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On Not Forgetting Jerusalem: Bartholomaeus Georgievits as a Pilgrim and Ethnographer of Eastern Christianity*

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Introduction

Bartholomaeus Georgievits (1505–after 1569) was many things: a soldier, a captive, a writer, a bestselling author, and an ethnographer.¹ Known today only to specialists, he is perceived almost exclusively as one of the most prominent writers of *Turcica*, a European genre of polemical and ethnographical literature that dealt with the Ottomans and served to instigate war against them. Whilst it is valid to interpret Georgievits in this manner, the preference given to him as an expert on the Ottomans obfuscates other aspects of his writings, and indeed the way

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¹ Georgievits' name is referred to in a variety of spellings, just as he himself spelled it differently. In my usage I follow Reinhard Klockow who adopted this version because Georgievits himself used it the most. On Georgievits' biography and literary output, see Franz Kidrič, *Bartholomaeus Gjorgjević: Biographische und bibliographische Zusammenfassung* (Vienna: Museion, E. Strache, 1920); Reinhard Klockow, "Bartholomäus Georgievits oder die Verwandlung von Leben in Literatur", *Daphnis* 26 (1997): 1–32; Zrinka Blažević, "Discourse of Alterity: Ottomanism in the Works of Bartol Đurđević", in *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium: Approaching the 'Other' on the Borderlands. Eastern Adriatic and Beyond, 1500–1800*, eds. Egidio Ivetić and Drago Roksandić (Padua: CLEUP, 2007), 45–59; Almut Höfert, "Bartholomaeus Georgius (1505–1566)", in *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, eds. David Thomas and John Chesworth, vol. 7: *Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500–1600)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 321–30; Massimo Moretti, *Immagini del turco: vita, scritti e figure di Bartolomeo Georgijevi "Pellegrino di Gerusalemme" (1505 ca–post 1569)* (in press; I am grateful to Dr Moretti for granting me access to the manuscript); Andreas Isler, *Alles Derwische? Anschauungen, Begriffe, Bilder: Zur Darstellung von islamischen Ordensleuten in westlichen Orientwerken der frühen Neuzeit* (Zurich: Völkerkundemuseum, 2019), 92–102.

he consistently and explicitly chose to present himself: as a pilgrim to Jerusalem (fig. VIII.1).

Today's historiography tends to ignore Jerusalem during the early modern period, or to present it as slumbering, only irregularly disturbed by a belated medieval pilgrim. The holy city persisted, however, in captivating minds in the Latin west of the sixteenth century, and beyond. The crossing of the Mediterranean—whether with the sword or the pilgrim's staff in hand—remained a topic in literature. To instigate a crusade was the declared goal of Sebastian Brant's history of Jerusalem (fig. VIII.2) addressed to Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1508–19), just as a campaign to reconquer the holy city was the final adventure in *Theuerdank*, a semi-autobiographical epic poem the emperor himself had written and published.² The idea of crusade loomed large in the imagery of Emperor Charles V.³ Actual crusades did not materialise, but pilgrimages did, as did the Habsburgs' symbolic appropriation of Jerusalem by funding restorations at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the middle of the sixteenth century. Jerusalem, in other words, still mattered and pilgrims continued to flock to it during the sixteenth century.⁴ What had changed was the way western pilgrims travelled: Venice gradually lost its prominence as a hub for pilgrims to Jerusalem and the Venetian pilgrim galleys had ceased to operate entirely in the early sixteenth century. This made pilgrims travel, both by road and by sea, more individually and less directly.

To say that there was nothing extraordinary about pilgrimage to Jerusalem should not lead us to think that Georgievits' biography was run of the mill.

² Sebastian Brant, *De origine et conversatione bonorum regum: & laude civitatis Hierosolymae* (Basel: Johann Bergmann, 1495); see also Antje Foresta, *Sebastian Brant als Historiker: Zur Perzeption des Reichs und der Christenheit im Schatten der Osmanischen Expansion* (Freiburg i. B.: unpublished PhD dissertation of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 2004); Maximilian I, *Die geuerlicheiten vnd einsteils der geschichten des loblichen streytparen vnd hochberümbten helds vnd Ritters herr Tewrdannckhs* (Nuremberg: Schönsperger, 1517).

³ For the policy of Charles V towards Jerusalem, see Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 249–50. That a Latin attempt to re-conquer Jerusalem was considered a real possibility by the Ottomans is not only attested to by the massive city walls, rebuilt under Süleyman I, but also by written sources reporting on foreign ships seen close to the coast of Jaffa, see Mohammad Ghosheh, "The Walls and Gates of Jerusalem Before and After Sultan Süleyman's Rebuilding Project of 1538–40", in *Governing the Holy City: The Interaction of Social Groups in Jerusalem Between the Fatimid and the Ottoman Period*, eds. Johannes Pahlitzsch and Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 117–37.

⁴ For the resilience of pilgrimage to Jerusalem beyond the middle ages, see F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press in assoc. with the Library of Congress, 2007).



Fig. VIII.1: Georgievits as a pilgrim bearing the Jerusalem cross on his shoulder and “pilgrim to Jerusalem” in the circumscription. Bartholomaeus Georgievits, *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum (...)* autore Bartholomaeo Gyrgievits, peregrino Hierosol (Worms: Gregor Hofmann [Comiander], 1545), sig. E4v, ÖNB, 56.Y.74 ALT PRUNK, URL: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/10633B23>.



Fig. VIII.2: Emperor Maximilian I shown standing in front of the city of Jerusalem, holding the banner of St George whilst receiving a sword and palm frond handed down to him by God. The imperial heraldic shield is shown prominently in the foreground. Sebastian Brant, *De origine et conversatione bonorum regum: & laude civitatis Hierosolymae* (Basel: Johann Bergmann, 1495), title page. UNB, DB X 5, URL: <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-13706>.

Probably of Croatian descent, he was born at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the region of Esztergom, Hungary. A protégé of the local archbishop Ladislaus Szalkai, he received an education in classical literature and, in 1526, fought in the Battle of Mohács where he was captured by the Ottomans before being sold and re-sold several times as a slave. In 1535, he escaped his Muslim master in Armenia, not before having made a solemn resolve to visit the three main pilgrimage destinations (Rome, Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela) before returning to his native land. Disguised as a Greek, he joined a caravan of Armenian pilgrims to Jerusalem. In the holy city he stayed with the Franciscan Custody for a year before moving back to Europe via Santiago di Compostela. In 1544, he met Luther and Melanchthon in Wittenberg where he was acknowledged as an expert on matters relating to the Ottomans, Greeks and Armenians.⁵ In the same year, Georgievits began to publish his writings. Around 1551 he probably lived at the court of Maximilian II before he seems to have moved to Rome. There, he warned Maximilian II of the Ottoman threat in a broadsheet printed in 1569. After that, we lose sight of him.⁶

Georgievits' first and today very rare book was originally published in 1544 or 1545, probably in Antwerp. Its full title is "Booklet by Bartholomaeus Georgius of Pannonia on the rites and differences of Greeks and Armenians, furthermore about his captivity and the ceremonies performed in Jerusalem at Easter".⁷ On the other hand, Georgievits' later Turcica—notably *De afflictione Christianorum* (1544), *De Turcarum ritu* (1544) and *Exhortatio contra Turcas* (1545)—were re-edited and re-printed numerous times.⁸ In his work of reference on Turcica,

⁵ Kidrič, *Gjorgjević*, 26; Klockow, "Georgievits", 5.

⁶ Moretti, Massimo, "Profezie scritte e figurate: La lettera di Bartolomeo Georgijević a Massimiliano II alla vigilia di Lepanto", *Giornale di storia* 8 (2012): 20–34.

⁷ Bartholomaeus Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis Graecorum et Armeniorum: tum etiam de captivitate illius, ac caeremoniis Hiersolymitanorum in die Paschatis celebrandis libellus* (Antwerp: Aegidius Copenius Diesthensis [Gillis Coppens van Diest], 1544/45), see Elly Cockx-Indestege and Geneviève Glorieux, eds., *Belgica typographica 1541–1600: Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1968–1994), vol. 3, 63 (nr. 8375). For more information on Copenius, see Paul Valkema Blouw, *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Ton Croiset van Uchelen and Paul Dijstelberge (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 227–44.

⁸ For comprehensive bibliographies on Georgievits, see Kidrič, *Gjorgjević*, 19–24; Carl Göllner, *Turcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1961–78); Stéphane Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIVe–XVIIe siècles): Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités* (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société turque d'histoire, 1991), 159–63; Moretti, *Immagini*. For summaries of *De afflictione Christianorum*, *De Turcarum ritu*, and *Exhortatio contra Turcas*,

Göllner presented Georgievits' writings as the paradigmatic sources of knowledge about the Ottomans in western Europe.⁹

Recent scholarship has emphasised Georgievits as an expert on the Ottomans to the detriment of Georgievits the pilgrim. In 2000, Reinhard Klockow and Monika Ebertowski provided a modern edition and translation of his rare first book *De ritibus et differentiis* which Franz Kidrič had partly edited earlier. In both of these editions, Georgievits' pilgrimage to Jerusalem was marginalized. Kidrič, in his partial edition, left out the passages that dealt with pilgrimage and Jerusalem. Klockow and Ebertowski edited the entire text, complete with modern German and Turkish translations, but changed the title. They thought the title of his autobiographical work misleading and furnished their edition with a new Latin title, changing Georgievits' *De ritibus et differentiis* into *De captivitate sua apud Turcas* (On his captivity among the Turks).¹⁰ Thus, a self-declared ethnographic work on strands of eastern Christianity was rebranded by the editors as an autobiographical account of a former Ottoman captive. It is possible that the title of *De ritibus et differentiis* was responsible for the failure of the booklet on the sixteenth-century book market, it was no misnomer. Although a one-off among the many successful, often re-edited and frequently re-combined booklets by Georgievits, and although printed hastily, the title and contents of the book are characteristic of his oeuvre.

Almut Höfert, too, analysed Georgievits as an author of Turcica in her work on western perceptions of the Ottomans.¹¹ Interested in western perceptions of the Ottoman heartland, Höfert chose to analyse only accounts of travellers who crossed the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire as it existed in 1481—even if the travellers studied would arrive there much later. As Palestine was integrated into the Ottoman Empire only in 1516/17, Höfert did not deal with the western literature on the Holy Land, nor with accounts of pilgrimages to Jerusalem. It was against

see Höfert, "Georgius", 323–26. The tracts *De afflictione Christianorum* and *De Turcarum ritu* were translated into English already in the sixteenth century and published together in Bartholomaeus Georgievits, *The ofspring of the house of Ottomanno (...) whereunto is added Bartholomeus Georgieuiz Epitome, of the customes rytes, ceremonies, and religion of the Turkes: with the miserbale affliction of those Christians, whiche liue vnder their captiuitie and bondage*, transl. by Hugh Goughe (London: Th. Marshe, 1570).

⁹ Göllner, *Turcica*, vol. 1, 388–89, 392.

¹⁰ Bartholomaeus Georgievits, *De captivitate sua apud Turcas/ Gefangen in der Türkeil Türkiye' de esir iken*, eds. Reinhard Klockow and Monika Ebertowski (Berlin: Gesellschaft für interregionalen Kulturaustausch, 2000).

¹¹ Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben: „Türkengefahr“ und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2003).

this backdrop that she reached the conclusion that in literary presentation the traditional travelogue in the form of an itinerary was superseded by systematically organised ethnographical descriptions. By ruling out pilgrimage literature and, to a large extent, also non-Islamic minorities as a topic, Höfert could also contrast medieval heresiology (which she understands as dichotomic by nature) with early modern ethnography that was religiously more disinterested—even if often unintentionally so.¹²

In the following pages I argue that pilgrimage and the Holy Land should not be ignored in an author who chose to present himself (verbally and pictorially) as a pilgrim to Jerusalem (fig. VIII.1). By putting the Holy Land and eastern Christianity back into the picture, the heresiological dimension of Georgievits' writings and its indebtedness to pilgrimage writings become visible. Also, it is argued that supposedly outdated pilgrimage literature constituted a Mediterranean genre that overlapped with the innovative field of cosmography.¹³ Like the historians of the Orient during the times of the crusades and subsequent pilgrimage literature, Georgievits and others triangulated in the sense of having westerners, eastern Christians and Muslims in the picture. The narrative of the Saracen or the Turk needed Christian heresy (both at home and in an unspecified east, the proverbial hothouse of heresies).¹⁴

It is true that in *De ritibus et differentiis* the descriptions of Greek and Armenian rites and of the Easter celebration in Jerusalem are shorter than Georgievits' account of his captivity. Nevertheless, it should not be brushed aside that according to Georgievits' own account, he escaped from slavery by disguising himself as a Greek Christian and by travelling to Jerusalem in the company of Armenian pilgrims. This and his subsequent stay of one year at the Franciscan Custody of

¹² See also eadem, "Insana scabies et historia orbis terrarum: Die *religio turcorum* im Spannungsfeld zwischen häresiologischer und ethnographischer Tradition", in *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Ludger Grenzmann et al., vol. 2: *Kulturelle Konkretionen (Literatur, Mythographie, Wissenschaft und Kunst)* (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter 2012), 269–89.

¹³ For the affinity of pilgrimage literature and cosmography, see Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 73–139.

¹⁴ On western approaches to eastern Christianity in the Holy Land during the Crusades and the aftermath, see Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie: Von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1973); Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Camille Rouxpetel, *L'Occident au miroir de l'Orient chrétien: Cilicie, Syrie, Palestine et Égypte (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015).

the Holy Land makes him an unconventional pilgrim, whose itinerary and first-hand knowledge of different Christian denominations was hard to match.

The fact that Georgievits dressed up as a Greek, travelled to Jerusalem in the company of Armenians and later left the holy city as a Latin pilgrim means that he was intimately familiar with the religious culture of all the three churches that constitute the major parties in the highly contested place of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. By the mid-sixteenth century, today's three most powerful presences there—the Catholics, the Greeks and the Armenians—already largely divided up the holy places between themselves with other eastern churches represented on a smaller scale.¹⁵ Within this space, pilgrims and travellers were confronted with a bewildering array of religious and ethnic diversity.

In this chapter I draw attention to Georgievits' first and last books, to *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544) and *Specchio della peregrinatione* (1554). Both works are little known. *De ritibus et differentiis* was difficult to access. The *Specchio della peregrinatione* has been occasionally probed for details but as yet never thoroughly studied as part of Georgievits' oeuvre. In discussing the two works here, I argue first that they are indispensable for understanding Georgievits' approach and secondly, and more generally, that we cannot rule out either pilgrimage, eastern Christianity, or the notion of heresy in the history of ethnography. Drawing attention to Georgievits as a pilgrim and witness of religious life in Jerusalem enables us to see how ethnographical interest in the Ottomans related to the ethnographic interest in eastern Christians. Such interest was again fuelled by the vision of a Christian ecumenicity under Catholic auspices.

Traveller and Polyglot

In *De ritibus et differentiis* (fig. VIII.3), Georgievits is repeatedly referred to—by himself and in complimentary eulogistic poems by others—as a man of the world by being compared both to worldly-wise Odysseus and to the famously learned Pontic King Mithridates who was able to communicate in almost every language of

¹⁵ For a general introduction to the building and history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see Jürgen Krüger, *Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem: Geschichte, Gestalt, Bedeutung* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2000); Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Renata Salvarani, *La fortuna del Santo Sepolcro nel Medioevo: Spazio, liturgia, architettura* (Milan: Jaca book, 2008). To get an idea of the situation today the best place to start is Ifat Finkelmann et al., eds., *In Statu Quo: Structures of Negotiation* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2018).

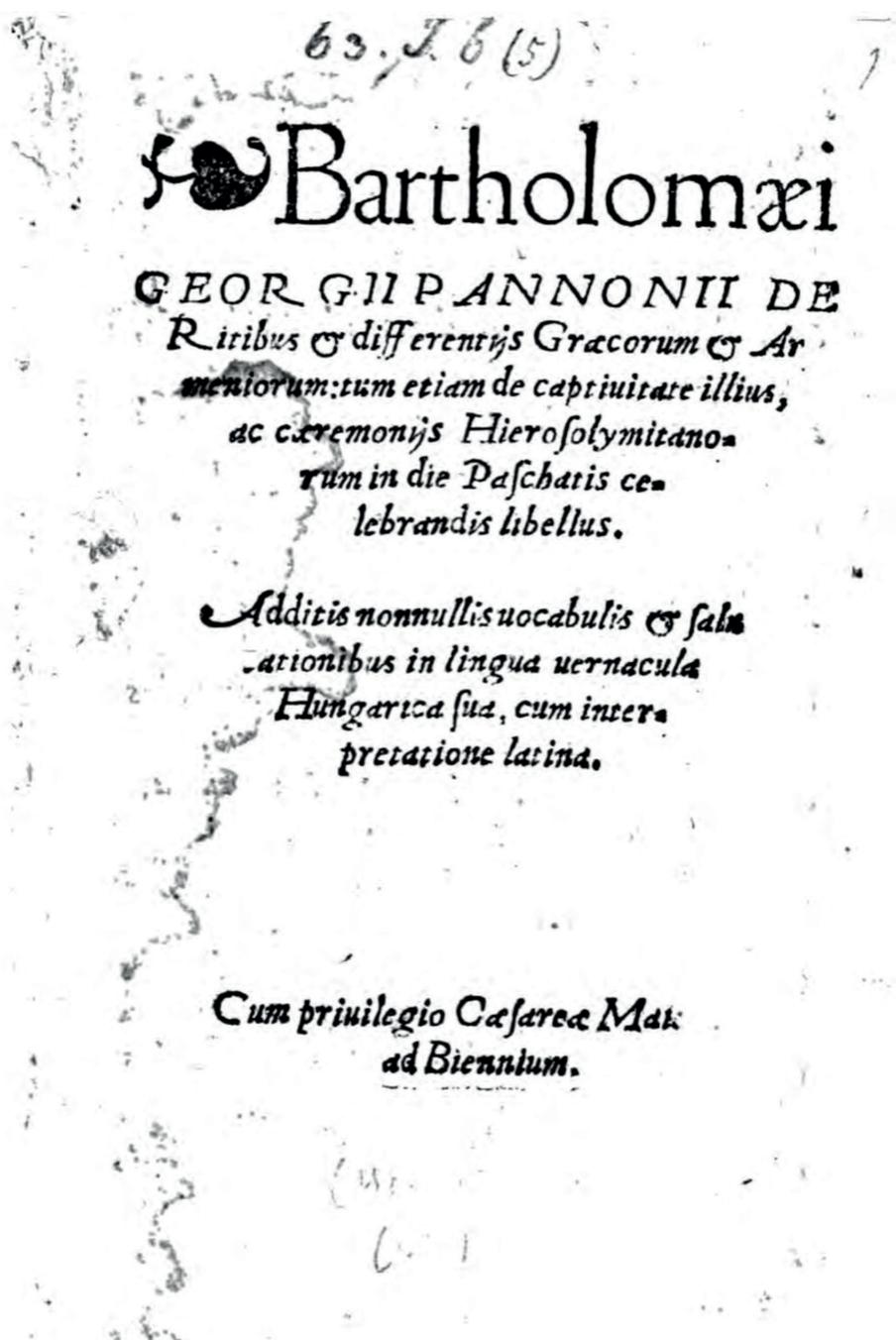


Fig. VIII.3: Bartholomaeus Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis Graecorum et Armeniorum* (Antwerp: Aegidius Copenius Diesthensis [Gillis Coppens van Diest], 1544), title page, ÖNB, 63.J.6.(5) ALT PRUNK, URL: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/105C9756>.

the world.¹⁶ In fact, according to one of the eulogising poets, Georgievits—having travelled even more widely, suffered both at land and on sea, and learned even more languages—surpassed both the man of many twists and turns and the polyglot king of old. The comparison of Georgievits to Odysseus and references to Homer should not be interpreted as indicators of secularization within travel literature. Odysseus had been baptised already in late antiquity. The Greek hero—bound to the mast in order not to be diverted by the sweet song of the deadly sirens—had become an allegory of Christian steadfastness in the face of temptation by heresy.¹⁷ The renowned physician Iacobus Sylvius (1478–1555) in his dedicatory poem directly compares Georgievits—“brought home by the will of Christ”—to Odysseus, who “had been saved from the sirens by Pallas Athena, the mast and wax”.¹⁸ Like Odysseus, Georgievits in captivity proved himself to be ever-scheming for he lied and escaped repeatedly. Like Odysseus too, however, he was steadfast and never forgot from where he came from and to where he belonged, for he did not convert to Islam even if that act would have made his life as a captive easier. Besides Odysseus and Mithridates, Georgievits is also credited with having surpassed and indeed superseded classical authors like the naturalist Pliny and the cosmographer Strabo.

Georgievits’ Mithridatic qualities are not only invoked in the dedicatory poems of *De ritibus et differentiis* but run through its narrative like a red thread. Repeatedly Georgievits draws the reader’s attention not only to Ottoman words denoting everyday objects, but also to Arabic, Persian and Greek words and phrases, though, for some reason, he mentions nothing in Armenian.¹⁹ The book

¹⁶ For bibliographical information on *De ritibus et differentiis*, see Kidrič, *Gjorgjević*, 19, no. 8; Yerasimos, *Voyageurs*, 162, no. 8; Klockow, “Georgievits”, 3–6; Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, eds., *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books published Abroad Before 1601*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 461, no. 10554. In the following, I refer to the copy held by the ÖNB, 63.J.6.(5) ALT PRUNK which is accessible online through http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ166836109.

¹⁷ Hugo Rahner, “Antenna Crucis, I: Odysseus am Mastbaum”, *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 65 (1941): 123–52; reprinted in id., *Symbole der Kirche: Die Ekklesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg: Müller, 1964), 237–71. For the humanists’ reception—who in their majority imagined Odysseus having plugged his ears too—see Harry Vredeveld, “‘Deaf as Ulysses to the Siren’s Song’: The Story of a Forgotten Topos”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 846–82.

¹⁸ Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. A2v = idem, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 14: *Impia Turcarum fugeret dum regna, reuersus/Europam hic tandem, numine Christe, tuo./ Sed Pallas, malus, cera, à Syrenibus illum/Iuuit, & auspibus flatibus acta ratis.*

¹⁹ The Greek words, rendered in Greek letters, are mostly distorted and at one point either the author or the typesetter even gave up and just left a blank space where probably the word κόλλυβα was meant to be inserted, see Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. C4v = idem, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 64. See also Klockow’s remarks in the editorial

ends with a description of the miracle of the Holy Fire, wrought annually by the Holy Spirit in Jerusalem. The description of the festivities with the different Christian groups working together is evocative of Pentecost when tongues of flame came down upon the early Christian believers whose preaching became perfectly understandable to the bystanders “out of every nation under heaven” (Acts 2:3–6).²⁰ Georgievits too made his own little contribution to multilingualism. At the end of his book he quotes Hungarian formulas for greeting and valediction, accompanied by Latin translations. Such short dictionaries in different languages would characteristically also furnish the last pages of Georgievits’ future publications.²¹

As I have shown above, Georgievits, in the front matter of *De ritibus et differentiis*, had himself styled as Odysseus, at once inventive and unwavering. Astuteness and faithfulness or—more concretely—both his tongue and his foreskin are also what saved Georgievits in the end. When he finally escaped from captivity in Armenia, he chose to present himself as a free Greek Christian. His interlocutors, the shepherds in Armenia, believed him after inspecting his body twice and taking his intact foreskin both as evidence of his freedom as well as his non-Muslim identity.²² As for his claim to be of Greek origin a couple of priests proficient in Greek declared him to be “a pure Greek” on account of his linguistic competence.²³ Further, Georgievits “imitated all their customs and traditions” in

booklet that appeared together with the edition. On the problem of rendering foreign languages in Latin letters see Georgievits’ commentary in *De afflictione* where he explains that because of the different alphabets of the Russians and Serbs, “it is impossible for us, with English letters [*latinis characteribus*] to utter the true pronunciation of their words”. Georgievits, *The offspring of the house of Ottomanno*, sig. J4v.

²⁰ Frederick H. A. Scrivener, ed., *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible of the Authorized English Version* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1873), II, 108.

²¹ With the exception of Ottoman, Georgievits’ vocabularies have received little attention. Will Heffening, *Die türkischen Transkriptionstexte des Bartholomaeus Georgievits aus den Jahren 1544–1548: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1942); Stefan Hanß, “Ottoman Language Learning in Early Modern Germany”, *Central European History* 54, no. 1 (2021): 1–33. For Georgievits as a student of Croatian, see John Considine, *Small Dictionaries and Curiosity: Lexicography and Fieldwork in Post-Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 77–79.

²² For the Christian notion that the mere act of getting circumcised was identical with conversion to Islam, see also the testimony of Giovanni of Aleppo (a Christian pilgrim to Jerusalem who had gone astray) in front of the Venetian Holy Office in 1616 as discussed in E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 97–99.

²³ Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. C3^r = idem, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 56.

order not to be found out.²⁴ Since Georgievits claims to have escaped in Armenia and later on briefly mentions that he was brought to Jerusalem by Armenian pilgrims, it is unclear why, where and how long he lived among Greeks. At any rate, Georgievits was keen on pointing out that even though he did adapt perfectly to Greek customs, he did not betray his Latin Christian convictions. In order to avoid eating meat on Saturdays (as demanded by Latins but not by Greek Orthodox) Georgievits said to his fellow Greeks that he was bound by a vow he had made when faced by danger.²⁵

The mention of Greek fasting customs in Georgievits' biographical account triggers a series of paragraphs on the rites of the Greeks that deal with baptism, morning and evening prayers, the celebration of mass, matrimony laws for priests, fasting times, meals on feast days, days of mourning and funerals, animal sacrifice and prayer for the sick and still other customs. While some of the characteristics given in the description, such as some of the distinctly different eastern Christian practices in celebrating the Eucharist, or the observations about the poor state of contemporary Greek learning and literature are quite topical, some of Georgievits' observations are pioneering and could be called proto-anthropological. To these belong his description of the *koliva*, a dish served in memory of the dead, and *kourbani*, the practice of sacrificing animals. He also notes the magical use of books in healing the sick. The same categories and some of the same phenomena are also described in Georgievits' coeval or later Turcica, sometimes with direct references to similar or related customs of eastern Christians.²⁶

From the more extensive descriptions of the Greeks, Georgievits shifts to the description of the Armenians which is limited to just one paragraph. It is in this short paragraph that Georgievits actually discusses the differences of Greek and Armenian rites, which he deems considerable. In contrast to the ethnographical information provided on the Greeks before, the description of Armenian culture focuses on religious practice and belief in the strict sense, that is, the celebration of the Eucharist, Christmas, Epiphany and so forth. An exception is the mention of the Armenian disdain for dogs and "other customs that they have adapted according to

²⁴ Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. C3^r = idem, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 56: *omnes illorum mores & ritus imitatus sum*.

²⁵ Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. C3^r = idem, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 56.

²⁶ Thus, in *De Turcarum ritu* many of the same topics arise in the context of the Ottomans, such as fasting ("of the Turkish Lent, when they keep it and howe their Easter is obserued", Georgievits, *The offspring of the house of Ottomanno*, sig. C7v–C8r), pilgrimage to Mecca ("as our men [to] Jerusalem", *ibid.*, sig. D6v), animal sacrifice ("the lyke woorshyppinge of God is obserued amonge the Gretians, Armenians, and other realmes in Asia imitating yet the christian religion", *ibid.*, sig. E2r), and burial practices (*ibid.*, sig. E3r–E4r).

the Turks”.²⁷ A final remark on Armenians as being keen on pilgrimage “not only to Jerusalem but also to Rome and Santiago di Compostela”, gives Georgievits the opportunity to come back to his autobiographical account as he notes with gratitude that he, too, had been taken to the holy city by Armenians.²⁸

In Jerusalem

Having reached Jerusalem, Georgievits describes how he was received by the Franciscans on Mount Zion where he stayed for a year. To make himself useful, Georgievits enlisted as a night watchman for the monastery that was situated outside the city walls and which had not been permitted to protect itself against Bedouins. Instead of a salary, Georgievits asked for free admission to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which was usually closed and “opened only four or five times during the year” on the occasion of visits of larger groups of pilgrims.²⁹ The description of his procedure of gaining access to the church, the fact that a Muslim official was in charge of the key, and the different entry fees for different ethno-religious groups are also found in accounts of other pilgrims.³⁰ Curiously, his remarks in *De ritibus et differentiis* (but not in his pilgrimage guide, see below) are without the indignation and bitterness that characterises many comments on the topic by other pilgrims.³¹ By giving the chapter that deals with his arrival in Jerusalem the title ‘On entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Land’, Georgievits moulds his—from a Latin point of view—unconventional pilgrimage into a more typical Latin pilgrimage travelogue. The same is true for

²⁷ Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. D1v–D2r = idem, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 68–70: *in reliquis moribus ad Turcarum consuetudinem deficiunt*.

²⁸ In *De Turcarum ritu*, Georgievits also refers to this journey—in the context of an anecdote—when he mentions that “this happened, I being present, at Damascus, when I journeyed from Armenia towards Jerusalem” (Georgievits, *The offspring of the house of Ottomanno*, sig. F6r–F6v). On pilgrim caravans from Aleppo passing through Damascus to Jerusalem, see Lucia Rostagno, “Pellegrini italiani a Gerusalemme in età ottomana: percorsi, esperienze, momenti d’incontro”, *Oriente Moderno* 17 (1998): 63–157.

²⁹ Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. D2r = idem, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 70: [...] *pactus in precium præter uictum & cultum, liberum & inemptum ingressum in sepulchrum domini, quod alioquin magno à Turcis emitur. [...] [T]emplum [sepulchri domini] non nisi quater aut quinque in anno aperitur*.

³⁰ Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. D2r–v = idem, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 72. On the entry fee, see also the instructions in the *Specchio della peregrinatione* discussed below.

³¹ See, e.g., Felix Fabri, *Les errances de frère Félix: pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte*, édition critique par Jean Meyers, traduction et notes par Jean Meyers et Michel Tarayre, vol. 3 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015), 14–17.

his description of how pilgrims—led by the Franciscans—travelled from the port of Jaffa to Jerusalem, which did not correspond with his own overland itinerary as part of an Armenian caravan. Concerning the Armenians, Georgievits also mentions that in times of many arrivals, pilgrims who could not be hosted by the Franciscans were sent to the Armenian St. James Monastery.³² Just as he did with the Greeks and Armenians before, Georgievits also observed the Franciscans and provides some rare glimpses into the daily life of the Custody. Characteristically, he points to the problem that came with the linguistic diversity of the Latin pilgrims: as going to confession was part of a pilgrim's duties, the Franciscans were at pains to recruit friars of different tongues.³³

The two last chapters in *De ritibus et differentiis* are dedicated to the different ceremonies held in Jerusalem during Holy Week and to the miracle of the Holy Fire respectively. The opening ceremony when the Franciscan guardian, in a re-enactment of Christ's entrance to Jerusalem entered the city on a donkey on Palm Sunday, is described most extensively. The ceremony was a specifically Latin privilege that put them apart from other Christians who simply followed the guardian's lead. The impact and contested nature of such an open demonstration of Christian religion and claims to Catholic primacy is confirmed by mid-seventeenth-century Muslim complaints against it.³⁴ After Palm Sunday, the other

³² So far, I have not come across other western pilgrimage accounts mentioning the possibility of staying with the Armenians, though there is evidence of Latin pilgrims staying at the Greek Patriarchate, cf. Falk Eisermann and Folker Reichert, "Der wiederentdeckte Reisebericht des Hans von Sternberg", in *Der Jakobuskult in Sachsen*, eds. Klaus Herbers and Enno Bünz (Tübingen: Narr, 2007), 225. For contacts of Protestant pilgrims with the Greek patriarch, see Mordechai Lewy, "Konfessionelle Konfrontation und Ambiguität zwischen protestantischen Pilgern und katholischen Mönchen in Jerusalem des 17. Jahrhunderts", in *Andacht oder Abenteuer: Von der Wilsnackfahrt im Spätmittelalter zu Reiselust und Reisefrust in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Hartmut Kühne and Gunhild Roth (Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2020), 269–315. See also, Anthony Bale, "Cosmopolitanism or Competition? Late Medieval Pilgrims at the Eastern Christian Holy Places", *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 9 (2017): 17–37.

³³ The multilingualism of the friars in Jerusalem is also mentioned in the pilgrimage accounts of the two late fifteenth-century merchants Ulrich Leman and Bernardino Dinali, see Monika Reininger, ed., *Ulrich Lemans Reisen: Erfahrungen eines Kaufmanns aus St. Gallen vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts im Mittelmeer und in der Provence* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007), 65; Ilaria Sabbatini, ed., *La Jerosolomitana peregrinazione del mercante milanese Bernardino Dinali (1492)* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 2009), 87.

³⁴ Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 86–89. For a wide-ranging study (although without discussion of the early modern situation in Jerusalem) of the entry on a donkey's back see Max Harris, *Christ on a Donkey: Palm Sunday, Triumphal Entries, and Blasphemous Pageants* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019).

Christian groups held their processions at the Holy Sepulchre. Georgievits calls them collectively nations and mentions Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, Suriani and Maronites (all the ethnonyms are his). Rather conventionally, he also mentions the Chaldeans, equates them with Abyssinians and points out that their fervent religious practice, notably fasting, is matched only by Indians.³⁵ All the Christian denominations, with the exception of the Catholics, collaborated choreographically for the miracle of the Holy Fire (the annual descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of fire on Holy Saturday). Although the miracle had been discredited by Pope Gregory IX already in 1238 and was decried by Latin authors like Francesco Suriano (1450–after 1529), Georgievits refrains from any criticism.³⁶ This is somehow typical for Georgievits' book as a whole: the ethnographic approach is certainly not disinterested but detailed and generous as long as Catholic precedence is asserted.

A Guide for Future Pilgrims?

The *Specchio della peregrinatione* (fig. VIII.4), Georgievits' last work, though presenting itself as a pilgrimage guide, is to a large extent in fact a report on his personal experiences. Unlike the one-off *De ritibus et differentiis*, it saw several editions.³⁷ It

³⁵ During the sixteenth century the identification of Ge'ez (or Ethiopian languages in general) with Chaldean was widespread even if not uncontested, see Samantha Kelly, "The Curious Case of Ethiopic Chaldean: Fraud, Philology, and Cultural (Mis)Understanding in European Conceptions of Ethiopia", *Renaissance Quarterly* 68 (2015): 1227–64. Kelly states that "there were only two medieval texts available to Latin Christians before the sixteenth century that attributed a Chaldean language to the Ethiopians" (p. 1234) but see the reference to Paulinus Minorita on p. 100 in Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Johann Potken aus Schwerte, Propst von St. Georg in Köln: Der erste Äthiologe des Abendlandes", in *Aus kölnischer und rheinischer Geschichte (Festschrift Arnold Güttches)*, ed. Hans Blum (Cologne: Wamper, 1969), 81–114.

³⁶ Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, transl. from the Italian by Theophilus Bellorini (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1949), 47–48.

³⁷ For bibliographic information on the *Specchio*, see Yerasimos, *Voyageurs*, 162, no. 7; *EDIT 16: censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm, accessed 31 October 2019, no CNCE 20690. The title *Specchio de' lochi sacri di Terra Santa* is a re-edition of the *Specchio della peregrinatione*, that lacks the Italian-Arabic-Chaldean-Hebrew-dictionary but comes with other Turcica tracts by Georgievits, for details see Kidrič, *Gjorgjević*, 21, no. 46; Yerasimos, *Voyageurs*, 162; *EDIT 16*, no. CNCE 20691. I have not had the chance to consult the two Liège editions from 1600 and 1606, mentioned by Yerasimos, that are often attributed to Georgievits. From the quotes given in Usher's article (who attributes the travelogue to Georgievits) it can be inferred that the travelogue is at least interspersed with unacknowledged quotes from an anonymous pilgrim author of 1480, just as Schefer had already claimed more than hundred years ago. See Charles H. A. Schefer,

was not at all uncommon in pilgrimage literature to comment upon the various *nationes* of Christianity to be encountered at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and whose ceremonies encountered are hardly ever presented as prominently and in as lively a manner as in Georgievits' book.³⁸ Right at the beginning of the book, in his dedication to Pope Julius III (1550–55), Georgievits identifies himself as a pilgrim “who has visited most of the holy places within the Holy Land and witnessed all the prayers and sacred ceremonies that can be observed in Jerusalem and at other places nearby”.³⁹ Again, the insistence on having had first-hand exposure, was not uncommon. What is, however, rather exceptional is the direction of the pilgrim's gaze. Georgievits does not, as other pilgrim-authors did, meditate upon sacred history and its connection to the places in the Holy Land. Without further ado he turns from the holy places to the acts of piety that he witnessed others performing. He observed, as it were, the religiously observant pilgrims. In doing so, he continued a time-honoured tradition in pilgrimage literature that, harking back to the time of the crusades, sought to identify and describe the different Christian groups present in the Holy Land and most of all at the church of the Holy Sepulchre. However, in Georgievits the ethnographic moment of pilgrimage literature is taken one step further by explicitly making the possibility to witness celebrations of others one of the main attractions of visiting the holy places at all.

The *Specchio della peregrinatione* itself is divided into three parts, the first of which addresses the preparations, both spiritual and practical, a pilgrim had to make before he headed for the holy city. The entire second part is dedicated to the processions and ceremonies held during Holy Week. Therein Georgievits again focuses not on his own experiences or on Catholic practices in particular,

ed., *Le voyage de la sainte cité de Hierusalem* (Paris: Leroux, 1882), XLVI; Paul Bruyère and Alain Marchandisse, eds., *Florilège du livre en principauté de Liège: du IXe au XVIIIe siècle* (Liège: Société des bibliophiles liégeois, 2009), 346–49; Phillip J. Usher, “‘On ne vit pas dans un espace neutre’: pour une lecture hétérotopologique de Jérusalem au XVIe siècle”, in *Parcourir le monde: Voyages d'Orient*, ed. Dominique de Courcelles (Paris: Publications de l'École nationale des chartes, 2013), 89–106. On Georgievits' ever expanding editions, see also Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 253–60.

³⁸ For the presentations, within pilgrimage accounts, of the *nationes* present at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 91–101; Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le crépuscule du Grand Voyage: Les récits des pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458-1612)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 690–702.

³⁹ Georgievits, *Specchio*, sig. A1r: *Ho diligentemente visitati [sic] la maggior parte de' luoghi sacri di quel benedetto paese, et viste tutte le devotioni, & sacre cerimonie, che in Hierusalem et negli altri luoghi d'intorno si sogliono osservare.*

but on the performances “of great solemnity and devotion by the multitude of the twelve nations of Christians”.⁴⁰ The count of twelve for the sum of Christian denominations in Jerusalem is not unheard of in pilgrimage accounts, but was far from a fixed amount, and at the time of Georgievits’ account could range anywhere from six to thirteen in pilgrims’ lists. The third and final part of the book lists the holy places that can be visited in Palestine.

In addition to the three main parts (all of them rather short in themselves), there is a poem or introductory exhortation. It is there, and only there, where Georgievits provides us with some of the typical invectives against the Turks which are familiar from his other publications that deal more specifically with the Ottomans. In his final book the *Specchio della peregrinatione*, however, the cruelty of the Turks is not in the forefront. To be sure, the Ottomans are routinely characterised as cruel, evil and barbaric, but overall Georgievits sounds a note of lamentation rather than abuse. He especially bemoans that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre “has been snatched from us Christians”,⁴¹ which means the devout pilgrims now have to pay a fee to enter it.⁴² Lamenting the loss of Jerusalem was a literary tradition in the medieval Mediterranean that reverberated still in early modern pilgrimage accounts.⁴³ According to Georgievits, the heavy yoke of Turkish oppression is designed to extirpate local Christianity altogether, but in a way the Christians had brought this upon themselves: “such persecution and affliction has befallen the kingdoms of the Jews, the Greeks, the Armenians and—since a few years—of the Hungarians not only because of their discord or negligence or treasonous princes and leaders, but also because of the grave sins of their inhabitants”.⁴⁴ Disobedience and Ottoman oppression function here as

⁴⁰ Ibid., sig. A2r: *La seconda tratta delle tre processioni, & altre cerimonie sante, che la settimana della passione di N. Signore per la moltitudine delle dodici nazioni di Christiani con gran solennità & devotione nella città di Hierusalem ogni anno s’usan fare.*

⁴¹ Ibid., sig. B1r: *La chiesa del santissimo sepulcro del N. Redentore a noi Christiani serrata.*

⁴² Ibid., sig. B1v: *[L]e gabelle, le quali per entrar nella chiesa di S. Sepulcro, & per veder li luoghi sacri delli vestigii del N. Redentore si devon pagare.* On the problem of entering and the entrance fee, see also *ibid.*, sig. E1v, E2v, G1r–G1v.

⁴³ For the literary tradition, see Tamar M. Boyadjian, *The City Lament: Jerusalem across the Medieval Mediterranean* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018).

⁴⁴ Georgievits, *Specchio*, sig. A2[recte: B2]r–A2[recte: B2]v: *La persecutione & afflitione sopra li regni delli Giudei, Greci, Armeni, & gia pochi anni à gli Ongheri essendo intravenute, non solo per la discordia, e negligentia, & per li tradimenti delli loro Principi & Rettori: ma anche per li gravissimi peccati delli suoi habitatori, secondo il testimonio della scrittura, che dice, per li peccai vengono le cose adverse.*



Fig. VIII.4: Bartholomaeus Georgievits, *Specchio della peregrinatione* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1554), title page. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Exeg. 403 b, URL: <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=220562788&db=100&View=default>.

equalizers that have put Latin Christians in the same position as eastern Christians and even Jews.

This assessment brings Georgievits to lament, in tropes borrowed from Old Testament prophecy, the dire state of Christianity and Christian practice in Latin Europe. Georgievits mourns the negligence of Christians, especially with regard to the observance or non-observance of holy feasts. Left in shambles, Christians in the west fell easily for the heresies of Lutherans, Zwinglians and Anabaptists. Georgievits' jeremiad culminates in a call for a thorough Catholic reformation: in order to avert God's judgment—who had delivered them into the hands of savages such as Turks, Moors, Tatars and Arabs—people should repent and accept God's grace, offered to them in Christ for free. Georgievits ends with asking God for forgiveness and deliverance for the Christians in order that they might freely worship him everywhere, in the holy places of the Holy Land just as in every other place and finally, in the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁴⁵ The expert on the Ottomans, Greeks and Armenians, who ten years ago had met with Luther had now become a firm proponent of the Catholic Reformation.

Following the introduction, Georgievits, having outlined the necessary preparations at home, describes in the first part of the *Specchio della peregrinatione* the possible routes to the Holy Land for future pilgrims: a route by sea from Venice and—more dangerous according to him—an overland route through Hungary. In his description of Greek religion as practiced along the route, such as on Mount Athos, Georgievits refrains from criticism. Also, for all his religious zeal, he does not refrain from mentioning the importance of several pagan places from classical antiquity and ruins still to be seen.⁴⁶ By contrast, the city of Ramla, already in Palestine, is characterized as inhabited by the uncivilized “barbaric Moriscos”.⁴⁷

In the second part—before the survey of the actual holy places—Georgievits offers a description of the processions and ceremonies that can be witnessed in the Holy Land. Again, he stresses the act of seeing, rather than taking part. Like in his first book, he draws attention to ceremonies performed by Christian pilgrims “of various nations and of diverse religions”.⁴⁸ Georgievits explains, that they had come from faraway lands of the Levant. He mentions Armenians, Georgians and

⁴⁵ Ibid., sig. A4[recte: B4]v.

⁴⁶ Ibid., sig. D1r.

⁴⁷ Ibid., sig. E1r: [...] *essendo habitata della quella barbara gente moresca, ben che ui siano anche Giudei, & Christiani Grechi.*

⁴⁸ Ibid., sig. E4r: *[P]otran vedere le piu degne cose, che mai in quelle bande veder si possono: cie è processioni, & altre cerimonie di santita e devotion piene, che da varie nationi, e diverse religioni di Christiani Pellegrini, con gran sollénita, ogn'anno si soglion fare per veder.*

Nestorians. From the South and from “India” (a place notoriously hard to pin down in the sixteenth century),⁴⁹ Georgievits mentions Jacobites, Maronites, Chaldeans and from the north Greeks, Albanians and Serbs. All of these are eager to light their candles at the holy flame which, they say, was lit by the Holy Spirit.

These remarks on eastern Christians are all rather egalitarian in tone—that is under the premise that they are all distinct from the Catholic church. Later on, during Holy Week, the ceremonies of the eastern Christians (and even some non-Christians, see below) will culminate in ecstatic celebrations of Christ’s resurrection on Easter morning and will dominate the scene altogether. On the other hand, the feast of Palm Sunday allows Georgievits to present the Catholic church as the unchallenged authority among all Christian denominations as they all follow the lead of the guardian of the Franciscans, the highest-ranking Latin Christian residing in the Holy Land, both liturgically and figuratively. Georgievits combines universalism and Catholic particularism as he repeatedly stresses both the leading figure of the guardian and the diversity of the Christian multitude that praised God, everyone according to his tradition and in his own language. The guardian re-enacted and represented Christ in the ceremony and as Jesus in the Gospels, the crowd was eager to touch him. Those who could not reach him bowed down to kiss the ground where he has passed.

The Easter procession is the final and most exuberant ceremony described in the *Specchio della peregrinatione*. The Latin or Catholic Christians are virtually absent for, as Georgievits describes in detail, it is the Greek Patriarch who enters the aedicule, Christ’s actual burial chamber, in order to have his candle lit by the Holy Spirit. The Greek Patriarch is followed by Armenian prelates. Georgievits describes, correctly, the miracle of the Holy Fire as a complex interplay of practices of the different eastern Churches. As in *De ritibus et differentiis*, Georgievits does not question the authenticity of the miracle of the Holy Fire. Like many pilgrimage texts Georgievits describes the unfamiliar musical instruments of some eastern Christians, probably the Ethiopians. In a remarkable and seemingly unparalleled passage in pilgrimage literature, Georgievits also reports having seen, back in 1537, dervishes—“Mohammedan friars”—among the crazed crowd who except for a cache-sexe were naked, their bodies covered with wounds.⁵⁰ They

⁴⁹ See Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “‘India’ as a Name for Ethiopia”, in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig, vol. 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 145–47.

⁵⁰ Georgievits, *Specchio*, sig. G4r: *Viddi fra gli altri li Dervisi, che sono Frati Maccomettani, che vanno tutti ignudi eccetto le parti vergognose, e per tutto'l corpo feriti, li quali anch'essi portano le lor candele accese, Allah Allah gridando, che significa in lingua Arabica Iddio, che con tanta allegrezza, che è cosa mirabile, baciando le lor candele accese.*

were shouting Allah! Allah! and kissed their burning candles with such joy that one was left to marvel. That the dervishes are described as just another exotic group partaking in the miracle of the Holy Fire—without any vituperations—is remarkable for two reasons: first, because in 1548 Georgievits described having had a long theological discussion with a dervish allegedly the year before in Hungary; second, because in the sixteenth century the dervishes had become the Franciscans' main opponents in Jerusalem with the effect that the latter in 1551 (that is three years before the printing of the *Specchio della peregrinatione*) had had to cede their church on Mount Zion to them.⁵¹

At the end of the *Specchio della peregrinatione*, Georgievits placed a short word list that translated twenty-five words from Italian into Arabic—“which currently is the common language in Jerusalem”—, “Chaldean” (Ge'ez) and Hebrew (fig. VIII.5).⁵² Such dictionaries were not unheard of in travelogues, pilgrimage accounts and itineraries.⁵³ There exists, for example, a fifteenth century itinerary

⁵¹ For the disputation, see Bartholomaeus Georgievits, *Pro Fide Christiana cum Turca disputationis habitae (...) brevis description* (Kraków: s.n., 1548). In *De Turcarum ritu*, Georgievits deals with dervishes in a special chapter, see Georgievits, *The offspring of the house of Ottomanno*, sig. D3v–D4r. For the representation of dervishes in Georgievits, see Isler, *Alles Derwische?*, 102–07. For the rivalry between dervishes and Franciscans, see Amnon Cohen, “The Expulsion of the Franciscans from Mount Zion: Old Documents and New Interpretation”, *Turcica: Revue d'études turques* 18 (1986): 147–57.

⁵² For the European identification of Chaldean with the Ethiopians' language, see Enrico Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina: Storia della comunità etiopica di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols. (Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1943–47), vol. 1, 418, see also the index in vol. 2 for other mentions of Georgievits. Cerulli quotes from a later edition of the *Specchio* (that did not contain a dictionary) and apparently did not know of *De ritibus et differentiis*.

⁵³ For pilgrim-authors dealing with foreign languages (either in the form of alphabetical charts or phonetic notations), see the list of names in Ursula Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520)* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1990), 212–13. See also Ursula Ganz-Blättler, “‘Und so schriegen sie in ihrer Sprache’: Vom Umgang mit Fremdsprach(ig)en in spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten”, *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997), 93–100. For the Arabic, see Heinz Grotzfeld, “Arabische Wortlisten in Pilgerhandbüchern des 15. Jahrhunderts”, in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, ed. Alexander Fodor (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Univ., 1995), vol. 2, 33–47. For the (related) linguistic content in Paul Walther Guglingen and Bernhard von Breydenbach, see Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, “Das arabische Vokabular des Paul Walther von Guglingen und seine Überlieferung im Reisebericht Bernhards von Breidenbach”, *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 12 (1994), 153–82; Frederike Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs: Die ‘Peregrinatio in terram sanctam’ (1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift* (Stuttgart: Ernst Hauswedell, 2006), 194–227.

VOCABOLI DELLA LIN- gua Arabica (che questo tempo è commu- ne in Hierusalem) della Chaldea & Hebreo, con la inter- pretatione Itas ghiana.				Itagliano	Arabico	Chaldeo	Hebreo
				Anno	ffana	hamat	sciana
				Meſe	ſchiahr	uarh	hades
				Giorno	iom	belat	iom
				Luce	nur	berham	ar
				Notte	leil	lelit	lait
				Scuro	dalam	ſſemat	hoſcib
				Pane	hobz	hebeſt	lebem
				Carne	lahm	ſegha	baſar
				Sangue	dem	dem	dem
				Patre	ab	abba	au
				Madre	un	emm	em
				Figliolo	ben	uald	ben
Itagliano	Arabico	Chaldeo	Hebreo				
Dio	allah	amlah	eloha				
Angelo	malach	malach	malach				
ſpirito	roh	neſes	ruoh				
L'homo	ragiel	beeſſi	Adam				
L'anima	nafs	nafs	nafs				
Cielo	elſama	ſamai	ſema				
Sole	ſciams	ſſabai	ſemes				
Luna	chamar	uarh	areah				
Stelle	negum	chanahabt	chuchauim				
ſoco	nar	efat	es				
Aere	hauua	nafus	auer				
Aqua	moya	mai	mai				
Terra	arad	meder	erez				

Satis pro exemplo.

FINIS.

Fig. VIII.5: A word list (Italian, Arabic, Ge'ez, Hebrew) at the end of Georgievits' pilgrimage guide. Bartholomaeus Georgievits, *Specchio della peregrinatione* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1554), sig. L2v–L3r. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Exeg. 403 b, URL: <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=220562788&db=100&View=default>.

that contains a list of words and phrases in Arabic and Ge'ez.⁵⁴ As was mentioned before, a lot of Georgievits' other books also included short dictionaries and lists of phrases. The cosmological-hierarchical order of the list in the *Specchio della peregrinatione* is in fact similar to the one applied to a more extensive vocabulary list included in *De afflictione*.⁵⁵ As the sacred tongue, Hebrew was included naturally. Arabic was included, as Georgievits pointed out as “the language that is not only spoken in the Promised Land but is common throughout Syria, Alexandria and all the way to Mecca”.⁵⁶ As a whole the word list should serve

⁵⁴ Franz-Christoph Muth, “Eine arabisch-äthiopische Wort- und Satzliste aus Jerusalem vom 15. Jahrhundert”, *Afriques: Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire* 1 (2010), <http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/535>, accessed 13 March 2019.

⁵⁵ Georgievits, *De afflictione*, sig. D5v–E1r. For more on that list—as well as Guillaume Postel's knock-off of it—see Frédéric Tinguely, *L'écriture du levant à la renaissance: enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l'empire de Soliman le Magnifique* (Genève: Droz, 2000), 253–60.

⁵⁶ Georgievits, *Specchio*, sig. L3v: *Questi pochi uocaboli, prestantissimo Lettore, di tre sorte di Lingue, ch'io t'ho posto nel fine di questa mia operina, sono solamente per dimostrarti la differenza, che è tra il Chaldeo, Hebreo, & Arabico parlare, ilquale, non solamente s'usa nella*

“solely to demonstrate the differences” between the three languages, a difference that according to Georgievits was similar to the differences between Roman languages.

The inclusion of Ge'ez, the Ethiopian liturgical language, points to Georgievits as a comparatist. The comparatist moment is manifest in Georgievits' aim to make visible both the general close relationship of the Arabic, Ge'ez and Hebrew languages while at the same time demonstrating differences in individual words. The extensive description of the rites and the comportment of the Ethiopians points to Georgievits' interest in ethnography. When western pilgrims mentioned other Christian churches in the Holy Land, the Ethiopians were hardly ever missing. Often identified as Indians from the land of Prester John they were known unknowns and, along with the more familiar Greeks, part of the western imagination of the Christian East.⁵⁷ The nightly masses which were celebrated by the Ethiopians could provoke passages in travelogues also by other authors that recorded lively encounters, different from the enumerative style of the conventional catalogue of *nationes*. In the *Specchio della peregrinatione*, too, the Ethiopians are singled out for their heavy fasting and their unusual musical instruments.⁵⁸ This was not because the Ethiopians were thought to be especially close in rite or belief to the Latin Church. Such a position was commonly—and also by Georgievits—attributed to the Armenians.⁵⁹ But on Armenian culture and language, Georgievits did not have much to say.⁶⁰

terra Santa di Promissione, ma è commune per tutto il paese di Siria, Alessandria, & infino alla Mecca. Et fra questi modi di parlare mi paressere tanta differenza, quanta è fra il Latino, Spagnuolo, & Italiano, come leggendo potrai chiaramente conoscere.

⁵⁷ See, for example, the travelogue of a St Gallen merchant who travelled to the Holy Land in 1472: Reininger, *Ulrich Lemans Reisen*, 73.

⁵⁸ On fasting, see Georgievits, *Specchio*, sig. G1r. On musical instruments, see *ibid.*, sig. G4v. On fasting, see also Georgievits, *De ritibus et differentiis* (1544/45), sig. D3v–D4r= *idem*, *De captivitate sua* (2000), 78: *Ceterum Caldae quos ipsi uocant Habassinos, palmarium mihi uidentur auferre in austeritate ieiuniorum, horum plerique in desertum ubi Christus ieiunauit, abscedunt, in singulos dies non nisi duodecim grana pisarum & aliquot radices herbarum ad uictum auferunt, alij usque ad Dominicam diem nihil gustant, ceterum tum largius se curant, & quod mirum est uidebis eos macilentissimos quidem sed hilares maxime, nunquam iurant, blasphemant nunquam. Pari ferme sanctitate uisuntur Indiani.*

⁵⁹ See Georgievits, *Specchio*, sig. G4v.

⁶⁰ The only words in Armenian that I could find in Georgievits' oeuvre are the name of Ejmiatsin and the title Catholicos, see Georgievits, *Specchio*, sig. L2r: *Armenia maggiore, nelle montagne doue è l'Arca di Noe, & sotto quell monte è un luogo Icsmeazin chiamato, doue dimora il gran Prelato di Armeni Catagogoz detto.*

Conclusion

By juxtaposing Georgievits' autobiography (*De ritibus et differentiis*) with his pilgrimage guide (*Specchio della peregrinatione*) numerous analogies and parallels become visible. First and foremost, there is significant overlap in content: the presentation of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a full-circle, centripetal movement not limited to Latin pilgrims, the entry procedure at the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the ceremonies during Holy Week especially on Palm Sunday and the Holy Fire, the lively ethnographical passages dealing with the other nations, the emphasis both on the denominational plurality and Catholic pre-eminence and the interest—expressed both in prose and short dictionaries—in different languages and multilingualism. Second, pilgrimage and especially the pilgrimage to Jerusalem is revealed as a prominent and even constitutive part of Georgievits' writing and self-fashioning. Third, it has become clear that ethnographic descriptions are not limited to Georgievits' Turcica, but equally characterise his pilgrimage writings, which no longer makes him out to be solely an ethnographer of the Ottomans. Fourth, both *De ritibus et differentiis* and the *Specchio della peregrinatione* give us an impression of the importance of comparison in Georgievits' work: their comparatist nature is evident even in their (full) titles which point to differences between the rites of churches and to the plurality of ceremonies and processions as celebrated in Jerusalem. The guide ends with a word list that translates Italian terms into three Semitic languages and that is inserted for the sole purpose of showing the differences.

Georgievits had a special interest in ethnography. His comments on rural Greek culture and eastern Christian rites in Jerusalem go beyond polemical remarks and the fixation upon one's own ritual practice that we often find in pilgrimage literature. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to set him apart from pilgrimage literature and religiously motivated and heresiologically informed ethnography. Rather, Georgievits' fascination for eastern Christian rites and languages should be put in context of mid-sixteenth-century research activities in Rome where and when comparable efforts were made. See, for example, Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter's first ever printed edition of the New Testament in Syriac, which—though eventually printed in Vienna in 1555, with King Ferdinand covering the printing costs—was planned in Rome.⁶¹ The woodcuts of this edition illustrate that an interest for an unknown script and language could be effortlessly combined with

⁶¹ On Widmanstetter and his edition of the New Testament in Syriac, see Werner Strothmann, *Die Anfänge der syrischen Studien in Europa* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971); Alastair Hamilton, "Eastern Churches and Western Scholarship", in *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Anthony Grafton (Washington: Library of Congress,

unambiguous assertions of both religious and secular power structures. Thus, the one-page woodcut at the end of the Gospel of St. Luke shows the cross complete with a Hebrew titulus on Calvary, flanked by the imperial helmet and the arms of Austria (fig. VIII.6).⁶² At the foot of Calvary, a lion and a dragon crouch. The composite motto—rendered in Syriac and Latin—reads “In this sign wilt thou conquer—and the lion and the dragon shalt thou trample”. As the first half of the motto refers to Constantine, the second half quotes Psalm 91:13 and was a locus classicus on heresy.⁶³ It is evident that the interest in other languages and peoples could be aligned with the will to subdue heresy.

Just as in Georgievits’ rendition of the Palm Sunday ceremony, ethnic, linguistic and ritual diversity was welcomed by Widmanstetter as long as all the nations, gathered at Calvary, coalesced to extoll Catholic pre-eminence and singularity. Far from abandoning the notion of heresy and far from mindlessly continuing the same old story, innovative authors and scholars of the sixteenth century combined heresiology and ethnography in order to present Rome as the universal see ruling over all the nations while fighting heresy in Europe.⁶⁴ Ethnography and pilgrimage were not secularized but rather developed in order to meet the needs of a church that found itself in the process of confessionalisation. Indeed, as Georgievits pointed out in the *Specchio della peregrinatione* when dedicating it to Pope Julius III: “Rome could be called the New and Holy Jerusalem”.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, as the very publication of a pilgrimage guide to the Holy Land proves, the actual Jerusalem remained of vital importance well into the seventeenth century. King Philip IV of Spain was called upon in 1624 in a sermon held at the Holy Sepulchre by the Franciscan antiquarian, Francesco Quaresmio, to deliver the Holy Land.⁶⁶

1993), 238–39; Pier Giorgio Borbone, “Monsignore Vescovo di Soria, also Known as Moses of Mardin, Scribe and Book Collector”, *ХРИСТИАНСКИЙ ВОСТОКЪ* 8 (2017), 79–114.

⁶² For the illustration I rely on Hamilton, “Eastern Churches”.

⁶³ Scrivener, *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, I, 531.

⁶⁴ On the relation of heresiology and ethnography see also Todd S. Berzon, *Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016). See also Sam Kennerley, “The Reception of John Chrysostom and the Study of Christian Antiquity in Early Modern Europe, c. 1440–1600”, PhD diss., Cambridge, 2017, 151–216.

⁶⁵ This resonates with the reply of Pope Paul III who asked Ignatius of Loyola why he wanted to go to the Levant when “Italy is the good and true Jerusalem”. Quoted in Rostagno, “Pellegriini italiani”, 88.

⁶⁶ See Chad Leahy and Ken Tully, eds., *Jerusalem Afflicted: Quaresmius, Spain, and the Idea of a 17th-Century Crusade* (London: Routledge, 2020).

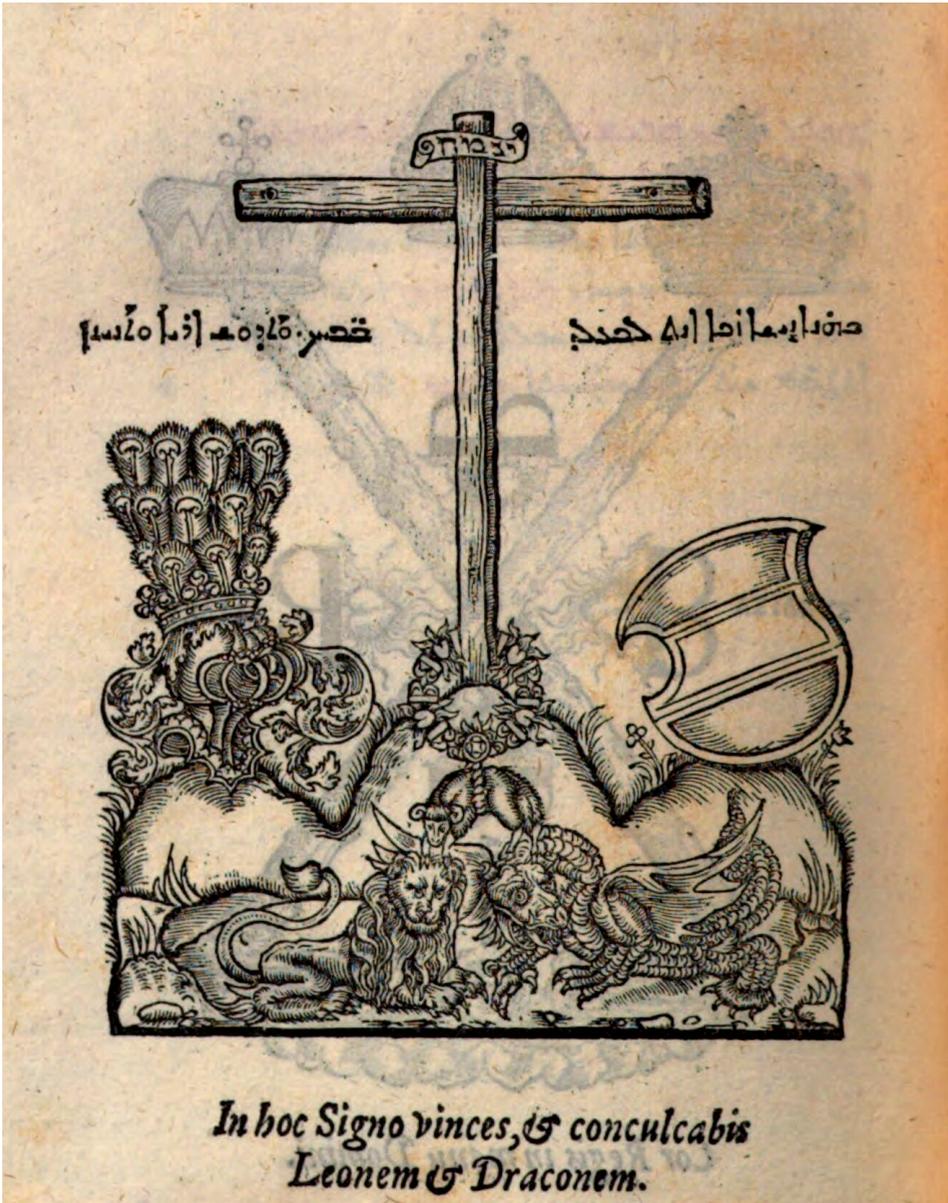


Fig. VIII.6: Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter, ed., *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii* (Vienna: Michael Cymberrmannus and Caspar Craphtus, 1555), fol. 99r. ÖNB, BE.1.N.6 ALT PRUNK ALT, woodcut, URL: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/10389B47>.