

**Religious Ambiguity at the Periphery  
of the Habsburg Mediterranean:  
Protestant Pilgrims and their Interactions with  
Franciscan Friars in Jerusalem in the Sixteenth and  
Seventeenth Centuries**

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**Introduction: Habsburg Mediterranean**

This study is aimed to shed light on the formation of the denominational identity of Habsburg subjects outside the territorial realm of the Habsburg Empire, known as Habsburg Mediterranean. Everyone aiming to deal with the Habsburg Mediterranean as a multi-dimensional interconnected cultural entity does so with regard to the *longue durée* impact of Fernand Braudel's seminal volumes on *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*.<sup>1</sup> The Habsburgian continuum of the Mediterranean becomes more evident once the shift from a single handed territorial and political Mediterranean domination of Spanish Habsburg returns to a balanced view which holds that two separated Habsburgian empires, Spanish and central European, were unthinkable during the sixteenth century. This explains also the disastrous dynastic drive to keep both parts of the family branches together even through an incestuous marriage policy. The Habsburg Mediterranean remained in fact one dynastic and political entity embracing Spain, the Mediterranean basin and the Holy German Empire until the Spanish Bourbons finally assumed the Spanish crown in 1714. There was, indeed, a division of labour between the branches. Austrian Habsburg defended the borders with the Ottoman Empire along the Danube at the south-eastern flank of Europe as much as Spanish Habsburg fought in the Mediterranean naval battles against the Ottomans. It served the common goal to strengthen their position of dominance against their enemies, France, the Ottoman Empire and later the upcoming Protestant sea-faring nations England and Netherlands. Although the Holy German Empire was labelled a continental power and the Alps supposedly marked a barrier between Catholicism and Protestantism, the intensive historical and cultural links between both regions created an interconnected pattern. The lasting Imperial presence in northern Italy spread across the Alps, a Mediterranean

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<sup>1</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

food culture, for instance, or architecture began to characterize the south-German urban landscape.<sup>2</sup>

The Habsburg Mediterranean, however, was not only defined by political, military and territorial parameters. The maritime parameter was expressed also by the movements of people and the exchange of commodities. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Habsburg Mediterranean was marked not only by the transport of commercial goods but by the movements of slaves, pirates and pilgrims.<sup>3</sup> This chapter deals with pilgrims travelling from Habsburg ruled territories to the Holy Land. Subjects of the Habsburg Empire ranked probably as the biggest group of pilgrims during that period if pilgrims from the Iberian Peninsula—including Portugal from 1580 onward—and Southern Italy, as well as Dutch and Swiss pilgrims—until 1648 formally subjects of the Habsburg Empire—are included. Claims by modern scholars that pilgrimages declined after Luther's reformation cannot be confirmed.<sup>4</sup> Fernand Braudel claimed that: "Latin civilization said no to reformation from over the mountains".<sup>5</sup> For two centuries, therefore, the Habsburg Mediterranean witnessed denominationally mixed pilgrim groups from Habsburg ruled territories travelling to the Holy Land. The Habsburg Mediterranean became an extended space of denominational pluralism and ambiguity which were a fact of life for the Habsburg hereditary lands and its eastern neighbours.<sup>6</sup> The Holy Land, and Jerusalem in particular, remained important during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and not only as a place of witness and devotion to Christian piety for pilgrims of diverse denominations. Many dynasties regarded their fictitious claims to the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem as a source of their religious legitimization and included the Cross of

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, 210–11. The Parisian merchant Pierre Lescapier wrote in 1574, while visiting the German towns in Transylvania and especially Kronstadt (today's Braşov), that they "gave him the illusion of arriving at Mantua so fair is the town, the walls of the houses shining with paint".

<sup>3</sup> On slaves in particular, see Stefan Hanß, "Hair, Emotions and Slavery in the Early Modern Habsburg Mediterranean", *History Workshop Journal* 87, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 160–87.

<sup>4</sup> Ulinka Rublack, "Introduction", in *The Oxford Handbook of Protestant Reformations*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 3: "while pilgrimages and processions were abolished". See also the proceedings of the conference Nadine Mai, "Pilgerfahrten und Wallfahrtskirchen zwischen Weser und Elbe, 03.04.2019–05.04.2019, Lüneburg", in *H-Soz-Kult*, 30 May 2019, [www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-8295](http://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-8295), accessed 31 October 2019.

<sup>5</sup> Braudel, *The Mediterranean* (1972), vol. 2, 765.

<sup>6</sup> Graeme Murdock, "Geographies of the Protestant Reformation", in *The Oxford Handbook of Protestant Reformations*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 105–23.

Jerusalem in their coat of arms.<sup>7</sup> Here one finds not only the Habsburg double claim through Aragonese and Lorraine dynasties, but also the Valois and Bourbon claim through the Angevin dynasty, ruling Naples and later Provence, and the Savoyard claim through the Cypriot Lusignan crown, a claim which Savoy had to share with the Serenissima.

The naval transfer of pilgrims was operated traditionally by Venetian ships who guarded their monopoly jealously in spite of the diplomatic efforts of Emperor Maximilian II after 1570, known as *negotium liberae navigationis*.<sup>8</sup> Venice lost its dominant role as a hub of pilgrim departure to Marseille later in the seventeenth century, which marked the increasing French influence in the Mediterranean. Spanish Habsburg naval undertakings became focused on the Atlantic scene and partly along the North African coast. Austrian Habsburg had to wait until Venice and Napoleonic France altogether lost their grip on the Mediterranean Sea at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This is not to say that in central Europe the Mediterranean basin was out of sight. Pilgrim movements were a constant reminder of the central role the Mediterranean played in the history of the Habsburg Empire.

Transporting the pilgrims and catering for them in the Holy Land created something of a platform of shared interests among competing political players. Both parties, Habsburg and Ottoman authorities, shared an interest in the uninterrupted shipment of pilgrims in the Habsburg Mediterranean, the former due to satisfying the religious devotion of its subjects, the latter due to the income generated by pilgrims, which enabled the Ottoman ruler to finance pious funds in Jerusalem. Venice and the Observant Order of the Franciscans had vested economic interests since they were the tour agents of the pilgrims. The papacy backed the Habsburg oriented Franciscans against efforts of French sponsored Capuchins in getting a foothold in the Holy Land. Obviously, Ottoman Palestine thus became part of the Habsburg Mediterranean.

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<sup>7</sup> Mordechay Lewy, "La croce di Gerusalemme – un simbolo enigmatico?", in *L'Osservatore Romano*, 28 August 2009, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Braudel, *The Mediterranean* (1972), vol. 1, 128–29. The Spanish ambassador in Venice wrote in 1589 that "for many years now this Signoria of Venice has claimed without any foundation that the gulf belongs to her, as if God had not created this part of the sea, like the rest, for the use of all".

### Religious Ambiguity

Protestant subjects of the Habsburg Empire on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem had to develop strategies which allowed them to circumvent the observance of religious duties, required by the Guardian of the Roman Catholic places of worship in the Holy Land.<sup>9</sup> Pilgrims wishing to obtain the certificate of pilgrimage and investiture in the Order of the Knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre had to go to confession and to take communion in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, a duty which presented difficulties to Protestant pilgrims. How were these difficulties negotiated? A method was developed or adopted by Protestants which could be termed religious ambiguity. I wish to show this with two examples: The painter Lucas Cranach the Elder (c. 1475–1553), who lived many years close to Martin Luther in Wittenberg, was successful in meeting demands of his clients regardless of their denominational affiliation. Cranach was both well versed in Catholic iconography on the one hand and was one of the creators of specific Lutheran motives in his paintings on the other hand.<sup>10</sup> This happened frequently in the early days of the Reformation. By the same token Prince Elector of Saxony, Frederick III., the Wise (1463–1525), developed a great passion bordering on obsession of collecting relics, a Catholic habit much despised by Luther, while at the same time becoming the main political supporter of Luther, protecting him from imperial wrath.<sup>11</sup>

The relationship between the Christian faithful, either Protestants or Catholics, was complicated. The conflicting views between the Protestants and the Catholics does not explain the conciliatory behaviour towards both confessions as shown by Lucas Cranach and Prince Elector Frederick of Saxony. In liturgical practice it was not unheard of in the early days of the Reformation that a priest delivered a Catholic sermon in one parish and performed a Protestant service in

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<sup>9</sup> The head of the Franciscan friars of the Custody of the Holy Land is called Guardian or Custodian.

<sup>10</sup> Jutta Vinzent, “Cranach, Lucas, the Elder”, in *Religion Past and Present*, eds. Hans Dieter Betz et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2006–2013), accessed 2 June 2019, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888\\_rpp\\_SIM\\_03268](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_SIM_03268). Andreas Tacke has undertaken several studies in order to show how Lucas Cranach the Elder served his Catholic clients. See Andreas Tacke, *Der katholische Cranach: Zu zwei Großaufträgen von Lucas Cranach d. Ä., Simon Franck und der Cranach-Werkstatt (1520–1540)* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1992), idem., “Mit Cranachs Hilfe: Antireformatorische Kunstwerke vor dem Tridentiner Konzil”, in *Cranach der Ältere: Catalogue of the Exhibition in Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Städtische Galerie, and London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2007–2008*, ed. Bodo Brinkmann (Ostfildern: Cantz, 2007), 81–89.

<sup>11</sup> Ingetraut Ludolphy, *Friedrich der Weise: Kurfürst von Sachsen 1463–1525*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 337–480.

a neighbouring parish.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, during the first century after the Reformation it was not uncommon that in urban centers a bi-denominational regime with a wide threshold of pragmatism existed.<sup>13</sup>

An attitude of ambiguity seems to be the key to understanding religious affiliations. In recent years scholars of the Reformation introduced ambiguity as a heuristic category which enabled them to argue that the original Protestant devotional culture was nearer to the prevailing Catholic one than to what became a Protestant culture with its own denominational identity from the eighteenth century onwards. This identity differed clearly from the Roman Catholic culture.<sup>14</sup> The Reformation experienced a similar slow process of loosening its bonds from Catholic culture as the printing revolution had done half a century before it, when it detached itself from the pattern of traditional manuscript culture. Both denominational cultures became more rigid later on, when compared to their attitudes at the beginning of the Reformation. A case in point is the way Protestant pilgrims behaved in Jerusalem in their dealings with Franciscan friars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> Did confrontational attitudes dominate their relationship or was the behaviour of the pilgrims more ambiguous? This question was neither raised nor answered in the seminal publication by Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger and Andreas Pietsch on denominational ambiguity during the early modern period.<sup>16</sup> Thus this chapter attempts to complement their study of denominational ambiguity. Nowhere was the interaction between Protestant and

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<sup>12</sup> Johannes Hell had performed Catholic rite services since 1520 in his parish church in Rod an der Weil, Hesse, and from 1522 onwards Protestant services in the newly established Lutheran church in Hasselbach, which belonged to the same parish. Only in 1537 did Philipp III, Duke of Nassau-Weilburg, divide the jurisdiction of this parish. See Carl Heiler, "Der Semi-Lutheranus und Semi-Papista von Rod an der Weil 1536 und die Gründung der Pfarrei Hasselbach", *Nassauische Heimatblätter* 33, no. 3/4 (1932): 51–62. I thank Dr Rüdiger Fuchs from the Academy of Science and Literature in Mainz, who drew my attention to this source.

<sup>13</sup> David M. Luebke, *Hometown Religion: Regimes of Coexistence in Early Modern Westphalia* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 21–73. I thank Professor Craig Koslofsky, who drew my attention to this important book.

<sup>14</sup> Lucian Hölscher, *Geschichte der protestantischen Frömmigkeit in Deutschland* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005), 24 (my translation): "The older reformation culture of piety was rather nearer to Catholic culture than to the new Protestant culture which emerged in the age of Enlightenment and stripped off successively its older form".

<sup>15</sup> Folker Reichert, "Protestanten am Heiligen Grab", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 128, no. 1 (2017): 41–71. This paper should be considered a complementary study on Protestant pilgrims to Jerusalem.

<sup>16</sup> Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Einleitung", in *Konfessionelle Ambiguität: Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Andreas Pietsch and Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013), 9–26.

Catholic believers as intense as between the friars and the Protestant pilgrims in the periphery of the Habsburg Mediterranean in Jerusalem.

The parties involved took refuge in a variety of behaviours from presumed confrontational to indifferent approaches, but of special interest are descriptions of conduct, which signify ambiguous behaviour, such as telling white lies, evading unpleasant situations, pretending to have another denomination or simply simulating rituals. Two examples for this apparent ambiguity will show the breadth of the term. First, Johann G. von Eckhart, the secretary and first biographer of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716),<sup>17</sup> writes of Leibniz being in a storm at sea in the Adriatic. Leibniz was anxious not to annoy the Catholic sailors who might have thrown him into the water as a heretic and stranger. He, being well prepared, took a rosary out of his pocket and simulated saying a prayer. The sailors did not touch him.<sup>18</sup> The second example touched Habsburgian diplomacy and governance during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which was characterized by an ambiguous approach to Protestantism. Political constraints, such as seeking dynastic support among princely electorates within the scheme of the Holy Roman Empire and the constant need to finance the territorial defence against the mighty Ottoman neighbour, forced the emperors to respond to demands of their Protestant subjects by way of seeking religious compromises. But there was also the matter of their personal preferences such as the attitude of Maximilian II (r. 1564–76) towards Protestantism. His father Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1556–64), fearing that his heir might leave the Catholic faith, amended his will in 1555.<sup>19</sup> In 1562 Maximilian had to promise not to leave the Catholic faith,<sup>20</sup> as he would

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<sup>17</sup> Gottfried W. Leibniz was a German polymath, especially in the fields of mathematics and philosophy. As a court historian employed by Ernest August, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, residing in Hanover, he was commissioned in the years 1687 to 1690 to find in Italian archives documents which could establish a link of the House of Brunswick with Charlemagne. His private secretary Johann Georg von Eckhart (1664–1730) escaped from Hanover in 1723 because of unpaid debts. He converted to Catholicism and was employed as court historian by the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn. His biography of Leibniz was published posthumously in 1779. Johann G. von Eckhart, “Lebensbeschreibung des Freyherrn von Leibniz”, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* 7 (1779): 123–231.

<sup>18</sup> Herbert Jaumann, “Rezension: Konfessionelle Ambiguität: Forschungen aus Münster zeigen, wie man schon in der Frühen Neuzeit sich den Zumutungen der kirchlichen Orthodoxien zu entziehen suchte”, *Literaturkritik* 5 (May 2014), accessed 31 October 2019, [https://literaturkritik.de/public/rezension.php?rez\\_id=19150](https://literaturkritik.de/public/rezension.php?rez_id=19150).

<sup>19</sup> Walter Pohl, Brigitte Vacha, Karl Vocelka, *Die Habsburger: Eine europäische Familiengeschichte* (Graz: Styria, 1992), 159.

<sup>20</sup> Volker Press, “Maximilian II., Kaiser”, in: *Neue deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 16 (Berlin: Duncker

have lost his right to claim the imperial crown. With all probability Maximilian II simulated his Catholic allegiance. In 1564 Pope Pius IV allowed bishops to offer the chalice with wine to the laity—or *sub utraque*. This was introduced in the hereditary territories of the Austrian Habsburg in Bohemia and Hungary. During Maximilian's coronation no communion service was celebrated. By the same token he refused to receive the last sacraments at his death bed.<sup>21</sup> He chose Protestant envoys, like David Ungnad and Joachim von Sintzendorff, to represent him at the Sublime Porte during the years 1573 to 1581.<sup>22</sup>

### Protestant Sources

The main sources in which ambiguous conduct can be detected are travel accounts of Protestant pilgrims to Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup> Not all such accounts can be identified easily as being written by a Protestant. Invectives against Catholics would, of course, be an indication, but also the refusal to participate in a mass *sub una*, which is the Catholic form of extending only the bread to the community and reserving drinking the wine from the chalice to the officiating clergy. The Lutheran form *sub utraque* offered bread and wine to the community. When reading such accounts one must bear in mind that most of them were written for a limited circle of readers with the author's purpose being to convey that his conduct in Jerusalem was in conformity to his readers' expectations. Protestant travel accounts should in general be read with care and be read as apologetic narratives.

I have noted altogether thirty published accounts of Protestant pilgrims' writing. Surely more exist, but they are not yet edited or remain uncatalogued. The earliest account is not written by Daniel Ecklin in 1553, as posited by Reinhold Röhrich,<sup>24</sup> but by Wolf Holzworth from Halle who accompanied Ulrich Prefat

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& Humblot, 1990), 473.

<sup>21</sup> Manfred Rudersdorf, "Maximilian II. 1564–1576", in *Die Kaiser der Neuzeit 1519–1918: Heiliges Römisches Reich, Österreich, Deutschland*, eds. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990), 87.

<sup>22</sup> Walter Engels, "Salomon Schweigger, ein Ökumenischer Orientreisender im 16. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Religion und Geistesgeschichte* 7 (1955): 226. Maximilian applied religious ambiguity not only due to political convenience. He himself, being close to the non-denominational Christianity which Erasmus of Rotterdam has pledged for, was probably appalled by both conflict-ridden denominations.

<sup>23</sup> In this study all European Reformation movements, which are opposed to the Catholic Church, are called Protestants, if not otherwise specified.

<sup>24</sup> Reinhold Röhrich, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1900), 226.

von Wilkenau to Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup> His denominational affiliation is revealed by the term *sola fides* on his epitaph.<sup>26</sup> Salvation according to Luther is only possible through faith. Luther himself did not prohibit pilgrimages but marginalized substantially their contribution to salvation. The last documents in my inquiry are the letters of the scholar and diplomat Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf written in 1699 from Jerusalem.

Table 1: List of Protestant authors

Year of pilgrimage	Name of pilgrim	Origin	Years of life
1546	Wolf Holzwirth	Halle	(1522–79) <sup>27</sup>
1553	Daniel Ecklin,	Aarau	(1532–64) <sup>28</sup>
1556	Wolfgang Müntzer von Babenberg	Nuremberg	(1524–77) <sup>29</sup>
1561	Jacob Wormbser	Strassburg	(died 1593) <sup>30</sup>
1561	Albrecht Graf von Löwenstein. Grew up Catholic, converted to Lutheranism before 1561 and returned to Catholicism towards the end of his life.	Löwenstein (Württemberg)	(1536–87) <sup>31</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Wolf Holzwirth's account is partly edited. The manuscript is preserved at the Museum of Sondershausen Castle (MS), Thuringia, Schwarzburgica collection, H S2. I am grateful to Hartmut Kühne for informing me about this entry.

<sup>26</sup> The inscription which is registered in Franz Jaeger, *Deutsche Inschriften*, vol. 85: *Die Inschriften der Stadt Halle an der Saale* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2012), no. r. 196, is quoted by Johann G. Olearius, *Coemiterium Saxo-Hallense (...)* (Wittenberg: Joh. Borckard, 1674), 48–49.

<sup>27</sup> Felicitas Marwinski and Konrad Marwinski, "Reyse Wolffen Holtzwardts nach Jherusalem sambt allem, waß sich zugetragen", *Sondershäuser Beiträge Püstrich: Zeitschrift für Schwarzburgische Kultur- und Landesgeschichte* 18 (2017): 168–87.

<sup>28</sup> Max Schiendorfer, ed., *Daniel Ecklin (\*1532–†2.1.1564): Reise zum heiligen Grab. Nach der Druckausgabe Basel: Samuel Apiarius 1575* (Zurich: Kompetenzzentrum Zürcher Mediävistik, 2014).

<sup>29</sup> Wolfgang Müntzer von Babenberg, *Reyßbeschreibung des gestrengen und vesten Herrn Wolffgang Müntzers von Babenberg, Ritters (...)* (Nuremberg: Ludwig Lochner, 1624).

<sup>30</sup> Jacob Wormbser, "Eigentliche Beschreibung der Außreysung und Heimfahrt deß edlen und vesten Jacob Wormbsers", in *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands*, ed. Sigmund Feyerabend (Frankfurt a. M.: Johann Feyerabend, 1584), fol. 218r–35v.

<sup>31</sup> Albrecht Graf von Löwenstein, "Pilgerfahrt gen Jerusalem, Alkayr In Egypten unnd auff den Berg Synai durch mich Albrechten Graven zu Löwenstein und Herrn zu Scharpfeneck", in *ibid*, fol. 188v–212v.



1561	Bartholomäus Khevenhüller	Carinthia	(1536–1613) <sup>32</sup>
1565	Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf	Nuremberg	(1541–1610) <sup>33</sup>
1575	Leonhard Rauwolf	Augsburg	(1535–96) <sup>34</sup>
1579	Hans Jakob Breuning von Buchenbach	Swabia, diplomat.	(1552–1616) <sup>35</sup>
1581	Salomon Schweigger	Haigerloch in Swabia, Lutheran preacher at the Imperial Embassy in Istanbul.	(1551–1622) <sup>36</sup>
1586	Karl von Nützel und Sondersbühl	Nuremberg	(1557–1614) <sup>37</sup>
1588	Samuel Kiechel	Ulm	(1563–1619) <sup>38</sup>
1596	Fynes Morrison	Lincolnshire, England	(1566–1630) <sup>39</sup>
1601	John Sanderson	North side, London	(1560–1627?) <sup>40</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Bernhard Czerwenka, *Die Khevenhüller: Geschichte des Geschlechts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des XVII. Jahrhunderts nach archivalischen Quellen* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1867), 185–215.

<sup>33</sup> Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf, *Christophori Füreri ab Haimendorf, Equitis Aurati (...) Itinerarium Aegypti, Arabiae, Palaestinae, Syriae, Aliarumque Regionum Orientalium (...)* (Nuremberg: Abraham Wagenmann, 1621).

<sup>34</sup> Leonhard Rauwolf, *Leonharti Rauwolffen: Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß, so er vor diser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer fürnemlich Syriam, Iudaeam, Arabiam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armeniam (...)* (Laugingen: Reinmichel, 1582).

<sup>35</sup> Hans J. B. von Buchenbach, Giovanni M. *Orientalische Reyß Deß Edlen unnd Vesten Hanß Jacob Breüning von und zu Buochenbach* (Strasbourg: Johannes Carolus, 1612).

<sup>36</sup> Salomon Schweigger, *Eine neue Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nuremberg: Johann Lautyenberger, 1608).

<sup>37</sup> Anton Ernstberger, “Die Reise des Nürnberger Patriziers Karl Nützel von Sündersbühl ins Heilige Land 1586”, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 46 (1964): 28–96.

<sup>38</sup> Konrad D. Haßler, ed., *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel, aus drei Handschriften herausgegeben* (Stuttgart: Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1866).

<sup>39</sup> Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary, Containing his Twelve Yeeres Travel*, vol. 1 (London: John Beale, 1617), 217–41.

<sup>40</sup> John Sanderson, “The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584–1602”, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes: Contayning a history of the world, in sea voyages, & lande-travells, by Englishmen and others (...)*, ed. Samuel Purchas, vol. 2 (London: William Stansby, 1625), 1629–39.

1601	William Biddulph	Englishman, Anglican Preacher at the trade station of the English Levant Company in Aleppo.	(fl. 1600–12) <sup>41</sup>
1601	Henry Timberlake	Englishman, merchant adventurer	(1570–1625) <sup>42</sup>
1608	Johannes Wild	Nuremberg	(1583–after 1619) <sup>43</sup>
1611	George Sandys	Englishman	(1577–1644) <sup>44</sup>
1612	William Lithgow	Scotsman, Presbyterian	(1582–1645) <sup>45</sup>
1612–13	Hans Jakob Ammann	Zurich	(1586–1658) <sup>46</sup>
1614	Hieronymus Scheidt	Erfurt	(1594–1651) <sup>47</sup>
1615	Arnd Gebhard von Stammer	Saxony, later imperial colonel.	was hanged by the Swedes in Wismar 1637 <sup>48</sup>
1623	Heinrich von Rantzau the Younger	Denmark	(1599–1674) <sup>49</sup>

<sup>41</sup> William Biddulph and Theophilus Lavender, *The Travels of Certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea and into Syria, Cilicia, Pisidia, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Canaan, Galile, Samaria, Iudea, Palestina, Ierusalem, Iericho, and to the Red Sea: and to Sundry Other Places etc.* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1609).

<sup>42</sup> Henry Timberlake, “Letter”, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes: Contayning a history of the world, in sea voyages, & lande-travells, by Englishmen and others (...)*, ed. Samuel Purchas, vol. 2 (London: William Stansby, 1625), 1640–42.

<sup>43</sup> Johannes Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen / Wie derselbe neben anderer Gefährlichkeit zum sibendem Mal verkaufft worden / welche sich Anno 1604. angefangen / und 1611. ihr end genommen (...)* (Nuremberg: Ludwig Lochern, 1623).

<sup>44</sup> George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey* (London: W. Barren, 1621).

<sup>45</sup> William Lithgow, *The Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations of William Lithgow* (London: The Folio Society, 1974 [1632]).

<sup>46</sup> Hans J. Ammann, *Reiss in das Gelobte Land Hrn. Hans Jacob Ammans sel., genant der Thalwyler Schärer* (Zurich: Michael Schaufelbergers seligen Erbin, by Johannes Bachmann, Joh. Wilhelm Simlers and Joh. Rudolf Rhanen, [1677–]1678).

<sup>47</sup> Hieronymus Scheidt, *Kurtze und Warhafftige Beschreibung der Reise von Erffurdt aus Thüringen nachdem gewesenen gelobten Lande und der heiligen Stadt Jerusalem* (Erfurt: Jacob Singe, 1617).

<sup>48</sup> Arnd G. von Stammer, *Morgenländische Reise-Beschreibung* (Jena: Th. Fleischer, 1671).

<sup>49</sup> Heinrich Rantzau, *Reise-Buch Auff Jerusalem/ Cairo in Aegypten und Constantinopel* (Copenhagen: Christian Wering, 1669).

1636–37	Georg Christoph Neitschütz <sup>50</sup>	Saxony	No dates available
1649	Jürgen Andersen	Denmark	(1620–79) <sup>51</sup>
1675	Otto Friedrich von der Gröben	Marienwerder in East Prussia	(1657–1728) <sup>52</sup>
1682	Cornelius de Bruyn	the Netherlands	1652–1712) <sup>53</sup>
1684	Heinrich Myrike	Wesel, Calvinist preacher at the Dutch embassy in Istanbul <sup>54</sup>	No dates available
1693	Henry Maundrell	Englishman, preacher at the trade station of the English Levant Company in Aleppo	(1655–1701) <sup>55</sup>
1699–1700	Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf	Erfurt	(1655–1712) <sup>56</sup>

The travel accounts of the above-named pilgrims illustrate various modes of conduct and interaction between Protestant pilgrims and Catholic friars. By focusing on the ambiguous behaviour of both Protestants and Catholics alike, their strategies of employing such attitudes towards each other will become visible.

<sup>50</sup> Georg C. Neitschütz, *Siebenjährige und gefährliche Welt-Beschauung durch die vornehmsten Drey Theil der Welt Europa, Asia uns Africa (...)* (Leipzig: Johann B. Oehler, 1673).

<sup>51</sup> Jürgen Andersen, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung: Jürgen Andersen aus Schleßwig/ Der Anno Christi 1644 außgezogen/ und 1650 wieder kommen (...)*, ed. Adam Olearius (Schleswig: Johann Holwein, 1669).

<sup>52</sup> Otto F. von der Gröben, *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung des Brandenburgischen Adelichen Pilgers Otto Friedrich von der Gröben* (Marienwerder [Gdańsk]: Simon Reiniger, 1694).

<sup>53</sup> Cornelius de Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant: Or Travels in the Principal Parts of Asia Minor (...)*, ed. W. J. (London: Jacob Tonson, 1702).

<sup>54</sup> Hendrik Myrike, *Herrn Heinrich Myrike gewesenen Predigers zu Constantinopel, Reyse nach Jerusalem uns dem Lande Canaan* (Itzstein: Haug, 1720).

<sup>55</sup> Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697* (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, 1703).

<sup>56</sup> Joachim Tetzner, "Briefe Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolfs aus Kleinasien und Ägypten am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Der Islam* 33 (1958): 326–36.

### Franciscan *Chronicles* and the Guest Book *Navis Peregrinorum*

Documents from the Custody of the Holy Land, run by the Franciscans, shed light on the way the Franciscan friars behaved towards pilgrims. The published *Chronicle* of Pietro Verniero di Montepeloso, continued by Francesco da Serino,<sup>57</sup> covers the history of the Custody from 1304 until 1642. Another document, which covers the years from 1561 until 1695, is a guest book preserved in the archive of the Custody under the title *Navis peregrinorum*,<sup>58</sup> listing pilgrims who stayed in the hostel of the Franciscan monastery in Jerusalem.<sup>59</sup> Zimolong, Lemmens and Arce worked out that the oldest list was a copy of names until 1633. Another list, which covers the years 1561 to 1597, was a fragment and partly corrupted, so that no systematic analysis of pilgrims' names is possible. From the year 1633 until 1695 there is yet another list, which was copied in 1709. From 1601 on there appeared a separate list using descriptions of pilgrims with altogether new words, most of them defamatory, so that it became clear that these lists were

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<sup>57</sup> Pietro Verniero di Montepeloso, *Croniche ovvero Annali di Terra Santa*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich, vols. 6–10 (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1930–37); Francesco da Serino, *Croniche ovvero Annali di Terra Santa*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich, vols. 11–12 (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1939).

<sup>58</sup> Bertrand Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum: Ein Pilgerverzeichnis aus Jerusalem von 1561 bis 1695* (Cologne: Bachem, 1938). Systematic research in the history of pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the seventeenth century needs to extend beyond travel accounts. The archive of the Franciscan convent provides rich material and the *Navis peregrinorum* is still waiting for a thorough text edition. The guest book, although it remains an indispensable source, needs to be used with caution. The names and origins of non-Italian pilgrims were often misspelled because they sounded strange to the ears of the Italian speaking Franciscans. Razdivil, imperial prince and court marshall of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was entered as *comes Esnich* instead of Nieswicz, for example, and Christoph Herant von Polschitz as *de Arnan ex Polsiz*. Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum*, 3, 9.

<sup>59</sup> Two Franciscan scholars described the guest book and its two redactions. Leonard Lemmens, *Collectanea Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich, vol. 14 (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1933), 254–255. Agustín Arce, *Documentos y textos para la historia di tierra santa y sus santuarios 1600–1700*, vol. 1: 1620–22 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1970), 384. Using the guest book requires double checking with other lists of pilgrims such as Röhricht, *Pilgerreisen*; Werner Paravicini und Christian Halm, eds., *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: Eine analytische Bibliographie*, vol. 1: *Deutsche Reiseberichte* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1994); Werner Paravicini and Jörg Wettlaufer, eds., *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: Eine analytische Bibliographie*, vol. 2: *Französische Reiseberichte* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1999); Werner Paravicini, Detlev Kraack and Jan Hirschbiegel, eds., *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: Eine analytische Bibliographie*, vol. 3: *Niederländische Reiseberichte* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2000); Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs*. Unfortunately, while most of the lists cover the entire sixteenth century, they only cover the first years of the seventeenth century

naming Protestant pilgrims. In 1601 the epithet *ereticus* appears for the first time describing the English merchant Henry Timberlake.<sup>60</sup> Until 1645, fifty out of a total of 108 pilgrims were labelled in this way. Less frequently used terms were:

Table 2: Labelling Protestant guests in *Navis peregrinorum*

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From 1602 onwards *discessit hinc absque Sacramentis*, “departed without [having taken the] sacraments”.

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From 1605 onwards *disc. absque confessione*, “departed without having been to confession”.

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From 1606 onwards *disc. absque conf. et com.*, “departed without having been to confession and communion”.

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From 1618 onwards *inconfessus et incom.*, “had neither gone to confession nor to communion”.

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Most of the terms demonstrate differences in religious practice. The Franciscans, however, regarded Protestantism as a heretical deviation from the correct faith and not a religion in itself. Most pilgrims were not theologians, but merely practicing their religion.

From 1650 onwards all these epithets were superseded by the new theological formulation *a fide catholica alienus* in order to mark out Protestant pilgrims. The expression is ambiguous since it has more than one meaning. It could be used as a term describing pilgrims opposed or hostile to the Catholic faith, or alternatively simply describing a pilgrim who was not knowledgeable about the Catholic faith. This term was originally employed in the anti-Pelagian polemical sermon against adult baptism by Aurelius Augustinus.<sup>61</sup> According to him both *apostatae* and *a Christi fide alieni* deserve to be condemned for all eternity. Thomas Aquinas used the term *a fide catholica alienus* meaning a principle or practice opposed

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<sup>60</sup> Henry Timberlake (1570–1625) was an English ship captain and a merchant adventurer on behalf of the Levant Company. In 1601 he reached the Holy Land from Egypt by land travelling independently of the Franciscan Custody. Timberlake wrote a vivid letter about his visit, which was widely circulated in England. He later became a landowner in English colonies in North America and Bermuda. Timberlake, “Letter”.

<sup>61</sup> Aurelius Augustinus, *De baptismo parvulorum contra Pelagianos* (Paris: J.P. Migne, 1865), 1. Augustinus (354–430) was the most influential church father in shaping Christian doctrines on, amongst others, divine grace, original sin and just war.

to Catholic faith.<sup>62</sup> Further, the Tridentine council, which published the *Catechismus Romanus* in 1568 added, by employing the terms of *alienus* (strange), *hostis* (hostile) and *infidelis* (non-believing), a new dimension to the meaning of the phrase. One should pray for them because they are close to the Catholics. God had commanded that all people thus described should be loved by Catholics.<sup>63</sup> As a consequence of this differentiation the new meaning for *a fide catholica alienus* could emerge as “not knowledgeable about the Catholic faith”. This new meaning appears in 1599 in a letter by Henricus Cuyckius, Catholic bishop of Roermond, to the Calvinist prince Moritz of Nassau, in which the bishop admonished the prince to convert: “No wonder that such an eminent person, who since his childhood was so uninstructed and alienated from the Catholic faith, never have tasted until now the truth of the faith”.<sup>64</sup> Introducing this term in the *Navis peregrinorum* might have been a mere administrative measure to streamline the terminology for non-Catholics in the guest book. However, more likely, it might have signaled a change to less hostile language due to a general change in the politico-religious climate reached under the peace of Westphalia in 1648. The threshold of tolerating Christian denominations other than Catholicism had been lowered. The friars possibly did not abandon their hope of converting the pilgrims, regardless which language was used to signal a more peaceable way.

The list of pilgrims mentions some 7,130 guests who stayed in the Franciscans’ guest house from 1601 to 1695. Out of this total, 406 pilgrims were identified as Protestants or only five per cent of the total number of pilgrims. However, over the century their percentage fluctuated and in some years it was substantial. In 1609 Protestants numbered nine out of a total of 45 pilgrims, or twenty per cent. In 1626 the percentage increased to 35, or seven out of twenty pilgrims; in 1654 to 36 per cent (eight out of 22 pilgrims); in 1669 almost half of the pilgrims (31 out of 66) were Protestants. The years 1683 and 1684 were marked by an increased share of Protestants in the total number of pilgrims. In 1683 twenty-

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<sup>62</sup> Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5: *Summa Theologiae* (Rome: Typographia Polyglotta, S.C. de Propaganda Fide, 1889), 468, pars I, quaestio 104, articulo 3c: *haec positio est falsa et a fide catholica penitus aliena*.

<sup>63</sup> Paolo Manuzio, *Catechismus Romanus ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini, Iussu PII V. Pontifici Maximi editus* (Rome: Paulum Manutium, 1566), pars IV, caput 5, 299.

<sup>64</sup> Henricus Cuyckius, *Ad Mauritium comitem Nassauium paraenetica epistola* (Leuven: Johannes Masius, 1599), 93 (my translation): *Quid mirum in illustri viro, qui ab infantie sic edoctus et a catholica fide alienus, nullum adhuc verae fidei gustum habuit*. Admittedly, the solidarity among Dutch people, being either Catholics or Calvinists, against the foreign Spanish rule was conducive to a less conflict-oriented approach among the denominations in the formative years of the Dutch Union.

seven out of 62 made a share of 43.5 per cent of all the pilgrims, and in 1684 thirteen out of 29 pilgrims increased this share to just under half of all pilgrims (44.8 per cent).<sup>65</sup>

On the other hand, during the years 1613 to 1615 no Protestant pilgrims arrived in Jerusalem, and this was also the case during the following years: 1628, 1629, 1635 to 1638, 1643, 1644, and 1646 to 1649. The most likely reason for their absence was the Thirty Years War in the German speaking regions and difficult circumstances in England at the same time. After the peace treaty of 1648 there were only a few years (1655, 1662, 1667 and 1670) in which Protestants were not registered in the Guest book, which also gives information on the home countries of the Protestant pilgrims. England, including Scotland, has the largest group with 248 pilgrims. The next largest group were Dutchmen with 75 pilgrims. German speaking pilgrims, including from Switzerland, comprised the third largest group with 51 pilgrims.

The Franciscans issued certificates of pilgrimage after the pilgrims had performed the obligatory rituals of going to confession and taking communion in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. According to an entry in 1605, there must have been a number of pilgrims who refused to get registered, probably because they did not fulfill the religious tasks required of a pilgrim.<sup>66</sup> The registration of non-Catholics was often haphazard. Not every non-Catholic pilgrim was keen to reveal his denomination, and some pretended to adhere to another belief. Not one pilgrim of the German group in 1561 noted by Wormbser as being Protestant was registered as such in the guest book.<sup>67</sup>

Pretence was another type of ambiguous behaviour. The Bohemian pilgrim Christoph Herant (1564–1621) even apologized to his readers for having been forced to hide his religious affiliation during his travels.<sup>68</sup> After Timberlake's

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<sup>65</sup> I arrived at these figures by counting the names of the guests in "*Navis peregrinorum*". See Lewy, "Konfessionelle Konfrontation und Ambiguität", annex. The total number is more than double the estimated figure of 3,400, which was mentioned by Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Religion and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Brill: Leiden, 2011), 77–78.

<sup>66</sup> Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum*, 19: *Reliqui vero dictorum peregrinorum noluerunt nomina et cognomina eorum patefacere, nec attestationem, eos fuisse ad haec Sancta Loca visitanda curarunt.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–4; Wormbser, "Eigentliche Beschreibung", fol. 218v.

<sup>68</sup> Christoph Herant, *Der christliche Ulysses, Oder der Weitversuchte Cavalier: Fürgestellt in den Denckwürden Bereisung, so wol des Heiligen Landes, als vieler anderer morgenländischer Provintzen (...)* (Nuremberg: Wolfgang M. Endter, 1678), unpaginated introduction. Herant travelled to Palestine in 1598 as a Catholic. He converted to Protestantism in 1618, participated in the Bohemian revolt and was executed by the Habsburg governor.

visit, a Presbyterian Scotsman, William Lithgow, and a passionate anti-papist, managed to get registered in the guest book without any further epithet.<sup>69</sup> It cannot be excluded that Lithgow pretended not to be Protestant. Decades later, in 1669, a citizen of Hamburg was registered under the name *Rochus Stubbe* as *a fide cath[olica] alien[us]*.<sup>70</sup> We would never have been able to identify his true first name if the Hebraist Johannes Lundius (1638–86) did not report the fact that a citizen of Hamburg (actually from Itzehohe) called *Rathge Stubbe*, who had returned from Jerusalem in 1669, had tattooed arms.<sup>71</sup> Arriving at the guest house in Jerusalem, Stubbe gave his first name as Rochus, which was a popular catholic patron saint, in an effort to divert attention from his true denomination. It seems that his religious affiliation as a protestant had been revealed because of his entry in the guest book.

The information of home countries or ethnic origins was not always reliable. The case of Martinus Seusenius illuminates this problem. Born in Mergentheim in Germany, he was registered as a Frenchman in the *Navis* as *Martinus Suesfenio de Mergenteini ex Gallia*.<sup>72</sup> Mergentheim was never located in France, so how could this mistake have arisen? Martin himself gave the answer when he filled out a document in which he requested the certificate of pilgrimage.<sup>73</sup> He presented himself as *Ego Martinus Seusenius à Mergentheim ex Francia Orientali alias dicta Franconia Hierosolimam in Sanctam Civitatem veni*.<sup>74</sup> The ambiguity between *Francia orientalis* and *Franconia* was used by Seusenius to identify himself as a Frenchman. After an Ottoman-French alliance had been established in 1569, it was by far more advantageous to be identified as a Frenchman in the Ottoman Empire

<sup>69</sup> Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum*, 31: *Gulielmus Litteous Scotus Lanerki*; Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, 141–42.

<sup>70</sup> Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum*, 86.

<sup>71</sup> The certificate of pilgrimage under this name was found in an archive devoted to the history of Hamburg. Otto F. A. Meinardus, “Jerusalem Pilgerstätten auf Hamburger Armen: Zur Tätowierung eines Hamburger Jerusalem-Pilgers, 1669”, *Beiträge zur deutschen Volks- und Altertumskunde* 26 (1988/91): 117–22. Johannes Lundius, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste und Gewohnheiten (...)* (Hamburg and Rudolstadt: Gottfried Liebernickel and Heinrich Urban, 1704), 732. Cf. Mordechay Lewy, “Jerusalem unter der Haut: Zur Geschichte der Jerusalem Pilgertätowierung”, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 55, no. 1 (2003): 1–39.

<sup>72</sup> Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum*, 13; Ferdinand Mühlau, ed., *Martinus Seusenius' Reise in das Heilige Land im Jahre 1602* (Kiel: Universitätsprogramm, 1902).

<sup>73</sup> Pilgrim certificates were normally issued by the guardian. The reason why Seusenius had to draft the certificate himself remains unclear.

<sup>74</sup> Bertrand Zimolong, “Zu der Pilgerbescheinigung in Martinus Seusenius' Reise in das Heilige Land i. J. 1602/3”, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 65 (1942): 212–23.



than to be recognised as a subject of the Habsburg Empire. Seusenius tried to hide his German origin before the Kadi, the Muslim judge of the court of Jerusalem. Without knowledge of this document and relying only on his registration in the *Navis*, Seusenius would be counted as a *gallus*. Christoph Herant, also, pretended to be a Frenchman in front of the Ottoman city commander of Jerusalem. In the guest book, however, he is registered as a Bohemian.<sup>75</sup>

### **Did the Franciscans hold a Monopoly on Pilgrims from Europe?**

During their stay pilgrims and friars sometimes clashed over the question of which sites the pilgrim should visit and where he was to be accommodated. The majority of European pilgrims used the accommodation in the Franciscan monastery within the walls of Jerusalem. The friars took it upon themselves to guide them in Jerusalem and thus shaped the pilgrims' schedule substantially. The whole organisation of a pilgrimage began with ship owners in Venice or later in Marseille.<sup>76</sup> The ship owner together with the Franciscan Custody had created package tours which meant that costs could be kept low. These types of tours were at their peak in the second half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, during which time hundreds of pilgrims annually were able to visit the Holy Land.<sup>77</sup> The cooperation with the ship owners gave the impression of a de facto monopoly by the Custody with regard to housing and catering for any pilgrimage from Europe. During the seventeenth century, however, Venice lost its dominant role to Marseille. This political shift can be seen by the entries in the guest book listing more pilgrims leaving from Marseille than from Venice. It also goes without saying that more French than Venetian captains were accommodated in the monastery during the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>78</sup> Many pilgrims took the monopoly of the Custody as given. The Englishman George

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<sup>75</sup> Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum*, 9: *Christopherus de Arnan ex Polsitz Boemus*.

<sup>76</sup> The text of a shipping contract appears in documents of the pilgrimage of Duke Bogislaw X of Pomerania (1497). Richard Klempin, ed., *Diplomatische Beiträge zur Geschichte Pommerns aus der Zeit Bogislaw's X*. (Berlin: Bath, 1859), 542–45. Another contract from 1521 has been published by Folker Reichert, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich zum Heiligen Land 1521* (Regensburg: Pustet, 2005), 132–45.

<sup>77</sup> About 300 people accompanied the pilgrimage of Duke Bogislaw of Pomerania. Reinhold Röhrich, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck: Wagnerschen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1900), 191; Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum*, passim.

<sup>78</sup> Between 1653 and 1691 the guest book lists nine Frenchmen, seven Englishmen and only three Venetians registered as ship captains. Cf. Zimolong, *Navis Peregrinorum*, passim.

Sandys wrote in 1611 that: “For all that come must reparaire [sic] to their convent, otherwise they shall be accused for spies and suffer much trouble”.<sup>79</sup>

The ambiguous claim of a monopoly over the pilgrimage to the Holy Land can be shown in the following examples. When the Swiss traveller Daniel Ecklin arrived in Jerusalem with a group of Muslims from Damascus in 1553, a Muslim scribe from the group tried to force him to convert from being a Protestant to a Muslim. The case was brought before the Kadi who decided against the enforced conversion of Ecklin.<sup>80</sup> The Kadi asked the Custody to take care of him. This is remarkable in view of the fact that only one year earlier the situation was not as cordial: the friars had been expelled from Mount Zion. But in Ecklin’s case the Kadi had recognised the Custody’s role in looking after Christian pilgrims from Europe. Another case shows a completely different experience. In 1601 the English merchant John Sanderson arrived from Sidon with a group of Jewish travellers and entered Jerusalem without contacting the Franciscan custody.<sup>81</sup> He was, therefore, not registered in the guest book. At the entrance to the church of the Holy Sepulchre he paid the usual entry fee for Europeans to the representative of the Kadi. Friars who stood nearby called to the Muslim guards not to let him in, claiming that Sanderson was a Jew, who was not allowed to enter the church.<sup>82</sup> Turmoil broke out, which caused the Kadi to summon the representatives of the Custody and Sanderson in order to find out who was to blame for having disturbed the public order. The Custody’s representative argued that Sanderson was a Jew because he had entered Jerusalem with a group of Jewish travellers. He pointed out that the issue of dispute was the illegitimate entry into the church by a Jew, and not that the Custody’s monopoly of catering for European pilgrims had been curtailed. The Kadi did not invoke any privileged status in favour of the Custody and fined the monastery 200 zecchini, whereas Sanderson payed twenty zecchini.<sup>83</sup> What is clear is that there was no Ottoman legal provision whatsoever

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<sup>79</sup> Sandys, *Relation*, 159.

<sup>80</sup> Max Schiendorfer, “Daniel Ecklin (1532–1564): Ein Aarauer Weltreisender des 16. Jahrhunderts”, *Argovia* 126 (2014): 115–39.

<sup>81</sup> Sanderson, “Travels”, 1631–32.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 1633.

<sup>83</sup> Originally it was a Venetian gold coin called *Ducat*. It had been in circulation in the Mediterranean basin for over 500 years since 1284 and the Ottomans imitated it, calling it *Sequin*. The name derived from Italian *Zecchino* which stands for *Zecca*, the location of the Venetian mint. The term *zecca* originated with all probability from Arabic *sikka*, which means to coin mints. For further information, see Nicolò Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia descritte ed illustrate*, 5 vols. (Venice: Ongania, 1893–1967).

which gave the Custody a monopoly over pilgrims from Europe.<sup>84</sup> In 1420 Pope Martin V extended the right of the Guardian to dispense 100 absolutions per year to pilgrims who arrived in Jerusalem.<sup>85</sup> This permission undoubtedly enhanced the privileged position of the Custody so that pilgrims from Europe were led to believe in the monopoly of the Guardian in the matter of pilgrimage.<sup>86</sup>

Sanderson was not the only European who avoided contact with the Custody. Johannes Wild was sold into slavery in Hungary and according to his account accompanied his Arab master in 1611 to Mecca, Medina and the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. There Wild joined the public prayer and “prayed in his heart to god”.<sup>87</sup> We can assume that Wild was forced to convert to Islam, whilst still harbouring feelings for his previous religious affiliation. He visited the church of the Holy Sepulchre, probably with the help of the Greek-Orthodox patriarch, as we know that he tried to obtain the certificate of pilgrimage from him. It seems that the best way to avoid contact with the Custody was to travel with a merchants’ caravan which took the continental route. Another traveller pretended to be a slave so that he could enter the church of the Holy Sepulchre with reduced fees. His name was Jürgen Andersen and he had come with a caravan of merchants from Aleppo.<sup>88</sup> He did not have any contact with the Custody. It was not the central government in Istanbul but the local governor in Jerusalem who conceded to the Guardian responsibility for the pilgrims arriving from Europe. Holding the Custody responsible was a way of keeping the pilgrims under control and in times of crisis to extract illicit taxes from the Custody.<sup>89</sup> Ottoman authorities exercised

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<sup>84</sup> Joseph Hussein, ed., *Firmans ottomans émanés pour les lieux saints*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: S. Sauveur, 1934). Also under Mamluk rule no such provision was given to the Franciscans in Jerusalem.

<sup>85</sup> In 1615 this privilege was abused by the Guardian who illegally excommunicated Jesuits suspected of starting activities in Jerusalem without having asked permission from the custody. Verniero di Montepeloso, *Croniche*, vol. 1, 297–302.

<sup>86</sup> The papal bull from 1420 is printed in Franciscus Quaresmius, *Elucidatio terrae sanctae* (Antwerp: Plantin–Balthasar Moreti, 1639), 410. On the beginning of apostolic papal license for pilgrims to the Holy Land, see Gritje Hartmann, “Licencia apostolica intrandi terras Sarracenorum et communicandi cum eis: Die päpstlichen Register als Quelle für die spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerfahrten”, in *Friedensnobelpreis und historische Grundlagenforschung: Ludwig Quidde und die Erschliessung der kurialen Registerüberlieferung*, ed. Michael Mathews (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 247–49.

<sup>87</sup> Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung*, 133–35.

<sup>88</sup> Andersen, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, 135–36.

<sup>89</sup> The chronicle of Verniero relates a case from 1586, in which, upon an intervention of the Guardian, a local governor was dismissed after having extracted the huge sum of 7,000 zecchini from the Custody. He was jailed and had to return the money. See Verniero di Montepeloso, *Croniche*, vol. 1, 227–29.

a strict non-interventionist policy in questions of religious practice of different Christian denominations in Jerusalem, as long as the official authorities received the levy they demanded. This is corroborated by travel accounts by the Lutheran physician Leonhard Rauwolf in 1576,<sup>90</sup> the Bohemian pilgrim Christoph Herant in 1598,<sup>91</sup> and by the Anglican preacher William Biddulph in 1601.<sup>92</sup> With this regular influx of income Ottoman sultans funded long established pious foundations in Jerusalem.<sup>93</sup>

### Liturgical Conflicts

The friars' demand from non-Catholic pilgrims to confess and to take communion before their visit to the church of the Holy Sepulchre caused the pilgrims to search for ambiguous strategies in how not to negate their own denomination but still be allowed to visit the main destination of their pilgrimage. White lies, deception, simulation, self-negation or indifference were part of the arsenal of such strategies. No Protestant pilgrim complained about an unfriendly welcome in the Catholic monastery. The demand to go to confession and to take communion, however, was a different matter. Some pilgrims like Samuel Kiechel from Ulm were unprepared to cope with these demands. He tried to avoid them, but the friars chased him to go to confession in whichever church he visited, be it the Church of Nativity, the Church of Holy Sepulchre or the Golgotha chapel. Kiechel pretended first not to understand their language. Next, he explained that they would not understand the language of his confession. He described his dialogue with one assertive friar thus: "It would take too long to repeat the words, but I remained steadfast in my view. Finally, he gave me absolution, I gave him a half ducat and we took leave from one another".<sup>94</sup> Whether Kiechel did go to confession and remained ambiguous in declaring it in his published account, is unresolved. He had to convince his readership at home that he had done the utmost to remain faithful to his denomination. Kiechel did not receive a certificate of pilgrimage, issued normally by the Guardian, which is an indication that he had refused to attend a Catholic mass. After all the ordeals he underwent, Kiechel concluded his account with the following recommendation to his brothers in faith:

<sup>90</sup> Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung*, 394–95.

<sup>91</sup> Herant, *Der christliche Ulysses*, 430.

<sup>92</sup> Biddulph and Lavender, *The travels*, 119.

<sup>93</sup> See Oded Peri's analysis of Ottoman policy towards Christian churches in Jerusalem, Peri, *Christianity under Islam*, 161–200.

<sup>94</sup> Haßler, "Samuel Kiechel", 314 (my translation).

A trip to Jerusalem will prove to a non-Catholic a very difficult undertaking. Costs, physical efforts and hardships which one has to endure on sea and on land, and above all the dangers and religious obstacles, which are not due to the inquisition and which is not established there, should be told.<sup>95</sup>

In 1579 the Protestant diplomat Breuning von Buchenbach tried to avoid going to Catholic mass by claiming that he was still engaged in an unfinished feud in his hometown and that, until it was settled, could not attend mass. The Guardian did not accept this excuse and threatened to refuse Buchenbach entry to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Buchenbach reported this incident concluding “that due to these circumstances, the Guardian or his convent had no right to prevent anyone from visiting the Holy Sepulchre since one lives there thanks to the mercy of the Turks and that one has to enter through their control”.<sup>96</sup> No other pilgrim quoted a similar scenario. Finally, a compromise was found: the pilgrim paid some ducats to the Guardian who let him into the church. The Guardian, in turn, agreed to refrain from invectives against Protestants condemning them to eternal damnation. Facing the same demand to attend mass two years later, Salomon Schweigger and his companions learned from Buchenbach’s experience. They invented not a feud but a white lie about having committed homicide in their hometown. They accordingly had to be excluded from confession and attendance of mass because they were on a pilgrimage of penitence. Only after concluding their journey would they be permitted to attend a mass at home again.<sup>97</sup> The large Protestant group which Jacob Wormbser reported on in 1561 did not resort to lying but paid the Guardian discretely for his permission to allow them to enter the church without attending mass.

### National and Political Conflicts

Verniero had mentioned in his description of ceremonies in Jerusalem the custom of honouring a European ruler with prayers at mass on a particular day of the week. This description, which appears in a supplement to his *Chronicle*, seems to have been written after October 1644, in which month the Spanish Queen Isabella of Bourbon had passed away.<sup>98</sup> From then on, the friars held a requiem mass in commemoration of her every Wednesday as she had been a big benefactor

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 318 (my translation).

<sup>96</sup> Buchenbach, *Orientalische Reyß*, 223 (my translation): *Es mag aber der Pater Guardianus oder sein Convent alhie auß dergleichen Ursachen keinen verhindernen das Heylige Grab zu sehen, weil man diß orts der Türcken Gnad geleben und durch derselben Händ passiren muß.*

<sup>97</sup> Schweigger, *Eine neue Reyßbeschreibung*, 289–91.

<sup>98</sup> Verniero di Montepeloso, *Croniche*, vol. 4, 54.

of the Custody. The friars held further commemorative masses; on Thursdays the mass of the Holy Spirit was dedicated to the Habsburg emperor. On Fridays the mass of the Passion was dedicated to the French king. On Saturdays the mass of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin was dedicated to the Spanish king. On Sunday a private mass was held in honour of the Republic of Venice.<sup>99</sup> This order of ceremonies reflected the shift of political clout by which the Habsburg and the French crowns had gained precedence at the cost of the decreasing influence of the *Serenissima*. This kind of politico-liturgical calendar of the Custody became a bone of contention if a pilgrim was asked to attend mass on a day in which a sovereign of a nation was honoured who was engaged in fighting with the pilgrim's country. Animosities between nations could lead the pilgrim to refuse receiving the coveted rank of a knight of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. The Presbyterian pilgrim William Lithgow refused to receive the knighthood because of the political consequences swearing the oath would have for him. He assumed he would have to pray for the wellbeing of the pope, for the Doge of Venice and for the kings of Spain and France. Reading the procedure of investiture and the text of the oath from 1519, Lithgow's assumptions were wrong.<sup>100</sup> Lithgow had misunderstood fighting the *infideles* in the oath as an obligation to fight Protestants.

### **Denominational Ambiguity and the Knighthood of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre**

In 1611 George Sandys wrote in his travel account that in the past only Catholics could be admitted to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. By his time, however, the friars accepted as members whosoever could pay the dues requested. The fact that Pope Urban VIII had reminded the Guardian to bestow knighthoods only upon noblemen is an indication that the Custody was not so choosy in conferring the knighthood.<sup>101</sup> Sandys witnessed the ceremony of investiture to the Order of a pharmacist's son from Rome.<sup>102</sup> An earlier account from 1561 mentioned that the son of a Venetian ship owner, Viviano, had been knighted to the chagrin of

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> The Latin text and its German translation are in the travel account of Löwenstein, "Pilgerfahrt", 194–95. The version of the oath and the description of the ceremony were relevant also to the 17<sup>th</sup> century; they are included in the travel account of Fadrique Enrique de Rivera, "Este libro es del viaje que yo, don Fadrique Enrique de Rivera, marqués de Tarifa, hice a Jerusalem", in *Les Chevaliers du Saint-Sepulchre de Jerusalem*, ed. Jean-Pierre de Gennes, vol. 1: *Origines et histoire générale de l'Ordre* (Cholet en Anjou: Herault, 1995), 447–49.

<sup>101</sup> Gennes, *Les Chevaliers*, vol. 1, 115, 381–82. The papal letter is not preserved in its original.

<sup>102</sup> Sandys, *Relation*, 124.

Bartholomäus Khevenhüller, a pilgrim of noble descent, who was also knighted at the same time.<sup>103</sup> Likewise Jacob Wormbser, a patrician from Strasbourg who travelled in the same pilgrim group, expressed his displeasure that a son of a merchant had received the knighthood.<sup>104</sup>

Conferring the order became a source of income for the Custody. In 1620 the price for investiture was thirty Venetian zecchini; in 1688 it was 100 French ecu d'or; and in 1746 it reached 100 zecchini.<sup>105</sup> The fees had tripled within 126 years, and in 1688 they were tenfold. This cannot be explained by mere greediness of the Custody. The Custody was easy prey to demands for extortion by local governors and rebelling Bedouin clans. The immense increase of fees for knighthoods may be explained to offset such demands and also as a process of eligibility, in which not only noble descent but also financial clout counted. The friars welcomed both at the same time. A religious affiliation was no longer required as the pre-condition for being admitted to the order. For Protestants, the ceremony of investiture posed a religious dilemma since the oath included an obligation to attend daily mass performed in the Catholic and not in the Protestant rite. There was no other point of theological dissent which had such a practical impact on Protestant believers. Lutheran Pilgrims usually were not theologians, but they seemed to form an *Abendmahlsgemeinde* (community of communion) whose uniting factor was the fact that these pilgrims opposed the Catholic rite of *sub una*.<sup>106</sup>

The theological dilemma whether or not to strive for admittance to the order was also nurtured by family traditions and motivated by considerations of social standing. This is made clear by records of at least four independent testimonies from 1561.<sup>107</sup> Wormbser's account is of particular importance because he reported the names of twelve Protestant companions who had formed a committee in

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<sup>103</sup> Czerwenka, *Khevenhüller*, 205.

<sup>104</sup> Wormbser, "Eigentliche Beschreibung", fol. 220v.

<sup>105</sup> Gennes, *Les Chevaliers*, vol. 1, 413–15. The two currencies can be compared according to their gold content as the gold content of 1 ecu (6.12 gr) is worth 1,75 zecchino (3.49 gr) on average.

<sup>106</sup> About the development of Lutheran communion as a tool of enforcing social discipline see Hölscher, *Frömmigkeit*, 69–81.

<sup>107</sup> These are the travel accounts of the Protestants Albrecht Duke of Löwenstein, Bartholomäus Khevenhüller, Jacob Wormbser and the Catholic David Furtenbach. On other cases of parallel reports of pilgrimages to Jerusalem see Arnold Esch, "Gemeinsames Erleben – individueller Bericht: Vier Parallelberichte aus einer Reisegruppe von Jerusalem-pilgern 1480", in idem, *Zeitalter und Menschenalter: Der Historiker und die Erfahrung vergangener Gegenwart* (München: C. H. Beck, 1994), 189–216.

order to find a solution to circumvent the demand to swear an oath to participate in daily mass. Comparing the four accounts brings to light different modes of behaviour. Most of them can be interpreted as ambiguous. There were several stages of deliberations with the Guardian whose interest it was to get the fees whilst conceding as little as possible as far as the Catholic rite was concerned. The committee's interest was to get the knighthoods but without negating, as far as possible, their own denomination. The table below shows the different stages of discussions and the various types of ambiguous behaviour (in italics).

Table 3: Ambiguous behaviour of Protestant pilgrims in circumventing the oath to participate in daily mass

Event/Source	Bartholomäus Khevenhüller (Protestant)	Albrecht Graf von Löwenstein (Protestant)	Jacob Wormbser (Protestant)	David Furtenbach (Catholic)
Committee formed on second day after arrival in 1561 in order to decide how to cope with demands to go to confession and take communion.	Did not participate	Did not participate	Participated in the committee. Reported how the <i>Guardian accepted 5 zecchini for not enforcing the communion under the condition that Protestants will attend at least the mass</i> . Knighthood had not yet been negotiated (fol. 219r).	Not relevant
Action before the third visit of the Holy Sepulchre.	German pilgrims let it be known to the Guardian that <i>they were interested in knighthood but did not want to commit themselves to participating in a mass. Guardian deleted this commitment (verbally?) from the oath</i> (p. 206).	Did not know about the result of the action.	Reported that <i>Protestants wanted to be knighted but asked not to have to participate in a daily mass. The Guardian was forthcoming since he was interested in extending the knighthood as a source of income</i> (fol. 221r).	Not relevant



First occasion to be knighted at the second visit of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on 3 September.	<i>The only Protestant to be knighted was Franz, a cousin of Bartholomäus Khevenhüller. He was keen on knighthood regardless of the religious concessions the committee would come up with</i> (p. 205)	<i>Protestant Franz Khevenhüller was knighted together with Catholic pilgrims</i> (fol. 194r).	Reported about investiture without specifying names (fol. 220v).	Not relevant
Second occasion to be knighted at the third visit of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on 4 September.	Four named Protestants were knighted (p. 206).	Five named Protestants were knighted (fol. 194v).	Four named Protestants were knighted (fol. 221r).	Reported seven names which could be recognised as Protestants, who were knighted on 6 September (p. 47).
Last occasion to be knighted on the night from 4 to 5 September.	<i>After Löwenstein heard that the paragraph on daily attendance at mass had been deleted from the oath, he urged Khevenhüller to join him in being knighted</i> (p. 206).	“On that day when the mass was performed I myself together with Bartholome Khevenhüller were the last ones to be knighted” (fol. 194v).	Not reported.	

The so-called *Abendmahlsgemeinde* united the committee members in their opposition to participating in a Catholic communion service. The imperial marshall Christoph von Pappenheim, who was a Calvinist, opposed the request to take communion and despised the knighthood offered by the friars. On the other extreme, the Lutheran Franz Khevenhüller was so eager to be knighted, that he did not wait for the outcome of the negotiations. According to Wormbser, the demand to go to confession was not the problem, it was the demand to take communion. The solution to the dilemma was a compromise to attend, but not to participate, in the mass. Once this compromise was reached, the parties were open also to compromise on the issue of the wording of the oath of knighthood. The Guardian could not change the text but could omit the problematic points

while reading the oath aloud. The knighting was by its nature not regarded as a theological issue, although the obligation to attend at daily mass was problematic. Löwenstein and Khevenhüller decided only at the last moment to jump on the band wagon and to get knighted. Knighthood was first and foremost a matter of personal honour, social standing and family tradition.

Further evidence that the knighthood was mainly a matter of social standing was given by Wormbser himself. Upon returning to Strasbourg, he made a donation of pious memorabilia from his pilgrimage to the Benedictine Abbess of the Catholic Abbey of Saint Jean Saverne.<sup>108</sup> The Abbey succeeded in remaining Catholic throughout the entire post reformation period.<sup>109</sup> Distinguished families in Strasbourg had presented donations to this Abbey throughout its history. With his donation Wormbser felt obliged to follow his family tradition. It did not hurt whatsoever his Protestant sentiments; it was merely one facet of what could be called denominational ambiguity.

### Conclusion

German historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth century considered the era of Luther's Reformation and the Counter-Reformation from 1517 until the peace of Westphalia in 1648 as being marked by a culture of confrontation. The relationship between Protestants and Catholics was said to have been tense. If one studies Braudel's dichotomy of Mediterranean Catholicism against transalpine Protestantism, one needs a good explanation as to why denominational ambiguity was at all possible during that period. The aim of this chapter was to question whether there had been a confrontational discourse by exposing the high degree of ambiguity amongst pilgrims originating from central Europe in their travels to the eastern periphery of the Habsburg Mediterranean. The explanation has much to do with how religious identities were shaped after the Reformation. The notion that religious culture in Europe did not much differ after the Reformation from the previous late medieval religious devotional culture is essential. This was the fertile soil where denominational ambiguity could prosper. It took almost two

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<sup>108</sup> Anna R. Buri, "Klosterfleiß im Dienste der Gegenreformation: Die Bildteppiche von St. Johann bei Zabern in Elsaß", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 137 (1989): 291. The inscribed dedication is printed in the study of Folker Reichert, "Albrecht von Löwenstein 'miles sancti sepulchri'", *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 75 (2016): 107, n. 45.

<sup>109</sup> Friedhelm Jürgensmeier und Regina E. Schwendtfeger, *Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und Katholischer Reform im 1500–1700*, vol. 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 51.

hundred years for ambiguity to retreat in favour of distinctive forms and clear identities of Protestantism and Catholicism.

Ulinka Rublack has pointed out in her introductory chapter of *The Oxford Handbook of Protestant Reformations* that linear accounts of clear-cut denominational identities leading to modernization and rationalization have ceased to be compelling.<sup>110</sup> One should trace processes rather than fixed identities. Identities were not preconceived but rather concretised within an eclectic process of constructing memory based on own experiences. The community of communion among Protestant pilgrims in Jerusalem, which Wormbser has described, seemed to be a process conducive to creating this collective religious identity. Graeme Murdock has shown how difficult it is to outline denominational boundaries during the early modern period. This explains why the Protestants of the Habsburg Mediterranean presented with various denominational ambiguities. On its eastern periphery they were confronted with the Catholic missionary presence of the Franciscan Observants. This mixed space of ambiguity and confrontation characterized the Habsburg Mediterranean.

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<sup>110</sup> Rublack, "Introduction", 5.