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### Custodians of Sacred Space

*Constructing the Franciscan Holy Land through texts and sacri monti (ca. 1480-1650)*

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## Chapter 2: Holy places, sacred travel: Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* delineating a proper space for pilgrimage

The previous chapter examined how Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano constructed the Holy Land as a sacred space, based on their background as Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*. The, still uncontested, sacred space that Guglingen and Suriano described and analysed around the turn of the sixteenth century, soon became a topic of debate during the Protestant Reformation. To explore this shift, the present chapter investigates the role of the Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land in the cross-confessional encounter with their Protestant guests in Jerusalem. Sanctity of place is a matter that took on new urgency in Franciscan Holy Land writing following the Reformation, as one of the main grounds for defending traditional, Catholic, Holy Land pilgrimage. Contrary to traditional assumptions, a number of scholars have recently emphasized that Holy Land pilgrimage survived well into the early modern period within a broader range of early modern types of travel. Protestants and Catholics alike undertook devout journeys to Jerusalem, and wrote about their experiences in an ever-expanding literature of Levantine pilgrimage and travel, even though they may have contested the other party's approach.<sup>1</sup>

The Franciscans of the *custodia* held a key position within these debates, as well as in the “disciplinary no man’s land” of the study of early modern pilgrimage, as the hosts of numerous Protestant pilgrims, whom they conducted around the Holy Places along with their Catholic counterparts.<sup>2</sup> The friars formed a focal point in these rivalling discourses both in real life, i.e. in close interactions with pilgrims of various denominations, as well as in the responses that all parties wrote in reaction to this encounter. All of these

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1 Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le Crépuscule du Grand Voyage: Le Récits des Pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458- 1612)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999); F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550-1700* (Brill: Leiden, 2012), 75-103; Sean E. Clark, *Protestants in Palestine: Reformation of the Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2014; Beatrice Groves, ““Those Sanctified Places where our Saviours Feete had Trode”: Jerusalem in Early Modern Travel Narratives,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, no. 3 (2012): 681-700.

2 “Early modern pilgrimage, either Catholic or Protestant, falls into a disciplinary no man’s land. It is beyond the medievalist’s chronological scope, and beyond the thematic scope of the early modernist, who has tended to see post-medieval pilgrimage as a vestigial appendage and little more than a curiosity.” Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

responses reflect upon what should be the ‘proper’ approach to the places and spaces in and around Jerusalem. As the appointed representatives of one particular approach, the Franciscans had a prominent voice in these debates, which, unlike the Protestant side of the story, has largely gone unnoticed in scholarship.

Rather than just serving as the passive butt of jokes in Protestant travelogues, the friars were actively engaged in countering accusations levelled against themselves, as well as any discredit brought to Holy Places, in their own writings. Moreover, their version of the meeting that took place in Jerusalem can improve our understanding of Protestant unease with the Holy Places. The present chapter thus examines Franciscan attitudes towards the Protestant travellers coming to stay at their convent in Jerusalem: a new type of guest that at times strongly reminded the friars of traditional pilgrims, yet who, at least outwardly, rejected the notion of holy places and were in the habit of asking impudent questions. Franciscan responses to these visitors were manifold, and are very informative of evolving notions of pilgrimage and travel along the fault lines of the Reformation, and early modern explorative travel, as well as of the role the Franciscans saw for themselves with regards to these debates.

First, I will discuss the survival, instead of the supposed decline, of Holy Land pilgrimage in the early modern period, as a journey undertaken by both Catholic and Protestant alike. The chapter then turns to examine how the friars took up the defence of pilgrimage in their writings, taking sanctity of place as a polemical starting point for the practice of pilgrimage as such; secondly, how the Franciscans of the Holy Land attempted to explain specifically why Protestants peregrinate, taking issue with the travelogues and behaviour of Protestant visitors to Jerusalem; thirdly, how they gauged the merit of pilgrims along the axis of the curious and the devout; and finally how at the same time they actively participated in the textual culture of early modern travel by writing about their own Levantine pilgrimage experiences as travel, whilst carving out a proper space for pilgrimage and for travel, controlled by themselves.

The encounter between the Franciscans and their Protestant guests is unique, in that it took place on terrain where both were small religious minorities, and that was controlled by a third party: Ottoman rule ensured that neither was in control, as would have been the case in Western Europe. Whereas in Ottoman Constantinople, where Anglicans and Catholics also met and competed with one another in their missionary efforts, Jerusalem and the Holy Land with its biblical geography elicited an entirely different debate,

focused on sanctity of place and devotional practices.<sup>3</sup> Through the prism of the cross-confessional encounter that this chapter examines, we can see more clearly how the Franciscans of the Holy Land constructed and defended sanctity of the Holy Places, and how it shaped their writings. Moreover, it becomes evident how they set themselves up as the primary judges on such topics, cultivating a particular relationship between themselves and the Holy Land. In order to appreciate the Franciscan voice in these debates, a short sketch of the transforming landscape of early modern pilgrimage and travel to Jerusalem is indispensable.

## 2.1 The survival of Holy Land pilgrimage

Neither the Reformation and the associated objections to pilgrimage, nor the emergence of new forms of early modern explorative travel brought an end to the Jerusalem voyage. In a sense, objections to the practice of pilgrimage were nothing new, since they had been uttered throughout the middle ages: pilgrims were warned against idle wandering, and told that holy places cannot free one from sin, only interior attitudes can. Furthermore, regular religious were especially discouraged from leaving their cloisters, while laymen and secular clergy were told not to neglect their duties at home in favour of pilgrimage.<sup>4</sup> In the second decade of the sixteenth century, Protestant reformers not only re-iterated the traditional arguments against pilgrimage, but also added new objections. Disapproval of the cult of the saints and the earning of indulgences were important reasons to reject pilgrimage.

When Martin Luther issued his *Ninety-five Theses on the Power of Indulgences* in 1517, pilgrimage was not addressed. His *Explanation of the Ninety-five Theses* published in the following year, however, did raise the question of pilgrimage and the indulgences connected to it. Luther questioned the practice, since only a very small portion of truly devout pilgrims seem to avoid the pitfalls of indulgences, and travelling for curiosity according to him.<sup>5</sup> In comparison to reformers such as Bucer and Zwingli, who entirely rejected pilgrimage cults as idolatry, Luther did leave ever so small a space for the possibility of laudable pilgrimage.<sup>6</sup> Lutheran travellers to the Holy Land

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3 John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 25-6.

4 Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976): 126-46.

5 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

6 Phillip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*

made use of the room left by Luther, as their travel accounts testify. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that Jerusalem and the Holy Land are the big exception among pilgrimage destinations, because unlike saints' cults, they offer locations associated with scriptural persons and events. Even Calvin could not object to pious contemplation of Gospel events *in situ* in his *Traitté des Reliques* (1543). Improving one's understanding of the Word, and thus of God is one of the main motivations that Protestant pilgrims profess.<sup>7</sup>

The character of traditional pilgrimage was remoulded not only by the pressures of the Reformation, but also by evolved understandings of travel, as the principal accepted mode of non-utilitarian mobility. The explorative voyages into the New World, and the printed volumes that they inspired, modified understandings of travel.<sup>8</sup> It became acceptable to motivate travel by an explicitly curious desire to explore the unknown, legitimized by educational purposes, for example.<sup>9</sup> At the same time pilgrimages, previously the main accepted mode of travel, continued to take place, to be reported in travelogues, and published in an impressive amount of printed volumes. Current scholarship, apart from few exceptions such as Noonan and Shalev, generally assumes that Holy Land pilgrimage became a literary, rather than a social, phenomenon, after Venice lost its grip on the Mediterranean with the rise of the Ottoman Empire, and the number of actual pilgrims dropped dramatically, never to recover, at least during the early modern period.<sup>10</sup> Representative statistics do not exist for either the medieval or the early modern period; only for the latter period fragmentary records are available and these, if anything, suggest a steady stream of Western visitors.<sup>11</sup> In any case, the very fact that the numerous pilgrimage accounts were printed and reprinted, and found eager audiences, means that, culturally speaking, the practice was very much

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(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 62; "Luther might be seen as leaving the door open even a crack for pilgrimage." Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

7 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination]; Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 95-102.

8 Noonan, *The Road*, 49-83.

9 Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur: Harwood, 1995), 47-65.

10 Noonan, *The Road*, 9-11; Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 74.

11 Claims about the number of medieval pilgrims to Jerusalem each year have remained un-documented. The (fragmented) visitor list kept by the Franciscans of Mount Sion between 1561-1695, the *Navis Peregrinorum*, points to an average of around 30 guests a year (both Catholic and Protestant). The Ottoman records of Western European pilgrims arriving at the port of Jaffa, and entering the Holy Sepulchre church, are not complete but do show that numbers varied hugely each year: from few dozens to hundreds of pilgrims. Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 77-80; Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 162-79.

alive.<sup>12</sup>

The same is true for Protestant pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a complex and fascinating topic, which has yet to receive ample scholarly attention.<sup>13</sup> Beatrice Groves stresses continuities between medieval Catholic pilgrimage and the devout travels to Jerusalem of a considerable number of early modern English Protestants. She concludes that English Protestant travellers to Jerusalem, even though they may have rejected sanctity of place and objects at a rational level, are more like traditional pilgrims than they would have liked to give themselves credit for.<sup>14</sup> In reaction to her paper, Sean E. Clark warns against portraying Protestant pilgrimage as a crypto-Catholic, instead of an independent practice in its own right that serves its own confessional purposes.<sup>15</sup> Thus, even though early modern Protestants may have maintained an ambiguous relationship with the Holy Land, the Reformation did certainly not wipe out the steady stream of Protestant pilgrims, coming mostly from the North of Europe. The development of this type of Reformed pilgrimage is an intricate issue that is certainly deserving of more attention.<sup>16</sup> Although the present chapter cannot fill this lacuna, it may help to throw some additional light on the intricacies of Protestant pilgrimage and travel to Jerusalem in the early modern period. By complementing the picture that emerges from texts by Protestant travellers with the Franciscan perspective on how Protestants behaved around the Holy Places, a more complex evaluation of their equivocal relationship with those sacred sites can emerge. In what follows, the categories ‘pilgrim’ and ‘traveller’ are not necessarily mutually exclusive: upon arrival in Jerusalem many self-professed travellers turned pilgrim all the same.

The Reformation of pilgrimage was a process that shaped many new, fuzzy, but precarious boundaries that doubtlessly must have been challenging to all parties meeting at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem. For meet they did: Ottoman policy demanded that all Western Christians should stay with the Franciscans, and since there were no Protestant institutions present, it was the only option, unless one pretended to be Greek or Armenian.<sup>17</sup> The remarks of Protestant travellers *about* the Franciscans, as representatives of

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12 Noonan closes his excellent study with the conclusion that pilgrimage was “Alive and well and Early Modern.” *The Road*, 235-251.

13 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 95-102, esp. 102 n. 92.

14 Groves, ““Those Sanctified Places’,” 681-700.

15 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

16 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 102.

17 See Felicita Tramontana, “Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims. The Franciscan Friars of Jerusalem and their Anglican Guests (1600-1612),” *Il Giornale di Storia* 13 (2014), <http://>

the Catholic way, have been cited in secondary literature relatively frequently. Quite often the friars figure as the paragons of simple-minded superstition, tradition, and ridiculous rituals. As has been pointed out by Zur Shalev, the friars serve a polemical function in Protestant reports.<sup>18</sup> Virulent anti-Catholic claims and (affected) hostility towards the friars help to vouch for the conduct of the traveller, and demonstrate he was not infected by Popish cult.<sup>19</sup> In addition, to put in the obligatory snide remark or two can help to justify a Protestant pilgrimage.<sup>20</sup> Elsewhere in their travelogues, the very same pilgrim authors are often much milder or even quite positive about Franciscan hospitality. Leonhard Rauwolff, a Lutheran physician who published his Levantine travel account, including a Holy Land pilgrimage, in 1583, had quite a few negative things to say about the Franciscan-led devotions at the Holy Places; however, he also praises their hospitality and willingness to lead, even Protestant, pilgrims along the Holy Places as often as they wish.<sup>21</sup>

Franciscan responses to the same meeting with Protestants in Jerusalem have not been studied extensively so far. A rare exception is an article by Felicita Tramontana that is primarily concerned with the anti-Catholic sentiments of English travellers. Tramontana attempts to incorporate a reflection of the Franciscan perspective. She concludes that “the friars’ documents do not pay special attention to their Anglican, or more broadly, to their Protestant guests,” based on her reading of the manuscript chronicle by friar Pietro Verniero da Montepeloso that runs up to 1637, and was continued by other friars up to 1642, as well as Juan de Calahorra’s *Historia Cronologica della Provincia di Syria* (Madrid, 1684).<sup>22</sup> However, a wider reading of Franciscan sources challenges this characterisation of the friars as mute or passive subjects in the interaction with Protestants. In fact, instead of showing only plausible disinterest, they bring to bear a clear and confident voice of their own regarding the interaction with reformed pilgrims. The picture that emerges ties in with recent historiography, which suggests that, contrary to the more traditional view that does not accord the Franciscans, alongside other men-

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www.giornaledistoria.net (accessed September 16, 2015).

18 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 99.

19 Tramontana, “Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims,” 1-17.

20 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

21 “Sunft empfhens die Bilgram / so hinein kommen gar freundlich / tractierens mit essen und trincken zimlich wol / fürens auch herumb zun heiligen orten / unnd behaltens so lang bey sich / biss sie alle stett wol ersehen/ und willens seind widerumb darvon zuziehen.” Leonhard Rauwolff, *Aigentliche Beschreibung der Raiss* (Laugingen: Georg Willers, 1583), 430.

22 Felicita Tramontana, “Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims,” 5.

dicants, an important role in the Counter Reformation in favour of the Jesuit order, the friars were indeed active and effective preachers right from the start of the Reformation.<sup>23</sup>

As will become clear below, recovering these Franciscan voices and responses in more detail, yields a much more complex picture of the polemics of pilgrimage and travel to Jerusalem during this period. In sum, following the Reformation Protestant pilgrims kept coming to the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, and the friars did voice a clear and complex response to this encounter. The following section examines a topic of discussion between the Franciscans and their Protestant guests that must serve as a crucial starting point for my discussion: the notion, or rejection, of sacred space. This topic is fundamental because of the presence of revered locations associated with *biblical* events in Jerusalem and the Holy Land, which could not be ignored by neither party, and because sacred places as a travel destination offer at least one way of distinguishing pilgrimage from travel.

## 2.2 The main attraction or a moot point: sacred space

An important point of contention between the friars and their Protestant guests involved the question whether one place can be more holy than another, and it elicited quite a few responses from Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae*. The assertion by John Eade and Michael Sallnow that sanctity of place is the *raison d'être* of pilgrimage, certainly holds true for the medieval context; it is entirely in line with, for example, Guglingen's assertions about the rewards of the Holy Places for pilgrims.<sup>24</sup> In the fourth book of his *Treatise*, Guglingen discusses the conditions, names and extent of the Holy Land. According to him, the supernatural condition, or holiness, of the land is what draws pilgrims to it. Guglingen confesses that he has heard other pilgrims say, and also discovered it himself, that whatever hardships the pilgrim endures sailing on a galley to the Holy Land: the dangers of pirates, heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and infirmity of the body, this is all forgotten and compensated when the pilgrim first sets sight on the Holy Land around Jaffa. The holiness of the land offers a reward that is incomparable to anything else:

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23 Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), chapter 1; Bert Roest, "Franciscans Between Observance and Reformation: The Low Countries (ca. 1400-1600)," *Franciscan Studies* 63, no. 1 (2005): 409-442.

24 Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 6.

And then devoutly he traverses and seeks, with a longing heart, the Holy Places in and outside of Jerusalem, which Jesus Christ and Mary His blessed mother have sanctified and dignified with their own persons. It seems to the devout pilgrim and true Catholic that no earthly good, however precious, can be on earth that he would exchange for such a pilgrimage.<sup>25</sup>

In Guglingen's day, the late fifteenth century, such an assertion about the attraction of the holiness of the Holy Places could still be relatively uncontroversial. With the Reformation this picture became more complicated, at least for those pilgrims who had turned Protestant, as well as for their Franciscan hosts.

The picture is bound to be complex since, even though reformers rejected the cult of the saints, shrines, relics, pilgrimage, and consecration rites, they nonetheless did retain some conception of sacred space. The Weberian thesis of the complete 'disenchantment of the world' has recently been challenged by several historians, among whom Will Coster and Andrew Spicer who rather see "a rearrangement of space according to a new conception of the sacred."<sup>26</sup> The Reformation of sacred space did not happen all at once everywhere, but often involved a more gradual evolution of spaces, as well as mentalities.<sup>27</sup> The evolution of Protestant pilgrimage, highly interconnected with sanctity of space and objects, reflects this meandering process. The work of Beatrice Groves and Paris O'Donnell on English and Scottish Protestant travellers to the Holy Land demonstrates that they could not altogether shake

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25 "Et demum cum devote perambulat et querit cum desiderio cordis sancta loca **in iherusalem et extra que ihesus christus et maria eius benedicta mater cum propriis personis sanctificaverunt ac dignificaverunt**. Videtur devoto peregrino et vero catholico quod nullum bonum terrenum quantumcumque preciosum quod potest esse super terram vellet pro tali visitacione habere." Neuburg MS p. 208; Sollweck by exception edits this passage from the treatise, but omits the phrase in bold type. Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 270.

26 Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, "Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 7; Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).

27 Coster and Spicer, "Introduction," 2-7; Bridget Heal, "Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Lutheran Germany," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 39-59; Christian Grosse, "Places of Sanctification: The Liturgical Sacrality of Genevan Reformed Churches, 1535-1566," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 60-80.

off the tug and pull of the sacred spaces, or the taking home of relics.<sup>28</sup> Bažant and Svátek come to a similar conclusion in their work on Utraquist pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land from Bohemia at the turn of the sixteenth century. These travellers were motivated by a desire to discover more about the ancient roots of Christianity, as well as an interest for the biblical sites. Apart from objections to indulgences and post-biblical traditions, their pilgrimage seems to have been “une affaire supra-confessionnelle” more than anything.<sup>29</sup>

The Catholic response to the Reformers’ objections to sanctity of space and pilgrimage was, at first, marked by embarrassment and caution: attempts were made to curb unruly cults. Later in the sixteenth century, however, the sacred landscape and pilgrimage were rehabilitated, a development marked by a revival of numerous shrines. Religious orders were at the forefront of the Catholic effort to re-sacralise the landscape, not least the Franciscans with their *sacri monti*.<sup>30</sup> Certain pilgrimage shrines were turned to best advantage as sites of confessional conflict; a well-known example is that of Scherpenheuvel in the Low Countries. Situated right at the border that now divided Catholic and Protestant Europe, Scherpenheuvel developed as last stronghold of Catholicism on this significant frontier, enjoying the veneration of tens of thousands of pilgrims, as well as the support of the Habsburg rulers.<sup>31</sup> Jerusalem and the Holy Land, a pilgrimage destination where Protestant and Catholic pilgrims met, is unique among pilgrimage destinations, because neither party was truly in control of this terrain, while both were potential devotees. The Franciscans were a beleaguered minority there, but arguably, so were Protestant travellers, and the resulting meeting and debate therefore took place on more equal footing. Early modern Palestine thus was a site of confessional conflict unlike any other in Europe, where a topography

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28 Paris O’Donnell, “Pilgrimage or ‘Anti-Pilgrimage’? Uses of Mementoes and Relics in English and Scottish Narratives of Travel to Jerusalem, 1596-1632,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 2 (2009): 124-139; Groves, “Those Sanctified Places,” 681-700.

29 Vojtěch Bažant and Jaroslav Svátek, “Les Récits de Voyage Médiévaux Originaires de Bohême: Produits d’une Société Confessionnalisée?” *Médiévales* 67 (2014), <http://medievalles.revues.org/7421> (accessed March 9, 2015).

30 Alexandra Walsham, “The Sacred Landscape,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 206-7, 210; Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, chapter 6.

31 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge [MA]: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2007), 32-3; Scherpenheuvel is sometimes referred to as the ‘Jerusalem of the Low Countries’ due to the evocation of a number of Old Testament and Gospel memories at the site. Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel: Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2002), 111-154.

of Old and New Testament memories could be vied over, where both parties could attempt to lay claim the religious past, in order to bolster their present confessional identity.<sup>32</sup> In their defence of sanctity of space and pilgrimage, the Franciscans of the Holy Land sought to bring their message across primarily by insisting on how both these things are supported by the Bible. Their effort represents a typical Counter-Reform balancing act between defending and celebrating tradition, while being weary of excess and attempting to preempt accusations of superstition and idolatry.<sup>33</sup>

The Franciscans of the *custodia* were clearly aware that rejection, or changing notions, of sacred space might have potentially disastrous consequences for pilgrimage. A number of friars set about carefully explaining that one place can be more holy than another, and that the resulting practice of pilgrimage (especially to Jerusalem) is laudable and pleasing to God, if undertaken with the right attitude. How this type of Franciscan defence of pilgrimage took sanctity of place as a starting point is illustrated by a brief treatise called *Petit Discours de L'Utilité des Voyages ou Pelerinages* (1582) by the observant Franciscan Claude Vicar, connected to the *Grand Couvent* in Paris. Vicar wrote this book on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Liesse in the North of France on request of the Queen, Louise of Lorraine.<sup>34</sup> Its contents are a concise disquisition that explains and argues for Jerusalem pilgrimage, since the practice had come under attack within the context of

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32 The effort to “create and inhabit a mythical past” was a prominent item on the agenda of the Counter-Reform. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 229; “Throughout the early modern Catholic world, the landscape was a critical arena in which confessional identity and religious memory were forged. The creation and rehabilitation of hallowed places went hand in hand with repossession of the contested terrain of the Christian past and with imaginative efforts to expand the history of the Church to include regions previously beyond the knowledge of Western Europeans.” Walsham, “The Sacred Landscape,” 221, cf. 214-5.

33 Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 31-34; Walsham, “The Sacred Landscape,” 206.

34 In the dedicatory words to the queen, Vicar refers to many barren women becoming pregnant with the help of the Our Lady of Liesse. Louise de Lorraine undertook several pilgrimages hoping to conceive, but she never had a child. Her private book collection contained a copy of Vicar’s *Petit Discours*, as well as the 1583 version of Gabriel Giraudet’s *Discours du Voyage d’Outre Mer au Sainct Sepulchre de Jerusalem*, which since the first edition in 1575 had been dedicated to herself. In the years 1582-4 Louise sent two Capuchin friars to Jerusalem to perform a pilgrimage by proxy for her. Ghislain Tranié, *Louise de Lorraine (1553-1601). L’Esprit et la Lettre d’une Reine de France*. MA-thesis Sorbonne, Paris 1999-2000; Jacqueline Boucher, *Deux Épouses et Reines à la Fin du XVIe Siècle: Louise de Lorraine et Marguerite de France* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 1995), 229-232, 252-8.

the French Wars of Religion.<sup>35</sup> In the prefatory words directed at Louise's husband, King Henry III, Vicar calls for defence from those rebelling against the church, drawing a comparison to the passion relics preserved in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, which God had defended from the Turks by placing them under the protection of the French kings.<sup>36</sup> In the dedication to the queen, Vicar does not omit praising her ancestor, the famous crusader King Godfrey of Bouillon, for defending Christendom in the Holy Land.<sup>37</sup>

When it comes to defending pilgrimage, Vicar discusses first things first, opening the *Discours* with the assertion that even though God desires to be served everywhere, there are some places he has chosen to be served and honoured in particular. Citing a number of scriptural proofs for this, he then observes that Jerusalem was thus singled out amongst cities, and piously traveling there finds several precedents in both the Old and the New Testament. He concludes that: "God operates differently, according to the diversity of places."<sup>38</sup> Living up to its sub-title "Drawn from several passages of the Holy Scripture", the *Discours* aims to drive home the message that sanctity of place and pilgrimage are thoroughly scriptural, instead of superstitious. For completeness, Vicar also cites Augustine's favourable remarks concerning the cult of the saints in *Contra Faustum*, a text often referred to by Protestants for the claim that God is equally present everywhere.<sup>39</sup>

Some seventy years later, Bernardinus Surius, a Recollect friar from the Low Countries who served in the Holy Land during the years 1644-1647, still felt he had the same problems to contend with.<sup>40</sup> Surius wrote about his experiences in the immensely popular book *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim ofte Ierusalemsche Reyse*, first published in 1650, going through several reprints and translated into French by the author himself.<sup>41</sup> Before starting the

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35 In the section AU LECTEUR Vicar explains his intentions. Claude Vicar, *Petit Discours de L'Utilité des Voyages ou Pelerinages* (Paris: Charles Roger, 1582), [no pagination].

36 "AU ROY," Vicar, *Petit Discours*, [no pagination].

37 "ALA ROYNE," Vicar, *Petit Discours*, [no pagination]; for the political activities of the Franciscan order during the French wars of religion, see Megan C. Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers during the Wars of Religion, 1560-1600* (Rochester [NY]: University of Rochester Press, 2004).

38 Vicar, *Petit Discours*, [no pagination].

39 Cf. Constable, "Opposition," 126; Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

40 The Recollect friars (not to be confused with the Coletan friars) constitute an early modern reform movement within the observant branch of the Franciscan order, that finds its origins in France during the later decades of the sixteenth century.

41 Bernardinus Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim ofte Ierusalemsche Reyse* (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1650); I refer to the 4th edition of 1665, since it is more readily available for consultation, on Google Books; cf. Houbaert, "Surius (de Soer)," 873-6.

narrative of his “Jerusalem Journey” proper, Surius dedicates the first chapter to explaining “that Pilgrimages and peregrinations are laudable, and that one place is more holy than another.”<sup>42</sup> He confesses that he would rather start with the main subject matter directly, but feels that the situation in the Low Countries is such, that he needs to take up his pilgrim’s staff as if it were “a sword of the true Word of God”.<sup>43</sup>

Asking patience from the benevolent reader, Surius points out that this is necessary in case a Calvinist, for example, might read his book, and say that pilgrimages are superstitious. To the contrary, Surius holds, pilgrimage is a praiseworthy activity for everyone who goes about it with the right attitude of holy zeal, with the exception of women, as well as married men, and priests with responsibilities at home. He explains that “God has elected some places, to especially demonstrate his mercy and benevolence to humankind, through miracles that exceed all created powers”.<sup>44</sup> This can of course happen anywhere, but the Holy Land has always been the main pilgrimage destination in the world, according to Surius. Many illustrious persons have made this journey and became knights of the Holy Sepulchre; with the explicit intention of shaming Dutch men of the new religion, Surius cites the names of their ancestors that he has read in a registry book in Jerusalem.<sup>45</sup> He then turns, like Claude Vicar, to citing a number of Old and New Testament witnesses to prove that pilgrimage is pleasing to God.

Surius concludes his chapter in defence of pilgrimage with a section titled “Some objections of the Beggars [*Geuzen*]” in which he laments that the best way for Protestants to attack pilgrimage is to “make people believe that one place is as good and holy as another”, for which they then provide three pieces of, according to him, false evidence.<sup>46</sup> The first objection is

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42 “HET EERSTE CAPITTEL. Dat de Pelgrimagien ende Bede-vaerden loffelijck zijn, ende dat d’een plaetse heyligher is als d’ander.” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 1.

43 “; maer het is hier in Nederlandt soo ghestelt / dat my dunckt van noede te zijn / dat ick mijnen Pelgrims-staf / in d’ander handt neme (om mijnen Psalter ende mijn Penne te beschermen) het zweerdt van het op-recht Woordt Godts ...” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 1.

44 “/dat Godt eenighe plaetsen verkoos / om daer sonderlingh sijne bermhertigheydt / en de goedt-gunstigheydt aen de menschen te bewijsen; het welck Godt plagh te doen door mirakelen alle geschapene krachten te boven gaande;” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 3.

45 This might be the *Navis Peregrinorum* kept by the friars in Jerusalem since 1561. *Navis Peregrinorum: Ein Pilgerverzeichnis aus Jerusalem von 1561 bis 1695*, ed. Bertrand Zimolong O.F.M. (Cologne: Bachem, 1938).

46 *Geuzen*, or Beggars, is the *nom de guerre* of a confederacy of Calvinist Dutch nobles who opposed Spanish rule in the Low Countries during the second half of the sixteenth cen-

based on Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religiones*, namely that pilgrimage is a godless tradition rather than a scriptural practice, to which Surius indignantly responds that this is a "crude public lie", since he has just cited all the relevant biblical passages that support pilgrimage.<sup>47</sup> The second, often heard, objection is based on Augustine's remark that God is equally present everywhere. Surius points out that Augustine examines and *rejects* this thesis; nevertheless, the 'newly minded' keep on repeating it abusively. Finally, the third objection to holy places, which Surius cites from Calvin's *Institutio*, is based on John 4: 20-24, and he sets out to expose it as faulty exegesis.<sup>48</sup> Rounding up with a snide remark about Protestant churches indeed not being more holy than a horse's stable, Surius considers his case made, and moves on the second chapter about the particulars surrounding his departure for Jerusalem.<sup>49</sup>

This, then, was one way how sanctity of place and by extension pilgrimage could be defended against objections that Protestants might have. The Franciscan friars Claude Vicar and Bernardinus Surius, as did their confrères, defended holy places and by extension pilgrimage, Holy Land pilgrimage in particular, by meeting common Protestant criticism head on, and attempting to demonstrate its scriptural basis and non-superstitious character. It will be evident by now that, as F. Thomas Noonan observes, "frowns and smirks on the part of Erasmus and the reformers" concerning pilgrimage were answerable and far from decisive.<sup>50</sup> Especially when one considers that, even though Protestant travellers in principle rejected the idea of sacred shrines, they kept coming to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Places. This was motivated by a variety of reasons, which do not necessarily result in pilgrimage, such as improving one's understanding of the Bible by visiting the locations it names, or simply a decision to pop by as one was in the area on account of a larger

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tury; "Eenighe teghen-stellingen van de Geusen. Geen frayer / noch beter fondament voor de Nieuw-gesinde / om de Pelgrimagien om te stooten / dan de menschen wijs te maken dat d'eene plaetse soo goedt ende soo heyligh is als d'ander; jae dat geen plaetse eenighe heyligheidt en heeft; volghens dat Godt op d'een plaetse het gebedt niet meer verhoort als op d'ander. Sy hebben oock eenigh Schijnbewijs hier van." Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 8.

47 "een grove openbaere leughen," Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 8.

48 Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 8-11.

49 "Nochtans is 't dat de Calvinisten ende huns gelijken vastelijck gelooven / dat hunnen kercken niet meer heygheydt en hebben / dan de Peerds-stallen / sullen wy hen daer in laten recht hebben / aen-gaende hun kercken / daer in de HH. Sacramenten ende Godts Woordt ont-eert ende verwoest wordt," Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), 11.

50 When discussing the blind spot for early modern pilgrimage in present day criticism, Noonan observes: "Frowns and smirks on the part of Erasmus and Reformers are thought to have been decisive and unanswerable." Noonan, *The Road*, 12.

Levantine voyage, although the resulting visit could look a lot like pilgrimage.<sup>51</sup> To the Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land, however, having Protestant guests around who were supposed to reject pilgrimage and sanctity of space, and who had a habit of questioning their ways, must have been a bewildering experience. How these Franciscans answer the question “why do these Protestants come, if not to devoutly worship the Holy Places?” is informative on a number of accounts. The Franciscans’ answer to this question, the subject of the following section, reveals interactions that were very much characterised by (latent) conflict, for the very historical ground of the Holy Land the new confessional boundaries needed to be demarcated; Protestants felt a need to make it very clear that they did not condone popish cult, perhaps especially because they were on a journey that might be called pilgrimage.

### **2.3 ‘Why do Protestants go on Holy Land pilgrimage?’ the Franciscan perspective**

The phenomenon of Protestant travellers taking an interest in, for example, the Holy Places of the Passion in Jerusalem, then as now, seemed inherently, or at least potentially, paradoxical, and requiring some explanation. By and large both parties maintained that it must be for other reasons than actual worship or respect of the sacred locations in question. Protestants often explained their Holy Land visit on grounds of Bible study or historical interest; the Franciscans also attempted to understand why on earth Protestants who, often ostentatiously, discredited the importance of the Holy Places, insisted on coming to visit the same in considerable numbers. They tended to base their answer to this conundrum on a bookish and an empirical component: influential Counter-Reform literature on the subject on the one hand, and personal experience with Protestant Pilgrims in Jerusalem on the other.

In order to fully understand the way early modern friars of the custody of the Holy Land regarded Protestants traveling to Jerusalem, it is helpful to first consider the four books on pilgrimage published in 1606 by Jacob Gretser, a Jesuit champion of the Catholic Reformation. Gretser’s influential publication is the triumphant culmination of a series of Jesuit attempts to rehabilitate pilgrimage, and it aims to counter all the attacks that had been levelled at pilgrimage in the course of the Reformation.<sup>52</sup> In chapter nine of the

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51 Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination]; The early modern practice of incorporating “terra sancta inter alia” is discussed by Noonan, *The Road*, 130-153.

52 For a characterisation of Gretser’s calibre see Noonan, *The Road*, 88-9; for the debates on pilgrimage leading up to the publications of Gretser’s volumes see Gomez-Géraud, *Le*

first book Gretser takes up the issue of Protestant pilgrims to the Holy Land, which he sees as the foremost pilgrimage destination in the world.<sup>53</sup> He wonders how on earth Calvinists and Lutherans who “detest pilgrimage as superstitious and contrary to the word of God” would want to go to Jerusalem, all the while accusing Catholics of superstition.<sup>54</sup> Unbelievable as it may sound, it is nevertheless true; Gretser cites a number of travelogues by Protestant authors that testify to this unpleasant fact and concludes: “The sectarians also travel to Jerusalem and the Holy Places then, but to another end.”<sup>55</sup> Following this brief introduction, the remainder of the chapter examines the three major motivations for the ‘sectarians’, as recognised by Gretser: firstly, out of antiquarian interests; secondly, to ridicule Catholic piety at the Holy Places; and thirdly, to spread lies about Franciscans and other pious inhabitants of the Holy Land in Europe.<sup>56</sup>

Gretser’s analysis in this case is based on the Protestant travelogues that he sifted through. His text was picked up by Franciscans of the *custodia* as excellent ammunition for their cause. However, unlike Gretser, the friars could rely on personal experience as well to explain Protestant presence in Jerusalem. Francesco Quaresmio, for example, definitely took a great deal of inspiration from Gretser’s work for the third book of his massive eight book study, which is dedicated to dissecting the complex matter of (Holy Land) pilgrimage itself.<sup>57</sup> Numerous references to Gretser, long passages copied *verbatim*, and the division of pilgrimage into four types, namely external and

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*Crépuscule*, 143-185; Jacobi Gretseri Societatis Jesu Theologi, *De Sacris et Religiosis Peregrinationibus Libri Quatuor* (Ingolstadt: Adamus Sartorius, 1606).

53 “Caput IX. Utrum Haeretici hujus temporis etiam Hierosolymam peregrinentur; & quam devote.” Gretser, *De Sacris*, 36.

54 “Cum Calviniani & Lutherani peregrinationes, tamquam superstitiosas, & verbo dei adversas, detestentur, suspicari quis posset, eos Hierosolymam nequaquam peregrinari; ne, quam Catholicos notam superstitionis inurunt, ipsi pariter incurrant. Sed secus res sese habet.” Gretser, *De Sacris*, 36.

55 “Proficiscuntur ergo etiam Sectarii Hierosolymam & ad loca sancta; sed alio fine.” Gretser, *De Sacris*, 37.

56 “I. ut antiquitates lustrent, & quidem more antiquariorum, absque ullo pietatis aut religionis gustu: ... II. Videntur isti Hierosolymam petere, ut catholicorum pietatem in locis sanctis obeundis & colendis irrideant. ... Tercia causa, cur sectarii Hierosolymam peregrinantur, videtur esse, ut reversi in Europam Monachos, aliosque terrae sanctae pios incolas mendaciis onerent ac traducant;” Gretser, *De Sacris*, 37-42.

57 “Liber tertius. Argumentum. Agitur de multiplici peregrinatione, externa, honesta sive profana, ac interna spirituali; & illam ad loca sancta Terrae promissionis, in eisdemque mansionem licitam, utilem atque plurimum meritoriam esse, pluribus explicatur.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 754.

spiritual, and those two both again into sacred and profane, testify to this fact. Quaresmio further subdivides external, profane pilgrimage into the honest and laudable type, as opposed to detestable and vicious, which the latter category describes peregrinating Protestants *par excellence*.<sup>58</sup>

When discussing the six causes for this degenerate type of pilgrimage, Quaresmio includes the three motivations for Calvinists and Lutherans to come to Palestine discussed by Gretser, and adds to that from his own personal experience.<sup>59</sup> For example, he confirms that Protestants often come out of antiquarian interests, adding that he often personally observed this (“ego non semel vidi”), although the Protestants themselves try to deny this. On the other hand, Quaresmio confesses that he is unwilling to hide that he also observed some Protestants pour out prayers and show affection for the Holy Places. He is unsure whether this was in fact genuine reverence or a charade, as some Protestant travelogues corroborate.<sup>60</sup> In the end, however, he is more convinced of the latter “since they are hypocrites and politicians”.<sup>61</sup> These first-hand observations testify to a highly complex situation in which Protestant pilgrims themselves were most likely not entirely sure how they felt about the Holy Places.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, Quaresmio tries, in all sincerity, to be fair to the people he met, rather than to be upset with the travelogues some of them may have written subsequently. His conclusion that they are hypocrites after all, nonetheless hints at bitter feelings, mostly related to the second supposed motivation for Protestant pilgrimage, also discussed by Gretser: ridi-

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58 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, Lib. III, Cap. XXXIII De externa profana, sed honesta ac laudabilis peregrinatione; Cap. XXXIV De externa profana, sed detestabili ac vitiosa peregrinatione.

59 “Singulariter autem sex sacrilegae huius peregrinationis inveni causas, quarum tres priores adducit R.P. Gretserus de haereticis loquens, ...” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 835.

60 The Lutheran minister Salomon Schweigger and his company, who were in Jerusalem in the year 1581, took pains to conceal their identity from the friars, trying to pass as Catholics. Salomon Schweigger, *Ein Neue Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nuremberg: Johann Lantzenberger, 1608); cf. Clark, *Protestants in Palestine*, [no pagination].

61 “Et ita esse, ego non semel vidi; & et talem esse suae peregrinationis finem, nec ipsi diffitentur. Hic tamen non dissimulabo, me etiam observasse, aliquos ex istis sancta loca exosculatos fuisse, & in eisdem preces fudisse. Sed an vere & ex corde an potius simulate, ut possent habere testimoniales litteras, in quibus contineatur illos sancta loca devote visitasse, diiudicare nescio. Hoc posterius crediderim, quoniam hypocritae & politici sunt.” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 835.

62 See Groves, “Those Sanctified Places,” 681-700; Zur Shalev observes that although serious attempts have been made to analyse the complex effect of the Reformation on pilgrimage, they are still “inconclusive.” Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 102.

culing Catholics.

Quaresmio clearly experienced Protestants making fun of Catholic rites and beliefs around the Holy Places, as a sensitive strike at the heart of all that he holds most dear. He copies Gretser's lengthy and fiery disputation of the Lutheran Leonhard Rauwolff's disproving remarks on "popish holiness", indulgences, the praying of Hail Marys and Pater Nosters at every corner, as well as the collection of relics.<sup>63</sup> Rauwolff's pious insistence on meditating on Christ's sacrifice *in situ* and his 'sermonising' seem to have raised Gretser's ire in particular, for posing as a pilgrim instead of the irreverent tourist Gretser made him out to be. Rauwolff consistently refers to this part of his travels as a *Bilgerfart*, a pilgrimage.<sup>64</sup> To Gretser's material Quaresmio adds some reflections and interjections of his own, including a pained groan of exasperation: "And wherefore, I ask, are pious pilgrims not to be praised, who with similar piety and faith touch the Holy Places ...? Wrongly then the heretic physician disparages the pious work of faithful pilgrims."<sup>65</sup> It seems as if Quaresmio is taking personal offence at Rauwolff's poking fun, perhaps since he is trying to keep an open mind himself, as we saw above.

The same sensitive point recurs in a chapter on the veneration that is due to the Holy Places, in which Protestants ridiculing Catholic ceremony figure as the perfect example of how one should *not* behave around the Holy Places.<sup>66</sup> Here the reason for Quaresmio's vexation at derisive Protestants surfaces, namely he feels they are incredibly ungrateful: "When they have arrived in Jerusalem, they are most kindly received by the friars who reside there, who treat them as friends and wash their feet, and what their piety and habit expends on Catholics, they [Protestants] are shown just so, even though they are enemies". In this, Quaresmio explains, the friars follow the example of Christ who washed the feet of all of his disciples, including Judas, hoping that by this "act of humility and kindness their hard hearts may be softened".<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, Protestants still behave like Judases, because they

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63 Rauwolff, *Aigentliche Beschreibung*, 342-4; Gretser, *De Sacris*, 37-41; Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 835-9.

64 Noonan, *The Road*, 90-2; "mit meiner Rayss und Bilgerfart," Rauwolff, *Aigentliche Beschreibung*, 343.

65 "Et quare, quaeso, non laudandi sunt pij peregrini, qui simili pietate ac fide tangunt loca sacra Terrae Sanctae; ... Perperam ergo Medicus haereticus pio operi fidelium peregrinorum detrahit." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 837.

66 "Caput XLII. De cultu & veneratione quae locis sanctis sunt exhibenda." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 860.

67 "Isti cum Ierosolymam pervenerint, humanissime excipientur, & ab ibidem commorantibus Fratribus ut amici tractantur, pedes eis lavantur, ac quae illorum pietas & consuetudo

mock the friars' good works, thus committing horrible sacrilege by laughing and despising the Holy Places. Here there is none of Gretser's spiteful vindictiveness; Quaresmio, who must have kissed quite a few Protestant feet in his time, seems to simply feel betrayed.

The ceremony of washing the feet of new arrivals at the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem touched more hearts than only Quaresmio's.<sup>68</sup> Antonius Gonsales, a Recollect friar from the Low Countries who travelled to the Holy Land in the years 1664-71, also serving as guardian of the convent of Bethlehem, describes the ceremony in his travelogue.<sup>69</sup> First, the Franciscan *Custos* of the Holy Land washes and kisses the feet of the new arrivals, regardless of their station or denomination; then he takes their right foot on his left knee and all the friars come to kiss it, kneeling down. Gonsales observes that on more than one occasion both the pilgrims as well as bystanders were moved to tears upon witnessing this powerful ritual. So powerful, according to him, that sometimes those of the other religion were even inspired to return to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. Gonsales cannot forego the occasion to point out that this ritual is entirely scriptural, based on the example of Christ.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, it presents an act of humility with strong scriptural resonances that cannot have been lost on any newly arrived Protestant. Rather complacently he concludes: "What will the newly-minded say about this, who normally laugh at all the ceremonies? So I've seen, that some burst out into tears against their will, so that they could not hide it."<sup>71</sup>

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Catholicis impendit, eis quoque, licet hostibus, exhibentur (exemplo Christi Salvatoris, qui non modo sanctos Apostolos amicos suos dixit, sed & proditorem Iudam amicum nominavit, nec tantum illorum, sed & huius lavit pedes) ut saltem isto humilitatis & humanitatis actu eorum dura corda emolliantur." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 860.

68 See Tramontana, "Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims," 14.

69 Antonius Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse* (Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1673), vol. I, 265.

70 "Ende ick heb op diversche reysen bemerckt als dese schoon ceremonien gheschieden, dat de Pelgrims ende omstaenders daer door soo grootelijcks beweeght worden dat hun de traenen uyt-bersten, alle daer sien soo grooten Prelaet, den Pauselijcken Commissaris van heel Oosteren, den Oversten van gheheel 't H. Landt, naer 't exempel Christi, liggen aen de voeten vande Pelgrims, niet alleen van sijn broeders, maer wereltlijcke soo wel die van andere Religien zijn, als van de de Catholijcken, hun voeten wassende, kussende &c. beweeght soo merckelijck, dat somtijds die van andere Religie zijn gheweest, hun dolingen zijn afghegaen ende Catholijcke Religie hebben aenghenomen en sijn kinderen vande Roomsche Kercke gheworden. Dese schoone en devote Ceremonien en zijn niet nieuw op-ghecomen, noch van menschen inghestelt, maer naer 't exempel van Christi, die 't selve gedaen ende gherecommandeert heeft ..." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 265-6.

71 "Wat sullen ons nieuw-ghesinde hier van segghen, die ghemeynlijck lacchen met alle

With this poignant reception ceremony the friars certainly held a trump card, at least in the eyes of friar Gonsales: this was one ceremony during which they had the upper hand and no Protestant would presume to laugh at them. However, as Quaresmio observes, it often missed the intended long-term effect. Gonsales, well aware of Quaresmio's writings in addition to Gretser's, says that some, like Judas, only harden to become more bent on mocking and defaming Catholics, and even discouraging others from peregrinating to Jerusalem. Nevertheless, like Quaresmio, Gonsales is unwilling to generalise *because* of his first-hand experience in Jerusalem dealing with Protestant pilgrims: he has met many worthy men of the other religion, who treated the friars as well as the Holy Places with respect. Giving a number of individual examples, he then vows that he does not mean to attack these good men, but only "those false tongues, who by defaming and lying seek to obscure the Holy Places; yes, even dare spread the same in print, I will answer briefly".<sup>72</sup>

Like Bernardinus Surius, whose book has been "greatly praised by many and three times reprinted," Gonsales includes a defence of Holy Land pilgrimage before the start of the actual account of his journey to Jerusalem.<sup>73</sup> However, Gonsales spends three chapters instead of only one on this task, and he adopts a different approach. The first chapter opens with the words: "Pilgrimage is subdivided into good laudable pilgrimage, idle pilgrimage, and damnable pilgrimage"; Gonsales' main objective is to raise a counteroffensive in answer to those who undertake the third type of pilgrimage, namely to defame and accuse the Catholic Church.<sup>74</sup> He's been worried by books

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Ceremonien? Soo ick van eenighe ghesien heb, met dese Ceremonien teghen hunnen danck bersten hun traenen uyt, dat sy 't niet en conden verberghen." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 266.

72 "Want veel nieuwghesiende, uyt Engelant, Duydtslant, en de Hollandt, reysen naer Jerusalem, niet uyt devotie, maer eenighe uyt curieusheyt, niet om geestelijcke vruchten te be-erven, maer om de heylige Ceremonien, ende devotie der Catholijcken te belacchen. ... Dese dan loff-weerdighe Mannen, ende andere, soo in Hollandt als andere quartieren (hoewel van andere Religie sijn) en wille in't minste niet raecken, maer alleen die valsche tonghen, de met lasteren, ende belieghen, soecken te verduyteren de Heylighe plaetsen, ja derven 't selve in druck laten uitgean, sal in 't kort beantwoorden." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 10-2.

73 "Van ghelijcke heeft seer devotelijck beschreven de Ierusalemse Pelgrimagie den Eerw. P. Bernardinus Surius Minderbroeder Recollect, die grootelijcx van veele is ghepresen, ende tot dry reysen herdrukt." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, TOT DEN LESER, [no pagination].

74 "De Pelgrimagie wordt verdeylt in goede verdienstelijcke; ydele, ende in verdoemlijcke Pelgrimagie;" Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 1-2; The first chapter mostly aims at

that were recently been printed in a number of Dutch cities, and he intends to “plug the mouths of these and similar false authors”.<sup>75</sup> The two authors whom he singles out as targets are Heinrich Bünting and George Sandys; Dutch translations of their work came out in 1630 and 1654 respectively, according to Gonsales.

In his defence against what he perceives as typical Protestant pilgrimage accounts, aimed at defaming good Catholics, Gonsales responds to what he perceives as resentful lies about the friars, and then sets out to counter the accusations by explaining their flaws and the reality of the case. George Sandys, who has a relatively ecumenical outlook, and confesses himself to have been changed by the experience of entering the Holy Sepulchre, still offends Gonsales by suggesting that a number of English pilgrims who died in Jerusalem some years previously, were murdered by the Friars.<sup>76</sup> This is a grave accusation of course, and Gonsales wonders how anyone could believe that these devout religious would kill pilgrims. He then explains how the case really went. According to him, the pilgrims had fought amongst themselves at the house of the dragoman. Those who did not survive the fight were buried in silence by the Franciscans, to preclude anger of the Ottoman authorities on finding out about the disturbance.<sup>77</sup> As the official representatives of all Western Christians in Jerusalem, captured by the historical category of the ‘Franks’, the Franciscans would be held accountable for any misbehaviour on the part of Protestants as well.<sup>78</sup>

The other accusation levelled by Sandys is based on the negative stereotype that Catholics are greedy, a sentiment common to early modern English anti-Catholicism, as well as idolatrous and superstitious. The accusation of greed is a topos in Anglican travelogues concerning the pecuniary claims

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demonstrating that pilgrimage is a very old, scriptural tradition, and many very respectable historical persons were pilgrims.

75 “Diverse boecken, ghedruckt tot Arnem, Uytrecht, ende andere plaetsen in Hollandt ... om dese en dierghelijcke valsche schrijvers den mondte te stoppen.” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 7.

76 James Ellison, *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002); Groves, ““Those Sanctified Places,” 685; Sandys wrote a “Hymn to my Redeemer” which he pinned on the Holy Sepulchre, that contains the line “thou, whose body sanctified this tomb.” George Sandys, *Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610* (London: W. Barrett, 1615), 167.

77 Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 14.

78 Eva Johanna Holmberg, “In the Company of the Franks: British Identifications in the Early Modern Levant c. 1600,” *Studies in Travelwriting* 16, no. 4 (2012): 363-374.

of the friars.<sup>79</sup> Sandys complains that even though he knows the friars have to pay considerable tribute to the Ottomans, they ask a rather high price for a “cloister treatment”, and are still always begging for more money. Gonsales indignantly responds that this is a lie that does not deserve to be answered, but still tries to uncover Sandys’ deceit: he can never have visited all the sites he describes in his book in the eight days that he claims to have paid for, he must have stayed longer without paying. Furthermore, Gonsales makes Sandys’ stinginess out to be something of a national vice, common to all nations, except those from Holland and Brabant, who are more generous.<sup>80</sup>

The other Protestant travelogue that Gonsales discusses is the *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae*, written by the Lutheran theologian Heinrich Bünting. In this text, which went through numerous Dutch editions, the friars are also accused of being rather greedy; however, Bünting’s allegations are based on more fundamental objections to Holy Land Pilgrimage than Sandys ever had. The *Itinerarium* is a guidebook or itinerary through the geography of the Bible, meant to improve an understanding of the scriptures. Bünting was an armchair pilgrim, and as much as he valued geographical knowledge of the lands of the Bible, he strongly objected to making the actual journey.<sup>81</sup> According to him, the Jerusalem of old was entirely destroyed and sanctuaries such as the Holy Sepulchre are only frauds, constructed by money hungry monks: the Franciscans are clearly implied. The accusation of greed might, in this case, also be attributed to anti-fraternalist, apart from general anti-Catholic sentiment: medieval anti-fraternalist stereotypes survived the German Reformation in radicalised and augmented form, including the accusation of greed, alongside for example hypocrisy.<sup>82</sup> Gonsales feels highly offended by Bünting, and asks, in his response, whether Calvin would have approved of

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79 In answer to Protestant complains on this topic, Friar Pietro Verniero indignantly explains the difference between the giving of alms and payment for hospitality, which according to him, the friars never asked of anyone. Tramontana, “Getting by the Resort of Pilgrims,” 9-13.

80 Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 15-6.

81 H.A.M. van der Heijden, “Heinrich Bünting’s *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae*, 1581: A Chapter in the Geography of the Bible,” *Quaerendo* 28, no. 1 (1998): 49-71; Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 101; Heinrich Bünting, *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae. Das is ein Reisebuch uber die gantze, heilige Schrift* (Helmstedt: Jacobus Lucius, 1581).

82 Geoffrey Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism in the German Reformation: Johann Eberlin von Günzburg and the Campaign against the Friars* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 7, 14, 16, 30-6; while the themes of post-Reformation antifraternalism remained more or less the same, it was indeed more driven by ideological motivations than medieval antifraternalism, since some of the social factors that had contributed to the earlier manifestations of it had become less important. Also see Guy Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012).

Bünting's distrust of, for example, St. Jerome who writes about Christ's footprints on Mount Olivet.<sup>83</sup>

Here we touch upon another controversial issue that shaped the interactions between the friars and their Protestant guests, namely the identification, or authenticity, of the Holy Places. Since the Bible is not too specific about the precise location of events, and the city of Jerusalem knew several radical transformations through time, how can one be sure? Gonsales explains in the second chapter of his book that the identification of the Holy Places must be primarily based on the Bible, and where that source is inconclusive other sources and ancient traditions may help.<sup>84</sup> He also offers a metaphor to illustrate the attraction of the Holy Places: when Christ's blood spilled on Calvary, the stones became magnetic drawing everyone towards that spot, including sinners "whose hearts are like iron"; this statement most likely includes Protestants traveling to Jerusalem.<sup>85</sup>

The attitudes of Protestant pilgrims vary on this score: some are quite credulous, while others, like Bünting, hold that pilgrimage cannot exist outside the Bible itself, and come close to denying the actual existence of the Holy Land in the present time altogether. This could result in odd situations in Jerusalem. In his *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata*, friar Mariano Morone da Maleo sets out to prove and argue for the actual existence of the Holy Land, because of the stories he has heard from the friars who conduct the pilgrims.<sup>86</sup> Morone da Maleo, who held several high offices in the Franciscan province of the Holy Land, writes:

The motive that makes me resolve to give these proofs of the Holy Land, was, having understood from our friars who usually conduct and accompany the pilgrims on the visit of the sanctuaries, how some of them - little practiced in the scriptures and libertines of conscience, not to mention heretics, having seen Palestine and the Holy City of Jerusalem, with a prospect totally different from that which showed in ancient times - cannot believe that it is the same. They make fun about it, and they joke about it, while saying: This is Palestine? That is the city of Jerusalem?<sup>87</sup>

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83 Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 12-3.

84 "HET II. CAPITTEL. Op wat maniere men moet gheloooven het ghene vande Heylighe Plaesten wordt gheseyt, ende klaere teecken van de waerheydt der selve." Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 7.

85 Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 9

86 Mariano Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata*, 2 vols. (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1669).

87 "Il mottiuo, che mi fece risoluere di venire à queste proue di Terra Santa, fu l'haver' inteso

The impression that Protestant pilgrims were awfully insecure around the Holy Places starts to become manifest. Unsure about what to believe, or how to behave, they were not entirely immune to the pull of the Holy Places, since their hearts were made of iron, as friar Gonsales would say; yet, they were unwilling to soil their Protestant credentials. Laughing and smirking seems to have been their solution, as well as being a little rude to their Franciscan hosts, just in order to pass as good Protestants. These Franciscan sketches of the behaviour of Protestants in Jerusalem complicates the picture outlined by Tramontana, of reasonably amicable, peaceful interactions in Jerusalem, while virulent anti-Catholic sentiments mostly surface in Protestant travelogues as a rhetorical device.<sup>88</sup> It seems that in real life too, confessional boundaries needed to be explicitly demarcated in the interactions between the friars and their Reformed guests. Moreover, the friars responded to it in print as well, offering a fully-fledged analysis of Protestant pilgrimage.

Sneering was interpreted by the Franciscans as one of the main goals of Protestant pilgrimage, apart from studying antiquities and blackening the friars in print upon returning home. The friars' analysis, based on Gretser's Counter-Reform polemic, as well as their own personal experience with the encounter in Jerusalem, provides us with a rather nuanced picture of a meeting characterised by insecurity on the part of the Protestants. It appears from their writings that the friars tried to keep an open mind about their Protestant guests, and refrain from being judgemental, even though they at times felt rather bewildered by the very existence of Reformed Holy Land pilgrimage. They sought to come to terms with this phenomenon and the encounter it entailed, while at the same time clearly speaking up for themselves in their elaborate responses to the polemic in Protestant travelogues. Apart from sneering and antiquarianism, a further motivation for going on Holy Land pilgrimage, which the friars commonly associate with Protestant pilgrims, is curiosity. This vice, traditionally associated with the decline of medieval pilgrimage and rise of secular renaissance travel, is used creatively by the Franciscans to separate the chaff from the wheat when it comes to pilgrims, a topic that will be explored below.

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da'Fratì nostri soliti di condurre, & accompagnare i Pellegrini alla visita de' Santuarij, come alcuni di questi poco practice delle scritture, e di conscientia Libertini, per non dire Heretici; veduta la Palestina, e Santa Città di Gierusalemme, con prospettiva totalmente diversa da quella, che mostrava anticamente, non ponno credere, che sij la medesima, beffeggiandosene, e schernedola, con dire: *Questa è la Palestina? Questa è la Città di Gierusalemme? Questa è quella Metropoli delle Città, Signora delle genti, Principessa delle Provincie, bellissima fra le belle?*" Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 13.

<sup>88</sup> Tramontana, "Getting by the Resort of the Pilgrims," 1-17.

## 2.4 Pilgrims between curiosity and devotion

Curiosity and devotion are sometimes represented as mutually exclusive, opposite ends of a binary, especially with regards to late medieval and early modern travel. As a result, the start of curious renaissance travel has often been interpreted as the harbinger of the demise of devout pilgrimage. However, just like the Reformation did not end Holy Land pilgrimage, new modes of travel did not either. In this section, I treat curiosity and devotion not as opposites, but as a meaningful pair, a collocation that can tell us much about Franciscan attitudes towards their Protestant, and other, guests, as well as the friar's ideas about pilgrimage and travel. In the end, the curious and the devout do not emerge as necessary opposites, but as a versatile tool to measure the merit of pilgrims, and above all claim back Franciscan authority over the Jerusalem pilgrimage.

The Franciscans of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* tended to associate Protestant pilgrimage with an unwarrantedly high dose of curiosity, although not always categorically. Friar Antonius Gonsales, in his typology of pilgrimage, places idle pilgrimage, motivated by curiosity, between laudable and damnable pilgrimage on the scale from good to bad. According to him the intention of the pilgrim paramount, and being curious about foreign lands is not nearly as bad a motivation as aiming to defame Catholics, either in Rome or Jerusalem.<sup>89</sup> This mode of curious pilgrimage Gonsales associates with a minority of Protestants. Echoing Quaresmio, he observes: “because many newly-minded, from England, Germany, and Holland travel to Jerusalem not out of devotion, but some out of curiosity, not in order to inherit spiritual fruits,” while a majority of course means to mock Catholics.<sup>90</sup> Here, Gonsales taps into the constructed binary of the *curious* and the *devout*, which often figures in discussions of medieval and early modern travel writing, as well as *geographia sacra*.

The incongruity between devout pilgrimage and curious travel sometimes loomed large over the heads of medieval pilgrims. When friar Paul Walther von Guglingen advises against a risky excursion to the mosque that contains the cave of the patriarchs in Hebron, he motivates it in the following

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89 “De Pelgrimage wordt verdeylt in goede verdienstelijke; ydele, ende in verdoemlijke Pelgrimage; also ghenoeemt uyt het einde, of intentie vande selve: is goet, die met goede meyninge ende saligh eynde geschiedt, is ydel, die uyt curieusheydt, tot eyghen profijt geschiedt: is verdoemlijck die tot een quaedt einde ofte boose intentie gheschiedt.” Gonsales, *Jerusalemsche Reijse*, vol. I, 1.

90 “Want veel nieuwghesiene, uyt Engellant, Duydtslant, ende Hollandt, reysen, naar

manner: “And I speak for myself: if I were to enter, it would be more out of curiosity than out of devotion”.<sup>91</sup> Even if Guglingen refers to this curious-devout dichotomy in an offhand way, he fully expects his readers to instantly grasp the most likely diverging moral implications of ‘curious’ and ‘devout’ in the phrase cited above. Although it is not one of the seven cardinal sins, *vitium curiositatis* could even be considered on a par with those, owing the discussion of it by Augustine who defined it as ‘concupiscence of the eyes’: a corruption of the senses.<sup>92</sup>

Exactly the type of sin, in short, that would tempt wayfaring pilgrims to give more attention to the foreign landscapes they pass through, rather than to doing penance all the way to their pious goal, according to Christian K. Zacher.<sup>93</sup> His book demonstrates curiosity was ever more present in pilgrimage accounts, especially from the fourteenth century onwards. Based on his reading of fifteenth-century pilgrims’ accounts, Donald Roy Howard comes to a similar conclusion: “The pilgrim authors wrote to teach and to entertain; they entertained by providing a vicarious experience. Part of that experience was religious, but the better part is “curiosity”, - the interest of travellers in strange things, magnificent sights, other men’s customs and beliefs.”<sup>94</sup> In sum, curiosity could very well be part of the medieval pilgrimage experience, on its own account. In fact, during the medieval period the word *curiositas* by itself cannot be assumed to only refer to immoral desires for illicit knowledge or sensory experiences, according to Richard Newhauser. In the middle ages too, there were *bona*, *mala*, and even *media curiositas*, a situation more complicated than modern critics as well as some medieval moralists would have one believe.<sup>95</sup> Conversely, curiosity could refer to a range of meanings

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Ierusalem, niet uyt devotie, maer eenighe uit curieusheyt, niet om gheestelijcke vrucht te be-erven, maer om de heylighe Ceremonien, ende devotie der Catholijcken te belacchen.” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 10-11; cf. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 860.

91 “Et dico pro persona mea: si ego intrarem, magis esset ex curiositate quam ex devotione.” Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck, 159.

92 This definition is based on John (2:16). Augustine is the first to offer a systematic treatment of curiosity as a sin, by giving it a place in his triad of sins along with pride and concupiscence of the flesh. Richard Newhauser, “Augustinian Vitium Curiositatis and its Reception,” in *Saint Augustine and his Influence in the Middle Ages*, ed. E.B. King and J.B. Schaefer (Sewanee [TN]: Press of the University of the South, 1988), 99-124.

93 Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1976), 18-41.

94 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 53.

95 Richard Newhauser, “Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* 56 (1982): 567-571.

during the renaissance, not all of which were positive.<sup>96</sup>

Assertions of curiosity within the late medieval pilgrimage experience have often been interpreted as signs foreboding the waning of medieval pilgrimage, and the upswing of early modern travel, a view represented in, for example, Justin Stagl's social history of travel.<sup>97</sup> This traditional view has been effectively challenged by Zur Shalev, who debunks the widely assumed "mortal battle between curiosity and pilgrimage" based on a wide reading of both medieval and early modern sources.<sup>98</sup> Instead, he argues for a broadly defined Mediterranean literature of travel, in which curiosity and devotion developed alongside each other, rather than as opposing forces.<sup>99</sup>

Shalev's representation of the relationship of curiosity and devotion is corroborated by the writings of Franciscans of the custody of Holy Land as well. The friars, who might after all be suspected of rather conservative views on the admissibility of curiosity into the repertoire of appropriate attitudes for pilgrims, display a remarkable degree of flexibility in this matter. Francesco Quaresmio observes in the preface to his monumental study that his main subject, namely the Holy Places, is perplexingly difficult to treat well; many before him have arrived at the wrong conclusions even if they had good intentions.<sup>100</sup> Although knowledge of the Holy Places is useful for all the faithful, it is especially so for those who travel to the Holy Land, and Quaresmio claims he wrote his *Elucidatio* "because of the *curiosi* coming to these parts, not only heretics but also Catholics; who, not content with simple tradition, require more evidence of what is usually stated about the Holy Places."<sup>101</sup> Thus,

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96 On the basis of a wide range of secondary literature Marr concludes that "a defining characteristic of early modern curiosity and/or wonder is ambiguity." Alexander Marr, "Introduction," in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. R.J.W. Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 1-6; also see Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); for a study of the semantic field of curiosity see: Neil Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe: Word Histories* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998).

97 Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 47-49.

98 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 84.

99 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 90-95.

100 "PRAEFATIO AD LECTOREM. Perdifficilem, sed utilem aggressus sum prouinciam, pie ac studiose Lector, tractare de Locis sanctis Terrae promissionis, quae in nostra hac misera temporum conditione a variis gentibus visitari consueuerent." Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, xxxj.

101 "Idque propter curiosos, non solum haereticos ad has partes venientes, sed etiam Catholicos, qui simplici traditione non contenti, maiorem eorum, quae de locis sanctis communiter afferuntur, requirunt evidentiam; ne scilicet illi supercilium erigant, &, ut assolent, omnes traditiones contemnant, quasi nec ratione nec auctoritate nitantur; propter Catholicos autem

he aims to prevent Protestants from despising the Holy Places, while at the same time satisfying the curiosity of well-educated Catholics. Here, Quaresmio uses the word *curiosi* in the seventeenth century sense of well-educated literati with a thirst for knowledge who are ready to pay painstaking attention to detail.<sup>102</sup>

Within the field of *geographia sacra* on the Holy Land, in which Quaresmio is an important author, curiosity about and devotion for the sacred sites of Palestine often figure together. Adam Beaver points out the field is characterised by a “complex relationship between religious devotion and critical research.”<sup>103</sup> The early modern sacred geographer was simultaneously eager for knowledge and reverent of his object of study, combining “the pilgrim’s devotion and the scholar’s curiosity.”<sup>104</sup> Shalev describes how curiosity became a tool, a condoned methodology to approach devout subject matter.<sup>105</sup> The collocation ‘devout curiosity’, current since the fifteenth century, describes this mode of inquisitive intellectual engagement with revered holy objects.<sup>106</sup>

Apart from recognising this more scholarly type of curiosity, however, Quaresmio’s phrasing “*curiosi*, not only the heretics” clearly suggests that he considers Protestants to be archetypically curious. Indeed, elsewhere in his monumental study he exclaims: “Western heretics often come to Jerusalem

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illa loca adeuntes, placuit rationes, auctoritates, dubiorum solutiones addere.” Quaresmio, *Historia Theologica*, xxxvii; “And this because of the *curiosi* coming to these parts, not only heretics but also Catholics; who, not content with simple tradition, require more evidence of what is usually stated about the Holy Places; so that [the heretics] may not become arrogant and despise all traditions as they are wont, as if they [traditions] were supported by neither reason nor authority; while because of the Catholics going to those places, I decided to add reasons, authorities, and solutions to doubts.”

102 Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 218.

103 Adam G. Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims,” 269.

104 “For Jerome then, the pilgrim’s devotion and the scholar’s curiosity were complementary activities, inextricably linked. To understand the bible, one had to see the Holy Land; but to see the Holy Land properly, one had to know the bible. ..., the antiquarian commentaries of the renaissance accepted this perspective.” Beaver, “Scholarly Pilgrims,” 281.

105 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 95.

106 “Sacred or devout curiosity, a term most probably coined in the late fifteenth century, is perhaps the most important for understanding the traditions that merged in the workshop of the sacred geographer. ... Curiosity becomes a devout act in itself. It is not employed in the traditional, pejorative sense of reaching beyond human and moral bounds, but in the evolving contemporary, positive one: examining curious evidence thoroughly, carefully, and patiently - ...” Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 12-3.

not out of piety and religion, but out of noxious curiosity”; not for spiritual fruits, but to what Quaresmio describes as the detriment of souls.<sup>107</sup> This axis of the curious and the devout, has kaleidoscopic qualities it seems: several combinations are possible. In his Italian translation of Juan de Calahorra’s chronicle of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land published in 1694, friar Angelico di Milano speaks of “the curious, but devout mind of pilgrims” in an interpolated passage.<sup>108</sup> Here, there is only a whiff of opposition detectable between the two: it is acceptable to be curious, as long as one is *also* devout. Friar Jean Boucher, in his *Bouquet Sacré* (1614), has nothing bad to say about the curiously travelling Holy Land pilgrim, quite on the contrary.<sup>109</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum we find friars such as the Spaniard Antonio de Castillo, a very experienced veteran of the *custodia*, who served in Belén, Jerusalem, and Nazareth for several years. He gives ‘very necessary advice’ to prospective pilgrims, in a section that precedes the main text of his travelogue, *El Devoto Peregrino, Viage de Tierra Santa* (1656).<sup>110</sup> He opens this section by stating that for the devout Christian wishing to travel to Jerusalem: “First of all, ... it is necessary that he do this for the love of God alone, without looking at other things, ... not for curiosity to go to see lands, only to adore and revere those most Holy Places.”<sup>111</sup> This is his first and foremost piece of advice for pilgrims, heading a long catalogue of other, more practical, pieces of advice. At the end of another prefatory section, titled ‘to the reader’, Antonio de Castillo stipulates: “If you seek curiosities, do not

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107 “... Occidentales haereticos, qui saepius veniunt Ierosolymam non pietatis & religionis gratia, sed noxae curiositatis ergo; non ut fructum spiritualem sibi comparent a Deo, sed ut cum detrimento animarum, ...” Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. I, 860; This passage is echoed by Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, 10-11.

108 “la mente curiosa, ma devota de Pellegrini.” Juan de Calahorra, *Historia Cronologica della Provincia de Syria e Terra Santa di Gierusalemme*, trans. Angelico di Milano (Venice: Antonio Tivani, 1694), 341; In the Spanish original this phrase does not occur, see Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica de la Provincia di Syria y di Tierra Santa de Gerusalen* (Madrid: Iuan Garcia Infançon, 1684), 314-8.

109 Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, “La Curiosité, Qualité du Voyageur? Succincte Enquête sur la Litterature Viatique du XVI Siècle,” *Camena* 15 (2013): 4-6.

110 “ADVERTENCIAS MUY NECESSARIAS PARA que se pueda govar el Peregrino, y hazer su viage come debe, y conuiene segun Dios.” Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino, Viage de Tierra Santa* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1656), 3-14.

111 Primeramente, el devoto Christiano, que quiere hazer este viage santissimo de Ierusalen, ... es necessario , que puramente lo haga por amor de Dios, sin mirar a otro sin mas que a este, no por curiosidad de ir a ver paises, sino por adorer, y revenrenciar aquellos santissimos lugares, ...” Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 3.

go forward. If you seek devotion, proceed.”<sup>112</sup> He is, in fact, so very adamant about the inadmissibility of curiosity in matters concerning the Holy Land that he sets it as a condition for the reader to even be allowed to read his book.

Whichever way pilgrims are held against the measuring rod of the curious and the devout, the Franciscans claim that they themselves are the best arbiters of what constitutes a good pilgrim. This becomes most clear in friar Mariano Morone da Maleo’s *Terra Santa Nuovamente Illustrata*. He is as severe as De Castillo on curiosity for the Holy Places of Jerusalem, un-augmented by devotion. He explicitly warns pilgrims wishing to travel to the Holy Land that they should never do so for curiosity, but only out of devotion.<sup>113</sup> For Franciscan friars wishing to go there, it even is the first condition that must be met before being allowed to serve in the Holy Land.<sup>114</sup> In a chapter on the spiritual fertility of the Holy Land, Morone da Maleo recounts an anecdote that relates to the same subject:

In addition, I will refer to a case that happened to a French libertine in our times. Who, being a surgeon, came to Jerusalem with some Turks, which made him pass without paying tribute, and he stayed (against custom) outside of our convent. Passing before the great church of the most Holy Sepulchre, *not for devotion, but for curiosity*, he approached the door, and stuck his head into the little window through which food is passed to the Religious. Having cast his eye towards the most Holy Sepulchre of Christ, he was taken by such an uncommon feeling of horror, and such strong trembling, that he fell to the ground; for which he knew himself touched by the Divine hand, and hastily went to the Convent, prostrating himself before the feet of guardian, he confessed his guilt, asking pardon, with the promise of living a Christian life in the future (my italics).<sup>115</sup>

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112 “Si buscas curiosidades, no passes adelante. Si devocion, prosigue.” Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, AL LETOR, [no pagination].

113 “e protestando di non andar vagando per curiosità, ma solamente per diuotione.” Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 42.

114 “La prima, che non per curiosità, nè per isfuggire il rigor del Chioistro deue muouersi, ma per impulse Diuino: *Diuina inspiratione*.” Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 48.

115 “...: referirò appresso vn caso successo ad vn Libertino Francese a’nostri tempi, che essendo d’arte Chirurgo, si portò in Gierusalemme con alcuni Turchi, che lo fecero passare esente, & alloggiare (contro il solito) fuori del Convento nostro, e passando auanti la Chiesa Maggiore del Santissimo Sepolcro, non per diuotione, ma per la curiosità, approssimatosi alla porta, e posto il capo dentro alla fenestrella, per la quale si porge il vitto a’Religiosi, dato vù occhiata verso il Santissimo Sepolcro di Christo, si sentì preso da vn’orrore sì insolito, e da’tremiti cotanto forti, che hebbe à cadere in terra; onde conoscendosi tocco dalla Divina

As a former guardian of the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem, Morone da Maleo construes showing curiosity, but not devotion, for the Holy Sepulchre as a direct affront to its Franciscan guardians. After having been touched by the divine hand, this “curious libertine” realises that he owes an apology to the Franciscans, and hurries off to ask forgiveness from the guardian. Moreover, by failing to stay at the Franciscan convent and going sight-seeing by himself, this person had deprived the Franciscans of their prerogative of orchestrating the interactions of all European travellers with the Holy Places in Jerusalem: interactions that should in all good order be characterised by devotion rather than curiosity according to them.

In sum, the curious/devout binary has been an enduringly productive way to measure the merit, or describing the mindset, of pilgrims and sacred geographers alike. Both during the medieval and early modern period, the words ‘curious’ and ‘devout’ were often used in conjunction, but not necessarily as opposites. ‘Curious’ could draw on a large reservoir of varied connotations, while it still could be conceivably be juxtaposed to, or harmoniously combined with, ‘devout’ in the context of Holy Land literature. Exactly because of the potential of this pair to resonate in various meaningful ways, it is one of the more significant collocations of the genre. Thus, it seems best to avoid generalisations about the meaning of curiosity in different era’s, and instead employ this meaningful pair to gain more insight in, for example, *geographia sacra* or travel literature on the Holy Land.

In the case of the Franciscans of the *custodia*, the scales could tip in any direction. However, these friars all seem to agree that they themselves are to be the rightful arbiters of when it is permitted to be a curious traveller of the Levant, and when to be a devout pilgrim, as the examples from Morone da Maleo and Quaresmio testify. Protestants and libertines were more typically suspected of curiosity, a condition that may or may not sit well with being a good pilgrim. This mattered to the friars, because they believed they had the right and the responsibility to prescribe the proper attitudes for visitors to the sacred spaces of the Holy Land. As we have seen, Protestants on pilgrimage easily, although not invariably, earned themselves Franciscan censure on this score. However, Franciscan sentiments on pilgrimage were not only expressed by means of critique and censure but also by leading the way and providing good examples. Accordingly, the final section of this chapter will briefly consider what Franciscans of the Holy Land advised prospective

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mano, se n’andò ben tosto al Convento, e prostratosi a’piedi del Superiore, disse la sua colpa, chiedendo perdono, con protesta per l’auenire di viuere Christianamente: ...” Lib. I, Cap. V: *Della fertilità spirituale di Terra Santa*. Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 8.

pilgrim-travellers, as well as how they styled their books with reference to the often overlapping categories of travel and of pilgrimage.

## 2.5 Advising pilgrims: Franciscan voyages to the Levant

The mould in which Franciscans of the *custodia* cast their writings on the Holy Land can be revealing as to their stance on pilgrimage and travel. Up to the late medieval period pilgrimage was the dominant and accepted form of non-utilitarian mobility.<sup>116</sup> Thus, the travelogue that narrates pilgrimage as a journey, or guidebook, from departure to return, stage by stage, including interesting sights and experiences on the way, is a rather uncontroversial way of presenting this experience.<sup>117</sup> When during the sixteenth century other types of travel - explorative, curious, educational - developed alongside pilgrimage, an entirely new need to differentiate pilgrimage from other types of travel could arise.

If we look at the writings of Franciscans concerning the Holy Land starting from the late medieval period, it is immediately clear that presenting their argument as a travel narrative remains very common. Keeping in mind that “travel ... is mobility refined into genre” it is striking that a variety of friars visiting the Holy Land throughout the sixteenth century all chose this form. Jean Thenaud (1512), Antonio Medina (1513-4), Bonaventure Brochard (1553-4), André Thevet (1549-52), Pantaleão de Aveiro (1563), and Henry Castela (1600) all selected this form, braving, or seeking out, the hazards of generic blending.<sup>118</sup> Thinking back to the work of Francesco Suriano and Paul Walther von Guglingen, discussed in the previous chapter, we already see a large degree of experimentation with the form of their writing on the Holy Land.

Suriano calls his book a ‘treatise’, but it is also a travelogue cum guidebook, it contains chapters on topographical and ethnographical features

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116 Noonan, *The Road*, 1-16.

117 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 11-52.

118 Noonan, *The Road*, 8; Jean Thenaud, *Le Voyage d’Outremer (Égypte, Mont Sinay, Palestine) de Jean Thenaud*, ed. Ch. Schefer (Paris: LeRoux, 1884); Antonio Medina, *Viaggio di Terra Santa* (Florence, Giorgio Marescotti, 1590); Friar Bonaventure Brochard assisted Greffin Affagart with the writing of his travelogue, Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte (1533-1534) par Greffin Affagart*, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris: Lecoffre, 1902); André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes & Gazeau, 1554); Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerario de Terra Sancta, et todas suas Particularidades* (Lisbon: Antonio Alvarez, 1596); Henry Castela, *Le Sainct Voyage de Hierusalem et Mont Sinay, faict en l’An du Grand Iubilé 1600* (Paris, Laurens Sonnius, 1603).

of the Holy Land, on the Far East, as well as providing instructions for a virtual pilgrimage, and the ensemble is then presented in the form of a didactic dialogue with his sister.<sup>119</sup> Guglingen too experiments with the form of his writings on the Holy Land, but takes an approach of dividing and organising rather than of mixing: a travelogue and a separate treatise contained in the same manuscript.<sup>120</sup> His travelogue is a highly personal travel-diary that records his own experiences travelling to and from, and living in, the Holy Land; whereas his treatise is focussed on the more complex matter of the historical, geographical, and theological characteristics of the Holy Land. Experimentation with the form of the Holy Land writing on the part of Suriano and Guglingen is perhaps more symptomatic of newly-emerging directions in Franciscan engagement with sacred geography of the Holy Land, than of the polemics of pilgrimage and travel, if not entirely free from the latter.

For later authors of the *custodia*, however, these were categories to which they needed to pay conscious heed, lest their readers would not be able to tell pilgrimage from other types of travel. Bernardinus Surius styles his book on the Holy Land as both a voyage as well as a pilgrimage, as its title testifies: *The Devout Pilgrim or Jerusalem Journey*.<sup>121</sup> It describes Surius' travels starting from departure from the convent of Boetendael near Brussels, up to his return, subdivided into three parts: 'the pilgrim setting out', 'the pilgrim standing still', and 'the pilgrim returning'. The first part also describes foreign nations, but only so that Catholics may be grateful to have been saved from such darkness; the middle part deals with the Holy Land, while the last part discusses strange Levantine animals, plants and stones to improve knowledge of God (see chapter one on this issue).<sup>122</sup> Surius supplements his travel story with devout meditations, or *betrachtigen*, and considerations called *aenmerckingen*, because, as he advises his reader: "you have to understand that the journey to the Holy Land is different from all others". This type of journey is not undertaken out of curiosity or for financial profit, as is customary, but with an eye to spiritual gain; therefore, the usual "simple story" does not suffice.<sup>123</sup>

These tactics for turning a travel story into a pilgrimage account are imitated by Surius' compatriot Antonius Gonsales, who adds devout *leering*-

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119 Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade.

120 Guglingen, *Itinerarium*, ed. Sollweck; Neuburg MS.

121 Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim ofte Ierusalemsche Reyse* (1650).

122 See Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim*, Noot-sakelycke waerschouwinge tot den leser, [no pagination].

123 "En vvilt doch niet voor vreemt houden (G. Leser) dat ick het verhael van myn Reyse

hen or ‘teachings’ to the parts of his book that deal with the Holy Land, Syria, and flora and fauna of the East.<sup>124</sup> Other parts, namely the journey from Antwerp to Jaffa, the book on Egypt, and the return journey via Italy and France, are devoid of *leeringhen*, although the author tries to pay attention to holy places along the way, as much as possible.<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, Gonsales defends the fact that he published this book, even though Surius has already written so admirably on the subject, by arguing that he passed through different counties on the way and recorded many ‘rarities’ for pleasure of his curious readers.<sup>126</sup> Thus, wider Levantine travel can become an argument for publishing a pilgrimage account, although not all friars of the *custodia* may have approved of such a motivation. As we have seen above, Antonio de Castillo, for one, who set the absence of curiosity as a pre-condition for even reading this book, would have likely disapproved.

One friar of the Franciscan observance who exhibits a rather positive

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met eenige consideratien, leeringhen, ende betrachtigen mengele: vvant u l. moet denken dat de reyse van het H. Landt van alle andere verscheyden is: mits-dien dese ordinaris door curieusheydt, oft om tydelyck profyt gedaen vvorden; maer die van het heyligh Landt ... en vvordt niet ghedaan, dan op hope van geestelyck interest oft gevvin, ‘t welck gelegen is in een vermeerderinge van de devotie, ende des geloofs. Daerom het van dese reyse vereyscht, dat men hem somtyts een luttelken bekommere in eenige Godt vruchtighe consideratien; ende niet alleen te vreden zy met een simple verhael, gelyck in de andere ordinaris geschiedt.” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim*, Noot-sakelycke waerschouwinge tot den leser, [no pagination].

124 “HET TVVEEDE BOECK Korte beschrijvinghe van ‘t H. Landt,” “DEN DERDEN BOECK Beschrijvinghe van het Rijk van Syrien,” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I; “DEN SESDEN ENDE LESTEN BOECK Van rare boomen planten, blommen, viervoetighe, ende kruypende dieren, voghelen, visschen, ende kostelijcke steenen,” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. II.

125 “DEN EERSTEN BOECK Korte beschrijvinghe van de Ierusalemse Reyse, beginnende uyt de stadt Antwerpen tot in de naeste have van ‘t H. Landt ghenoeemt Iaffa,” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I; “HET VIERDE BOECK Beschrijvinghe van het alder-vermaerste Rijk van Egypten vande principaelste steden Inwoonders, conditien ende nature,” “HET VYFDEN BOECK Tracterende van mijn gheluckighe wederkomste in ‘t vaderlandt ende alles wat wy gesien ende de plaetsen die wij besocht hebben,” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. II.

126 “Nochtans om dat ick mijn reyse door andere landen heb ghenomen ende veele plaetsen heb doorwandelt, ende bewoont, daer den Eerw. Pater niet en is gheweest, ende weynigh daer van schrijft: als Egypten, Arabien, ‘t landt der Philistijnen, Gaza, Azota, Ascalon, Accaron, ‘t Landt van Hebron, Saba de berghen van Libano, Carmeo ende meer andere contreyen, alwaer ick veel, rariteyten heb ghesien ende afgheteekent, heb de selve oock met schoone copere plaeten laeten snyden ende daer mede desen boeck verciert tot voldoeninghe van alle curieuse liefhebbers.” Gonsales, *Ierusalemse Reijse*, vol. I, TOT DEN LESER, [no pagination].

perspective on pilgrimage as a type of travel is Jean Boucher. His immensely popular *Le Bouquet Sacré des Fleurs de la Terre Sainte*, based on his sojourn in the Holy Land during the years 1611-12, was first published in 1614 and ran through some sixty editions.<sup>127</sup> Boucher subdivides his book into four parts, first describing his voyage through Greece, Egypt and Palestine, then Jerusalem and its Holy Places, thirdly the rest of the Holy Land, and finally the nations of the East.<sup>128</sup> He opens the first book with a section on the utility of voyages in foreign countries in which he exclaims: “And to speak the truth: there is no better school in the world, more fertile and eloquent, for instructing man in the perfect practice virtue, than a foreign province.”<sup>129</sup> First, one will learn to trust oneself to the mercy of God in the perils of travel. Secondly, one will learn humility, for: “the pilgrim who treads the land of Barbarians, whatever master he was in his own land, becomes a servant of foreign servants.”<sup>130</sup> Finally, the pilgrim learns to be patient under the miseries and tortures of travel among foreigners.<sup>131</sup> Thus, Boucher envisages Holy Land pilgrimage as a type of early modern educational travel that is even more beneficial to the traveller than would normally be expected, because of the spiritual treasures of the Holy Land.<sup>132</sup> He concludes that the Christian who would not wish to visit the Holy Land in person or in spirit is indeed cold and stupid. In fact, he wrote his book to facilitate the latter category of virtual pilgrims, in thought and spirit, to the Holy Places.<sup>133</sup>

Another French observant friar, Jacques Goujon, likewise employs

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127 See Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, “Judas, Mores, Renégats et Crocodiles: Le Spectacle de la Traîtrise dans *le Bouquet Sacré des Fleurs de la Terre Sainte* de Jean Boucher (1614),” *Seizième Siècle* 5 (2009): 61-74.

128 I will refer to the 1629 edition, since that is the edition I have been able to consult. Jean Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré Composé des Roses dv Calvaire, des Lys de Bethleem, des Jacintes d’Olivet. Et Plusieurs Autre Rares & Belles Pensees de la Terrie Saincte* (Rouen: Jean Coustrier, 1629).

129 “Discours de l’vtilité qu’on tire des voyages faits dans les terres estrangeres. ... Et pour dire le vray il n’y a eschole au monde plus feconde & faconde pour bien instruire l’homme en la parfaite pratique des vertus qu’vne Province estrangere.” Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 1-2.

130 “...: si que le pelerin qui foule la terre des Barbares, de maistre qu’il estoit en son pays, deuient seruiteur des servituers estrangeres.” Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 3.

131 Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 4.

132 “Or si l’homme poussé d’vne seule curiosité de courir les terres estrangeres profanes et sacrileges & barbares, y sement se sueurs, peines, trauauz & fatigues, en moissonne des fruits si doux, si agreables & si beaux, quel bien (à plus forte raison) quel profit & quel contentement d’esprit ne recueillira point le Chretien deuot, qui porté sur les aisles sacrées d’vne sainte Pieté ira religieusement visiter la Terre sainte.” Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 4.

133 “Qui sera donc le Chrestien si stupide & si froid que ne desirera ardamment visiter,

floral imagery for expressing the benefits of the Holy Land, as well as the suggestion of traveling in spirit. In the preface to his *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, he urges his reader to receive this book as a ‘mystic rose’ without thorns, namely the perils of travel.<sup>134</sup> Goujon does not, in fact, relate his personal travel experiences: he primarily wishes his reader to travel in spirit, it seems. To this end he has divided his discussion of the Holy Places in ‘visits’ and those again in ‘days’, so that the matter of the Holy Places is presented orderly and in easily digestible chunks. This is reminiscent of Bernardinus Surius’ *betrachtungen*, found at regular intervals in his travelogue. In the 1665 edition of his book, Surius too offers his readers a table with a seven-week programme of meditation on the Holy Places, with reference to the relevant page numbers.<sup>135</sup> In sum, the Franciscan authors of the *custodia* were for the most part not afraid to write of their experiences with the Jerusalem journey as travel. However, they also seem to agree that, in order to prevent confusion, a certain devout meditative attitude can turn Jerusalem travel into pilgrimage, as it does reading a book on the subject.<sup>136</sup>

Even though the travelogue was thus not generally considered a problematic form for engaging with the Holy Land and its pilgrimage, some

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baiser, toucher, & reuerer cette Terre Sainte, sinon de presence corporelle au moin en esprit & en pensée? ... Or afin de faciliter le chemin aux ames deuotes & pieuses, qui seront embrasées d’un desir de visiter souvent ces lieux saint en pensée & en esprit, i’ay deliberé moyennant la grace du Pere des graces, de faire vne fidelle, & veritable description & rapport de l’estre present, estat, qualité, beauté, condition, & situation de ces lieux sacrez ...” Boucher, *Le Bouquet Sacré*, 5-6.

134 “Receuez donc mon cher Lecteur, de petit trauail comme vne rose mistique, mélangée de douceur, & d’amertume: sans toutefois que vous en deuiez apprehender les espines. Je les ay toutes retenuës pour moy seul, parmy le tempestes & les orages, les craintes, & les iniures, les menaces & les coups; qui on esté comme les douleurs, & les tranchées qui ont prededé sa naissance.” Jacques Goujon, *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Lyon: Pierre Compagnon & Robert Taillandier, 1670).

135 “WAERSCHOUWINGE tot gerief van de Godtvruchtige ziele die sich oeffent in het inwendigh ghebedt, hebben ick hier de betrachtungen des tweeden Boecks, met de deughden daer in begrepen, in de dagen der weken verdeelt, ende het cyffer der bladeren aen-gheteeckent, welcke sy naer geliefte sal gebruycken.” Surius, *Den Godtvruchtighen Pelgrim* (1665), [no pagination].

136 The friars could model these devotions on a long tradition of both medieval and early modern passion meditation associated with the Holy Places in Jerusalem. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*; Philip Endean, “The Ignation Prayer of the Senses,” *The Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990): 391-418; Wietse de Boer, “Invisible Contemplation: A Paradox in the Spiritual Exercises,” in *Meditatio: Refashioning the Self: Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture*, ed. Karl Alfred Enenkel and Walter Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 235-56.

begged to disagree. For example, the French Recollect friar Eugene Roger explicitly stresses that he avoids this form in his *La Terre Sainte* (1646), because it distracts from the principal matter at hand: the Holy Land. He complains that nowadays most authors who write about the Holy Land unnecessarily fatten up their tomes with superfluous discussions of other provinces, as well as “the events that made their voyage either agreeable or unpleasant, from the moment of departure from home up to return.”<sup>137</sup> Roger therefore vows his book will not venture outside of what he identifies as the territory of the twelve tribes of Israel, even though in his youth he travelled most parts of Europe and the Levant, and was always able to “curiously remark the most noteworthy things”.<sup>138</sup> Roger is thus consciously portraying himself as well-versed in the arts of travel, but he simply finds the travelogue an inappropriate form for writing about the Holy Land.<sup>139</sup> His book is a “very particular” topographic description of the Holy Land, as well as a consideration of the fourteen nations of the Promised Land in the present.<sup>140</sup>

Friar Eugene Roger makes a conscious choice to disengage his discussion of the Holy Land from the topic of travel, and explains that this has

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137 “C’est pourquoy il est necessaire d’observer, que la plus part de ces Autheurs nouveaux, quoy qu’ils ne traittent aucune chose essentielle, on fait des volumens qu’ils on grossis, en messant parmy les descriptions de la Terre sainte ce qu’ils on veu & apris des autres Provinces, avec les succez & evenemens qui on rendu leur voyage ou agreable ou déplaisant, depuis la sortie de leur pays iusques á leur retour.” Eugene Roger, *La Terre Sainte ou Description Topographique tres-particuliere des saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission* (Paris: Antoine Bertier, 1664).

138 “En quoy ie ne les ay pas voulu imiter, quoy que ma curiosité m’ait fait passer vne partie de ma ieunesse à visiter la plus grande partie des Provinces de l’Europe, plusieurs lieux de l’Afrique, l’Egypte, les Arabes, la Syrie, vne partide la Grece, toutes les Isles de la Mer Medieterranée, & les plus belle de ‘Archipelage, & autres Provinces, ou i’ay tousiours esté autant fidelle que curieux a remarquer ce qui y est de plus considerable. Neantmoins mon dessein n’estant point de sortir les limites de la Terre de Promission, puis qu’il a assez de choses saintes & memorables pour exciter l’admiration dans les esprits, & la pieté dans les ames, ie ne diuerteray pas mon discours ailleurs, m’embarrassay pas dans ce meslange de Provinces, qui luy son autant inférieures en raretez, que dissemblables en sainteté. Je parleray seulement de ce qui est, & de ce qui a esté autrefois compris dans l’étenduë des douze Tribus d’Israël.” Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, AU LECTEUR, [no pagination].

139 Justin Stagl, “Ars Apodemica: Bildungsreise und Reisetethodik von 1560 bis 1600,” in *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch, repr. 1992 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 141–190.

140 Eugene Roger, *La Terre Sainte ou Description Topographique tres-particuliere des saints Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission, Avec un Traitté de Quatorze Nations de Differente Religion qui l’habitent, leur Moeurs, Croyance, Ceremonies, & Police* (Paris: Antoine Bertier, 1664).

immediate consequences for the form of his writing. Paul Walther von Gugglingen essentially did the same thing by presenting his travelogue and his treatises as two interrelated, but separate entities. Thus disengaging the pilgrimage destination from the road taken to arrive there allows for an intensified focus on the Holy Places, a chance to write sacred geography. The choice of Franciscans of the *custodia* to write about the Holy Land in a form other than that of the travelogue, was certainly not always motivated by a rejection of travel per se, but by the opportunity to express other concerns. For example, writing histories of the Holy Land from a Franciscan perspective, as do Juan de Calahorra and Vincenzo Berdini, and offers good possibilities for Franciscan self-fashioning as well as strengthening the Franciscan claim to the Holy Land.<sup>141</sup> In addition, separating pilgrimage from travel not only allows for an enhanced focus on the Holy Places, as the work of friars Bernardino Amico and Blas de Buyza testifies.<sup>142</sup> It can also help to turn pilgrimage into something else, a type of mobility that is not exactly travel, namely processional liturgy. The most notable example of this is the *Liber de Perenni Cultu Terrae Sanctae et de Fructuosa eius Peregrinatione* (1573) by Bonifacio de Ragusa, the second book of which leads the pilgrim on a tour of the Holy Land that is characterised by an abundance of antiphons, responses, verses, and prayers at every turn.<sup>143</sup> Similarly, Francesco Quaresmio maps out thirty-five ‘pilgrimages’ in the second tome of this *Elucidatio*.<sup>144</sup> This type of pilgrimage starts only upon arrival in the sea port of Jaffa, and in Quaresmio’s case offers the occasion for extensive *Quellenkritik* surrounding every potential Holy Place along the way.

Of course this is not the only type of pilgrimage that Quaresmio recognises. Even though he does not write of pilgrimage as travel per se, the

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141 Juan de Calahorra, *Chronica de la Provincia de Syria y Tierra Santa de Gerusalen. Contiene los Proessos que en Ella ha hecho la Religion Serafica, desde el Anno 1219. Hasta el de 1632.* (Madrid, Iuan Garcia Infancon, 1684); Vincenzo Berdini, *Historia Dell’Antica e Moderna Palestina, Descritta in tre Parti* (Venice, Giovanni Battista Surian, 1642).

142 Bernardino Amico, *Trattato delle Piate et Imagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terrasanta* (Rome: Typographia Linguarum Externarum 1609); Blas de Buyza, *Relacion Nueva, Verdadera, y Copiosa, de los Sagrados lugares de Ierusalen, y Tierrasanta* (Madrid: Alonso Martin, 1622).

143 Bonifacio Stephano Ragusino, *Liber de Perenni Cultu Terrae Sanctae et de Fructuosa eius Peregrinatione* (Venice: Guerraea, 1573); Blas de Buyza and Pantaleão de Aveiro also record the liturgies of the Holy Land; see Gomez-Geraud, *Le Crépulscole*, 546-8.

144 Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. II; Electus Zwinner imitates this approach. Electus Zwinner, *Blumenbuch des H. Lands Palestinae so in Dreij Biecher Getheilet* (München: Wilhelm Schell, 1661).

third book of his *Elucidatio* deals at length with what is expected of the actual pilgrim travelling to the Holy Land. Advice given to pilgrims is another excellent way to get to grips with what Holy Land pilgrimage should entail according to Franciscans of the *custodia*. Friar Mariano Morone da Maleo offers a great deal of instructions, loosely based on Quaresmio's recommendations, albeit in the vernacular for the benefit of pilgrims and simple friars.<sup>145</sup> By and large, this advice agrees with what Antonio de Castillo counsels in a dedicated section.<sup>146</sup> Both friars offer a great deal of practical suggestions: how much money and which currency to bring, what to pack in terms of clothes and supplies, how to get a license for pilgrimage, where to embark and to disembark, as well as how to blend in with the Ottomans by dressing in a certain way. The level of detail is, at times, endearing, for example when De Castillo remarks that it will do to bring only three or four shirts, or when Morone da Maleo reminds us not to forget to bring things like a blanket, wine, aqua viva, biscuits, cheese, salami, and salted meat.<sup>147</sup> It does, however, also attest to friars' awareness that pilgrims will need to make the actual, and sometimes arduous, journey.

In terms of advice that leans more towards the spiritual, the friars concur that pilgrims should make a general confession and a will before departure, that curious travel is not permitted, and that a steadfast faith required, because one might be tempted into apostasy along the way. In addition, Morone da Maleo makes it very clear that pilgrimage is a strictly male activity to which women should not aspire, as do men with responsibilities at home. He also gives some suggestions for preparatory reading (for example the travelogue by Aquilante Rocchetta) and informs us about customary ceremony for pilgrims: to say a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria when you arrive at Jaffa in order to receive your plenary indulgence, and to descend from your horse to kiss the ground when you first set eyes on Jerusalem.<sup>148</sup>

When it comes to the role of the Franciscans in the Holy Land pilgrimage, Morone da Maleo and Antonio de Castillo agree that the friars have an important role to play from the beginning to the end of the journey. They advise pilgrims to already seek the assistance of the Franciscan friars in the seaport of departure for the East; not only can the friars offer accommodation,

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145 See Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, Al benigno, è pio Lettore, [no pagination].

146 "ADVERTENCIAS MUY NECESSARIAS PARA que se pueda govarnar el Peregrino, y hazer su viage come debe, y conuiene segun Dios." Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 3-14.

147 Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 6; Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 45.

148 Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 38- 47.

but they can also help prepare the boat trip.<sup>149</sup> In addition, Morone da Maleo recommends the prospective pilgrim should find a Franciscan friar to accompany him on the entire journey as a travel companion. Both De Castillo and Morone da Maleo inform the pilgrim that in the Holy Land, or elsewhere in the Levant, one should stay at the local Franciscan convent. The friars will host and feed the pilgrim, and assist and accompany him outside the convent; they will also see to spiritual needs such as taking confessions and administering communion.<sup>150</sup> De Castillo explains that even though the friars “do all this in the manner of a gift, only for the love of God, and without any interest”, they can only cover the costs by donations of the pilgrims; therefore, it is good to show yourself grateful for what you have received by giving alms.<sup>151</sup> Morone da Maleo concurs, he instructs the pilgrim upon departure to “give vivid thanks to God, and the father Guardian; it will be good that for the services and charity received, you leave some alms in the Holy Land.”<sup>152</sup> Only thus, by confirming the reciprocity of the relationship between the pilgrim and the friars, the Franciscans could maintain their role as companions, helpers, and controllers of the Holy Land pilgrimage.

## 2.6 Conclusion

The Franciscan desire for control over the Jerusalem pilgrimage was pervasive; it was a prerogative that they jealously guarded as well as a weight under which they groaned. Following the Reformation the members of the *custodia Terrae Sanctae* held a unique position as the representatives of a powerful historical space for pilgrimage, while back home in Europe sacred space was being swept away, reformed, or rearranged. Jerusalem and the Holy Land were hardly neutral ground, with the formative religious memories looming large over the heads of both Protestant and Catholic visitors. However, at the same time they also formed a unique arena for negotiating sacred topography and demarcating confessional boundaries between denominations, where neither Protestant nor Catholic had the upper hand. In this Ottoman controlled space, the friars actively attempted to mediate and defend what they saw as a sacred space for pilgrimage, in their interactions with all Western visitors they received in their convent.

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149 Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 7; Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 45.

150 Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 10-11; Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 46.

151 Antonio de Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino*, 12.

152 Morone da Maleo, *Terra Santa*, vol. I, 47.

By juxtaposing the largely rhetorical image of a relic population of popish oddities sketched in the travelogues of Protestant visitors to the Holy Land, and examining the writing of the prolific Franciscan authors of the *custodia*, it becomes possible to shed more light on this exceptional battleground for confessional boundaries. New perspectives arise, such as that, for example, of nervously laughing Protestant pilgrims, both drawn to and repulsed by the Holy Places; or of friars adamantly defending sanctity of space and Holy Land pilgrimage, as well as taking issue with Protestant travelogues. Drawing on their large reservoir of personal experiences with Protestants in the Holy Land, the friars provide us with a more nuanced picture: the Franciscan-led devotions at the Holy Places are laughing stock, but the powerful foot washing ceremony could also put the friars at a distinct advantage.

From the fabric of these conflicted interactions it becomes clear that the friars did not have nearly as much control over the behaviour of their guests as they would have wished; nevertheless, they saw a distinct role for themselves, that entitled them to judge pilgrims and prescribe the right attitude. Engaging creatively with the traditional curious – devout collocation, characteristic of pilgrimage and travel writing, the friars reserved the right to assess pilgrims unto themselves, now disapproving of archetypically curious Protestants, then praising the scholarly curiosity of good Catholics. At the same time, the friars of the *custodia* showed themselves to be aware of evolving notions of pilgrimage and travel. Indeed, they often wrote about their experiences in the Holy Land as travel, choosing the form of a travelogue, reflecting explicitly on pilgrimage being a type of travel, characterised by a different approach and different goals. They saw it as their role and responsibility to explain these intricacies to their readers, in much the same way their advice to prospective pilgrims presents Franciscan convents either at home or in the Levant, as the first point of reference.

Even though specific attitudes and opinions vary, the authors of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land all aimed to delineate a proper space for pilgrimage in which all pilgrims are accountable to the friars; moreover, they all agreed on the Franciscan responsibility and right to shape the interactions of visitors to this sacred space that they claim as their own, as will become clear in the following chapters.