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## **Earth from Elsewhere: Burial in *Terra Sancta* beyond the Holy Land\***

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Author's final version of article in *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500-1500*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Renana Bartal and Neta Bodner (Routledge)

In 1508, Pope Julius II gave Florian and Barbara von Waldenstein a twofold gift. He not only granted the burial chapel they had founded in Hall in Austria privileges equivalent to those of the Campo Santo Teutonico in Rome, but also gave the couple the right “to strew its surface with the dust or holy earth of the cemetery of the Campo Santo.”<sup>1</sup> In its turn, the Campo Santo Teutonico had a material connection with the Holy Land, as it was understood to contain earth from the burial ground of Akeldama in Jerusalem. This chapter explores these and other contexts in which Christian burial places were equated through the movement of earth in the later Middle Ages, allowing people buried in one location to enjoy

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<sup>1</sup> “eandem capellam sacram auctoritate apostolica in Campum Sanctum et ad instar capelle cemiterii Campi Sancti de Urbe erigi, creari et institui et illud ex pulveribus seu terra sancta cimiterii ipsius Campi Sancti de Urbe accipiendis vel accipienda et ad illud deferendos seu deferendam in superficiem eius aspergi facere”: *Cartularium Vetus Campi Sancti Teutonicorum de Urbe / Urkunden zur Geschichte des deutschen Gottesackers bei Sankt Peter in Rom*, Römische Quartalschrift, Supplementheft 16, ed. Paul M. Baumgarten (Rome: Forzani, 1908), XXXIII, 69–72, esp. 70.

the benefits of another.<sup>2</sup> As the papal grant suggests, this phenomenon was associated with Jerusalem-based piety, but it was far from restricted to interest in the Holy Land. In what follows, I therefore juxtapose Jerusalem and Rome as sources of earth for networks of recipient sites, encompassing a wide range of devotional geographies.<sup>3</sup> My intention here is not to suggest dependent relationships among the examples or to compare the local circumstances that gave rise to each, but rather to clarify the spatial relationships created between burial places and the part that matter played in this process. This focus offers a perspective on the materiality of place and the sacrality of matter by asking how the movement of earth relates to less tangible means of equating places, such as the bestowal of equivalent indulgences, and how the sanctity of soil fits within a spectrum of other properties, including the power to decompose and discriminate among the bodies buried in it. Although it is connected to practices of taking dust from tombs and stones from holy sites, moving earth between cemeteries had a particular logic and role within the sphere of transportable topography.<sup>4</sup>

### **Transporting Jerusalem**

The Campo Santo Teutonico, with which Julius II's bull was concerned, is central to this chapter because it was understood as both a destination and a source of earth. In order to clarify the relationship between these roles, I begin by considering the former alongside comparable cases in which soil was

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<sup>2</sup> For reasons of space, this chapter cannot engage with the place of earth in Jewish burial practice; on this, see Isaiah M. Gafni, *Land, Center and Diaspora: Jewish Constructs in Late Antiquity* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), ch 4.

<sup>3</sup> This focus means omitting discussion of other places, such as Glastonbury, from which earth was said to be taken to burial sites elsewhere: James P. Carley, ed., David Townsend, trans, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell 1985), lviii, 32–35.

<sup>4</sup> For this term and attendant ideas, see Robert Ousterhout, "Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography," in *The Real and the Ideal in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, ed. Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem: Centre for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), 393–404.

said to be taken from Jerusalem. I draw here particularly on the work of Albrecht Weiland on the Campo Santo and Nine Miedema on the indulgence literature, but by focusing solely on the movement of soil, aim to illuminate the expressive potential of this material. The Campo Santo Teutonico lies immediately to the south of Saint Peter's and served as a burial place for German-speaking residents of the city as well as for pilgrims to Rome. Already in the ninth century, the church associated with the *schola Francorum* seems to have been connected with the burial of pilgrims.<sup>5</sup> Only in the later Middle Ages, however, was the cemetery thought to contain soil from Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> The traditions surrounding the site seem to have developed and been elaborated on particularly in German and Dutch texts that listed the indulgences unofficially associated with the churches of Rome.<sup>7</sup> Indulgences had been available for visiting individual churches in the city from the twelfth century, but the number said to be obtainable at each increased dramatically in the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> A German guide to Rome, dated to 1377 and probably the work of Leopold of Vienna, though based on the *Mirabilia Romae* and the *Indulgentiae*

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<sup>5</sup> On the early history of the church and cemetery see Albrecht Weiland, *Der Campo Santo Teutonico in Rom und seine Grabdenkmäler*, vol. 1 of Erwin Gatz, ed., *Der Campo Santo Teutonico in Rom*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, Supplementheft 43 (Rome: Herder 1988), 37–54; R. Schieffer, “Karl der Große, die *schola Francorum* und die Kirchen der Fremden in Rom,” *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 93/1–2 (1998): 20–37.

<sup>6</sup> Marjatta Wis, “Gottesacker und Campo Santo: Spuren mittelalterlicher Glaubensvorstellungen im deutschen und italiensichen Wortschatz,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 77 (1956): 71–108, esp. 89–91; Albrecht Weiland, *Der Campo Santo Teutonico*, 38–39.

<sup>7</sup> Nine Robijntje Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den “Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae”* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2001), 365–367, for the Campo Santo Teutonico; Miedema, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Die “Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae” (deutsch/niederländisch). Edition und Kommentar* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2003), 18–37.

<sup>8</sup> Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), vol. 2, 228–239; Debra Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 179–180; Diana Webb, “Pardons and Pilgrims,” in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 241–275.

*ecclesiarum urbis Romæ*, noted that whoever went to the “Goczakcher” reverently received 1,500 years pardon.<sup>9</sup> *Libri indulgentiarum* and related texts promoted Rome vis-à-vis other pilgrimage centers; indeed the anonymous late fourteenth-century *Stacions of Rome* specifically noted that so much pardon was available there that there was no need to travel to Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> It may be in this spirit of competition that the Campo Santo Teutonico was claimed to contain soil from the Holy Land.

Specifically, the soil was associated with Akeldama. In Saint Matthew’s Gospel this site is described as having been bought by the chief priests as a burial ground for strangers, and it was used in that way for Christian pilgrims from at least the sixth century, when the Piacenza Pilgrim noted the practice.<sup>11</sup> Weiland convincingly suggests that the association of the Campo Santo Teutonico with Akeldama was due to the long-standing use of the former as a burial place for pilgrims and strangers in Rome.<sup>12</sup> It is hard to establish the point at which this association was first made. What has been seen as the earliest reference is found in a Dutch-language version of the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* in The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 E 5, a manuscript generally dated to the end of the fourteenth century. Here the soil is said to have been brought from the field acquired with Judas Iscariot’s 30 pieces of silver. The cemetery is described as a place of burial for poor pilgrims, and

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<sup>9</sup> “wie oft ein mensch get in der andacht (sic) auf den Goczakcher bey sand peters chirichen der hat fumfzehen hundert iar antlas”: Leopold of Vienna, *Von der Stat ze Rom*, in Josef Haupt, “Philippi Liber de terra sancta in der deutschen Übersetzung des Augustiner Lesemeister Leupold vom Jahre 1377,” *Österreichische Vierteljahrschrift für katholische Theologie* 10 (1871): 511-540; 517-526, esp. 520, for the text on Rome.

<sup>10</sup> “3if men wuste grete and smale / þe pardoun þat is at grete Rome /þei wolde tellen in heore dome / Hit were no need to mon in cristiante / To passe in to þe holy lond over þe see / To Jerusalem ne to kateryne”: F. J. Furnivall, ed., *The Stacions of Rome* (London: N. Trübner for the Early English Text Society, 1867), 10; cited in Webb, “Pardons and Pilgrims,” 261.

<sup>11</sup> Matt. 27: 8; “Alcheldemach, hoc est ager sanguinis, in quo sepeliuntur omnes peregrini”: Piacenza Pilgrim, *Itinerarium*, 26, *Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, ed. P. Geyer (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 143.

<sup>12</sup> Weiland, *Campo Santo Teutonico*, 41.

15,000 years remission are said to be granted to those who recited the *Lord's Prayer* there.<sup>13</sup> This miscellany begins with a computus table with the date 1374, and the same date has therefore been ascribed to the text “*De aflaten der zeven kerken van Rome*” on folios 57v–61r.<sup>14</sup> Although the manuscript is described as having been written in the same hand throughout, the computus text is found on a single leaf at the very beginning, and it has been suggested that the Rome text is far later, even by a century.<sup>15</sup> This argument is based partly on the large number of indulgences awarded and the arrangement of the text according to the seven churches of Rome, although a similar organization is found in Leopold’s work. A connection with Akeldama is made in several other versions of the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum* dating from the fifteenth century.<sup>16</sup> The first document associated with the Campo Santo Teutonico to mention the site in Jerusalem seems to be a notarial act of 1454, which records that one of the founders of the Confraternity of the Campo Santo buried the poor for free, since the “*ager sanctus*” was bought with the money for which Christ was sold and could not itself be sold.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 E 5, fols 57v–61r; “Aen sente Peters kerke daer steet een kerchof dat heet gods acker d’op greef men die arme pelgrime dat es dat lant daer dir XXX penige om ghegheuen waren daer god mede vercocht was also dicke alse een mensche daer op gheet soe heeft hi xvm iaer aflaets. Die enen pater noster. spreect”: N. C. Kist, “De aflaten der zeven kerken van Rome,” *Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis inzonderheid van Nederland* 6 (1835): 303–318, esp. 310–311.

<sup>14</sup> Kist, “De aflaten,” 306, followed by Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, 108; Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, 25.

<sup>15</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see G. I. Liefinck, “Beschrijving van het Handschrift,” in *Beatrijs: Eerste Integrale Reproductie van het Handschrift*, ed. A. L. Verhofstede (Antwerp: De Vlijt, 1949), 20–31. For the later dating, see Paulus, *Geschiede des Ablasses*, vol. 2, 237–238; Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late Medieval Religious Life: Devotion and Pilgrimage in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 102–103.

<sup>16</sup> Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, 367–397; two manuscripts that associate the Campo Santo Teutonico with Akeldama are dated broadly to the fifteenth century; the others date from the mid-fifteenth century onward.

<sup>17</sup> “Tunc dictus Fridericus considerans quod ager sanctus et pretio quo Christus venditus idem ager emptus existit et eundem vendere non licet, et cum cetera nationes officium huiusmodi tumulatoris pro pauperibus defunctis gratis exercere voluerunt, extunc supradictus Fridericus pauperes defunctos gratis sepeliri desideravit et fecit”: Karl

The earth is referred to explicitly in a petition of 1476 addressed to Pope Sixtus IV, in which the confraternity asked for permission to send two pardoners to Germany to collect funds for the restoration of the church.<sup>18</sup> At a later date, probably during the seventeenth century, the associations of the earth shifted to Calvary.<sup>19</sup>

The extent to which the rationale for the indulgences at the Campo Santo Teutonico derived from its association with Jerusalem is not clear. One pilgrim to both Rome and Jerusalem mentioned celebrating Palm Sunday at the cemetery in 1470, although the stational church for this feast day was Saint John in the Lateran, which might reflect its Jerusalem associations.<sup>20</sup> Most frequently, however, references in the indulgence literature simply note relatively small numbers of indulgences granted for visiting the site.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, in a number of cases they do seem to reflect its status as a cemetery. The Campo Santo is the only place described in the manuscript in The Hague in which indulgences are connected with saying the *Lord's Prayer*, and it is possible that this is related to the practice of churchyard indulgences. In the fifteenth century, a prayer ascribed to Pope John XXII and sometimes said to be “written behind the altar of St Peter” in Rome offered indulgences to anyone passing a cemetery who said a Pater Noster and a Hail Mary, and the prayer “*Avete omnes Christi fidelibus*

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August Fink, “Die Anfänge der Bruderschaft am deutschen Campo Santo in Rom,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 44 (1936): 221–230, esp. 225.

<sup>18</sup> “compatientes eidem loco in quo, sicut per omnes eiusdem nationis Christifideles pie creditur prout etiam esse dicitur, terra agri illius Alchedemach (sic) existere”: Baumgarten, *Cartularium*, 37, doc. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Anton de Waal, *Der Campo Santo der Deutsche zu Rom: Geschichte der nationalen Stiftung zum elfthundertjährigen Jubiläum ihrer Gründung durch Karl den Grossen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1896), 18–19, mentions references to Calvary in seventeenth-century sources.

<sup>20</sup> “Dominica palmarum celebravi uff dem Gotzacker”: Reinhold Röhricht, “Die Jerusalemfahrt des Kanonikus Ulrich Brunner vom Haugrift in Wurzburg (1470),” *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 29 (1906): 1–50, esp. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, 367–397: D3, D15, D20, D27, D36, D44, D45a, D48, D49, D51, D56, D57, D61, D62, D63, D70, D71, D74, D72, D75, D76, N14a/2; Leopold of Vienna, *Von der Stat ze Rom*, 520.

*animae.*”<sup>22</sup> The *Lord’s Prayer* and the *Ave Maria* are mentioned in several other versions of the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum*, with the text occasionally specifying that the prayers were said for the souls of those buried in the Campo Santo.<sup>23</sup> All this is compatible with the treatment of Akeldama itself. One of the earliest accounts of Holy Land pilgrimage to enumerate indulgences for the *loca sancta*, Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s *Libro d’Oltramare*, of ca. 1345, notes the “*perdonanza grandissima*” available at Akeldama, and describes how pilgrims walked round it, reciting psalms, paternosters, and prayers for the souls of those buried there.<sup>24</sup> However, there does not seem to have been any attempt to link the Campo Santo indulgences explicitly to those available in Jerusalem.

Only a few of the versions of the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum* listed by Miedema in her comprehensive study of these texts mention that indulgences were available for burial in the Campo Santo, even if the effect of the indulgenced prayers was to enhance the site for those buried there.<sup>25</sup> In

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<sup>22</sup> R. N. Swanson, “Praying for Pardon: Devotional Indulgences in Late Medieval England,” in *Promissory Notes*, ed. Swanson, 215–240, esp. 223–24; R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 251–252; for the reference to Saint Peter’s, see Virginia Reinberg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 204.

<sup>23</sup> Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, 367–397: D5, D23, D39, D52, N2/2, N5, N13, N14 (for Pater Noster); MSS D26a, D67/2, N7/2 (for Ave Maria); German *Historia et Descriptio* (for Ave Maria and burial); D46 (for Pater Noster and Ave Maria). The souls are mentioned, for example, in D46, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS Cgm 6342, fols 107r-v; “wer den gotsacker amsten umbget und ainen pater noster und ein ave maria sprechet den selbigen seln zu hilf und zu trost der verdiennt taussenndt jare ablass.”

<sup>24</sup> “Tutti i peregrini che vanno da quella santo campo, si lo circuiscono tre volte, dicendo salmi e paternostri, e orazioni per l’anime di tutti i cristiani, che vi sono sepelliti, e questo si chiama Campo Santo. Eccì perdonanza grandissima”: Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d’Oltramare*, ed. A. Bacchi della Lega (Bologna: G. Romagnoli, 1881–1882), vol. 1, 152; on Holy Land indulgences, see Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses*, vol. 2, 241–242.

<sup>25</sup> Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen* 367–397: D46 (late 15th–early 16th century), D67 (1500), D76 (1448), and German *Historia et descriptio*. For example, “Auch habent vil bäbst darzw geben, wer sich beichttet vnd rw hat vber sein sund vnd die gozrecht enpfacht, vnd stirbt er vnd lat sich graben jn den Gotzacker, dem jst vergeben all



these cases, which date from the second half of the fifteenth century onward, burial in the cemetery was said to obtain particular indulgences or even the forgiveness of all sins. Presumably, the relative silence on this matter reflects the fact that pilgrims did not anticipate being buried in the cemetery themselves, although those who died in Rome were likely to be interred there. It was claimed that one of the founders of the Confraternity of the Campo Santo, Frédéric de Meydenburg, buried 3,500 strangers at the Campo Santo in the Jubilee year of 1450.<sup>26</sup> Although it is likely that this figure was inflated, it is possible that a high mortality rate among pilgrims that year contributed to the renown of the Campo Santo as a burial place. Equally, the founding of the confraternity is likely to have influenced the inclusion of the benefits of burial in the indulgence literature. Although the confraternity issued disconnected indulgences in order to restore the chapel, it is possible to identify a shift in the significance of the site, with consequences for the later history of its soil.

Before tracing these subsequent developments, however, the material presence of earth from Jerusalem demands further scrutiny regarding the particular qualities it possessed, the way in which it translated place, and the extent and nature of its sanctity. One characteristic of Akeldama noted by travelers was its distinctive capacity to consume the flesh of corpses within a matter of days and this property was also commonly attributed to the Campo Santo Teutonico.<sup>27</sup> The claim is found in fifteenth-century versions of the *Indulgentiae*, the earliest of which may be a manuscript from Augsburg, dated to

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sein sund" : D76, Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, 133; "der mensch der darein begrabt wirt hat grosse und besundre genad von got": D46, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cgm 6342, fol. 107r.

<sup>26</sup> Fink, "Die Anfänge der Bruderschaft," 225.

<sup>27</sup> An early testimony is Ludolph of Sudheim in the fourteenth century: *De itinere terre sancte*, ed. G. A. Neumann, in *Archives d'Orient latin*, ed. Paul Riant, 2 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881–1884), vol. 2: pt. 2, 305–377, esp. 355: "Ibi est spelunca profunda testudinata, ubi desuper per foramina proiciuntur cadavera, que mox in triduo sunt consumpta."

1448.<sup>28</sup> Here the capacity of the shared soil of Akeldama and the Campo Santo is expressed as “*gnaud*” or “grace,” more fully as “*die gnaud in im selbe*”; in another manuscript, dated to 1500, this is termed its “*natüre*.”<sup>29</sup> This property of the Campo Santo earth authenticated its origin in the Holy Land and demonstrated the material equivalence of the two places. However, it also contributes to a wider distinction that can be drawn between earth from Akeldama and that from elsewhere in the region. During the Middle Ages, earth and stones from *loca sancta* throughout the Holy Land were treated as relics, not only commonly included in relic collections and placed in reliquaries, but even used in the consecration of churches.<sup>30</sup> Although sites such as Calvary and the Mount of Olives were particularly popular sources, such relics came from a wide range of locations associated with the life of Christ and other biblical figures. Yet, earth from Akeldama was not central to these practices; as far as I am aware, it is rarely if ever described in relic lists and church consecration accounts, although there is some evidence that it was venerated and taken away by pilgrims: in 1431, Mariano da Siena mentioned removing earth from Akeldama for his “*devozione*”.<sup>31</sup> In the Roman indulgence literature, there is

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<sup>28</sup> “vnd hat di gnaud jn jm selbe, daz ain jetlich mensch, man dareijn vergrebt, daz es nit mer leit wen biß an den dritten tag, so jst es verwesen”: Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, 132–133; for the manuscript (D76) and the tradition more generally see Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, 91–92, 367.

<sup>29</sup> “und der acker häit de natüre, so wer daryn begraben wirt, der licham verzert bynnent III dagen bis uff de beyne” (D67/2); Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, 148–149; Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, 85–87.

<sup>30</sup> For examples of earthen relics used in consecrations, see Otfried Ellger, *Die Michaelskirche zu Fulda als Zeugnis der Totensorge: Zur Konzeption einer Friedhofs- und Grabkirche im karolingischen Kloster Fulda* (Fulda: Verlag Parzeller, 1989), 82–86, 238; Matthias Thiel and Odilo Engels, ed., *Die Traditionen, Urkunden und Urbare des Klosters Münchsmünster*, Quellen und Erörterungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte n.s. 20 (Munich: Beck, 1961), 52; *Dedicationes Monasterii Lacensis*, ed. Otto Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum, 15/2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), 970.

<sup>31</sup> “Io recai per mia devozione un taschetto di quella terra”: Mariano da Siena, *Viaggio in Terra Sancta*, ed. Domenico Moreni (Florence: Stamperia Magheri, 1822), 57–58. Further evidence for the removal of soil from Akeldama is reviewed in a forthcoming article by Neta Bodner on “Earth from Jerusalem in the Pisan

similar ambiguity of status regarding the earth in the Campo Santo. In contrast with its later designation in papal bulls, it is not expressly described as *terra sancta*, although this may be because the term was used to describe the Holy Land as a whole. At the same time, the soil was associated with Holy Land relic collecting. From the mid-fifteenth century, there is evidence of interest in the manner in which the earth reached Rome, and some versions of the *Indulgentiae* credit the Empress Helena—known for her discovery of the True Cross—with bringing the soil from Jerusalem.<sup>32</sup> There was also a tradition that saw Akeldama soil as having been contained in the four bronze columns in Saint John in the Lateran, themselves often said to have come from Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup> While many texts simply described the columns as filled with “*terra sancta*” from Jerusalem, in the mid-fifteenth century Nikolaus Muffel also included reference to the “*gotzacker*”, probably referring to Akeldama.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, in sources that focus on the Campo Santo Teutonico and its relationship to Jerusalem, the soil is not unambiguously described as holy.

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Camposanto”, in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden: Brill, 2015), in press; I am most grateful to her for sending me her work prior to publication.

<sup>32</sup> For example, D67/2, “Desen acker dede sent Helena ußgraben und dede den van Iherusalem zu Rome foeren”: Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, 148.

<sup>33</sup> Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, 194.

<sup>34</sup> “Et hec omnia apportaverunt Vespasianus et Titus de Hierusalem cum quatuor columnis ereis plenis de terra sancta di Hierusalem”: *Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et descriptio urbis Romae* (Rome: Silber, 1491); “Quatro colonne ve press all’altare / di bronzo pene della terra santa / le quale vespasiano vso portare / a Roma”: Giovanni Dati, *Tractato de Sancto Ioanni laterano* (Rome: Besicken, 1499). “die mit dem heiligen ertrich und stetten zu Jerusalem und auß dem gotzacker ausgefüllt sein worden”: Nikolaus Muffel, *Der ablas und die heiligen stet zu Rom*, in *Descrizione della città di Roma nel 1452*, ed. and trans Gerhard Wiedmann (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1999), 36. For the description of Akeldama as the Gottesacker, see Wis, “Gottesacker und Campo Santo,” 77–80.

The place of the Campo Santo soil within the indulgence tradition and its position vis-à-vis other material fragments of the Holy Land raise questions regarding the relationship between properties intrinsic to a substance and those bestowed upon it. Although often connected with visiting a holy site or seeing or kissing a holy object, indulgences were conferred on these activities by ecclesiastical authorities rather than emanating from that place or object. At the same time, Diana Webb has suggested that the draw for pilgrims might still have been the less quantifiable holy qualities of the place or the object itself.<sup>35</sup> In the case of the substance of the Holy Land, further distinctions can perhaps be drawn between the ways in which sites assumed such qualities in the first place. The Holy Land as a whole drew its sanctity primarily from the presence of Christ and other biblical figures, and was venerated as the location of salvific events.<sup>36</sup> Thus earth and stones from the Holy Land were often valued as the substance of the ground that the Lord had trodden; even relics from locations of key events are often described in terms of physical contact, emphasizing their status as contact relics.<sup>37</sup>

In contrast, Akeldama drew its significance not from the physical presence of Christ, but from its association with His Passion.<sup>38</sup> Differentiating Akeldama soil from earthen contact relics that transmitted the sanctity of a holy figure invites us to give more weight to the qualities of the material itself and its relationship with place. In aiding decomposition, the property of the soil—although

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<sup>35</sup> Webb, “Pardons and Pilgrims,” 269–275.

<sup>36</sup> For the development of ideas of the Holy Land, see Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); for relics of places associated with events see Bruno Reudenbach, “Reliquiare von Orten,” in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, ed. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 21–41.

<sup>37</sup> Some examples are discussed in Lucy Donkin, “Stones of St Michael: Venerating Fragments of Holy Ground in Medieval France and Italy,” in *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, ed. James Robinson, Lloyd de Beer, and Anna Harnden (London: British Museum, 2014), 23–31.

<sup>38</sup> For further discussion, see Bodner, “Earth from Jerusalem.”

striking—was not wholly divorced from the potential properties of earth more generally. Indeed, the language that could be used to describe it—“*die gnaud in im selbe*”—suggests that it was understood to be inherent in the material. It is perhaps significant, then, that during the Middle Ages there are other indications of the belief that active properties of certain places resided in their soil and could be moved with it. For example, stones and soil from Thanet were credited with the capacity to kill or ward off snakes, one of a number of similar claims made for various islands since antiquity.<sup>39</sup> More unusually, in a passage found in some manuscripts of Marco Polo’s *Description of the World*, the warlike nature of the people of Kerman is ascribed to the local soil, for after this was spread under carpets in Shiraz, the usually peaceable citizens who walked on it became quarrelsome.<sup>40</sup> As transportable topography has been couched primarily in terms of holy places, these examples are useful in demonstrating how properties of place could transcend sanctity. In the case of the Campo Santo Teutonico, the earth was clearly bound up with the story of salvation and its qualities should be seen in this context. However, the wider capacity of earth to render one location present in another suggests that this material essentially effected a translation of a holy burial place, rather than transmitting sanctity in the manner of a contact relic.

The importance of the identity of the linked sites as burial places is confirmed by a second active property of the Campo Santo Teutonico. This derives more from the designation of the site than from its substance, as it was connected to a wider characterization of consecrated burial space, as well as to aspects of the Roman indulgence system. The Augsburg manuscript mentioned above notes that the

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<sup>39</sup> “Tanatos, cujus terra, quovis gentium portata, serpentes perimit”: Honorius Augustodunensis, *De imagine mundi* 1.31, Migne *PL* 172.130b; Philip Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 87–88.

<sup>40</sup> Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, 35, ed. and trans A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1938), vol. 1, 119–120, 515; vol. 2: fol. xii; the manuscripts that contain the passage date from the fifteenth century onward.

cemetery was exclusively for pilgrims and other foreigners and that the ground would not hold Romans.<sup>41</sup> The idea of the ability of the earth to discriminate among bodies buried in it does not appear to stem from traditions regarding Akeldama, but a similar capacity is found in accounts of burials from Late Antiquity onward. Most concern unsuitable candidates for burial in holy or consecrated ground, such as the excommunicated knight described by Adhemar of Chabannes in his record of the Council of Limoges in 1031, whose body was forcibly ejected several times by the ground of the cemetery in which it had been placed.<sup>42</sup> The ground here is defined by the authority of the Church, and it is possible that this example reflects the development of consecration rites for cemeteries in continental Europe, as well as Episcopal attempts to control burial at the time of the Peace of God.<sup>43</sup> In the case of the Campo Santo Teutonico, however, the exclusion of Romans is not condemnatory, even when reference is later made to the earth expelling bodies.<sup>44</sup> It probably derived more immediately from the practice of differentiating among pilgrims according to their geographical origins and the length and type of their journeys when

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<sup>41</sup> “Auch mag kain Riemer darjn ligen, wen daz ertirch wil kain behalten vnd wil auch nit anders denn pilgrin oder sinst fremd leit”: Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, 133.

<sup>42</sup> Concilium Lemovicense II, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 19, ed. Giovanni Mansi (Florence: A. Zatta, 1774), cols 507–548, esp. 541. For the episode, see Daniel F. Callahan, “The Cult of the Saints in Aquitaine,” in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 165–183.

<sup>43</sup> On cemetery consecration in the tenth and eleventh century, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 178–182; Élizabéth Zadora-Rio, “Lieux d’inhumation et espaces consacrés. Le voyage du Pape Urbain II en France (Août 1095—Août 1096),” in *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires: Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques*, ed. André Vauchez (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 197–213; Cécile Treffort, “Consécration de cimetière et contrôle épiscopal des lieux d’inhumation au Xe Siècle,” in *Le sacré et son inscription dans l’espace à Byzance et en Occident*, ed. Michel Kaplan (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001), 285–299.

<sup>44</sup> “Romanos enim respuens, sola peregrinorum corpora ad sepulturam admittit”: Christiaan van Adrichem, *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum* (Cologne: Birkmann, 1590), 173.

determining the indulgences available to them or the time they had to spend in Rome. In 1291 Pope Nicholas IV had divided pilgrims into three groups—inhabitants of Rome, Campagna, and Le Marche; pilgrims from Tuscany and Lombardy; and those from across the Alps or arriving by sea—when assigning indulgences to those visiting Saint John in the Lateran; shortly afterward Boniface VIII simply distinguished between Romans and other “*peregrini aut forenses*.”<sup>45</sup> In the Campo Santo Teutonico, that distinction was policed by the ground itself. The properties of the soil in the cemetery as described in the indulgence literature were thus framed in different ways—one intrinsic to the substance and the place from which it came, the other probably derived from ecclesiastical designations of its present site. However, in both cases they involve not so much the sanctity of matter as the materiality of sacred place.

As noted above, the beliefs surrounding the Campo Santo were part of a wider phenomenon in which places claimed possession of earth from Jerusalem. Within the still broader context of Jerusalem as the center of a network of relic distribution and replication elsewhere, this particular process of translation is distinguished by involving quantities of earth destined to be returned to the ground. In Rome itself, the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme also claimed soil from the Holy Land from at least the fifteenth century, and the interpretative traditions regarding the two Roman sites likely reflect a measure of competitive cross-fertilization within the city. The difficulties of dating the first reference to Akeldama earth in the Campo Santo Teutonico mean that it is hard to establish which tradition had precedence. More significant in this context, however, is the different characterization of the earth at the two sites. Santa Croce had a long association with the Holy Land through its relics of the Passion, and

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<sup>45</sup> Ernest Langlois, ed., *Les registres de Nicolas IV* (Paris: Thorin, 1886–1893), 677, no. 4712; Georges Digard, Maurice Faucon, Antoine Thomas, and Robert Fawtier, eds, *Les registres de Boniface VIII* (Paris: Boccard, 1884–1935), cols 922–923, no. 3875; Webb, “Pardons and Pilgrims,” 243, 248.

understandings of the soil built on this.<sup>46</sup> Pero Tafur, who visited Rome in the 1430s, stated that the whole church was constructed with earth from Jerusalem employed as ballast in the ships used to bring back the relics.<sup>47</sup> Within the church, the earth was associated with Calvary and clearly defined as holy, in contrast to the vocabulary used in the Roman indulgence literature to describe the soil from Akeldama. In 1520/1521, an inscription was set up by Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal in the entrance to the Jerusalem chapel that stated this to have been filled with “holy earth of Mount Calvary,” which the Empress Helena had had shipped to Rome, making it a second Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> A marble slab probably set in the pavement at around the same time recorded a similar claim.<sup>49</sup> The first of the four narrative scenes in the chapel’s vault mosaic, of ca. 1500, which show the story of the True Cross, has also been seen by

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<sup>46</sup> On the development of the association, see Sible de Blaauw, “Jerusalem and the Cult of the Cross,” *Pratum Romanum. Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. Renate L. Colella (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1997), 55–73; on the soil see Michael Friedrich, “Tradition—Imagination—Legitimation: Untersuchungen zur Visualisierung lokaler Sonderformen allgemeiner Heiligkeitstraditionen am Beispiel der Hl. Helena: Rom Trier Köln Bonn Xanten” (PhD diss., University of Trier, 2000), 21–22, 41–53.

<sup>47</sup> “é toda esta yglesia, así el suelo como las paredes é toda la obra, fué feche de la tierra de Ierusalem trayda por laste en los navíos, quando Santa Elena envió las santas reliquias de Ierusalem á Roma”: Pero Tafur, *Andanças e Viajes de Pero Tafur por Diversas Partes del Mundo Avidos*, ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: M. Ginesta, 1874), 32. I owe this reference to John Lansdowne.

<sup>48</sup> “terraque sancti montis Calvariae navi inde advecta supra quam Christi sanguis effusus fuit redemptionis humanae praecium [cuiusque vigore in celestem Hierusalem mortalibus aditus patuit] ad primum usque inferiorem fornicem repleverit ex quo sacellum ipsum et tota basilica ac universa urbs secunda Hierusalem meruit appellari”: Ilaria Toesca, “A Majolica Inscription in S. Croce in Gerusalemme,” *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower on his Fifty Sixth Birthday*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon, 1967), 102–105, missing text in brackets.

<sup>49</sup> “Hic tellus samctae [sic] Calvarie solime ab beata Helena in inferiorem fornicem demissa servata est atq[ue] inde nomen Hierusalem capelle indita”: Friedrich, “Tradition,” 41, citing Raimondo Besozzi, *La Storia della Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* (Rome: G. Salomoni, 1750), 85–86, for the location in the pavement.



some scholars to depict the bringing of the earth.<sup>50</sup> In Carvajal's inscription the earth was holy because it was soaked with the blood of Christ, again distinguishing it from the claims made for the Campo Santo earth. Indeed, even without explicit reference to Christ's blood, stones and soil from Calvary were among the most popular of earthen relics, and the bronze columns at the Lateran too came to be seen as filled with earth from that site.<sup>51</sup>

Instead, the traditions surrounding the Campo Santo Teutonico bear a closer relationship to those associated with cemeteries elsewhere in Italy and the Mediterranean region. Famously, the Camposanto in Pisa was understood to contain soil from the Holy Land from at least the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>52</sup> The earliest reference is found in a chronicle preceding that of Raniero Sardo in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Magl. XXV-491, which narrates the history of Pisa up to 1354. This states that the cemetery was founded by Archbishop Ubaldo in 1200 and explains its name as deriving from the presence of the holy earth: "*è decto chanposanto perché vi fu messa della terra sancta d'oltra mare.*" The Pisans are said to have brought it back from an expedition in the 1180s and scattered it all over the cemetery: "*sparsolla per tucto nel dicto luogho a onore di Dio.*"<sup>53</sup> An anonymous description of Pisa dating to around 1430 attributes the name to the bringing of "*terra sancta asai quantità*" when the

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<sup>50</sup> Cynthia Payne, "'In the Fullness of Time': The Vault Mosaic in the Cappella Sant'Elena, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme" (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 2003), 10 n. 30; Freidrich, "Tradition," 40–41.

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g., James P. Carley and Martin Howley, "Relics at Glastonbury in the Fourteenth Century: An Annotated Edition of the British Library, Cotton Titus D.vii, fols 2r–13v," *Arthurian Literature* 16 (1998): 83–129, esp. 94–95, 107, where relics of Calvary are mentioned at least four times. For the belief that the Lateran columns contained soil from Calvary, see Jack Freiburg, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 134.

<sup>52</sup> Mauro Ronzani, "Dal 'cimitero della chiesa maggiore di Santa Maria' al Camposanto: aspetti giuridici e istituzionale," in *Il Camposanto di Pisa*, ed. Clara Baracchini and Enrico Castelnuovo (Turin: Einaudi, 1996), 49–56, esp. 52; Roberto Paolo Ciardi, "'Quest'insigne dormentorio de' morti': chiesa, cimitero, museo," *Il Camposanto*, 57–68, esp. 57; Bodner "Earth from Jerusalem."

<sup>53</sup> Raniero Sardo, *Cronaca di Pisa*, ed. Ottavio Banti (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1963), 37.

Pisans took Jerusalem.<sup>54</sup> Although these sources do not give a specific location of origin for the soil, in the 1430s Pero Tafur understood the earth in the Camposanto to derive from Akeldama and to have the power to strip corpses in 30 days.<sup>55</sup> Within Italy, Pisa and Rome appear to have been the only places to claim possession of soil from Jerusalem during the Middle Ages. There are, however, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century accounts of earth from Jerusalem being spread on cemetery sites in Cyprus.

In an account of his travels in the Holy Land and other parts of the Mediterranean in the 1470s, the Swiss pilgrim and merchant, Ulrich Leman, described Akeldama and its properties, noting that earth had been taken from there to both Rome and Cyprus.<sup>56</sup> His subsequent discussion of Nicosia includes a passage on the *camposanto* there that contained this earth, again mentioning Rome as another recipient as well as referring to the capacity of the earth to reduce bodies to ashes in three days. His subsequent description of the “*gotzaker*” in Rome is shorter and simply characterizes it as a burial place for pilgrims.<sup>57</sup> Given the direct links between Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the existence of the Crusader Kingdom of Cyprus until 1489, it is noteworthy that Cyprus and Rome are associated in this way. A few decades after Leman, an anonymous Iberian pilgrim’s account, of ca.

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<sup>54</sup> Mauro Ronzani, *Un’idea trecentesca di cimitero: La costruzione e l’uso del Camposanto nella Pisa del secolo XIV* (Pisa: PLUS, 2005), 91–93.

<sup>55</sup> “é una claustra quel suelo della es de la tierra de aquel Campo Santo que fué comprado por los treynta dineros, que es en Ierusalem, é así le llaman aquí en Pisa el Campo Santo, é dizen que persona que entierren allí non tura más de treynta dias, que la tierra lo gasta”: Tafur, *Andanças e Viajes*, 295.

<sup>56</sup> “Dasselb etrich hat man ain tail gen Rom geführt, der noch ze Rom der gotzaker haist, ain tail in Tschipre”: Monika Reininger, ed., *Ulrich Lemans Reisen: Erfahrungen eines Kaufmanns aus St. Gallen vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts im Mittelmeer und in der Provence* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007), 99.

<sup>57</sup> Reininger, *Ulrich Lemans Reisen*, 101–102 for Nicosia “Vnder demselben kilchhoff oder schopff ist das halig ertrich, das koft ward vmb die XXX pfening, durch die Jhesus Cristus durch Judas verkoft ward, das hat man von Jerusalem dahin geführt vnd gen Rom, haist campo santo, hatt die kraft, daz tötten körpelt in drÿ tagen verwesen sind vnd zû äschen worden, die man darin vergrebt, wie ich vor von gesait hân”; 157 for Rome “vff dem gotzaker, da man die bilgri vergrapt, da sind all tag XV hundart jar aplass”.

1512, described the burial ground in Nicosia with no reference to Jerusalem, noting that the Dominican convent possessed a *camposanto* that stripped the flesh off the bodies buried there in three days just like the Campo Santo in Rome behind the church of Saint Peter.<sup>58</sup> Although the ultimate implicit reference here is to the characteristics of Akeldama itself, this is evidence of the independent fame of the Campo Santo Teutonico in a period in which its soil was being distributed. A Jewish commentator, however, was more interested in the connection with the Land of Israel: Rabbi Basola of Pesaro visited Famagusta between 1521 and 1523, during a trip to Syria and Palestine, and wrote in his travel account that “there is a place where many ships deposited dust of the Land of Israel and where they were accustomed to bury prominent people of old, and they call it Campo Santo, this being an indication that everyone recognizes the sanctity of the Land of Israel.”<sup>59</sup> In general, however, the examples of Pisa and Cyprus support the evidence concerning the Campo Santo Teutonico in showing Jerusalem and Akeldama in particular to have been points of reference for a number of burial sites in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Interest was expressed in terms of material translation, and the striking qualities of the shared soil created a certain equivalence of place. Although locations that claimed earth from Jerusalem might present theirs as an exclusive relationship, travelers who visited the sites might see them as one of a number of recipients and recognize a likeness between them.

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<sup>58</sup> “Yten ay en esta iglesia de Nicoxía un campo sancto que a tercero día come & gasta la tierra de los cuerpos de los difunctos que allí son enterrados así como lo haze el campo sancto que está en Roma detrás de la iglesia de Sant Pedro”: Joseph R. Jones, ed., *Viajeros españoles a Tierra Santa (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Madrid: Miraguano, 1998), 183–192, esp. 184. I owe this reference and the following one to Dr. Michalis Olympios.

<sup>59</sup> “Hay allí un lugar donde muchas embarcaciones depositaron polvo de la Tierra de Israel y allí acostumbraron a enterrar a los príncipes en tiempos antiguos, y le llaman Campo Santo, siendo eso indicio de que todos reconocen la santidad de la Tierra de Israel”: José R.M. Nom de Deu, trans, *Relatos de viajes y epistolas de peregrinos judíos a Jerusalén (1481–1523)* (Sabadell: Editorial AUSA, 1987), 174.

## Transporting Rome

From the early sixteenth century, earth from the Campo Santo Teutonico was itself taken to other cemeteries, including sites in Austria, Germany, Poland, and Spain as well as elsewhere in Italy.<sup>60</sup> The movement of earth from a place that claimed soil from elsewhere does not simply present a new set of spatial relations for analysis, but also raises questions regarding how far these were informed by the original transaction. The remainder of this chapter addresses the granting of soil from the Campo Santo in this light, before comparing it with accounts of transporting soil from other sites in Rome found in hagiographical literature. I draw particularly on the work of Nikolaus Grass on the papal bulls and Anja Tietz on Early Modern cemeteries, but again focus on the role of the earth itself, as well as adding new comparative material. In its provision of soil, the Campo Santo is unusual among sites claiming Akeldama earth—neither Pisa nor Cyprus seems to have been used in this way—and this reflects the particular nature of the Roman cemetery. Specifically, it seems likely to derive from an increased emphasis on the burial of pilgrims there from the mid-fifteenth century onward, the involvement of particular foreign communities with the site, and promotion by the papacy. The practice of granting the soil, along with the indulgences associated with the Campo Santo, is first found in a series of grants made by Popes Julius II (1503–1513) and Leo X (1513–1521) to sites mainly located in Austria and southern Germany in the early sixteenth century, often to individuals connected to the imperial court. As noted above, in 1508 Pope Julius II granted Florian and Barbara von Waldenstein the right to establish

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<sup>60</sup> Weiland, *Campo Santo Teutonico*, 43–45; for the Austrian examples, see Nikolaus Grass, “Camposanto-Teutonico-Privilegien für Österreich: Ein Beitrag zur Sakralkultur im Zeitalter Kaiser Maximilians I’, in *Domus Austriae. Festgabe H. Wiesflecker zur 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Höflechner, H.J. Mezler, and O. Pickl (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1983), 137–158. Austrian and German examples are discussed in Anja A. Tietz, *Der frühneuzeitliche Gottesacker: Entstehung und Entwicklung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Architekturtypus Camposanto in Mitteldeutschland* (Halle: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt, Landesmuseum vor Vorgeschichte, 2012), esp. 31, 34–38.

their burial chapel in Hall “with the apostolic authority in the Campo Santo” and to “strew its surface with the dust or holy earth of the cemetery.”<sup>61</sup> This grant was followed shortly afterward by others for Kolsaß in Unterinntal and the extramural cemetery in Innsbruck, and in 1513 the new cemetery of Saint Stephen in Vienna was established on the model of that in Innsbruck.<sup>62</sup> That same year Leo X granted Campo Santo earth and privileges to the cemetery of Freiburg im Breisgau (Baden-Württemberg) at the behest of Emperor Maximilian I.<sup>63</sup> Tietz discusses a further grant made to Annaberg (Saxony) in 1517.<sup>64</sup> The geographical outlier in this first era of donations is the grant of earth and the corresponding privileges and pardons made to Gniezno cathedral in Poland in 1515, two years after its Archbishop Jan Łaski the Elder had attended the Fifth Lateran Council in Rome.<sup>65</sup> From the later sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, earth from the Campo Santo was taken to a number of sites within the Italian peninsula, Spain, and Poland.<sup>66</sup>

The appeal of these grants seems to have been focused primarily—even exclusively—on Rome. At no point in any of the documents is reference made to the Campo Santo’s association with Jerusalem or Akeldama, or indeed to the reputed properties of the earth. Instead, the grants simply state that those buried in the chapels or cemeteries concerned were to have exactly the same rights and pardons as those in the Roman Campo Santo itself. This suggests that the Campo Santo Teutonico had an independent

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<sup>61</sup> Baumgarten, *Chartularium*, XXXIII, 69–72.

<sup>62</sup> Baumgarten, *Chartularium*, XXXIV, 72–74 for Kolsaß; XXXV, 74–77 for Innsbruck. On the cemetery in Vienna, see Grass, “Camposanto-Teutonico-Privilegien,” 146–147.

<sup>63</sup> Tietz, *Der frühneuzeitliche Gottesacker*, 35; part of the text of the bull is reproduced there from Joseph A. S. von Riegger, *Analecta academiae Friburgensis ad historiam et jurisprudentiam praecipue ecclesiasticam illustrandam* (Ulm: apud Aug. Lebrecht. Stettinium, 1774), 91–95.

<sup>64</sup> Tietz, *Der frühneuzeitliche Gottesacker*, 35–36.

<sup>65</sup> Baumgarten, *Chartularium*, XXXVII, 79–81.

<sup>66</sup> Aloys Schmidt, *Das Archiv des Campo Santo Teutonico nebst geschichtlicher Einleitung*, *Römische Quartalschrift Supplementheft* 31 (Rome: Herder, 1967), 118–125.

status as a burial place, reinforcing the impression created by the comparison drawn between Nicosia and Rome in the anonymous Iberian pilgrim's account of ca. 1512. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the recipient site the relationship achieved with the Campo Santo was not necessarily an exclusive or dominant one along the lines of the relationship with Jerusalem that characterized the cemeteries discussed above. Rather it could form part of a wider portfolio of benefits and attractions, at least in the case of the burial chapel if not in that of the cemeteries. Arguably the defining feature of the chapel at Hall was the vast collection of relics assembled by Florian von Waldenstein, transferred to the chapel in 1501, and exhibited annually until 1524.<sup>67</sup> These were described by von Waldenstein himself in the *Haller Heiltumbuch*, of ca. 1508–1509, along with the various privileges and indulgences possessed by the chapel. At the time of Julius II's bull, the chapel had already received from Pope Alexander VI a grant of Roman indulgences, available to those visiting it on particular feast days.<sup>68</sup> In comparison, the Campo Santo bull was directed more specifically at the chapel as a family burial place, although it did offer those visiting the chapel the same indulgences as were available to those visiting the Campo Santo.<sup>69</sup> Interestingly, the account of the grant of earth and indulgences given in the *Heiltumbuch* also contains no reference to Jerusalem. This absence in the bulls themselves might be seen to reflect the priorities of the papal donors. However, that the same is also true of the *Heiltumbuch*, with its interest in the accumulation of relics—including examples from the Holy Land—confirms that, for the recipients too, the appeal of the Campo Santo grant lay with Rome. At the same time, it may speak of more fundamental limitations to the capacity of earth to link places; once removed from Rome, the earth was

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<sup>67</sup> Josef Garber, "Das Haller Heiltumbuch mit den Unika-Holzchnitten Hans Burkmairs des Älteren," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses* 32, no. 6 (1915): XX, XXIV.

<sup>68</sup> Garber, "Das Haller Heiltumbuch," XCV–XCVII.

<sup>69</sup> Baumgarten, *Cartularium*, XXXIII, 71; Garber, "Das Haller Heiltumbuch," C.

essentially expressive of its immediate point of origin and could not easily sustain its previous associations with Jerusalem.

Even if the point of the grants was to make certain places as effective for the salvation of the souls of those buried there as the Campo Santo Teutonico, it is still notable that this was achieved through a combination of the papal grant of indulgences and the material transfer of the earth. Since this was an era in which indulgences equivalent to those available in Rome were regularly granted to churches elsewhere, it remains to be asked why these particular grants were effected through the transfer of soil as well.<sup>70</sup> A partial answer can be found in the designation of the soil and its association with earth from the graves of saints. First, the soil is now explicitly referred to as holy, as was not the case in the *Indulgentiae* or the petition of 1476. It is described in the papal bulls for Hall, Kolsaß, and Innsbruck as “*terra sancta*”, while a letter from the imperial councilor Jacob Villinger similarly refers to the presence of “*heilig erdtreich von dem gotsackher zu Rom*” in the cemetery of Freiburg im Breisgau.<sup>71</sup> Second, earth from saintly graves could be described similarly and spread on the same spot. The Haller Heiltumbuch records that the chapel at Hall was already spread with the dust and ashes of the virgins of Cologne and with holy earth (*heiligen erdrich*) from the grave of Saint Ursula.<sup>72</sup> Together these factors suggest that the Campo Santo soil was understood in the context of the practice of taking dust from the tombs of the saints, that is to say in terms of contact relics. Indeed, Tietz has suggested that in cases where new extramural cemeteries distanced graves from the *communio sanctorum* enjoyed by

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<sup>70</sup> For the granting of indulgences equivalent to places in Rome, see Webb, “Pardons and Pilgrims,” 256.

<sup>71</sup> Tietz, *Der frühneuzeitliche Gottesacker*, 31

<sup>72</sup> “allenthalben unter den roten merblein phlasterstainen ganz uber und uber bestreut, bedeckt, geeeret, dewirdigt und geheiligt mit vil gepainen von den lieben heiligen auch staub und aschen von der geselschaft der aindlftausent maide und von andern vil lieben heiligen und darzu auch mit dem heiligen erdrich von sand Vrsulen grab, des der stifter ain grosse truhen voll aus der heiligen stat Cöln gen Hall gebracjte hat”: Garber, “Das Haller Heiltumbuch,” LXXV, CLXXII; cited in Grass, “Camposanto-Teutonico-Privilegien,” 149 n. 17.

churchyard burials, the connection with the Campo Santo in Rome served as compensation.<sup>73</sup> While part of the appeal lay in the indulgences, in its materiality the *terra sancta* was certainly closer to these traditional sources of sanctity and salvation.

This is not to suggest that the Roman earth was necessarily understood to relate to saintly burials there. The soil from the Campo Santo may have been associated with Saint Peter through the proximity of the cemetery to the basilica, or even have evoked Rome's wider reputation as the resting place of the martyrs and a site of martyrdom; introducing a description of the city's cemeteries, a German version of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* noted that the earth of Rome was sacred on account of the blood of the martyrs shed there.<sup>74</sup> Yet this is not made explicit, nor is such a relationship clear when the Campo Santo soil was linked with that from elsewhere in the city. The papal bull for Gniezno mentions earth from the cemeteries of both the Campo Santo and San Gregorio de Urbe, two places often associated in contemporary wills of Germans resident in Rome.<sup>75</sup> Although there seems to have been a chapel dedicated to Saint Gregory at the Campo Santo and the churches of San Gregorio de Palatio and San Gregorio de Cortina were both close to Saint Peter's, where Gregory the Great was buried, it is probable

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<sup>73</sup> Tietz, *Der frühneuzeitliche Gottesacker*, 30–31.

<sup>74</sup> “Auch is die erde zu Rom heylig, wenn sie mit der heiligen plute verspenget vnd pegossen ist uberall”: Nine Miedema, *Die “Mirabilia Romae”*: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 108 (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1996), 345.

<sup>75</sup> “terra seu superficie terre cimiteriorum Campi Sancti et Sancti Gregorii de Urbe recipere”: Baumgarten, *Cartularium*, XXXVII, 79–81, esp. 80–81. Knut Schulz, “Die Anfänge der Bruderschaft des Campo Santo Teutonico,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 93 (1998): 38–61, esp. 50; Christiane Schuchard, “Vier Testamente für die römische Anima-Bruderschaft (1524/1527),” in *Kurie und Region: Festschrift für Brigide Schwarz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Brigitte Flug, Michael Matheus, and Andreas Rehberg (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 307–324, esp. 323.



that these references are to the church of San Gregorio on the Celian Hill.<sup>76</sup> In the entry for this church in the German language *Historia et descriptio urbis Romae*, Saint Gregory is said to have been buried there for 15 years and to have ensured that anyone who joined the Confraternity of Saint Gregory or who was buried in the cemetery there would be protected from eternal damnation.<sup>77</sup> While the idea that Gregory had in fact been buried at the church corresponds to the value placed on saintly remains and resting places, it is arguably the protection secured by the saint in another manner that was of most relevance to those buried there and that the soil from the site would have been instrumental in translating. The Roman soil thus provided a material connection to a privileged burial place in a manner reminiscent of, but not directly replicating, dust from the tombs of saints.

At the same time, the way in which the earth was treated suggests that it played a distinctive part in rendering this connection visible and tangible at the time of the establishment of the cemetery and in defining the extent of the sacred space. It also went beyond the indulgences it accompanied in effecting a translation rather than just an equivalence of place. The bulls grant the recipients sufficient earth “to cover or strew the whole or part of the surface” of the spaces concerned.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, the Austrian Vice

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<sup>76</sup> Schulz, “Die Anfänge der Bruderschaft,” 49–53. On San Gregorio in Palatio and San Gregorio in Cortina, see C. Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo: cataloghi e appunti* (Florence: Olschki, 1927), 257, 259. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of this chapter for the reference to San Gregorio in Palatio. Generally but not universally thought to have been located to the south of St Peter’s, it was identified by Anton de Waal with the church of the same dedication at the Campo Santo: de Waal, “San Gregorio in Palatio,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 18 (1904): 35-39.

<sup>77</sup> “Daselbst hat sanctus Gregorius fierzehen iar gepuest in der grufft... Sanctus Gregorius hat erworben vmb Got, das er alle die behuet vor ewiger verdampnis, die sich zu sant Gregorio in die Bruderschaft schriben ader dohin begraben lassen”: Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, 266.

<sup>78</sup> Baumgarten, *Chartularium*, XXXIII, 71, “ex terra seu superficie terre sancte cimiterii ipsius Campi Sancti de Urbe tantum recipere ... quod ex huiusmodi terra deferenda superficies ipsius sacre capelle tota vel in parte cooperiri seu aspergi possit”; XXXV, 76, “ut ex terra seu superficie terre sancte cimiterii ipsius Campi Sancti de

Chancellor Lorenz Saurer is said to have requested more earth for the Vienna cemetery than had been provided for Innsbruck, on the grounds that it was far larger than the latter.<sup>79</sup> The formula in the bulls is reminiscent of the description of the earth from Jerusalem “*sparsolla per tucto*” in the Pisan Camposanto.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, the dust of the Cologne virgins and the holy earth from Saint Ursula’s grave, said to have been brought from Cologne in a large chest, was also used to mark a particular space within the chapel at Hall, being spread beneath the paving slabs of red marble.<sup>81</sup> This formed a precedent for the use of the Campo Santo earth, and a parallel with the paving of the Santa Croce in Gerusalemme chapel. The spreading of the earth may have taken place in public. It was probably not until 1635, toward the beginning of another series of grants of earth, that the confraternity instituted a specific set of procedures for those who wanted a portion of the soil, including a ceremonial handover.<sup>82</sup> However, when the arrival of the soil coincided with the consecration of the cemetery, it is likely that it was integrated into the established ceremony. The rite for the blessing of a cemetery as given in the late thirteenth-century Pontifical of William Durandus, and in the *editio princeps* of the Roman Pontifical of 1485 that was based on it, included sprinkling the ground with holy water while circumambulating the site and then processing between five crosses placed in the center and at the cardinal directions.<sup>83</sup> An

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Urbe tantum recipere ... quod ex huiusmodi terra deferenda superficies ipsius cimiterii tota vel in parte cooperiri seu spargi possit.”

<sup>79</sup> Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5, *Der Kaiser und seine Umwelt: Hof, Staat, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1986), 268.

<sup>80</sup> Raniero Sardo, *Cronaca di Pisa*, ed. Banti, 37.

<sup>81</sup> Garber, “Das Haller Heiltumbuch,” LXXV, CLXXII.

<sup>82</sup> Schmidt, *Das Archiv*, 120.

<sup>83</sup> Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960), vol.3, 506–508; *Pontificalis Liber*, ed. Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini and Johann Burchard (Rome: Planck, 1485),

eighteenth-century account of the consecration of the cemetery at Annaberg, which draws upon earlier sources and presents the ceremony as based on that at Innsbruck, gives a sense of the part the soil might have played in this ritual.<sup>84</sup> The earth was taken to the cemetery in a chest and then divided into five basins, four of which were taken to the corners of the space by priests and the fifth kept for the consecrating bishop. After the cemetery had been sprinkled with holy water, the priests scattered the earth over the ground in turn, followed by the bishop, in such a way that the whole space was strewn five times. Finally the papal bull was read out to the assembled congregation. In common with the holy water, the scattered earth was not only sanctifying, but also had a performative value in rendering visible the spoken words of the ceremony and their implications for the definition of space. At the same time, in all these cases scattering earth goes beyond defining the extent of the site to create a stratigraphic relationship between places; as the recipient site is overlaid with earth from elsewhere, it is as if one place is carpeted with another.

If the removal of earth from the Campo Santo Teutonico still corresponds closely to the reception of soil from Akeldama in its capacity to translate place, it was also not unprecedented in Rome. Earth is said to be taken from Rome to cemeteries in Ireland and Scotland in saints' Lives dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, including those of Colmán son of Lúachán, Colman Elo, Molaise, and Lolan.<sup>85</sup> Although the two phenomena are unlikely to be directly connected, they share

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consulted as Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inc.II.252, fols 194v–202r:

<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.II.252>.

<sup>84</sup> Adam Richter, *Umständliche aus zuverlässigen Nachrichten zusammengetragene Chronica der im Meissnischen Ober-Ertz-Gebürge gelegenen Königl. Churfl. Sächßischen freyen Berg-Stadt St. Annaberg*, 2 vols (St. Annaberg: Friese, 1746–1748), vol. 1, 239–247; Moritz Spiess, *Der Gottesacker zu Annaberg* (Annaberg, 1860), vol. 1, 130–131.

<sup>85</sup> Recently, some of these examples have been discussed in Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 83, 190.

some important features. Notably, in the hagiographical literature, the soil spread over the cemetery achieves a similar layering and elision of place: burial in earth from Rome is as good as burial in Rome, and allows those interred there to achieve salvation. However, here the soil is explicitly associated with the cults of Roman saints, and brings about a long-distance burial *ad sanctos*. For example, in an account of the life of Colmán son of Lúachán, we read that soil from the graves of the Roman saints was brought to the cemetery of Lann Mic Lúacháin and “scattered in every direction ... so that it is a burial in the soil of Rome for each one who has been buried there from that [point] onward.”<sup>86</sup> Similarly, it is recorded in the Life of Colmán Éilo that the saint received a gift of “seven sacks full of the soil of Rome” and was instructed to “shake it over the length and breadth of thy cemetery, and anyone who is buried in it shall not see hell.”<sup>87</sup> In an early-sixteenth-century Life of Saint Molaise the saint visits Rome and brings back to Devenish “a load of Rome’s soil” as well as relics of Roman saints.<sup>88</sup>

These lives illuminate the way in which the soil of the Campo Santo Teutonico could function despite shedding its associations with Jerusalem. On the one hand, they show the role of earth in transportable topography with no connection to the Holy Land; on the other, they reinforce the Central

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<sup>86</sup> Kuno Meyer, ed., *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin: Life of Colmán Son of Lúachan*, 76–82 (Dublin and London: Hodges, Figgis; Williams & Norgate, 1911), 79–85, esp. 82, 85. For the dating of the life to the early twelfth century see Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 26; for a later date see Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 197; James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (Dublin: Pádraic Ó Táilliúir, 1979), 454–455.

<sup>87</sup> Charles Plummer, ed., *Bethada Náem nÉirenn: Lives of Irish Saints*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), vol. 1, 173; vol. 2, 166–167; for the life as a later medieval compilation of legends, see Kenney, *Sources*, 399–400.

<sup>88</sup> Standish H. O’Grady, ed., *Silva Gadelica: A Collection of Tales in Irish with Extracts Illustrating Persons and Places* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1892), vol. 1, 32 (Irish text), vol. 2, 29–30 (translation); for the dating, see Raymond Gillespie, “Saints and Manuscripts in Sixteenth-Century Breifne,” *Breifne* 11, no. 44 (2008): 533–558, esp. 539–541. I am most grateful to Professor Gillespie for this reference and for sending me a copy of the article.

European evidence by providing a comparison for the reception and framing of the Campo Santo soil within a devotional setting that also focused on the graves of saints. Perhaps the closest parallel, however, is found in the *Breviary of Aberdeen*, printed in the early sixteenth century; here, Saint Lolan has four ass-loads of the dust of Saint Peter's cemetery (*pulveris cimiterii beati petri*) sent for the consecration of the cemetery in which he is to be buried, and prays that anyone buried there will receive the same indulgences as if he had been buried in Saint Peter's cemetery.<sup>89</sup> Two separate traditions reach a remarkable convergence here. In illustrating how indulgences were incorporated into a long-standing interest in Roman soil, the *Breviary* shows the double gift of Julius II to be a product of its time.

A final feature of the hagiographies brings us back to the dual nature of the Campo Santo Teutonico as both a destination and a source of earth, as well as to the expressive potential of the material itself. The Lives of Colmán son of Lúachán and Colmán Élo describe attempts to steal the soil, confirming its prestige: in the former, Colmán's mother takes a bag of the earth to her brothers' kin, only to have the saint deny its efficacy away from Lann; in the latter, the family of Durrow only succeed in stealing some of the soil from outside the stone enclosure of the cemetery, but Colmán Élo prays that it might have "the virtue of the earth of Rome from henceforth."<sup>90</sup> This fits within narrative traditions in which theft or the desire for theft could help to construct the sanctity or enhance the status of holy remains.<sup>91</sup> At the same time, it also speaks of the particular relationship between soil and place. In

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<sup>89</sup> "tantas et quantas indulgentias a deo consequeretur ac si in cimiterio beatus petri sepultus fuisset": William Blew, ed., *Breviarium Aberdonense* (London: J. Toovey, 1854), pars estiva, pt 3, fol. cxiiiir. Examining the *lectiones* of saints from the Strathclyde area, Alan MacQuarrie suggests that these draw on *vitae* from the eleventh and twelfth centuries: Alan MacQuarrie, "Lives of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary: Some Problems of Sources for Strathclyde Saints," *Scottish Church History Society* 26 (1996): 31–54.

<sup>90</sup> Plummer, *Bethada Náem nÉreann*, vol. 2, 167.

<sup>91</sup> On this tradition, see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

neither of the Irish examples is earth taken from the consecrated cemetery itself. However, both the denial that the Roman earth would be effective beyond its immediate destination and the need to bestow Roman properties on soil taken from outside the cemetery support the hypothesis that the movement of soil between two places did not easily express a relationship with a third.

In conclusion, the phenomenon of moving earth between burial places is found in a number of different sources, including travel narratives, indulgence literature, relic catalogues, hagiographies, and papal bulls. These reflect the perspectives of both donors and recipients of earth, as well as of those who visited the sites concerned. It is important to make the distinction that some of them record the moving of earth, whereas others simply reflect claims that this had taken place. However, their collective significance transcends the actual movement of soil to demonstrate the importance of this material for envisaging and constructing relationships between places more generally in the later medieval West. There has been no intention in this chapter to present the instances discussed as part of a single coherent tradition or to provide a developmental account of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, as seen here in sources dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century to the early sixteenth century, accounts of moving soil are both rooted in a common religious culture and testify to its diversity and changing emphases, expressing interest in different religious centers and reflecting the broad move from a devotional currency focused on saintly remains to one articulated by indulgences.

Ultimately, however, bringing together two networks of material translation focused on Jerusalem and Rome, intersecting at the Campo Santo Teutonico, has emphasized the substance of soil itself rather than that of the Holy Land or any other sacred place. On the one hand, earth could both retain and transmit the properties of particular places, and also embody them more fundamentally. Spread on the ground, it created a stratigraphic elision of place in which one location overlaid the other, and rendered visible and tangible transformations that were also brought about verbally. At the same

time, soil was also subject to some expressive limitations. Moving earth from one location to another created a powerful connection between the two places and potentially also an element of likeness between recipient sites, but it could not easily express a reference to a more distant point of origin.