For a 17th-century graphic rendering of the allegory of Jerusalem as personified woman enslaved by the Turks, see Figure 1 in Front Matter.

28 See Introduction, Chapter 2.

29 On this, see the introduction to Anthology, Document 5.

30 For an introduction to such factors, see Housley, ‘Holy Land or Holy Lands?’; *The Later Crusades*, 376–456; ‘Pro dei et patria mori’; and Religious Warfare, 190–205. For more on this question, see Introduction, Chapter 1.

1 Solar imagery is central to Spanish Habsburg mythology. See Tanner, *The Last Descendant*, chapter 12 and Mínguez, *Los reyes solares*. Philip IV in particular was known by contemporaries as *el rey planeta*, the planet king, a reference to the fourth planet within the Ptolemaic system: the sun. See Elliot, *The Count-Duke*, 177.

2 An eagle frames the crests of Ferdinand (1479–1516), Isabella (1474–1504), and Charles V (1519–1556). The so-called ‘Eagle of Saint John’, an allusion to the iconographic symbol traditionally associated with the Evangelist, frames the royal crest of the Catholic Monarchs while a double-headed eagle dominates the Habsburg standard of the Emperor. While such heraldic devices were not deployed directly by Quaresmius’ dedicatee, Philip IV, the association between global imperial dominance and these earlier sovereigns was well established in the period, informing the use of the eagle imagery here. See López Poza, ‘Empresas o divisas’ and Pascual Molina, ‘La iconografía’. The image of the eagle as symbol of protection and power is also not uncommon in the bible. For example, Deuteronomy 32:11: ‘As the eagle enticing
her young to fly, and hovering over them, he spread his wings, and hath taken him and carried him on his shoulders’.

3 Psalm 76:20. All Scriptural references noted are found as marginalia in the codex. Psalm references are Vulgate enumerations. All English translations of the Bible are from the Douay-Rheims rendering of the Vulgate.

4 Psalm 86:1–2.

5 3 Kings 1.

6 Esther 4–5.

7 Ecclesiasticus 35:18–19.

8 Joachim in his Book of Concord between the New and Old Testaments devises the analogy whereby ‘Bernard [of Clairvaux] is another Levi, because his mother had six sons and a daughter, as did Leah, the wife of Jacob, and Bernard was his mother’s third son, as was Levi’. Botterill, ‘Ideals of the Institutional Church’.

9 Marginalia: St. Bernard, Letter 243 (319), To the Romans, Book 2. In his letter to the Romans on the occasion of the expulsion of Pope Eugenius, Bernard, despite what he considers his lowly estate compared with the Romans, prefaces his letter, ‘But I judge it better to risk being reputed presumptuous by men than condemned by God for keeping silence, and for neglecting to speak his truth and to proclaim his justice’. For the rhetorical similarities between the letters of Quaresmius and Bernard see Introduction, Chapter 3.

10 Ecclesiasticus 17:12.

11 Psalm 39:11.

12 Romans 5:5. See also Riley-Smith, ‘Crusading as an Act of Love’.

13 Isaiah 31:9.

14 1 John 4:18.

15 3 Kings 1:16.

16 Esther 5:1.

17 Joshua 9:2.

18 Hosea 2:3.

19 Isaiah 52:2.

20 2 Timothy 2:9. This marginal reference hints that Quaresmius draws upon the dramatic contrast originally made by the St. Paul in his letter to Timothy where the apostle writes, ‘It is on this account [the gospel] that I have to put up with suffering, even to being chained like a criminal. But God’s message cannot be chained up’.

21 References to print as the material medium through which Quaresmius transmits his message to Philip enter in direct contradiction with the possibility that Jerusalem Afflicted might be read as an unadulterated transcript of the sermon delivered in 1626, as the colophon seems to suggest. Earlier in this same paragraph, it is also the ‘letter’ that approaches the throne of Philip. On the material history of the work both as sermon and material artifact, see Introduction, Chapter 6.

22 Beginning here, the Milan exemplar is missing pages 7–8. We have relied exclusively on the Buenos Aires copy to supplement the lacuna. One can only speculate why the page was removed from the Milan codex. Page 8 contains an extended exalted description of Jerusalem while page 1, part of the same quire, includes the splendid artwork on the title page. For more, see Introduction, Chapter 6.

23 Ecclesiastes 4:12.

24 Quaresmius references Ecclesiasticus five times in the letter.

25 ‘All through the Middle Ages we find evidence of hesitation about the character of the deuterocanonicals. There is a current friendly to them, another one distinctly unfavorable to their authority and sacredness, while wavering between the two are a number of writers whose veneration for these books is tempered by some perplexity as to their exact standing, and among these we note St. Thomas Aquinas. Few are found to unequivocally acknowledge their canonicity. The prevailing attitude of Western
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medieval authors is substantially that of the Greek Fathers. The chief cause of this phenomenon in the West is to be sought in the influence, direct and indirect, of St. Jerome’s depreciating Prologue’. Reid, ‘Canon of the Old Testament’.

26 See also Dante, Inferno, Canto V, lines 121–3: ‘There is no greater sorrow than to recall in misery the time when we were happy’.

27 ‘Ah why, my friends, why did you boast so often of my happiness? How faltering even then the step of one now fallen’. Boethius, Theological Tractates.

28 Lamentations 1:7.

29 Micah 1:12. Vulgate has infirmata est for Hebrew chalah which carries the sense of ‘worn out from entreaty for good’ which vividly captures the current state of Jerusalem.

30 Quaresmius addresses here what he considers to be an erroneous Latin translation of the text. John Calvin in his commentary on Micah 1.12 notes these ‘Quia doluit propter bonum (alii, expectavit ad bonum; alii infirmata est)’. Quaresmius dismisses the reading quia doluit propter bonum as a mistake and believes infirmata est properly captures the correct sense of the Hebrew. Interestingly enough, a combination of the Latin expectavit and infirmata est may most closely approximate the Hebrew verb chalah. See Calvin, Commentaries.

31 Isaiah 26:1.
32 Isaiah 22:2.
33 2 Chronicles 7:12.
34 Lamentations 1:1.
35 Lamentations 2:1.
36 Psalm 44:4.
37 Psalm 47:3, Matthew 5:35.
38 This extended encomium of the Holy City while drawing on established biblical topoi also engages in the epideictic rhetoric of enkomion poleos or laus urbis. See Kagan, Urban Images, chapters 1–2; Leahy, ‘The rhetoric of enkomion’; and Terukina-Yamauchi, El imperio de la virtud, part I. Similar catalogues of the Holy City’s virtues appear recurrently in the abundant early modern literature of Holy Land descriptions and pilgrimage.

39 Matthew 24:2.
40 The Milan exemplar resumes here.
41 Micah 3:12.
42 Matthew 7:6.
43 Lamentations 1:15.
44 Lamentations 1:6.
45 Lamentations 1:9.
46 2 Kings 5:7.
47 The Latin reads obdormivit, which may also be rendered as ‘slept’.
48 Acts 1:5.
49 Acts 2:3.
50 Isaiah 2:3.
51 One of the first two properties acquired by the Franciscans in the Holy Land, the convent of Mount Zion, which included the Coenaculum, served as a key center of Latin Christian activity in the East from the 14th century until the sanctuary was expropriated by Turkish authorities in 1561. The loss of Mount Zion is alluded to recurrently in Franciscans works of the 16th and 17th centuries. The origins of the sanctuary itself were associated with the foundational activities of Emperor Constantine’s mother Saint Helen in the 4th century. For example, Antonio del Castillo, El devoto peregrino, 29, writing in 1654 observes the following: ‘In that same place, Helen mother of the Emperor Constantine edified a magnificent and sumptuous Temple, gathering inside of it the Coenaculum. In the same place of the Coenaculum there was built a Monastery of Franciscan Fathers, who served God for many years there, employ-
ing themselves day and night in the divine Cult. But in the year of our Lord 1561
the Turks (moving the Franciscan Fathers to another place in the city) made of the
Monastery a Palace, holding the place of the Coenaculum always in such veneration
that there are none who enter there in any way but with their feet unshod’.

52 Robert of Anjou, King of Naples and titular King of Jerusalem (1309–1343), along
with his wife Sancia of Majorca, Queen of Naples (1309–1344), were responsible
for negotiating the purchase of the Coenaculum. This foundational establishment of
the Franciscans in Jerusalem is acknowledged in two 1342 bulls of Pope Clement
VI: Nuper carissimae and Gratias agimus. Complete English translations of both
bulls appear in Poggibonsi, A Voyage Beyond the Seas, 102–3. A Spanish transla-
tion of both texts is available in García Barriuso, España en la historia de Tierra
Santa, 110–13. Through the Aragonese acquisition of Naples in the 15th century, the
Spanish crown would later consider this foundational purchase as establishing a pat-
rimonial right of royal patronage over the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. See
Anthology, Document 4. Such claims are still reflected in official Spanish government
documents today. See Boletín Oficial de Estado. For more on the relationship between
the Angevine dynasty’s connections to Jerusalem, and the appropriation of those con-
nections by Aragón, and later Spain, see Introduction, Chapter 2.

53 Lamentations 1:4.
54 Quaresmius refers here to Franciscan hospitality extended to Holy Land pilgrims.
55 Omne robus panis ‘all the power of bread’, i.e. ‘all the power to produce bread’.
56 Isaiah 3:1–4.
57 Isaiah 1:8.
58 Lamentations 1:2–8.
59 Job 6:15.
60 Isaiah 1:9.
61 Isaiah 6:13.
62 Ezra 3.
63 Lamentations 4:6.
64 Psalm 106:34.
65 Jeremiah 1:18.
68 Lamentations 2:18.
69 Psalm 54:2–3.
70 Marginalia: Innocent III, Sermon 1, Fourth General Lateran Council. Quaresmius
quotes directly from the first segment of Innocent’s sermon which deals with the libera-
tion of Jerusalem. This is likely the most immediate source of Quaresmius’ personifica-
tion of Jerusalem and his adoption of the first person ‘I’ throughout his own sermon.
71 Unlike his Elucidatio, Quaresmius makes no mention of the Antichrist in his sermon.

In the Elucidatio, he makes a clear distinction between the Mohammedan Empire and
that of the Antichrist despite the fact that he sees both of them jointly represented in the
feet of iron and clay. The Mohammedan Empire is a precursor to that of the Antichrist
which itself will as iron shatter the Mohammedan rulers like a brick and subject them
to himself. The empire of the Antichrist will ‘spring up from the Mohammedan nurs-
ery’ and subdue all nations in a three-and-a-half-year span. However, ultimately the
Lord’s reign will shatter and reduce that kingdom to dust since it is an admixture of
iron and clay. See Quaresmius, Elucidatio, I, I, 104.

72 Psalm 86:5.
73 Psalm 73:12.
74 The House of Austria, also known as the Habsburg dynasty, ruled Spain from the
reign of Charles V (1519–1556) to the death of Charles II, son of Quaresmius’ dedi-
catee, Philip IV, in 1700. Pope Julius II invested Ferdinand the Catholic with the title
of ‘King of Jerusalem’ in 1510, and the Spanish monarchy retains the title up to the present, with its use enshrined in the Spanish Constitution of 1978. For a Spanish translation of the pertinent bull investing Spain with this title, see Doussinage, *La política*, 620–35. See also Anthology, Documents 3a and 3b. On the relationship of Spain’s crown to the Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, see Martínez Teixidó, ‘La Orden de Caballería’. In 1588, Philip II was elected Grand Master of the Order at the Chapter celebrated in Hoschtraten, though this election was never ratified by Pope Paul IV nor by his successor Pius V, likely due to the opposition of the Order of Malta and the rocky relationship of Philip II with these Pontiffs. On Spain’s historical claims to the Holy Land, see Introduction, Chapter 2.

75 Romans 13:4.
76 1 Peter 2:13–14.
77 Titus 2:12.
78 2 Timothy 4:5.
80 ‘Hunting was a highly regarded pastime in the Middle Ages; indeed while warfare was undoubtedly the most prestigious physical activity, the chase came a close second. There were intimate connections between hunting and fighting. From hunting the young male royalty and nobility learned horsemanship and management of weapons, and gained an insight into woodcraft, terrain and strategy, all techniques used in war’. Steane, *The Archaeology of Medieval English Monarchy*. This, then, is a particularly potent image since Quaresmius—through Bridget—in so many words, accuses statesmen of playing at war, rather than engaging in a real and necessary conflict.
81 Psalm 21:19.
82 Marginalia: Gregory the Great, *Homily 9*. The sermon is based on Matthew 13:44–52, which tells of the treasure hidden in the field and the pearl of great price. Quaresmius will speak of this parable later on, [64–5]. Quaresmius cites Gregory’s sermon in the present context because it speaks pointedly about pleasing God or seeking self-pleasure. ‘One who renounces the pleasures of the body and conquers all earthly desires…is truly the one who sells everything and buys the field’ and ‘Would we give our bodies for the Lord in time of war, when we are not willing to subdue our desires in time of peace?’ Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*.
85 The title ‘prorex’ stands here for Egyptian *vizier*, the highest official in Ancient Egypt to serve the Pharaoh during the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms.
86 Genesis 41–5.
87 Genesis 45:5. The now proverbial notion of an empire upon which the sun never sets first gained currency under the reign of Charles V in the 16th century, reflecting an acknowledgement of Spain’s global territorial extension from the Indies to Asia. This imagery also harmonizes with the solar symbolism that was habitually applied to the early modern Spanish monarchy. On this, see Mínguez, *Los reyes solares* and Tanner, *The Las Descendant of Aeneas*, chapter 12. The Virgilian motto *A solis ortu ad accasum* was first applied to Charles V in 1535. Mínguez, *Los reyes solares*, 92 and Parker, *Imprudent King*, 4.
88 Malachi 1:11.
89 For more on these claims, see note 74; Anthology, Documents 3a and 3b; and Introduction, Chapter 2.
90 It was not common practice for Spanish Habsburgs to wear a crown. A 1628 portrait of Philip IV housed at Madrid’s Museo del Prado by the official court painter, Diego Velázquez, is typical of royal portraiture in the period in its relative austerity and paucity of monarchical symbols. See Velázquez, ‘Philip IV’. The crown to which
Quaresmius refers may be better interpreted metaphorically. Nevertheless, it is true that from the 15th century onwards, the so-called ‘cross potent’—often quartered by four plain crosses to form the heraldic markers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, and later, the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land—was widely incorporated into Spanish royal heraldry and numismatics as a way of visually representing Spain’s claims to the throne of Jerusalem. See Introduction, Chapter 2, and the bibliography included in Leahy, ‘Dineros en cruzados’.

91 Psalm 16:13.

92 See Anthology, Documents 3a and 3b for an official royal expression of Spanish sovereignty in Jerusalem, including mention of the idea of Jerusalem as Spain’s ‘house’ where the monarch should not tolerate usurpation of his authority.

93 The representation of Turks as inherently violent and lascivious perpetrators of rape, on wide display in anti-Turkish polemics, reinforces the gendered narrative of the captive Jerusalem as victim of sexual violence, suggested a number of times by Quaresmius. See Bisaha, Creating East and West, 63–4 and Tolan, Saracens, 93–4. This negative representation emerges within an already-established, virulent anti-Muslim tradition that informs crusade preaching from the 11th century onwards and is also on display throughout Quaresmius’ sermon. For an overview, see Housley, ‘The Crusades and Islam’ and Tolan, Saracens and Sons of Ishmael.

94 Esther 7:8.

95 The medical imagery of contamination, contagion, and disease was similarly deployed in justifying the expulsion of Spain’s moriscos, 1609–1614. See Vélez-Sainz, ‘¿Amputación o ungimiento?’

96 On the long process of so-called Reconquista, by which the diverse polities of Medieval Iberia retook territory conquered in the wake of the Muslim invasion of 711, and on the relationship of that process to crusade, see Goñi Gatzambide, Historia de la bula de cruzada, Kjersgaard Nielsen and Fonnesberg-Schmidt, Crusading on the Edge; O’Callaghan, Reconquest and Crusade and The Last Crusade; Purkis, Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia; Rodriguez, ‘Remembering the Crusades’. See Introduction, Chapter 2.

97 Quaresmius alludes here to the idea of a Visigothic remnant taking refuge in the north of Iberia, from which they resisted the Muslim advance, thereby launching the Reconquest under the heroic leadership of Pelayo at the Battle of Covadonga in the early 8th century. The late medieval and early modern neo-Gothic mythology surrounding this story is central to the subsequent development of the narrative of Reconquest, used to assert an ethnoracial and religious essence for Hispania, as against a perceived Muslim and Jewish foe in al-Andalus. See Grieve, The Eve of Spain; Sáez, Godos de papel; and Introduction, Chapter 2.

98 A Latin proverb. See Pliny the Younger, Letters 1.8.1 ‘addidisti ergo calcaria sponte current’, to spur a willing horse. See also Cicero, Philippics 3.8.19, ‘currentem, ut dicitur, incitare’ to urge one who needs no urging.

99 Hebrews 2:14,17.

100 The argument that just as Christ experiences human frailty and suffering, so does Spain share Jerusalem’s afflictions, is striking. As Housley, ‘Holy Lands’, and other have argued, the sanctification of national territory is common in the late medieval and early modern periods, and comparisons between the Holy Land and Iberian territory abound, but to our knowledge, this is a unique analogy. Perhaps the closest comparison comes from the dedication of San Juan del Puerto, Patrimonio seraphico, ‘SEÑOR’, in which the author reworks an idea, plausibly first expressed in Glaber, Historiarum libri quinque, 41–3. San Juan del Puerto describes how, as he hung upon the cross, Christ died facing Spain and, as he expired, he transferred in his final will the royal title of King of Jerusalem to the King of Spain. This latter, equally striking analogy, is deployed to pursue other ends than the one developed here by Quaresmius.
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San Juan del Puerto dedicates his prologue to reminding the monarch of his royal responsibilities as patron of the Holy Places, while Quaresmius is suggesting an analogy between shared sufferings under Muslim tyranny, thereby linking Spain’s reconquest to the logic of a Spanish-led crusade in the Holy Land.

101 Hebrews 4:15.

102 Iberia’s last Muslim polity, the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, fell to the Catholic Monarchs in 1492, though most of the descendants of Iberia’s Muslims remained in the peninsula, even following forcible conversion by the early 16th century, until the definitive expulsion of all so-called moriscos in 1609–1614, regardless of their religious convictions. The expulsion was heralded by anti-morisco polemicists as the definitive conclusion of the centuries-long process of Reconquista, and the providential triumph of Catholicism over Islam in Spain. For an overview, see Harvey, Muslims in Spain.

103 Marginalia: Ezekiel 5:5, expounded by St. Jerome, Commentary on Ezekiel, Book 2. This influential passage is cited repeatedly by writers on the Holy Land, particularly in the centuries following the First Crusade, and it constitutes a standard point of reference for early modern Franciscan authors like Quaresmius. On the fortunes of this passage as a way of understanding the place of Jerusalem in geographic space, see Alexander, ‘Jerusalem as the Omphalos’ and Terrien, ‘The Omphalos myth’. Its influence is felt perhaps most iconically as the justification for cartographic projections centering Jerusalem as the literal center of the earth, beginning with the 6th-century Isidorian T-O projection, and later sometimes even represented as the navel of the body of Christ projected onto the planisphere, as in the famous 14th-century Ebstorf and Hereford mappaemundi. See Woodward, ‘Maps’, ‘Reality’, and ‘Medieval mappaemundi’. Quaresmius must have been interested in Jerome’s geographical exposition of the passage: ‘For a region encircles her in the eastern direction that is called Asia; from the direction to her west, one that is called Europe; to the north and south, Libya and Africa, to the east, the Scythians, Armenia, Persia, and all the nations of Pontus’. Quaresmius apparently overlooks the principle focus of Jerome’s commentary, namely, that ‘by following the wickedness of the nations located around her [Jerusalem] even surpassed them in her own wicked deeds’. While ignoring that sin here, Quaresmius has Jerusalem openly confess her sin elsewhere in the letter. See Jerome, St. Jerome: Commentary on Ezekiel.

104 It is unclear what proposals, avowals, and documents Quaresmius may be alluding to here. There are certainly other contemporaneous calls for crusade produced by Spanish subjects. See, for example, Anthology, Documents 1, 2, and 4. There is also a steady line of communication linking the Spanish crown and Spanish Franciscans tied to the Custody in the period. Blas de Buyza and Antonio del Castillo, for example, appear numerous times on official Custody business under Philip III and Philip IV, transporting Spanish donations to the Holy Land, and both friars also dedicated important works on the Holy Land to their respective royal dedicatees. It is possible that the passage may allude to Spanish subjects present for the delivery of the original sermon in 1626 who may have been on official crown business, but there is no documentation to support such a hypothesis. We are similarly left with only conjecture regarding the ‘signed documents’ and ‘earnest avowals’ that Quaresmius mentions here.

105 For an example of Philip’s royal advisors discussing matters relating to Jerusalem see Anthology, Document 3a. This passage seems to suggest that Quaresmius may have intended a trip to the Spanish court to advocate for crusade. Again, documentation of such a visit is lacking.

106 On crusading as an act of love, see Riley-Smith, ‘Crusading as an Act of Love’.

107 Columbus famously framed his enterprise as a means of financing a crusade to conquer the Holy Land. For an overview, see Delaney, ‘Columbus’s Ultimate Goal’,
and Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*. Writing in 1610 and 1618, Bleda, *Defensio fidei*, 532–9. and Corónica, ‘Declarse [sic] el enigma del sol’, n.p.—staunch apologist for the *morisco* expulsion of 1609–1614—also makes a material argument for crusade by claiming that in the wake of the expulsion, a new Spanish Holy Land crusade beginning in North Africa would effectively pay for itself since the Crown’s debts could be satisfied along the way with revenue generated from the spoils of conquest, allowing for the successful financing of the ultimate conquest of the Holy City.

This expression is also used later, [28], with the meaning to withhold good from others when it is in your ability to help. In the Gospel parable, from Luke 19, the servant entrusted to guard money for his master is severely rebuked for not wisely investing the money, instead hiding it in a handkerchief and then returning the original amount without interest.

The notion that Spain’s *morisco* population was secretly in league with the Turks and their Berber allies, plotting to overthrow the king and revive al-Andalus, appears widely in anti-morisco polemic. See Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 305–8 and Hess, ‘The Moriscos’. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, ‘The Religious Debate’, 102, points out that the Council of State’s final decision to expel all *moriscos* in 1609–1614 was ultimately ‘justified in legal terms by reference to the crime of treason (*lesa maiestatis humanae*) and not that of heresy-apostasy (*lesae maiestatis divinae*)’.

On crusading as an act of vengeance, see Throop, *Crusading*.

Ecclesiasticus 26:18–19.

Ecclesiasticus 26:21.

Proverbs 7:10–11. Vulgate has ‘vaga’ wandering. Here ‘vana’ uttering empty or lying words.

1 Corinthians 14:34.

Marginalia: ‘Feminae ff. de reg. juris’. Compare ‘In the end, by custom, that is, by strong tradition in law, women are not able to be judges’, Sinistrari, *Patris Ludovici Mariae Sinistrari*. The marginalia also includes ‘de postulationibus’. Consider in medieval ecclesiastical canon law ‘an alternative form of election known as the postulation, in which case a preferred candidate lacked the proper qualifications for election, the electors sent a direct request (postulation) to Rome for approval, thus bypassing the need to seek confirmation from the metropolitan’. Mantello and Rigg, *Medieval Latin*.

The term ‘tribulania’, qualified here as ‘regia’, refers to a raised semicircular or square platform on which the seats of the magistrates were placed.

Compare ‘Anyone using reason shall confess, laws should be accommodated to their customs by which they are determined and should vary according to the condition of the persons, locations, and time’. Migne, *Theologiae cursus completes*.


Psalm 78:1.

Psalm 73:4–5.

Jeremiah 2:16, Lamentations.


It is unclear whether this obtuse reference to ‘helpers’ here refers to the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187), during which time Jerusalem might sleep in peace due to the Christianization of the city, or if he is referring instead to the Franciscan presence in the Holy City, as a source of limited comfort in the face of increasingly unsustainable difficulties since the Custody’s 14th-century founding. The reference in the next sentence to the ‘muting’ of topical ‘dogs’ leads us to favor the former interpretation, though this is purely conjecture.

Isaiah 56:10.

Proverbs 7.10.

Judith 8:5.
This expression, promising punishment for those who do not wisely steward that which is entrusted to them, also appears earlier, [24]. See Luke 19.

3 Kings 1:15.

2 Kings 14:1.

Judges 4:4.

The Latin ‘injuria’ may refer specifically to rape.

Marginalia: John 11, Augustine, Tractate 49 on the Gospel of John. Quaresmius offers an adaptation of Augustine’s tractate which reads, ‘They sent messengers to the Lord to tell Him that their brother was ill. He delayed to heal, that He might be able to raise to life. But what was the message sent by his sisters? “Lord, behold, he whom You love is sick”. They did not say, “Come”, for the intimation was all that was needed for one who loved. They did not venture to say, “Come and heal him”, they ventured not to say, “Command there, and it shall be done here”. And why not so with them, if on these very grounds the centurion’s faith was commended? For he said, “I am not worthy that You should enter under my roof; but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed”. No such words said these women, but only, “Lord, behold, he whom You love is sick. It is enough that You know; for You are not one that loves and forsakes”. Quaresmius insists here that if Philip loved Jerusalem, it would have been sufficient in the letter just to say that she is in distress. He reinforces the parallel by mentioning the use of messengers, which he too apparently employed. Philip’s lack of love requires an appeal for help, not just a description of her desolation. See Augustine, St. Augustine Tractates.


Esther 15:10–11.

The Latin ‘internuntios’ may also be rendered as mediators.


Ambrose, in fact, does not mention Martha by name, but in a passing comment writes, ‘Moreover, that woman also delighted Him who touched Him and was cured of a hemorrhage’. The context of the text speaks primarily of Mary Magdalene and the other Mary who sought Christ and laid hold of Him. Ambrose further personifies the soul as a woman ‘arrayed in a garment of shining splendor’. Quaresmius sees in this passage from Ambrose the example of persistent women of faith, a ready parallel to the character of Jerusalem. Ambrose, Saint Ambrose.

Matthew 9:20–2.

Mark 5:25–34.

Psalm 78:3.

1 Timothy 3:5.

On the election of Philip II as Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher in 1558, see Martínez Teixidó, ‘La Orden’. The election was not ratified by the Pontiff, hence Quaresmius’ suggestion that the election may yet still be considered valid.

Canticles 6:11.


Psalm 44:4.

Jeremiah 20:9.
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152 Proverbs 6:27.
153 James 2:10.
154 Ecclesiasticus 7:6.
155 Psalm 2:12. In Psalm 12 the psalmist himself is exhorting kings to both understand and receive instruction at the same time yielding to the corrective discipline of God. Quaresmius repurposes the phrase ‘embrace discipline’ *appehendite disciplinam* to refer to the king’s responsibility to punish the evildoer.
156 John 2:15.
157 Matthew 21:12.
158 Marginalia: St. Augustine, *City of God, Book 7, Chapter 3*. ‘We worship that God who has appointed to the natures created by Him both the beginnings and the end of their existing and moving; who holds, knows, and disposes the causes of all things...who knows and ordains, not only principal causes, but also subsequent causes ... He governs all things in such a manner as to allow them to perform and exercise their own proper movements’. ‘Sic itaque administrat omnia, quae creavit, ut etiam ipsa proprios exserere et agere motus sinat’. The chapter enumerates God’s omnipotent and benevolent control over nature. Quaresmius questions why men do not acknowledge the providence of God in human affairs while they recognize it in natural phenomena. See Augustine, *The City of God*.
160 Revelation 22:2.
161 Marginalia: St. Augustine, *Exposition on Psalm 55.11*. See discussion in Introduction, Chapter 4. See also Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*.
162 On the idea of violence as a means to conversion and peace, see Idris, *War for Peace* and Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*. In the early modern colonial context, the use of force in evangelization was hotly debated in Spain by figures including the theologians of the Salamanca School of theology, such as Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto. Perhaps the most famous episode in this extensive polemic is the Valladolid debate between Las Casas and Sepúlveda. Such debates hinged especially on contested understandings of nature and human difference. See Feros, *Speaking of Spain*; Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*; Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved*; and Wey-Gómez, *The Tropics of Empire*. In the following passages, without declaring as much, Quaresmius advances a careful case for crusading as ‘just war’. Acknowledging the scriptural grounding for a more passive approach, sacred violence nonetheless is framed as the only morally and theologically acceptable option, dictated by a historical teleology that informs the changing needs of the Church. In his appeal to such reasoning, Quaresmius tacitly dialogues with centuries of crusade apologetic grounded in reflection on the limits of legitimate violence and just war theory. On this, Bataillon, Bienvenu, and Velasco Gómez, eds., *Las teorías de la guerra justa en el siglo XVI*; Brunstetter and Zartner, ‘Just War against Barbarians’; Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals, and War*; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*; O’Banion, ‘Only the King’, 571–4; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 6–7; Russell, *The Just War*; and Tyerman, *God’s War*, 32–51 and *How to Plan a Crusade*, chapters 1 and 2. See also Introduction, Chapter 4.
164 1 Kings 17:40, 50.
165 1 Kings 18:27, 23:5, 27:8–9, 30:17, et al.
166 Matthew 10:9–10.
167 Matthew 5:39.
168 Matthew 10:16.
169 Matthew 26:52.
170 1 Peter 2:23.
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Acts 8:32.
Isaiah 53:7.
Romans 8:36. All the apostles except John are said to have been martyred. John reportedly survived boiling oil and was exiled to Patmos.
John 18:3.
John 18:23.
Acts 5.

Acts 23.3.

The argument in favor of violence turns here from a spiritual justification to the legalistic logic of sovereignty and rightful territorial possession. Notably, Quaresmius advocates for the recovery of Spanish patrimony as a somewhat roundabout means to the recovery of Christ’s patrimony, claiming that the spiritual objective inherent in Holy Land conquest exceeds Philip’s jurisdiction, while the objective of reclaiming unlawfully usurped Spanish land does fall clearly within the monarch’s rights as King of Jerusalem. Both missions are fused here, but the juridical claim is framed as an instrument for the attainment of spiritual goals.

Matthew 28:19, Mark 16:15.
See MacEvitt, The Crusades, chapter 5, for recent work on taxation structures as applied to the Muslim, Jewish, and Christian subjects of Outremer. The established practice in Muslim territories, including those in Iberia and Sicily, of charging dhimmi a tax called jizya, may be on Quaresmius’ mind here.

Marginalia: St. Augustine, Epistle 43. Given the context of Quaresmius one might suppose Epistle 43 deals with Constantine as iconoclast. That is not the case. Epistle 43 addresses the emperor’s participation as judge in an ecclesiastical dispute and it leaves one wondering what connection at all this citation has to the argument of Quaresmius. There are two possibilities. First, there is a line in Augustine’s epistle which underscores the accountability of the emperor to God. Accountability is a persistent theme in Quaresmius. A second, more subtle connection may be the delicate relationship between church and state. In Epistle 43, Augustine never censures Constantine, rather he is critical of the schismatic element who dismissed the ruling of the ecclesiastical panel of bishops and insisted on a civil decision from the emperor. If this is reason for the insertion of the marginal citation, then Quaresmius’ reference to the removal of idols and closing of temples by Constantine illustrates the proper and legitimate role of the monarch in leveling hindrances to the propagation of the gospel. See The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen, Book 2, Chapter 5 which gives an account of Constantine ordering the confiscation of idols and dismantling of temples. Interestingly enough, Sozomen mentions that no military action was taken and that the people were induced by fear to comply with the emperor’s orders. See Augustine, St. Augustine Tractates.

Marginalia: Codex Theodosianus, Liber XVI, Chapter 10 – De Paganis, Sacrificiis et Templis, Section 1. ‘Let superstition cease; let the madness of sacrifices be abolished. For whoever, against the law of the divine prince, our parent [Constantine] and this command of our clemency, shall celebrate sacrifices, let a punishment appropriate to him and this present decision be issued’.

The Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, expelled all unconverted Jews in 1492, leaving in Iberia a large population of conversos whose fidelity to the Catholic Church explicitly constituted the principle charge of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.
in Spain, founded in 1478. Philip III decreed the expulsion of all *moriscos*, the descendants of Iberia’s Muslim population, in 1609–1614. However, Quaresmius’ comment that both groups ‘should leave … unless they should embrace the Catholic religion’ is factually false because the Jewish and morisco cases were in truth handled quite differently. While Jewish converts and their descendants in the 15th century were allowed to remain in Spain, Muslim converts and their descendants—regardless of whether they were suspected of covertly practicing Islam or were, on the contrary, fervently orthodox Catholics, including ordered religious and clergy—were wholesale forced into exile from Spain. It should be noted that this blanket treatment of converted Catholics caused alarm in the Vatican. For an overview, see Amelang, *Parallel Histories*.

187 Indirect in the sense that crusade will facilitate the subsequent spread of the gospel but will not, itself, be the vehicle of evangelization.

188 Marginalia: Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the Heavenly Hierarchy, Chapter 3, Section 2*. ‘For each of those who have been called into the Hierarchy, find their perfection in being carried to the Divine imitation in their own proper degree; and, what is more divine than all, in becoming a fellow-worker with God, as the Oracles say, and in showing the Divine energy in himself manifested as far as possible’.

189 Psalm 34:3.

190 Psalm 78:6.

191 With the mention of scandal and stumbling block, Quaresmius now introduces a significant theme in the letter. All those Christian leaders who ought to be coming to her aid are withdrawn, sitting idly by. This indolence draws the mockery of the Turk who is incredulous at the inactivity of the so-called Christian rulers. The idea of crusade as a means of redirecting internal Christian conflict toward a more fruitful collective end constituted an important thread in advocating for the movement early on. See Tyerman, *God’s War*, chapter 1. Such internal Christian tensions are particularly relevant here in light of rival French and Spanish claims over the Holy Places in the 17th century, and the divergent approaches of the two monarchies in their relationships with the Ottoman empire. See Introduction, Chapter 2.

192 Very likely another allusion to the Franciscans of the Custody in Jerusalem.

193 Philippians 2:11.


195 Marginalia reads, ‘The argument by St. Jerome in his epistle concerning Susannah, the virgin corrupted by the minister’. Quaresmius apparently alludes to the mob turning from the wrongful death of Susannah to the equally unjust lynching of the officer charged with her execution in Epistle 1. See Jerome, *The Letters of St. Jerome*.

196 Isaiah 5:8.

197 The monstrous mythological figures of Scylla and Charybdis, of classical origin, were associated with dangerous navigational features on either side of the Strait of Messina, between the island of Sicily and the Italian mainland. The opposition of Scylla and Charybdis was proverbial, roughly equivalent to the English expression ‘between a rock and a hard place’.

198 The argument is that by launching a crusade Philip will eliminate the scandal of inactivity and simply replace it with another, that is, an accusation of greed. Quaresmius acknowledges the danger but encourages Philip that if his motives remain pure, there is no danger. Philip is to ignore critics of the crusade.

199 Marginalia: St. Bernard, *Epistle 34 (33)*. In his letter, St. Bernard comforts and instructs the Abbot of Saint Nicasius when he is abandoned by a certain monk named Drogo. After writing to the monk who received Drogo, he says in the letter to the abbot, ‘After this, reverend father, what is there more that I am able to do on your behalf?’ He counsels the abbot, ‘wait patiently for the issue of the affair … you should
endeavor to repress the sparks of indignation’. Bernard recounts how he faced a similar situation and endured the abandonment in silence praying for those who housed the fugitive that they may be willing to return him or that the fugitive may be willing to return of his own volition. Bernard concludes, ‘leaving the charge of my vengeance to Him who shall render judgment to the patient and contend in equity for the meek’. See Bernard, *The Letters of St. Bernard*.

200 Matthew 15:14.

201 Marginalia: Gregory the Great, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Homily 7*. ‘It is sometimes needful to beware of being a stumbling block to a neighbor, but sometimes indeed this risk must be held as being of no worth … if scandal is taken from the truth it is more expedient that scandal arise than that the truth be abandoned’. Quaresmius argues that Philip must do what is right, regardless of the consequences. Gregory the Great, *Homilies on the Book of the Prophet*.

202 Luke 2:34.

203 Genesis 27:29.

204 Psalm 26:3.

205 Psalm 78:10.

206 Matthew 23:38.

207 Jeremiah 12:7.

208 Jeremiah 31:12.


211 James 5:20.

212 Marginalia: Origen, *Homilies of Leviticus*, Homily 2, Chapter 1. Origen’s Homily 2 is entitled ‘Concerning the ritual of sacrifices’; that is, concerning offerings and sacrifices, both salutary and for sins; and how ‘the high priest offers for his own sin’ and for the ‘sin of the congregation’, or for the ‘individual soul of the people of the land which has sinned involuntarily’. See Origen, *Homilies of Leviticus*.


215 Marginalia: St. Bridget, *Revelations, Book 7, Chapter 13*. The chapter is a lengthy discourse between an angel and devil as they exchange arguments concerning the soul of Bridget’s son Charles upon his death. Quaresmius probably has in mind the devil’s statement, ‘I still must punish him for all those venial sins that he committed’. The general point of the argument is that all sins, no matter how minor require satisfaction through punishment at the hands of the devil. However, through the intercession of the Virgin Mary, Charles is able to bypass any punishment as a reward for his ‘burning desire to make a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Jerusalem, and for the fact that he fervently longed to risk his life willingly in warfare’. See Bridget, *The Revelations of St. Birgitta, Vol 3*.

216 Marginalia: St. Bridget, *Book 8, Chapter 40.3–4*. Verses 1–2 are not quoted, but interestingly enough echo two of the tenets of Quaresmius’ argument. First, that ‘no one is destined to be compelled unwillingly into the kingdom of heaven’. Second, that the flowers [the faithful] grow better when they are unimpeded by weeds [the infidel], that should be cut down. Both of these align with Quaresmius view of the interrelationship between civil military force and evangelism. See Introduction, Chapter 4. See Bridget, *The Revelations of St. Birgitta, Vol 4*.

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219 This aspect of meta-commentary on crusade preaching suggests the degree to which Quaresmius appears to deliberately place Jerusalem Afflicted in dialogue with the crusade sermon as established genre. From its origins at Clermont, crusade preaching constituted a core element of the movement. See Cole, The Preaching; Cowdrey, ‘Pope Urban II’s Preaching’; Georgiou, Preaching the Crusades; Guard, ‘Pulpit and Cross’; Kienzle, ‘Preaching the Cross’; Maier, Crusade Propaganda and Preaching the Crusades; and Tamminen, Crusade Preaching. For more on the connection between Quaresmius and this corpus of homiletic texts and practices, see Introduction, Chapters 3 and 4.

220 Josephus’ 1st-century account in De bello iudiaco of the Roman destruction of the Second Temple under Titus and Vespasian in 70CE occupied an important place in the European Christian cultural imaginary through the middle ages and early modern period. Throop, ‘Vengeance’, 24, notes that associations between the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher and the destruction of the Temple appear already in the so-called Encyclical of Sergius IV, allegedly written after the destruction of the Sepulcher by Caliph al-Hakim in 1009, though likely composed later. See Peters, The First Crusade, 291–301. In a different direction, narratives around the destruction of the Temple would fast coalesce into the profoundly anti-Semitic tradition known as Vindicta salvatoris, the Vengeance of Our Lord, that was popular across Europe in the late middle ages and early modern period, including in Iberia. See Hook, The Destruction of Jerusalem; Lida de Malkiel, Jerusalén; Wright, The Vengeance; and Yuval, Two Nations, chapter 2.

221 Text is in Greek. ἀναστάσει ‘with [his] resurrection’. Given that Quaresmius’ sermon presents itself as having been delivered on Good Friday within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Greek term used here also likely resonates with associations of the Anastasis Rotunda, the name for the area within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in which the aedicule housing the tomb itself is located.

222 Marginalia: St. Jerome, on Zephaniah Chapter 1.15–6. Quaresmius excerpts directly from Jerome’s commentary on Zephaniah. In that commentary segment Jerome chronicles the sufferings of the Jews in Jerusalem under both the Babylonians and, as in this case, the Romans. See Sweeny, The Twelve Prophets.

223 St. Jerome.

224 The chapel of Mount Calvary—where Jerusalem Afflicted would have been delivered—is housed within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and is effectively adjacent to the tomb, thus collapsing in one edifice the physical sites associated both with the crucifixion and death of Christ, and with the burial and resurrection.

225 On imitatio Christi in crusade preaching and crusade spirituality, see Purkis, Crusading Spirituality, chapter 2 and Tamminen, Crusade Preaching, chapter 3.


227 On the marked decline of Holy Land pilgrimage in the 16th and 17th centuries, see Gómez-Géraud, Le crépuscule and Noonan, The Road to Jerusalem.

228 Marginalia: William of Malmesbury, Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Post Bedam Praecipui, Book 4, Chapter 2. William has in the marginalia ‘Great oration of Urban II at the Council of Clermont’. See William, Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores. Complaints over fees charged by Ottoman authorities for access to sanctuaries, including the Sepulcher, appear constantly in Franciscan publications in the period. See, for example, Alzedo Avellaneda, Iervsalen cavtiva; Buyza, Svmario; and the anonymous works Resumen y noticia, Breve sumario, and Breve y suma- ria relacion.


230 1 Maccabees 9:10.
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1 Corinthians 9:15.

Personal honor and the honor of Jerusalem are persistent themes in the sermon.


Marginalia: Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*, Book 6.316–22. Slightly embellished by Quaresmius. The priests do implore Titus to spare their lives. However, Titus simply states the time for pardon had passed and that it was proper for priests to perish with their temple. See *Josephus, the Jewish War*.

2 Kings 11:11.

In this passage, the ‘true’ Israelites inhabiting Jerusalem are clearly the Franciscans. Quaresmius himself was imprisoned at least twice by Ottoman authorities during his brief term as President of the Custody. See Introduction, Chapter 5.


The king is to have no other motive than the aforementioned desire to expand glory and sovereignty in order to have peace at home and abroad.

‘Just War’ theory (*jus bellum justum*)—especially as related to concerns over when it is legitimate and lawful to initiate non-defensive military action (*jus ad bellum*)—lies at the heart of much late medieval and early modern debate, not only over crusading or holy war as practice but also over the colonial-imperial-evangelizing enterprise of Spain in the Indies. Such contemporary concerns clearly color Quaresmius’ exegesis in these pages. See the bibliography in note 162, and also Anthology, Document 5, which draws on similar arguments in building a case for crusade by the king of Spain, though far more superficially than Quaresmius here.

Revelation 1:5.

Marginalia: St. Augustine, *Questions on the Gospels, Question 10*. ‘The Chaff Separated from the Grain. The name of tares is given to every foreign herb that spoils the harvest. It is said: “that we first separate the tares”. The ungodly in the trial that will precede judgment, will therefore be separated from the righteous. The good angels will make this division; for the good can very well, in a good intention, exercise the ministry of vengeance, thus a king, thus a judge; but the offices of mercy cannot be filled by the wicked. (Matthew 13:25–30)’. See Augustine et al, *New Testament I and II*; Augustine, *Eighty-three Different Questions (27)*.

Marginalia: St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica, Question 40, Article 1*. For Thomas a just war must be waged under the authority of a government, those attacked have committed a wrong which justifies war, and the war must be waged with right intention. See Thomas, *Summa Theologica*.

2 Kings 10:4.


2 Kings 20:1.

Judges 20:1.

2 Kings 8:5.

The three conditions of just war are, therefore, desire for expanded authority, just cause, and right motive. Under the subheading of just cause, Quaresmius likewise lists three legitimate conditions: defensive war against imminent threat, retributive war against damage done, and punitive war against the criminally rebellious. In similar fashion he lists three right motives: recovery, vindication, and stabilization. See the bibliography in note 162 for more on Just War theory in Quaresmius’ day.

Marginalia: St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum, Book 22, Chapter 74*. ‘The real evils in war are love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power, and such like; and it is generally to punish these things, when force is required to inflict the punishment, that, in obedience to God or some lawful authority, good men undertake wars, when they find themselves in such a position as regards the conduct of human affairs, that right conduct requires them to act, or to make others act in this way’. See Augustine, *Contra Faustum*. 
Augustine constitutes one of the primary influences shaping thought on Just War in the period.

Ottoman dominion here is framed as a usurpation of just Spanish sovereignty in Jerusalem because of the Spanish crown’s claims to the title ‘King of Jerusalem’, formally acknowledged through Papal investiture in 1510. See Introduction, Chapter 2 and Anthology, Documents 3a and 3b.

This is a subtle critique of the Franco-Ottoman alliance, made all the more pointed considering the Spanish perception at the time of Quaresmius’ writing that France was attempting to usurp control of the Custody. See Introduction, Chapter 2.

The potent narrative of crusading as a means of recovering the ‘patrimony of Christ’ (Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 21) is layered here with the complementary political dimension of recovering the legally endowed patrimony of Spain.

Wisdom 3:15.

Marginalia: Iacobus Valdes (Valdesius). *De dignitate Regum Regnorumque Hispaniae, Chapter 19 [sic]*. Valdés, *De dignitate*, chapter 17, constitutes a thorough justification for Spanish claims to the throne of Jerusalem, including patrimonial insinuations linking the legacy of Godfrey of Bouillon and his crusading inheritors to the Spanish crown.

Quaresmius gestures toward the campaigns that, today, we might call the First, Second, Third, etc. Crusades. As Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, argues, such a construction of crusading history only occurred retrospectively and was not experienced by those who participated in these campaigns. Combatants in the First Crusade had no way of sensing that they were inaugurating centuries of sacred warfare whose episodes would later be assigned ordinal numbers. In this passage, Quaresmius also conjures a heavenly pantheon of crusading forebears advocating for Philip IV, tacitly ushering him into their illustrious company, beginning with the first crusading ruler of Palestine, Godfrey of Bouillon (1099–1100). On Godfrey, see John, *Godfrey of Bouillon* and Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, 6–93. On the question of Godfrey’s famous rejection of the title *rex*, see Riley-Smith, ‘The Title’.

As O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 35, points out, ‘There is no record that Alfonso VI ever took the crusader’s vow’. Papal resistance to Iberian participation in Holy Land crusading is well-documented, and though Alfonso expressed a desire to take the cross and embark for the East, he was explicitly dissuaded in 1100 by Paschal II, who urged him instead to focus on exercising his crusading piety at home. See Ayala, ‘En los orígenes’; Martín Rodríguez, ‘Reconquista y cruzada’, 219–20; and Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 120–6.


On the vision of Daniel and its relationship to crusade, see Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream*.

Marginalia: St. Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*. ‘The fourth empire is the Roman Empire, which now occupies the entire world and concerning which it was said in connection with the image, “Its lower legs were of iron, and part of its feet were of iron and part of clay”’. Jerome, *Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel*.

Quaresmius in his *Elucidatio* 1.104ff. provides us with a lengthy exposition of the vision of the statue. In a sleight of hand he combines the Greek Empire with that of the Medes and Persians, thus he is able to shift the Roman Empire up to the bronze thighs and make room for the representation of the Mohammedan Empire as the calves and feet of iron. For another thorough and elaborate exegesis published in Spain in 1619 that similarly argues for a reading of Daniel’s prophecy of the four kingdoms as foretelling the conflict between Spain and the Turks, see Salazar, *Política española*, 281–323. For an excerpt of Salazar’s work in translation, see Anthology, Document 2.
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263 Quaresmius offers a similar rationale in his *Elucidatio* 104: ‘Reasonably, indeed without doubt, if the ancient Doctors would have seen the Empire of the Mohammedans and the Antichrist and those a little after that time would have examined more attentively, they would have compared these to it [the prophecy of Daniel 2.43], which concerns the fourth kingdom and the calves of iron discussed by Daniel. They would have embraced with both arms, so to speak, this our exposition’.


265 Marginalia: Boissard and de Bry, *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*.

266 Sulpitius Severus in his *Life St. Martin of Tours*, chapter 3, recounts how Martin, then a solider, used his sword to cut his own cloak to give half to a poor man on a bitter cold winter’s day. Schaff, ed., *The Church Fathers*.

267 Juan de Salazar’s *Política española* in 1619 and Jerónimo de Cevallos’ *Arte real* in 1623 both make the same argument regarding this anecdote of Eucharistic devotion from the life of Rudolf I (1218–1291). See Anthology, Documents 2 and 5. Other important early modern sources for the story include Botero’s *Della ragion di Stato* (1589) and Ribadeneira’s *1595 speculum principes* entitled *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que debe tener el principe cristiano para gobernar sus estados*. See Río Barredo, ‘Rituals of the Viaticum’, 57–9. The story is also recorded in a canvas by Rubens, currently housed in the Museo del Prado (Rubens, ‘Act of Devotion’).

268 2 Kings 6:10–22.

269 Daniel 2:44.

270 Despite massive exploitation of human and natural resources in the Indies—and particularly a constant influx of both silver and gold, produced through indigenous forced labor—Spain’s empire was nevertheless in a state of near perpetual financial crisis throughout much of the 16th and 17th centuries, rendering economic anxiety one of the hallmarks of the period’s cultural and political discourse. See Elliot, ‘Self-Perception and Decline’ and Vilches, *New World Gold*. In this passage in which Quaresmius alludes to a host of social and economic ills of Spain, framing Holy Land conquest as a remedy, he comes his closest to the discourse of *arbitrismo*. On this genre of works of royal counsel, see Anthology, Document 4.

271 Job 20:5. Quaresmius seems to play with the original use of the phrase in Job which carries the negative idea of ‘joy for just a moment’. Quaresmius repurposes the phrase to play on the use of the word ‘punctum’ or point used earlier to describe Jerusalem. Phillip’s joy will be due to this small geographic point.

272 The proliferation of titles of nobility and other diverse benefits within the patronage economy of early modern Spanish courtly society was perceived as a problem by contemporaries. See, for example, Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, chapters 1 and 2.

273 The directness of this personal moral censure of the monarch is striking. It may have contributed to the sermon’s limited circulation. Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, has noted that the structure of the king’s *valido* (also known as *privado* or *favorito*) served as a mechanism to deflect direct criticism of the monarch onto the public figure of the king’s closest advisor and confidant, who could absorb public outrage in order to maintain intact the mythological aura of the king’s persona.

274 Godfrey of Bouillon himself is among those who sold lands in order to fund their vows. On the practice of individuals selling or mortgaging property in order to finance their participation in the crusades, see the bibliography consigned in Blaydes and Paik, *The Impact of Holy Land Crusades*, 4–10.
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275 Righteous moral critique of carnality, greed, pride, and general worldliness as an impediment to taking the cross constitute stock features of crusade preaching, from early on. See Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, 65–7. Quaresmius’ discourse in this passage also harmonizes with some of the criticism levied by early modern Spanish *arbitristas*, such as condemnation of wasteful public spending, the proliferation of vacuous nobiliary titles, and excessive leisure, moral laxity, and vain ostentation among a non-productive, de-militarized, and ‘effeminate’ aristocracy. On *arbitrismo*, see Anthology, Document 5.

276 Gen. 34:21.

277 Isaiah 22:18.

278 Jeremiah 3:19, Deuteronomy 8:7–11.


280 Quaresmius anticipates international resistance to a Spanish-led crusade. The ‘meetings and assemblies’ invoked here likely refer not only to the negotiation of Papal support that the proposed endeavor would require but also to the thorny nature of diplomatic engagement with interested parties, including France, Malta, and Venice. Given that such relationships in the 17th century were often fraught with conflict, Quaresmius appears to be assuring Philip IV that despite his concern over ‘anyone raising an objection’, he should take heart in the knowledge that the proposed endeavor will indeed proceed, and that he will be acclaimed its leader. For two examples of the sort of diplomatic conflict in Rome related to Spain’s relationship with the Holy Land and with other European powers, see Anthology, Documents 3a, 3b, and 4.


282 Quaresmius again alludes here to the fact that Philip IV was titular king of Jerusalem, suggesting that even French subjects acknowledge Spanish sovereignty in the Holy Land. Anthology, Documents 3a and 3b, offer just one among numerous examples of tensions between France and Spain over control of Christian holdings in the Holy Land. For other examples, see García Barriuso, *España*, I. The significant argument that Quaresmius appears to advance here is that regardless of such tensions, French friars themselves do not dispute Spanish sovereignty. This sovereignty, in turn, draws its undeniable value and authority from the highest spiritual source there is: the sanctifying action of Christ himself acting in the material locations of the Holy Places that Spain possesses. For an introduction to the theology of place on display here, see Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places*.


284 Matthew 13:44.

285 Psalm 49:11. The statement is sarcastic within the context of Psalm 49 in which God makes it plain the whole world belongs to Him, not just the beautiful field.

286 John 19:41.

287 Isaiah 11:10.


290 This is not a reference to Christ but rather to the believer’s connection to the Sepulcher of Christ. Quaresmius recalls the words of Paul in Romans 6.5–6 ‘For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall also be in the likeness of his resurrection. Knowing this, that our old man (vetus homo) is crucified with him’. See also Colossians 3.9. Paul speaks of the new man (novus homo) in Ephesians 4.24. St. Augustine, *On True Religion*, 26.49, ‘As the end of the old man is death, so the end of
the new man is eternal life. The old man is the man of sin, but the new man is the man of righteousness’.

291 See John 10.17–18: ‘The Father loves me because I lay down my life in order to take it up (sumam) again … I have power to take it up (sumendi) again’.

292 Note the spiritual and earthly division of labor in the care of this ‘treasure’ between the Orders of the mendicants and the knights. Quaresmius points here toward the providentially necessary interlacing of mission and crusade. See Kedar, Crusade and Mission.


294 Canticles 3:7.

295 The Sacrament of the Eucharist.

296 Marginalia: St. Jerome, Epitaph of Paula [Letter 108.10]. Most of the citation is a close approximation or direct quote from Jerome’s text. See Jerome, The Letters of St. Jerome.


298 Bethlehem in Hebrew means House of Bread.


301 Marginalia: St. Jerome, Epistle 46.5. Most of the citation is a close approximation or direct quote from Jerome. Jerome, The Letters of St. Jerome.

302 The Latin ‘triclinium’ refers to a couch running along three sides of a table for reclining at meals.


304 Franciscan Baldassar de Roma, in calling for a crusade in 1605, makes similar arguments to Philip III. See Anthology, Document 1.

305 The ‘neighboring Catholic rulers’ here are most likely the French, while the ‘heretics’ inevitably refers most directly to the Protestants of England and the Low Countries.

306 On the idea of using the conquest of Muslim kingdoms as a means of financing Holy Land crusade, see note 107.

307 It seems unlikely that Quaresmius’ consideration of crusade as a means to Christian unity would extend to Protestant ‘heretics’. On the wars of religion that constitute an important subtext here, see Housley, Religious Warfare.

308 On the declaration of peace between Christians as a stimulus for Holy Land crusade, see Cowdrey, ‘The Peace and Truce of God’ and Head and Landes, The Peace of God.

309 It is difficult to determine precisely what Quaresmius is referring to here. He may be alluding obliquely to the North African crusading endeavors of Cardinal Cisneros in the early 16th century or, even earlier, to any number of moments in the protracted historical process known as reconquista that was declared complete by triumphalist Iberian sources with the fall of Granada in 1492. He may be referring to the routing of the Turkish armada at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, or the conquest and evangelization of the Indies or, just two years prior to the delivery of this sermon, to the Siege of Breda in 1624, which was hailed as an important victory over the Dutch. Such hypotheses, of course, are simply conjecture.

310 Psalm 2:8.

311 1 Maccabees 3:17–18.

312 On this, see Introduction, Chapter 2. Spanish Habsburg royal mythology asserted the House of Austria as symbolic inheritors of the biblical kings David and Solomon. Philip II’s famous Escorial was in fact modeled explicitly on the Temple of Solomon. Lazure, ‘Perceptions’ and ‘Possessing’; the articles collected in Ramirez, Dios arquitecto; and Tanner, The Last Descendant, chapter 9.
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313 1 Kings 17:46.
314 For a similar argument regarding the instability of Turkish dominion and the opportunity for a new crusade, see Anthology, Document 1.
315 Daniel 2:43.
316 The bronze thigh of the statue, which in the interpretation tendered by Quaresmius represented the strength of the Roman Empire.
317 The phrase used here, *signo crucis insignati*, harkens to one of the dominant forms of referring to those who have taken the crusading vow, in usage from the 12th century: *crucesignatus*. See Markowski, ‘Crucesignatus’ and Riley-Smith, ‘The State of Mind’, 69–72.
318 An appellation applied to St. Bonaventure meaning ‘Angel Teacher’. *Seraphicus* refers to a seraph, an angel of the highest order.
320 Latin ‘palatio’.
322 From Pope Urban onwards, the cross was used as visible sign of the crusader’s vow. For an introduction to the importance of the cross in crusader ideology and liturgy, see Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, chapters 1–2. On Habsburg veneration of the cross, see Tanner, *The Last Descendant*, chapter 10.
323 Latin ‘nudum’ an allusion to the word from the story of St. Francis and the soldier above.
324 Quaresmius expresses an idea here that appears repeatedly in the works of Franciscans associated with the Custody: it is fitting that an Order committed to poverty and the rejection of earthly possessions should be entrusted with ‘possessing’ the Holy Places in the name of the faithful. For an extensive exposition of this idea, see Alzede Avellaneda, *Iervsalen cavtiva*, 144–9. For more on the Custody, see Introduction, Chapter 2.
325 Latin *multiplici culpa* perhaps more vividly ‘unchastity with many’.
326 Lamentations 1:13.
327 Marginalia: St. Jerome, *Epistle 46*. Luke 19:41. ‘The Lord wept for the fall of Jerusalem, and He would not have done so if He did not love it. He wept for Lazarus because He loved him’. This is part of the same letter written in the name of Paula to Marcella quoted previously. See Jerome, *The Letters of St. Jerome*.
329 Mark 2:17.
331 Latin *vobis* is plural.
332 Latin *tibi* is singular.
333 Ezekiel 14:22.
334 Franciscan writing tied to the Custody routinely turns to catalogues of injustices suffered by the Franciscans at the hands of Turks. See, for just one among many examples, Calahorra, *Chronica*.
335 Hosea 4:1–3.
336 Marginalia: St. Bernard, *Epistle 256 (399)*, *To Pope Eugenius*. Bernard’s letter to Pope Eugene was perhaps the source of several of the themes found in the letter of Quaresmius. In Bernard’s original correspondence, he urges Eugene to venture another expedition in spite of previous misfortunes. Bernard recalls the words of St. Peter ‘Although all may be scandalized in thee [Christ], I will never be scandalized’. Bernard pleads that the pope not be deterred by the loss of the former army, but rather do his best to repair it. It is here Bernard states what Quaresmius frames as a question.
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‘Because God does what he wishes, it is no reason why we should not do our duty … When has not great good been preceded by great evils? To mention nothing else, was not that unique and unparalleled gift of our salvation preceded by the death of our Savior?’ See Bernard, The Letters of St. Bernard. This closing invocation of the will of God can also not but hearken back to the famous cry of ‘God wills it’, that early sources on Urban’s sermon at Clermont describe as the spontaneously manifesting divine providence in the collective will of the assembly. See Cowdrey, ‘Pope Urban II’s Preaching’ and Peters, The First Crusade.

337 The image of substituting the ‘precious crown’ of the king for Christ’s crown of thorns is a clear allusion to Godfrey of Bouillon, first ruler of the Latin Kingdom. Regardless of the historicity of the narrative, Godfrey is remembered as rejecting the earthly crown of Jerusalem out of deference to the suffering of Christ, who wore a crown of thorns. Through this image, Quaresmius invites Philip to directly emulate the founder of the royal line whose patrimony Philip inherits through the title king of Jerusalem. See John, Godfrey of Bouillon.

338 Jerusalem in Hebrew means The City of Peace.

339 Marginalia: St. Augustine, Psalm 54:5. At this point Augustine is making specific reference to Christ. ‘For even in the case of transgressions a certain man [Christ] is said to have asked of God, and not to have been hearkened to for his good. For privations of this world had inspired him to prayer, and being set in temporal tribulations he had wished that temporal tribulations should pass away’. The passage is an exhortation to pray to the right end and there are times when even that proper prayer is known only to God. In the case of Quaresmius, his previous statement, ‘We have truly brought forward the chief and universal cause of God’, expresses an assurance that his petition aligns with the will of God. See Augustine, St. Augustine on the Psalms.

340 Good Friday.

1 This is a position that Quaresmius would come to occupy in 1616–1618.

2 For an overview of the problems of delimiting the term ‘crusade’, see Riley-Smith, What Were the Crusades?

3 Arce, Documentos y textos, 118, notes, on this account, that ‘the faith that this religious had in the assuredness of victory over the Turk is truly admirable. No less admirable is the precision and, if it can be said, technique of his report as an eyewitness of the places that he visited and carefully examined for the purpose. A professional spy could not have done a better job’. All translations are our own.

4 On this question, see Housley, The Later Crusades, 376–456 and Religious Warfare, 190–205, and Introduction, Chapter 2.

5 Quaresmius, [68]. Brackets here indicate the pagination of the original imprint, which is recorded in the body of our translation of Jerusalem Afflicted.

6 Quaresmius, [70].

7 Such a logic underwrites much of Jerusalem Afflicted. For just one example, see the conclusion of Quaresmius, [73–4], which argues that Jerusalem ‘looks to you, since you would liberate it and you are the one who bears the sword with the name of God’.

8 Arce, Documentos y textos, 112–18.

9 On the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance, see Throop, Crusading. Joachim de Fiore’s influential 12th-century prophecies, which were widely cited in early modern Spain, associate the threat of Islam with the Dragon of Apocalypse 13. See Bisaha, Creating East and West, 139. On the representation of the Ottoman threat through dragon imagery, see Paul, ‘And the Moon’.

10 The ‘freedom of conscience’ alluded to here relates to guarantees of the freedom for Catholics to practice their faith in the Netherlands, a contentious point in the negotiation of Dutch sovereignty ahead of the signing of the Twelve Years’ Truce that eventually would put a halt to decades of conflict in the Low Countries in 1609. See Allen,
Philip III and the Pax Hispanica; García García, La Pax Hispanica; and Kamen, ‘Toleration and Dissent’.

11 Ash Wednesday in 1605 fell on February 23.

12 Arce, Documentos, 118, suggests that the letter alluded to here would have been handed over to the Spanish Ambassador to Venice at some point in early 1605. We are unaware of any extant copies of such a letter.

13 Basilisk refers to a large class of cannon. See Nolan, The Age of Wars of Religion, 66–7.

14 Pasha was the highest title of honor available to officials in the Ottoman Empire. See ‘Pasha’ in Encyclopaedia of Islam and Somel, Historical Dictionary.

15 On the military order of Malta, officially known as the Knights Hospitaler of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, see Abella, Hospitaller Malta; Housley, The Later Crusades, 204–33; Malcom, Agents of Empire, chapter 5; and Riley-Smith, The Knights Hospitaller. The Order played a decisive role in Mediterranean geopolitics throughout the early modern period.

16 Sandjak beyis were district-governors of sandjaks, the fundamental administrative unit into which the Ottoman empire was divided. See Somel, ‘Sancakbegi’, Historical Dictionary, and ‘Sandjak’, Encyclopaedia of Islam.

17 Writing in 1654, Franciscan Antonio del Castillo in El devoto peregrino, book IV, chapter 5, claims that the Palestinian Christian community, known as the Maronites, are ‘obedient Catholics’ that are faithful to the Pope, remaining barely under the control of the Turks. Blas de Buyza, Relación, 48r, describes Maronites in 1622 fully participating in Franciscan devotions during Holy Week. Quaresmius would serve in 1627–1629 as Papal Commissary and Vicar Apostolic to the Chaldean and Maronite communities of Syria and Mesopotamia. For more on this last point, see Introduction, Chapter 5.

18 ‘Master’ in this context implicitly refers to the Great Turk.

19 The term harquebus denotes an early type of portable, trigger-operated long gun, first developed in the 15th century. By the 17th century, the term was used to refer to a range of weapons of different sizes. In his 1611 Tesoro, the Spanish lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias defines the harquebus as a firearm ‘forged in hell, invented by the devil’. He erroneously claims that this ‘pestilence’ was first used in battle during Alfonso XI’s 1342–1344 Siege of Algeciras, on the Southern coast of Iberia.

20 Janissaries were the elite guard of the Ottoman Empire, recruited by means of child levy, trained intensively in a range of military skills, and conditioned for loyalty to the Sublime Porte. Somel, ‘Janissaries’, Historical Dictionary.

21 Though Jerusalem Afflicted is less focused on the tactical aspects of a new crusade than Baldassar, Quaresmius, [24] does emphasize that the lands of the East are ‘ter-ritories rich in resources for the holy war’.

22 On sekbans, considered traditionally to be rebellious bands of mercenary soldiers turned to banditry, see White, The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire, 163–86.

23 On Druze ethnoreligious identity, see Encyclopaedia of Islam and Winter, The Shiites of Lebanon Under Ottoman Rule, chapter 2.

24 Philip III would have been 27 years old at the time that this letter was addressed to him.

25 Criticism of the Orthodox community in Jerusalem constitutes a constant in Franciscan texts associated with the Custody of the Holy Land in the early modern period. Two representative examples are offered. In a manuscript letter dated 1653 housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (ms. 2384. ff. 79r-80v), Pedro Manero, author of Anthology, Document 4, decries the ‘malevolence of the Cismatic Greeks who, with their bad reports, incited the Great Turk and his Ministers to raze the Holy House and finish the Religious who live in those Holy Places’. In a letter from Salvador de Almia
published in 1656, also housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (VE/60/34), the ‘schismatic Greeks’ are described as ‘venomous enemies of the Catholic Church’ who ‘bribe the Pasha’, causing the Francians to lose great sums of money and goods due to their malice and greed. Such examples could be easily multiplied.

26 ‘Mirrors of Princes’ were published in abundance in early modern Spain. See Braun, Juan de Mariana and Galino, Los tratados.

27 On the genre of arbitrismo, see Vilar Berrogaín, Literatura y economía and Rauschenbach and Windler, Reforming Early Modern Monarchies. For an example of the genre, see Anthology, Document 5.

28 For more on the social, historical, and textual aspects of Política española, see Herrero García’s thorough introductory study.

29 On this prophetic tradition, see Introduction, Chapter 2, as well as García Arenal, ‘Un reconfort’; Housley, ‘The Eschatological Imperative’; Magnier, ‘Millenarian Prophecy’ and Pedro de Valencia, part I; Milhou, Colònìa su mentalidad mesiànica, ‘Esquisse’, and ‘La chauve-souris’; Parker, ‘Messianic Visions’, and Setton, Western Hostility. For an early modern compendium of relevant prophecies published in Spain, see López de Cañete, Compendio de los pronosticos y baticinios antiguos y modernos que pubbican la declinacion de la secta de Mahoma y libertad Hiervsalem.

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31 Salazar, Política española, 286–323.

32 The honorific title rex catholicissimus, first used in Alexander VI’s important 1493 bull Inter caetera, operates in the period as a de facto counterpart to the French crown’s rex christianissimus. Ferdinand and Isabella are perhaps best known as the reyes católicos in Spanish, though the title of ‘rey católico’ would remain in common usage for centuries in Spain. The etymology of the term ‘Catholic’, which derives from the Greek katholikos, which can have the sense of ‘universal’.

33 Salazar, 54, cites Deuteronomy 12 in Proposición III, chapter 3.

34 This passage draws on a well-established understanding of Christian historical time that divides salvation history into three periods, respectively subordinated to the Law of Nature (which precedes the time of divine revelation reflected in the Old Testament), the Law of Moses (which corresponds to the Old Testament), and the Law of Grace (which corresponds to the period after the death and resurrection of Christ, reflected in the New Testament). From this vantage, the supersessory logic of laying claim to the mantle of the Old Testament ‘Chosen People’—whose definitive exclusion and erasure from sacred history is asserted as basic to the Law of Grace—comes to occupy an important place in medieval and early modern Christian understandings of the interconnected realms of faith, race, politics, and culture. Spanish pretensions to occupying the position of a New Chosen People, which are genuinely ubiquitous in contemporary sources, were hardly exclusive to Spain in the early modern period. Indeed, increasingly proprietary assertions of national sacrality mark the period in Western Europe. See Gorski, ‘The Mosaic Moment’ and Housley, ‘Holy Land’ and ‘Pro deo’. Such claims were also enacted much earlier (and they continue to circulate even today). The Franks of the first crusade, for example, expressed an already well-developed sense of special chosenness that rendered them inheritors of the biblical Israelites. See Gabriele, An Empire of Memory and ‘The Chosen Peoples’.

35 Salazar cites 2 Corinthians 10:15 here in marginal annotations.

36 The allusion here is to Antonius Torquatus’ De eversione Europeae Prognosticon (1534), which predicted the imminent end of the House of Osman: ‘Othomanà namq domus in XIII. vel XV capita deficiet, neq illum excedet numerum, neq annos salutis M.D.XXXVI. transier’. Setton, Western Hostility, 26, notes that subsequent editions of Torquatus published in the 16th century adjusted the prognostication to establish the end of the Ottomans in 1603, 1617, or 1618.
The mention of ‘Sepharad’ in Obadiah 1:20, interpreted as an allusion to Iberia, acquired substantial importance in early modern Spain as biblical justification for Spain’s providential role as chosen nation. See Beaver, ‘Nebuchadnezzar’s Jewish Legions’ and Perea Siller, ‘Benito Arias Montano’. The title of a 1684 exegesis of Obadiah by the Mercedarian friar Gerónimo Monterde eloquently suggests the degree to which Obadiah was placed in the service of national agendas in Spain: Literal inteligencia del sagrado y divino oráculo Abdías, a favor de la monarquía de España: computado el tiempo según el valor de las Letras Hebreas, y Latinas, en el qual se promete la Conquista de Francia, Africa, Libia, y Etiopia por los Españoles [Literal Intelligence of the Sacred and Divine Oracle Obadiah, in Favor of the Monarchy of Spain: the Time Computed According to the Meaning of the Hebrew and Latin Letters, in which is Promised the Conquest of France, Africa, Libya, and Ethiopia by the Spanish].

In marginal annotations here, Salazar cites Ephesians 4:8 and Psalms 67:19.

Salazar references Romans 9:7 and Galatians 4:28.

This sentence evinces Salazar’s tendency to abuse subordinate clauses with reckless abandon.

In addition to citing Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Saint Jerome, Salazar includes an additional marginal reference here to Augustine’s City of God, book 1, chapter 28.

Salazar, 286–323, elaborates extensively on Daniel.

The term ‘Great Conjunction’ refers to the alignment of the planets Jupiter and Saturn. This natural astrological phenomenon acquired great importance as portent of grave events within the body of prophetic literature that Salazar draws upon here.

The expulsion of Spain’s moriscos—the descendants of Iberia’s Muslims, all of whom were forcibly converted by the early 16th century—took place by order of Philip III in 1609–1614. Quaresmius, [22], similarly invokes the expulsion as a positive indicator of Spain’s providential role as scourge of Islam, destined to eradicate the Turk and conquer Jerusalem. For an introduction to the expulsion, see García Arenal and Wiegers, The Expulsion of the Moriscos. Expulsion apologists routinely allude to the impending Spanish conquest of Jerusalem. See, for example, Aguilar, Expulsión de los moriscos, 146–51; Aznar Cardona, Expulsión justificada, 149v–158r; Bleda, Crónica, ‘Declárese [sic] el enigma’, n.p. and Defensio fidei, 532–9; Fonseca, Istva expulsion, ‘Prólogo’, n.p.; Guadalajara y Javier, Memorable expulsion, 158v–63v. On this see Leahy, ‘Dineros en cruzados’, and Magnier, ‘Millenarian Prophecy’ and Pedro de Valencia, chapter 1.

The work in question is Francisco Navarro’s Discurso sobre la coniunción máxima, que fue en Deziembre del Año 1603. En el qual se pronosticaron los felicísimos sucesos y victorias que señala al Rey Don Phelipe III, nuestro señor, y a su gente Sagitaria, que son los Españoles. The prophecy, attributed to the early 16th-century Spanish Franciscan Nicholas Factor, was quite popular in the period. Aside from Navarro’s work, see also Gómez de Aguilera y Saavedra, Jerusalem libertada; Guadalajara y Javier, Memorable expulsion, 158v–63v; and López de Cañete, Compendio, 2r–3r.

The verb used here is ‘acobardarse’, which implies cowardice. An alternative translation might be ‘he will be struck with cowardice’.

In his allusions to the 16th-century astronomer Hannibal Raimundus of Verona and the 12th-century theologian and historian Petrus Comestor, Salazar is closely mirroring either Bleda’s Latin, Defensio fidei, 537, or Guadalajara y Javier’s near direct translation of Bleda into Spanish in a passage from Memorable expulsion, 160r. Given subsequent allusions to this latter work, it seems more likely that Guadalajara y Xavier in fact constitutes Salazar’s primary source in several passages here, rather than Bleda.

Acham-Turuley’s 13th-century Arabic text, supposedly translated by Joaquín Méndez of Mérida in the 14th century, is mentioned regularly in Spanish prophetic literature.
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of the period. See, for example, Aguilar, *Expulsión de los moriscos*, 146–51; Aznar Cardona, *Expulsión justificada*, II, 145r; Guadix y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión*, 161r; and López de Cañete, *Compendio*, 23v. In what appears to be a generous understatement, García-Arenal, *Messianism*, 305, signals that Acham-Turuley is ‘possibly fictitious’. Bataillon, ‘La chauve-souris’, 65, mentions a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional de España related to the prophecy of Acham-Turuley, though we have been unable to examine said manuscript directly, and Bataillon does not provide any information regarding the work—date, authorship, title—that might be useful in identifying it.

49 Literally, ‘will have the world in a ring’. ‘Ring’ in this context implies the sort of ring worn on one’s finger.

50 The term used here is ‘Sagitarios’, an astrological sign routinely associated with Spain in the prophetic literature with which Salazar is engaging here. See Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, 129–36, for relevant sources and commentary.

51 The verb used here is ‘talar’, which is a term that literally refers to felling trees, and also has metaphorical applications in reference to war. In this latter context, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines the term as ‘to destroy, ruin, or burn the fields, plots, and buildings or settlements; that which an army typically does to an enemy country’.

52 The Erythrean Sybil, one of several female oracles of classical antiquity, was credited with foretelling the birth of Christ, among other prophecies of note. Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, 124, observes that sources on the morisco expulsion invoke the Erythrean Sybil in order to cast Philip III as the Lion ‘destined to conquer Asia and overcome the beast of Islam’.

53 On the particulars of the dynastic rivalries at play here, see Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms*, and Shaw and Mallet, *The Italian Wars*.

54 For further details on Spanish claims to royal patronage and to the throne of Jerusalem, see Introduction, Chapter 2 and Anthology, Document 4.

55 For more on the pro rege prayer, see Cayuela, Writing circa 1955, Cayuela, 293, notes that this practice persisted in the Franciscan community in Jerusalem at least into the mid-20th century, with a small modification to the language used in praying for General Francisco Franco at the time, invoking him not as Rex noster but as Dux noster.

56 The *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines a consulta as a ‘representation, report, judgement, opinion that is made or given to the Sovereign regarding some business or other matter’.

57 For an introduction to the competitive sacralization of rival ‘nations’ in the early modern period, see Housley, ‘Holy Land or Holy Lands?’; ‘Pro deo et patria mori’, and Gorski, ‘The Mosaic Moment’.

58 On the long-lasting Franco-Ottoman Alliance, established between Suleiman the Magnificent and Francis I of France in 1536, see Heath, ‘Unholy Alliance’; Isom-Verharen, *Allies with the Infidel*; Jackson, ‘The Ottoman Turks’; and Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*.

59 For more on the pro rege prayer, see Cayuela, Writing circa 1955, Cayuela, 293, notes that this practice persisted in the Franciscan community in Jerusalem at least into the mid-20th century, with a small modification to the language used in praying for General Francisco Franco at the time, invoking him not as Rex noster but as Dux noster.

60 Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 456, notes that by the 16th century, ‘dynastic, national, and religious fissures meant that the respublica christiana had less tangible meaning than ever before’.


63 See Quaresmius, [3] and [74].

64 For more on this, see Eiján, *Hispanidad* and García Barriuso, *España*. 

66 See Introduction, Chapter 2.

67 On Spain’s considerable financial support for the Custody in the period, see Buey, ‘*Historia*’ and ‘*Obra de España*’; García Barriuso, *España* and ‘*La Procuración*’; Qucedo, ‘Influencia diplomática’, *Cooperación económica de España*, and *Cooperación económica internacional*.

68 This claim regarding the antiquity of Iberia’s Christian community relates to the idea that the apostle James, patron saint of Spain (where he is known as Santiago), evangelized the peninsula in the 1st century CE. For an overview of the important cultural and political impact of this legend in early modern Spain, see Rowe, *Saint and Nation*.

69 Having provided an overview of the problem at hand, from this point forward, the *consulta* reads much like modern minutes of a meeting. The specific interventions of the Knight Commander, the Duke of Sessa, and the Count of Olivares are each recorded in the following paragraphs.

70 For an introduction to *reconquista*, see Kjersgaard Nielsen and Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Crusading on the Edge*; O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade* and *The Last Crusade*; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*; and Rodríguez, ‘Remembering the Crusades’.

71 On Godfrey, first ruler of the Latin Kingdom (1099–1100) following the conclusion of the First Crusade, see John, *Godfrey of Bouillon* and Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, 6–93.


73 The theme of the desecration of the Holy Places at the hands of the Turks also constitutes a core concern of *Jerusalem Afflicted*.

74 This is also a core argument made throughout *Jerusalem Afflicted*. On the history of this title in Spain, see Introduction, Chapter 2. A Spanish translation of Pope Julius II’s 1510 bull investing Fernando with the coveted title ‘King of Jerusalem’ is available in Doussinague, *La política internacional*, 620–35.

75 Quaresmius, [42], makes the same argument: ‘Truly, they say, if that Mecca and the sepulcher of Mohammed, whom we make out to be not God but a minister and servant of God were in the power of Christians, no wealth, no money, not our own souls would we have spared. We would have left no stone unmoved until the Christians had been ejected from there and we would have attained possession ourselves’.

76 For more on Spain’s claims to patronage, which—like the title ‘King of Jerusalem’—derive from the Aragonese acquisition of Naples, see Introduction, Chapter 2.


78 Ferdinand the Catholic died in 1516 and hence could not have contributed funds during the reign of Charles V in 1540. The so-called Catholic Monarchs did, however, establish a donation in perpetuity for the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, as Manero indicates below.

79 Among numerous other positions of note, Bonifacio Stefano da Ragusa served as Guardian of Mount Sion from 1551–1564. He is best known as author of an important devotional work on the Holy Land dedicated to Philip II of Spain and written on the occasion of his 1566 embassy to the Spanish court, entitled *Liber de perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae et de fructuosa ejus Peregrinatione* (Venice, 1573). The text to
which Manero alludes is an earlier epistle dated 1570 that first appeared published in volume two of Quaresmius’ *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, lib. V, cap. XVIII, 512–13. The epistle was not incorporated into Liber de perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae until the 19th-century edition, 278–84. For more, including a complete Spanish translation of Ragusa’s text, see Eiján, *Documentos*, 25–9.

80 On the beneficent activities of Philip IV in the Holy Land, see García Barriuso, *España*, chapters XVI–XVIII.

81 See García Barriuso, *España*, chapter VII.

82 See García Barriuso, *España*, chapter XV.

83 For images of Spanish royal gifts in the form of vestments as well as a range of objects of cult that are still preserved in the Custody of the Holy Land in Jerusalem, see Alliata and Degout, eds. *Tre sor du Saint-Se pulcre*, the 2013 catalogue of a very complete exhibit hosted at Versailles. We have personally examined a number of these objects in Jerusalem, and would like to thank the Custody, and especially Fr. Stéphane Milovich, Marie des Neiges de l’Esprevie, and Sara Cibin for their generous assistance.

84 The anecdote is recorded in *Trattato di Terra Santa e dell’Oriente*, work of the Franciscan Franesco Suriano, who served as Custos in Jerusalem from 1493 to 1496 and from 1512 to 1515. See Golubovich’s edition of Suriano, *Trattato*, 110. Golubovich notes that because of the threat of the Turkish armada, the Duke’s heart in fact ended up interred not in the Holy Sepulcher but in Saint Peter’s in Rome.

85 Quaresmius also poeticizes Turkish defilement of Christian sanctuaries through the image of dung. See Quaresmius, [4] and [6]. The image engages with biblical models. For example, Isaiah 25:10.

86 On this episode, see García, ‘Tres españoles’ and García Oro, ‘Fray Mauro’.


88 In other words, the king should patiently suffer the excesses of the Venetians, offering them as a spiritual sacrifice (‘alms’), because it is to be expected that they should take offense at God favoring Spain over Venice.

89 Pou y Martí, ‘Proyecto’, 97, notes that Benedict IX rather than John XVIII was Pope in 1040. What was to become the First Crusade was not preached until the Council of Clermont in 1095, and it is not entirely clear what Manero may have had in mind here.

90 See Cowdrey, ‘Pope Urban II’s Preaching’.

91 On the Crusade of 1101, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 120–34.

92 On the Seventh Crusade, which was initiated not in 1252 but in 1245, see Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade*. It may be that Manero had in mind the so-called Shephard’s Crusade of 1251. In either case, the Franciscan’s chronology of crusading here appears idiosyncratic, to say the least.

93 Calixtus named Lodovico Trevisan as cardinal patriarch of Aquileia in December of 1455. On the campaign mentioned in this passage, see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. II, 159–95.

94 Julian the Apostate was emperor of Rome in the 4th century CE, and would be remembered by Christian historiographers as a prolific persecutor of Christians. The relevance of the case of Julian for Manero’s arguments here seems tenuous at best.

95 On the process of so-called Reconquista in Iberia, and its relationship to crusade, see Goñi Gatambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, Kjersgaard Nielsen and Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *Crusading on the Edge*; O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade* and *The Last Crusade*; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*; Rodríguez, ‘Remembering the Crusades’.

96 Manero refers here to Cardinal Cisneros, known—among other reasons—for his ardent advocacy for Spanish religious warfare in North Africa, culminating in the
Spanish conquest of Orán in 1509, led by Cisneros himself. See García Oro, *La cruzada*.

97 On the Second Crusade and Bernard of Clairvaux’s role in its preaching, see Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, chapters 3 and 4.

98 See Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letters*, 256 [399].


100 István Brodarics’ 1527 eyewitness account of the Battle of Mohács is entitled *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima*.

101 The *Diccionario de Autoridades* records a popular adage that may be lurking behind Manero’s mention of cranes singing in the plaza: ‘GRULLA TRASERA PASSA A LA DELANTERA. Refr. que enseña, que no por la precipitación y celeridad, se llega más presto al fin’ [‘Crane at the head passes to the rear. Saying that teaches that through haste and quickness one does not reach the destination more quickly’]. In either case, the implication in Manero’s text is that victory will not come any more quickly by hastily sending the friars off to war while those lay soldiers who should properly be entrusted with battle are left behind in the comfort of their towns.


103 Quaresmius argues extensively that the proposed crusade satisfies the requirements for just war. For just one example: ‘it is apparent that it does not lack in this case any of the aforementioned conditions of a good and just war. In the first place, I say, your authority is esteemed, because you are the absolute king. Secondly, it is clearly a just cause, for indeed, with the vilest injury to the honor of God, your name, and the Christian republic, this profane Turk occupies the Holy Places and me’. See Quaresmius, [40] and [54–5].

104 *Encomienda* is most often associated with the exploitative labor system established in the colonial Indies in the 16th century according to which conquistadors were able to exact forced labor and tribute in goods from native populations in exchange for services rendered to the crown. The term in this context, however, refers more broadly to the system of honors rewarded in the form of income or lands, particularly associated with the participation of Spain’s military orders in the *Reconquista*. Following the *Reconquista*, the granting of such benefits persisted, becoming largely dissociated from specific military service, and becoming instead a widely abused means of social distinction among the urban elite. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines *encomienda* as ‘an Honor endowed with corresponding income, such as those of the Military Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara, Saint John, and others’. For more, see Mendo, *De las Ordenes Militares*, 234–9.

105 Quevedo, *La vida del Buscón*, 105–6. The early 17th-century lexicographer Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, defines the term ‘repúblico’ as referring to one concerned with the ‘public good’. The character satirized here is clearly intended to represent the caricature of an *arbitrista*, like Cevallos.


107 ‘To arrange in battle lines is part of the trade of generalship, but to lead an army is part of the science of kingship’. Cevallos peppers his text with frequent Latin citations, which he often paraphrases in the body of his Spanish text. In order to avoid inevitable repetition between direct quotes and paraphrases in our English translation, we have elected to retain the Latin, providing pertinent translations in footnote.

108 ‘The object of war is peace and the security of the republic.’

109 Alfonso X, *Siete Partidas*, título XXIII, 243. The *Partidas*, from which Cevallos cites several times, is a legal corpus attributed to Alfonso X el Sabio (1252–1284). The
work was deeply influential in the development of law for centuries in Castile and in Spain’s colonial territories in the Indies.

110 ‘The Imperial Majesty ought not only to be decorated with arms, but armed with laws, so that in both the time of wars and peace, it may be able to govern rightly’.

111 ‘decorated with arms, but armed with laws’.

112 ‘Clearly, decorated with laws and armed with arms’.

113 ‘And so what was of arms you attribute to laws, and what is suited to laws he attributes to arms’.

114 Ecclesiastes 3.1 and 3.8. ‘All things have a time … a time of war and a time of peace.’

115 ‘The authority to undertake just war, is in the power of the prince’.

116 ‘A war is just that is waged after a declaration for restitution, or for the sake of repulsing men’.

117 Quaresmius, [60], makes the same argument regarding this anecdote of Eucharistic devotion from the life of Rudolf I (1218–1291). Other important early modern sources for the story include Botero’s Della ragion di Stato (1589), to which Cevallos alludes here, and Ribadeneira’s 1595 speculum principes entitled Tratado de la religion y virtudes que debe tener el principe cristiano para gobernar sus estados. See Río Barredo, ‘Rituals of the Vaticum’, 57–9. The story is also recorded in a canvas by Rubens, currently housed in the Museo del Prado (Rubens, ‘Act of Devotion’).

118 ‘A good king and a valiant defender in arms are the same.’ A paraphrase of a gloss on Iliad 166 where Achilles demeans Agamemnon for not leading his troops in battle.

119 ‘There is nothing further beyond; I have reached the port’. This play on the Latin motto plus ultra (or sometimes non plus ultra) adopted by Charles V frames the conquest of Jerusalem as the ultimate destiny of Spain’s imperial project, after which there will be nothing left to conquer. On the history of the motto in Spain, see Rosenthal, ‘Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra’.

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