

***GETTING BY THE RESORT OF THE PILGRIMS.***  
**THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF JERUSALEM AND THEIR ANGLICAN  
GUESTS (1600-1612).**

by Felicita Tramontana

*Introduction*

When recounting his visit to Jerusalem in 1601, the clergyman of the Aleppo Levant Company, William Biddulph, warned those of his countrymen who wanted to travel to Palestine about the Franciscans of the Custody of the Holy Land. In his words the friars are:

[for the most part] very kinde and courteous to strangers in all things, liberty of conscience only excepted, wherein they seeke to make others like unto themselves, and to seduce them from their faith, and to win them to the Church of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

As Biddulph himself had found out, travellers in Palestine often came into contact with the reformed Franciscans of the Custody of the Holy Land. The presence of the Franciscans in Jerusalem dates back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> After the defeat of the Franks, the Franciscans with all the other religious orders had to leave the Holy City, but in the following decades they were allowed by the Mamluk authorities to go back to Jerusalem. When the Ottoman Sultan Selim I conquered Jerusalem in 1517, the monks were confirmed as the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre but after a while they were forced to leave Mount Zion and moved to the Saint Saviour Monastery. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in addition to this, the friars owned houses and monasteries in places that were meaningful for the Christian tradition, such as Nazareth and Bethlehem, or for the European trade, such as Sidon. They were headed by a Guardian, generally Italian, who was in charge for three years and were supported by the alms that arrived from “Christendom” and the Catholic kings, especially the Kings of France.

Since the Middle Ages the friars had been responsible for hosting pilgrims, guarding the Holy Places and giving spiritual assistance to foreigners coming from “Christendom”. The number of pilgrims hosted at the Saint Saviour monastery varied across the centuries and depended on the political circumstances. Between 1600 and 1612, for example, the number

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This essay has been written in the frame of the Italian National FIRB 2008 Project: *Beyond "Holy War". Managing Conflicts and Crossing Cultural Borders between Christendom and Islam from the Mediterranean to the extra-European World: Mediation, Transfer, Conversion (XVth-XIXth Century)*.

<sup>1</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certain Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, London, Printed by Th. Hauland, 1609, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> C. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 58-60.

of pilgrims hosted by the friars was 140.<sup>3</sup> The friars had also to accompany their guests during their visit to the Holy Sites and to collect from them the fees due to the Ottoman authorities.

While many earlier studies have focused on the relationship between the Franciscans and the Eastern churches, and especially on their struggles for the possession of the Holy Places,<sup>4</sup> the friars' encounters with Protestant visitors in Jerusalem have been little investigated. Nevertheless, the sources are abundant. First of all, the presence of Protestant pilgrims is extensively attested in by documents drafted by the Franciscans. Furthermore, British travellers, in particular, tend to mention their contacts with the friars in Jerusalem and their stay at the monastery. Although the Franciscan documents on the topic have still not been analysed, scholars who have dealt with travel literature have given accounts of early modern British travellers' descriptions of their encounters with the friars, and remarked on their hostility towards Catholics.<sup>5</sup> This attitude reflects the spread of ever more virulent anti-Catholic feelings in England<sup>6</sup> over the course of the previous century. Indeed during the reign of Queen Elisabeth I – who had re-established the Church of England's independence from Rome with the Act of Supremacy of 1558 – there was a growing identification between Catholicism and the efforts to overthrow her government. Catholicism, and especially religious orders, came to be identified with threat of foreign invasion. This was encouraged by numerous events which took place during the Elizabethan period such as the issue of the Papal bull, *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570), which excommunicated the Queen, and by the developments of international politics and especially by the Spanish attempt to invade England (1588). Though James I's ascension to the English throne (1603) raised hopes among Catholics that they would enjoy a greater tolerance, in 1604, a bill against Catholics was issued. The situation further deteriorated after the “Gunpowder Plot”,<sup>7</sup> and in 1606, when

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<sup>3</sup> P. Verniero da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa* in Girolamo Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica di Terra Santa*, Firenze, Quaracchi, 1929-1939, V, p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> C. A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1983; O. Peri, *Christianity Under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, Leiden, Brill, 2001; B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique*, Rome, Ecole Française de Rome, 1994.

<sup>5</sup> G. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720*, New York, Palgrave Mcmillan, 2004; D. Vitkus, *Trafficking with the Turk: English Travelers in the Ottoman Empire during the Seventeenth Century* in J. G. Singh, I. Kamps (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: European Witnesses to "Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, New York, 2000, pp. 35-52; P. O'Donnell, *Pilgrimage or 'Anti-Pilgrimage'? Uses of Mementoes and Relics in English and Scottish Narratives of Travel to Jerusalem, 1596-1632*, «Studies in Travel Writing», 2, 2009, pp. 124-139; N. Matar, G. MacLean, *Britain and the Muslim World, 1558-1713*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> The prominence of anti-Catholicism in Early Modern England, its function and its main characteristics and targets have been extensively investigated. For example see P. Lake, *Anti-popery: The Structure of a Prejudice*, and T. Cogswell, *England and the Spanish Match* in R. Cust, A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, London-New York, Longman, 1988, pp. 72-106, 107-33; R. Clifton, *Fear of popery* in C. Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War*, London, Mcmillan, 1973, pp. 144-167; C. Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993; A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: the Roman and the Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995; A. F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, London, Mcmillan, 1999; R. Tumbelson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant imagination: Nationalism, Religion and Literature 1600-1745*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998; D. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992.

<sup>7</sup> The “Gunpowder plot” is a failed assassination attempt against king James I by a group of English Catholics. The plan was to blow up the House of Lords and to install James' daughter, Elisabeth as the Catholic monarch.

laws against recusancy were strengthened. The Popish Recusants Act was a return to the Elizabethan system of fines and restrictions and introduced an Oath of Allegiance, requiring Catholics to abjure as a «heresy» the doctrine that «princes excommunicated by the Pope could be deposed or assassinated».

English hostility toward Catholics and the stereotypes associated with them - Catholics being, it was said, «superstitious», «idolatrous» and greedy – clearly emerged in travellers' accounts especially, although not exclusively, when travellers came in contact with the friars, for example in Jerusalem. Even though the travellers' attitudes and their link with British anti-Catholicism have been noted by many scholars, neither the relationship between the travellers' conducts and their anti-Catholic discourse nor the function that anti-Catholicism fulfils in travellers' descriptions of their stay in Jerusalem have been analysed in a satisfactory fashion. In this regard Vitkus' view that «English visitors [...] were there [...] as “anti-pilgrims” who are present in order to express their skepticism and testify to the false “idolatry” and “superstition” of the other Christians [...]»<sup>8</sup> is not entirely convincing. Concerning travellers' participation in practices related to Catholic pilgrimages, for example, it has been pointed out by Paris O' Donnell<sup>9</sup> that Vitkus' model fails to capture the complexity of their behaviour. The aim of the present article is to analyse the interactions between British travellers and the Franciscan friars in the light of the travellers' anti-Catholic claims. In particular it investigates the British travellers' stay at the friars' monastery in Jerusalem in the first two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis will focus on a small number of issues - arrival at the monastery, the time spent there, participation in Catholic ceremonies and payment for the hospitality received - crosschecking the travellers' accounts against the Franciscan documentation. The use of the two sets of documentary sources is not only aimed at giving a more comprehensive picture but also at comparing the friars and the travellers' points of view. The analysis of these episodes, moreover, will highlight the function of anti-Catholicism in travellers' narratives and question the reliability of travellers' accounts. The article argues that in spite of the anti-Catholic assumptions, the encounters between the Franciscans and English and Scottish visitors gave rise to a variety of situations that were mostly amicable.

In regard to the travellers' anti-Catholic discourse, the article also argues that, in the cases analysed, it not only reflected the prevailing cultural values of their homeland but was also designed to testify to the travellers' loyalty to their own faith and country and to deny any contamination by the Catholics. Julia Schleck<sup>10</sup> has already shown how travelling was regarded as an inherently suspicious activity during which the conduct of the individual was not under the community's control, and how travel writings therefore served to bolster a good reputation at home. This purpose was accomplished by mean of a detailed account of the traveller's conduct in foreign lands.

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<sup>8</sup> D. Vitkus, *Trafficking with the Turk*, p. 44; on the polemical attitude toward pilgrimage during the reformation see T. Nooman, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, pp. 86, 96-100; D- R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1980; M. C. Gomez-Géraud, *Le crépuscule du grand voyage. Les récits des pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458-1612)*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1999.

<sup>9</sup> P. O'Donnell, *Pilgrimage or 'Anti-Pilgrimage'?*, p. 138.

<sup>10</sup> J. Schleck, *Telling True Tales of Islamic Lands: Forms of Mediation in English Travel Writing, 1575–1630*, Selinsgrove, Susquehanna University Press, 2011, pp. 21-22.

In this perspective, the present article argues, it was particularly important for the travellers, while describing their encounters with the Franciscans and their stay at the monastery, to give account of their decorous conduct emphasizing their loyalty to Anglicanism and their distance from Catholic beliefs and practices. This was accomplished in many different ways. First of all, visitors remark that they were forced to be hosted by the Franciscans and that they went to the monastery against their own will. Describing their staying at the monastery, moreover, they constantly emphasize their distance from the friars criticizing their beliefs and recalling traditional grievance against Catholics. They were also particularly careful to testify that, while at the monastery, they did not join the friars in their ceremonies.

### *Sources*

This research relies upon a number of travelogues composed by British travellers who visited the Holy Land in the first two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Henry Timberlake (1570-1625) and William Biddulph were both in Jerusalem in 1601. The former was a prosperous ship's captain who traversed the Mediterranean at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, putting in at Algiers, Tunis and Alexandria. The account of his travels, *A true and Strange discourse*, was first published in 1603 and soon became very popular. It was re-printed countless times. William Biddulph was a clergyman for the Aleppo factory of the Levant Company. At Easter in 1601, he visited Jerusalem and the Holy Land with some English merchants. Timberlake and Biddulph were in the Saint Saviour Monastery at the same time. Biddulph's work was first published in 1609 and reissued in 1612, under a pseudonym on both occasions.<sup>11</sup> George Sandys (1578-1615), was a poet, who had translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into English, travelling to the Middle East in 1610, visiting Jerusalem in 1612 and publishing the *Relation of a Journey* in 1615. The Scottish traveller and writer, William Lithgow (1582-1645), likewise visited the Holy City in 1612; the first edition of his travelogue was published in 1614. Finally, even though he did not stay at the monastery, I will also mention the travelogue of John Sanderson (c. 1561-c. 1627), an officer of the Levant Company. He served for the British Ambassadors and travelled in the Levant from 1584 to 1602. Sanderson arrived in Jerusalem on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1601. These travelogues provide a diverse set of voices with different backgrounds and different reasons for travelling to Palestine.

The arrival at the monastery of all the authors whose travelogues have been analysed was recorded by the friars in the *Navis Peregrinorum*.<sup>12</sup> Together with the chronicles, the *Navis* is one of the Franciscan sources this research relies upon. It is a register in which the names of all the pilgrims hosted by the Saint Saviour monastery from 1561 to 1695 were recorded. The existence of a register of the pilgrims hosted in the monastery is mentioned by an

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<sup>11</sup> See G. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, pp. 50-3.

<sup>12</sup> I used the text edited by B. Zimolong O.F.M. *Navis Peregrinorum: Ein Pilgerverzeichnis aus Jerusalem von 1561 bis 1695*, Cologne, J.P. Bachem, 1938. All the pages indicated in the paper refer to this edition. Sometimes there are differences in the dates reported by the *Navis Peregrinorum* and by the travellers. William Biddulph, for example, wrote that he went to the monastery on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1601, while in the *Navis Peregrinorum* his arrival is recorded on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April *Navis*, p. 12.

English traveller who visited Jerusalem in 1669, Thomas Bodington.<sup>13</sup> He mentioned that before he left the monastery the friars wrote his name in a book. A Register of pilgrims is also mentioned in the chronicle written by the Franciscan Verniero da Montepeloso in a passage in which he describes the documents kept in the archive of the Saint Saviour monastery.<sup>14</sup> The *Navis Peregrinorum* is written in Latin and indicates the pilgrims' date of arrival and their place of origin. In the case of Protestants, «hereticus» is sometimes written next to the name, but not always. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the friars became more accurate in recording the religion of their guests. Moreover, instead of «hereticus» or «heretici»<sup>15</sup> they wrote «a Catholica fide alieno», following a trend that has already been observed in Catholic documents produced in Italy.<sup>16</sup> Sometimes, especially up until the middle of the century, the names of the pilgrims are followed by some additional information, such as the amount of alms given to the friars, the name of their father or their profession.

The chronicles give an account of all the most significant events that involved the friars in Jerusalem year by year. In addition to the one written by Pietro Verniero da Montepeloso, which goes up to 1637, the article is based on those compiled by Francesco da Serino (1594-1657).<sup>17</sup> Francesco da Serino arrived in Jerusalem in 1637 and was asked by the Custodian to write the chronicles of the Holy Land, continuing the work started by Verniero and interrupted in 1637. The secretary of the Custody, Faustino da Tuscolano, assisted Serino in his labours. He worked at the chronicles up until 1642, when he was elected Guardian of the Franciscan house in Bethlehem. I have also analysed the work of Juan de Calahorra *Historia cronologica della provincia di Syria, e terra santa di Gierusalemme* (Madrid, 1684), translated into Italian by P. Angelico di Milano (Venice, 1694). This begins with the pilgrimage of Saint Francis of Assisi to Palestine and, like Verniero's chronicle, ends in the 1630s. The chronicles talk at length of the hospitality given to pilgrims, which is not surprisingly considering that it was traditionally one of the friars' principal duties. They also contain accounts of problems arising out of the hospitality offered to pilgrims, and of other kinds of events related to this matter. Verniero is the most attentive to this issue, and he also records the number of pilgrims hosted during each guardianship and the alms collected from them. However the work of Juan Calahorra is often more detailed.

There is a marked difference in the way the Protestants and the friars depicted each other. While the travellers talk extensively, albeit in a derogatory fashion, of the Franciscans, the friars' documents do not pay special attention to their Anglican, or more broadly, to their Protestant guests. From the friars' point of view the fact that their guests were not Catholic did not mean that they deserved ill treatment and sometimes relationships were in fact quite

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<sup>13</sup> T. Bodington, *A Journey to Jerusalem or, the Travels of Fourteen English Men to Jerusalem in the Year 1669* in R. Burton (N. Crouch) (ed.), *Two Journeys to Jerusalem*, London, Nathanael Homes Publisher, 1683, p. 102.

<sup>14</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, bk. V, p. 305. See also bk. V, p. 308.

<sup>15</sup> Sometimes Protestants are also called «Heretici perversi et indurate». «Johannes Vallesius» from Scotland is said to be «a Christiana iam religione remotes», *Navis Peregrinorum*, p. 74. I kept the spelling of the names given by the Franciscan sources.

<sup>16</sup> See I. Fosi, *Convertire lo Straniero. Forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna*, Roma, Viella, 2011, p. 202.

<sup>17</sup> There are two copies of Serino's work that are contemporary to the original. One is kept in the Franciscan archive of S. Vigilio, in Trento (Italy) and one in the archive of the Saint Saviour monastery of Jerusalem (Arm. M, 6). The manuscript kept in Trento was edited and published in 1939 by T. Cavallon (*Croniche... continuate dal padre Francesco da Serino...*, in G. Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica di Terra Santa*, XI-XII, Firenze, Quaracchi, 1939).

cordial. Consequently, there are no major differences in the way Catholic and Protestant pilgrims were described. Although the friars indicated that the Protestants belonged to a number of different churches, such niceties do not seem to have been relevant to them. Therefore no special comments are made about the Anglicans.

### *British travellers in Jerusalem*

In the period under consideration Jerusalem was under Ottoman rule. The Ottoman Sultan Selim I (1512-1520) had conquered the Syro-Palestinian region almost a century earlier, in 1516.<sup>18</sup> Even though the number of foreigners was lower compared to other cities, every year several visitors arrived from “Christendom”. Travellers were all defined as pilgrims by the Franciscans,<sup>19</sup> but most of them were not in the city for devotional reasons. Some were merchants or scholars and some were adventurers or travellers, for whom Jerusalem was just one stop in a journey in the Levant. For merchants and diplomats who were permanently settled in other towns, such as Aleppo or Sidon, it was common to visit the Holy City, either for devotional reasons or out of curiosity.

In actual fact, travellers visiting Jerusalem, whatever the specific purpose of their visit, all had to follow the rules that regulated the pilgrimage. These were strictly based on the visitors’ religious affiliation. For example, the Greek patriarchate was in charge of hosting and assisting the Greek Orthodox pilgrims, the Armenian authorities of assisting the Armenian pilgrims and so on. As there were no Protestant religious delegations in the city, all the visitors coming from “Christendom” had to be hosted by the Franciscans whether they were Catholic or not.

It is not easy to find out the exact number of Protestants hosted at the monastery in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Firstly, the Franciscan register of pilgrims, the *Navis Peregrinorum*, is not wholly reliable. Moreover, it does not always indicate where guests came from and what their religion was. For example, whereas Henry Timberlake and his companion John Burrell are both defined as «hereticus», the faith of William Biddulph is not mentioned.<sup>20</sup> Protestant pilgrims came from various different countries, especially those that had commercial ties with the Ottoman Middle East, such as Flanders and France. Many of them also came from the German states. In regard specifically to English travellers, according to the *Navis Peregrinorum*, before 1600, the friars had hosted only two Englishmen: «Ugo Staper» who arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1600 and «Samuel Smalman», Catholic, arrived on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1599.<sup>21</sup> Their number increased in the early part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, varying from year to year. In 1600, when both Timberlake and Biddulph arrived at the monastery, the

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<sup>18</sup> A. Karim Rafeq, *The Political History of Ottoman Jerusalem* in S. Auld, R. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Ottoman Jerusalem (1517-1917)*, London, Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000, pp. 25-36. D. Ze’evi, *An Ottoman Century. The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*, Albany, Suny Press, 1996.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, V, p. 326. In the present paper the term «pilgrims» is likewise used in this wider sense.

<sup>20</sup> *Navis Peregrinorum*, pp. 11-12. In Rome Protestant pilgrims were commonly hosted by Catholic religious orders, see I. Fosi, *Percorsi di salvezza. Preparare le strade, accogliere, convertire nella Roma barocca*, in Alessandro Zuccari (ed.) *La storia dei giubilei*. III. 1600-1775, Firenze, Giunti, 1999, pp. 42-83; R. Matheus, *Gli oratoriani e i protestanti: concetti e pratiche di conversione a Roma (XVI-XVIII secolo)*, «Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo», 1, 2010, pp. 109-125.

<sup>21</sup> *Navis Peregrinorum*, pp. 10-11.

number of pilgrims recorded is eleven, while the year after, according to the *Navis*, the friars hosted only two pilgrims from England. The arrival of British guests is recorded throughout the century, their number varying from one year to another. Thomas Bodington, who was also allowed to peruse the book in 1669, counted the name of 158 of his countrymen registered between 1561, the year when the book started, and the date of his arrival.<sup>22</sup> These data are consistent with the fact that the English presence in the Mediterranean only commenced in the last three decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, mainly resulting from the development of commercial activities.<sup>23</sup> In the same period diplomatic relations were also established between England and the Ottoman Empire. In 1581 the rise in the number of Englishmen in the Ottoman Empire increased thanks to the establishment of the Levant Company.

The entry into the city was an important moment in travellers' narratives of their visit to Jerusalem. Moved by the sight of the walls, they would reflect upon the history of the city, and upon its present state.<sup>24</sup> So far as the present research is concerned the moment is meaningful because on arrival at the gate the visitors had to place themselves under the protection of the Custodian of the Holy Land. Not all the authors of early modern British travelogues were hosted by the friars when in Jerusalem. In the same year in which Biddulph visited the Holy City, John Sanderson was admitted to the Greek Patriarch, thanks to a letter of recommendation written by the Patriarch of Istanbul.<sup>25</sup> His case, however, must have been an exception. The Ottoman authorities strictly enforced the regulations about pilgrimage, according to which Protestants had to stay at the Saint Saviour monastery, so that even the most reluctant visitors would have no choice but to go there. Anglican travellers betray a degree of unease at having to go to the Franciscan monastery. This is consistent with the general aim of the travelogues: to dispel any doubts on the behaviour of the traveller and, in the present case, any suspicion of sympathy toward the Catholic. Nonetheless, their actual conduct varied from case to case.

Henry Timberlake and his companion John Burrel arrived in the city on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1601 and both men refused to place themselves under the protection of the Franciscans. At the gates of the city, the guards asked them about their religion. Mr. Burrel declared he was a Greek and suggested to Timberlake that he do the same. Timberlake, however, preferred to declare that he was an Englishman, claiming he did not want to betray either his religion or his country. As a result of this, while his companion was admitted to the Greek patriarchate, Timberlake suffered a different fate:

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<sup>22</sup> T. Bodington, *A Journey to Jerusalem*, p. 102.

<sup>23</sup> See S. Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around it*, London, I. B. Tauris, 2007, pp. 148-49; D. Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire*, Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 1998; Id., *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

<sup>24</sup> On travellers' attitude toward Jerusalem in the Early Modern Period see F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: the Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1985, pp. 501-518; most recently, S. Di Nepi, A. Marzano (eds.), *Travels to the "Holy Land". Perceptions, Representations and Narratives*, «Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History. Journal of Fondazione CDEC», 6, 2013(url: [www.quest-cdecjournal.it/index.php?issue=6](http://www.quest-cdecjournal.it/index.php?issue=6)). See also above, n. 8.

<sup>25</sup> J. J. Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584-1602*, pp. 121-122.

I was seized on and cast into prison before I had staid a ful houre at the gate: for the Turkes flatly denied, that they had ever heard of either my Queene [Elizabeth] or Countrey, or that they paid them any tribute.<sup>26</sup>

The situation was resolved by a Muslim acquaintance who knew him from before and went to the governor (*pasha*) of the town to take an oath that Timberlake was a mariner of a ship which had taken 250-300 Turks to Northern Africa. Timberlake was asked to go to the Franciscans, as the pilgrim system required, but, according to his account, it was granted that in the Catholic monastery he would not be forced into any religion but his own.<sup>27</sup> As far as John Burrel is concerned there may have been another intervention by the local authorities. Although he chose to place himself under the protection of the Greek Patriarch, according to Timberlake's account he was finally forced to join him at the Franciscans.<sup>28</sup>

The alleged attempts not to be hosted by the friars, as well as the fact that travellers were forced by the Ottoman authorities to stay at the monastery can be seen as a narrative device to testify their reluctance to be hosted by the Franciscans. The episode, moreover, provided an excuse for Timberlake to remark his loyalty toward his country and to accuse the Franciscans. Indeed according to his own account the Franciscan Father Guardian was to blame for his imprisonment:

The Pater Guardian, who is there defender of all Christian Pilgrimes (and the principall procurer of mine imprisonment, because I did not offer my selfe under his protection, but confidently stood to be rather protected under the Turke than the Pope) made the Turke so much mine enemy that I was reputed to be a spie, and so (by no means) could I get release from the Dungeon.<sup>29</sup>

The situation, moreover provided an excuse for Timberlake to protest about the fact that Protestants had to stay at the Franciscan monastery:

For such sway doe the Papistes cary there, that no Christian stranger can have admittance there, but he must be protected under them, or not enter in the citie.<sup>30</sup>

Also the clergyman Biddulph complained about the limits of Ottoman tolerance and the fact that Anglicans were forced to stay at the Franciscans: «true [it] is that Turks give liberty of conscience», he said, but they force Protestants to go either to the Greek or to the Latin monastery.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless once in Jerusalem did not hesitate to accept the friars' hospitality.<sup>32</sup> He must even have been happy to stay at the Franciscan monastery, rather than with the Orthodox Greeks since according to him, «the Greek Patriarkes are poore and not able to protect such as come unto them for refuge».<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> H. Timberlake, *A true and Strange discourse of the travailes of two English Pilgrimes*, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> The arrival of John Burrel at the monastery is recorded in the *Navis Peregrinorum* (p. 11) on the same date as H. Timberlake's («*Joannes Boreel de Anglia socius dicti Henrici*»).

<sup>29</sup> H. Timberlake, *A true and Strange discourse of the travailes of two English Pilgrimes*, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certaine Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 119. See also G. Sandys, *The Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610*, p. 159.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. *Navis Peregrinorum*, p. 12 (10<sup>th</sup> of April 1601) «*Gulielmus Biddelius Anglus*»; W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certaine Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 116.

<sup>33</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certaine Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 119.



The same may be said of Lithgow, whose arrival in the city, an episode recounted also in the chronicles, is particularly interesting.<sup>34</sup> The Scottish traveller and the other visitors in his party were not allowed to enter the town as they arrived in the middle of the night. Aware of the situation the father Guardian dispatched two friars to the city walls with some food. The friars paid dearly for this gesture, being accused of helping Christian spies to enter the town.<sup>35</sup> Once through the city gates, Lithgow was only too glad to follow the friars.

*The cost of the hospitality: advantages and disadvantages of hosting pilgrims*

Not only did the travellers complain about the monopoly of hosting pilgrims from “Christendom” that the Franciscans enjoyed, but they also pointed out the economic advantages that the friars derived from it. Sandys, for example, comments as follows:

Nor is it a little that they get by the resort of Pilgrims from Christendom. For all that come must repair to their Convent; otherwise they shall be accused for spies, and suffer much troubles: the *Romane*<sup>36</sup> Catholikes rewarding them out of devotion, and the rest out of curtesie.<sup>37</sup>

Indeed an important issue related to staying at the monastery is the money given in return for the hospitality. According to the travellers, at the end of their stay they were asked by the friars to pay for the hospitality received. The point is interesting first of all because of the different perspectives that the friars and the travellers adopt regarding this matter. The payment, moreover, provided the travellers with a fine opportunity to remark on their distance from the Franciscans and to confirm another traditional grievance against the Catholic church, which is perfectly summarized by the sentence quoted by William Biddulph *Curia Romana non captat ovem sine lana*.<sup>38</sup> When reporting on a speech made by the Father Guardian to his guests in which he said all pilgrims needed faith (to believe the things they would see in Jerusalem), patience (to support all their injuries at the hands of the «infidels») and money (to pay the tribute in the monastery and in the town), Lithgow adds:

For I am fully perswaded hee little cared for our Faith and Patience, providing, that our purses could answer his expectation, as truly we found the trial afterward.<sup>39</sup>

Referring to the money given to the friars for their stay at the monastery Sandys<sup>40</sup> says:

We foure for eight days entertainment bestowed little less amongst them than an hundred dollers; and yet they told us we had hardly payed for what we had eaten.

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<sup>34</sup> J. de Calahorra (*Historia cronologica della provincia di Syria*, p. 572) who dates it to 1606. As I have already said, though generally speaking the dates indicated in the Franciscan documents do not match either with the travelogues or with each other. On the arrival of Lithgow at the monastery see the *Navis Peregrinorum*, p. 31 (25<sup>th</sup> of April 1612) «Gulielmus Litteous Scotus Lanerki».

<sup>35</sup> W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse...*, p. 235.

<sup>36</sup> The cursive of the text.

<sup>37</sup> G. Sandys, *The Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610*, p. 159.

<sup>38</sup> «The Court of Rome no sheepe doth receive, unlesse to them her fleece she leave», W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certaine Englishmen Into Africa, Asia,...*, p. 119. See M. Kaartinen, *Religious life and English culture in the Reformation*, London, Mcmillan, 2002.

<sup>39</sup> W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse...*, p. 246; see also p. 286.

<sup>40</sup> G. Sandys, *The Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610*, p. 159. See also p. 200. The arrival of Sandys at the monastery is recorded on the *Navis Peregrinorum*, p. 28.

At which he concludes: «A costly rate for a monasticall diet».<sup>41</sup>

On this issue the travellers' perspective is different from the friars'. In a passage from the Chronicle it is said that during their first evening at the monastery the pilgrims gave the friars the money to visit the Holy Sepulchre and for other necessities.<sup>42</sup> However Verniero indignantly denied that the friars ever accepted money for their hospitality as «if the monastery were a inn and the friars were innkeepers».<sup>43</sup> The friars refer to the money received from their guests as «alms» (*limosine*)<sup>44</sup> remarking that the money given by the pilgrims “do not even cover the bread and the wine consumed”.<sup>45</sup> The Guardian also adds that while other churches would charge their guests, the friars did not.<sup>46</sup>

More broadly, the hosting of pilgrims itself is depicted in a different way by the Franciscans and the travellers. Contrary to the latter's accounts, in which the friars are described as anxious to host pilgrims for the income they might receive, Franciscan chronicles referred to it as a heavy burden on the friars' shoulders.<sup>47</sup> Not only did both Catholics and Protestants have to be hosted by the friars, but sometimes these latter also had to pay the pilgrims' entrance to the Holy Sepulchre<sup>48</sup> and even the *kafara*,<sup>49</sup> not to mention the cases in which the friars had to provide their guests with funds to return to their homeland.<sup>50</sup> The contrasting approaches toward the money paid to the Franciscans and the burden of hospitality owed to pilgrims are perfectly consistent with, on the one hand, the friars' propensity to emphasize their own misery and their need of alms, and, on the other, the Anglicans' tendency to depict the Catholics, in line with the traditional anti-Catholic stereotypes, as money-grubbing. The difference in the perspective furnished by the two documents is related to the characteristics of the readers these two narratives were written for and to the intrinsic function of the two narratives. Whereas in travel literature, criticizing the Franciscans is a way to mark the distance between the travellers and the friars and to respect the expectations of the readers, in the case of the Franciscans the portrayal of their misery is aimed at justifying their requests of alms from “Christendom”.

#### *Staying at the monastery. Anglican guests as to any other guest*

By and large it seems that the Franciscans gave a favourable welcome to their Anglican guests. According to Lithgow's account, at the monastery the friars received him «joyfully», and they «mightily rejoiced that a Christian had come from such a far country as Scotia; to visit Jerusalem». He also says that when he met the Father Guardian at the door of

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>42</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, V, p. 357.

<sup>43</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, X, p. 186.

<sup>44</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, X, p. 186.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>47</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, X, pp. 186-7.

<sup>48</sup> The Ottoman authorities charged the pilgrims to enter the Holy Sepulcher and required the friars to collect the money from their guests.

<sup>49</sup> The *Kafara* is the *ghafār*, the protection fees that visitors had to pay to the local authorities travelling in Ottoman territory.

<sup>50</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, V, p. 348.

Jerusalem, hearing that he was from Scotland «he seemed to be exceeding glad».<sup>51</sup> However, from the very first moments at the monastery it became clear that the travellers were careful to dispel any suspicion of sympathy toward the friars. Describing the kindness shown by them on his arrival at the monastery, Lithgow, for example, adds that he told the Guardian «flatly in his face I was not Romane Catholicicke, nor never thought to be».<sup>52</sup>

According to the chronicles the friars' guests were well treated and were given all they needed.<sup>53</sup> When in the monastery, pilgrims:

are charitably given of food, drink, a place to sleep and all they need and many times they are also given the money to enter the Holy Sepulchre, go to the Jordan and go back to their homes either because they are poor or because they have been robbed by the Arabs or because they are impertinent.<sup>54</sup>

In fact, once at the monastery, whether they arrived voluntarily or not, British travellers seemed to appreciate the friars' hospitality. According to Biddulph they were given a «good neat bed with faire sheets and all things very handsome and holesome». Moreover, in the case of Biddulph at least one friar was charged with providing for all his necessities.<sup>55</sup> Biddulph had to admit that the friars were «kinde and courteous». Timberlake himself, after his initial mistrust, never complained about the treatment offered by the friars and he was even accused of crypto-Catholicism by Biddulph.<sup>56</sup> This said, the travellers did not miss any opportunity to express their anti-Catholic feelings in their accounts. In some passages the hostility toward Catholics is overly suspicious, for example when Timberlake recalls that he and his companion were scared that the meal offered by the friars might be poisoned.<sup>57</sup>

In order to dispel any suspicion of susceptibility to Catholic doctrine, travellers were also careful to remark upon the distance between their beliefs and the friars'. Sandys (1615) narrated that at the Holy Sepulchre:

The confessor offered to show us the holy and observable places of the Temple: which we gladly accepted of; he demanding first if devotion or curiosity had possesst us with that desire. So that for omitting Pater nostres, and Ave Maries, we lost many years' indulgences, which every place doth plentifully afford to such as affect them: and contented our selves with an historicall relation.<sup>58</sup>

On the matter he adds: «Which I will not declare in order as shewne, but take them as they lie from the first entrance in the temple».<sup>59</sup> When talking about the explanation of the Holy Sites provided by the Franciscan guides all the travellers show their scepticism and point out the credulity of the «superstitious friars». For example, Lithgow wrote:

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<sup>51</sup> W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse...*, p. 236.

<sup>52</sup> W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse...*, p. 236.

<sup>53</sup> See for example, V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, bk. V, p. 348; bk. X, pp. 186-7.

<sup>54</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, bk. V, p. 348.

<sup>55</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certaine Englishmen Into Africa, Asia, ...*, p. 118.

<sup>56</sup> G. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, p. 54.

<sup>57</sup> H. Timberlake, *A true and Strange discourse of the travailes of two English Pilgrimes*, p. 9. Sanderson says that the friars of Jerusalem, who were upset because he had not slept in their monastery, turned the Franciscans of Tripoli against him, one of whom shot at him pretending he was hunting birds, J. J. Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584-1602*, p. 122.

<sup>58</sup> G. Sandys, *The Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610*, p. 163.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*. See also p. 170.

This I must needs say, with such lying wondere, these flattering Friars bring strangers, into a wonderfull admiration, and although I rehearse all I saw there, yet I will not believe all, onely publishing them as things indifferent, some whereof are frivolous, and others somewhat more credible: but I said before, I will make (or very small) distinction in the relation.<sup>60</sup>

The explanation of the Franciscan guides also provides an opportunity to ridicule the friars' obedience to the Pope's opinion: «...then the house of S. Thomas, but that is doubtful (say they) because it is not yet confirmed by the Papal Authority».<sup>61</sup> In most cases travellers' anti-Catholic assumptions are not related to specific events or to conflicts that might have arisen with the friars. Sometimes the link between the events described and the anti-Catholic comments of the traveller is tenuous. For example, talking about the river Jordan, Lithgow expressed his convictions about the moral corruption of Rome through a parallel between the Jordan and the Tiber. «The river *Tibris* at Rome, and *Iordan* are not much different in quantity and colour; and not unlike other in their courses: for *Iordan* falleth in the old *Gomorrhah*, and *Tibris* runneth through the new *Sodome*».<sup>62</sup> Conversely the link between travellers' comments and British anti-Catholicism is evident. Nor do travellers' descriptions simply reflect the classical stereotypes, such as the notion that Catholics are superstitious and idolatrous.<sup>63</sup> As far as the relationship with the anti-Catholic literature is concerned there is a passage from Lithgow's narration that is worth mentioning. According to the traveller the Ottomans would have already converted to Christianity if the Catholic orders who live in the «Turkes Dominions»<sup>64</sup> had «dismissed from Paganism eyes onely their idolatrous images, veneration of pictures, Crosses and the like externall superstitious Rites».<sup>65</sup> This passage echoes a sermon of Merdith Hanmer - on Mt. v. 16 - that was preached in 1586.<sup>66</sup> This was occasioned by the liberation of a galley of slaves and the conversion to Christianity of one of them. Like many works published in that period, the sermon focuses on conversion from Islam to Protestantism. In Hanmer's words the topic of conversion from Islam to Protestantism becomes a means to discredit Catholicism. After claiming that the Turks, not without reason, laughed at Catholic idolatry, he affirms that Catholicism does not allow the Muslims any alternative to their own religion, thus preventing conversion to Christianity.

Beyond the link with British anti-Catholic literature, travellers' remarks are clearly aimed at vindicating their loyalty to their religion and consequently to their country. Loyalty to the English crown is also sometimes openly affirmed, as, for example, when Timberlake recalls how, at the city gates, he had refused to do and pretend to be Greek as his companion had

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<sup>60</sup> W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, p. 249. This is not the only passage in which the Scottish traveller expresses his doubts as to the reliability of the explanations of the Holy Sites given by the Franciscans, W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, pp. 247-8; 284 (he repeats the same things at the end of his visit to Jerusalem). See also W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certain Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 123. The scepticism about the Holy Sites was not exclusively Anglican but had been expressed long before. See M. C. Gomez-Géraud, *Le crépuscule du grand voyage. Les récits des pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458-1612)*, pp. 55-8, 114, 123.

<sup>61</sup> W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, p. 247.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 257.

<sup>63</sup> See A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: the Roman and the Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640*, p. 189.

<sup>64</sup> Cursive in the text.

<sup>65</sup> W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse...*, pp. 270-1.

<sup>66</sup> See M. Dimmock, «*Captive to the Turke*». *Responses to the 1580 Capitulations*, in M. Birchwood, M. Dimmock (eds.), *Cultural Encounters Between East and West, 1453-1699*, Amersham, Cambridge Scholar Press, 2005, pp. 46-7.

suggested.<sup>67</sup> Another interesting example is provided by a passage in Lithgow's account, when a friar from Bethlehem was engraving on his arm - as was the custom - the name of Jesus and the Cross,<sup>68</sup> and the traveller asked him to add the name of King James and the crown of England with the inscription «*vivat Iacobus rex*».<sup>69</sup>

Describing their stay at the monastery, not only did travellers not want to show any sympathy toward the friars but they also tried to avoid evoking such feelings among their readers. Although Biddulph acknowledges the courtesy of the friars he says that during his stay in the monastery he was offended by two Jesuits, who according to him were in the monastery at that time: «Some unkindesse was offered us behind our backs».<sup>70</sup> Considering that Jesuits were one of the main targets of anti-Catholicism<sup>71</sup> the episode seems to have been made up by Biddulph and tacked on for polemical purposes. Indeed, the *Navis Peregrinorum* does not report the presence of any Jesuits during Biddulph's stay at the Monastery.

#### *Joining the friars «in their idolatrous services»*

Now let us consider the most contentious issue relating to the Protestants' stay at the Monastery, namely their participation in Catholic ceremonies. The travellers' hesitation at the idea of being hosted at the monastery, in the case of Timberlake and Burrel at least, is not merely linked to anti-Catholic prejudices but is motivated rather by a concern not to take part in Catholic ceremonies. According to Timberlake's account, John Burrel asked to be hosted by the Greek Patriarch rather than by the Franciscans so as «to avoid going to Mass».<sup>72</sup> The fact that attending Catholic ceremonies at the monastery was perceived as «contaminatory» is confirmed by another passage from Timberlake's account. When asked by the Father Guardian why he preferred to place himself under the protection of the «Turks» rather than his own, Timberlake replied that he did it «because I would not goe to Masse, but keep my conscience to my selfe».<sup>73</sup> This same issue would also appear to have played a key role more generally in travellers' narratives. If by and large travellers, describing their interaction with the friars, try to avoid accusations of sympathy toward Catholicism, it was still more important to deny any contamination from the friars' rituals. That is why they often pointed out that they did not take part in Catholic ceremonies like Palm Sunday, and why they criticized the friars' rituals.<sup>74</sup> It was even more important in this perspective to testify that although they stayed at the monastery they did not join the friars in their ceremonies.

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<sup>67</sup> See above.

<sup>68</sup> See G. Sandys, *The Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610*, p. 200.

<sup>69</sup> W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, p. 285.

<sup>70</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certaine Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 120.

<sup>71</sup> A. F. Marotti, *Catholicism and anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, pp. 1-34.

<sup>72</sup> H. Timberlake, *A true and Strange discourse of the travailes of two English Pilgrimes*, p. 6.

<sup>73</sup> H. Timberlake, *A true and Strange discourse of the travailes of two English Pilgrimes*, p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certaine Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 135. On this subject see also the comments made by W. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, pp. 244-5; see also pp. 270-272. Lithgow remarked that neither he nor the German Protestants took part in the ceremony. In some passages of his travelogue he suggests a sort of solidarity between him and the Protestant guests, like on page 236. On the Palm the Sunday ceremony see also G. Sandys, *The Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610*, p. 197.

From a religious point of view, what did the friars' hospitality imply? All the guests of the monastery, whether they were Catholic or not, had to attend some ceremonies, «the customary foot washing ceremony with the procession and the sermon and all the other ceremonies».<sup>75</sup> The «foot washing» ceremony is described by many travellers<sup>76</sup> and by Franciscan chronicles.<sup>77</sup> During it the friars washed the feet of all the pilgrims, who were also required to participate in a procession, holding a candle and to attend a sermon. Moreover, according to Franciscan sources, the guests of the monastery were invited to attend Mass and to go to confession.<sup>78</sup> This point is more problematic. According to Biddulph's account, he and his companions were exempted from both the Mass and the confession thanks to a letter of recommendation written by the Venetian consul in Aleppo and other Italian merchants. According to Biddulph, after reading the letter the Father Guardian told his British guests that the Franciscans «would not urge us to anything against our conscience [and would treat us ] as if we were in *England*».<sup>79</sup> The forbearance shown by the friars, however, did not lessen the traveller's prejudices. Quite the contrary: he suspected that the exemption from Mass and confession was a privilege accorded in the hope of extorting money from the group of rich English merchants. According to Biddulph this tolerance had a price, as the group had to pay a hundred ducats for their stay at the Monastery. Even though he was not forced to attend any ceremonies, this suspicion provides him with an excuse to warn English visitors «for if they come not well commended, or well monied, or both, there is no being for them, except they partake with them in their idolatrous services».<sup>80</sup> This passage perfectly exemplifies the tension between, on the one hand, the author's concern to avoid any suspicion of contamination by the friars, and on the other hand the wish to present the friars as dangerous and «malicious» and to corroborate anti-Catholic prejudices.

In spite of what Biddulph's account suggests, in reality he cannot have been the only one who enjoyed this privilege. Even though the chronicles do not mention any exception being made for non-Catholics when talking about the administering of the sacraments to the pilgrims, it must have been easy to avoid them. In the *Navis Peregrinorum*, close to the names of some of the pilgrims, it is indicated that they did not attend either confession or communion.<sup>81</sup> This is said mostly of Protestants but sometimes also of Catholics.

Reverting to the travellers' accounts, Biddulph's description of the friars' forbearance is not an exception. Yet other authors did more than merely remark that they had not joined in with Catholic ceremonies. In addition to this, in order to corroborate their statement on this matter and to avoid incurring readers' suspicions about their joining the friars' ceremonies,

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<sup>75</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, V, p. 357.

<sup>76</sup> H. Timberlake, *A true and Strange discourse of the travailes of two English Pilgrimes*; T. Bodington, *The Travels*, p. 93; H. Moundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at 1697*, Beirut, Khayats, 1963, p. 126.

<sup>77</sup> V. da Montepeloso, *Delle croniche o annali di Terra Santa*, bk. V, p. 357; J. de Calahorra, *Historia cronologica della provincia di Syria*, p. 414.

<sup>78</sup> J. de Calahorra, *Historia cronologica della provincia di Syria*, p. 415.

<sup>79</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certain Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 117; G. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, p. 109.

<sup>80</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certain Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 119.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example, *Navis Peregrinorum*, pp. 40-1 «*Inconfessi*» (without having done the confession) or on p. 18 «*discessit hinc absque confessione*», (They left without attending confession), on p. 20 «*discessit absque sacramentis*» (without sacraments) or on the same page «*sine sacramentis*» (without sacraments) and «*absque confessione (et comunione)*», (without confession and communion).

the travellers overemphasized Franciscan forbearance. Lithgow, for example, mentions a speech made by the Guardian in which he affirms that Protestants were free to behave as if they were in their own homeland, and that they were simply required to «abstaine from scandalizing and mocking our rites and ordinarie custome, which at this great feast we must perform». The function that the Franciscans' forbearance has in travellers' accounts casts some doubts also on the reliability of some of the latter's assertions. According to Biddulph, for example, the friars did not only allow pilgrims to eat whatever they wanted during Lent («eggs and milk and everything that was there to be had for money»)<sup>82</sup> Biddulph also tells us that when he had dinner in the monastery in Bethlehem the friars suspended their usual reading once they realized that their Anglican guests were not listening.<sup>83</sup>

### *Conclusions*

Travellers' accounts on the hospitality received at the monastery stimulate some considerations as to the extent to which anti-Catholic prejudices affected the travellers' interactions with the friars. Even though all the travelogues analysed are full of anti-Catholic remarks, at the same time the travellers' interactions with the friars seems to have been more complex and amicable. In spite of their anti-Catholic claims, the travellers do not report any conflict during their stay at the monastery and the general impression is that they enjoyed staying there. The lack of correspondence between the anti-Catholic claims and the daily interactions with the friars is beyond dispute. Anti-Catholicism seems to represent a general attitude that subsisted at a theoretical level while in practice it left space for peaceful interactions. Anti-Catholic comments, moreover, are not linked to the rise of any real conflict with the friars. In some cases they are not linked with what is recounted either. The discrepancy between a violent anti-Catholic discourse and relatively tolerant behaviour has already been pointed out by Antony Milton in his work on anti-Catholicism in Jacobean England.<sup>84</sup> The comparison with Jacobean England, however, should not be permitted to obscure the role played by the geographical and historical context in which the encounter described took place. Being under Muslim rule and in a foreign land shaped and made possible the encounters between the friars and the British travellers, above all because it forced the latter to lodge with the Franciscans. This context also influences the function of anti-Catholicism in travellers' accounts. In the cases analysed the hostility toward Catholics, is not merely linked to the building of national identity and to traditional British anti-Catholicism. The violent anti-Catholic claims of the travellers in fact resulted more broadly from the function of travel writing: to furnish a detailed account of the traveller's conduct in foreign land to bolster his reputation at home. In a moment in which Catholicism in England was identified with the efforts to overthrow the King, their close contact with the friars made it more important for the travellers to testify to their loyalty to Anglicanism and the English crown. Consequently, they were always at pains, especially when acknowledging good behaviour on the part of the friars, not to appear too close to the Franciscans not least in the eyes of their own readers. In this perspective anti-Catholicism became necessary in order to dispel any suspicion of susceptibility to Catholic doctrine and rituals. The travellers' distance from the friars and their beliefs is constantly reaffirmed through criticism of the Catholic

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<sup>82</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certain Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 117.

<sup>83</sup> W. Biddulph, *The Travel of Certain Englishmen Into Africa, Asia*, p. 133.

<sup>84</sup> A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*.

ceremonies and through doubts expressed as to the friars' explanations of the Holy Sites. Travellers are also always careful to note that they were forced to stay at the monastery by the Ottoman authorities and that, even though the Franciscans hosted them, they nonetheless did not join in with the friars' rituals. In this perspective the travellers' remarks about the friars' forbearance toward their Anglican guests must be seen as a means to corroborate the travellers' statements and to dispel readers' suspicions about their participation in any Catholic services. The function of the friars' forbearance in travellers' accounts also casts some doubts on the travellers' statements on this same topic. More broadly, the reliability of travellers' accounts regarding their encounters with the Franciscans is put into question by the function of anti-Catholicism within them. This is the case, for example, with the episode described by Biddulph in which the traveller is offended by the Jesuits.

Travellers' anti-Catholic remarks not only are aimed at avoiding any suspicion of sympathy toward the friars but also at fulfilling the expectation of the readers about the defining characteristics of the Franciscans. In this perspective it is not surprising that in their homeland travellers' accounts of their encounters with the friars served to reinforce anti-Catholic prejudices. Even though in reality the interaction was often amicable, the travellers frequently warn those of their countrymen who wished to visit the Holy Land about the Franciscans. Travellers' accounts corroborated anti-Catholic prejudices in their homeland, influenced other travelogues and shaped the advice that was given to Pilgrims and merchants. Travellers, for example, did not trust the friars' accounts, and therefore also warned future visitors not to. Saying that he attended neither confession nor communion during his stay at the monastery, Biddulph warns British travellers that they might not have the same luck. He also says that the friars tried to convert their guests. George Sandys,<sup>85</sup> probably influenced by Timberlake's account, says that visitors who did not want to be hosted by the friars were accused of being spies. The adventures of both Timberlake and Sanderson<sup>86</sup> were also mentioned by Samuel Purchase (bap. 1577–d. 1626) who collected and edited many travel accounts in a book published in 1624-5:

For if a man doth not give content to the friers, which a good conscience, cannot doe, except some of their patrons and benefactors letters, or other extraordinary provision, helpe, you see these superstitious friers to prove malicious lyers, as they slandered Master Sanderson to be a jew and master Timberlie to be a spies.<sup>87</sup>

And probably in order to have a stronger impact on the future pilgrims and to further discourage them, he adds: «that I mention not foure Englishmen not long before seene to enter their monasteries but never seene to come foth, as the Patriach of Jerusalem confidently affirmed to Master Sanderson».<sup>88</sup> Samuel Purchase also warns those of his countrymen who might want to go against the “superstition” of the friars: «Superstition on the one side and tyrannie on the other endangering the best pilgrimage which is the peaceable way of a good conscience to that Jerusalem which is above».<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> G. Sandys, *The Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610*, p. 159. See above.

<sup>86</sup> While entering the Holy Sepulchre, Sanderson, according to his travelogue, was accused by the friars of being a Jew. On Franciscan's anti-Judaism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance see G. Todeschini, *Franciscan Economics and Jews in the Middle Ages: from a Theological to an Economic Lexicon*, in S. J. McMichael, S. E. Myers (eds.), *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2004, pp. 99-117.

<sup>87</sup> S. Purchase, *Purchase His Pilgrims*, vol. II, bk. IX, p. 121.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*.



The importance of anti-Catholicism in early modern England explains also the main difference between Franciscan and British sources on the Protestants' stay in the Saint Saviour monastery. While the British travellers devote many pages to the friars, even though they criticize them, the friars do not give special consideration to the Anglicans. Comparing the accounts given in two kinds of sources, in most cases what is different is the perspective, as is clear, for example, from the way the money given to the friars is referred to by the travellers and the Franciscan chronicles. This difference perfectly fits with the friars' disposition constantly to bewail their misery and their need of alms (which were never enough)<sup>90</sup> and with the Anglicans' depiction of Catholics, in line with the traditional anti-Catholic stereotypes, as overmuch preoccupied with money. The difference in the perspectives adopted is related to the characteristics of the readers these two kinds of narratives were written for, and with the function of this same narratives. As far as British travelogues are concerned, it has already been described the function of anti-Catholic remarks. In the case of the Franciscan chronicles it is clear that the portrayal of the friars' misery is aimed at justifying the requests for alms from "Christendom".

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<sup>90</sup> See for example J. de Calahorra, *Historia cronologica della provincia di Syria*, p. 844.