

**Pilgrimages in Images: Early Sixteenth-Century Views
of the Holy Land with Pilgrims' Portraits as Part of the
Commemoration of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in
Germany**

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Fig. 1. The 'Jerusalem tapestry', showing the city of Jerusalem and surrounding holy places, with prayer portraits of Count Palatine Ottheinrich and his travel companions, 1541. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. T3860.



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INTRODUCTION

In the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich hangs a tapestry from 1541, displaying a view of Jerusalem and the surrounding countryside west to east (from now on: the Jerusalem tapestry, fig. 1). Within the city and its surroundings, small scenes are depicted indicating the sites of episodes from the New and Old Testament: in the city the Stations of the Cross (the *via dolorosa*) ending at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; outside the city walls episodes such as the Martyrdom of St Stephen just outside the gates, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the Betrayal of Christ, the Hanging of Judas, the Last Supper, and so on. However, not all scenes are based on the Bible: on the south side of the city seven figures can be discerned, just entering the city. They are wearing dark brown cloaks and hats. What they are supposed to represent becomes clear when we look at what is happening in the foreground, in front of the city. Nine harnessed persons are kneeling here, their hands folded in prayer. The first person, whose harness is made of gold, is identified by a short text: “Ser durchlechtig hochgeborn fürst und her her Otthainrich, pfaltzgraf bey Rein, herrzog in Nidern- und Oberrn Bairn, zoge uber mer gem Ierusalem zum Heiligen Grab, im iar nach der gepurt Cristi 1521.” The tapestry is first and foremost a commemoration of the pilgrimage that Ottheinrich, Elector Palatine, made in 1521. The persons kneeling behind him were his travel companions, and the unidentified figures in brown in Jerusalem are the pilgrims moving around in the Holy Land.

There is, however, a curious side to the praying figures in the foreground: they have turned their backs to the city of Jerusalem and are looking to a point on the right outside the tapestry. If we would like to see what they are looking at, we have to leave Munich and travel about 100 kilometres north, to the small city of Neuburg an der Donau. Another tapestry hangs in the local castle (from now on: the Jaffa tapestry; fig. 2), depicting other holy places in the Holy Land, such as Bethlehem and the River Jordan. Between the biblical scenes many more pilgrim figures move around, often on horseback. We can see a pilgrims' galley being prepared for departure from the port of Jaffa, and prominently in the foreground the pilgrims being beaten by Turkish soldiers. In a certain sense, therefore, these tapestries can be seen as the visual equivalent of a pilgrimage report, depicting both the sites of religious devotion, and the contemporary situation which the pilgrims faced.

These highly interesting images, however, did not appear from nowhere, but were based on other objects depicting a similar situation. If we leave Neuburg an der Donau and again travel north, this time some 300 kilometres, we can see a remarkably similar depiction in the Schlossmuseum in Gotha. A sixteenth-century panel painting (from now on: the Gotha panel; fig. 3) shows a landscape with scenes from biblical history, a cityscape of Jerusalem also on the left side, a pilgrim's galley on the right side, and in the foreground a kneeling figure, his hands folded in prayer. The figure represents the Elector of Saxony Frederick III 'the Wise', who had made the pilgrimage in 1493. Yet another panel, now lost, had a similar layout, this time with kneeling figures of the Nuremberg Ketzler family. Other textual sources suggest the existence of at least two similar objects. Taken together, it seems that these objects were somehow connected, and possibly influenced by each other. Their similarities have often been noted in scholarly literature, but it has never been fully investigated exactly how and why they were related. Most often, the scholarly foci have been on the individual objects as examples of pilgrimage commemoration in the later Middle Ages, and as individual expressions of their donors. However, how these objects came into being, how they relate to other commemorative practices surrounding the pilgrimage, and how they possibly influenced each other, tends to have been based mainly on assumptions and has never been researched thoroughly.¹

1 The connection between the two objects is among others discussed, but not fully explored, by Carola Fey, 'Wallfahrtserinnerungen an spätmittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen in Bild und Kult', in: Carola Fey, Steffen Krieb and Werner Rösener (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Fürstenhöfe und ihre Erinnerungskulturen* (Göttingen 2007), pp. 141-166; Haim Goren, 'Pilgrimage, tapestries, and cartography: sixteenth-century wall hangings commemorating a



Fig. 3. The 'Gotha panel', depicting a view on the Holy Land with the prayer portrait of duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who made the pilgrimage in 1493. Gotha, Schlossmuseum Friedenstien, inv. no. SG77.

Besides having their pilgrimages depicted in physical objects with a landscape of the Holy Land and their prayer portraits, Ottheinrich and Frederick had more in common. Both were very important political figures within the Holy Roman Empire, and both were pious Catholics early in their lives and acted accordingly, but later developed Protestant sympathies. Frederick as the protector of Martin Luther, Ottheinrich as one of the first German princes who officially introduced Protestantism in his lands. Both were actively engaged in commemorating their pilgrimages in other respects, such as the foundation of chapels or writing travel reports. Moreover, both men were important patrons of the arts and stimulated artists and architects who introduced Italian Renaissance influences in the cultural climate north of the Alps. This makes their respective commemorative tapestries and painting interesting witnesses of the cultural, social, religious, and political climate in the first half of the sixteenth century in what is now Germany.

In this thesis, I will therefore not look at these objects independently, but as products of specific religious, cultural, social, and political circumstances and developments. These 'works of art' functioned on a variety of levels, encompassing commemorative and devotional aspects, but also more worldly ones. The donors consciously included a depiction of themselves (or of others, as

we will see) on these objects, in order to represent themselves in a certain way, to convey to their contemporaries and possibly also to future generations messages concerning politics, religion, and social standing. These messages, properly understood or not, influenced others who in turn had themselves depicted in a similar fashion. I will thus attempt to trace the development of a commemorative practice as a process of reception and appropriation by various subsequent parties, a “dynamic process during which the involved parties create a culture of remembrance in which traditions are created and recreated, sometimes abandoned, and in which some practices never make it to such customs”.² This thesis will therefore revolve around the following questions: How did the views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits come into being? How were they subsequently appropriated by others? And how do they relate to the existing commemorative practices of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in their time?

In order to address these questions, I will assess these objects in their respective contexts. For this, it is necessary to start with the vantage point for the commemoration of the pilgrimage: the pilgrimage itself. I will provide a general overview of the late medieval pilgrimage to Jerusalem; who made the journey and why? How was the pilgrimage organised and how did this change over time? Next, I will assess the practices surrounding the pilgrimage of those who returned, in other words the commemoration of the pilgrimage; which options were there to commemorate the pilgrimage, and why would one choose a specific one? Which functions did various practices have and how do these interrelate? I will hereby pay specific attention to those practices which most closely approach the objects under discussion here, namely visual representations of actual Jerusalem pilgrims (i.e., portraits of pilgrims) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Attention will also be paid to areas outside the German lands, to see how certain elements in the views of the Holy Land with pilgrim's depictions were possibly adopted from abroad. This provides the basic framework for the assessment of each specific view on the Holy Land with pilgrim's portraits, to which I will then finally turn.

First, I will try to shed light on the actual objects, to see whether anything can be said about the origin and development, that is, the process of appropriation, of the views on the Holy Land with pilgrim's portraits. How many objects currently exist or are known to have existed which resemble the mentioned views of the Holy Land? When are they dated and are their commissioners known? Can we speak of a distinct commemorative practice with regard to these objects or are they closely related to other depictions of Jerusalem (pilgrims)? And can we actually speak of representative portraits when we assess the kneeling figures (who obviously represent specific persons) or should they be classified differently? Finally, I will assess how these objects influenced each other and propose a theory about their origins and development.

Next, each individual object will be investigated within its contemporary context. The persons depicted will be treated in greater detail, including how they functioned within the social and political situation of their times. We will look at the pilgrimage they made by reading their travel reports, and look at how they commemorated the completed journey. Moreover, we will see how their ideas about certain aspects of the Jerusalem pilgrimage changed over time and caused them to depict themselves or others as Jerusalem pilgrims. We will take a look at other objects they commissioned to present themselves in a certain way, and we will finally ask how the objects with the view of the Holy Land fit into all this. What do the objects show of the actual experiences of the pilgrimage? Why were they made on a specific moment? Where were they placed and what message were they probably intended to convey? I will therefore use these objects as case studies with a twofold objective: how should we interpret them in light of the context in which they were created? And what then do they tell us about the circumstances in which they were made, the intentions and views of their makers and founders, and the commemoration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in early sixteenth-century Germany?

² Truus van Bueren, Kim Ragetli, and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, 'Researching Medieval *Memoria*: Prospects and Possibilities', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis*14 (2011), pp. 183-234, p. 210.

Before I do so, however, I would like to draw attention to the concept of appropriation in cultural history. The term became widely used in cultural studies from the 1980's onwards, as a concept that emphasized the dynamic and active workings of culture, in opposition to the idea of cultural reception as a passive process. Appropriation in this sense therefore addresses the reception of certain ideas and images by someone or some social group, and subsequently to make them one's own, thereby transforming them. Seen in this way, the reception of culture involves also the production of culture. As this invokes a manner of thought which describes the dynamics of cultural development rather than its static character, it has been applied to many different situations with various actors and subjects. Mostly the term was used to describe cultural processes in which social groups and power relations come into play, for example in anthropology and the history of non-western cultures, where it assesses the processes with which foreign cultural factors are assimilated and adapted into one's own culture. Also, it has often been used as an approach for the study of 'elite culture' versus 'people's culture', where once again cultural elements were exchanged between different social strata. Culture in this way is not something which is simply imposed on individuals, but rather something which involves the active participation of individual actors or groups, from both sides of the social spectrum. This can also mean the rejection of a cultural element by a specific actor.³

'Appropriation' is a useful term with regard to the study of social groups, but also with respect to the responses and expressions of individuals. When commemorative practices are involved, the approach can be especially enlightening. Rituals or objects which have been designed with a commemorative function were made principally to convey a message to a public. As each individual member of this public, upon perceiving the object or ritual, goes through the respective phases of receiving, perceiving, processing, judging and acting upon,⁴ and hereby takes into account his or her own experiences and referential frames, each individual perception will not necessarily reflect the message the object was intended to convey, thereby adding to its meaning and function. The process therefore resembles the famous literary reception theory of Jauss, which states that a work of literature stands not on its own, but that it continues to have effect as it is continuously appropriated by its public, and its meaning and significance thereby altered.⁵ Appropriation is therefore pre-eminently a social phenomenon. In particular, when the observer actively chooses to react to the existing situation by adding his own material to it, thereby evoking new reactions and cultural expressions, the circle is complete and the process continues, which makes some practices become traditions over time. This involves, for example, the production of new commemorative objects which are more or less similar to previous ones, but adapted to the specific needs of their donors, or the adoption of already existing works which are transformed to have a new function. In the production of the views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits, we will see both. Further, when a certain tradition or fashion comes to an end, it is also part of the appropriation process. After all, people apparently chose not to actively participate in it any more, for various reasons. The use of the term 'appropriation' thus makes us aware of the dynamics of cultural production, of the differences in reaction between various actors and the variety of their individual motives, combined with the dynamics of group identity.

The problem lies, as always, with the sources. There are extremely few sources, especially from the Middle Ages, which tell us something about how someone reacted to a specific commemorative practice, be it a visual object or a performed ritual. This makes it extremely difficult to assess the process of appropriation, which is even more problematic because it is almost impossible to extract any generalizations from those individual cases for which we do have data.⁶

3 Willem Frijhoff, 'Toeëigening: van bezitsdrang naar betekenisgeving,' *Trajecta* 6 (1997), pp. 99-118.

4 Van Bueren, Ragetli, and Bijsterveld, 'Researching Medieval *Memoria*', p. 210.

5 Hans Robert Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception* (Minneapolis 1982), p. 22.

6 Van Bueren, Ragetli, and Bijsterveld, p. 212. See for example Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Remembrance and Memoria. The descriptions of four churches compared', in: Truus van Bueren (ed.), *Care for the Here and the Hereafter*, pp. 267-290.

With the views of the Holy Land this is no different, and maybe even more difficult, as much data lacks even about factual information surrounding their creation, let alone that something is known about why these objects were made and how people reacted to it. Yet these objects were made by and for pilgrims which have left behind a quite extensive amount of data about their pilgrimage itself. All have written (or ordered to have written) travel reports of their journey to Jerusalem. Many have produced other kinds of commemorative objects and practices of their pilgrimage. Besides, the commissioners were all to a greater or lesser degree culturally active, and have left behind much information about these activities. This enables us to place these objects in their contexts quite well, which might shed a light about for which purposes these objects were made, and how they were intended to be conceived by contemporaries.

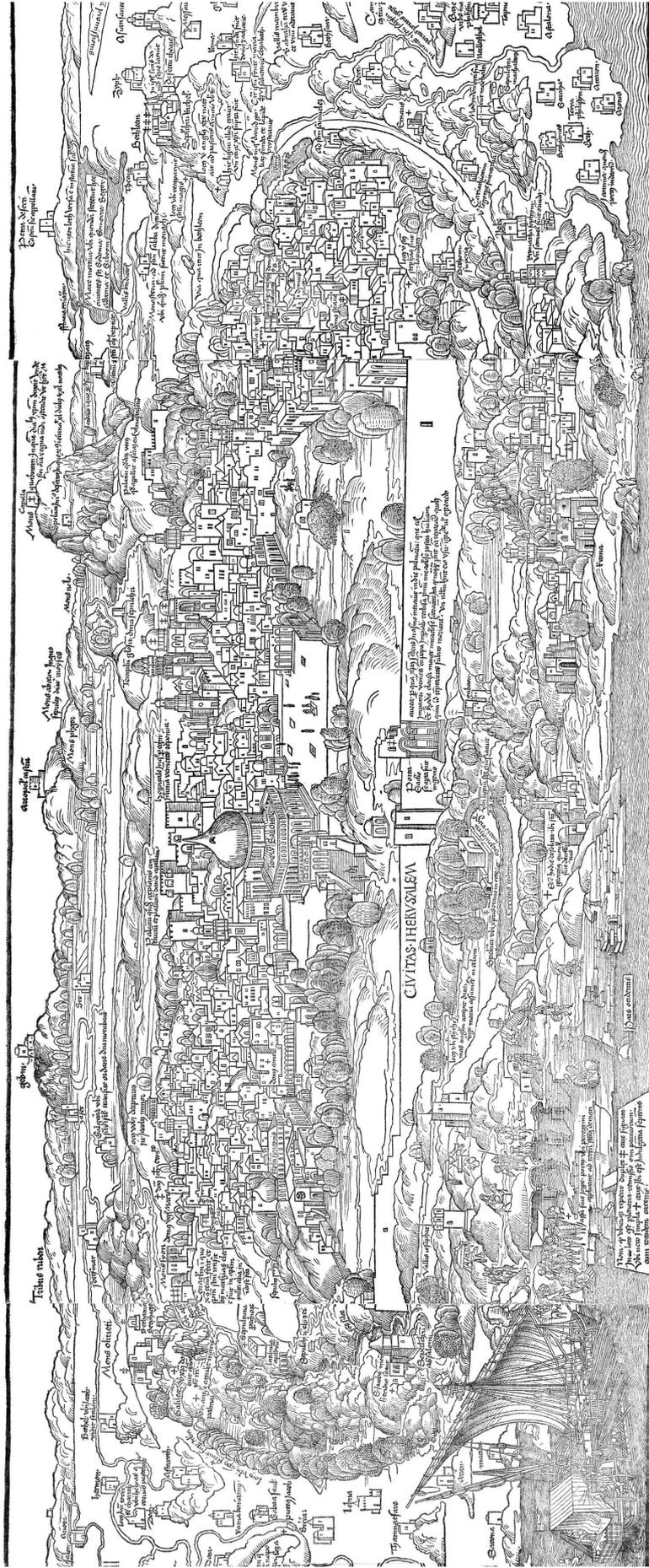


Fig. 4. Map of the Holy Land (detail) from Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, 1486. Woodcut by Erhard Reuwich.

THE LATE MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM PILGRIMAGE

Jerusalem occupied a special place in the mind of medieval Christians. The city had witnessed the single most important event in Christian biblical history: the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Additionally, Jerusalem was also the place where other important biblical events had taken place, and would be the site where the Last Judgement would occur. The city, which also happened to be situated in the region where three continents touched each other, could therefore rightly be considered the centre of the world, and was displayed prominently in the middle of many medieval world maps. Already in Late Antiquity devout Christians travelled to the holy places where Jesus had lived and died. A lively pilgrimage came into being, which gradually increased as the number of Christians grew, and which gained an official character when the emperor Constantine legitimized the Christian religion in the Roman Empire and built among others the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Constantine's mother Helena added to the sanctity of the place by allegedly finding the remains of the true Cross under Golgotha.

In the following centuries, the Holy City continued to inspire Christian imagination and continuously spurred pilgrims to travel there, even when the city was conquered by Muslim armies in the seventh century. A special form of the Jerusalem pilgrimage were the Crusades after 1095, which combined holy war and pilgrimage to 'free' the city from Islamic control, and promised entry to heaven for all those who died in achieving this goal.⁷ The First Crusade was partly legitimized by concerns about the accessibility of the Holy Land for western Christian pilgrims. This does not mean that the pilgrimage declined in the eleventh century because it had become too hazardous. Rather, the pilgrimage was increasingly popular, as there are frequent mentions of travellers going to or returning from the Holy Land in the decades immediately preceding the Crusades.⁸ At the turn of the twelfth century, European forces established various states in the Levant, which facilitated European travellers to the Holy Land and thus secured the pilgrimage. This situation was not to last, however, because within a century the westerners had lost control of most of the area to enemy forces again. After already having lost Jerusalem, the fall of Acre in 1291 meant the loss of the last foothold in the Levant, but not the direct end of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Although numbers of pilgrims probably dropped, the access to the land for western Christians was not checked by the new Mamluk rulers. European presence in the Holy Land was maintained by the Franciscans in the monastery of Mount Zion in Jerusalem from the fourteenth century onwards. This was the only Christian organization under the Church of Rome which was allowed by the local rulers in Palestine. The Franciscans would prove to be instrumental in organising the late medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage.⁹

From that moment on, numbers of pilgrims gradually climbed and the Jerusalem pilgrimage was to achieve a new popularity which came close to the earlier Crusades, except now without the military elements. Although Jerusalem had always enjoyed great prestige, even in times of little pilgrimage, by its unique quality of being the place on earth that was closest to Christ, the revived

7 Masses of scholarly work have been published on the (First) Crusades. See among others Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (Oxford 2004); Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge MA 2006); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (New Haven 2005²); idem, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London 1986).

8 Mainly for French nobles, who sometimes went in large companies, the pilgrimage was a popular endeavour in the eleventh century. Cf. Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West. From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford 2005), p. 141; Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Woodbridge 1995²), pp. 252-253; Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 6 (Stuttgart 1935); and the works mentioned above. Among other factors, this interest for the pilgrimage may have spurred the crusades.

9 Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum 1994), p. 30; Sylvia Schein, 'La Custodia Terrae Sanctae franciscaine et les Juifs de Jérusalem à la fin du Moyen-Age,' *Revue des Etudes Juives* 141 (1982), pp. 369-377, p. 370.

popularity put it on a par with Santiago de Compostela and Rome as one of the three great late medieval European pilgrimage centres. Many pilgrims visited all three of the sites, sometimes even combining them in one journey, as is the case with the Rhineland knight Arnold von Harff in 1496.¹⁰ In particular, a combination of the Jerusalem pilgrimage with a visit to Rome was common; on the one hand because pilgrims formally had to ask (at least nominally) the pope's permission to enter Palestine,¹¹ on the other hand because for many the papal city was more or less on the way to Jerusalem.

The latter had to do with the fact that most pilgrims travelled via Venice, where something which almost resembled a tourist industry evolved. A few ship owners, such as the Contarini family, specialized in Holy Land travel and offered a complete package of services to and from the Holy Land. Pilgrims entered into a contract, many of which have been preserved in pilgrimage accounts, which set arrangements for food and comfort on board, which ports were to be called in at and for how long, etcetera. The Venice city council even devised rules for these contracts, in order to prevent overcharging and bad service, which no doubt happened frequently.¹² Especially in the late fifteenth century, a considerable number of pilgrims made their way east in this way. Estimates suggest that about two galleys a year sailed to the Holy Land, carrying several hundreds of pilgrims per year in total.¹³

In the Holy Land, the tour was strictly organized as well. The pilgrims were checked upon arrival in Jaffa by government officials, and were escorted to Jerusalem. Subsequently they were shown around the holy places by a Franciscan of Mount Zion, which was the monastery where most pilgrims also spent the night. The tour did not take much time: usually no more than two weeks, after which the pilgrims again returned home, an astonishingly short time, especially compared to the months that were spent at sea, and when taking into account that most pilgrims were not accustomed to the climate. It is therefore not surprising that frequent complaints can be found about this procedure.¹⁴ However, those who could afford it could also opt for an extended version of the trip, which included a visit to the monastery of St Catherine on the Sinai peninsula. We even occasionally read of pilgrims who travelled back via Alexandria, and thus also visited Egypt.¹⁵

Regarding the high grade of organization of the late-medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage, this does not mean that the journey was without danger. The long and arduous sea journey brought with it the risks of shipwreck and pirate attacks. The pilgrims often travelled through climates to which they were unaccustomed, which regularly made them very sick. The 'bad air' of Cyprus was especially infamous, as is noted in travel journals.¹⁶ Moreover, in the Holy Land the pilgrims had to

10 Von Harff was a bit of an atypical medieval pilgrim, though. Among others, he claimed to have visited the source of the Nile and India as well, which part of his story can be considered factual. See Arnold von Harff, *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago. Das Pilgertagebuch des Ritters Arnold von Harff (1496-1498)*, ed. By Helmut Brall-Tuchel and Folker Reichert, 3rd ed. (Cologne Weimar Vienna 2009), p. 11.

11 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, p. 301; Cf. Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London 1999).

12 Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 22-23.

13 Cordula Nolte, 'Erlebnis und Erinnerung fürstlicher Pilgerfahrten nach Jerusalem im 15. Jahrhundert,' in Irene Erfen and Karl-Heinz Spiess (eds.), *Fremdheit und Reisen im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1997), pp. 65-92.

14 Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 27-28; Nolte, 'Erlebnis und Erinnerung', p. 89.

15 For example the two famous Holy Land travellers Felix Fabri and Bernhard von Breydenbach in 1483. See their travel reports, published as Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. By Conrad Dieterich Hassler, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 2-4, (Stuttgart 1843-1849); Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Mainz 1486), which was in its own time translated into German, Dutch, and French.

16 Folker Reichert, 'Teil I', in: Elector Palatine Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich zum Heiligen Land 1521*, ed. by Folker Reichert (Regensburg 2005), pp. 8-101, p. 25. Among other pilgrims, Felix Fabri and Ottheinrich complain about the Cypriot bad air. From the latter's travel report: 'Sunst wurden gemeinlich alle bilgern kranck, mann sagt, vom bösen zyprischen lufft, wann es gemeinlich geschehe, so man wieder auß Cypern fur' (Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, p. 216). Frederick the Wise is warned for the bad air by his patron: 'Unser Patron ließ uns zu erkennen geben, daß gar böse Luft in dem Land sein sollt, daß wir uns desto baß

deal with an often hostile population, especially in the countryside. The travel reports and pilgrimage memorials therefore often make mention of pilgrims who died on the way and were buried on the spot, of fights with the local population, and of attacks by ships at sea.¹⁷

Motivation of pilgrims

Given the high risk of not returning, the huge amounts of money one needed to invest in the journey, and the existence of other places of pilgrimage nearer to home, why would one go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land? Although we certainly must not exclude a thirst for adventure and the desire to see foreign lands for some pilgrims,¹⁸ for most the main reason would be concerns about their soul's salvation. The idea of the existence of purgatory made it attractive for many Christians to strive for mitigation of punishment for their sins before they died. And where could such forgiveness better be obtained than at the very place where Christ had been crucified in order to deliver mankind from its sins, especially when one had to endure many difficulties to get there? The practice of granting indulgences to sinners in return for funding a religious foundation or visiting a pilgrimage site, which grew ever more widespread in the later Middle Ages, became attached to the Jerusalem pilgrimage as well. There was a direct relationship between the amount and size of indulgences to be rewarded to a pilgrim and the pains one had to take in order to get there (it is known, for example, that different rates of indulgences existed for a visit to Rome, dependent on how far the pilgrim had to travel).¹⁹ The difficulty and expense of a trip to Jerusalem, together with it being the principal site in Christian religion, meant that a high number of great indulgences, some of which were plenary, could be obtained in Jerusalem.²⁰ The importance of these indulgences for pilgrims is emphasized by the frequent inclusions of lists of the holy sites in the Holy Land and the connected indulgences in travel reports. These lists often are very much alike, and were probably copied from a booklet, or after 1516 from a panel attached to the wall, which was located in the monastery of Mount Zion.²¹ A similar function can be seen in the map of the Holy Land included in the travel report of Bernard von Breydenbach (fig. 4), on which the sites where plenary indulgences could be gained are indicated with a small cross.²²

Along the same line of reasoning going on a pilgrimage was often imposed on people by law courts as punishment for a committed crime. Although this was a widespread phenomenon, the Jerusalem pilgrimage was extremely rare in this context. Because it was so costly and lengthy, a journey to Jerusalem was an extremely heavy punishment, and most often pilgrimage destinations

dafür bewahren sollten' (Georg Spalatin, *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, vol. 1: *Das Leben und die Zeitgeschichte Friedrichs des Weisen*, ed. by Christian Gotthold Neudecker and Ludwig Preller (Jena 1851), p. 82).

- 17 References to deaths along the way are plenty. Some examples: a text panel from Leiden with the names of local Jerusalem pilgrims (Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal) mentions a Jan Woutersz, who died in 1465 in Jerusalem and was buried on Mount Zion; a memorial sculpture in the Walburgiskerk in Zuthpen commemorates a father and son Keye, who died in Cyprus in 1478; See for both objects the descriptions on the website *Representations of Jerusalem Pilgrims*, [<http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/pages/04.html>; <http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/pages/47.html>]; Ottheinrich's diary mentions two dead pilgrims on the return from the river Jordan and four on Rhodes (Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, pp. 176, 216); Frederick the Wise's company lost four members, among whom duke Christoph of Bavaria (Spalatin, *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß*, p. 91).
- 18 Ursula Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer. Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320-1520)* (Tübingen 1990), p. 238.
- 19 Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus. Studies in Late Medieval Religious Life: Devotion and Pilgrimage in the Netherlands* (Leiden and Boston 2003), p. 259.
- 20 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, p. 226.
- 21 Brefeld, *A Guidebook*, pp. 38-41. Ottheinrich explicitly mentions his list of holy places to be copied from a table in the monastery, see Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, p. 202.
- 22 Andres Betschart, *Zwischen zwei Welten. Illustrationen und Berichte westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender*, Würzburger Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie XV (Würzburg 1996), p. 99.

closer to home were chosen. From the Low Countries, for example, there are only a few fifteenth-century examples known: one each in Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels and Gouda, in Leiden two, and in Brielle three.²³ The topic further needs not to concern us, since the pilgrims involved in the making of the views on the Holy Land with pilgrim depictions travelled voluntarily.

Pilgrimage and social status

What does play a role in our pilgrim's motivations to go on pilgrimage, is its connection to social prestige. As we will see in the next chapter, returned Jerusalem pilgrims were eager to display their completed pilgrimage in various media, for example the founding of chapels inspired by the Holy Sepulchre, the use of pilgrimage attributes on tomb monuments, and the display of pilgrim's insignia on clothing. In the Netherlands, there existed confraternities of Jerusalem pilgrims, to which one could only gain entry on having made the pilgrimage. The members of these confraternities often had a privileged position in the annual Palm Sunday processions in their home towns.²⁴ Apparently, therefore, the Jerusalem pilgrims were highly esteemed by the fellow inhabitants of their homelands, which made it worthwhile to display that one was indeed a Jerusalem pilgrim.



Fig. 5. Portrait of an unknown knight of the Holy Sepulchre, carrying a palm branch, a Jerusalem cross on a necklace, and a charter in his hand. 1562.

For noble pilgrims, this is even more explicit. On the way to, and in the Holy Land, various honourable knightly titles could be obtained by those of noble birth. Of these titles, by far the most important was that of the Holy Sepulchre, which was indeed bestowed upon a pilgrim in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, often during a nightly ceremony.²⁵ There had long existed a tradition of knighting at Christ's grave, first mentioned in the thirteenth century, but probably dating back to the first Crusades. Something of the Crusading ideal echoes in the ceremony: at the occasion, knights promised to defend Christianity and to free the Holy Land of the infidels. Usually the present nobles would be knighted according to rank: the highest-ranking noble would knight the second-highest, who in turn knighted the third-highest, and so on. From the early sixteenth century onwards, the session was mostly presided over by a Franciscan of Mount Zion.²⁶ As proof of their knighting, pilgrims were given a charter and a golden necklace with a Jerusalem cross, as is sometimes displayed on pilgrim's portraits, for example in that of an unknown knight of the Holy

23 Jan van Herwaarden, *Opgelegde bedevaarten: een studie over de praktijk van opleggen van bedevaarten (met name in de stedelijke rechtspraak) in de Nederlanden gedurende de late middeleeuwen (ca. 1300-ca. 1550)* (Groningen 1978).

24 For an extensive overview of the Jerusalem confraternities, see Wolfgang Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolomytana. Studien zum spätmittelalterlichen Jerusalembrauchtum und zu den aus der Heiliglandfahrt hervorgegangenen nordwesteuropäischen Jerusalembroderschaften* (Münster 1982).

25 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 337-338; Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 232-235, Nolte, 'Erlebnis und Erinnerung', pp. 65-92.

26 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 52. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, p. 338.

Sepulchre possibly made by Jan van Scorel (fig. 5). Although one initially had to be of noble birth to become a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, in exceptional cases the Franciscan friars could choose to knight a non-noble for reasons of excellent behaviour. This practice became more common over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; apparently the accolade was bestowed upon non-nobles upon payment of a certain amount of money, as some pilgrims complained.²⁷

This was not the only title which could be obtained while travelling to and from the Holy Land. While less prestigious than that of Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, at the monastery of St Catherine on the Mount Sinai one could become a Knight of St Catherine. Due to the difficult accessibility of the Sinai peninsula at the closing of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, the ceremony could also be performed in Bethlehem. It was far less trouble for a pilgrim to get to Bethlehem than to the Sinai, so the former title was consequently slightly less respectable. Therefore, to make the distinction between both titles, the symbol used to identify these knights, a wheel with a sword, was adapted. Those knighted in Bethlehem showed only half a wheel, while those who had been in the Sinai showed an entire wheel.²⁸ On Cyprus, the last remaining Crusader state after the fall of Acre, another prestigious title could be obtained: the Sword Order of Cyprus. It was founded by the Lusignan kings of Cyprus in the fourteenth century with the goal of committing knights to the cause of reconquest of Palestine, and existed until at least the incorporation of the island into the Venetian Republic in 1489.²⁹

The titles that were acquired during the pilgrimage to the Holy Land can regularly be found in the shape of symbols on various memorials, such as tomb monuments, chapels and portraits of pilgrims. For example the Nuremberg Ketzell family, whom I will treat in greater detail below, are depicted on various occasions with all the signs of the accolades they acquired during their pilgrimages.³⁰ Moreover, the ceremony of knighting at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is often prominently described in travel reports. Apparently, therefore, the social status attributed to the pilgrimage made it sensible for Jerusalem pilgrims to display their identity publicly, especially when the accolade was acquired by non-nobles. It remains questionable, however, how we should interpret these public manifestations of social status. Could the Jerusalem pilgrimage function as a social lever, or in other words: did the fact that one had made the pilgrimage affect his social status? If so, does this explain why pilgrims were proud to show themselves as Jerusalem pilgrims?

As Jan van Herwaarden contended as regards the connection between pilgrimage and social status, one can argue in two directions, the first of which being that pilgrimage could be a means of acquiring social status. Although pilgrimage was generally an honourable endeavour, going on a pilgrimage did not necessarily affect social status. However, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was not just any pilgrimage. The prestige which Jerusalem enjoyed in Christian theology, and the huge efforts involved in visiting the city, made it probable that those who returned had risen in social esteem by their contemporaries.³¹ This would explain the frequency with which pilgrims displayed pilgrimage insignia and the existence of Jerusalem confraternities as privileged societies, a phenomenon which existed only for a very limited number of other pilgrimage sites, notably Santiago. This would, however, only really make sense for those who were somewhere halfway up the social ladder. For high nobles like Frederick the Wise and Ottheinrich their self-representation as Jerusalem pilgrims probably would not affect their social status in any way.

Rather, a different line of reasoning follows that the display of pilgrimage was not an attempt to rise in social status, but as an *aspect* of their status. For the nobility it might have been

27 Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolomytana*, p. 212. Johannes Rogalla von Bieberstein, *Adelsherrschaft und Adelskultur in Deutschland*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris 1991), p. 161.

28 Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolomytana*, p. 219.

29 D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: the monarchical orders of knighthood in later medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge 1987), pp. 241-242.

30 Theodor Aign, *Die Ketzell. Ein Nürnberger Handelsherren- und Jerusalem-pilger-Geschlecht* (Neustadt an der Aisch 1961), p. 82. See below, pp. 77-80.

31 Van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, pp. 267-268.

usual to display themselves as Jerusalem pilgrims because it was part of their social identity.³² From the fourteenth century, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem gradually became an almost indispensable element of the education of young – especially German – nobles, somewhat like a precursor to the *Grand Tour* which would be a standard part of the education of the European upper class until the nineteenth century.³³ In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, great numbers of German nobles would therefore make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Chivalric values and Crusading ideology

For a large part this phenomenon had much to do with the chivalric ideals that were current in the culture of the nobility in the later Middle Ages. Since the twelfth century a distinct elite chivalric culture had emerged, with a valorous code of behaviour, centred on virtue, honour, bravery and prowess in battle, protection of the weak, and Christian faith. This code of conduct spread throughout the European aristocracy and became the defining ideal type of the nobleman in the later Middle Ages, only starting to wane after the 1560s. Still in the seventeenth century, tournaments were organised in which these chivalric ideals were displayed.³⁴ While the Jerusalem pilgrimage of the later Middle Ages typically involved no fighting, it still connected on many points to this chivalric ideal. The pilgrim had to endure many hardships on the journey, which showed his courage and zeal to be a good Christian knight. Moreover, ideas of fighting the infidels echo in the pilgrimage of the nobility, especially when the accolade of the Holy Sepulchre and other titles which could be acquired on the journey are taken into account. The knight promised to defend the Christian faith on the grave of Christ, and had to endure mockery by and sometimes even fights with non-Christian opponents on his travels. Especially for those nobles who could not boast any great deeds in battle, such as Ottheinrich, the Jerusalem pilgrimage could therefore serve as an illustration of their valiant chivalric deeds.³⁵ Finally, there existed in chivalric literature the ideal of the knight errant, going from land to land looking for adventure where the weak were to be defended and infidels to be fought, which in some respects vaguely resembled the long journey of the Jerusalem pilgrimage.³⁶

Moreover, what made the Jerusalem pilgrimage attractive for the nobility who identified themselves with chivalric values, was its ongoing connection to Crusading ideology. Although only the First Crusade can be called a real success as it succeeded in achieving the goals with which it was organised, and the following campaigns often achieved little in the Holy Land, the Crusading ideal lived on for a very long time after the eleventh century. As the Holy Land gradually moved out of reach for European powers, the Crusading ideal was directed towards other regions where infidels could be fought, for example the Baltic region or heretics in France. It became common for European nobles to travel to these places to join in battle.³⁷ These nobles who lived up to their

32 Van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, p. 306.

33 Rogalla von Bieberstein, *Adelsherrschaft und Adelskultur*, p. 161; Thomas Freller, *Adelige auf Tour. Die Erfindung der Bildungsreise* (Ostfildern 2007), pp. 14-17; Werner Paravicini and Rainer Babel (eds.), *Grand Tour: adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert. Akten der internationalen Kolloquien in der Villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000* (Ostfildern 2005).

34 Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Woodbridge 1995²), pp. 337-339. For the identification of the late medieval nobility with chivalric values, see Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights, and men-at-arms in the Middle Ages* (London 1996), p. 198; idem, *Chivalry* (New Haven 1984).

35 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 63.

36 Rogalla von Bieberstein, *Adelsherrschaft und Adelskultur*, p. 163; Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 127-129.

37 Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 304-307; Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580. From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford 1992), pp. 267-290; Keen, *Nobles, Knights, and men-at-arms*, pp. 101-119. See also Werner Paravicini, 'Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels', *Historische Zeitschrift* 232 (1981), pp. 25-38; Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525* (London 1980), pp. 132-170; Axel Ehlers, 'The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered', in: Alan Victor Murray (ed.), *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150-1500* (Aldershot 2001), pp. 21-44; Mark Gregory Pegg,

chivalric ideal saw themselves as the true Christian knights, defenders of the faith and the Christian populace, and identified themselves with warrior saints such as Michael or especially George, who had been popular during the first Crusades as well.³⁸

Although much of the Crusading ideology was now directed to enemies on European soil, the Holy Land never quite lost its appeal as the object of Crusading plans. Frequently new calls were made by the papacy and secular leaders to free the Holy Land of Islamic control. Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, for example, who imagined himself to be the protector of religion and the ruler who led Christendom from decay, was very dedicated to chivalric values, and thus actively involved in Crusading plans. He started to aid the Christian populace in the Levant, among others by financially supporting building campaigns, and sent military support to the Knights of St John in Rhodes.³⁹ After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, his Crusading attempts became even more urgent. On various occasions, he tried to make the nobility under his patronage take the Crusading vow, most famously during the *Feast of the Pheasant* in Lille in 1545, but achieved only limited success. Moreover, he supported research into the Ottoman military power and organisation, including two espionage missions disguised as pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Despite all these troubles, Philip eventually gave priority to practical politics closer to home over chivalric ideals, and no full-blown Crusade was ever realised.⁴⁰ The same goes for the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1493-1519), who expressed his support of a general Crusade against the Turks, but failed to secure support of the German imperial estates. They felt nothing for the plan, although it was received with much enthusiasm by contemporary humanist writers such as Sebastian Brant.⁴¹

Of importance for the role of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the lives of the nobility was also the idea of spiritual battle against the enemies of the Church as an expression of chivalric values. The military orders, which originated in the Crusades and provided a synthesis of monastic and chivalric ideals, of military battle against the infidels and spiritual monastic struggle against evil,⁴² were exemplary in this respect. The non-military Jerusalem pilgrimage closely related to these ideas, as pilgrims entered a kind of temporary monastic order and undertook the journey to spiritually cleanse themselves of sin. The connection to Crusading ideology, albeit only in words, by the accolade in the Holy Sepulchre, shared many ideological aspects with such orders as the Knights Hospitallers, including the importance attributed to St George. The Order of St John, with its base on the island of Rhodes after the fall of Acre, was unsurprisingly deeply involved in the Jerusalem pilgrimage. The island, strategically located in the Aegean Sea, was often frequented by pilgrim's galleys, and the fleet of the knights safeguarded their passage until the island was conquered by the Ottomans in 1522.⁴³ Also significant in this respect is the founding of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius de Loyola, who himself had been a knight and a Jerusalem pilgrim, in 1534 as a kind of military order which sought to defend the faith in a spiritual way.⁴⁴

A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom (Oxford 2008).

38 Rogalla von Bieberstein, *Adelsherrschaft und Adelskultur*, p. 158; Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 339-346. St George was also the patron saint of many late medieval secular knightly orders, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*.

39 For the dukes of Burgundy and the crusades, see Jacques Paviot, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, la Croisade et l'Orient (fin XIVe siècle-XVe siècle)* (Paris 2003); Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London 1970).

40 Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 101, 109. The intelligence reports were published in Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. by C. Schefer (Paris 1892), and Guillebert de Lannoy, *Oeuvres*, ed. by C. Potvin (Louvain 1878).

41 John W. Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God: The Turkish menace as seen by German pamphleteers of the Reformation era', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* NS 58:9 (1968), pp. 1-58, p. 9; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 124-126.

42 Rogalla von Bieberstein, *Adelsherrschaft und Adelskultur*, p. 162; Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 266-330; See also Malcolm Barber et al. (eds.), *The Military Orders*, 5 vols (Aldershot 1994-2012).

43 For a detailed study about the role of the Knights Hospitallers in the organisation of the Holy Land pilgrimage, see Jyri Hasecker, *Die Johanniter und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem (1480-1522)* (Göttingen 2008).

44 John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge MA 1993).

In short, the Jerusalem pilgrimage had thus, at least in Germany, become a somewhat obligatory part of the education of young nobles, who identified with the chivalric ideal of the good Christian knight, that is, both a devout Christian and a brave warrior, and who took many pains to travel to the Holy Land, and swear an oath on the grave of Christ to defend the Christian religion. From the fourteenth century onwards, the Jerusalem pilgrimage had a high appeal for German nobles and many undertook the journey. This was not to last, however. From the turn of the sixteenth century the nobility's self-identity gradually became more defined as a lifestyle focused on sophisticated behaviour, temperance, and knowledge of the arts and court life, and moved away from the warrior ideals which had defined the class for long. Yet the ideals of chivalry continued to have a strong influence on the self-identity of the nobility throughout the sixteenth century, and in some respects even longer.⁴⁵

Social composition

The important role the pilgrimage to Jerusalem played in the identity of the nobility, is reflected in their prominent position within the groups of pilgrims who travelled to Jerusalem. Although it is hard to make reliable estimates, a large number of pilgrims seem to have been of noble birth. Apart from the fact that nobles identified strongly with the Crusade connotations of the Holy Land pilgrimage, noblemen were often in a better financial position to cover the huge expenses necessary in undertaking the journey, especially in the case of the organised Holy Land travel from Venice. Moreover, the non-noble pilgrims who entered these ships seem to have belonged to the wealthier classes in society, such as rich merchant families and high clerics. The real social composition of pilgrims' groups may however be obscured by our sources, since we have to rely mostly on travel reports. By their very nature these reports serve mostly a higher social class who had enjoyed sufficient education to be able to write such a report or who had the financial resources to pay someone to do it for them.⁴⁶

This does not mean that there were no other pilgrims on the route to Jerusalem. There must have been an unknown number of pilgrims who begged their way to Jerusalem, or who took the less well-documented route over land through Anatolia. Their numbers might have been considerable, but they almost never pop up in the reports, with few exceptions. Felix Fabri for example tells the story of a poor pilgrim in Venice whose place on his ship was sponsored by a wealthy fellow pilgrim.⁴⁷ Despite this, the nobility had a marked presence in the pilgrims' groups, and therefore deeply influenced the character of the pilgrimage and the way it was presented in our sources. The nobles, especially the higher ones, travelled in large groups, taking their households with them. Even though all pilgrims were in theory considered equal, in practice much attention was given to matters of hierarchy on all parts of the route (e.g. with regard to daily life on the pilgrims' galleys). This goes especially for visits to the courts of local (Christian) rulers, which are frequently mentioned in the reports, from which pilgrims with a lesser social rank were excluded.⁴⁸ The character of the Holy Land pilgrimage therefore stood in marked contrast with other European pilgrimages, even the more prestigious ones such as Santiago, which were characterised by a more egalitarian social composition of the pilgrims and image.⁴⁹

45 Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 382-283.

46 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, p. 39.

47 Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*; Jan van Herwaarden, 'Geloof en geloofsuitingen in de late middeleeuwen in de Nederlanden: Jerusalembedevoarten, lijdensdevotie en kruiswegverering,' *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 98 (1983), pp. 400-429, p. 410.

48 Nolte, 'Erlebnis und Erinnerung', p. 74.

49 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, p. 39.

Women also partook in the journey, occasionally accompanying their husbands,⁵⁰ but their presence was not always appreciated by their male colleagues. The pilgrims entered into a kind of temporary virtual monastic order during their journey, and the presence of the sinful female sex was therefore a very sensitive matter. For this reason, they were not often mentioned in travel reports (with the notable exception of Margery Kempe (1413), who wrote a travel report herself⁵¹), and their numbers may have been higher than expected. Sometimes reports offer a glimpse of the attitudes towards women. Their presence often gave rise to complaints from male pilgrims and tense situations, especially in crowded environments such as on the pilgrims' ship. Some female pilgrims were however appreciated for their religious zeal and good behaviour on the journey. In general, therefore, they were accepted as long as they made themselves as invisible as possible and strictly acted as the ideal nun as was expected of them.⁵²

Decline of the Jerusalem pilgrimage

Judging from the surviving travel reports, the interest in the pilgrimage declined after the turn of the sixteenth century. Numbers of pilgrims gradually dropped, and the pilgrimage industry in Venice slowly decreased in size, although it remained the port of choice for the pilgrims that still visited the Holy Land in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. This decline of interest in the Jerusalem pilgrimage has been much debated. A combination of developments in the political, cultural and religious spheres in Europe probably made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem both less attractive and less secure. Religiously, the (counter)reformation had its influence, since it raised awareness of the problematic nature of certain religious practices, including pilgrimage, as it was closely connected to the sale of indulgences.⁵³ Politically, the many (religious) wars of the period probably both directed the attention of aspiring pilgrims to their own lands, and made it less safe to travel that far. This also includes the advance of the Ottoman Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans. They crushed the last remains of the Byzantine Empire, and won control over the East Mediterranean at the cost of the Venetians. Moreover, they conquered Jerusalem in 1517, though they still allowed Christian pilgrims to visit the city. Finally, the aforementioned fading identification of the nobility with chivalric and Crusading values may have played a part in the decline, as the nobility had always encompassed the larger part of the Jerusalem pilgrims, be it only because they could afford it more easily.⁵⁴ And indeed, the tradition of travel reports by the nobility came to a standstill in the early sixteenth century, most of the later travel reports being those of burghers and clerics.⁵⁵

Neither of these factors made pilgrimage to the Holy Land impossible, but together they contributed to a different set of current religious and cultural ideas in which the pilgrimage occupied a less prominent place. In the following sections, I will highlight two of these factors because they, as we will see, played an important role in the context in which the views of the Holy Land with pilgrim's depictions were created. These are the Reformation and the Ottoman expansion, in which the focus will not lie primarily on the actual consequences for the practice of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, but more on how these developments influenced the European perception of the pilgrimage and the ideas connected to it.

50 Craig, Leigh Ann, 'Stronger than men and braver than knights': women and the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome in the later middle ages', *Journal of Medieval History* 29:3 (2003), pp. 153-175, p. 161.

51 Kempe, Margery, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by Lynn Staley (Kalamazoo 1996).

52 Craig, 'Stronger than men and braver than knights'; Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 326-331.

53 At least this is suggested by the sudden decline of travel reports in the years 1520-1540, see Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 40-41.

54 Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 15.

55 Ottheinrich in 1521 would be the last German prince who is known to have made the pilgrimage, though lesser nobles are attested to have made the pilgrimage after him. See the overview of travel reports of princes in Nolte, 'Erlebnis und Erinnerung', p. 91.

Pilgrimage in Protestant thought

However popular pilgrimage may have been in the later Middle Ages, the phenomenon has never been totally free of controversy. In the minds of some religious thinkers, there was nothing in the act of pilgrimage that brought the pilgrim closer to God. On the contrary, life on the road, the adventurous character of travelling, and the absence from home (and partner) for a very long time, made some believe that the pilgrimage made it even more difficult for the traveller to stay free from sin and remain focused on the spiritual goal of the journey.⁵⁶ In many literary and visual sources the figure of the pilgrim is therefore depicted satirically. Already in the twelfth-century fables of Reynard the Fox and its later derivations, Reynard is described as a pilgrim because wearing the pilgrim's garment makes it easier for him to lure naive others into his filthy tricks.⁵⁷ Famous also is the wife of Bath from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, who claims to have been thrice in Jerusalem, in Boulogne-sur-mer, Santiago, Rome, Cologne, among other places, but suggests to have went there mainly for the erotic adventure.⁵⁸ The strong connection between pilgrims and loose sexual morals was also emphasized in satirical pilgrim's badges (small metal insignia usually with a religious motif, which were acquired by pilgrims and pinned onto their clothing) which depict pilgrims as walking penises and vulva's in pilgrims' garment. These have been found in large quantities, dating from ca. 1350-1450.⁵⁹

Therefore, instead of undertaking a real pilgrimage, many advocated the 'spiritual pilgrimage'; making a pilgrimage in one's mind while staying at home. People who undertook such a spiritual journey had to imagine being on the way for the time a normal Jerusalem pilgrimage took, abstain from worldly temptations during this time, and focus on prayer every day. In order to do this, handbooks were written in which the daily journey could be read and thus followed in the mind. Often these books were based on made pilgrimages. Felix Fabri for example, the famous Jerusalem pilgrim who made the journey twice, rewrote his initial travel report later as a guide for spiritual pilgrimage for Dominican nuns, *Die Sionpilger*.⁶⁰

In addition to these books, spiritual pilgrims were helped by models of the Holy Sepulchre and the Stations of the Cross in churches and elsewhere. By using these visual aids, people could actually walk the *via dolorosa* and visit the grave of Christ without having to travel to Jerusalem. Increasingly pains were taken to make these models and Stations of the Cross as exact copies of the Jerusalem layout as possible. A famous example of this is the Holy Sepulchre in Görlitz (fig. 6) in Saxony, where Georg Emerich created a layout of the *via dolorosa* and the various Stations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on a hill in the town in the last decades of the fifteenth century. It followed the exact measurements and proportions of the path in Jerusalem, including one of the most exact copies of the Holy Sepulchre still in existence.⁶¹ In Nuremberg, the sculptor Adam Kraft made Stations of the Cross on the way from the city to the cemetery of St John, where a chapel of

56 See Ulman Weiß, "'Wallfahrt bringt keyn Wolfart' Vom Sinn und Unsinn der Pilgerreise in früherer Zeit', in: Jan Hrdina, Hartmut Kühne, and Thomas T. Müller (eds.), *Wallfahrt und Reformation – Pout' a reformace. Zur Veränderung religiöser Praxis in Deutschland und Böhmen in den Umbrüchen der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main 2007), pp. 11-27, pp. 13-14.

57 Paul Wackers, 'Reynaert de Vos als pelgrim,' in: H.J.E. Van Beuningen, A.M. Koldewey, and D. Kicken, *Heilig en profaan 2. 1200 Laatmiddeleeuwse insignes uit openbare en particuliere collecties*, Rotterdam papers 12 (Cothen 2001), pp. 44-52; Kenneth Varty, *Reynard, Renart, Reinaert and Other Foxes in Medieval England. The Iconographic Evidence* (Amsterdam 1999), pp. 79, 92, 128-9, 223.

58 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, F.N. Robinson ed. (Oxford 1983). p. 21, I 463-8 "And thries hadde she been at Jerusalem; she hadde passed many a straunge stem; At Rome she hadde been, and at Boloigne, in Galice at Seint Jame, and at Coloigne. She koude muchel of wandrynge by the weye. Gat-tothed was she, soothly for to seye."; p. 82, III 603-4: "Gat-tothed I was, and that bicam me weel; I hadde the prente of seinte Venus seel."

59 Jos Koldewey, "'Shameless and Naked Images": Obscene Badges as Parodies of Popular Devotion,' in: Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden and Boston 2005), pp. 493-512, pp. 506-509.

60 Fabri, Felix, *Die Sionpilger*, ed. by Wieland Carls (Berlin 1999).

61 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, p. 360.

the Holy Sepulchre was founded. He allegedly did this on the order of Martin Ketzels, whom we will meet later, on his return from the Holy Land, where he had measured the distances between the Stations to copy for the Nuremberg Stations. As the story goes, Martin regrettably lost his notes, and went to Jerusalem a second time.⁶² Although these edifices and books to stimulate spiritual pilgrimages were often made by actual pilgrims, they also made it possible to gain the spiritual rewards of pilgrimage for those who could not make the journey for religious or financial reasons, and even gain the indulgences connected to it, at least as long as they did not stray from their spiritual path.⁶³



Fig. 6. The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Görlitz, end of the fifteenth century.

Critique of the pilgrimage grew louder in the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the advent of humanism and the Reformation. Erasmus, for example, is known to have been very sceptical about the pilgrimage: in 1526 he wrote 'I do not think that Christianity would be any worse if nobody went to Jerusalem, but they sought the footsteps of Christ in books, and devoted their efforts and expense to the relief of the poor.'⁶⁴ Some of his other writings reflect a more satirical approach to the figure of the pilgrim. For example, in the *Praise of Folly*, the pilgrim is depicted as a fool, who travels to "Jerusalem, Rome or Saint James, where there is nothing for his use, leaving his wife and children at home."⁶⁵ In the colloquy *Pilgrimage for the sake of religion*, he writes of a conversation between a man named "Menedeijs" (which translates from the Greek as 'stay at home') and a pilgrim named "Ogyvius" ('simple-minded'), whose garment is overloaded with tin insignia,

62 The story has become somewhat of a myth, however: it is not entirely clear whether Martin Ketzels was really the founder of the Stations, nor whether he went twice because he lost his notes the first time. Moreover, the sources conflict about the year of Martin's second pilgrimage. He went at least once in 1476, of which journey he wrote a report. See Aign, *Die Ketzels*, pp. 28-32, 61; Reiner Zittlau, *Heiliggrabkapelle und Kreuzweg: eine Bauaufgabe in Nürnberg um 1500*, Nürnberger Werkstücke zur Stadt- und Landesgeschichte 49 (Nuremberg 1992); and below, p. 75.

63 Van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, pp. 67-68.

64 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, p. 364. Morris regrettably does not mention the exact source of this quote.

65 Desiderius Erasmus, *Moriae encomium id est Stultitiae laus*, in: idem, *Opera omnia*, vol. IV-3, ed. by Clarence Miller (Leiden 1979), p. 138: *Est qui Hierosolymam, Romam aut divum Iacobum adeat, ubi nihil est illi negocii, domi relictis cum uxore liberis.*

scallops of St James, and rosaries. Menedeius continuously mocks Ogyvius for his pilgrimages, which brought him nothing which he could not have obtained had he stayed at home.⁶⁶

Erasmus' contemporary, Martin Luther, went even further in his rejection of pilgrimage and the propagation of spiritual religiosity when he asked in his pamphlet *Vom Mißbrauch der Messe* (1521): 'Denn was können wyr fur eyn ander heylig grab verstehen denn die heylige schriftt, darynne die warheyt Christi durch die Papisten getöt ist, begraben gelegen, welchs die bottel, das ist, die bettel orden und ketzermeister, behüt und bewart haben, das keyn Junger Christi keme und stele sie? Denn nach dem grab, do der herr ynn gelegen hatt, welchs die Sarracen ynne haben, fragt got gleych so vill, als nach allen kwen von schweytz.'⁶⁷ According to Luther only the Scriptures contained the truth about God, all else was superfluous or downright false.⁶⁸ Moreover, the pilgrimage was intrinsically connected with the practice of obtaining indulgences, against which Luther fiercely fulminated. Indeed, this proved to be the point which made him break with the Church of Rome and against which he directed his Ninety-Five Theses, which he allegedly attached to the doors of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. This church was not entirely coincidentally the place where a huge amount of relics was located. The core of the collection was formed by a set of relics brought home from the Holy Land by Elector Fredrick III the Wise on his pilgrimage, and for which collection Frederick had obtained many indulgences from the pope.⁶⁹ For Luther however, the mercy of God could not be bought. Even if the indulgences to be rewarded could be obtained for free at the holy places, the pilgrimage alone was so expensive that only few could afford it. Moreover, he argued that one would not have to need to make a pilgrimage to obtain God's mercy.

These points make clear why Luther thought one should refrain from going on a pilgrimage. This does not mean that he rejected the idea of travelling to the Holy Land altogether. Indeed, in his younger years he doubted whether the pilgrimage did not have something to gain from after all, if only the insight that one should better have stayed at home. And in a letter from 1530 he confessed that he would have liked to travel to the Holy Land himself.⁷⁰ Thus, Luther did not reject the pilgrimage per se, but he fiercely attacked the idea that it was spiritually beneficial and he condemned the attached practice of indulgences. If one wanted to come closer to God, there was no one place better suited than any other.

Luther's views on pilgrimage, as part of a set of religious practices not based on the Holy Scripture, which he thus denounced as superfluous, were adopted and intensified by other Reformist preachers in the 1520s. The Nuremberg preacher and alleged farmer Diepold Peringer for example, who was active in the city from 1523 onwards, is known to have repeated Luther's denunciation of the benefits of pilgrimage.⁷¹ In the *Confessio Augustana* from 1530, the pilgrimage was listed under the 'unnecessary works' and therefore deemed unnecessary for a good Christian.⁷² There seems to have been little debate about the topic within Reformist circles, including those not directly connected to Luther, such as those in Switzerland. The city council of Bern, for example, under influence of the Reformist Zwingli, prohibited pilgrimages in 1525.⁷³ The practice was more or less unanimously condemned as part of the old religious system which had no ground in Scripture and required therefore no theological hair-splitting.⁷⁴

Although the spiritual benefits of pilgrimage were thus doubted by Protestant thinkers, and the practice in general denounced as superficial and even sinful, we should be careful not to see too

66 Erasmus, *Colloquia*, in: idem, *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. I-3, ed. by L.-E. Halking, F. Bierlaire, and R. Hoven (Leiden 1972), pp. 470-494: *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*.

67 Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 8 (Weimar 1889), p. 563.

68 Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation* (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig 2009), p. 301.

69 Ingetraut Ludolphy, *Friedrich der Weise. Kurfürst von Sachsen 1463-1525* (Göttingen 1984), pp. 355-360.

70 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 61.

71 Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation*, p. 332.

72 Weiß, 'Wallfahrt bringt keyn Wolfart', p. 21.

73 Mark Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to The European Reformation, c.1500-1618* (London and New York 1998), p. 98.

74 Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation*, p. 519.

close a relation between Protestantism and condemnation of the pilgrimage. Especially when assessing the commemoration of the pilgrimage in visual or textual form, the relation is not always clear. Pilgrims were rarely Protestant theologians, and at the moment when the Reformation was still a relatively new phenomenon, there is no reason to suspect that individuals with Protestant sympathies denounced all old Catholic practices, especially when other (non-religious) motives came into play (i.e., for political or military purposes). This means that for example the simple fact whether a memorial for a known pilgrim does or does not show signs of pilgrimage is not automatically attributable to his being Protestant or not, even when the relation seems to be clear.⁷⁵ There is no strict one-to-one relationship between the conversion to Protestantism and the (later) rejection of the pilgrimage.

The Ottoman expansion in religious discourse

Almost within a century after its foundation by Osman in the late thirteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had spread over Anatolia and had gained a foothold in the Balkans. This rapid advance had troubled the European rulers, who then launched a Crusade against the Ottomans, resulting in the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, and ending in an Ottoman victory.⁷⁶ The conquest of Constantinople in 1453, however, was an event of much greater symbolic importance. The last vestige of the Roman Empire had been conquered by non-Christians, and this spurred a huge reaction in the west. As could be expected, numerous Crusading plans were devised, none of which met enough response to put the Ottoman expansion in check. This was due to the dissent between the many European rulers as well as discord in religious matters, as fifteenth-century reformers such as Johannes Hus had started to undermine the position of Rome as the ultimate authority in Christendom.⁷⁷

All this made the reactions to the conquest of Constantinople diverse. However, above all pamphleteers and polemicists turned the look inward and interpreted the recent events as a punishment of God. Calls were made to repent and to strengthen and preserve the unity of Christianity to ward off the infidel threat. Successive popes made appeals for a Crusade throughout the century. Both Calixtus III (1455-1458) and Pius II (1458-1464) made various attempts to bring about a new Crusade against the Turks, of which the former had some success when the armies of the Franciscan John of Capistrano came to the aid of the Hungarian king to defend Belgrade (1456). Pius managed to commit various rulers to his cause, but he died before it had started and the Crusade died with him.⁷⁸ As discussed above, several worldly rulers made Crusading plans as well, such as Philip the Good and the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian. It did not fundamentally change the situation. Rather, the Ottomans remained a threat and consolidated their rule in the Balkans, from where regular raids were sent into Central Europe. After 1520 they launched a new wave of attacks on European soil. Belgrade and Rhodes fell (1522), and Suleiman the Magnificent conquered a part of Hungary in the battle of Mohács in 1526. In 1529, he even besieged Vienna, as a warning against the house of Habsburg not to interfere in Hungary. Suleiman finally withdrew without taking the city, but the message was clear.⁷⁹ Although the Ottomans probably never planned to invade Germany, fear of the Turks had been spread throughout the western lands.

Faced with this Turkish threat, Protestant pamphleteers adopted the same themes that had circulated more than half a century earlier. There arose a lively discourse from 1522 onwards, in the form of *Türkenbüchlein*: these pamphlets and booklets interpreted the Ottoman threat in mainly religious terms, although a minority of their writers tended to see the Ottoman advance as mainly a

75 See Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 61, who implies that the occurrence of pilgrimage signs on tombs relates directly to the commemorated person being Protestant or not.

76 Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 75-79. See Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London 1934); Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, new ed. (Woodbridge 2002).

77 Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 99-100.

78 Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 102-109; Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God', p. 9.

79 Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God', p. 7; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 125-130.

military problem. As had been done before, the Turks were interpreted as a scourge of God, and the failure of the European powers to react properly to the threat as the result of the lack of politico-religious Christian unity. Once again, calls were made to repent. The only difference was that now unity was no longer sought under the Church of Rome, but that the latter was seen as part of the problem. In response, Catholic pamphleteers interpreted the Ottoman advance in the same way, but blamed the heretic reformers for arousing the wrath of God. They once again called for a new Crusade, and made appeals to Charles V to lead them as protector of Christendom.⁸⁰

Luther himself had often mentioned the issue in various tracts, mainly in connection with the sale of indulgences in order to fund the Crusade against the Turks. In his 1529 treatise *Vom Krieg wider die Türken* he stated that military action against the Ottomans was allowed, but not as a Crusade, which was a slight deviation from his earlier remarks that the Turks should be seen as God's punishment and therefore only be fought spiritually. Later, in the *Heerpredigt wider den Türken* (1529) and his exhortations for prayer against the Turks, such as his *Vermahnung zum Gebet wider den Türken* (1541), he repeated the importance of the latter point by making calls for liturgical prayer against the Turkish threat. He exhorted the Germans to keep defending themselves against the Turks and to remain steadfast in their faith.⁸¹

The Ottomans remained a threat to Central European powers for another 150 years. They again laid siege to Vienna in 1683, and continued to feed European imagination. The discourse on the subject likewise became stereotyped and repeated the statements made during the 1520's and 30's. Significantly, the pamphlets of the early Reformation era only superficially dealt with the Turks. Rather, they were used polemically, to promote specific visions of society and religion, to express concerns about the internal discord within Christendom and the Holy Roman Empire, and to strengthen religious claims made by both Catholics and Protestants. As non-Christians, the Turks served as a strictly religious problem, as an instrument of both sides in their polemical writings.⁸²

Ottoman expansion and Jerusalem pilgrims

Given that the Ottoman expansion, at its greatest pace, coincides with the period during which the pilgrims we are concerned with here travelled to the Holy Land, we might ask ourselves how the contemporary political context influenced the Holy Land pilgrimage. Did the Jerusalem pilgrimage suffer from the Ottoman conquests and were the pilgrims aware of this? To what extent did they have first-hand experience with the people represented as the scourge of God in polemics at home, and how were they represented in their travel reports?

In general the Jerusalem pilgrimage was left unharmed. Pilgrim galleys were still allowed to sail across the Mediterranean, and in principle the access of Christian pilgrims remained intact after the Ottomans had conquered Jerusalem and surroundings in 1516. However, the pilgrimage did become more difficult over time. Despite their pragmatic stance towards the Ottomans, Venice and Genoa were not always at peace with them. Venice gradually lost its support points in the Aegean, the castles on Greek islands and mainland, its cities along the Dalmatian coast, and the island of Cyprus, to the Turkish navy.⁸³ Moreover, the knights of St John on Rhodes, an island frequently visited by pilgrim galleys as a stop over, finally had to surrender to the Ottomans. When Ottheinrich wrote about the island in admiring words in 1521, little did he know that the Christian stronghold would be in Turkish hands a year later.⁸⁴ Finally, the Turks as the new dominant naval power threatened to discontinue the pilgrimage as a political pressure in diplomatic and military

80 Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God', pp. 11-13.

81 Martin Brecht, 'Luther und die Türken', in: Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann (eds.), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance* (Tübingen 2000), pp. 9-28, pp. 10-11, 15, 17, 23; Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God', pp. 12, 15.

82 Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God', p. 18.

83 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 321, 363-364.

84 Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, pp. 160-171, 316-231.

crises. On at least two occasions, in 1480 and 1510, foreign ships were held, and pilgrims kidnapped. This was a means already practised by the Mamluks, but due to their involvement in Central Europe, the Ottomans were more likely to conflict with European powers and to use this threat.⁸⁵

Many travel reports mention troubles with the Turks on the way. The Luzern citizen Hans Schürpf wrote how in 1497 his galley was captured by the Turks, who destroyed the sails, maltreated the travellers and held them in custody for a while. The reason was no mere hostility, however, but a mistake by the captain, who had failed to identify his ship in Ottoman waters, and then resisted the ship which was sent to inspect the situation. After he had paid a fine, they were released again.⁸⁶ A similar misunderstanding seems to underlie the hostile attitude of the Turks towards the pilgrim group of which Ottheinrich was part on their way back to the ship. From the comparison of three different travel accounts of the same journey, it can be concluded that a failed attempt at making a business deal by the ship owner was probably the reason that the pilgrims were kept in Jaffa, and they were able to reach the ship only after much struggle with the Turks.⁸⁷ It can be suspected, therefore, that many of the threats described by the pilgrims had more to do with mutual tensions than with downright hostility from the Ottoman rulers.

The struggle between European states and the Ottoman Empire, and centuries of Christian Crusade rhetoric, had led to a charged atmosphere between the Islamic rulers of Palestine and the Christian pilgrims. Each side mistrusted the other. Whereas the pilgrims entered in their eyes hostile soil, and were alert to every suspicious behaviour on the Islamic side, the Muslims suspected the pilgrims of espionage and planning for Crusades. This was no mere paranoia, as proved by the intelligence missions sent by Philip of Burgundy. The Turks therefore had the practice of keeping arriving pilgrims some days in custody in the caverns of Jaffa for inspection, before they could travel on to Jerusalem. Princely pilgrims carefully hid their identities to avoid problems. During their travels, the pilgrims regularly had to endure mockery, stone throwing, and extortion by the local populace and government officials. The pilgrims were advised to endure these troubles calmly and to turn the other cheek, but not everyone was always able to keep their temper, causing additional trouble.⁸⁸

This of course also had much to do with the religious zeal of the pilgrims, and the Crusading ideals which were still present in the minds of many noble pilgrims. Where the Venetians had taken a pragmatic attitude towards the new power relations, the pilgrims saw things in an entirely different light. For many of them, the Ottomans were essentially a religious opponent, which had to be fought. Sailing along the coasts of Dalmatia and Anatolia gave the pilgrims a sense of how close and potent the enemy really was.⁸⁹ Stories of the atrocities committed by the Turks, vividly repeated in the travel reports, emphasized this picture. At the same time, attempts were made to give the Ottoman presence a place in history, by linking them with the ancient Trojans. A Flemish tapestry from 1470, for example, depicts the heroic Trojans in Turkish dress. The tendency is reflected in travel reports, where travellers recounted stories about the Trojans when discussing the Turks in

85 Hasecker, *Die Johanniter und die Wallfahrt*, p. 115.

86 Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God', p. 187; Josef Schmid (ed.), *Luzerner und innerschweizer Pilgerreisen zum Heiligen Grab in Jerusalem vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, pp. 8-10; The episode is also recorded by Martin Dalmar, 'Beschreibung Herzog Bugslaffen des 10. Peregrinationen nach dem Heyligen Lande. In welcher, wie in einem Diario, alle des H. B. Acten vnd Reisen von einem orth zuhm andern fleissig verzeichnet sein. Durch Martin Dalmar, Notar., welcher allewege mit dabey gewesen', in: *Thomas Kantzow's Chronik von Pommern in Niederdeutschen Mundart. Sammt einer Auswahl aus den übrigen ungedruckten Schriften desselben...*, Wilhelm Böhmer ed. (Stettin 1835; reprint Vaduz 1973), pp. 300-326, pp. 307-309. The episode would be distorted as a heroic feat in the commemoration of the pilgrimage of the Pomeranian duke Bogislaw X, who was also on the ship. See below, p. 45.

87 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 41.

88 Ibid.

89 Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God', p. 185.

Anatolia. This tendency disappeared in the early sixteenth century, however, as the Ottomans threatened Central Europe ever more.⁹⁰

The question remains of how much first-hand experience the travellers had with the Islamic inhabitants of the lands they travelled in. Probably the time was too short, they were too biased, and they were kept too strictly separated from the populace to really change their understanding about them. Their experiences were in any case more direct than those of their contemporaries who had stayed at home, and sometimes, therefore, remarkably reliable depictions are included in the travel reports. Such is the case with the woodcuts by Erhard Reuwich in the travel report of Bernhard von Breydenbach. His depictions of the Turks are actually one of the most accurate of their times, which would become ever more stereotyped in the decades that followed.⁹¹ Arnold von Harff, who travelled not with an organised group of pilgrims but with tradesmen, even visited Constantinople and admiringly described its marvels.⁹²

90 James G. Harper, 'Introduction', in: idem (ed.), *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750. Visual Imagery before Orientalism* (Farnham 2011), pp. 1-20, pp. 10-11; Bohnstedt, 'The infidel scourge of God', 188. For the tapestry, see James G. Harper, 'Turks as Trojans; Trojans as Turks: Visual Imagery of the Trojan War and the Politics of Cultural Identity in Fifteenth-Century Europe', in: Ananya Kabir and Deanne Williams, *Translating Cultures: Postcolonial Approaches to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2005), pp. 151-179.

91 Alexandrine N. St Clair, *The Image of the Turk in Europe* (New York 1973), p. 10.

92 Von Harff, *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago*, pp. 219-225.

COMMEMORATION OF THE JERUSALEM PILGRIMAGE

Having returned to their homelands, many pilgrims commemorated their completed pilgrimage. They had various motives for doing so. On the one hand, there was of course the desire for personal remembrance of their journey. On the other hand, however, for many it was important to have their pilgrimages commemorated openly, since it awarded them social prestige. As the pilgrimage and its related ideals were intricately connected to the identity of the nobility, for noble pilgrims it was especially important to show oneself as a Jerusalem pilgrim. Moreover, nobles frequently had more money available to fund various forms of commemoration, which again makes them predominant in the cultural environment surrounding the commemoration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Finally, certain religious actions, such as the foundation of chapels or acts of charity, and the collection of relics, could have a commemorative function too, while at the same time prolonging the good religious effect of the pilgrimage for one's soul, and extending this effect to others. The following sections will explore some of these forms of commemoration.

Medals, pilgrims insignia, tattoos, relics

Firstly, there were the more 'personal' keepsakes, such as pilgrim's insignia, souvenirs and commemorative medals. Pilgrims insignia, small metal objects which were attached to clothing, have been found in large quantities from many pilgrimage sites, and often depict the saint or miracle to which the site was connected. Occurrences of insignia from the Holy Land are scarce, however. My research has only come up with two items from Jerusalem.⁹³ Commemorative medals were made as well, such as that of Georg Ketzler, showing a Jerusalem cross.⁹⁴ In the case of the accolade at the Holy Sepulchre, knights received a necklace with the Jerusalem cross and a charter confirming their accolade. In some instances, the cloaks worn by pilgrims were kept as a remembrance, for example the cloak showing a Jerusalem cross which count Jacob VII Trapp of Schluderns (South Tyrol) wore on his pilgrimage in 1560, and which is still in existence.⁹⁵ Furthermore, souvenirs could be bought in Jerusalem, for example small models of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which were taken home.⁹⁶ It is known that some pilgrims even had a commemorative tattoo from their pilgrimage.⁹⁷ It is, however, a mistake to assume that these small objects served only personal remembrance of the journey. Most of these objects could be worn or displayed on clothing, which would make one recognizable for others as a Jerusalem pilgrim.

A special kind of souvenir from the journey, with a more public aura, were relics brought back from the Holy Land. In Christian doctrine, the holy power of a saint remained present after he or she had passed away, and was even transmissible onto other objects. Contact relics, objects

93 Two pilgrim's insignia in the shape of a Jerusalem cross with the crucified Christ, ca. 1500, now in Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age, inv. nos. 18044 and 12476. See Denis Bruna, *Enseignes de pèlerinage et enseignes profanes* (Paris 1996), p. 58, cat. 20 and 21; Jos Koldewey, Willy Peron, and Hanneke van Asperen (eds.), *Kunera* [<http://www.kunera.nl>; accessed 7 May 2013], ID's 1056 and 01057. Cf. Jos Koldewey, *Heilig en profaan. Laatmiddeleeuwse insignes in cultuurhistorisch perspectief* (Amsterdam 1995).

94 Nuremberg, GNM, inv. no. Med270

95 Marco Abate et al. (ed.), *Circa 1500. Landesausstellung 2000* (Milan 2000), p. 415; Anja Grebe, 'Pilgrims and Fashion: The Functions of Pilgrims' Garments,' in: Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden and Boston 2005), pp. 3-28, p. 13.

96 For example a model of the Holy Sepulchre from the late sixteenth century, found in Amsterdam: Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, inv. no. RMCC v314, see Dirk Aerts et al., *Pelgrims. Onderweg naar Santiago de Compostela* (Utrecht 2011), p. 14.

97 Van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, pp. 253-255. See also Mordechay Lewy, 'Jerusalem unter der Haut. Zur Geschichte der Jerusalemer Pilgertätowierung', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 55 (2003), pp. 1-39.

which the saint had touched during his lifetime, or which had been touched by his dead body, or even other objects which had come into contact with these objects, were thought to possess this power as well, which of course became stronger the more directly it was connected with the saint. In the case of Christ, the most holy saint, and his mother Mary, who had left (almost) no bodily remains, contact relics were among the most powerful in existence. This goes for the Holy Cross itself, parts of which were widely disseminated during the Middle Ages,⁹⁸ but also for the places where Christ had lived and worked his miracles, i.e. the holy places in Palestine. Pilgrims therefore had always collected parts (in most cases small stones) of the places which they had visited and brought them back to Europe. This was no different in the later Middle Ages. Martin Wanner in 1507 even mentions that the Franciscans of Mount Zion handed out 'iedichlem Pilgram sonderlich ein stücklein heilighumb in verschlossenen zedeln'.⁹⁹ Degenhart Pfeffinger, the chamberlain of Frederick the Wise, donated the pieces of the holy places which he had collected on his journey with the Duke in 1493 to the church of Salmanskirchen (Bavaria) in 1503. Of this collection he had an illuminated book made, decorated with his arms and signs of his acquired accolades, which listed the relics in the collection: "Ayn stuck von der gulden porten, dadurch Got am palmtag einrayt [...] Von der heiligen stat, do das heilig kreutz ist gefunden worden, ein stuck [...] Von der seulen, daran Jhesus Cristus ist gegaisselt worden, ein stuck [...] Von der stat, do der heilig merter sant Steffan verstaynt ist worden",¹⁰⁰ etc. Frederick's own relic collection contained pieces from the Holy Land as well, which according to the account book that is left of the pilgrimage, were often bought there by Pfeffinger.¹⁰¹ These relics were displayed in a church, and both of these pilgrims also acquired indulgences for their collections, making them the possible goal for a pilgrimage themselves.

Travel reports

Pilgrimage reports are among the most studied sources commemorating the Jerusalem pilgrimage, because they are our main source for the practicalities of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the later Middle Ages. Much of the research that has been done about how the pilgrimage was organised, which routes were taken, the numbers of pilgrims, and so on, is based on these reports, and to a lesser extent on additional sources, such as testaments, foundation letters, etc.¹⁰² As most of them

98 Kelly M. Holbert, 'Relics and Reliquaries of the True Cross', in: Blick and Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture*, pp. 337-363.

99 Martin Wanner, 'Die Pilgerfahrt des Herzogs Friedrich II. Von Liegnitz und Brieg nach dem Heiligen Lande', ed. by Reinhold Röhrich, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-vereins* 1 (1878), pp. 101-131, 177-215, p. 200.

100 Transcription of Fey, 'Wallfahrtserinnerungen an mittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen', p. 148. See L. Theobald, 'Das Heilum- und Ablaßbuch Degenhart Pfeffingers,' *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 32 (1925), pp. 49-70; Isolde Hausberger, *Der Meister von Mühldorf. Der Maler Wilhelm Pätzsold* (Mühldorf am Inn 1973), pp. 102-105; Hendrik Budde, and Andreas Nachama (eds.), *Die Reise nach Jerusalem. Eine kulturhistorische Exkursion in die Stadt der Städte. 3000 Jahre Davidsstadt* (Berlin 1995), p. 232; Legner, *Reliquien in Kunst und Kult*, p. 114; Enno Bünz, 'Die Heilumssammlung des Degenhart Pfeffinger', in: Andreas Tacke (ed.), "Ich armer sundiger Mensch". *Heiligen- und Reliquienkult am Übergang zum konfessionellen Zeitalter*, Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Moritzburg, Kunstmuseum des Landes Sachsen-Anhalt 2: Vorträge der II. Moritzburg-Tagung (Halle/Saale) vom 8.-10.10.2004 (Göttingen 2006), pp. 125-169.

101 Hans Hund, 'Hans Hund's Rechnungsbuch (1493-94)', ed. by Reinhold Röhrich and Heinrich Meisner, *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 4 (1883), pp. 37-100, p. 58; Fey, 'Wallfahrtserinnerungen an mittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen', p. 149.

102 The ground-breaking work for this research was done by Reinhold Röhrich, mostly in collaboration with Heinrich Meisner, who published, catalogued and analysed numerous (mainly German) reports of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, notably in their *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Berlin 1880). This work, although in some respects outdated, still remains the indispensable basis for research on travel reports. Later surveys and studies include Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*; Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*; Christiane Hippler, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen, zum Inhalt und zur literarischen Struktur der Pilgerberichte des Spätmittelalters*, Europäische Hochschulschriften vol. 968 (Frankfurt am Main 1987); Claudia Zrenner, Claudia, *Die Berichte der europäischen Jerusalem-pilger (1475-1500): ein literarischer Vergleich im historischen Kontext*, Europäische Hochschulschriften vol. 382 (Frankfurt am

relate quite extensively of the various stages of the journey, they provide us with much information regarding these topics. Moreover, they have survived in large numbers. Ursula Ganz-Blättler, in the most recent exhaustive overview of the corpus of reports of the pilgrimage, lists 262 individual texts written between 1300 and 1540, the period in which most travel reports were written. Additional unknown reports are still being found from time to time. Travel writing peaked in the second half of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰³ Before and after this period, however, travel reports about the Jerusalem pilgrimage were written as well. Already in late antiquity, pilgrims wrote down their experiences of the pilgrimage, as with the notable example of the Roman woman Egeria in the late fourth century.¹⁰⁴ Also after 1530, when the pilgrimage gradually declined, travel reports continued to be written, some still in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵ Although the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as we have seen, was relatively small in relation to other pilgrimage destinations, the amount of travel writing seems to have been inversely proportional to that of other pilgrimages.¹⁰⁶

Not only were the travel reports of the Jerusalem pilgrimage distinct from other pilgrimage reports in numbers, as regards the matter of form and content they also had many common characteristics. In this respect they qualify as a distinct literary genre with its own standard elements which subsequent authors adapted to suit their own needs. The accounts almost all relate their events chronologically, and their core consists of a list of the visited holy places, more or less elaborate, but almost always in a similar order, reflecting the order in which most pilgrims were led around by the Franciscan friars of Mount Zion. Many of these lists were also copied from a source available in the monastery, either a book or a panel, or possibly also from purchased guide books.¹⁰⁷ Many pilgrims (at least those from north-western Europe) took the sea route via Venice, which made a large part of their travels similar if not identical. Additionally, many pilgrimage accounts were not only based on direct experience or a list of holy places, but also quoted from authoritative writings (notably the Bible), and also often from other pilgrimage reports, which added to their many similarities.¹⁰⁸

Despite their similarities, however, travel accounts of the Holy Land pilgrimage do not form a homogeneous corpus. Sometimes the journey to and from Jerusalem is embedded in a greater narrative recounting further travels, for example to other sites of pilgrimage, to lands in Asia and Africa not well known in Europe, or even as part of what can be considered fictive travel writing, such as the famous travels of John Mandeville, who claimed to have visited the legendary realm of Prester John in Asia.¹⁰⁹ Accounts that limit themselves to the journey to Jerusalem and show a pre-eminent spiritual character (rather than an adventurous one) also have abounding differences. Many of the (anonymous) works that seem to be a travel account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage are not accounts of actually made journeys, but rather contemplative guides for the 'spiritual pilgrimage', as

Main 1981); Ben Wasser, *Nederlandse pelgrims naar het heilige land* (Zutphen 1983); Andres Betschart, *Zwischen zwei Welten. Illustrationen und Berichte westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender*, Würzburger Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie XV (Würzburg 1996). See also Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 20-38.

103 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 40, 356-415.

104 Egeria, *In het land van de Bijbel. Reisverslag van Egeria, een dame uit de vierde eeuw*, ed. and transl. by Vincent Hunink (Hilversum 2011).

105 E.g. that of the Antwerp Alexian friar Jan vander Linden, *Heerlycke ende gheluckighe reyse naer het H. Landt ende de stadt van Jerusalem, beschreven ende bereyst door broeder Jan vander Linden, pater van de Celle-broeders tot Antwerpen in het jaer ons Heere 1633 tot stichtinghe ende recreatie vande jonckheyt die geerne wat nieuws lesen* (Antwerp 1634).

106 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 40, 415-420, lists for example only 38 travel reports for the Santiago pilgrimage, the second most prestigious pilgrimage destination in the late Middle Ages, in the same period. This includes reports of pilgrims who combined the Santiago pilgrimage with a Jerusalem pilgrimage. Moreover, these texts assumed more the character of a guide book than those describing the Jerusalem pilgrimage, especially in the later period (p. 333).

107 Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*; Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 103-106.

108 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 106-110.

109 John Mandeville, *The Book of John Mandeville. With Related Texts*, ed. and transl. by Iain Macleod Higgins (Indianapolis and Cambridge 2011).

outlined in the previous chapter.¹¹⁰ Some rather concise accounts, or on the contrary those that contain plenty of practical information, can be considered or are known to have been guide books for pilgrims-to-be.¹¹¹ The famous account of Bernhard von Breydenbach was in fact a reworking of a guide book he wrote shortly after his journey for an aspiring pilgrim.¹¹² The form in which some pilgrimage accounts were written varies from prose to poetry.¹¹³ Moreover, travel reports vary considerably in the amount of personal experiences and practical information they provide; some limit themselves merely to a list of visited holy places, with only minor personal observations. Others abound in descriptions of personal experiences on the journey, the customs of unknown peoples, the religious practices of various Christian denominations and non-Christian beliefs, the landscape, plants and animals, vocabularies of various languages, tips for preparation, copies of contracts with ship owners, theological reflections, and so on. Especially around 1500 the travel reports become ever more elaborate, also sometimes incorporating drawings from observation of the visited places and encountered peoples and animals.¹¹⁴

For the most part, the sometimes huge differences between narrations of the Holy Land pilgrimage can be explained from the different intentions with which they were written. Some of these have already been mentioned, such as informing the aspiring pilgrim, providing a guide for spiritual pilgrimage, or providing the public with fantastic (didactic) stories about strange worlds.¹¹⁵ Another reason to write a travel report was to call for a new Crusade. Sections in which the author of the narrative complains about the desolate situation in the Holy Land under Muslim rule are common. The connection between the Jerusalem pilgrimage and the persistent appeal of the Crusade ideal, especially in the mind of many noble pilgrims, has already been remarked upon, and it is unsurprisingly present in the travel reports. It even became somewhat of a standard *topos* in writing a pilgrimage report, with a notable role of the reports of Gilbert de Lannoy and Bertrandon de la Brocquière, whose travels were in fact intelligence missions for the realisation of a Crusade.¹¹⁶ None of the reports, however, equalled the fiery calls for a Crusade made by Bernhard von Breydenbach, who ends his lengthy complaints about the deprivation of the Muslims with an appeal to all knights and kings to free the Holy Land from the infidels, an appeal which is reflected in the parallel reports of Felix Fabri and Walter von Guglingen.¹¹⁷

In the research of travel reports of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, their commemorative function has often been disregarded.¹¹⁸ Yet, this seems to be one of the most straightforward reasons why one wanted to commit his experiences to paper (or parchment, in some cases). Especially in the case of

110 See p. 21.

111 Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, tried to reconstruct the original guide book to the Jerusalem pilgrimage on the basis of various pilgrimage accounts, although it is more likely that some of the booklets we still have left, especially those printed in Venice, were the actual guide books. See for similar 'guides' to the pilgrimage destinations in Rome, which were mere lists of indulgences, Nine Miedema (ed.), *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit: die "Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae"* (Tübingen 2003).

112 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 2006).

113 Hans Schneider for example created a poem in commemoration of the pilgrimage of duke Christoph of Bavaria in 1493, who had died during his journey: Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 297-307.

114 For an analysis of the role and character of images in pilgrimage reports, see Betschart, *Zwischen zwei Welten*. Famous examples of reports which contain lots of additional information and personal observations are the already mentioned reports of Breydenbach, Fabri, and Von Harff, as well as that of the Flemish knight Joos van Ghistele (1489; Ambrosius Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, ed. by R.J.G.A.A. Gaspar (Hilversum 1998).

115 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 250-255, 255-262, 268-271.

116 *Ibid.*, pp. 264-268. Calls for a Crusade are for example to a greater or lesser degree apparent in the reports of Ludolf of Sudheim (1336), Jacopo da Verona (1335), Lionardo Frescobaldi (1384), Nompar de Caumont (1419), and even John Mandeville.

117 Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach*; Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, p. 267.

118 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 248-249, acknowledges the possible commemorative function, but chooses to see the reports mainly as means of communication, i.e. to a public outside the author and commissioner.

manuscripts which knew only few copies, the report seems to have been intended primarily for one's own commemoration. This can be expected to have been the case with the diary which Ottheinrich kept on his journey, and which is only left in a seventeenth-century transcript.¹¹⁹ The travel report of Paul Walther von Guglingen (1481), who travelled with Bernhard von Breydenbach, seems also to have been written for his own remembrance.¹²⁰ Another option was commemoration in small (family) circles. The pilgrimages of important members of a family became feats in the family history, and as such the travel reports made up part of the family's identity.¹²¹ This is something which, as we shall see, also comes to the fore as an important function in depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims. On paintings and other objects (e.g. memorial panels) which show members of a family or their lineage, often pilgrims can be identified by the use of certain attributes. This goes for Netherlandish memorial panels with kneeling members of a family, as well as for the painted pedigree of the Nuremberg Ketzler family.¹²² We have to acknowledge, however, that aspects of family history are often combined with communication to outsiders, since many memorial panels were publicly displayed (for example in a church), where they were visible to a broader public. A similar function may be assumed for some travel reports as well; that they were possibly intended primarily for personal commemoration does not mean that they were not also meant to be seen or read by those outside small family circles. Cordula Nolte has argued that travel reports which were written on the order of a prince could have been intended for future generations or even historians as testimonies of the journey made, as they ended up in the princely archives.¹²³

A specific form of public pilgrimage commemoration was travel reports written at the courts of high nobles in the German Empire. Judging from the overviews of travel reports, one cannot fail to notice that those of high nobles constitute a significant part of the corpus, especially in the later period. A quick comparison of the list of pilgrimages of German princes made by Cordula Nolte and Ganz-Blättler's inventory of travel reports (Table 1) reveals that of about a third (14 or 15 out of 44 or 45) of the German princely pilgrims left a travel report of some kind. As the evidence for a princely pilgrimage is often the travel report itself, we must be aware that the percentage may actually have been lower. Still, some remarkable patterns are clearly discernible. If we look at distinct periods, it can be seen that before 1400 none of the princes had their pilgrimage documented, whereas from 1480 onwards more than half of them had produced a travel account. An additional 13 reports from lesser German counts can be added to this.

Interestingly, almost none of these reports were written by the princes themselves, but were produced by someone else on their order, with the hand-written diary of Ottheinrich from 1521 as a notable exception. Further research is needed on this subject to provide any definite conclusions, but the above data indicate that many princes found it valuable to have someone produce a written report of their pilgrimage for them, probably also with the objective of making it public, at least in court circles. This latter point is also indicated by the poem written by Hans Schneider about the pilgrimage of Duke Christoph of Bavaria, which glorifies the Duke's valiant behaviour while on pilgrimage.¹²⁴ Schneider may have had access to and used the diary notes which were written by the Duke or his assistant on the journey.¹²⁵ In this case as well, the family tradition seems to have been an important factor in choosing to have a pilgrimage report made. The four dukes of Saxony from the house of Wettin who went to Jerusalem all had a travel report made, as had the Wittelsbach

119 See below, pp. 86-87.

120 Zrenner, *Die Berichte der europäischen Jerusalem-pilger*, p. 64.

121 Hippler, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem*, p. 183.

122 See below, p. 79.

123 Nolte, 'Erlebnis und Erinnerung', p. 86.

124 Edited in Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 297-307.

125 Trautmann, Franz, *Die Abenteuer Herzogs Christoph von Bayern, genannt der Kämpfer: ein Volksbuch, darin gar viel Frohes, Düsteres und Wundersames aus längst vergangenen Zeiten zum Vorschein kommt...: Für Jung und Alt erzählt*, vol. 2 (Aarau 1853), pp. 406-419.

family in the Palatinate. Pilgrims from the houses of Braunschweig, Mecklenburg, and Anhalt never produced any travel reports, insofar as we know.

TABLE 1: TRAVEL REPORTS OF GERMAN PRINCES

The table lists the number of German princes known to have made the pilgrimage and the travel reports which they have left. Numbers between brackets are unsure.¹²⁶

	princes	travel reports	percentage
<1400	9	0	0%
1400-1450	10	3 (4)	30% (40%)
1450-1480	13	4	31%
1480-1500	10 (11)	5	50% (46%)
>1500	2	2	100%
Total	44 (45)	14 (15)	32% (33%)

Foundations: chapels, almshouses, Stations of the Cross

As the pilgrimage combined salvation of one's soul, religious devotion, and personal prestige, so did the funding of religious foundations. It is therefore no coincidence that many pilgrims made a religious foundation after they returned. These took a variety of different forms, which often appear in combination. The most striking of these foundations are the chapels of the Holy Sepulchre, which pop up all over Europe from the tenth century onwards. Often these can be linked to returning Crusaders or Jerusalem pilgrims, and they are mostly built in a shape which resembles the Holy Sepulchre. Romanesque round chapels resemble the structure of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with its characteristic rotunda. One example is the church in Neuvy-Saint Sépulcre, which was built as an inexact copy of the rotunda in Jerusalem, probably to house the relics brought back from Jerusalem in 1027 by Odo le Roux, lord of Déols.¹²⁷ In the later Middle Ages, renewed interest in the Holy Land pilgrimage also caused a new construction wave of models of the Holy Sepulchre. Now constructions were more diverse, ranging from exact copies of the Holy Sepulchre such as the one in Görlitz, to chapels which contained a model of the tomb, or a sculpture of the Entombment of Christ. These were also frequently included in side chapels in larger churches.¹²⁸

Generally, in the later Middle Ages much attention was paid to the exact measurements of the models of the Holy Sepulchre. This follows also for the Stations of the Cross, which appeared in the late fifteenth century mainly in Franciscan circles. Often such foundations were connected with the story of a pilgrim who had measured the dimensions on the spot, such as the already mentioned Martin Ketzler or Georg Emmerich. Another remarkable example of the attention paid to exact measurements can be found in images of the body of Christ. Two of these are attested in the context of the late-medieval pilgrimage of German princes. Duke Erich I of Braunschweig allegedly had a painting made after his pilgrimage in 1488, which showed the exact length and width of the body of Christ. A similar item is attested in the church in Wittenberg, which was ordered by Frederick the Wise after the dimensions which he had measured himself on Christ's tomb.¹²⁹ These objects were subject of meditative devotion over the suffering of Christ as well as a commemoration of the

¹²⁶ Based on Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, pp. 356-415 and Nolte, 'Erlebnis und Erinnerung', pp. 91-92.

¹²⁷ Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 157-165, 230-245; Gustaf Dalman, *Das Grab Christi in Deutschland*. Studien über christliche Denkmäler 14 (Leipzig 1922), pp. 26-73; Nora Laos, 'The Architecture and Iconographical Sources of the Church of Neuvy-Saint-Sépulcre,' in: Blick and Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, pp. 285-314.

¹²⁸ Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 345-362.

pilgrimage. The exact dimensions of the Tomb of Christ had already circulated for some centuries in Europe, for example in manuscripts of reports of the First Crusade, so the frequent stories of late medieval pilgrims measuring the holy places may well be a cliché, deployed to lend the images a certain kind of authenticity.

Apart from the foundation of a chapel in commemoration of the pilgrimage, it was also common to make charitable foundations after one had been on a pilgrimage. This even added to the positive effect the Jerusalem pilgrimage had on one's soul, as acts of charity had a similar effect. In the Netherlands, it was common to found almshouses ('hofjes') for the poor or the elderly, which were named after the pilgrim(age). In Alkmaar a hofje was founded by Pieter Paling, who had been on pilgrimage, and his wife Josina van Foreest in 1540.¹³⁰ In Leiden, two hofjes existed which were founded by returning pilgrims, named respectively *Jeruzalems-* and *Sionshofje*.¹³¹ For those who did not wish to found an entire chapel (with the accompanying clergy) or almshouses, smaller donations were current as well. Reinhard von Neuneck, the *Hofmeister* (steward) of Ottheinrich, for example, founded a church tabernacle in the parish church of Glatt (Württemberg), where he would also be buried, which showed the Holy Trinity with insignia depicting his pilgrimages to Santiago and Jerusalem.¹³² It should be remarked, however, that these foundations almost always clearly expressed in some way or another who their founders were and that they had been Jerusalem pilgrims.

Confraternities of Jerusalem pilgrims

A remarkable phenomenon of the commemoration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage were the confraternities of Jerusalem pilgrims. These resembled other religious confraternities in that they had a religious goal, promoted acts of charity, took care of the memorial services after the death of their members, and held a common meal once a year in which their deceased members were commemorated. In the case of the Jerusalem confraternities, however, special entrance requirements applied, namely that one must have made the pilgrimage in order to become a member. In some confraternities, for example in Utrecht, it was also possible to become an aspiring member, with limited privileges, provided one intended to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹³³ These entrance requirements are largely absent for other confraternities, with the exception of some confraternities of St James, which were open only to Santiago pilgrims, and those for pilgrims to Rome.¹³⁴ Most of these confraternities were socially mixed, counting clergy, nobles, and burghers among their members. In some cases like those in Dordrecht and Utrecht, women were allowed membership as

129 Fey, 'Wallfahrtserinnerungen an spätmittelalterlichen Fürstehöfen', p. 150; Matthäus Faber, *Kurtzgefaßte Historische Nachricht Von der Schloß- und Academischen Stifts-Kirche zu Aller-Heiligen in Wittenberg Und Deroselben Ursprung, Einweyhung, Privilegiis Gottes-Dienste, Einkünften, Zierathen und besondern Merckwürdigkeiten* (Wittenberg 1717), pp. 229-230; Fritz Bellmann, Marie-Luise Harksen and Roland Werner, *Die Denkmale der Lutherstadt Wittenberg* (Weimar 1979), p. 251.

130 A (copy) of a portrait of the couple by Maarten van Heemskerck still exists, which hung in the *hofje*, and which depicts Pieter Paling as a Jerusalem pilgrim: Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv. nos. 021085 and 021084; also their tombstone in the Grote Kerk in Alkmaar carries pilgrim's marks. See J. Bruyn, 'Vroege portretten van Maerten van Heemskerck', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 3 (1955), pp. 27-35; The description of the portraits on the website *Representations of Jerusalem pilgrims* [<http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/pages/10.html>; accessed 7 May 2013]; The description of the Tomb on the website *Medieval Memoria Online* [<http://memodatabase.hum.uu.nl/memo-is/detail/index?detailId=361&detailType=MemorialObject>; accessed 8 May 2013].

131 Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolomytana*, pp. 178-179.

132 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 80.

133 Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolomytana*.

134 Louise van Tongerloo, 'Grablegung und Totengedenken bei Pilgerbruderschaften in Utrecht, mit einer Neuinterpretation von Scorels und Mors Bildnisreihen von Jerusalemfahrern', in: Truus van Bueren en Andrea van Leerdam (eds.), *Care for the here and the hereafter: memoria, art and ritual in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2005), pp. 221-247, p. 221.

well.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, the fact that they were exclusively for people who had gone to Jerusalem, an undertaking which required considerable efforts, made them stand out socially.

Their exclusive character was corroborated by the special role most confraternities (except for those in Paris) enjoyed in the annual Palm Sunday processions, which were organised in most towns where confraternities can be attested. In the parade figured a donkey carrying Christ, as a reference to his entry in Jerusalem. Sometimes this was a wooden statue on wheels, which was pulled along by the participants of the procession. It was accompanied by members of the local confraternity of Jerusalem pilgrims, who carried palm branches, making them immediately recognisable to the public as Jerusalem pilgrims. The palm branches referred both to the entry of Christ into Jerusalem, when he was applauded by people with palm branches, and their own pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After the procession, the members of the confraternity would gather for a common meal, usually in their own chapel.¹³⁶ This chapel was usually a Jerusalem chapel (as at Gouda, Utrecht, and Haarlem) or a side chapel which they had founded within a greater church (at Paris, Amsterdam, and Kampen).

Like many phenomena connected to the Jerusalem pilgrimage, the first Jerusalem confraternity had been founded in connection to a Crusade ideal, in the 1320's in Paris. It was initially founded as a confraternity of nobles led by Count Louis of Clermont, later Duke of Bourbon, which vowed to go on a possible new Crusade.¹³⁷ A Crusade was never realised, but the idea of a confraternity of Jerusalem pilgrims proved attractive. Within a few decades, a second confraternity had been founded in Paris in the church of the Franciscan Cordeliers Convent, which was also open to non-nobles, and promoted the more peaceful pilgrimage instead of the Crusade. The first confraternity of Jerusalem pilgrims outside Paris was founded in 1394 in Utrecht, and during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries many other Dutch cities followed suit. Confraternities have been attested in Bruges, Antwerp, Gent, Haarlem, Alkmaar, Amsterdam, Gouda, Leiden, Kampen, Middelburg, Amersfoort, Dordrecht, and Delft.¹³⁸ With the exception of Paris, therefore, the Jerusalem confraternity seems to have been a strictly Low Countries-phenomenon, found nowhere else. The decline of the pilgrimage and the Reformation in the Netherlands in the late sixteenth century meant the end for many of the confraternities. Only in Antwerp was the idea of the Jerusalem confraternity revived in its original form in the seventeenth century, while in Hoogstraten a new confraternity was founded as an exclusive association for noble pilgrims.¹³⁹

Portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims

One of the most interesting forms of commemoration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the context of this thesis are the depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims on painted or sculpted objects, or 'works of art'. In most cases, this means that the Jerusalem pilgrims are portrayed as such. For this section, I will make use of the overview of these portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims which have been collected for the website *Representations of Jerusalem pilgrims* of the research project *Medieval Memoria Online* (MeMO). For the website, depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims were collected from the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, which commemorated their pilgrimages by displaying signs such as palm branches or Jerusalem crosses, and/or by means of an added text. As the MeMO-project (which focuses on objects and texts with a memorial function, i.e., in the commemoration of the dead)

135 Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolomytana*, p. 165.

136 Ibid., p. 138.

137 See Béatrice Dansette, 'Les Pèlerins occidentaux du Moyen Age tardif au retour de la Terre Sainte: confréries du S-Sépulcre et paumiers parisiens', in: Michel Balard, Benjamin Kedar, and Jonathan Riley Smith (eds.), *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard / Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard* (Aldershot 2001), pp. 301-314, pp. 311-314.

138 Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolomytana*.

139 Ibid., p. 203.

limits itself to the modern-day Netherlands, and *Representations of Jerusalem pilgrims* was initially based on the objects included in MeMO, the collection of depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims can only be considered exhaustive in relation to the Netherlands. However, depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims were, as much as possible, added from other regions.¹⁴⁰ At the time of writing, the website includes 72 objects, including the ones found in the research for this thesis. These are listed in Appendix A. They date from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Forty-five of them come from the Northern Netherlands, thirteen from Flanders, nine from present-day Germany, four from Switzerland, and one from Southern Tyrol (Italy). They can roughly be divided into the following types:



Fig. 7. 12 Members of the Haarlem confraternity of Jerusalem pilgrims, by Jan van Scorel, c.1528. Van Scorel is depicted third from the right.

1. *Confraternity portraits*. These are mostly group portraits which depict the members of a confraternity of Jerusalem pilgrims in half-length, accompanied by verses which indicate their identity. Most of them display the members lined up behind one another, as in a procession, holding palm branches in their hands, as an allusion to their role in the Palm Sunday processions and their pilgrimages. Six panels have been preserved, one from Haarlem (fig. 7), the other five from Utrecht. All but one were made by the Utrecht canon and painter Jan van Scorel, who had been a member of both confraternities, and also depicted himself on two panels. Jan van Scorel is also said to have made a similar panel for the Leiden confraternity, which has not been preserved.¹⁴¹ They date from the late 1520s and 1530s, and one Utrecht panel painted by Antonis Mor, Van Scorel's pupil, from 1544.¹⁴² From Amsterdam, moreover, two paintings are known which show the pilgrims turned towards a central scene, and which probably served a similar communal function. It is probable that these portraits were made to hang in the local Jerusalem chapel, their faces likely turned in the direction of a model of the Holy Sepulchre in the chapel, in order to commemorate both the living and the deceased members of the confraternity. It is known that not all members were depicted, but this does not mean that they were not visually commemorated. Text panels which hung in the chapels mentioned the names of all present and past members. In Utrecht this is implied by archival

¹⁴⁰ Bart Holterman et al., *Representations of Jerusalem Pilgrims* [<http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem>]. For the objectives of the MeMO-project, led by Truus van Bueren, see <http://memo.hum.uu.nl> or for its database of memorial texts and objects, <http://memo.hum.uu.nl/database>.

¹⁴¹ Truus van Bueren, with contributions by W.C.M. Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood: gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen* (Turnhout 1999), pp. 78, 80. The Utrecht panels, except for one, are in the Centraal Museum Utrecht, inv. nos. 2376-2379, the Haarlem panel is in Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum.

¹⁴² Now in Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. See Joanna Woodall, 'Painted immortality: portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims by Antonis Mor and Jan van Scorel,' *Jahrbuch der berliner Museen* 31 (1989), pp. 149-163.

documents,¹⁴³ and a text panel still in existence from Leiden may have functioned as such as well.¹⁴⁴ The panel from Haarlem nicely sums up the entire situation, as it includes a servant which holds a picture of the Holy Sepulchre, towards which all members are turned, and under it an extensive list of members who are not depicted is provided. Finally, it was possible that members who were not depicted on the portraits founded a stained-glass window in the chapel which included their arms or even their portraits. At least one such window is known from a seventeenth-century drawing to have existed in Leiden,¹⁴⁵ and another in the Cordeliers convent in Paris, both adorned with palm branches.¹⁴⁶

As suggested by Louise van Tongerloo, who reconstructed the situation in Utrecht, the conception of the confraternity portraits may very well have been a personal project of Jan van Scorel. After his initial paintings, which included twelve pilgrims (the Haarlem panel and two from Utrecht), possibly alluding to the twelve apostles, numbers of pilgrims in the paintings gradually dropped. Later Utrecht panels only contained nine (1535/36), five (1541-44), and even only two (1544) pilgrims. However, this does not mean that without the explicit instigation of Van Scorel, pilgrims chose not to have themselves depicted. Rather, as Van Tongerloo argued, they may have resorted to an older tradition of single portraits.¹⁴⁷

2. *Single or double portraits.* The inventory made from the website (Appendix A, see also table 2) lists 36 single portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims; exactly half of all known portraits. Some of these are part of double portraits of a married couple.¹⁴⁸ Many of these show close similarities with the confraternity portraits, in that the depicted persons are displayed half-length, and are often carrying a palm branch. Some of them even display a verse under or above their portraits, as is the case in many confraternity portraits as well. For a number of Utrecht portraits, the similarities in style and design with the confraternity portraits are so clear that they can be thought to have been intended as supplements to the portrait series in the Jerusalem chapel. Moreover, all of these were made after 1544, when the last confraternity portrait was made.¹⁴⁹ Apparently interest for the creation of a new confraternity portrait was absent in the later sixteenth century (which may have reflected the general decline in interest for the pilgrimage), but for those who still wanted to have themselves depicted in the Jerusalem chapel, a single portrait proved to be a convenient solution. Two portraits from Delft and Kampen may have had a similar function in the local Jerusalem

143 Van Tongerloo, 'Grablegung und Totengedenken', p. 230.

144 Van Bueren, *Leven na de dood*, pp. 26, 80, 113, 276.

145 Arnoldus Buchelius, *Inscriptiones monumentaque in templis et monasteriis Belgicis inventa* (MS Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, hs. 1648), f. 33r (p.75).

146 Laure Beaumont-Maillet, *Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris. Etude historique et archéologique du XIII^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris 1975), p. 290.

147 Van Tongerloo, 'Grablegung und Totengedenken', p. 233.

148 It is remarkable that none of the women depicted on the double portraits carry the signs of the pilgrimage, though some of them can be reasonably suspected to have accompanied their husbands to Jerusalem. Women are absent from all other portraits as well, with the single exception of Heiltje Dirk Evertsdr. on the confraternity portrait with nine pilgrims from Utrecht. This is an exceptional case after all, since the accompanying text mentions her husband to have been a Jerusalem pilgrim, but he is not depicted. It raises the question whether it was common for women not to be depicted as a pilgrim, even if they had been one.

149 This goes especially for the portrait of Jan Hendriksz. Spijker from 1564 (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, inv. no. 557), which is almost identical in style with Mor's portrait with two Jerusalem pilgrims from 1544. A portrait of Hendrik van Leeuwen (1560; private collection) may have been intended for the Jerusalem chapel as well. See the overview of known Utrecht Jerusalem pilgrims by Van Tongerloo, pp. 237-239. Recently, I have discovered a portrait unknown to Van Tongerloo, of the Utrecht pilgrim Willem Willemsz, who travelled to Jerusalem in 1551 (The Hague, Rijksdienst voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, no. 28983, current location unknown), which shows remarkable parallels with the portraits of Spijker and the 1544 confraternity portrait, and which must originally have been placed in the chapel as well, see *Representations of Jerusalem Pilgrims*, <http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/60.html>; accessed 8 May 2013.

chapel.¹⁵⁰ Other portraits were probably not intended for display in a confraternity's chapel, but were placed in other spots, for example near one's grave. Still, many of these portraits can be linked somehow to a Jerusalem confraternity. Single-subject copies from confraternity portraits are known, for example, such as the portrait of Jan van Ede, on which his portrait on the Utrecht confraternity panel with nine pilgrims was probably based.¹⁵¹

3. *Succession series and other group portraits.* Some of the 'single' portraits were part of a series of portraits which depict a succession, either in an institution or a family. The portrait of Hendrik IV of Naaldwijk, for example, was part of a succession series of the lords of Naaldwijk in Holland, which was displayed in the local church. The series was probably founded by Wilhelmina van Naaldwijk, the last member of the family, after whom it died out. With the series, she must have wanted to show the importance and long history of her family.¹⁵² Apparently for many the pilgrimage of one member of a family was so significant that it was deemed important to have it indicated in depictions of their lineage in family portraits. In the same light can be seen the many different panels of the Nuremberg Ketzler family, on which the pilgrims from the family are always clearly indicated.¹⁵³ This also shows that depicting oneself as a Jerusalem pilgrim could become a family tradition. This seems to be the case with the Taets van Amerongen family, of which at least three members are known to have been depicted as a Jerusalem pilgrim. Jacob Taets van Amerongen, for example, the late sixteenth-century land commander of the Teutonic order in Utrecht, had himself depicted as a Jerusalem pilgrim on the succession series of land commanders which he probably had founded himself. He was a relative of Anthonis Taets van Amerongen, who was depicted on the 1544 confraternity portrait. Further, this example shows the political significance which the inclusion of a portrait of a Jerusalem pilgrim in a succession series could have. Jacob appears to have become land commander at a time when the order in Utrecht seemed to lose its religious purpose, as his predecessors in the function had prioritised worldly affairs. Jacob, acting at a time in which the future of the order was at stake, must have wanted to restore it to its initial religious goal, and ordered the succession series which confirmed their long history. His own inclusion as a Jerusalem pilgrim may have served as a reference to the order's origins, which lay in the time of the Crusades.¹⁵⁴

4. *Memorial objects.* These are objects which had a primary function in the commemoration of the dead. Often, but not necessarily, they were placed near a place of burial. In this case, they mostly consist of painted panels in the shape of a triptych, with a religious scene on the central panel and on the wings the commemorated family, accompanied by saints. An example is the memorial panel of the Van Beesd-Van Heemskerck family of Delft, which commemorated the deaths of Dirk van Beesd van Heemskerck, his wife and his son. The central panel displays the Virgin with child and St Anne, combined with the Holy Trinity. On the left wing are Dirk and his sons, on the right wing his wife and daughter. Dirk carries a palm branch and a coat of arms with a wheel of St Catherine, a sign that he had been to the Sinai.¹⁵⁵ The collection from the website *Representations of Jerusalem pilgrims* lists some eleven memorial panels, all from the Netherlands

150 Van Bueren, *Leven na de dood*, pp. 80, 230, cat. 84; R.J. Kolman, 'De pelgrims van Jeruzalem te Kampen ca 1450-1580', *Kamper Almanak* (1987), pp. 155-214, pp. 163-165.

151 Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor de Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, inv. no. 848. See van Tongerloo, 'Grablegung und Totengedenken', pp. 232-233.

152 Van Bueren, *Leven na de dood*, pp. 73-74.

153 See below, pp. 77-80.

154 Daantje Meeuwissen, *Gekoesterde traditie. De portretreeks met de landcommandeurs van de Utrechtse Balije van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde* (Hilversum 2011), 2.3-2.4, cat. 31 (7.05).

155 Van Bueren, *Leven na de dood*, pp. 228-230; H.J.J. Scholtens, 'Het Sint Anna-altaar van de Delftsche kartuizers,' *Haarlemsche bijdragen: bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem* 56 (1938), pp. 156-158.; L. Zuidema, 'Weerspiegeling van twee leefwerelden. Het Delftse kartuizerklooster en het drieluik met de familie van Beesd,' *Madoc* 18 (2004), pp. 260-270.

(see table 2), which depict a Jerusalem pilgrim among the family members. Curiously, almost half of them can be traced back to Leiden, where there thus seems to have been a local tradition to portray Jerusalem pilgrims on memorial panels.

5. *Other types.* With less frequency, depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims show up on other objects with a high diversity. There is for example a book of hours from Bruges which includes the prayer portraits of a Jerusalem pilgrim on various miniatures. The textual contents of the book relate to the pilgrimage as well, since it includes the prayers to be said in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁵⁶ From Germany, the travel report of Arnold von Harff includes depictions of himself, shown praying at various sites of pilgrimage which he had visited during his journey, but also more mundane scenes, which show him locked up in prison by the sultan and travelling on camel back (fig. 8). Although many travel reports are illustrated, that the pilgrim himself is depicted is unique. There is only one other example, from the travel report of the Bern pilgrim Heinrich Wölfli. These illustrations, however, may very well have been added later in the seventeenth century. In Arnold von Harff's case, the illustrations formed an inextricable part of the journal, as they were adopted in almost every copy.¹⁵⁷



Fig. 8. Arnold von Harff on a camel, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 972, f. 80r.

Other remarkable portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims we find in the *Bern Dance of Death*. It was originally painted on one of the walls of the Dominican convent in Bern by the painter Niklaus Manuel, between 1515 and 1519. It featured a standard *danse macabre* design, with representatives from all layers of society accompanied by a personification of death as a rotten corpse. Verses accompanied the scenes, which abound with social satire to emphasize the ultimate message that before death, everyone is equal. What makes this Dance of Death unusual, however, is that the different figures are not only abstractions of society, but show distinct facial features and can be linked to real persons in the city of Bern at the time, probably the persons who founded each respective part of the painting, and including a portrait of the painter himself at the end. The donors could moreover be recognised by their coats of arms, which were also depicted. In four instances (those of the duke, count, knight, and *Schultheiß*) Jerusalem crosses and wheels of Catherine identify the donors as Jerusalem pilgrims (fig. 9). This makes the Bern Dance of Death a curious mix of *memento mori* and a display of the pride of the city's elite.¹⁵⁸ Finally, the depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims on the views of the Holy Land within prayer portraits seem to have been a distinct type of commemoration of the pilgrimage, but since these form the main subject of this thesis, I will discuss them in the following chapters.

¹⁵⁶ MS Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A233. See Kathryn M. Rudy, 'A Pilgrim's Book of Hours: Stockholm Royal Library A233', *Studies in Iconography* 21 (2000), pp. 237-279; Idem, 'A Pilgrim's Book of Hours: Addendum', *Studies in Iconography* 22 (2001), pp. 163-164.

¹⁵⁷ Von Harff, *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago*. See also Betschart, *Zwischen zwei Welten*, p. 145.

¹⁵⁸ Paul Zinsli, *Der Berner Totentanz des Niklaus Manuel*, Berner Heimatbücher 54/55 (Bern 1953); Wilfried Kettler, *Der Berner Totentanz des Niklaus Manuel : philologische, epigraphische sowie historische Überlegungen zu einem Sprach- und Kunstdenkmal der frühen Neuzeit* (Bern 2009); Gert Kaiser, *Der tanzende Tod. Mittelalterliche Totentänze Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Gert Kaiser* (Frankfurt am Main 1982), pp. 36-48.



Fig. 9. *Death and the duke*, showing the coat of arms and facial features of the pilgrim Caspar von Mülinen, from the Bern Dance of Death. Watercolour of Albrecht Kauw (1649) after the mural by Niklaus Manuel, c.1515-1519.

Having assessed the different types of depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims, the overview shows some remarkable regional variation in forms of commemoration (see table 2). The confraternity portraits are only attested in the Northern Netherlands, and the inclusions of Jerusalem pilgrims on memorial panels only from Holland and Flanders, as are Jerusalem pilgrims in succession series and family portraits, with the exception of the Ketzell family. Of other types of depictions, only the views on the Holy Land show a similar clear geographical focus: they almost only appear in modern-day Germany. Single portraits, however, are to be found in all included regions, but show much difference in how the pilgrims are depicted.

Appendix A specifies which attributes of the pilgrim identify them as such. Among the attributes used are the aforementioned palm branches, wheels of St Catherine, and the Jerusalem crosses. The latter show variant applications as well: they can be depicted worn on a necklace (probably an allusion to knighting at the Holy Sepulchre), stitched onto the clothing, or elsewhere on the panel, such as on a coat of arms. If we look at the geographical distribution of these signs on the collection of portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims, it is striking that the objects from the Netherlands almost always show a palm branch,

whereas these are totally absent from objects from other regions. It is tempting to assume that the palm branches are therefore adopted from the confraternity portraits, given the prominent inclusion of these attributes on the portraits and their symbolic presence in the Palm Sunday processions. Yet the use of a palm branch pre-dates the oldest confraternity portraits, as it can be seen on some earlier memorial panels and single portraits as well. Still, there seems to be a connection with the Jerusalem confraternities, since the palm branches almost only show up in areas where a Jerusalem confraternity is also attested to have existed. Moreover, the use of a palm branch is continued in seventeenth-century Antwerp, exactly in the city where the confraternity lived on in that time. This feature, in combination with the distinct designs of the confraternity portraits, shows that the depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims as a form of commemoration of the pilgrimage were of a characteristic type in the Netherlands.

In Germany and Switzerland, on the other hand, more use seems to have been made of the Jerusalem cross as an attribute on portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims, while this is less attested in the Netherlands, at least with respect to those which are not attached to clothing or displayed on a shield. Moreover, the types of objects which were made in this region show more variation than in the Netherlands, and no distinct pattern of depiction emerges from the data. This may have something to do with the nature of the data collected on the website *Representations of Jerusalem pilgrims*: the data of the non-Netherlandish objects is less extensive, and the German evidence might therefore be partly obscured. Also, in collecting the material provided for the website more attention may have been paid to depictions with a palm branch than to other attributes, as the former are more easily recognisable as a sign of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. This might distort the findings

as well, especially in cases where the pilgrimage is only mentioned in the text accompanying the portrait, which might therefore have been largely missed. Still, it would be safe to conclude that the palm branch as an attribute of pilgrimage was not used in Germany and Switzerland, as it would have likely appeared in the collection if it was used, precisely because of the palm-branch-bias.

Moreover, I believe I have nonetheless collected enough German objects to identify the outlines of visual patterns. That not many depictions of pilgrims outside the Netherlands were found, could simply mean that it was just not common outside that region to have oneself portrayed as a Jerusalem pilgrim. The only type of depiction which hints at some standardised form of visual commemoration of the pilgrimage outside the Netherlands are the views on the Holy Land with prayer portraits. Whether these can indeed be regarded as a regional commemorative tradition, like the palm branches of the Jerusalem confraternities, will be assessed in the following chapter.

TABLE 2: TYPES OF PORTRAITS OF JERUSALEM PILGRIMS, ORDERED PER GEOGRAPHICAL REGION

	NL	Flanders	Germany	CH	Tyrol	Total
Confraternity portraits	9					9
Single/double portraits	22	9	2	2	1	36
Succession series	4		1			5
Memorial panels	10	1				11
Books		1	1	1		3
Views on the Holy Land		1	5			6
Other		1		1		2
Total	45	13	9	4	1	72

Tomb monuments

It was not rare to adorn one's tomb with signs of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. These tomb monuments identifying the dead as Jerusalem pilgrims show a similar situation as with the portraits sketched above. Many tomb monuments of late medieval Jerusalem pilgrims have survived, a considerable number of which show signs of pilgrimage. In the Netherlands, once again, palm branches frequently decorate the monuments, whereas these are absent in Germany.¹⁵⁹ For members of a Jerusalem confraternity, the tomb allowed more room for personal expression than the portraits which hung in the chapel of the confraternity. The latter were intended primarily as a social medium to commemorate the shared experience of the pilgrimage, with little room to express other kinds of identities. On the tombs signs of other pilgrimages can more often be found, for example on the tomb of Steven de Witt. His portrait on the Utrecht panel with five pilgrims does not mention other pilgrimages, whereas his gravestone depicts the signs of pilgrimages to Rome, Loreto, and Naples as well.¹⁶⁰ In Germany, a tomb may have been a more common way of expressing one's identity as a Jerusalem pilgrim than a portrait. Many tombs of Jerusalem pilgrims still exist, almost always related to Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. In the *Marienkappelle* in Würzburg, for example, three sixteenth-century tombs depict knights in armour. Two of them carry Jerusalem crosses on their harnesses, the third, commemorating Konrad von Schaumberg on a monument made by Tilman Riemenschneider, mentions the pilgrimage in the text on the tomb. A similar motif can be seen at

¹⁵⁹ See the overview of tomb slabs and monuments on the website *Representations of Jerusalem Pilgrims*, <http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/graves.html>.

¹⁶⁰ Jos Sterk, 'Johannes de Witt Stevenszoon,' *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (1974), pp. 116-121.

the tomb of Arnold von Harff in the parish church in Lövenich. He is also depicted in full armour, surrounded by various marks of pilgrimage and accolades, but is oddly enough missing the Jerusalem cross, which is substituted for an Orthodox cross.¹⁶¹

Although many tomb monuments of Jerusalem pilgrims are still extant or have been preserved in later drawings, it was by no means standard to have one's grave adorned with marks of the pilgrimage. Even famous pilgrims such as Bernhard von Breydenbach, whose effigy is still in the Cathedral of Mainz, show no signs of pilgrimage on their tombstones. He is depicted on his tomb simply as a cleric, holding a chalice. Jan van Scorel, who portrayed himself as a pilgrim on two occasions, probably showed no signs of the Jerusalem pilgrimage on his tomb in the Utrecht Janskerk as well, although this is not entirely known, since we only know his tomb from a seventeenth-century drawing.¹⁶² Of three travel companions of Ottheinrich, Philipp Ulner von Dieburg, Reinhard von Neuneck, and Engelhard von Hirschhorn, who are also depicted on the Neuburg tapestries, there are also extant tombstones. The tomb of Engelhard von Hirschhorn contains no references to the pilgrimage; however, those of the others do so. Von Hirschhorn's conversion to Protestantism might have something to do with this, but this is by no means certain, as the previous examples suggest that even devout Catholic pilgrims chose not to be depicted as such on their tombs.¹⁶³



Fig. 10. Tomb slab of Heinrich Ketzell, 1438, at the outside of the west choir of the Church of St Sebald, Nuremberg.

161 Von Harff, *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago*, p. 14.

162 Arnoldus Buchelius, *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Trajectinae atque urbis agri inventa* (MS Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, XXVII L1), p. 125 (f. 66r).

163 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 66.

Commemoration of the pilgrimage, commemoration of the dead

As tomb monuments as a possible medium of pilgrimage commemoration suggest, a link can often be seen between commemoration of the pilgrimage and commemoration of the dead, or *memoria*. This is not surprising, of course, as one of the driving forces behind the pilgrimage was concern about the afterlife, which would have to be spent at least for a while in purgatory. This connection is made clear on a variety of objects. Naturally the Bern Dance of Death places the commemoration of the pilgrimage in a *memento mori* context; also in the Haarlem succession series of the counts of Holland the relation between pilgrimage and absolution of sins is explicit. The series was made in the late fifteenth century and clearly mentions the pilgrimages of some of the counts in the accompanying verses. Death as a rotten corpse closes the row with an admonition: “Die doot seijt tot den heeren: // Ghij Hollantsche graven hier al ghemeene // ghij gravinnen ghij voochden die sijt voorleden // daer en isser ghebleeven thants uwer gheene // maer sijt an mijnnen dans getreden // nu ghij regeert hebt beij lant en steden // men weet dit thants wel altemalen // ist al geschiet na recht en reden // soo moochdij voor Godt u loon nu halen // ist oock soo niet soo sall u falen // want heeft gunst of haet dat recht verkeert // soo moetij met pijnnen dat nu betalen // ja ghij hadt voor pelgrim veel bet gaen dwalen // dan ghij u landen hebt soo gheregeert” (Death said to the lords: You counts of Holland, here all together, you countesses and guardians who have passed away, none of you still exist, but you have all joined my dance. If you have reigned justly over the land and its cities, you will earn your reward from God, but if you have reigned by envy and hate, you will have to pay for it with suffering. Yes, you had better wandered around as a pilgrim, than reigned your lands in such a way).¹⁶⁴ On the Haarlem confraternity portrait, the verse of Joost Cornelisz expressed hope for salvation of his soul through his pilgrimage as well: “[...] wilt bidden dat mi de beuairt baten moet // int ewich leven // als ic dit laten moet.” (Please pray that the pilgrimage will benefit me in eternal life, when I have to leave this [life]).¹⁶⁵ The tombstone of Heinrich Ketzler (1438) at the outside of the east choir of St Sebald's Church in Nuremberg makes this visual: on its upper register, between signs of the pilgrimage, angels rescue souls from purgatory (fig. 10).¹⁶⁶

A similar motif can be found with other types of commemoration of the pilgrimage. A relic collection such as the one of Degenhart Pfeffinger could help to obtain indulgences and the mediation of the saints in gaining absolution from sins. A religious foundation such as a chapel, an altar, or deeds of charity such as almshouses were considered to have a positive effect on one's soul in the afterlife as well. It is therefore no coincidence that these foundations were regularly connected with a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In some cases the connection between such a foundation and the afterlife is very clear. Gijsbert Raet, for example, the founder of the Jerusalem Chapel in Gouda, was known to have been buried inside his chapel. His tombstone still survives, showing an angel holding coats of arms with a Jerusalem cross, a chalice, palm branches, and the wheel of St Catherine. As for the memorial panels with Jerusalem pilgrims, these were often intended to be placed near a grave, or in any case to support the soul of the deceased in the afterlife. For some single portraits, a similar function can be suspected, such as for the portrait of Eilard Cromme from Kampen, which mentions his date of death prominently on the tympanum.¹⁶⁷

It is no coincidence that these objects can be linked to the existence of confraternities of Jerusalem pilgrims. As with other confraternities, they had an important function in taking care of their deceased members and organising their commemoration. This does not mean, however, that all objects and foundations which were made in the context of the Jerusalem confraternities

164 Wim van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten: Hollandse geschiedenis in woord en beeld* (Hilversum 1997), my own translation.

165 W.Th. Kloek et al., *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580*, vol. I (Amsterdam 1986), pp. 185-187.

166 See Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg: ihre Baugeschichte und ihre Kunstdenkmale* (Vienna 1912); Aign, *Die Ketzler*, pp. 67-68.

167 Van Bueren, *Leven na de dood*, pp. 80, 230; Kolman, 'De pelgrims van Jeruzalem', pp. 155-214, 163-165, 202.

automatically had a commemorative function regarding the dead. As Van Tongerloo has argued, in the Utrecht Jerusalem Chapel, for instance, probably no burials took place. The group portraits of this confraternity hardly ever mention the deaths of their members in the verses accompanying the portraits.¹⁶⁸ We should therefore remember that the commemoration of the pilgrimage was in the first place exactly that: the commemoration of the pilgrimage. Most of the forms of commemoration could also have other purposes, social or even political, of which the commemoration of the dead could in some cases be one, but this was not a necessary element. For this reason, I will avoid using the term *memoria* in the context of the commemoration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, unless there is an explicit link with the commemoration of the dead.

Commemorative ensembles

As already suggested, in many cases commemoration of the Holy Land pilgrimage combined several of the types of commemoration mentioned above, with various goals. Commemoration of the pilgrimage and concern for the salvation of one's soul was combined with the expression of social prestige and works of charity, the utterances of which had a social and political purpose as well, and took place within regional and family traditions, and often within the communal framework of the Jerusalem confraternities. I will therefore conclude this chapter with two examples of pilgrimage commemoration in which these various aspects were put into practice.

In the city of Bruges stands the *Jeruzalemkerk*. It is in fact a large chapel, which does not at first sight resemble the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but was allegedly based on it. It was founded by members of the Adornes family, who had their roots in Genoa. Opicius Adornes had come to Flanders in the thirteenth century in the retinue of the local count. His descendants acquired an important position in Bruges, owed for a large part to their profession as merchants, which brought them many important international contacts. Other members of the family would become clerics and even burgomasters. The Adornes family had a tradition of pilgrimages to the Holy Land. With Oppicino II, Pieter II, his son Anselmus, and the latter's son Jan, the family could boast four generations of Jerusalem pilgrims. In the 1430s, Pieter II founded the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre with adjoining almshouses. It featured a model of the Tomb of Christ and an elevation which evoked Golgotha, with a crypt beneath. Anselmus finished the project in the 1470s after his pilgrimage, of which he also wrote a travel report together with his son. At the same time, he held a difficult political position in the city after the death of Charles the Bold. Rebellion broke out, and Anselmus as member of the city's elite was punished openly for alleged theft from the city's treasury. He never recovered his old position afterwards, and died in Scotland in 1483. He was buried in a tomb in the Jerusalem church. His son Jan, a canon, tended to the church, which he now promoted as a sign of the significance of his family to the city. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the local confraternity of Jerusalem pilgrims is attested to have held their gatherings in the church.¹⁶⁹ The Adornes family thus combined various forms of commemoration, which were eventually used to promote the family politically and socially in difficult times.

In Pomerania, a similar motive can be seen behind the many forms of commemoration of the pilgrimage of Duke Bogislaw X (1454-1523), although its manifestations are quite different. Bogislaw's reign was marked by continuous struggle with the margraves of Brandenburg, who claimed possession of the duchy. In order to secure recognition of Pomerania as a direct fief under the German crown, Bogislaw did his best to keep good relations with the Emperor and took pains to

168 Van Tongerloo, 'Grablegung und Totengedenken', p. 233.

169 Charlotte Dikken, 'A Monument to a Glorious Past and a Questionable Future? The Jerusalem Chapel in Bruges and its Stained Glass Windows', in: Rolf de Weijert et al. (eds.), *Living Memoria. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren* (Hilversum 2011), pp. 79-96; Noël Geirnaert and André Vandewalle (eds.), *Adornes en Jeruzalem: internationaal leven in het 15de- en 16de-eeuwse Brugge* (Bruges 1983); Jozef Penninck, *De Jeruzalemerk te Brugge* (Bruges 1986); Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, p. 383.

expand ducal power. In 1496, Bogislaw more or less spontaneously decided to travel to the Holy Land, after he had followed the Emperor Maximilian into Italy. He opted for a visit to Jerusalem, which would be a lucky choice, as this would prove to be an endeavour which he could exploit to his own advantage. On the way, as mentioned above,¹⁷⁰ the pilgrim ship ran into trouble with the Turkish fleet, which involved some fighting. Although the episode can hardly be called heroic (no Turks were actually defeated), Bogislaw on return in Venice was applauded as a defender of Christianity. In Rome, where he went afterwards, he was also rewarded with gifts from the pope and the Emperor. As he returned home, Bogislaw chose to commemorate his travels in various ways. He had a travel report written by the notary Martin Dalmar, which emphasized above all Bogislaw's relations with other princes and the pope, but described the fight with the Turks in a rather unheroic fashion, in line with the parallel report of Hans Schürpf.¹⁷¹ Bogislaw however compensated for this by ordering a painting which depicted the naval battle on the pilgrimage (it is unclear whether this painting included a depiction of the Duke), and had it placed in the *Ottenkirche* in Stettin, near where the dukes of Pomerania were buried. Moreover, each year the gifts from the pope, which Bogislaw had obtained for his valiant behaviour against the infidel, were carried around and publicly shown during a procession. Finally, Bogislaw founded a church in Wolgast.¹⁷²

The commemoration of Bogislaw's pilgrimage was stretched even further, though. Johannes von Kitscher, a humanist and jurist in the service of Duke Georg of Saxony, whom Bogislaw met in Bologna on the way back from Jerusalem, and whom he had offered a position at his court in Stettin, produced a play in 1501 called *Tragicomoedia de iherosolomitana profectioe illustrissimi principis pomeriani*. As the title suggests, the play, which was in Latin, dealt with the great deeds of the Pomeranian Duke on his pilgrimage, that is, his battle with the Turks. It featured scenes representing the preparations for the pilgrimage, the bringing of good news about the battle by a messenger, and the festive reception in Venice upon return. In the 'tragicomedy,' moreover, the duke is depicted as the hero of the episode, fighting bravely while the patron hides from the Turks.¹⁷³ It is unknown whether the play was ever performed at court, nor whether the Duke and his courtiers would have understood the Latin if it was performed, but the very fact that the play was published in print, means that it was aimed for propagation, at least in learned circles. Whatever the case may be, Bogislaw profited from Kitscher's valorous depiction, which showed him as the ideal Christian warrior, risking his life to go on a Crusade. This fit neatly into Maximilian's Crusading plans at the time, and which therefore would have portrayed Bogislaw favourably before the emperor, whose protection he was trying to secure. It is interesting to see how this idealised depiction of Bogislaw's pilgrimage would eventually become a somewhat official version of the events, as the chronicler Bugenhagen, who wrote a history of Pomerania in 1518, resorted to Kitscher's play as source for his rendering of the events in 1468.¹⁷⁴

170 See p. 26.

171 Dalmar, *Beschreibung Herzog Bugslaffen des 10. Peregrinationen*, pp. 300-326.

172 Cordula Nolte, 'Fürsten und Geschichte im Nordosten des spätmittelalterlichen Reiches. Zur literarischen Gestaltung der Jerusalemreise Herzog Bogislaws X. von Pommern (avec résumé français)', in: Chantal Grell, Werner Paravicini, and Jürgen Voss, *Les princes et l'histoire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université de Versailles – Saint Quentin et l'Institut Historique Allemand, Paris/Versailles, 13-16 mars 1996* (Bonn 1998), pp. 151-170, p. 156.

173 Johannes Kitscher, *Tragicomoedia Hierosolymitana ducis Pomerani 1492* (Stettin 1592); Nolte, 'Fürsten und Geschichte', p. 159.

174 Nolte, 'Fürsten und Geschichte', pp. 160-165.

THE VIEWS ON THE HOLY LAND WITH PILGRIM'S DEPICTIONS: APPROPRIATION OF A COMMEMORATIVE THEME

In this chapter I will turn to the views of the Holy Land, in order to see how they fit into the practices of commemoration as outlined above. The first step we need to take in order to put these objects into their contexts, however, is to see if and how they are related; in other words, how the theme came into being and how it developed over time. This also involves the question of whether these objects actually constitute a distinct theme, or whether they were related to other depictions of the Holy Land or pilgrims' portraits. I will start with investigating the most important views of the Holy Land which exist or are known to have existed. In doing so, I will also address questions of author- and donorship of these objects: can anything be said for certain about who made these objects and who ordered them? Next, I will briefly discuss how these objects fit in the visual tradition of pilgrims' depictions and representations of the Holy Land in the late Middle Ages, and whether certain sources can be seen to have been used to create these objects. Finally, I will summarize the acquired insights into a hypothesis of the origins and development of the views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits.



Fig. 11. Various depictions of pilgrims, clockwise from top left: in Jerusalem (Gotha panel), idem (Jerusalem tapestry), on horseback near Ramla (Jaffa tapestry), idem (Gotha panel).

1. The Gotha panel

The panel with *The Pilgrimage of Elector Frederick III the Wise of Saxony* (fig. 3, 68,8 x 80 cm, Schlossmuseum Friedenstein, Gotha, inv. no. SG 77) shows a landscape with Jerusalem and the holy places around it, and Frederick the Wise kneeling in the foreground, accompanied by the text: “Friderich von gottes gnaden, Herzog zu Sachsen vnd churfurst, zug zum heyligen grab 1493”. The panel shows many scenes in and around the city, which are often quite poorly executed, due to the

small size of the panel in relation to the great number of scenes. Still, many scenes are clearly recognisable, with help from the texts which accompany most of them.¹⁷⁵ Not all scenes have texts clarifying their meaning. Apparently many scenes (mostly the biblical episodes) were thought to be self-explanatory. Texts are usually supplied with elements that are not immediately identifiable, such as towns or tombs. The landscape is roughly divided into three horizontal zones. The background provides a wide view on the Holy Land: it starts on the left with Galilee and Nazareth, then depicts the Mount of Olives with the Ascension of Christ, Siloam, the Dead Sea with burning cities (Sodom and Gomorrah), the Mount of Temptation with a scene of Jesus with the Devil, Jericho, and the River Jordan. One can even see Egypt with Mount Sinai and Alexandria, geographically incorrectly located behind the Dead Sea and Jericho. The middle zone has Jerusalem on the left, its left side cut off, and around it scenes with the Martyrdom of St Stephen, the Assumption of Mary (*maria grab*, oddly depicted as if shot into heaven like a cannonball), various scenes on the Mount of Olives, the hanged Judas, and to the right of the city Mount Zion as a house with a large window, through which we can see the Last Supper. Further to the right of the city, we can see David defeating Goliath, the Visitation of Elisabeth and Mary, and Bethlehem with the Birth of Christ. More to the foreground are Emmaus, the beheading of St George,¹⁷⁶ the city of Ramla (oddly spelled *ROMA*), and Jaffa (*gaffa*), represented as two towers. In the lower right corner, we can see a galley getting ready for departure with a row boat moving towards it, and a rock in the sea from which St Peter fishes. In the lower left corner, we can see the praying image of Frederick with his coat of arms. Within the city of Jerusalem there are various scenes from the Stations of the Cross, such as Christ before Pilate and Herod, Veronica, and Christ falling several times under the cross.



Fig. 12. Gotha panel (detail): *ein heydenisch her*.

The panel does not only depict biblical scenes, however, but also some elements from the contemporary experiences of the pilgrims. We can see pilgrims moving around on horseback on several spots, and within Jerusalem on foot (fig. 11). Elsewhere, we can see the contemporary Mamluk rulers: in the centre of the panel an army is depicted in a field (*ein heydenisch her*), playing games and relaxing (fig. 12). Near Jaffa tents and soldiers are visible as well. Here also the caves of St Peter can be discerned (fig. 13), in which pilgrims were held for a few days after arrival, as is the galley by which the pilgrims travelled to and from Jaffa. Not surprisingly, references are made to the cruelty of the Islamic rulers. Just above Ramla a naked man can be seen, hanging from a rope stretched between two poles from one hand and one foot (fig. 14). Oddly enough, no text is provided here to explain what we see, but on the Jaffa tapestry the same scene is depicted on roughly the same spot, indicated as *ein hadnish gericht* (a heathen, i.e., Islamic, punishment). Further a large part of the landscape on the right is reserved for the wildlife and people of Arabia (*araben*). We can see some people, a camel, palm trees, and two ostriches (fig. 15). The city of Jerusalem itself is also mainly as it would have looked like to a contemporary visitor. Notable are

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix B for the transcriptions, C for an overview of all depicted scenes.

¹⁷⁶ At current-day Lod

the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Dome of the Rock (*templ Salomonis*¹⁷⁷), and the vaulted alleyways (fig. 16), which are probably meant to represent the souks in the city centre. Finally, one building is indicated as the *spital der pilgram*, the accommodation of the pilgrims.



Fig. 13. The caves of St Peter on the Gotha panel (left) and Reuwich's map (right).

Regrettably, the circumstances of production of the Gotha panel are shrouded in mystery. There is no date of production indicated, and the artist is unknown. Moreover, the available historical sources mentioning the objects only make matters more complicated. In Wittenberg, Frederick's main residence, a certain *Reisetafel* is attested on several places in the *Schlosskirche* from 1606 onwards.¹⁷⁸ This panel was described by Matthäus Faber in 1717 as a panel "welche die Oerter des Heil. Und Gelobten Landes mit beygezeichneten Namen, vorstellt." Faber further mentioned various holy places, which according to the panel were visited by Frederick the Wise.¹⁷⁹ This reminds us strongly of the Gotha panel, were it not that Faber and others describe the object as a panel with two wings which could be closed, 'like a small altar'. Other descriptions of the interior of the *Schlosskirche* give additional information. Wernsdorff in 1767 gives the dimensions of the then already lost panel, 5 feet high, and 3 feet 5 thumbs wide, so approximately 1,5 x 1 metres.¹⁸⁰ Etchings of the interior made in 1760, recording its appearance before it was destroyed in war the same year, likewise show a triptych, situated next to Frederick's tomb monument in the choir of the church.¹⁸¹ Given the additional information that the Gotha panel was first said to be in the *herzogliche Kunstsammlung* (i.e., not in the *Schlosskirche*) in 1656,¹⁸² it might follow that the object described by Faber, destroyed by fire in 1760, is a different object altogether (from now on referred to as the Wittenberg triptych) than the Gotha panel. However, the two are clearly thematically related.

177 The Islamic Dome of the Rock was generally believed to be Salomon's temple, which was indeed built earlier at the same location.

178 Fritz Bellmann, Marie-Luise Harksen, and Roland Werner, *Die Denkmale der Lutherstadt Wittenberg* (Weimar 1979), p. 250.

179 Matthäus Faber, *Kurtzgefaßte Historische Nachricht Von der Schloß- und Academischen Stifts-Kirche zu Aller-Heiligen in Wittenberg Und Deroselben Ursprung, Einweyhung, Privilegiis Gottes-Dienste, Einkünften, Zierathen und besondern Merckwürdigkeiten* (Wittenberg 1717), pp. 230, 201.

180 Ernst Friedrich Wernsdorff, *Iter Friderici III. Sax. Elect. Hierosolymitanum a L. Cranachio in tabula lignea depictum describit. Et institutum generosissimi iuvenis Ernesti Gottlob A Kiesenwetter Eqvitis Lvsati Liberalitatis Schvtzianae memoriam oratione* (Wittenberg 1767), p. 7: "Est autem illa lignea, forma minoris altaris, duobus alis quae in medio complicari et expandi possunt, alta pedes Rhinlandicos 5. lata pedes 3. pollices 5. cum octava parte pollicis."

181 Christian Sigismund Georgi, *Wittenbergische Klage-Geschichte* (Wittenberg 1760).

182 *Inventarium über die Kunst Cammer* (Gotha 1656), Historisches Staatsarchiv Weimar, Außenstelle Gotha, Geheimes Archiv, YY VIIIa, no. 2/9.

This therefore gives us two similar paintings once in existence: how were the two panels related? Assumptions have been made that the Gotha panel was once a triptych which lost its wings, suggested by the fact that Frederick is turned to the left (as if facing the other wing), and that Jerusalem is cut off at the left.¹⁸³

However, Frederick clearly looks up to the city, not outside the frame, and the city is indeed cut off at the left, but does not seem to miss anything important.

If we follow the course of the city walls on the left, we can see that only an insignificant part of the city is missing, which would make it unlikely that it was continued on another wing, and the most important holy places which one would expect on the left side of Jerusalem (i.e., to its north), are already included in the top left corner: Galilee and Nazareth. These arguments alone do not prove that the Gotha panel was originally not a triptych, as the wings may have contained other images, but if the Gotha panel is a copy of the central panel of the lost Wittenberg triptych, it is hard to imagine what the latter must have looked like, given that the central panel of that object was higher than wide. This must have resulted in an even more crowded situation in the landscape, with a rather odd result. If we assume that the Gotha panel is thus somehow based on the lost Wittenberg triptych (for which I see no reason not to), it is likely that the Gotha panel is a copy of all three parts of the lost Wittenberg triptych, compressed onto one panel.

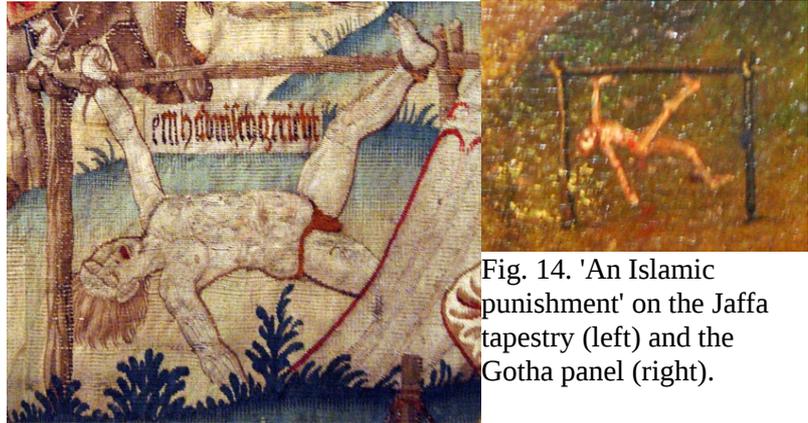


Fig. 14. 'An Islamic punishment' on the Jaffa tapestry (left) and the Gotha panel (right).



Fig. 15. 'Araben' (Gotha panel, left) and 'die witten leut garba genannt' (Jaffa tapestry, right).



Given this, can we reconstruct what the Wittenberg triptych looked like? It is hard to imagine the Gotha panel as a triptych, based on the provided visual information. If we have to depart from the composition of the Gotha panel, it should follow that the most important depiction, namely the city of Jerusalem and the portrait of Frederick the Wise, was painted on the left wing of the triptych. The right wing then must have contained the pilgrims' ship, Bethlehem and the River Jordan. This would result in the rather odd situation in which the central panel would actually provide the least important information, while both wings drew the attention. This situation would go against the conventions of most devotional triptychs, which depict the religious scene on the central panel, and donors and less important saints on the wings, turned towards the central image.¹⁸⁴ It would be more likely if the landscape had indeed continued to the left of Jerusalem, putting Jerusalem and

183 Fey, 'Wallfahrtserinnerungen an mittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen,' p. 153.

184 See van Bueren, *Leven na de dood*, pp. 89-106.

Frederick in the centre. As explained above, however, this is unlikely. Moreover, Ottheinrich's tapestries, which as I will argue were probably based on the Wittenberg triptych, show the same cut-off Jerusalem, with no indications that something is missing on its left side. So either the Wittenberg triptych resembled only vaguely the Gotha panel and the Neuburg tapestries (which would be unlikely), or we may suspect that the Wittenberg panel indeed showed an unusual design for a triptych, and that the shape of the triptych was only chosen so the object could be closed, for whatever reason.

As regards the authorship of the panel(s), a number of wild guesses have been made in scholarly work in the past, some of which proved to be highly persistent throughout the decades, but are based on a very dubious factual basis. The first of these assumptions is that the work was possibly made by or based on a work of Lucas Cranach. The tendency to ascribe it to his influence, being the most famous court painter of Frederick the Wise, is of course understandable, especially since from the early eighteenth century it was assumed that Cranach had joined Frederick on his pilgrimage, as could allegedly be read from the latter's travel report.¹⁸⁵ The suggestion that the panel was made as a copy of a work of Cranach was strengthened by the fact that he had made a



Fig. 16. Gotha panel (detail): Stations of the Cross and vaulted alleyways (souks).

woodcut map of the Holy Land around 1520, which led to the assumption that the Gotha panel must have been based on Cranach's map, into which he incorporated his own observations of the Holy Land.¹⁸⁶ Both assumptions are nonsense, however. As the missing part of the map was discovered in the 1980s by Armin Kunz,¹⁸⁷ it showed that it looked nothing like the Gotha panel. Jerusalem has been depicted only very small, and it contains no biblical scenes. The only depicted scenes are those in the Sinai Peninsula relating to the Old Testament. None of the depicted scenes are included on the Gotha panel, and the geography does not resemble the map at all. Moreover, it is improbable

185 For example in Ernst Friedrich Wernsdorf, *Iter Friderici III. Sax. Elect. Hierosolymitanum a L. Cranachio in tabula lignea depictum describit. Et institutum generosissimi iuvenis Ernesti Gottlob A Kiesenwetter Equitis Lvsati Liberalitatis Schvtzianae memoriam oratione* (Wittenberg 1767); Valmar Cramer, 'Der Ritterschlag am Heiligen Grabe,' in: idem, *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: gesammelte Beiträge und Berichte zur Palästinaforschung, Band 2* (Cologne 1940), p. 179, 198; Armin Kunz, 'Cranach as Cartographer. The Rediscovered Map of the Holy Land', *Print Quarterly* XII (1995), pp. 123-144, p. 123.

186 The upper part of the map was discovered and attributed to Cranach by Heinrich Röttinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des sächsischen Holzschnittes* (Strasbourg 1921), pp. 10-15. That it served as the example for Frederick's *Reisetafel* was still promoted in Allmuth Schuttwolf (ed.), *Gotteswort und Menschenbild. Werke von Cranach und seinen Zeitgenossen* (Gotha 1994), p. 54 (cat. 1.25): "Von dem Bilde ist anzunehmen, daß es sich in freier Weise auf die Karte des Heiligen Landes, die Cranach um 1522/23 im Holzschnitt schuf." See also Koepplin and Falk, *Lucas Cranach*, pp. 52, 60.

187 Armin Kunz, 'Cranach als Kartograph,' *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 31 (December 1993), p. 57; Kunz, 'Cranach as Cartographer'. The remaining part was first published in E. Laor, *Maps of the Holy Land: Cartobibliography of Printed Maps 1475-1900* (New York and Amsterdam 1986), p. 28, no. 226. The map was probably intended for inclusion in Luther's 1524 translation of the Old Testament, as archival documents and a copy of the map in *Das Alt Testament dütsch* printed in Zurich in 1525 show. See Kunz, 'Cranach as Cartographer', p. 142; John R. Bartlett, 'Mercator in the Wilderness: Numbers 33', in: Bob Becking and Lester L. Grabbe, *Between Evidence and Ideology. Essays on the History of Ancient Israel read at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and the Oud Testamentisch Werkgezelschap Lincoln, July 2009* (Leiden 2011), pp. 31-40, pp. 32-33.

that Cranach went with Elector Frederick on pilgrimage; although the story was persistent,¹⁸⁸ it is not supported by any historical evidence. The 1493 pilgrimage is exceptionally well documented. There are no less than seven travel reports of the journey, plus an account book by Frederick's steward Hans Hund.¹⁸⁹ The latter actually mentions two painters who travelled with Frederick (a certain *Contz molern* and a painter *Hans* from the Netherlands),¹⁹⁰ but there is no sign of Lucas Cranach. Moreover, Cranach's presence at the court of Frederick is only attested from 1505 onwards, some twelve years after Frederick's pilgrimage.

The attested presence of the two other painters in Frederick's travel company makes it possible that one of them painted the said panel, thereby incorporating his experiences from the Holy Land. Unluckily, however, until now it has proven impossible to make any definitive statements on the identity of either person, let alone to link one of them to the creation of the panel. Most of the assumptions about the possible author were adopted from the conclusions of Robert Bruck, who researched the artistic production at the court of Frederick the Wise in archival documents and published his findings in 1903.¹⁹¹ Although Bruck has proven to be very thorough in his archival research, many of his interpretations of the material are a bit shaky. He proved that a master named Kuntz resided at Frederick's court until c.1500, who was mainly involved in painting coats of arms, tournament gear, tomb monuments, and possibly also book illuminations. It would be plausible to assume that he was somehow involved in the creation of the panel, where it not that Bruck chose to identify the painter *Contz* in the account book with the architect Konrad Pflüger, who among others was responsible for constructing the new castle in Wittenberg. This identification seems to rest more on wishful thinking than on actual evidence, as Pflüger can be supposed to have been involved in the construction of (parts of) the Holy Sepulchre in Görlitz around 1490. Thus, Bruck argues, it would be more plausible that Pflüger travelled with Frederick than the 'more mediocre master' Kunz, thereby ignoring that the artist is indicated clearly as *moler* in the account book.¹⁹² Regrettably, no works can be attributed to Kunz with certainty, which makes it impossible to ascribe the Gotha panel to him on stylistic grounds, if we reject Bruck's identification of *moler Contz* with Konrad Pflüger. Even more mysteries surround the Netherlandish master Hans who is named in the pilgrimage company of Frederick the Wise. He is probably the same person indicated as *Jhan* in other court documents between 1491 and 1494, but we have no clear idea of who he is.¹⁹³

Despite this, it seems likely that one of the two artists had a hand in the creation of the panel(s). The depiction of Jerusalem on the Gotha panel (with the notable vaulted alleyways) cannot

188 Still repeated by Christian Halm, *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters. Eine analytische Bibliographie, Teil I: Deutsche Reiseberichte*, ed. by Werner Paravicini (Frankfurt am Main 1994), pp. 245, 248.

189 The travel reports cover the journeys of Frederick the Wise (Spalatin, *Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß*), Christoph of Bavaria (Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 297-307; Trautmann, *Die Abenteuer Herzogs Christoph*, pp. 406-419), Johann von Lobkowitz und auf Hassenstein, Heinrich von Zedlitz ('Die Jerusalemfahrt des Heinrich von Zedlitz,' ed. by Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-vereins* 17 (1894), pp. 98-114, 185-200, 277-301), Ludwig von Greiffenstein, Reinhard von Bommelberg and Konrad von Parsberg. Hans Hund's accounts were edited as 'Hans Hunds Rechnungsbuch (1493-94)', ed. by Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner, *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 4 (1883), pp. 37-100. Cf. Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, pp. 244-260 (nos. 97-104). Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 508, already express doubts on the basis of these reports: "Lukas Kranach wird nicht genannt, obgleich einige neuere Schriftsteller [...] ihn als Begleiter des Kurfürsten nennen."

190 Hund, 'Hans Hunds Rechnungsbuch', p. 49. Cf. Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 508; Robert Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise als Förderer der Kunst* (Strasbourg 1903), pp. 116, 135.

191 Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise*.

192 Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise*, pp. 33-34, 115-116. P. 116: "Auf des Kurfürsten Jerusalemfahrt 1493 wird ein Maler Contz in dessen Gefolge erwähnt, in dem wir [...] eher Conrad Pflüger anzunehmen haben [...] als den eben betrachteten, mehr mittelmäßigeren Meister."

193 Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise*, pp. 135-144, identifies him as the Antwerp painter Jan Gossaert, also called Mabuse. Koeplin and Falk, *Lucas Cranach*, p. 473, mention the Kalkar-based painter Jan van Soest as possible identification, after F. Winkler, *Die altniederländische Malerei* (Berlin 1924), pp. 187-188, and observations from Bruck.

be linked convincingly to any other known depiction of the city¹⁹⁴ and yet seems to be a relatively faithful depiction of it. The same goes for the odd cube-like depiction of Bethlehem, which is unique, although here it lacks any nearness to historical reality. We may expect these details to have been roughly similar in the Wittenberg panel. At least a part of the depictions may therefore have been based on the personal observation of the artist of the Wittenberg panel, that is one of the two artists mentioned in the account book. I see no other reason to take an artist with one on one's journey, unless one wanted him to record certain things in drawing or painting.

That the panel represents the pilgrimage to the Holy Land and is probably based partly on observations of the masters *Contz* or *Hans*, does of course not necessarily imply that one of them created the panels as well, especially in the case of the Gotha panel, which seems to be a copy. Therefore, instead of opting for one of both (unknown) painters mentioned in the account book, Bruck opts for Jacob Elsner as the most probable author for the Gotha panel. This Elsner was a Nuremberg-based painter, who mainly specialised in book illumination. Among others, he made the famous Nuremberg *Gänsebuch*, and is known from accounts to have worked for Frederick the Wise.¹⁹⁵ In addition to his book illumination,¹⁹⁵ he was known as a portraitist in Nuremberg and surroundings. Bruck writes that he ascribed the panel to Elsner “after the most thorough comparison”, a view which has been adopted ever since.¹⁹⁶ The only argument he comes up with, however, is that “nur der spitze Pinsel eines Illuministen war zu einem solchen Bilde befähigt,” hinting at the many small details and scenes on the panel.¹⁹⁷ This of course does make some sense, but it provides absolutely insufficient ground for a definitive attribution to Elsner. Lucas Cranach, for example, is known to have painted medium-sized landscapes with many scenes in high detail, notably *The Stag Hunt of Frederick the Wise*.

As the attribution is uncertain, so is its dating. Previous attributions assuming that the panel was based on Cranach's map of the Holy Land have placed the production of the panel in the 1520's, but as that is no longer the case, the panel could have been produced any time after 1493. For the Wittenberg triptych, we can posit that it was made shortly after 1493, and that Frederick had planned to order such a panel even before he went. He deliberately took two artists with him, and also made other preparations for the commemoration of his pilgrimage before he even went, as we will see in the next chapter.

As for the dating of the Gotha panel, we must first assess who ordered the copy. Some clues for this are provided by the back of the panel. Here we can see eight kneeling figures, which accompanying texts identify as members of the Nuremberg Ketzell family (fig. 17).¹⁹⁸ They are painted in grisaille, and occupy a horizontal band in the middle, stretching from the far left to the far right side, measuring about one third of the total height of the panel. Each member of the family is facing right, showing his coat of arms and signs of acquired accolades behind him. They are sorted from left to right by their dates of pilgrimage.¹⁹⁹ In most accompanying texts, an important German prince is mentioned first, whom the respective Ketzell accompanied. We read above the fifth figure: “Friderich von gottes gnaden, herzog von Sachsen unnd churfurst etc., unnd hertzog Cristoff von Bayrn zugen zum Heyligen Grab, und ich, Wolff Ketzell, mit inen, 1493.” Wolf is the only Ketzell who accompanied Frederick the Wise on his pilgrimage. One can think of no clear reason why

194 See below, pp. 64-65.

195 Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 192. For the Geese book, see Volker Schier and Corine Schleif, 'Das Gänsebuch: Stimmen vom Rand und aus der Mitte', in: *St. Lorenz: der Hallenchor und das Gänsebuch* (Nuremberg 2002), pp. 64-75; Idem, *Opening the Geese Book* [<http://geesebook.asu.edu>; accessed 10 May 2013].

196 Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 203: “[...] ein Bild, das ich nach eingehendster Vergleichung für ein Werk Elsners halte.” Adopted for example by Theodor Aign, *Die Ketzell. Ein Nürnberger Handelsherren- und Jerusalempilger-Geschlecht* (Neustadt an der Aisch 1961), p. 69; Renate Petzinger (ed.), *Hessen und Thüringen. Von den Anfängen bis zur Reformation: eine Ausstellung des Landes Hessen* (Wiesbaden 1992), p. 264. Most scholars do express the uncertainty with regards to this attribution.

197 Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 204.

198 For transcriptions, see Appendix B.

199 See for information about the individual family members below, pp. 74-76.

Frederick would have had Wolf Ketzels, member of a locally moderately influential merchant's family, displayed on the back of his *Reisetafel*, let alone the members of his family who had not even accompanied him. Furthermore, the back of the panel is quite different in style and design than the front. In spots where the painting is damaged, we can see it is painted on canvas pasted on the panel rather than directly on the panel itself. The last date mentioned on the back is the pilgrimage of Michael Ketzels, which took place in 1503, in the company of count Hermann von Henneberg-Römhild. Probably the Ketzels on the back were therefore added later, after the panel had been created.



Fig. 17. Back of the Gotha panel with eight kneeling members of the Ketzels family

This situation gives us two possibilities regarding the owners and commissioners: the first is that Frederick had the panel made as a copy of his own triptych (possibly for display in another location), but a member of the Ketzels family acquired the object after 1503 because it commemorated the pilgrimage of the most important travel companion of one of the Ketzels, and he had the Jerusalem pilgrims from his own family painted on the back. The second is that the panel was commissioned by a Ketzels, possibly Wolf, as a commemoration of his pilgrimage with the Elector. He would later have added himself and his family members on the back, after Michael returned from his pilgrimage. Both scenarios could have happened, though it is hard to see why Frederick would have sold or given away his panel, unless it was done after his death or during the Reformation. Moreover, it is known that Wolf's brother Georg Ketzels took pains to express (or exploit, depending on how one would like to see it) his friendly relations with the Saxon court in

wresting a grant of arms from Frederick, in which the pilgrimage is also mentioned.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, the involvement of (a member of) the Ketzell family in the creation of the Gotha panel is further supported by another view on the Holy Land with praying pilgrims, to which we will now turn.

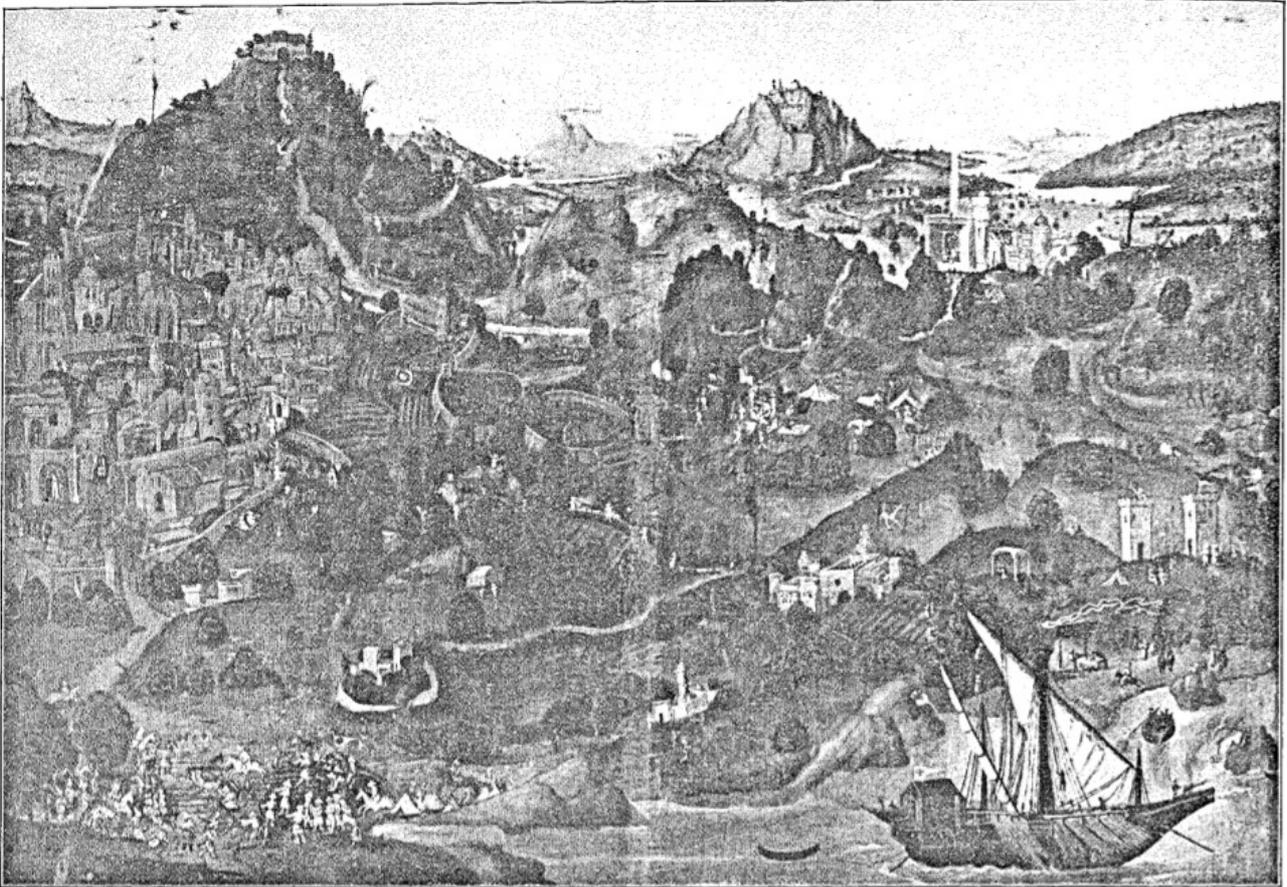


Fig. 18. The 'Powerscourt panel' (lost), after 1503. In: Hofmann, 'Wallfahrtsbilder vom heiligen Lande'. The panel included praying figures from the Ketzell family, but these have been cut off of the photograph.

2. The Powerscourt panel

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth century sources mention a view of the Holy Land with prayer portraits of the Ketzell family, which at the time was in the possession of the Wingfield family, viscounts Powerscourt of Powerscourt House in Ireland (from now on: the Powerscourt panel). In an article by Friedrich Hofmann from 1927, a rather poor image of the object is provided (fig. 18). In spite of the rough quality, the painting immediately strikes us as an almost exact copy of the Gotha panel. Both in general layout and in details, the similarities are stunning. We can see once again the city of Jerusalem in the middle zone on the far left, its left side trimmed, with the characteristic vaulted alleyways of the souks, the Dome of the Rock partly hidden by the surrounding buildings, the Ascension of Mary, Christ's Ascension from a mountaintop structure on the Mount of Olives, a cube-like Bethlehem, the Islamic army in the field near Mount Zion, the characteristic pilgrim's galley seen from the side, and a small row boat seen from the front moving from the beach towards the galley. There are also differences, but these are minor and very few. On Mount Zion, there are not two but three enclosed fields, and on the spot where Frederick sat on the Gotha panel, the Powerscourt panel shows no praying pilgrim, but a beach full of people. It is hard to see what happens there, but judging by the tents and the riders on horseback, this seems to be another Islamic army. The scene probably even depicts a battle, as the displayed persons can be seen to be roughly divided into two groups facing each other, with a quite chaotic situation in

²⁰⁰ Aign, *Die Ketzell*, pp. 62-63, see also below, p. 75.

between. Furthermore, under the view of the Holy Land the eight pilgrim members of the Ketzels family would have been displayed. Regrettably, however, Hofmann chose to cut off the Ketzels from his image “der Uebersichtlichkeit halber”.²⁰¹

Unfortunately, to my knowledge the picture which Hofmann provides is all that is left of this painting. Hofmann mentions that he had gotten his picture of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, to which Lord Powerscourt donated a photograph of the object in 1900.²⁰² Sadly, recent attempts (2007) to localize this photograph in the museum's photo archive, have proved unsuccessful.²⁰³ In the early 1960's, Theodor Aign tried to obtain information on the painting, but only added to the confusion by assuming (for unknown reasons) that the panel resided in London, and probably for this reason failed in his attempt.²⁰⁴ Aign may have been the last person to have looked for the painting while it still existed. Powerscourt House burned down in 1974, destroying almost its entire interior, including its collection of paintings.²⁰⁵ It is more than likely that the Powerscourt panel did not escape the same fate.²⁰⁶

For these reasons, we have to resort to descriptions of the panel for more information of what was depicted. The oldest description dates from the late seventeenth century, in the *Topographia reipublica Norimbergensis*, where the panel is said to hang in the Chapel of the house “Zum goldenen Schild.”²⁰⁷ In 1854 the painter Christian Wilder allegedly saw the panel in the same chapel.²⁰⁸ Curiously, the house and its chapel had never been in the possession of the Ketzels family, nor were they somehow connected to it in the early sixteenth century. Aign therefore suggests that the panel may have ended up there in the early seventeenth century through a series of inheritances.²⁰⁹ Its original location is still unknown. Shortly after Wilder had seen the painting, it must have moved to Ireland. Mervyn Wingfield provided a description of the history and collections of Powerscourt House in 1903. He mentions the Powerscourt panel to have been located in the “lobby at [the] foot of [the] white stairs”: “Very curious picture, brought from Nuremberg by Frederick, fourth Marquis of Londonderry, representing successive knights of the family of Ketzels of Nuremberg, with many shewing their pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre, beginning in 1389, successively down to 1503, with kneeling figures of the knights and their coats-of-arms. Also a view of the Holy Land, with the Holy City, Mount Sinai, and various other places, and incidents in their pilgrimages, martyrdoms, etc.”²¹⁰

A similar briefness characterizes the other descriptions of the panel, so for a reconstruction of what the panel may have looked like, we must do with these data. In any case, it becomes clear that the Ketzels were depicted in a similar fashion as Frederick the Wise and Ottheinrich, and as themselves on the back of the Gotha panel. It remains unclear whether they were placed in the landscape, or put in a separate field under the view of the Holy Land. The clear similarities with the Gotha panel and the Ottheinrich tapestries would suggest the former, but the image provided by

201 Friedrich H. Hofmann, 'Wallfahrtsbilder vom heiligen Land', *Der Kunstwanderer* 9 (1927), pp. 137-139, p. 137 note 1.

202 *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* 2 (1900), p. 29.

203 Fey, 'Wallfahrtserinnerungen an mittelalterlichen Fürstenthöfen', p. 154, note 54, mentions to have looked for “eine nicht mehr auffindbare Fotografie der Tafel”.

204 Aign, *Die Ketzels*, pp. 70, 143, note 255.

205 Aoife O'Driscoll, 'The Fire at Powerscourt House, 4th November 1974', *The Powerscourt Blog*, 16 December 2011 [<http://blog.powerscourt.ie/blog/bid/109634/The-Fire-at-Powerscourt-House-4th-November-1974>; accessed 2 April 2013].

206 Research in the archives of the Wingfield family and Powerscourt House, now in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin, may possibly provide more information about the fortunes of the Powerscourt panel, but for practical reasons such research falls outside the scope of this thesis.

207 *Topographia reipublica Norimbergensis* (MS Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, Hs. 7178), vol. 6, f. 623.

208 Fritz Traugott Schultz, *Nürnberg's Bürgerhäuser und ihre Ausstattung*, vol. 1: *Das Milchmarktviertel* (Leipzig and Vienna 1903-1933), part II, p. 509.

209 Aign, *Die Ketzels*, p. 71.

210 Viscount Powerscourt, K.P., P.C., *A Description and History of Powerscourt* (London 1903), pp. 62-63.

Hofmann does not suggest how the landscape may have been continued in the foreground to create enough space for eight figures, since the sea covers much of the foreground. Besides, all other praying depictions of the Ketzels pilgrims show them without spatial surroundings.²¹¹ Neither do the descriptions indicate in which direction the Ketzels were turned, but it may be expected that they were turned towards the city of Jerusalem, like Frederick on the Gotha panel.

The descriptions do point out that Michael Ketzels was included in the painting, as the latest mentioned date was 1503. This provides us with a *terminus post quem*. It is therefore likely that the Powerscourt panel was created some years after the Gotha panel and influenced by it, even possibly having the same function and artist.

3. The Liegnitz panel

There is one other panel of which only textual testimonies exist. Duke Friedrich II (1480-1547) of Liegnitz-Brieg (Silesia) had made the pilgrimage in 1507, as the report by his travel companion and priest Martin Wanner indicates.²¹² Three years later, a painted panel was placed in the *Johanniskirche* in Liegnitz (now Legnica, Poland), which commemorated the pilgrimage of the Duke. Dalman suggested that this church was probably chosen for this reason because an earlier Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Liegnitz had been demolished after 1430 for defensive purposes, and its possessions and canons had been transferred to the *Johanneskirche*.²¹³ However, the *Johanneskirche* was also the church where the Piast dukes of Silesia were buried, which was probably more decisive in choosing this location. In 1714, the entire church was demolished and rebuilt in a baroque style. It is possible that during the reconstruction of the church the panel was lost. It was last mentioned by Johann Peter Warendorff in 1724, who had still witnessed the old church before its reconstruction. He described the object as consisting of two panels, which were located in the choir of the church (by then transformed into the *Piastengruft*, the mausoleum of the dukes of Liegnitz). On the painting the following text could be read: “Wir Friedrich von G. G. in Schlesien, Hz. und H. zur Liegnitz und Brieg, haben die heiligen Stellen, die wir zur Zeit zu und um Jerusalem Gott zum ewigen Lobe gesucht und besucht, abmahlen lassen im Jahr MDX.”²¹⁴ The Duke himself was depicted kneeling before the crucified Christ near the Holy Sepulchre, and allegedly twice more on the panel, namely at one of the city's gates, in the company of a gypsy woman who had recognised him, despite his pilgrims' outfit, as a Silesian prince. At the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Duke was depicted again in the company of the gypsy woman and her husband. The reason for the inclusion of the gypsies was, according to Warendorff, that the Duke had given their people permission to stay freely in his lands for three succeeding nights, so that the woman would not have betrayed him as a German prince.²¹⁵

Warendorff's description is of questionable quality. Friedrich would only become Duke of Liegnitz and Brieg in 1521.²¹⁶ The transcribed text referring to him as duke of Liegnitz and Brieg in 1510 would therefore be unlikely. Moreover, Warendorff also gives 1510 as date of the pilgrimage, which is incorrect, although he may not have known the travel report, as the rest of the text makes no mention of it. Yet, according to what we can infer from the description, it seems likely that the

211 E.g. on the back of the Gotha panel. See below, pp. 77-80.

212 Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, pp. 296-297 (no. 120), Wanner, 'Die Pilgerfahrt des Herzogs Friedrich II'.

213 Dalman, *Das Grab Christi*, p. 72.

214 Johann Peter Warendorff, *Lignitzische Merckwürdigkeiten oder historische Beschreibung der Stadt und Fürstenthums Lignitz im Hertzogthum Schlesien: Darinnen in zwoen Haupt-Abtheilungen, sowohl von denen Catholischen Kirchen, Clöstern und Stifftern, als auch von denen Evangel. Stadt- und Pfarr-Kirchen, besonders gehandelt ... Nebst vielen angenehmen Curiositäten, Antiquitäten, Inscriptionen, vorgestellet worden* (Bautzen 1724), pp. 86-87.

215 Ibid.

216 Ludwig Petry, “Friedrich II.,” in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1961), p. 514, [<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118535692.html>]; accessed 4 April 2013].

object made for Friedrich of Liegnitz had a composition that resembled the other views of the Holy Land. The kneeling Duke near the Holy Sepulchre and the fact that the transcribed text mentions that the holy places in *and around* Jerusalem have been depicted on the panel, remind us very closely of the other views of the Holy Land. The precise position of Friedrich on the panel remains unclear from Wahrendorff's description, especially since it seems to suggest that he was depicted twice near the Holy Sepulchre. If we would assume that the Liegnitz panel was like that of Frederick the Wise, this might make sense of Wahrendorff's description. The kneeling Duke *near* the Holy Sepulchre may have been at the same place as Frederick the Wise, i.e., in front of the city, looking up to it, with the probable addition of a Crucifixion. The other instances of the Duke may then be suspected as small pilgrim figures inside Jerusalem, but this remains speculative as the description is too unclear, and the panel may very well have been quite different from those of Frederick the Wise and Ottheinrich's tapestries.

4. The Neuburg tapestries

Finally, there are the pilgrimage tapestries of Ottheinrich. As already mentioned, these objects are two large tapestries, one in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich²¹⁷ representing the city of Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings (fig. 1, 425 x 517 cm). The other is still in Schloss Neuburg in Neuburg an der Donau, the residence of Ottheinrich between 1522 and 1546, representing the remaining holy places outside Jerusalem and the departure from Jaffa (fig. 2, 480 x 516 cm). The date of creation of the tapestries is clear, since it is mentioned in the bottom border of both objects: 1541.

Like the Gotha and Powerscourt panels, the tapestries display a landscape, roughly divided into three horizontal zones, and depicting mostly the same scenes, but spread over two tapestries.²¹⁸ On the Jerusalem tapestry, the upper zone represents Galilee with the city of Nazareth, the Mount of Olives with Christ's Ascension to heaven, the village of Siloam, the Dead Sea with Sodom and Gomorra, and the *perg oreb* with a small building next to it, probably St Catherine's monastery. In the middle region once again the city of Jerusalem, cut off at its left, with scenes of the *via dolorosa* and pilgrims walking around (fig. 11). Around the city we see St Stephen, the Assumption of Mary, various scenes on the Mount of Olives, Mount Zion with the Last Supper, and Emmaus. On the foreground are Ottheinrich in golden harness and his eight travel companions, turned to the right. Ottheinrich is placed slightly higher than the others, and the accompanying text mentions his date of pilgrimage, 1521. Except for the inclusion of portraits of his travel companions, so far the scenes are largely similar with those on the Gotha panel. However, there are also differences. Possibly due to the larger format of the tapestries, more scenes are indicated, such as tombs on the Mount of Olives (those of Zechariah, Absalom, and Pelagia²¹⁹), small figures walking away from Sodom and Gomorra (Lot and his daughters), and very small the flight to Egypt (indicated 'Egiptenn'). Moreover, the design of certain details differs. The characteristic vaulted alleys of the Gotha panel have become narrow rectangular buildings, the Dome of the Rock is displayed more prominently, and the pilgrims' accommodation is moved to the far left in the city.

The Jaffa tapestry includes the scenes around Bethlehem, Ramla and Jaffa, in a similar layout as the Gotha panel, but there are more differences than in the Jerusalem tapestry (see Appendix C). Most strikingly: In the background the cities of Cairo and Mecca (*machomets grab*²²⁰)

217 Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. T3860.

218 See Appendix C for comparison of depicted scenes.

219 The tombs of Absalom and Zechariah can still be seen in the Kidron valley outside Jerusalem's city walls. St Pelagia of Antioch, a former courtesan, was believed to have lived as a hermit in a grotto on the Mount of Olives for three years.

220 The grave of Muhammad is located in Medina. However, probably Mecca is intended here, as contemporary European belief held that Muhammad was buried in Mecca. This is for example also apparent on the map of the Holy Land in the travel report of Breydenbach, which mentions *Mecha civitas ubi sepultus est machomet*, oddly

can be seen as well. Several tombs and churches are added, and the three Magi, located between Turks. Instead of the wildlife and people of Arabia, a puzzling scene is added. There are five naked men around a pool, with the words: *die witten leut garba genant* (fig. 15). Regrettably, I have not succeeded in interpreting this scene, but it is clearly a rendering of the *araben* from the Gotha panel. That is, two geese are depicted in front of the pool in the same position as the ostriches on the Gotha panel, and a camel is included elsewhere. In the Jordan, the Baptism of Christ is depicted, and two drowning persons, which are absent on the Gotha panel. In front of the river, three people (pilgrims?) are taken up to heaven by angels, in the space where the Gotha panel has the prophet Habbakuk taken up by an angel. In the space where the caves of St Peter are displayed on the Gotha panel, a quite chaotic scene is included where pilgrims are beaten by soldiers. Finally, St George strongly reflects the position, facial features and golden harness of Ottheinrich on the other tapestry.²²¹



Fig. 19. Ottheinrich's two tapestries taken together, their borders removed: the landscape connects neatly.

The two tapestries are obviously intended to be displayed together. If one cuts away the borders of the depictions, the left side of the Jaffa tapestry connects precisely to the right side of the Jerusalem tapestry (fig. 19). The mountains around St Catherine's monastery fit exactly, the house of the Last Supper on the Jerusalem tapestry is continued on the Jaffa tapestry, a stream starting from a water mill under Mount Zion is continued, and the rock in front of which Ottheinrich kneels ends in the sea on the Jaffa tapestry. Due to the two tapestries being in different collections, this fact was only discovered in 1956.²²² Moreover, the praying pilgrims are facing to the right on the Jerusalem tapestry, rather than to the most important scenes, something which visually connects the two tapestries. Finally, the connection is reinforced by the borders, which are exactly the same on both tapestries. They show floral motifs along the entire edge, and putti in the bottom right and left corners. Each side except the top contains a medal with an inscription, on the left the letters OHS (for Ottheinrich and Susanna, his wife), on the bottom the date of creation, 1541, and on the right the letters MDZ (for *Mit der Zeit*, Ottheinrich's motto).²²³ As we will see, the border not only

depicted as a coastal city. See Appendix C.

221 For an interpretation of these scenes, see below, p. 96.

222 Annelise Stemper, 'Die Wandteppiche', in: Georg Poensgen (ed.), *Ottheinrich. Gedenkschrift für vierhundertjährigen Wiederkehr seiner Kurfürstenzeit in der Pfalz (1556-1559)* (Heidelberg 1956), pp. 141-171, pp. 160-161.

223 Haim Goren, 'Pilgrimage, tapestries, and cartography: sixteenth-century wall hangings commemorating a pilgrimage to the Holy Land', *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007), pp. 489-513, p. 499.

visually connects the two tapestries, but also shows that they are part of a larger campaign of tapestry-making by Ottheinrich in the 1530s and 40s.²²⁴

The border design not only places these tapestries in a grander tapestry campaign by Ottheinrich, but also identifies its makers. All extant tapestries with this design can be attributed to the workshop of Christian de Roy, a tapestry worker from Brussels. Where Ottheinrich had commissioned earlier tapestries with a similar border design from Christian's father Jan de Roy in Brussels, in 1539 he invited Christian to set up a workshop in Neuburg, where he produced tapestries for Ottheinrich for six years.²²⁵ Christian de Roy did not make the designs, however. Art historians agree that these can be attributed to the Lauingen artist Matthias Gerung, who also completed the illuminations of the famous Ottheinrich-bible in 1530-1532,²²⁶ and is known to have made the designs for other tapestries of Ottheinrich as well.²²⁷ Given this information, it is very unlikely that someone else than Ottheinrich himself ordered the production of these tapestries.

Despite all differences, the general layout and design of the tapestries closely resembles the Gotha panel, and must have been based on it, or used the same exemplar, namely the Wittenberg triptych. The many added scenes may have been presented on the Wittenberg triptych as well, but eliminated on the Gotha panel due to its smaller size. Moreover, many of the most striking additions on the tapestries can be attributed to the direct personal experience of Ottheinrich, such as the attacks by the Turks near Jaffa, or be related to the intentions with which Ottheinrich had the tapestries made.²²⁸ However, the division of the view of the Holy Land into two parts is more reminiscent of the Liegnitz panel than of the Wittenberg triptych. Interesting enough, it might have very well been possible that Ottheinrich knew both panels. We know that Ottheinrich visited both Wittenberg *and* Liegnitz on at least one occasion. This was during a journey in 1536/1537 to Krakow in order to secure funds from distant relatives to relieve his acute financial problems. After Krakow he went via Liegnitz to Wittenberg, where a charter confirms his stay there on 11 and 12 February 1537.²²⁹ Ottheinrich must have visited the courts of friendly rulers wherever he came,²³⁰ and thus probably saw the panels of Friedrich of Liegnitz and of his colleague in Wittenberg.

What is even more interesting is that Ottheinrich was accompanied by a painter on this journey, who made fifty water colour views of the cities they visited, which were collected in a travel album. These paintings have received a lot of scholarly attention because many of them are the oldest existing 'naturalistic' views of the visited cities,²³¹ but for our purposes the very fact that

224 See below, pp. 94-95.

225 Hans Hubach, "'...mit golt, silber und seyd kostlichst, erhaben, feyn unnd lustig gmacht.'" Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und die Bildteppichproduktion in Neuburg 1539-1544/45', in: Suzanne Bäumlner et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden. 500 Jahre Pfalz-Neuburg, Katalog zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2005* (Augsburg 2005), pp. 174-178 and 182-185, p. 176; Campbell, Thomas Patrick, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York 2002), p. 272.

226 MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1080. See Brigitte Gullath, *Ottheinrichs deutsche Bibel: der Beginn einer großen Büchersammlung* (Munich and Lucerne 2002). For Gerung, see Franz von Juraschek, *Der Thronend-Wandelnde des Matthias Gerung*, in: Poensgen (ed.), *Ottheinrich* (Heidelberg 1956), pp. 172-178; Anja Eichler, 'Mathis Gerungs Illuminationen für die Ottheinrichsbibel', in: Stadt Neuburg an der Donau (Ed.), *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich: Politik, Kunst und Wissenschaft im 16. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg 2002), pp. 317-333; Anja Eichler, *Mathis Gerung (um 1500-1570): Die Gemälde*, Europäische Hochschulschriften XXVIII-183 (Frankfurt am Main 1993).

227 Stemper, 'Die Wandteppiche', p. 157; Hans Rott, 'Die Schriften des Pfalzgrafen Ott Heinrich', *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses* 6 (1912), pp. 21-191, p. 34.

228 See pp. 90-93, 96.

229 See the website of the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg by Hans-Günter Schmidt, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrichs 1536/37* [www.ottheinrich.info; accessed 5 April 2013].

230 This was a habit also attested by Ottheinrich's travel diary of his Jerusalem pilgrimage, which (at least the part from Germany to Venice) is full of mentions of him visiting the castles and courts of local nobles; see Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*. Cf. Nolte, 'Erlebnis und Erinnerung', for the common phenomenon of visiting befriended courts on princely pilgrimages.

231 Anonymous, *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/37: von seinem Ritt von Neuburg a.d. Donau über Prag nach Krakau und zurück über Breslau, Berlin, Wittenberg und Leipzig nach Neuburg*, ed. by

he was accompanied by an artist with a sketchbook is significant. Ottheinrich may not only have been inspired by the Wittenberg view of the Holy Land (and the Liegnitz one, if there ever was one), but also have ordered his court painter to make sketches of them, which might have served as the examples from which the tapestries were designed. This could also be one of the explanations for the great distance in time (twenty years) between Ottheinrich's pilgrimage and the execution of the tapestries. Perhaps he did not know both panels at the time of his pilgrimage, and therefore never had his own version made. The Krakow travels may have directed his attention to these objects, and made him decide to include a version of his own in the tapestry series he was planning to order.

Depictions of the Holy Land in the late Middle Ages: possible sources

Having assessed the different objects, we can ask ourselves whether these constitute a class of their own: do they display a distinct iconography or can they be linked with other depictions in a wider context? And how do they relate to the depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims sketched above? To start with the latter question, we can be short. The praying figures on the objects can rightly be considered portraits. Even if they are small, they show distinct facial features which are also recognisable on other portraits of the princes. Yet, even if they were no portraits in the strict sense, as can for example be argued for the older members of the Ketzell family, whose appearances were probably unknown at the time their depictions were created, the most important element is that they actually represent the depicted person, indicated by the accompanying texts. These depictions thus served in the first place to commemorate the pilgrimage of specific depicted persons, by which characteristic they are thematically related to the portraits of the Holy Land pilgrims, although they do constitute a distinct class within this group of objects due to their placement in a landscape with the holy places.

As regards the second important element of the views of the Holy Land, namely the view of the Holy Land itself, I will first sketch an overview of the depiction of this subject in the late Middle Ages. Images of the Holy Land roughly fall into two categories: as backgrounds or environments for religious scenes, or as illustrations in travel reports. In both categories, for a long time no real attempts were made to depict the Holy Land true-to-life. The city of Jerusalem was often depicted as a European contemporary city, or a fantastic structure based on the heavenly Jerusalem of the Scriptures. Maps of the Holy Land in travel reports moreover offered only a schematic view of the places and their relative distances and positions. In the fifteenth century, however, in French and Flemish religious painting views of Jerusalem appear which clearly show that they are partly based on travellers' own observation, mainly in details such as the octagonal shape of the Dome of the Rock or the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.²³² In general, however, the depiction of the



Fig. 20. The Dome of the Rock as 'Zentralbauwolkenkratzer' on the Road to Calvary after Jan van Eyck (Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts).

Angelika Marsch, Joseph H. Biller, and Frank-Dietrich Jacob (Weißhorn 2001); Bäumlner et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 163-170 (cat. 7.3).

²³² See François Robin, 'Jérusalem dans la peinture franco-flamande (XIII-XVème siècles). Abstractions, fantaisies et réalités', in Daniel Poirion (ed.), *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople. L'image et le mythe de la Ville au Moyen Age*.

diverse, even within the oeuvre of one artist, leading to such odd constructions as the 'Zentralbauwolkenkrätzer' representing the Dome of the Rock in various paintings attributed to the circle around Jan van Eyck, and sometimes even encompassing gothic flying buttresses (fig. 20). The depiction of Jerusalem as a European city remained popular as well.²³³



Fig. 21. Map of the Holy Land from the travel report of Sebald Rieter, 1479, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Icon. 172. The red rectangle indicates the spot where four pilgrims are depicted.

In travel reports and geographical works, a similar situation can be seen, although the development took place largely independently from the painting of the Holy Land as a background for religious scenes. At the end of the fifteenth century, a number of views of Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Holy Land showed up which presented the situation almost true to life, at least for the most important edifices. The Nuremberg pilgrims Hans IV Tucher and Sebald Rieter the Younger made the pilgrimage in 1479, and there exists a depiction of Jerusalem which a seventeenth-century note on the back describes as part of the travel report of Rieter.²³⁴ It shows a quite schematic view of the city as seen from the east, with the Temple Mount in front. Despite its schematic quality, however, we can see that the Dome of the Rock, the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are depicted relatively faithfully (fig. 21). Notable are also the

Colloque du Département d'Etudes Médiévales de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris V), Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales V (Paris 1986), pp. 33-63.

233 R. Hausherr, 'Spätgotische Ansichten der Stadt Jerusalem (Oder: War der Hausbuchmeister in Jerusalem?)', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 29/30 (1987/88), pp. 59-65, p. 52.

234 MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Iconog. 172, edited by Reinhold Röhrich and Heinrich Meisner (eds.), *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 168 (Tübingen 1884). Cf. Rehav Rubin, *Image and Reality: Jerusalem in Maps and Views* (Jerusalem 1999), pp. 38-39; Hausherr, 'Spätgotische Ansichten', pp. 64-65.

Golden Gate leading to the Temple Mount, and the covered alleyways (the souks in the city centre) with flat rooftops. These elements are repeated in the view of Jerusalem on the epitaph for Adelheid Tucher-Gundelach, a Bamberg relative of Hans, from 1483 (fig. 22).²³⁵ In both images, scenes from the passion are depicted inside the city, and a fountain-like light is emitted from the Anastasis cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, representing Christ's Ascension to heaven. Moreover, the map of Sebald Rieter shows pilgrims moving around near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.



Fig. 22. *Lamentation of Christ* (epitaph for Adelheid Tucher-Gundelach), 1483. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. Gm 1486.

A more faithful and influential view of the Holy Land was included in Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* of 1486, made by the Utrecht artist and printer Erhard Reuwich, who accompanied Breydenbach on his pilgrimage. The city of Jerusalem is here embedded in a greater view of the Holy Land (fig. 4), and displays the most important structures in the city almost true to life, although he allows himself 'distortions' of reality, such as the 'oriental' onion-shaped cupola of the Dome of the Rock. The image has been celebrated as the first faithful map of the Holy Land, though it is in fact of little practical use as a map. It presents the city turned 180 degrees with

²³⁵ Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. Gm 1486. Markus Hörsch, 'Zur Bamberger Malerei in der Jugendzeit Lucas Cranachs', in: Claus Grimm, Johannes Erichsen and Evamaria Brockhoff (eds.), *Lucas Cranach. Ein Maler-Unternehmer aus Franken* (Regensburg 1994), pp. 96-110, p. 97. See also Hausherr, 'Spätgotische Ansichten', pp. 63-65; Reinhold Röhrich, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae: Chronologisches Verzeichnis der von 333 bis 1878 verfassten Literatur über das heilige Land* (Berlin 1890), pp. 127, 128.

regard to the surrounding countryside, in order to present it from its prettiest side, as seen from the Mount of Olives. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is turned 90 degrees to present it from its prettiest side, with the entrance in front.²³⁶ As the report was printed various times in various languages, it had a profound influence on the European imagination of the Holy Land, and many subsequent depictions of the Holy Land in 'maps' and travel reports are largely or partly based on Reuwich's work.²³⁷ Such is the case with the Constance pilgrim Konrad Grünemberg, who travelled in 1486 to Jerusalem and wrote a travel report with depictions of the religious buildings and a view of Jerusalem. These are largely based on Reuwich's depictions, though certain details show that he based his depictions partly on his own observations.²³⁸

A third influential depiction of the Holy Land would be the one which Jan van Scorel sketched in 1520 from the Mount of Olives, and which he painted on the famous *Lokhorst-triptych*. This shows the old city almost as it would appear to a modern visitor, and it spurred a second tradition of sixteenth-century depictions of the Holy Land, as it was adopted by Herman van Borculo in his view of Jerusalem, and many depictions based on that.²³⁹ These depictions will not concern us further, however, as they had no influence on the views of the Holy Land under discussion here.

As we can assume that Frederick the Wise initiated the short-lived fashion of creating views of the Holy Land in commemoration of the pilgrimage by German princes, can a comparison with the other depictions of the Holy Land described above shed a light on where he got his idea from? Given that both the Gotha panel and Ottheinrich's tapestries were probably based on the Wittenberg triptych and look like it in details, we might see if any influence from other depictions of the Holy Land may be discerned. Let us start with the map of Reuwich. As Haim Goren has noted, Ottheinrich's tapestries show many similarities with details of the map of Breydenbach, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Dome of the Rock, the Mount of Temptation (except for the scene with Christ arguing with the Devil on top), and the pilgrims' ship. However, these similarities could also be attributed to a 'kind of standardized drawing of certain important monuments',²⁴⁰ general images of the Holy Land which were current in European culture, and which were ultimately derived from Reuwich's widely influential woodcuts. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for example, can be seen in more or less the same shape in a great variety of images. Another example is the pilgrims' ship included at Reuwich's view of Modon, seen from behind with its prominent stern (fig. 23), which closely resembles the one used on the Jaffa tapestry. However, the ship of Modon had become somewhat of a visual commonplace for the depiction of a pilgrims' ship, as it was adopted for example in the map of the Holy Land of Cranach, and even in reports of Columbus's voyages, which pictured him in a religious light.²⁴¹

Traces of Breydenbach can be seen in the Gotha panel as well, even in quite different elements. The galley displayed on the Gotha panel is of an entirely different type, but seems to be a copy of the pilgrims' galley on Reuwich's map of the Holy Land (fig. 23). The Caves of St Peter at Jaffa, absent on the Jaffa tapestry, are included on Reuwich's woodcut as well (fig. 13). Moreover, a comparison between the depicted scenes of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits and Reuwich's map (Appendix C) shows that almost all depicted scenes are included in Breydenbach as well, at

236 See Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach*; Klaus Niehr, 'als ich das selber erkundet vnd gesehen hab. Wahrnehmung und Darstellung des Fremden in Bernhard von Breydenbachs *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam* und anderen Pilgerberichten des ausgehenden Mittelalters', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 76 (2001), pp. 269-300; Betschart, *Zwischen zwei Welten*.

237 Rehav Rubin, *Image and Reality: Jerusalem in Maps and Views* (Jerusalem 1999), pp. 63-75.

238 Betschart, *Zwischen zwei Welten*, pp. 300-309; Konrad Grünemberg, *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486. Untersuchung, Edition und Kommentar*, ed. by Andrea Denke (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna 2011), pp. 223-232; Niehr, 'als ich das selber erkundet', pp. 295-297.

239 Rubin, *Image and Reality*, pp. 76-77; Louis van Empelen, 'Kunst en Kaart: De *Civitas Hierusalem* 1538 van Herman van Borculo', *Caert-Thresoor* 25 (2006), pp. 72-80.

240 Goren, 'Pilgrimage, tapestries, and cartography,' p. 509.

241 Kunz, 'Cranach as Cartographer', p. 130.

least indicated by texts. Rather, the scenes and buildings which are added on the Ottheinrich tapestries (as opposed to the Gotha panel) are not included on Reuwich's map. If Ottheinrich's tapestries therefore resemble the map from Breydenbach, it would be because it was (partly) based on the Wittenberg triptych, which was partly based on Breydenbach. Exactly at the point where the tapestries differ from the Gotha panel (and probably also the Wittenberg triptych), Gerung probably did *not* use Breydenbach as a source, but rather referred to generalised images of the Holy Land, and to Ottheinrich's own experiences, as most added scenes are indeed included in his travel report.

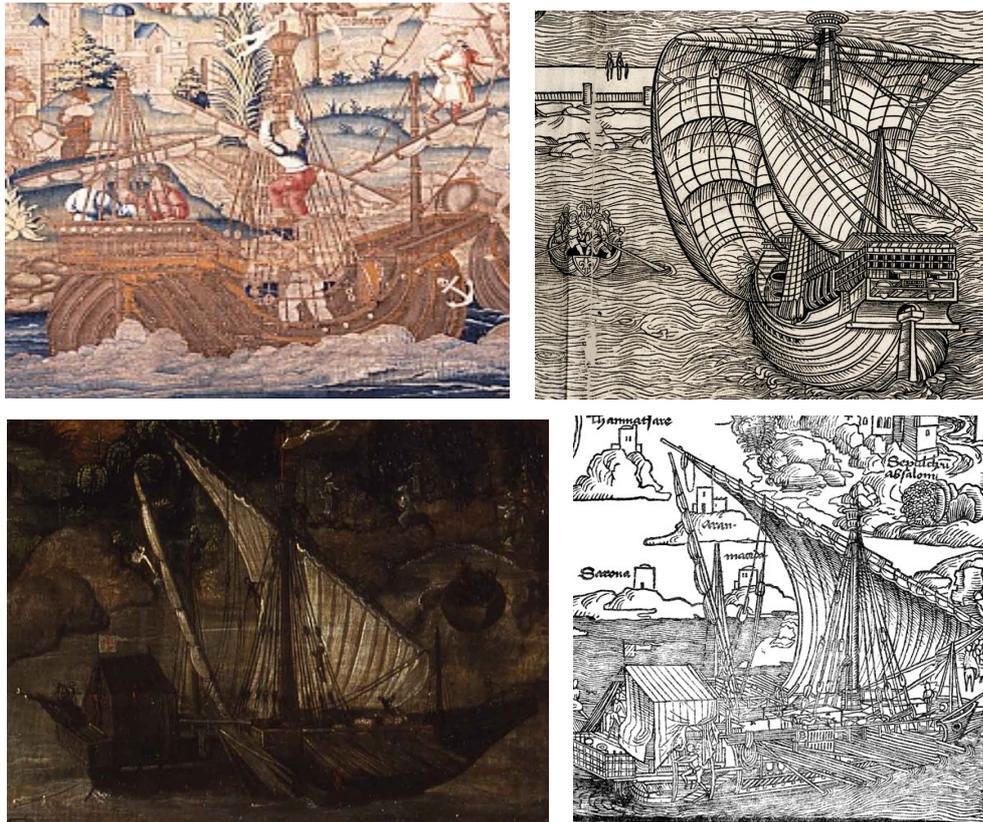


Fig. 23. Pilgrims' vessels. Top: Jaffa tapestry, View of Modon by Reuwich, bottom: galley on the Gotha panel, galley on Reuwich's view of the Holy Land.

As regards the relation to the 'Nuremberg tradition' of depicting the Holy Land, as represented by Rieter's map and the Tucher epitaph, the situation is even less clear. Given that neither depiction was ever published, one would expect only a possible influence in the panels made for the Ketzell family. Few specific details can be linked to the Gotha or Powerscourt panel, but rather the general idea of the views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits strongly reflects the 'Nuremberg' views of Jerusalem. It includes scenes from the *via dolorosa* within the city, the inclusion of the Tower of David *outside* the city, represented as a castle with two towers, and most strikingly, actual pilgrims moving around inside the city. This is a kind of depiction which shows up nowhere else, to my knowledge, but which has much in common with the views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits. One might suppose that these similarities are adoptions made by order of the Ketzell family for the Gotha and Powerscourt panels, were it not that many of these elements (with the exception of the Tower of David) can be discerned on Ottheinrich's tapestries as well. Moreover, if we look at the vaulted markets in the city, it is actually the Jerusalem tapestry which seems to be influenced by the Nuremberg depictions of Jerusalem rather than the Gotha or Powerscourt panels. The alleys on the tapestries are topped with a flat roof, almost exactly like the ones on Rieter's map

and the Tucher epitaph.²⁴² These stand in marked contrast to the rounded vaults which can be seen on the Gotha and Powerscourt panel.



Fig. 24. Map of the Holy Land from Konrad Grünemberg's travel report, 1487, MS Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter 32, ff. 35v-36r.

Another possible source for the latter depictions could be the travel report of Grünemberg (1487), who included vaulted markets in Jerusalem, indicated as 'hie ist das gros gewelb da ist alen kof' (fig. 24) which resemble those of the Gotha panel. They are however placed in a totally different position, and both copies of Grünemberg's travel report were produced in Constance, which makes it unlikely that Frederick or the Ketzels knew it.²⁴³ Rather, these vaults seem to have been based on the observations of the artist himself, probably one of the artists in the travel company of Frederick the Wise. Such is also the case with the position of the city of Jerusalem on the panels and tapestries. It is seen from the west, in line with the geographical orientation of the rest of the landscape. However, this is a rare point of view from which to depict the city. In almost all late medieval depictions of the city (at least those which can be considered more or less naturalistic), Jerusalem is depicted from the east, with the Temple Mount in front. The depiction of the city from the west may thus have been the invention of the artist of the Wittenberg triptych.

242 Hausher, 'Spätgotische Ansichten', pp. 60-61.

243 See Grünemberg, *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, pp. 93-102; Betschart, *Zwischen zwei Welten*, pp. 48-49.



Fig. 25. Resurrection of Christ and view on Jerusalem with prayer portraits of Jean Godin and family, after 1465.

One possible influence in making a view of the Holy Land with a pilgrim's portrait as initiated by Frederick the Wise has not yet been assessed. There exists one other view of the Holy Land with prayer portraits which I have not yet discussed, as it is clearly not directly related to the objects in question. It is a Flemish panel depicting the Resurrection of Christ in a landscape (fig. 25). Separated from it by a fence, a family in prayer can be seen, with the father and one of his sons carrying palm branches and wearing a cloak with a Jerusalem cross on it, identifying them as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. In the background we can see the three crosses of the Crucifixion, and a view of the city of Jerusalem. The frame mentions: 'Le pourtraict de la ville de Iherusalem, qua rapporte d'illecq feu Jehan Godin chevalier du dict Iherusalem, icy dépainct en l'an 1465', from which can be derived that the depicted pilgrims represent Jean Godin, lord of Bavay and Aberchicourt, and his son Jacques XV Godin, town counsellor of Valenciennes.²⁴⁴ It is unlikely that the painting was really made in 1465, however, as the town of Jerusalem is depicted from the east, with the Temple Mount in front. This view only appears in the depictions of Reuwich (1486) or van Scorel (1520) and the compositions based on them, and which has no parallel in the depictions of Jerusalem in fifteenth-century franco-flamand painting.²⁴⁵ I know no other objects which share this precise iconography, but it seems to be loosely based on a similar theme which regularly occurs in Netherlandish painting, namely scenes from the Death and Resurrection of Christ in a landscape with Jerusalem and the three crosses in the background, as can for example be seen in a (much later) example now in the Czech Republic.²⁴⁶ The Godin panel essentially added prayer portraits to the landscape, which is not an earth-shaking addition, and which may have therefore occurred more often in Netherlandish painting. Moreover, other Flemish paintings, notably Hans Memling's *Scenes from the Passion of Christ* (the *Turin Passion*) from c.1471, also show scenes from the *via dolorosa* within half-opened buildings in an urban environment; both their composition and the

244 Maarsbergen, collection Godin de Beaufort. For the Godin family, see J. Maertens de Noordhout, *Notice sur Jehan Godin, Chevalier de Jérusalem* (Ghent 1937).

245 Cf. Robin, 'Jérusalem dans la peinture'; Betschart, *Zwischen zwei Welten*, pp. 104-105.

246 Anonymous (1550), in the castle of Cesky krumlov. See Jarmila Vacková, *Nizozemské malířství 15. a 16. století: československé sbírkyackova* (Prague 1989), p. 151.

design of many individual scenes reminding us strongly of the Gotha panel. Further, the painting includes prayer portraits in the bottom corners (fig. 26).²⁴⁷

I will not claim that these panels influenced Frederick the Wise in deciding to have his view of the Holy Land with his own portrait made, but it does suggest that something similar probably existed in the Netherlands. Frederick is known to have travelled to the Netherlands in the year after his pilgrimage,²⁴⁸ and it is known that a Netherlandish painter Jhan worked at his court, who may have even joined him on his pilgrimage. Furthermore, both Lucas Cranach and Albrecht Dürer, who worked for Frederick, are known to have visited the Netherlands and to have been influenced by its artistic culture. Frederick can thus be suspected to have been influenced (indirectly) by Netherlandish painting. I would certainly not exclude a possible influence from that region with its distinct traditions of depicting Jerusalem pilgrims for Frederick's view of the Holy Land, although it is currently impossible to prove any definite connection.



Fig. 26. Hans Memling, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ (The 'Turin passion')*, c.1471. Turin, Galleria Sabauda, inv. no. 358.

Summary

So far we have analysed the remaining objects showing a view of the Holy Land with pilgrim's depictions, and assessed whether these objects are related. The latter does indeed seem to be the case, as the objects under discussion here show many close similarities in design and execution, and combine two features, namely a view of the Holy Land with emphasis on the city of Jerusalem and biblical scenes with prayer portraits which primarily commemorate the Jerusalem pilgrimage.

The initiator of this kind of commemorative object seems to have been Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who already planned to have a triptych made when he left on pilgrimage, as he took two

²⁴⁷ Turin, Galleria Sabauda, inv. no. 358. See Barbara G. Lane, *Hans Memling: Master Painter in Fifteenth-Century Bruges* (London 2008), pp. 315-316, cat. 68.

²⁴⁸ Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, p. 150, no. 105.

artists with him on the journey. It is not entirely clear from where he got the idea, but a possible Netherlandish influence is not unlikely, especially since one of the two artists in Frederick's entourage probably came from that region. For the creation of the triptych, which was placed in the *Schlosskirche* in Wittenberg shortly after 1493, the artist made use of his own observations in the Holy Land, and probably of maps of Jerusalem from travel reports, notably those of Breydenbach and the 'Nuremberg tradition' of depicting Jerusalem based on Sebald Rieter's map. Regrettably, Frederick's triptych was lost, and a convincing reconstruction of it is almost impossible. Nonetheless, we can get some sense of what it looked like as it was subsequently appropriated by others, who adapted the theme to their own needs.

In Nuremberg, the Ketzels family, of which Wolf Ketzels had travelled with Frederick, acquired (or ordered) a one-panel copy of the Wittenberg triptych, to which was added on the back after 1503 prayer portraits of pilgrims from his own family. Furthermore, the Ketzels decided to make another almost identical version of this painting, but which displayed the kneeling portraits of their own family members under the landscape. There are signs that Duke Friedrich of Liegnitz had been inspired by Frederick the Wise's panel as well, and made a two-wing version for himself in the *Johanniskirche* after his pilgrimage in 1507, although whether this was really a similar view of the Holy Land as the one in Wittenberg is hard to reconstruct. Finally, Count Palatine Ottheinrich made the pilgrimage in 1521 and decided to commemorate it in a similar fashion as both Fredericks and the Ketzels family. In fact, he even chose a more splendid execution, in the shape of two enormous tapestries, which were to become part of a grand program of tapestries for his castle in Neuburg.

With Ottheinrich, however, the creation of views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits seems to have come to an end. Although some objections can be made against this argument, the Reformation may have contributed to the fact that the views of the Holy Land, despite their initial humble success as a form of commemoration, never quite developed into a true commemorative tradition in German noble circles. At least, it never developed into something comparable to the depictions of Jerusalem pilgrims carrying the characteristic palm branch in the Low Countries. The Protestant movement rapidly gained ground in the 1520s, and together with Protestant rejection of the phenomenon of pilgrimage, it must have become somewhat unfashionable to commemorate the Jerusalem pilgrimage openly. This could have meant the end for the propagation of the views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' depictions.

I admit that the above reconstruction is largely based on assumptions more than hard evidence. The story is plausible, but regrettably cannot be entirely proven with the evidence I have found. Moreover, it is almost impossible to know how many objects were lost without a trace, and how many escaped my attention. This is a recurring problem for which there is no real solution, and maybe (or even probably) future research will unearth hitherto unknown views of the Holy Land which will overturn the process of appropriation sketched here. Still, I believe I have a fair overview of the theme, and that there is enough evidence to safely state that there was indeed a distinct iconography in these objects, with the possibility to develop into a distinct genre or iconographic tradition, but which ended relatively quickly. Moreover, we can be certain that the theme was introduced at the court of Frederick the Wise and subsequently adopted by others. The question remains how the differences between each respective view of the Holy Land came into being, and which choices were made for what reason, or in other words: which elements influenced the process of appropriation in each individual work? In the following chapter, I will try to find answers to these questions by placing these objects in the contexts within which they were created.

COMMEMORATION OF THE PILGRIMAGE AT THE COURT OF FREDERICK THE WISE OF SAXONY

Biography and political context

Frederick III of Saxony (1463-1525) was the son of Elector Palatine Ernst of Saxony from the house of Wettin and his wife Elisabeth, who was the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, Albrecht III.²⁴⁹ Little is known about his youth and education, but as a young noble and eldest son of a German prince, he must have been introduced to court life early on. This also involved an education at other courts. Besides, he is known to have been taught Latin, and to have understood the language well. Gradually, he was introduced into the world of high politics, and accompanied his father to the Imperial Diet of Frankfurt in 1486, where Maximilian was chosen as the new King of the Holy Roman Empire, while his father Emperor Frederick III was still alive.²⁵⁰ A year earlier, Frederick the Wise's father Ernst had split the duchy of Saxony between himself and his brother Albrecht. The two had long co-ruled, but it was decided to divide the lands at the Treaty of Leipzig. Ernst as eldest brother kept the title of Elector, the duchy of Saxony-Wittenberg, and Thuringia. His descendants would become known as the Ernestine line of the house of Wettin. However, only a year after the division of the duchy (and thus shortly after the Diet of Frankfurt), Ernst died. Frederick thus inherited the duchy of Saxony-Wittenberg together with his five years younger brother Johann, and as eldest son acquired the electoral title, which gave him the future right to participate in the election of the king himself.²⁵¹

Of Frederick and Johann's political actions before the turn of the century, few notable events can be noted. They, and especially Frederick as Elector, seem to have made themselves popular as loyal princes at various successive Imperial Diets, and established ever closer relationships to the Emperor and his son. The result was that Frederick in his later life became one of the most important princes in the Holy Roman Empire of the early sixteenth century. He was appointed Governor General for Maximilian in 1507, and was himself a candidate for the position of emperor at the elections of 1519, with the support of Pope Leo X. Frederick however declined his nomination, and chose to support the candidacy of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor, thus playing a large role in the latter's election.²⁵² This combination of determination and the reluctance in using arms as a means to solve political problems, earned Frederick his nickname.

Frederick was also a fervent supporter of a courtly lifestyle and a patron of the arts. He is known to have participated in tournaments, and was a passionate hunter. The latter activity was often depicted on paintings which he commissioned.²⁵³ Moreover, he strengthened the position of Wittenberg as the electoral residence, constructing a new castle and Church of All Saints in the city

249 Much of what we know about Frederick's life is based on the biography written by Georg Spalatin after Frederick's death in 1525, see Christian Gotthold Neudecker and Ludwig Preller (eds.), *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, vol. 1: *Das Leben und die Zeitgeschichte Friedrichs des Weisen* (Jena 1851). More recent biographies include Ingetraut Ludolphy, *Friedrich der Weise. Kurfürst von Sachsen 1463-1525* (Göttingen 1984); Klaus Kühnel, *Friedrich der Weise, Kurfürst von Sachsen. Eine Biographie* (Wittenberg 2004); Ernst Borkowsky, *Das Leben Friedrichs des Weisen* (Jena 1929).

250 Ludolphy, *Friedrich der Weise*, pp. 45-47

251 *Ibid.*, 137.

252 Ernst Ullmann, *Ein Porträt Kurfürst Friedrichs des Weisen von Lukas Cranach d. Ä. und sein politisches Programm*, Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig – Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 137, Heft 3 (Stuttgart and Leipzig 2000), suggested that a portrait of Frederick holding the imperial regalia emphasized the importance Frederick had played in Charles's election, as a warning against the emperor not to interfere too much in the (religious) politics of the German princes.

253 For example the already mentioned paintings of Cranach depicting Stag hunts. See Köpplin and Falk, *Lucas Cranach*.

after 1490. He also founded a new university in Wittenberg in 1502, which would grow to be one of the most important centres of the early Reformation.²⁵⁴ The court at Wittenberg attracted many artists, as Frederick was a fervent sponsor of the arts. Already in the late fifteenth century, Frederick ordered many works of art such as altarpieces and other religious images, designs for court dress, tournament decor, book illumination, and the painting of coats of arms. This involved a variety of more and less famous artists, including Albrecht Dürer.²⁵⁵ Frederick's patronage of the arts, however, has been known mostly because of his sponsorship of Lucas Cranach the Elder, who became court painter in 1505 and continued to be for Frederick's successors after his death in 1525. Cranach and his workshop designed court dress, painted altarpieces and other images, including a large number of portraits of the successive electors of Saxony, and of Martin Luther and other early Reformers.²⁵⁶

Above all, however, Frederick is known for his religious life. The political position he would occupy in the last ten years of his life was strongly tied to the religious situation in the Empire, and he had as such a profound influence on the history of the Reformation. Early in his life, he was a devout Catholic concerned with the salvation of his soul, attending mass daily, even if it interfered with his other activities. Frederick went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1493. He sponsored the decoration or reconstruction of many churches, monasteries and chapels, including the Wittenberg Church of All Saints (or *Schlosskirche*), which was connected to the new castle Frederick had built in Wittenberg. In the church, Frederick assembled a huge collection of relics, one of the largest of his time, which grew to 19,013 items by 1520, and for which he acquired so many indulgences from the pope that they added up to about twenty million years. The collection was started by Frederick's predecessors, and Frederick added to it with the items he collected in the Holy Land. He traded relics for other objects, and was given them as gifts by befriended rulers. The enormous growth of the collection took place mainly in the years between 1516 and 1519.²⁵⁷

The practice of indulgences and the humanist influenced culture at the newly founded university proved to be the ideal breeding ground for the Reformation; Luther put forward his critique on the church here. It remains unclear whether Frederick had Protestant sympathies, at least he never officially converted to Protestantism, and it is not attested that he and Luther were in direct contact. However, additions to the relic collection stopped in 1522, and Frederick took pains to protect Luther from persecution. Luther's papal conviction of heresy of 1518 was ignored by the Duke, and when the Edict of Worms was propagated in 1521, putting Luther under the imperial ban, Frederick intercepted Luther on his way home and brought him to safety in the *Wartburg* in Eisenach.²⁵⁸

Frederick's pilgrimage and travel report

The pilgrimage of Frederick the Wise in 1493 is one of the most thoroughly documented late medieval princely pilgrimages. The travel report which was written for Frederick the Wise himself

254 Ludolphy, *Friedrich der Weise*, pp. 315-318.

255 Frederick's patronage of the arts has first been researched thoroughly by Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise*.

256 For Cranach, see among others Bodo Brinkmann (ed.), *Cranach der Ältere* (Ostfildern 2007); Werner Schade et al. (ed.), *Lucas Cranach: Glaube, Mythologie und Moderne* (Ostfildern 2003); Claus Grimm, Johannes Erichsen and Evamaria Brockhoff (eds.), *Lucas Cranach. Ein Maler-Unternehmer aus Franken* (Regensburg 1994); Koeplin, Dieter, and Tilman Falk, *Lucas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik; Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum Basel, 15. Juni bis 8. September 1974* (Basel 1974). See for his portraits of Frederick the Wise Ullmann, *Ein Porträt Kurfürst Friedrichs des Weisen*; For his connection to the Reformation, Bonnie Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Art and Devotion of the German Reformation* (Lanham 2009).

257 Ludolphy, *Friedrich der Weise*, pp. 337-358.

258 See Johannes Hofsommer, *Friedrich der Weise und die Reformation* (Norderstedt 2008); Manfred Schulze, 'Friedrich der Weise. Politik und Reformation', in Athina Lexutt, Wolfgang Matz (eds.), *Relationen. Studien zum Übergang vom Spätmittelalter zur Reformation*, Arbeiten zur Historischen und Systematischen Theologie 1 (Münster 2000), pp. 335-355.

by an anonymous author was included as an appendix by the humanist Georg Spalatin in his history of the life and reign of Frederick, written after his death.²⁵⁹ As mentioned above, another document has been preserved which contains the register of incomes and expenses of the journey of Frederick's treasurer Hans Hund. It seems to be a strictly administrative document, however, without commemorative purpose.²⁶⁰ Travel companions of the Duke left behind reports as well, including Duke Christoph of Bavaria, who allegedly kept a diary during the journey, but died on Cyprus. The diary is now lost, but was partly published in the nineteenth century. From the diary, we learn that Frederick himself fell ill as well, in Ramla, but was saved from death by a monk.²⁶¹ Hans Schneider, Christoph's court poet, wrote a poem about the journey after the Duke's death.²⁶² Other nobles who joined the pilgrimage of 1493 were known to have written travel reports as well, including Botho von Stolberg, Johann von Lobkowitz und auf Hassenstein, Heinrich von Zedlitz, Ludwig von Greiffenstein (fragmentary), Reinhard von Bommelberg and Konrad von Parsberg.²⁶³

Frederick's own travel report is concisely written and contains few personal experiences. It starts in Venice as the pilgrims arrive there, after which the galley leaves for the Holy Land. Few remarkable things are mentioned about the journey between Venice and Jaffa, with the exception of the sad story of a ship full of Jewish refugees, which the pilgrims encountered in the Adriatic. Expelled from Spain ('die Sage ist, daß der König von hispanien über 100000 vertrieben soll haben'), and refused refuge in Venice, they were on their way to try their luck in Constantinople. Warnings were made for encounters with Turkish ships, because although the Turks and Venetians were at peace, they did not trust each other very much, according to the writer.²⁶⁴ He further mentions the Knight Hospitallers on Rhodes, and dogs which are trained to attack only non-Christians. On the way back at the same island, an annual procession in celebration of the victory against the Ottomans in 1480 is described.²⁶⁵

In the Holy Land itself, oddly enough the information is very concise. Some holy places are mentioned, there are complaints that the pilgrims were only allowed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for three days, and the accolade at the Holy Sepulchre is described. The indulgences granted to pilgrims are only mentioned in general terms, not exactly described, contrary to most travel reports. One incident is mentioned in Jaffa, where the patron was arrested, and only released on payment of extra money to the Mamluk rulers because he had not told them there were princes in the pilgrims' company.²⁶⁶ The report concludes with a list of pilgrims, ordered by their rank: first come princes, followed by lesser nobles sorted by their region of origin, and finally clerical and learned pilgrims. It concludes with those pilgrims who had died on the journey, and a *memento mori* exhortation: the reader is warned to live in fear of God and to put their trust in Christ, 'denn wers anders macht, der wird gewißlich übel ankommen'.²⁶⁷

Commemoration of the pilgrimage

Before he went on pilgrimage, Frederick the Wise had already made preparations for the commemoration of his journey. He founded a chapel of the Holy Cross in Torgau, his birthplace, in 1492, for which the first stones were laid just before he left, in March 1493.²⁶⁸ Frederick appointed four chaplains, seven chorists and a precentor to the chapel. After his return, he had the building

259 Spalatin, *Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß*, pp. 76-91.

260 Hund, 'Hans Hunds Rechnungsbuch'.

261 Trautmann, *Die Abenteuer Herzogs Christoph*, p. 411.

262 Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 297-307.

263 Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, pp. 249-258 (nos. 99-103).

264 Spalatin, *Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß*, p. 80.

265 *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 87.

266 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

267 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

268 Gustaf Dalman, *Das Grab Christi*, p. 90.

finished and equipped it with a model of the Holy Sepulchre. According to the description of Hans Herzheimer, who travelled in Saxony between the years 1514 and 1519, and who left a report of the things he had seen on his trip, the Holy Sepulchre was meant to be an exact copy of the one in Jerusalem.²⁶⁹ We should probably imagine something like the Holy Sepulchre in Görlitz, which was being constructed at the same time. Notably, the master builder Konrad Pflüger, who had assisted in the planning and construction of the new castle in Wittenberg, had been the master builder of the city council of Görlitz in 1490, and was probably involved in the construction of the Holy Sepulchre ensemble there.²⁷⁰ It is thus likely that Frederick knew the structure in Görlitz and wanted something similar for himself, as he apparently attached great importance to the exact measurements of the structure in the Holy Land. As mentioned, he was known to have had a painting showing the exact dimensions of the Body of Christ, based on his measurements in Jerusalem.²⁷¹ Further, he disposed of a master builder with experience in building a correct model of the Holy Sepulchre. Moreover, Frederick equipped the chapel with a relic of the True Cross, for which he obtained an indulgence awarded to visitors of the chapel.²⁷²



Fig. 27. Page from the *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch* (1509), woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder.

²⁶⁹ Hans Herzheimer, *Conportata Hansen Hertzhaymers ab Anno 1514 ad 1519*, MS Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst / Gegenwartskunst, inv. no. B.I.: 21517. Enno Bünz is currently working on an edition of the manuscript. Cited by Ludolphy, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 128.

²⁷⁰ Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise*, pp. 33-34.

²⁷¹ Bellmann et al., *Die Denkmale der Lutherstadt Wittenberg*, p. 251.

²⁷² Ludolphy, *Friedrich der Weise*, pp. 354-355; Hartmut Kühne, 'Zwischen Bankrott und Zerstörung – vom Ende der Wallfahrten in protestantischen Territorien', in: Hrdina, Kühne, and Müller (eds.), *Wallfahrt und Reformation*, pp. 201-220, p. 204.

Not only in Torgau, however, did Frederick commemorate his pilgrimage. In the Wittenberg Church of All Saints, a similar combination of practices can be seen. The relic collection inherited from his predecessors was expanded with pieces he had acquired in the Holy Land. The amount of relics from the Holy Land was small compared to the size of the entire collection (at least ten reliquaries contain pieces from the Holy Land), but we must remember that Frederick only seriously expanded the collection some twenty years after he had made the pilgrimage. Also, the *Heiltumsbuch* which was made in 1509 as an overview of the relics in Wittenberg, illustrated with woodcut prints by Lucas Cranach (fig. 27), mainly focuses on the reliquaries rather than on the provenance of the relics. It is also unclear whether at the annual *Weisung* (ritual showing) of the relics to the public any mention was made of the pilgrimage.²⁷³ Yet, the connection of the relic collection to Frederick's pilgrimage was attested by other objects in the church. There was the mentioned painted Body of Christ, and there also seems to have been a model of the Holy Sepulchre, although it is unclear what this exactly encompassed.²⁷⁴ Finally, the church included the view of the Holy Land with the prayer portrait of Frederick, which would eventually be placed next to his tomb monument (which shows no reference to the pilgrimage) in the choir. It is unknown whether the view of the Holy Land was originally intended to be placed near Frederick's grave, as we have only descriptions of it from later periods. Regrettably, almost none of the many forms of commemoration of Frederick the Wise survive, due to the Reformation in Saxony. A wave of iconoclasm in Wittenberg in 1520 spared the Church of All Saints, but nonetheless after Frederick's death many religious images and the relics were gradually removed from the church. The model of the Holy Sepulchre was moved to the castle, and is now lost. The reliquaries were melted down in the 1540's to raise funds for war. The Chapel of the Holy Cross in Torgau was demolished in 1533. Sadly, what had been spared of Frederick's commemorative objects was lost in 1760, when the Wittenberg Church burned down.²⁷⁵

273 Fey, 'Wallfahrtserinnerungen an spätmittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen', p. 149; Hartmut Kühne, *Ostensio reliquiarum. Untersuchungen über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum* (Berlin 2000), pp. 1-2.

274 Bellmann et al., *Die Denkmale der Lutherstadt Wittenberg*, p. 242.

275 Bellmann et al., *Die Denkmale der Lutherstadt Wittenberg*, p. 242; Ludolph, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 128.

JERUSALEM PILGRIMS FROM NUREMBERG: THE KETZEL FAMILY

Socio-political circumstances: Nuremberg and the patriciate

The Ketzels family that appeared in Nuremberg in the early fifteenth century originated in Augsburg. From that town Heinrich Ketzels the Elder, who had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1389, moved to Nuremberg sometime in the 1430s and died there. His tomb slab (fig. 10), showing the signs of pilgrimage and souls saved from purgatory by angels, still survives at the outside of the west choir of the Church of St Sebald.²⁷⁶ This would be the beginning of more than a century of marked presence in the Ketzels' new home town, where they would actively present themselves as Jerusalem pilgrims and as a family of high importance.

Heinrich Ketzels was probably a merchant, predominantly in the saffron trade, a highly valued and lucrative spice, and his descendants followed in the same business. They had a small shop at home, but also sold their wares to various princely courts in the Holy Roman Empire, which brought them in close contact with princes of the highest ranks in the Empire. Besides this, the Ketzels were involved in the trade of other commodities and show up occasionally in the Franconian mining industry; yet their main profession was likely the saffron trade, of which the centre at the time was Venice. The profession of the Ketzels therefore must have brought them regularly to this city, which was also the great centre of the Holy Land pilgrimage in the fifteenth century.²⁷⁷ It is therefore no surprise to find that at least eight male members of the family (almost half of all known male members since Heinrich) were Jerusalem pilgrims. This does not necessarily have anything to do with the Ketzels' presence in Venice. After all, it was not rare to travel to Jerusalem at the time, as we have seen. Yet there remains an exceptionally high number of pilgrims who are known to have come from one family, especially in the city of Nuremberg, as we will see.

When assessing the activities of the Ketzels family, it is important to keep the political situation in Nuremberg, at the heyday of its power as one of the most important cities in Germany, in mind. The city council was divided into the 'großer Rat' and the 'innerer Rat', of which the latter held the real executive power, and which was controlled by the old important noble families of the city, who called themselves the patriciate. Other families were generally excluded from this council, as were the Ketzels as newcomers. It was, however, possible to gain access to the *innerer Rat* as some families died out and left vacant seats. This happened a few times during the fifteenth century, which resulted in a competitive situation between important families in the city.²⁷⁸ They tried to gain access to the *innerer Rat* by presenting themselves most favourably, for example by making religious foundations²⁷⁹ and by obtaining letters of arms from the German princes to confirm their

276 Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg: ihre Baugeschichte und ihre Kunstdenkmale* (Vienna 1912).

277 Aign, *Die Ketzels*, pp. 18-21.

278 Peter Fleischmann, *Rat und Patriziat in Nürnberg. Die Herrschaft der Ratsgeschlechter in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, *Der Kleinere Rat* (Neustadt an der Aisch 2008), pp. 14-28, 36-37; Valentin Groebner, 'Ratsinteressen, Familieninteressen. Patrizische Konflikte in Nürnberg um 1500', in: Klaus Schreiner and Ulrich Meier (eds.), *Stadtregiment und Bürgerfreiheit. Handlungsspielräume in deutschen und italienischen Städten des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Bürgertum 7 (Göttingen 1994), pp. 278-308. The situation was quite similar in other free imperial cities, see Rudolf Endres, 'Adel und Patriziat in Oberdeutschland', in: Winfried Schulze and Helmut Gabel (eds.), *Ständische Gesellschaft und soziale Mobilität* (Munich 1988), pp. 221-238.

279 Most religious (memorial) in the Nuremberg churches were made by the members of the patriciate, but there are frequent examples of non-patricians who founded altars or other objects as a means of social competition. See for the situation in the *Lorenzkirche* for example Corine Schleich, *Donatio et Memoria. Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg* (Munich 1990), pp. 231-234; Idem, 'Mapping the Social Topography of Memorials. Barbara and Kunz Horn Seek the Prayers of the Poor and the Respect of the Rich', in: De Weijert et al. (eds.), *Living Memoria*, pp. 97-110.

nobility, although noble birth was not per se a prerequisite for entry in the council.²⁸⁰ The Ketzels, however, never gained access to the inner council, although they got close. Most married male members of the family made it to the rank of 'genannte' in the greater council, i.e. to occupy a seat in the council without voting power. Moreover, the Ketzels as *ehrbare Familie*, the rank directly under the patriciate, actively married into several patrician families, like the Tucher, Behaim, or Tetzels. This also gave them the right to dance at the city hall, which was considered a great honour. Finally, many members of the Ketzels family held public offices, such as city judge, or actively supported the city in military campaigns, at their own expenses.²⁸¹

It might therefore be assumed that many of the activities of the Ketzels family within and on behalf of the city were attempts to gain access to the patriciate, or at least to climb the local social ladder as high as possible. The commemorative practices surrounding their many pilgrimages may also be seen in this light. That the pilgrimage was used for this purpose is moreover supported by documentary evidence, namely the grant of arms to Georg Ketzels and his family of 15 July 1507, by Frederick the Wise. The grant of arms mentions the four Ketzels (Martin, Wolf, Georg and Sebald) who had made the pilgrimage in the entourage of a duke of Saxony, and emphasized their many services for the dukes. Because of these services, Frederick in the grant of arms proclaimed that "auff das der Adel gemert werde, haben wir Jörgen Ketzels [...] und seinen Bruder und Vettern, auch allen ihren Erben und Erbnehmern, die hierin abkunterfeites und alle vorherkummets Kleinot und Wappen weiter begnadet und bestätigt".²⁸² As indicated, a grant of arms from a high-standing prince within the Empire could be instrumental in profiling one's family socially, and the pilgrimage here proved to be the defining connection to the prince. Before we turn to the objects which the Ketzels founded to commemorate their pilgrimages, however, I will shed some more light on the three members of the family who were most active in establishing these objects, and who are not coincidentally also named in the grant of arms.

The first is Martin Ketzels the Younger, grandson of Heinrich, of the branch of the family that stayed in Augsburg. Not much is known about Martin, but the story that he founded the Nuremberg Stations of the Cross, and went twice to Jerusalem to take the measures developed around him.²⁸³ He did indeed travel twice, once in the company of Duke Albrecht of Saxony in 1476. Of this journey he wrote a travel report, which is now kept in the University Library of Heidelberg.²⁸⁴ About the other pilgrimage less is clear. Most sources (the pilgrimage panels of the Ketzels family) mention him in the company of Duke Otto of Bavaria in 1468. This might be so, but Otto travelled in 1460, and Martins travel report mentions no earlier pilgrimage. Other sources mention 1488 as the date of the second pilgrimage, but it is unclear on what this is based. On the other hand, the year of his other pilgrimage is incorrectly displayed on the panels as well: mostly as 1472.²⁸⁵ As comes to the fore in his travel report, Martin had a good knowledge of Italian and possibly other languages (a

280 Fleischmann, *Rat und Patriziat*, pp. 254-258; Groebner, 'Ratsinteressen, Familieninteressen', pp. 284-286.

281 Aign, *Die Ketzels*, pp. 96-99. See Fleischmann, *Rat und Patriziat*, pp. 227-229.

282 The grant of arms is copied as a vidimus by Georg Ketzels in 1530 in the *Libri Litterarum*, the register of the city of Nuremberg between 1481 and 1770, vol. 43, f.61 (Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg). See Aign, *Die Ketzels*, p. 134, note 86 for the transcription.

283 See above p. 22.

284 MS Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 117. The manuscript was included in the *Bibliotheca Palatina* of the Palatinate of the Rhine, and is bound in a cover of Ottheinrich. The book, however, was not acquired by Ottheinrich but inherited by the Electors Palatine from the dukes of Mosbach-Neumarkt, to which the report was dedicated. See Bäumler et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 171-172, cat. 7.6; Catalogue description by Sonja Glauch and Matthias Müller, May 2006 [<http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung2/werk/pdf/cpg117.pdf>; accessed 21 April 2013]. The report was published as Martin Ketzels, 'Martin Ketzels von Augsburg Reise nach dem gelobten Lande im Jahr 1476, von ihm selbts beschrieben', ed. by Friedrich Rhenanus, in: F.H. Bothe and H. Vogler (eds.), *Altes und Neues für Geschichte und Dichtkunst*, vol. 1 (Potsdam 1832), pp. 28-103.

285 Aign, *Die Ketzels*, p. 61. The year 1488 as second date is mentioned by Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, p. 386; J. Kamann, 'Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande. Von Reinhold Röhricht', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 8 (1889), pp. 257-260., Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*.

knowledge which he probably acquired because of his profession as a merchant), which was one of the reasons why he accompanied Albrecht of Saxony on his journey. The 1507 grant of arms praises him therefore as 'ein verordneter Dienstmann der Sprach halben'.²⁸⁶

Georg II Ketzler (1463-1533) lived in Nuremberg and ran the family business together with his brother Wolf. They were sons of Georg I, who was also a Jerusalem pilgrim and had founded a chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Nuremberg in 1459. The customers of Georg II included emperor Maximilian and Frederick the Wise of Saxony. He also carried out services for the city of Nuremberg, taking part in the Landshut War of Succession "auff aygen Zaum oder Costen," and becoming *Schöffe* for the farmer's court after his marriage in 1510. He seems to have been extremely proud of his position in the city and wanted to display this. Already in 1492 he tried with Stephan Paumgartner to gain permission to wear velvet in public, a privilege for the noble and learned classes. Georg made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the company of Duke Henry of Saxony, Stephan Paumgartner and his cousin Sebald in 1498. Paumgartner and Sebald Ketzler both wrote a travel report of the journey; Sebald's has not yet been located. Moreover, Georg founded a memorial tablet for his family in the *Johanneskirche* at the graveyard with the same name, at the end of the Nuremberg *via dolorosa*.²⁸⁷

With Georg and his brother Wolf (1472-1544), the Ketzler family reached the peak of their influence in the city and the Empire. Wolf had made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1493 in the company of Frederick the Wise of Saxony and Christoph of Bavaria.²⁸⁸ On all memorial panels of the family, Wolf is displayed with a large banner, which refers to his role as flag bearer in the wars in which the city was involved. During the Landshut War of Succession in 1504, he is said to have acted bravely. He had married in the same year into one of the most prominent patrician families of Nuremberg, the Tetzels, from which he had one daughter, and which brought him much influence in local politics and made him the co-owner of the village of Gräfenberg. That year, however, proved to be the turning point in his career.

In 1505, his wife died, and a conflict broke out between different members of the Tetzler family, including the now widowed Wolf Ketzler, about the inheritances of the village of Gräfenberg. The conflict lasted until 1542, when the city council finally succeeded in buying the village.²⁸⁹ Probably due to these troubles, Wolf started to behave in a contrary way from that year on. He had probably always been a bit recalcitrant, given a conviction for insulting behaviour in 1497, for which he was fined. After 1505, however, his behaviour worsened. Wolf was accused of slandering the head of the army Willibald Pirckheimer; he kidnapped the official of Gräfenberg in 1513 and refused to release him; and he demanded corvée and honour from the residents of Hohenschwarz and Gräfenbergerhull, villages which were once part of the fief of Gräfenberg but were sold some years before. When he was admonished for this by the city council, and sentenced to a stay in prison, he refused to go. Rather, in 1514 he sought asylum in the *Egidienkirche*, which was only one of two places in Nuremberg where one had the right of asylum, but which also happened to be the parish church of his in-laws. He failed to reconcile with the city council, and fled to Würzburg in 1515, after which he was removed from the city council as 'Genannte' in 1517.²⁹⁰ It is unclear whether this sad history can be attributed to Wolf's stubbornness alone. It would not be unlikely if the events outlined above were also the result of some kind of smear campaign by members of the immensely powerful Tetzler family, who tried to sideline Wolf Ketzler in the conflict about Gräfenberg.

After Wolf and Georg, their cousins Sebald and Michael would make the pilgrimage as well, in 1498 and 1503 respectively. Michael is not named in the grant of arms, curiously. The influence

²⁸⁶ Aign, *Die Ketzler*, pp. 27, 134 note 86.

²⁸⁷ Aign, *Die Ketzler*, pp. 23, 33-36, 63-64.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

²⁸⁹ Wolf played only a small part in the conflict, which played between (factions within) various patrician families (Tetzler and Holzschuher) and the city council. See Groebner, 'Ratsinteressen, Familieninteressen', pp. 293-299.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-46.

of the Ketzels family would gradually decline during the sixteenth century. The family line and business was continued for two more generations by the descendants of Georg II, but finally died out in 1588 as most Ketzels bore only daughters or remained childless. No Ketzels would make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem after 1503.²⁹¹

Commemoration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage by the Ketzels family

The Ketzels family founded many different forms of commemoration of their pilgrimages, some of which have already been mentioned. The oldest object is no doubt the grave marker of Heinrich Ketzels the Elder at the outside of the west choir of the parish church of St Sebald, which shows angels rescuing souls from purgatory, the coat of arms of the Ketzels family, a Jerusalem cross and a wheel of St Catherine. Next to the coat of arms a sword with a banner and a vase of flowers are depicted. These represent respectively the Knighthood of Cyprus and the accolade of the Vase of Aragon. The tomb slab not only commemorates Heinrich the Elder, but also his son Heinrich the Younger, who according to the inscription died in 1453, but was not a Jerusalem pilgrim.

Foundations were also made in commemoration of the pilgrimage by the Ketzels. Georg I Ketzels founded a Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at the island Schütt inside the city. The western part of the island was designated as a cemetery for the poor, as part of the *Heilig-Geist-Spital*, a foundation for the care of the sick and elderly, in 1437. Georg founded the Chapel in 1459, six years after his pilgrimage in the company of Margrave Frederick II of Brandenburg. The Chapel seems to have been intended primarily for use by the poor, and in 1459 and 1460 he acquired various indulgences for a devout visit to the Chapel on certain feast days. Georg was not allowed to have the Chapel adorned with his coat of arms or other signs, something which was often prohibited in Nuremberg in those years, possibly in order to protect the superior status of the patriciate. In any case, the chapel seemed to have been intended as a more or less exact copy of the Holy Sepulchre, with two rooms, of which the back contained a tomb with the measurements of Christ's Tomb in Jerusalem, and with a small six-column temple on top, like the depiction of the Tomb by Erhard Reuwich and the chapel in Görlitz. The Nuremberg Chapel apparently resembled the Tomb in Jerusalem so much that the Stefan Paumgartner in his travel report (1498) wrote that the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem looked like the one in Nuremberg,²⁹² although his opinion seems to be exaggerated. According to the measurements of Dalman, we should imagine a rather free copy of the structure in Jerusalem, unlike the one in Görlitz.²⁹³ The chapel was destroyed in World War II.

Another foundation of the Ketzels family may have been the above mentioned Nuremberg Stations of the Cross, made by Adam Kraft. Whether Martin Ketzels was indeed involved in its foundation, and whether he really took measures for it in Jerusalem, remains a mystery.²⁹⁴ What Martin did definitely do was write a travel report of his 1476 journey with Albrecht III of Saxony, which has survived in one manuscript. The report contains extensive descriptions of the islands and cities in the Aegean Sea, and a quite standard description of the holy places in and around Jerusalem and the indulgences connected to them. It mentions only a few remarkable episodes and personal experiences, notably the way back from Jaffa, where the patron of the ship was kidnapped and had to be freed with the use of arms.²⁹⁵ Sebald Ketzels, who travelled in 1498 with Heinrich of Saxony, apparently wrote a travel report as well, but it is unknown whether it is still in existence.²⁹⁶

291 See the genealogy of the Ketzels family in Aign, *Die Ketzels*, pp. 119-129.

292 Stefan Paumgartner, *Reise zum Heiligen Grab 1498 mit Herzog Heinrich dem Frommen von Sachsen*, ed. by Thomas Kraus, *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik* 445 (Göppingen 1986), pp. 37-38: "Item dornach gingen mier mit der proceß vonn derselbigen stadt inn tempel zu dem heyligen grab. Ist ein klein kirchlein, gefurmet alß das zuo Nurnberg auff dem spital kirchoff stet."

293 Dalman, *Das Grab Christi*, pp. 75-79.

294 See above, p. 22.

295 Ketzels, 'Martin Ketzels von Augsburgs Reise', pp. 98-99.

296 Aign, *Die Ketzels*, p. 65.

Other memorials were founded by the Ketzl family in commemoration of their pilgrimages. In the *Johanniskirche* a bronze wall relief is placed with the coats of arms of various members of the Ketzl family (not just the pilgrims) and their wives around the word KECZEL and the year 1391, which is the year Heinrich the Older married his wife and started the family. It was founded after the death of Georg II in 1533. Additionally, some small stained-glass windows have survived with similar designs, showing the arms and names of various members of the family, which were probably originally placed in the *Heilig-Geist-Spital*, near the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁹⁷ Eight larger stained-glass windows probably once adorned the *Egidienkirche*, but are only known from seventeenth-century descriptions and a drawing now in Munich, which may have been used as a design for one of the windows. They showed various saints and the Virgin Mary, with kneeling portraits of members of the Ketzl family under them, accompanied by their coats of arms and those of their wives. The windows were probably commissioned sometime after 1503 by Wolf Ketzl, as he is the only one who had connections to the *Egidienkirche*.²⁹⁸



Fig. 28. Pilgrimage panel of the Ketzl family, after 1503. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. Gm 851.

The most remarkable memorials in commemoration of the Ketzels' pilgrimages, however, are the painted panels. Four of them are left which show the Ketzels as Jerusalem pilgrims, including the two views of the Holy Land. These views of the Holy Land have already been discussed extensively above. The other two are (1) a horizontal panel divided into two rows of five fields each, containing the prayer portraits of the eight Ketzl pilgrims, again accompanied by the signs of their accolades, their coats of arms and those of their wives, and placed in chronological order of their pilgrimages

²⁹⁷ Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. nos. MM 197-201.

²⁹⁸ Aign, *Die Ketzl*, pp. 72-78.

(68 x 109 cm, fig. 28).²⁹⁹ In each field the year of pilgrimage of each Ketzels is indicated, and the prince whom they accompanied. The last two fields are left empty, which indicates the possibility of future inclusion of more pilgrims from the family. It is therefore likely that it was created shortly after the pilgrimage of the last Ketzels, Michael, when the possibility that future generations would continue to go on pilgrimage was still plausible. Given the inclusion of the coat of arms of his wife Martha Haller, whom he married in 1509, it must have been made shortly after that year.³⁰⁰

(2) Two panels depicting the pedigree of the Ketzels family, made in an entirely different situation.³⁰¹ This is the only Ketzels object of which the date of creation is mentioned: 1595. The male line of the family had died out in 1588, and thus the panel must have been made by the only still living member of the family, Marie Ketzels, who found it important to keep the memory of her family alive.³⁰² This memory included the many Jerusalem pilgrimages her forebears had made. The two panels were joined by hinges, and display a pedigree starting with Heinrich Ketzels above, and presenting Marie at last, with all family members between them. For the pilgrims, pilgrims' marks and signs of accolades are again depicted. The inclusion of the pilgrim signs at the portraits of the pilgrims is not the only reference to the pilgrimage on the ensemble. At the back of the lower half of the pedigree, the panel depicts the coats of arms of the Ketzels pilgrims and those of the princes with whom they travelled. It is divided into two rows each of nine fields. The upper row depicts the coats of arms of the princes, their signs of accolades, and a text mentioning their year of pilgrimage. The lower row represents the same elements for the eight Ketzels pilgrims. Since they travelled together with seven princes in total, on the upper row one field is left, occupied by a depiction of the Holy Land (fig. 29), which due to its dimensions and composition is quite different from the Gotha and Powerscourt views of the Holy Land. Still, it is clearly based on both views, since we can easily identify its general layout, with the city of Jerusalem on the left, a pilgrims' ship in the bottom right corner, the caves of St Peter at Jaffa, the Mount of Olives with Jesus praying to his Father, an architectural structure on the place of his Ascension, and the Dead Sea full of fire.

On the far right side of the panel, two fields are left open. This is a puzzling element, because there would have been absolutely no hope for Marie Ketzels that any future relatives would undertake the pilgrimage. Is the back of this panel therefore possibly older than the pedigree on the front? This would in my opinion be possible. Judging by the position of the hinges, the diptych could be closed. In that case the lower half would be folded up, revealing the back in its correct position, i.e. not upside-down. The back of the lower half was therefore once intended as a panel on its own, which was acquired or inherited by Marie, who adapted it as part of a two-wing pedigree depiction after her family had died out, and which could be used to show either the original painting or the new one. The original panel, as it included room for future additions, can therefore probably be dated in the same period as Panel 1.

This leaves us with four panels, made at about the same time (roughly the first quarter of the sixteenth century), which commemorate the pilgrimage of the eight Ketzels in more or less the same way: the back of the Gotha panel, the Powerscourt panel, Pilgrimage Panel 1 and the back of the lower half of the 1595 Pedigree. All of them depicted the eight Ketzels in a row, ordered by their year of pilgrimage, with prayer portraits (except the back of the pedigree), coats of arms and signs of the pilgrimage and accolades (although this is unknown for the Powerscourt panel), and texts identifying each family member and the princes they travelled with. The question is: how did they function?

This is difficult to answer, since there is no contemporary evidence as to where they were placed. A purpose for strictly personal commemoration in the family may be possible, but it would be odd to have made four different panels commemorating exactly the same. Rather, given their

299 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. Gm851

300 Aign, *Die Ketzels*, pp. 71-72.

301 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. Gm582

302 Aign, *Die Ketzels*, pp. 80-81.

date of creation, we should see a similar function as the grant of arms by Frederick the Wise, which also emphasized the pilgrimages of the Ketzels and their princely connections. The panels were probably meant to be shown in public places, as part of a grand campaign to emphasize the social status and importance of the family for the city. As it still would have been odd to place four items commemorating exactly the same thing in one place, we might suspect that they would have been placed on various locations throughout the city. We have already seen that the Ketzels were represented by means of stained-glass windows and the brass memorial in various religious institutions, and for the panels a similar place can be expected. As initiator behind this campaign, we can point to Georg or his brother Wolf, given the prominence of Frederick the Wise in many of the panels and the grant of arms. Moreover, both Ketzels could have benefited from a more positive image, given Wolf's situation after 1504, which could have caused considerable damage to the family image.

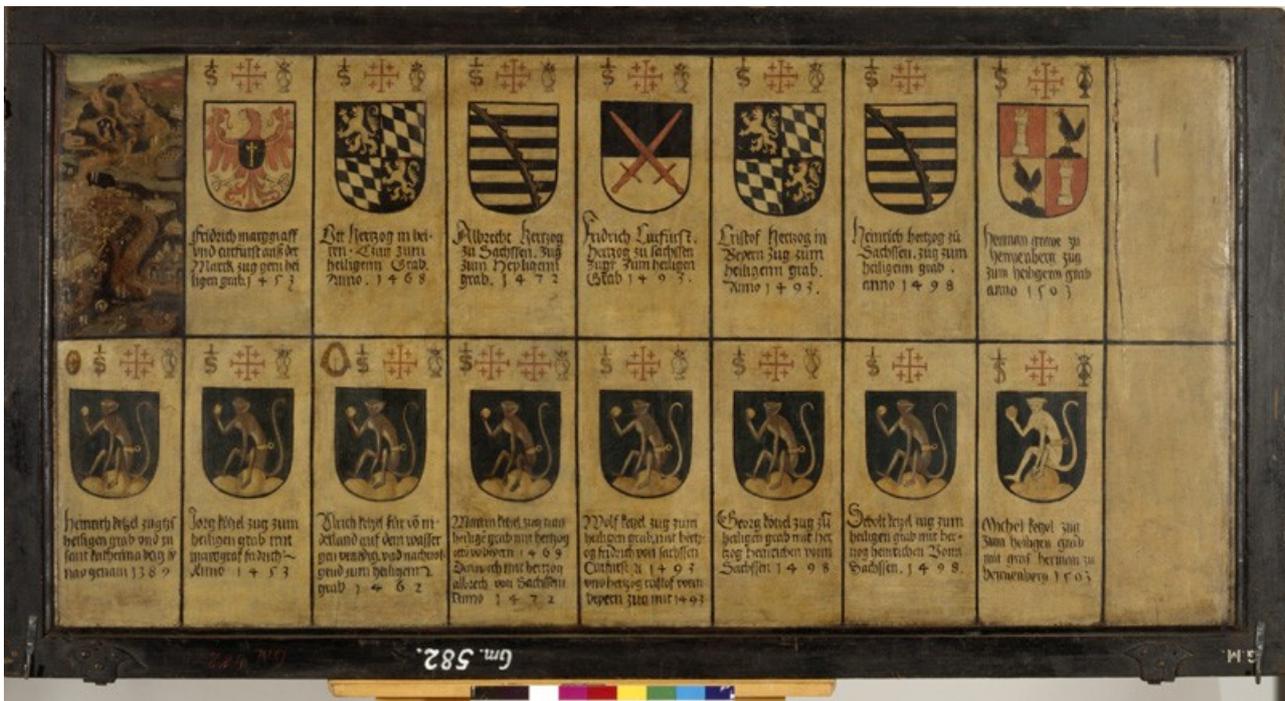


Fig. 29. Back of the lower half of the painted pedigree of the Ketzel family. The top left field depicts a small view of the Holy Land.

Commemoration of the pilgrimage in Nuremberg

The Ketzels were not alone in their commemoration of the pilgrimage within the city of Nuremberg. The journey to Jerusalem proved to be a quite popular undertaking in the patrician and *ehrbare* social circles in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. No less than 66 pilgrimages to the Holy Land are known to have been made by citizens of the city before 1600 (see table 3). Many of these pilgrims came from the old patrician families, though not all families were involved in the pilgrimage in equal measure. Of some families, many generations travelled to the Holy Land, notably the Rieter, Haller, Löffelholz, Pfinzing, and Muffel families. Some of these families had joined the *innerer Rat* quite recently, or did so after the pilgrimages were made. We must acknowledge the fact that the predominance of the families of higher social standing in the numbers of pilgrims may also result from the fact that they left behind more evidence of their pilgrimages, which might distort the figures. Yet it would be safe to state that, regarding the popularity of it in high social circles, the Jerusalem pilgrimage was a deed which had a certain social standing, and with which one could profile oneself positively.

When compared to the situation in the cities of the Netherlands, however, for example Utrecht, where the pilgrimage was also quite popular, the forms of commemoration show less uniformity, and no real patterns of commemoration can be identified. This is not to say that in the Dutch and Flemish cities everyone commemorated their pilgrimage in the same way, but communal forms like the Palm Sunday procession or the (group) portraits of a confraternity are totally absent in Nuremberg. This of course has precisely to do with the absence of the confraternities or any other organisation of Jerusalem pilgrims in Nuremberg. There are, however, some forms of commemoration which were quite popular in Nuremberg, among which travel reports are the most striking.

Fifteen travel reports of the pilgrimage made by citizens were attested to have been made (including the already mentioned reports of Sebald and Martin Ketzler). Of these, the report of Hans IV Tucher (1479) is probably the most famous, since it was the only one which appeared in print, and thus reached the greatest audience. It was reprinted at least nine times before 1500 in several German cities (Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Strasbourg), indicating a quite lively local interest in the story.³⁰³ Of the 1479 pilgrimage, another report is handed down, from Tucher's fellow traveller Sebald Rieter the Younger. The latter report, however, seems to have been intended solely for private use, since it is kept only in two manuscripts, together with other reports for many pilgrimages (also to Rome, Santiago, etc.) of various family members.³⁰⁴ Rieter's report probably contained the depiction of the city of Jerusalem which was discussed in the previous chapter. Significant for the importance attached to the 1479 pilgrimage by Rieter and Tucher was that it was the only time that the Jerusalem pilgrims were officially festively received by the city. This might have had something to do with the fact that both pilgrims were important members of the council, and that Hans Tucher had been taken into captivity in Alexandria, but was eventually released.³⁰⁵

The printed report of Hans Tucher was an exception: most reports of Nuremberg pilgrims only survive in one or a few manuscripts. It seems therefore that most of them were intended primarily for commemoration in small circles. Another notable type are those of pilgrims who wrote reports of princely pilgrimages. Hans Lochner from Nuremberg, for example, was the writer of the travel report of the Margraves Johann and Albrecht of Brandenburg from 1435. Stefan Paumgartner wrote a travel report of his journey in 1498 with Duke Henry of Saxony. The report exists in two manuscripts: one in Dresden, which was apparently owned by the Duke himself, and one in Nuremberg, which was probably the Paumgartner family's own version. Notably, the Dresden manuscript opens with the name of the duke, whereas the Nuremberg manuscript seem to tell the story from the perspective of Stefan Paumgartner, although the Duke is clearly mentioned in the report.³⁰⁶

It might be useful to look at the case of Stefan Paumgartner a bit more thoroughly, since it shows many parallels with that of the Ketzlers. Moreover, Paumgartner seems to have had good relations with Georg II and Sebald Ketzler, and the three travelled together to the Holy Land, of which both Stefan Paumgartner and Sebald Ketzler wrote a travel report. The Paumgartner family was not of noble birth and they were involved in trade, in their case mainly of quicksilver, which brought them regularly to Venice. Although the Paumgartners *did* occupy a place in the *innerer Rat* and thus had real influence in the city's politics, Stefan seems to have wanted to climb the social ladder as well, evidenced by his request for permission to wear velvet in public in 1492. Moreover,

303 Hans Tucher, *Reisebuch* (Augsburg 1482). See Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, p. 387.

304 See Sebald Rieter, et al., *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, ed. by Reinhold Röhrich and Heinrich Meisner, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 168 (Tübingen 1884).

305 Aign, *Die Ketzler*, p. 58.

306 Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, p. 289. Compare the incipits: MS Dresden, SLB. Hs. F. 38: *Hertzog Wilhelmen, Churfürst Friedrichs, vnd Hertzog Heinrichs zu Sachsen, desgleichen etlicher alten Marggraffen zu Meißen Reisen zum gelobten Landte*; MS Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 369: *Nach Christi vnsers liebste[n] Herren vndt Seligmachers geburt 1498, Bin ich Steffan Baumgartner mitt dem Fursten Hertzog Hainrich zu Sachsen, nach dem Heyligen grab geraist*.

the famous *Paumgartner altar* (1500; fig. 30) by Albrecht Dürer depicts St George on the left wing, who carries the distinct facial features of Stefan Paumgartner. On the other wing stands St Eustachius with the face of Stefan's brother Lucas.³⁰⁷ It is unknown whether the depiction of Stefan as St George is a reference to his Holy Land pilgrimage, but it may be likely given the importance of St George as a Crusader saint. In any case, the altar points at the identification of Stefan with the ideals of the nobility.

The interest in the Jerusalem pilgrimage shortly waned after the introduction of the Reformation, but the importance attached to the pilgrims of old remained high. This is for example attested by a list which was added to the travel report of Georg Pfinzing (1440) in the early seventeenth century by a namesake. It lists all Jerusalem pilgrims from the city known at that time.³⁰⁸ Moreover, from the 1550's onwards, new pilgrimages were undertaken and commemorated.³⁰⁹ The most famous example is Stephan Praun, who travelled to Jerusalem in 1585, and earlier to Santiago and Rome. He left a portrait of himself as a pilgrim, and his pilgrims' garments (which probably had a ceremonial function, as they show no traces of usage). These objects, however, contain no references such as Jerusalem crosses, which also commemorate the Jerusalem pilgrimage.³¹⁰



Fig. 30. Albrecht Dürer, *Paumgartner altar*, 1500. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. Nos. 701, 702, 706. The left wing contains St Georg carrying the facial features of Stefan Paumgartner.

Interpretation

If we look at table 3 one more time, we can make two striking observations about the pilgrimages of the Ketzels: (1) Heinrich Ketzel is almost the earliest attested Nuremberg pilgrim of all, though we must consider of course the possibility that many pilgrims escaped our attention because they left no evidence of their pilgrimage; (2) The Ketzels had made by far the most pilgrimages of all

307 Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nos. 706, 701, 702

308 Röhrich Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 96.

309 Freller, *Adelige auf Tour*, p. 15.

310 Grebe, 'Pilgrims and Fashion', pp. 4-12.

Nuremberg families, and have left behind by far the most objects commemorating this pilgrimage. Heinrich possibly never intended his pilgrimage as a means to acquire a higher social position, but after he moved to Nuremberg, where the pilgrimage was held in high esteem in the fifteenth century, this proved to be a feat with which one could present oneself well. The pilgrimage became a family tradition, and generations of Ketzels founded various kinds of commemorations of this pilgrimage, which can be seen in the light of their attempts to gain access to the highest circles in Nuremberg politics. They connected themselves to acts of charity, such as the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at the Heilig-Geist-Spital, expressed their signs of acquired accolades on all of their memorials, emphasized their connections to various German princes, and gained a grant of arms from Frederick the Wise. These attempts reached a climax after 1500, when Georg II and/or Wolf Ketzel unleashed a campaign to promote the family as Jerusalem pilgrims throughout the city. For this, they resorted, among other things, to the adaptation of forms of commemoration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage from German princes (especially Frederick the Wise), as a kind of mimicry, which resulted in the creation of the Gotha and Powerscourt panels.

TABLE 3: JERUSALEM PILGRIMS FROM NUREMBERG BEFORE 1600, ORDERED BY FAMILY³¹¹

Name	Members of greater council (year of entry)	Year of pilgrimage(s)	Total pilgrimages
Bart	No	1436	1
Beck	No	1565	1
Daich	No	1402 (2x)	2
Deichsler	No	1436	1
Egglofstein	No	1464	1
Fürer	1501	1566	1
Fütterer	1501	1436	1
Geuder	1349	1474	1
Gratz	No	1521	1
Haarsdörffer	1450	1436	1
Haller	1314	1436 (3x); 1464 (2x)	5
Holzschuher	1319	1470	1
Ketzel	No	1389; 1453; 1462; 1478; 1488?; ³¹² 1493; 1498 (2x); 1503	9
Kreß	1418	1498	1
Lochner	No	1435	1
Löffelholz	1440	1479; 1498 (2x)	3
Lohe	No	1565	1

³¹¹ Based on Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p 96; J. Kamann, 'Die Pilgerfahrten Nürnberger Bürger nach Jerusalem im 15. Jahrhundert, namentlich die Reiseberichte des Dr. med. Hans Lochner und des Jörg Pfinzing', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 2 (1880), pp. 78-163, pp. 87-88; Idem, 'Deutsche Pilgerreisen', pp. 259-260; Aign, *Die Ketzels*; Grebe, 'Pilgrims and Fashion', p. 10.

³¹² The date of the second pilgrimage of Martin Ketzel is unclear.

Magenhofer	No	1461	1
Magerer	No	1449	1
Muffel	1318	1436; 1461; 1465; 1467 (3x)	6
Müntzer	No	1556	1
Nützel	1319	1586	1
Paumgartner	1396	1498	1
Pfinzing	1274	1435; 1436; 1479	3
Pömer	1395	1476	1
Praun	No (only from 1788)	1585	1
Rieter	1437	1384; 1390; 1436; 1464; 1475; 1479	6
Rosenthaler	No	1492	1
Rummel	1402	1435	1
Seidenschuher	No	1434	1
Schedel	No	1460	1
Scheurl	1580	1479	1
Schütz	1404 (only a few years)	1498	1
Schweicker	No	1585	1
Schweigger	No	1581	1
Stromer	1291	1435	1
Tetzel	1343	1436	1
Tucher	1340	1479	1
Volkamer	No	1435	1
Total			66

OTTHEINRICH AND THE NEUBURG TAPESTRIES

Biography and political circumstances

Ottheinrich was born in 1502 as a son of Ruprecht, Count Palatine of the Rhine from the House of Wittelsbach and Elisabeth of Bavaria-Landshut. Ruprechts was subsequently adopted by his father-in-law Georg, who had failed to produce a male heir, and thereby became successor of the duchy of Bavaria-Landshut. This construction led to the Landshut War of Succession after Georg died in 1503, in which as we have seen some of the Ketzels had fought in the troops of the city of Nuremberg. The war was concluded when Ruprecht and Elisabeth died in 1504, after which the Emperor Maximilian mediated at the Diet of Cologne on 30 July 1505. The duchy of Bavaria-Landshut was for the most part ceded to the duke of Bavaria-Munich, but as a compensation the new duchy of Palatinate-Neuburg was created, which centred at the city of Neuburg an der Donau. It was given to Ottheinrich and his one year younger brother Philipp. Because of their infancy, they were placed under custody of their grandfather Elector Palatine Philipp, and from 1508 under his successor Frederick II.³¹³

As Philipp went to study at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau in 1516, Ottheinrich qualified himself in life at the court. Gradually he became ever more involved in imperial politics, attending at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, where Luther was questioned for the first time and Maximilian propagated the Crusade against the Turks. After Maximilian died, and the German princes elected Charles V as the new Holy Roman Emperor, Ottheinrich joined his custodian Frederick on his travels to Spain, to bring Charles the news of his election. The journey brought him to the courts of Burgundy and France, and he stayed at Charles's court in Spain for a while, a time which he used mainly to see the country. Ottheinrich must have gotten the taste for travelling from this trip, because he decided to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem shortly afterwards. At the Diet of Worms in 1521, where he had come while still in the service of the Emperor, Ottheinrich left before the end (even before Luther arrived at the Diet) to embark on his journey to the Holy Land. After he returned in late 1521, he travelled to Nuremberg, where he met his brother and his custodian Frederick, who had been appointed as stadtholder for Charles V in the city. As the brothers had already reached maturity, Frederick raised the custody and Ottheinrich and Philipp became Counts Palatine of their duchy.³¹⁴ Ottheinrich had probably gained a reputation for being a fervent traveller, as he had to promise the estates not to leave Neuburg without their permission.³¹⁵

Philipp soon left the rule of the duchy to his brother and went off to serve in the imperial army, as part of which he played an important role in the defence of Vienna against the Ottomans in 1529. Ottheinrich assumed control of the lands, and took many pains to raise the small and relatively new duchy in the esteem of the other princes, and to promote it as an important part of the Holy Roman Empire. He took part in various wars, such as the Peasant's War in 1525, and reformed Neuburg as the centre of court life. He started to redecorate the city's castle, his new residence, in the Renaissance fashion, promoted a luxurious noble lifestyle, with hunting parties, tournaments and banquets, and patronised the arts and learning, starting an extensive collection of books which would grow out to be the Heidelberg *Bibliotheca Palatina*.³¹⁶ Due to this luxurious lifestyle,

313 Peter Schmid, 'Der Landshuter Erbfolgekrieg', in: Bäumler et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 75-79; Rudolf Ebneith and Peter Schmid (eds.), *Der Landshuter Erbfolgekrieg. An der Wende von Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Regensburg 2004).

314 Tobias Appl, 'Vormundschaft und Jugend der ersten Landesherren des Fürstentums Pfalz-Neuburg', in: Bäumler et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 139-142., pp. 140-141.

315 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 59.

316 The library was actually not started by Ottheinrich, but by his predecessors at the Palatinate of the Rhine. However, Ottheinrich supplied the most important part of the early collection, though it is not always possible to identify

Ottheinrich started to gain weight and lose money. His continuous large expenses brought him into financial troubles, and in the 1530s he had to resort several times to a tax increase. He tried to access other funds as well, as the above mentioned 1536 trip to Krakow shows, which he made because the Polish king still owed him money.

Philipp had returned to Neuburg at the time (1535), and had accomplished a partition of the duchy, of which he now ruled the northern part. However, he promoted a similar lifestyle as his brother, and this equally got him into financial trouble. In 1541, the heavily indebted Philipp (he had a debt of almost half a million guilders) had to give up his half of the duchy, which was returned to Ottheinrich, including Philipp's debts.³¹⁷ Instead of learning from Philipp's mistakes, Ottheinrich continued to boost a luxurious princely lifestyle and gradually worked himself into more financial trouble. This finally led to his inevitable bankruptcy in 1544 (Ottheinrich's debt had grown to an amount of over a million guilders, an astonishing amount compared to the size of the duchy), at which occasion the Estates of the land assumed control over the duchy, stopped the building projects at Neuburg Castle and prohibited exuberant court life. They agreed to pay Ottheinrich a pension, provided he left the country. Ottheinrich moved to his relatives in Heidelberg, where he would stay until 1552.³¹⁸

In the meantime, Ottheinrich had converted to Protestantism, and introduced the new religion in his lands in 1542. At Neuburg, he built a chapel for the Lutheran denomination, which was supposedly the first church to be built especially for this goal.³¹⁹ However, his confession dragged him into the religious wars of the mid-sixteenth century. As Charles V assumed that he supported the Schmalkaldic league, he captured Neuburg in 1546, looted the castle, put Ottheinrich under the Imperial Ban and installed imperial rule over Neuburg until 1552, when the Peace of Passau allowed Ottheinrich to return to Neuburg. At the death of his former custodian Frederick, Ottheinrich inherited the Electoral Palatinate in 1556, but died in 1559. He was buried in the Heiliggeistkirche in Heidelberg.³²⁰

The pilgrimage diary

Ottheinrich started a diary during his journey to Jerusalem, which he continued for some time after he returned.³²¹ In it, he listed for each day the starting point and destination, the distance travelled, and sometimes stories or personal observations. Moreover, he included various documents relating to the journey on inserted notes. The original document is lost, but there still exists a seventeenth-century manuscript copy which is in a very poor state.³²² In large parts of the text, the ink has faded

which books he brought in. The library is now divided between Heidelberg and the Vatican libraries in Rome, while 29 books remain in the library in Neuburg. See Wolfgang Metzger, 'Reformation und Nachruhm – Die Bibliothek Ottheinrichs von der Pfalz', in: Bäumlner et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 234-237. The manuscripts from the collection are completely digitised at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/en/bpd/index.html>, accessed 10 May 2013.

317 Tobias Appl, Margit Berwing-Wittl, and Bernhard Lübbers, "'Nichts unversucht"- Philipp der Streitbare (1503-1548)', in: Bäumlner et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 311-321, p. 316.

318 Ferdinand Kramer, 'Fürstentum und Residenzstadt Neuburg (1505-1618)', in: Bäumlner et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 119-125, p. 122; F. L. Carsten, *Princes and Parliaments in Germany. From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford 1959), pp. 371-372.

319 Reinhard H. Seitz, 'Ottheinrich und die Reformation im Fürstentum Neuburg', in: Bäumlner et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 343-348; A. Weber and J. Heider, 'Die Reformation im Fürstentum Pfalz-Neuburg unter Pfalzgraf und Kurfürst Ottheinrich 1542-1559', *Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt* 110 (1957), pp. 5-95; M. Henker, 'Die Einführung der Reformation im Fürstentum Pfalz-Neuburg', in: Stadt Neuburg an der Donau (ed.), *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich: Politik, Kunst und Wissenschaft im 16. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg 2002), pp. 142-152.

320 Georg Poensgen (ed.), *Ottheinrich. Gedenkschrift zur vierhundertjährigen Wiederkehr seiner Kurfürstenzeit in der Pfalz (1556-1559)* (Heidelberg 1956), p. 312.

321 Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, p. 347.

322 MS Munich, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, Geheimes Hausarchiv, 301 (the parts relating to the Jerusalem pilgrimage cover ff. 1-50). It was first edited in Röhrich-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 349-401, and later by Folker Reichert, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*. See also Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, pp. 345-347 (no. 140).

so that the text can hardly be read, and the autograph apparently already lost the inserted leaves by the time it was copied, since the contents of these notes were not included in the text. Luckily though, the 1521 pilgrimage is one of the best documented late medieval pilgrimages to the Holy Land, along with Frederick the Wise's travels in 1493, and the 1480 pilgrimage of Fabri and Breydenbach.

There exist at least four more travel reports from 1521: two anonymous Swiss ones,³²³ and one from Christoph Blarer, a patrician from Constance who was instrumental in negotiating with the shipowner and translating the travel contract into German, but whose report oddly breaks off before reaching Palestine.³²⁴ Finally, there is an anonymous German manuscript which describes the pilgrimage of three German nobles, Engelhard III von Hirschhorn, Philipp V Ulner von Dieburg, and Bonaventura von Breidenbach.³²⁵ These men met Ottheinrich in Venice, where they decided to rent a ship together. From that moment on, the report resembles Ottheinrich's diary almost literally. It even contains the texts of the loose notes that were lost in the seventeenth-century copy of the diary. On these grounds, Folker Reichert attributed the text to the hand of Ulner von Dieburg, who was chamberlain and court judge for the Electoral Palatinate in Heidelberg and lived in Weinheim until his death in 1556. Ottheinrich, who lived in exile in Heidelberg and Weinheim, therefore resided in close proximity, and the two men may have had the chance to exchange memories of the pilgrimage on many occasions. The report of Ulner von Dieburg may thus be used to reconstruct the missing passages in Ottheinrich's report, which Reichert did in his 2005 edition.³²⁶

Ottheinrich left on 15 April 1521 in the company of his *Hofmeister* Reinhard von Neuneck, the nobles Jörg von Wemding, Bern von Hürnheim. Georg Wilhelm von Leonrod, a cook, barber, an Italian translator and some other servants. In Venice he was joined by the aforementioned Engelhard von Hirschhorn, Ulner von Dieburg and Bonaventure von Breidenbach, as well as Georg of Zweibrücken-Bitsch and their servants. Ottheinrich visited the city and the surrounding land, including, among others, Padua. In his account he vividly describes the processions that took place in Venice on Corpus Christi and Ascension Day, and he visited numerous churches and monasteries. His goals were not strictly religious, however: he visited the mineral spas at Monteortone and claimed to have seen a dead crocodile. He continued with a list of travel companions, loose leaves with advice for Jerusalem pilgrims and the translated contract with the shipowner. On the sea journey, the report loses its diary-character, and uses a more narrative style. Ottheinrich devoted ever more attention to the Ottoman conquests on the Greek mainland and the Balkan. He described the atrocities of the Turks, for example of Methoni, where they had slaughtered the entire population, 'including dogs and cats, as we were told', and destroyed the Franciscan church and built a castle in its place, with a tower made from Christian bones.³²⁷ The concern with the Turkish threat became more intense when the pilgrims visited Rhodes, where Ottheinrich was invited by the knights of Saint John. He narrated the battles against the Turks and the feats of war of the knights of St John.

After having left Rhodes, the company sailed to Jaffa. Upon arrival, Ottheinrich mentioned he pretended to be a servant of the shipowner, in order to conceal his true identity as a German prince, which could have brought him trouble. He described many holy places, among others Lydda (Lod, where they saw 'Sanct Jörgen kirch, do soll sein haubt liegen'³²⁸), but the entries are very concise here, especially when compared to the description of the sea voyage. Ottheinrich devoted no less than fourteen folios (in the Munich manuscript) to the sea voyage, which took a little more

323 Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, pp. 347-349 (nos. 141-142).

324 Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, pp. 18-19; P. Zinsmaier, 'Ein Beitrag zur Jerusalemfahrt des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 86 / NF 47 (1934), pp. 544-550.

325 MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Germ. Quart. 1126.

326 Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, pp. 15-19.

327 Ibid., p. 156: "Unndt ein thurn sicht mann vom meer ein wenig vonn der statt allein stehen, sagt man unndß, der dürk hette ine zur gedächtnuß uß ytel christenmenschen bayn gemacht."

328 Ibid., p. 174.

than a month, but only two folios to the stay in the Holy Land, where he stayed about three weeks. This supports the view that the travel report really was made as a diary during the journey. At sea, Ottheinrich must have had little to do, and could devote much time to writing in his journal, while in Jerusalem, the actual goal of his journey, time was short and he had a busy schedule. He did not even mention the ceremony of the accolade at the Holy Sepulchre, although he does mention staying overnight in the church on two occasions. He must have felt his story fell short here, and he thus included on loose leaves a copy of the list of holy places in and around Jerusalem with their respective indulgences which hung in the monastery of Mount Zion. Although he claims to have seen all these places, this is unlikely. The list contains places far away (e.g. Damascus), and he would have had too little time to travel that far.

Besides this list, Ottheinrich supplied some more personal experiences as well, of which it is important to keep two in mind when we turn to the pilgrimage tapestries. The first is the trip to the Jordan River, where the pilgrims were baptised, 'unndt ist ein pilgrim im Jordan ertruncken, aber nicht auß unserm schiff, [...] unndt auff dem weg zwischen dem Jordan unndt Jerusalem starb auch ein bilgeram auß dem andern schiff, unndt waren auch etlich kranck.'³²⁹ More danger awaited the pilgrims on their return to Jaffa. When they wanted to leave Ramla where they spent the night, the Turks withheld them and they were kept in captivity for three days. Why this was done, Ottheinrich does not tell us, but from the Swiss reports we learn that the patron tried to make a deal with the local Turkish ruler, which apparently failed, and the latter therefore locked up the pilgrims. Although the pilgrims were warned beforehand not to react to Islamic provocations, a French pilgrim hit a Turk in the face on the occasion, and had to pay a fine. When the pilgrims were released, the patron was kept in captivity, according to Ottheinrich, 'to scare him a bit,'³³⁰ but probably to settle his business with the ruler. In Jaffa, the pilgrims were thrown into the caves 'alß ob mir hundert gewesen weren.' They tried to run for the ship, but had to endure Turkish violence to get there. Reinhard von Neuneck apparently threw a rock in the face of a Turk, and only nearly escaped a fine.³³¹ Ottheinrich's description of this episode is very muddled, and he markedly leaves out the reason why the patron was kept by the Turks and the violence on the pilgrim's side. This was possibly done because he wrote the story on the spot and did not yet fully understand what had just happened (after all, he spoke no Italian, Arabic or Turkish). On the other hand, we might also suspect a conscious attempt to describe the events in a way that put the pilgrims' role in a more positive light. The way back to Germany is described in a similar way as the way to the Holy Land, with lots of attention paid to the Knights of Rhodes. Ottheinrich had been travelling for nine months, of which he spent only three weeks in the Holy Land.

Commemoration of the pilgrimage at the Neuburg court

Back in Europe, Ottheinrich started to devote his time to matters of state and the reconstruction and decoration of his newly acquired castle in the city of Neuburg an der Donau. No clear sign of commemoration of the pilgrimage is attested in the years after his return. The first time it is mentioned again, was when he raised taxes in 1532, legitimising it with the expenses of the pilgrimage, which would have cost about 40-60% of the yearly incomes of the land at the time.³³² It is remarkable that the only mentions we have of the pilgrimage in the years shortly after 1521 are these instances, where the pilgrimage was used to legitimise something. Ottheinrich does not seem to have made any attempts to commemorate the pilgrimage publicly, in the form of religious foundations or donations, as Frederick the Wise and other German princes had done. Rather, he kept the memory of the journey to himself, as the diary seems to be the only remembrance in the years

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 176.

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 204: "sie behielten unßern patron (alß er sagt) gewaltlich, ihn etwas abzuschrecken".

³³¹ Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 41.

³³² Ibid., p. 60.

immediately following the pilgrimage, and which was apparently not copied or published in any way. This is all the more strange since Ottheinrich was still a Catholic at the time, and made pilgrimages to other places more nearby, such as Altötting, in the 1520's.³³³

We can assume that Ottheinrich started to have Protestant sympathies somewhere in the first half of the 1530's. He stopped going on pilgrimages and was ever more mildly minded towards Protestants, whom he had condemned harshly before.³³⁴ It is therefore remarkable that the first signs of public commemoration of the pilgrimage show up in 1535: on the wedding of his Heidelberg uncle Frederick, he appeared in a partially gilded harness, which showed an engraved necklace with a Jerusalem cross around his neck. He also carried the golden spurs he acquired in Jerusalem during the knighting ceremony in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³³⁵ This harness has survived, and is now in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris (fig. 31).³³⁶ It is the youngest of a large collection of harnesses which Ottheinrich had commissioned, most of which still survive in various European collections. The harnesses were probably made for display purposes and for one of Ottheinrich's favourite pastimes, the tournament.³³⁷ As the count grew ever more corpulent, he was probably already too unfit around 1535 to participate in tournaments, something which is also shown by the size of the harness, which must therefore have been intended for display purposes only.³³⁸ One only wonders why the Jerusalem cross was engraved on the harness, and why Ottheinrich would not have displayed the real necklace instead, which he must have had from being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre. The neck piece of the harness, which seems to be removable, provides a clue for this. Even if Ottheinrich would have worn the necklace openly, in certain occasions the neck piece of the harness would have obscured the necklace. Apparently Ottheinrich must have found it so important to show his identity as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre that he had it engraved also on the neck piece.

A golden harness shows up a few years later on the two pilgrimage tapestries: once worn by Ottheinrich's prayer figure, and again by the figure of St George on the other tapestry. Given the date of creation of the tapestries and the absence of forms of commemoration of the pilgrimage from Ottheinrich's 'Catholic years', it is tempting to link the harness and especially the creation of the tapestries to the conversion of Ottheinrich to Protestantism. He probably converted in the same year as the tapestries were made, and officially introduced Protestantism in his lands in 1542.³³⁹



Fig. 31. Harness of Ottheinrich. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. no. G 137. The neck piece shows an engraved necklace with a Jerusalem cross.

333 Goren, 'Pilgrimage, tapestries, and cartography', p. 500; Weber and Heider, 'Die Reformation im Fürstentum Pfalz-Neuburg', pp. 7-55; Henker, 'Die Einführung der Reformation', pp. 142-145.

334 Seitz, 'Ottheinrich und die Reformation', p. 343. See also Weber and Heider, 'Die Reformation im Fürstentum Pfalz-Neuburg'; Henker, 'Die Einführung der Reformation'.

335 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 63.

336 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. no. G 137

337 Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, 'Ottheinrichs Harnische', in: Poensgen (ed.), *Ottheinrich*, pp. 105-117, pp. 114-115.

338 See Bäumler et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, p. 191, cat. 7.20; Freiherr von Reitzenstein, 'Ottheinrichs Harnische', p. 114.

339 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 60.

Haim Goren has opted for the possibility that these objects therefore served as a kind of 'defense mechanism' against those accusing the count of heresy.³⁴⁰ Reichert has drawn attention to the apparent more secular character of the objects, in comparison with the map of the Holy Land included in Bernhard von Breydenbach's travel report. For example, the crosses indicating the places where indulgences could be obtained were left out.³⁴¹ Moreover, as mentioned the tomb of Engelhard von Hirschhorn, who turned Protestant, does not display signs of the pilgrimage, whereas the other tombs of Ottheinrich's travel companions carry pilgrim's signs. Hence, according to Reichert, Protestantism means a denunciation of superstitious religious signs, which is something that shows on the tapestries as well.

Rather, Reichert argues that the 'Schlüssel zur Deutung der beiden Tapisserien'³⁴² is the figure of St George. By displaying him in the same harness and position (kneeling, hands folded in prayer, turned to the right) as Ottheinrich and moving the scene into the foreground, the count wanted to move away from the religious aspects of the pilgrimage, and to underscore the secular/noble values of the Holy Land travel: that of fighting the infidels in the tradition of Crusading thought. St George was after all the patron saint of the Crusaders. This also explains why the tapestry features the fights with the Turks on the way home so prominently. Ottheinrich wanted to display himself as a noble warrior fighting the infidels by having the tapestries made.³⁴³

Reichert makes some biased assumptions and wrong observations, however. He sees the connection between Protestantism and the rejection of pilgrimage too rigorously. The absence of symbols of pilgrimage, for example, on the tombstone of von Hirschhorn, can be coincidence. As we have seen, the display of pilgrims' marks on tombstones was by no means standard. Next to that, the prominent place attributed to St George on the tapestry was not per se consciously done: In other depictions of the Holy Land and on maps Lydda is located prominently in the foreground as well, simply because it was located between Jerusalem and the sea. Moreover, the other views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' depictions show no small crosses indicating the indulgences either. This is of course perfectly understandable, as the function of the views on the Holy Land differed greatly from an illustration in a published travel report, even though they might have influenced each other. That the tapestries had a 'secular character' is thus a too definite statement. It might therefore be wise to assess the differences between Ottheinrich's tapestries and the other views of the Holy Land, and to compare them with Ottheinrich's actual experiences as they come to the fore in his diary, to find out with which function the tapestries were conceived.

A closer look: The tapestries in relation to the travel report and the Gotha panel

As mentioned above, with regard to the depicted scenes (see Appendix C), two main differences between the tapestries and the Gotha and Powerscourt panel can be discerned: firstly the tapestries depict many more scenes and buildings, which might be attributed to their larger size. Secondly, the most remarkable differences come into play when we look at the contemporary scenes, i.e. the scenes depicting pilgrims and local rulers. In general the pilgrims moving around are depicted more vividly. We can see donkeys being flogged, and pilgrims led around by guides with turbans. The Islamic army which occupies the centre of the Gotha panel has no parallel on the Jaffa tapestry, at least not in a similar way. If we assume that the tapestries and the Gotha panel were both (at least partly) based on the Wittenberg triptych, and not on each other, then it becomes difficult to assess how many of these differences could be attributed to Ottheinrich's and/or Gerung's influence, as they could also be caused by the artist of the Gotha panel.

340 Goren, 'Pilgrimage, tapestries, and cartography', p. 500.

341 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 63.

342 Ibid.

343 Ibid.

Fig. 32. Jaffa tapestry (detail): Baptism of Christ, pilgrims drowning in the Jordan, and taken up by angels. Small image: Habakkuk taken up by an angel, detail of the Gotha panel.



However, two differences can indeed be suggested to be Ottheinrich's own adaptation. In the River Jordan drowning pilgrims are depicted next to a scene of the Baptism of Christ. These are absent on the Gotha panel. The scene immediately under it might make sense of it all, when we keep Ottheinrich's own pilgrimage experiences in mind. The scene namely depicts two (or three) figures, possibly pilgrims, taken to heaven by angels (fig. 32). It seems to be a rendering of the Gotha panel's depiction of the prophet Habakkuk taken up by an angel, but the reference to the prophet is absent here. Rather, we might suspect that here the two pilgrims are depicted who, according to Ottheinrich's diary, died on the way, one of whom drowned in the Jordan. It is unclear what else the pilgrims carried by angels would relate to if not this event. Even more telling is the scene at Jaffa on the beach. Where the Gotha panel displays the Islamic army camp with the caves of St Peter, the Jaffa tapestry depicts the fights of the pilgrims with the Turks on the way back to their ships (fig. 33). Clearly, therefore, the tapestries, especially the one representing the return from Jaffa, contain direct references to personal experiences of the journey.

As regards the kneeling figures of Ottheinrich and his travel companions in the foreground of the Jerusalem tapestry, the depiction has its own distinct character as well. Only the fact that the travel companions are also depicted is telling. Moreover, a significant choice has been made as to whom is depicted. Ottheinrich did not depict all his travel companions, but only the nobles, and not

only the knights he brought with him, but also those who joined their group in Venice, and who were in the entourage of Count Georg of Zweibrücken-Bitsch. The order of depiction is telling here: first comes of course Ottheinrich, then Count Georg, Ottheinrich's *Hofmeister* Reinhard von Neuneck, Georg von Wembding (Ottheinrich's company), and Engelhard von Hirschorn, the latter three called 'Ritter'. The sequence follows with Bert von Hirham and Wilhelm von Leonrod (both from Ottheinrich's company) and concludes with Philipp Ulner von Dieburg and Bonaventura von Breitenbach. The princes come first, then the knights, and subsequently the lesser nobles. This proves to be a strict hierarchy reflected in the ceremony of the accolade at the Holy Sepulchre and the order of the mentioned names in travel reports, notably those of Philipp Ulner von Dieburg,³⁴⁴ but also the name list at the end of the travel report of Frederick the Wise, which divides the various groups of pilgrims in a similar way.³⁴⁵



Fig. 33. Jaffa tapestry (detail): Pilgrims attacked by Turks near Jaffa.

Why did Ottheinrich find it necessary to depict these people on his tapestry? Naturally the Count must have had good memories of the impressive event and the people whom he had travelled with for nine months. The Jerusalem pilgrimage can therefore rightly be called a communal experience.³⁴⁶ However, it can be suspected that Ottheinrich wanted to demonstrate that he had an entourage worthy of a prince's court, and that he had friendly relations with other high nobles who could promote such a courtly life as well. A second odd feature of the prayer portraits are the Jerusalem crosses depicted above the heads of some pilgrims. Where these normally signify a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, this must not be the case here, since all depicted persons were probably knighted there, but not all portraits carry the crosses. As Goren argued, it is likely that these crosses represent the travel companions who had already died by 1541, as happens frequently on all kinds of other memorial objects.³⁴⁷ That in this case Jerusalem crosses are used is unusual, but not incomprehensible given the context.

An odd feature is that the group is turned to the right, that is not to the most important holy place, the Holy Sepulchre. As we have seen, this serves as a way of visually connecting the two tapestries, but also points out the similarity between Ottheinrich and St George, who are in exactly

344 Ibid., p. 52.

345 Spalatin, *Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß*, pp. 90-91.

346 Reichert, 'Teil I', p. 44.

347 Goren, 'Pilgrimage, tapestries, and cartography', pp. 499-500.

the same position (fig. 34). This does indeed seem to be an important feature, and it has some parallels in other works from the time. The already mentioned Paumgartner altar (fig. 30) depicted Stefan Paumgartner as St George. Some works of Lucas Cranach show similar portrait subjects as saints, also often St George.³⁴⁸ It was therefore not uncommon for donors to have themselves portrayed as saints in early sixteenth-century German painting, and we should see the figure of Ottheinrich as St George in this light. The reason why Ottheinrich would adapt the theme of the Wittenberg triptych by adding the hardships of the journey and his self-representation as St George, might become even clearer when we regard these tapestries as part of a greater scheme of tapestries as visual propaganda.



Fig. 34. Kneeling figure of Ottheinrich (Jerusalem tapestry, left) and the Martyrdom of St George (Jaffa tapestry, right).

Tapestry production at the Neuburg court

Of all visual media to be deployed at a noble's court for external display, the production of tapestries may have been most prestigious. The immense expenses of creating such objects and the large format they could have, and possibly also the benefit that they could be rolled up and transported relatively easily, so that nobles could display them in all of their estates, made them the pre-eminent medium to display the splendour of a court. Due to their fragile character, many tapestries have been lost, which makes it easy to underestimate their importance in courtly culture, but they were valued more than painted surfaces for display purposes.³⁴⁹ Especially in the later Middle Ages and Early Modern times, tapestry production flourished, and many courts ordered large quantities of tapestries. Mainly in Northern France, Flanders and Brabant, cities such as Arras were known for their outstanding work, and became centres of the tapestry production. This happened also under the influence of the Burgundian, and later Habsburg, court, which ordered many and large specimens. At other courts in Europe too, notably in England, France, and Germany, many of the ordered works

348 Koeplin and Falk, *Lucas Cranach*, pp. 50-51.

349 Cf. Wolfgang Brassat, *Tapissereien und Politik: Funktionen, Kontexte und Rezeption eines repräsentatives Mediums* (Berlin 1992); Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry: From the 15th to the 18th Century* (Tielt 1999); Thomas Patrick Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York 2002).

were made in Flanders and Brabant as well. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, at least until the abdication of Charles V, Brussels was especially known as *the* production centre for tapestries.³⁵⁰

As tapestries were used as a paramount medium to display the virtues of the court for which they were made, a wide range of different themes and motifs was adopted in depicting the qualities of the courts and their ruling families. Allegorical and mythological themes were used to depict the virtues of the noble families, and religious motifs to reflect their devout behaviour and their role as protectors of the right faith. Not uncommon were genealogical themes, with tapestries depicting the lineage of a certain noble or the entire pedigrees of families. An example of such a tapestry is the so-called Croy-tapestry, owned by the University of Greifswald, from 1554. It measures 4 by 7 metres, and depicts the family of Philipp I of Pomerania, who ordered the tapestry, and the family of his wife, the ducal family of the electorate of Saxony. Above all family member, Martin Luther is displayed in a pulpit, indicating the right faith both families had chosen to follow. The tapestry was characteristically made by a Netherlandish worker at the Pomeranian court.³⁵¹ In addition to these themes, scenes from noble activities were often depicted (e.g. hunting and tournaments), or the valorous behaviour of nobles in battle. Famous is the tapestry series depicting the battle of Tunis in 1534, made for Charles V. Although the tapestries were not made until the 1540's, their designer, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, had joined the emperor on his campaign to make the designs for the tapestries. With them, Charles could boast his deeds in battle and his role in defending the Christian faith against the infidel.³⁵² As this example already shows, it was not uncommon to order entire series of tapestries, notable examples also including the allegorical series with the unicorn as main theme, or the Apocalypse cycle of Angers.

Ottheinrich followed in this respect the taste of his fellow nobles. He would probably have experienced the splendour of the tapestries that decorated the walls of the Spanish court during his stay there. Moreover, his predecessors in the Rhineland Palatinate had already collected an impressive number of tapestries at the court in Heidelberg. Ottheinrich must have wanted something similar for himself as well in his new residence in Neuburg an der Donau. He started to order tapestries from 1531 onwards, mainly from Brussels. This endeavour should be seen in the light of Ottheinrich's attempts to enhance the splendour of his Neuburg court, which he started to reconstruct and enlarge in the new Renaissance style around the same time. In order to decorate his castle, Ottheinrich collected an astonishingly large number of tapestries, to which he continued to add after he was declared bankrupt and had to go into exile. Ottheinrich was apparently very attached to these objects, since in spite of his miserable financial and political situation, he took many pains to rescue his beloved tapestries, and managed to bring some of them to Heidelberg before the Neuburg castle was plundered by the imperial troops.³⁵³ Inventories from the later sixteenth century of the collections of Heidelberg and Neuburg castles, which have been analysed by Annelise Stemper, produce a stunning number of at least 49 tapestries which were surely acquired by Ottheinrich, and some 45 more of which this can be expected. Of this huge number, at least 29 tapestries were commissioned by Ottheinrich himself, the rest probably bought on the open art market.³⁵⁴

It is not entirely clear which of these tapestries were ordered and bought before Ottheinrich's bankruptcy in 1544, when he still resided in the Neuburg castle, but one group of 15 tapestries (most of them still in existence) must have been made for the Neuburg residence and particularly concerns us here. They seem to have been part of a grand decorative programme of tapestries intended for display at the castle. These have a distinctive border design in common, consisting of floral motifs. Especially the nine tapestries that were produced by Christian de Roy at the workshop that Ottheinrich had him set up in Neuburg between 1539-1544, show a very similar border,

350 Stemper, 'die Wandteppiche', p. 142.

351 Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, pp. 272-274.

352 Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, pp. 135-136; Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, p. 268.

353 Hubach, '...mit golt, silber und seyd', p. 175.

354 Stemper, 'Die Wandteppiche', pp. 144-146.

depicting putti in the bottom corners, and medals with his initials and the abbreviation of his motto 'Mit der Zeit'. The tapestries later ordered in Heidelberg or bought elsewhere lack these distinct borders, which strengthens the view of these tapestries forming part of a grander scheme.³⁵⁵ The 15 tapestries are as follows:³⁵⁶

1-3. Allegories on good fortune, made in 1531 in Brussels or Tournai. Possibly there were three tapestries, two of which still exist, with the central tapestry the largest, depicting Prudentia under a baldachin in a landscape filled with other personifications of virtues.³⁵⁷ The left, smaller tapestry, depicted Fortuna and scenes of prosperity.³⁵⁸ A lost right tapestry probably depicted the virtuous man. This can be suspected as the tapestries seem to be smaller-sized versions for the free market of the 'Los Honores'-trilogy made by Pieter van Aelst for the emperor Charles V, to which Ottheinrich had added his coat of arms.³⁵⁹

4-6. Portraits of Ottheinrich, his wife Susanna, and his brother Philip. These were the first to be custom-made for Ottheinrich instead of adapted free-market tapestries. They were probably made by Jan de Roy, the father of Christian, in Brussels in 1535, and designed by Peter Gertner.³⁶⁰

7-10. Genealogical tapestries, 1540, the first tapestries produced by Christian de Roy in Neuburg. These depict the genealogies of Ottheinrich's maternal and paternal lines.³⁶¹

11-12. The tapestries with the view on the Holy Land.

13-14. Two tapestries with the siege of Vienna by the Turks (1529), in which battle Ottheinrich's brother Philip had played a large part as commander of a contingency which drove the Ottomans out of the city after they had breached the city walls (a feat which earned him the nickname 'Bellicosus', or 'der Streitbare'³⁶²). These tapestries are only known from descriptions in archival sources, which mention that the first tapestry displayed the siege of Vienna itself, the city almost along the entire length in the background, in front the fighting soldiers with Philip among them. On the second tapestry, the plundering of the suburbs of Vienna was depicted, with among other horrors a church being robbed by Turkish soldiers, carrying monstrances and chalices, thereby trampling the hosts which fell on the floor.³⁶³

15. The siege of Weißenburg by Elector Ludwig V during the German Peasants' War (1525), made in 1544. Ottheinrich had played a part in this battle, but his role remained limited to commanding the rearguard. However, Ottheinrich could boast no other valiant deeds in battle. Therefore, he must have chosen to depict this battle and to present his own role in a slightly more positive light. Ottheinrich was depicted on horseback, centrally in the battle, as if he was the commander of the artillery, whereas Elector Ludwig and the main commanders of the army were depicted out of the centre on the left, more as spectators.³⁶⁴ This tapestry would be the last one made by Christian de Roy in Neuburg, as his name does not show up again in the records after Ottheinrich's bankruptcy.³⁶⁵

355 Hubach, '...mit golt, silber und seydt', p. 177.

356 Overview based on Hubach, '...mit golt, silber und seydt' and Stemper, 'die Wandteppiche'.

357 Heidelberg, Kurpfälzisches Museum

358 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

359 Bäumler et al. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 185-187, cat. 7.16. See also Guy Delmarcel, *Los Honores: Vlaamse wandtapijten voor keizer Karel V* (Antwerp 2000), pp. 38-42.

360 All still in Schloss Neuburg, cf. Hubach, '...mit golt, silber und seydt', p. 175.

361 Three of them in Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, the other only as a fragment in Schloss Schönau bei Eggenfelden.

362 Appl, Berwing-Wittl, and Lübbers, 'Nichts unversucht', p. 312.

363 Neuburg historisches Verein, Inventar 1568, 1632: "Item zwey stuckh die Belagerung Wien, darinn Hertzog Philipps, Hertzog Ottheinrichs brueder Oberst gewesen anno 1529"; See Hubach, '...mit golt, silber und seydt', p. 176, after Archiv des historischen Vereins Neuburg, Akten 26/05, section 5.

364 Berchtesgaden, Schlossmuseum; discovered by Friedrich H. Hofmann, 'Ein wiedergefundener Ottheinrich-Teppich', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst VI* (1911), pp. 73-82.

365 Hubach, '...mit golt, silber und seydt', p. 177.

Interpretation

Ottheinrich's tapestries are good examples of the importance that was attached to the pilgrimage in the culture of German high nobles, and of the way such an event could be used to present oneself politically and socially. Ottheinrich made at first no attempts to commemorate his pilgrimage publicly, but must have gradually come to realise that presenting himself as a Jerusalem pilgrim to other German princes might suit his purposes. I think the production of these tapestries should therefore firstly be seen in the context of the continuous attempts Ottheinrich made to obtain a highly esteemed place for himself between the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, despite his small and relatively insignificant territory, a goal which he pursued until it would eventually run him bankrupt. Given the social significance attached to the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the world of the nobility, which was still heavily influenced by knightly and Crusade ideals, Ottheinrich decided to actively promote himself as a pilgrim, of which the harness can be considered a finger exercise. After he had seen (one or some of) the other views of the Holy Land, possibly in 1536, Ottheinrich must have seen its potential as a way of representing himself in this way, and decided to combine it with the splendid medium of wall hangings.

Ottheinrich's conversion to Protestantism may certainly have played a role in this, but it should not be overrated. It is more important that the tapestries were part of a grander ensemble of tapestries, which showed all kinds of virtues with which a nobleman could identify. If the pilgrimage tapestries can be seen as an attempt to present himself as a good Christian ruler, in spite of his Protestantism, than the whole series can be seen as such, even if they did not show religious themes. They showed Ottheinrich's long lineage in an important noble house, allegorical depictions of noble virtues, and valiant behaviour in battle. Especially the last sets of tapestries are illustrative in this, and I think that the pilgrimage tapestries should be seen as Ottheinrich's counterpart of the valiant deeds of his brother Philipp in the defence of Vienna. Ottheinrich could boast no great deeds in battle, but when presented rightly the pilgrimage could serve as something similar, especially when it displayed the hardships Ottheinrich had had to endure, and his fights against the Turkish enemy. In this respect, the figure of Ottheinrich as St George can indeed be regarded as the key to understanding the image: by presenting himself as the ideal Christian knight, whose image was intricately connected to all kinds of battle against the Turks, he presented himself as a defender of the faith and a valiant knight, irrespective of his Protestant sympathies. Perhaps Ottheinrich was unsure his contemporaries would fully understand this message, and added another feat of arms, depicted slightly more positively than in reality, in his role at the battle of Weißenburg. Or, as Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein remarked when discussing Ottheinrich's harness: "Ottheinrich war kein Kriegsmann, aber von einem sehr regen Interesse für alles Kriegswesen. Seine Tagebücher, sonderlich das der Pilgerreise ins Hl. Land, offenbaren es. [...] Ottheinrich war kein Kriegsmann, aber er war ein Ritter [...]. Und um der, wenn schon romantisch gewordenen Ritterschaft willen belud er sich mit der stählernen Hülle, die zum Begriff des Ritter gehörte, damals schön, wie sie heute noch zu ihm gehört."³⁶⁶ To this I would like to add that Ottheinrich was no warrior, but he identified with the Crusading ideals of knighthood, and for this he presented himself as the good Christian knight who had stood his ground against the Turks, as had his brother.

³⁶⁶ Freiherr von Reitzenstein, 'Ottheinrichs Harnische', p. 115.

CONCLUSION

The Jerusalem pilgrimage, which enjoyed a considerable popularity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, spurred a great variety of forms of commemoration by returned pilgrims in Europe. In the Netherlands, a characteristic tradition of commemoration developed, which was intricately related to the existence of confraternities of Jerusalem pilgrims, which organised the commemoration of the pilgrimage as a communal experience. In the wake of these confraternities, a tradition came into being in the early sixteenth century of having oneself portrayed as a Jerusalem pilgrim by carrying the characteristic sign of the entry of Christ in Jerusalem, and of the derived Palm Sunday processions: the palm branch. These appear on group portraits made especially of members of the confraternity, but also on various other kinds of memorials which commemorate the pilgrimage. Moreover, in many cases the commemoration of the pilgrimage was connected with the commemoration of the dead, which is a quite logical combination, as both phenomena were concerned with the absolution of sin and the salvation of the soul from purgatory in the afterlife. Signs of the pilgrimage showed up on or near tombs, or memorials depicted the deaths of pilgrims, and expressed the hope that the pilgrimage would benefit them in the hereafter.

In Germany, however, the confraternities of Jerusalem pilgrims seem to have been absent, and consequently the commemoration of the pilgrimage had a different character, although certain elements overlap with the Dutch and Flemish situation. This goes especially for German nobles, who still identified themselves strongly with a chivalric lifestyle and the connected ongoing Crusade appeal, which remained relevant in the face of growing fear of the Ottoman advance in Central Europe, even in Protestant thought. The pilgrimage could serve as a feat with which a noble could strengthen his identity. At the princely courts, and also at those of lesser nobles, the Jerusalem pilgrimage was therefore commemorated in many ways, although many elements of the commemoration appear variously. The German nobleman who wanted to commemorate his pilgrimage could thus choose from a multitude of possibilities the ones which best suited his intentions.

The writing of travel reports was a popular way of expressing one's identity as a Jerusalem pilgrim in Germany. In the case of a prince, a report was often made by one of the servants of the prince who accompanied him on the pilgrimage, on his order. Not unusual were religious foundations in remembrance of the journey, such as chapels of the Holy Sepulchre. In the late fifteenth century, moreover, ever more attention was being paid to these chapels or other foundations to make them as exact replicas as possible of their exemplar in Jerusalem, often involving a story about the pilgrim measuring the holy places in order to create a copy at home. Regularly, these foundations were also equipped with relics brought back from the Holy Land, and indulgences were acquired for the ensemble. Finally, painted panels or other visual references to the pilgrimage could be placed in a space with much symbolic value for a pilgrim, of which the views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits discussed in this thesis form a part.

These views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits present a unique combination of a view of the Holy Land and the actual depiction of pilgrims, which is not to be found in this manner anywhere else and thus seems to have been a distinct theme within the whole of commemorative practices between 1493 and 1541. The views represent both the religious goals of the pilgrimage, namely the visit to the holy places in and around Jerusalem, as well as the contemporary reality of the pilgrims, as they are depicted moving around in the landscape, enduring hardships, and praying devoutly. In these respects, they clearly reflect the themes which were current in many travel reports. The landscapes with religious scenes remind us of the lists of holy places often included in reports, it is shown how the pilgrims travelled and where they stayed, and attention is paid to the atrocities committed by Muslims. The tapestries of Ottheinrich in particular contain references to actually experienced events, such as the drowning of pilgrims in the Jordan and the attacks of the

Turks, but it also reflects the strict social hierarchy which characterised the princely pilgrimages in the way the depicted pilgrims' portraits are ordered. In short, these objects serve not only as devotional overviews of holy places, but also as the visual equivalent of written travel reports, as they commemorate pilgrimages actually made.

However, the theme was relatively short-lived and not very influential. I have identified only five objects with such a view of the Holy Land in this paper, of which one is uncertain and only two have survived the devastating workings of time, but which are clearly related to each other. Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony probably took the initiative to create one of such objects, a triptych with a view of the Holy Land with the holy places, some elements from the actual travelling experience of pilgrims, and his own portrait with a text indicating the date of his pilgrimage, 1493. It seems to have been based partly on contemporary depictions of the Holy Land included in travel reports such as that of Bernhard von Breydenbach, and influences from related themes current in Flemish painting are also likely. Moreover, Frederick deliberately took two artists with him on pilgrimage, which may have provided visual records based on their own observations. The triptych was part of a grander programme of commemoration of the pilgrimage in the residences of Wittenberg and Torgau, which included chapels and models of the Holy Sepulchre, and the collection of relics with attached indulgences.

Where Frederick had the Wittenberg triptych probably made with religious intentions, to secure the salvation of his soul while at the same time representing himself as a devout prince, he had created a theme which had resonance within German noble circles, which caused the work to be appropriated by others who had their own version made. The ways in which the view of the Holy Land were appropriated, had much to do with the intentions the founders had in making their objects, besides commemorating the pilgrimage itself. The *memoria*-function, the commemoration of the dead, is apparent as some views of the Holy Land, such as those of both Frederick of Saxony and Friedrich of Liegnitz, which were placed near the commissioner's respective graves, but for the other objects, this aspect is not readily discernible, and they seem to be directed more to the contemporary public.

For the objects commissioned by the Ketzels family and Ottheinrich, the reason to have these objects made had probably more to do with their socio-political status. As indicated, for German princes and high nobles, the pilgrimage served as a kind of attribute of their social status, as it fitted neatly into their identification with chivalric ideals and Crusading appeals. When necessary, skirmishes with the Islamic other, which occurred regularly on pilgrimages due to mutual distrust of one another by both Christians and Muslims, could be slightly distorted to make the pilgrim look more like a brave knight and defender of the faith. Commemoration of the pilgrimage in this way confirmed their status as important high nobles within the Empire. For lesser nobles on the other hand, or those wanting to become one, the commemoration of the pilgrimage could be deployed as a possible social lever. Actively presenting oneself as a Jerusalem pilgrim could possibly make one rise in the social esteem of one's contemporaries.

The Ketzels family from Nuremberg, as merchants from Augsburg newcomers in the booming city in the beginning of the fourteenth century, represent almost the perfect prototype of the use of the pilgrimage as a social lever. In trying to advance themselves within the city's politics, they deployed the family tradition the Jerusalem pilgrimage had become in reaching their goals. The Ketzels made most pilgrimages of all important Nuremberg families, and founded the most memorials of these pilgrimages, all of them showing their acquired accolades and the good connections they had to various princely travel companions. As part of this commemorative campaign, no less than two views of the Holy Land were produced. The first was a copy from Frederick the Wise's triptych, with the Ketzels pilgrims on the back, and the second a view of the Holy Land closely related to the one of Frederick, but this time with the praying Ketzels placed in the landscape. Moreover, they obtained a grant of arms from the Elector of Saxony. By also adopting Frederick's pilgrimage panel as a mimicry, the Ketzels (or more specifically: Wolf and

Georg) may have hoped to exploit this connection, while at the same time commemorating the accomplishments of their forebears. That they chose to use the Jerusalem pilgrimage for this goal, had everything to do with the great importance it carried in the lifestyle of the Nuremberg patrician and *ehrbare* families.

Ottheinrich of the Palatinate-Neuburg, on the other hand, deployed the theme of the view of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits in a whole new way. His reign was characterised by attempts to establish his new small territory as an important one among the great German principalities. Therefore he adapted the view of the Holy Land as a part of a grand programme of decoration of his palace with wall tapestries. Almost half a century after Frederick the Wise had initiated the creation of his view of the Holy Land, and twenty years after his own pilgrimage, Ottheinrich included a depiction of his pilgrimage between other splendid depictions of his lineage, allegories on noble behaviour, and feats of arms. Because he could boast no great deeds in battle, he depicted the hardships he had to endure and his fights with the Turks on the pilgrimage prominently on the tapestries. Moreover, due to the context of the tapestry programme, in which also the role of his brother in the siege of Vienna was depicted, and the representation of himself as St George, the tapestries referred to the valorous battle against the infidel, and presented Ottheinrich as a defender of the faith. Such an identification might have suited his purposes even more because he turned Protestant at the same time, which may have disqualified him as a good ruler in the eyes of some of his contemporaries. In the face of the ever expanding Ottoman Empire in Europe, which also received a lot of attention in Protestant circles, by emphasizing his own struggles with the Turks, Ottheinrich must have hoped to present himself as a true Christian knight, regardless his religious affiliations.

Although Protestantism does not have to imply a rejection of the commemoration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, the general rejection of pilgrimage as a superstitious activity must have meant the end for further propagation of new views of the Holy Land. The panel which Frederick the Wise had made had the possibility to grow out to a real commemorative tradition, but it never really did so. Yet, the objects that were created reflect a wide range of different social, religious and political motives and ideas, which makes the views of the Holy Land with pilgrims' portraits fascinating testimonies of the use and appropriation of commemorative practices for various purposes.

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APPENDIX A: OVERVIEW OF PORTRAITS OF JERUSALEM PILGRIMS

Based on the collection of portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims from the website *Representations of Jerusalem Pilgrims* [<http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem>; accessed 8 May 2013]. The columns named 'Attributes' list the signs by which the portrayed persons can be identified as (Jerusalem) pilgrims. Not included are other attributes which do not relate to a made pilgrimage, or texts identifying the sitters as pilgrims. In the cases where no attributes are mentioned, the texts on the objects are the sole means of identifying the sitter as a pilgrim. Not included are portraits of persons we know to have been pilgrims, but are not identifiable as such based on the objects alone.

Numbered columns:

1: Number of depicted pilgrims

2: Palm branch

3-6: Jerusalem cross (3: displayed on necklace, 4: on clothing, 5: on coat of arms, 6: elsewhere)

7-11: Signs of other pilgrimages or accolades (7: wheel and sword of St Catherine, 8: Santiago (Scallops), 9: Rome (Keys), 10: Cyprus (Sword Order),

11: Other signs)

Place of origin	Depicted scene and/or pilgrims	Date ¹	Type	1	Attributes															
					2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11						
<i>Northern Netherlands</i>																				
Alkmaar	Pieter Paling and Josina van Foreest	1540-1541	double portrait	1	x															
Amsterdam	Four pilgrims and the Crypt of the Nativity in Bethlehem	c.1520	confraternity portrait/ devotional panel	4	x			x												
Amsterdam	11 pilgrims	1564	confraternity portrait/ devotional panel	11	x			x												
Amsterdam	Guy Patijn	c.1640	single portrait	1		x														
Amsterdam	Adoration of the shepherds and the Boelen family	1512	memorial panel	1	x															
Delft	Dirk van Beesd van Heemskerk	c.1500-1550	single portrait	1	x															x
Delft	Virgin and Child with St Anne with the Van Heemskerk-Van Diemen family	c.1509-1520	memorial panel	1	x															x

¹ Date of creation of the original. Many portraits are only known from later copies.

Den Bosch	Wouter van Middegael	c.1550	single portrait	1	x		x	x	x	x
Dordrecht	Willem van Beveren and Maria van Bakel	>1485	double portrait	1	x					
Dordrecht	Rest on the flight to Egypt with the Stoop-Van Rhoon family	1523-1537	memorial panel	1	x					
Egmond	Jan van Egmond and Magdalena van Waardenborg	>c.1510	double portrait	1	x					
Haarlem	12 pilgrims	c.1528	confraternity portrait	12	x	x				x
Haarlem	Counts of Holland	1486-1491	succession series	6						
Haarlem	Gerrit Stuyver	1563	single portrait	1	x		x			
Haarlem	Van Soutelande-Van der Graft family	c.1510-1520	memorial panel	1	x					
Kampen	Eilard Cromme	c.1545	single portrait	1	x					
Leiden	16 pilgrims (text panel)	After 1505	confraternity portrait	16						
Leiden	Virgin and Child with the Van Zwieten family	1552	memorial panel/ succession series	1	x					
Leiden	Van der Does-Van Poelgeest family	c.1519-1520	memorial panel	1	x					
Leiden	Miracle of the loaves and fishes with the Paedts-Van Raaphorst family	c.1520	memorial panel	1	x					
Leiden	Resurrection of Christ with the Van Boshuizen-Coppier family	16th c.	memorial panel ²	1	x					
Leiden	Raising of Lazarus with an unknown family	c.1530-1535	memorial panel	1	x					
Naaldwijk	Van Naaldwijk family	c.1500-1506	succession series	1	x					
Utrecht	12 (formerly 13? ³) pilgrims	c.1526	confraternity portrait	12	x	x	x			
Utrecht	12 pilgrims	c.1526	confraternity portrait	12	x	x	x			
Utrecht	9 pilgrims	1535-1536	confraternity portrait	9	x	x				
Utrecht	5 pilgrims	1541-1544	confraternity portrait	5	x	x	x			
Utrecht	2 pilgrims	1544	confraternity portrait	2	x			x		
Utrecht	Land commanders of the Teutonic Order	c.1576-1580	succession series	1	x					

² Possibly a copy of a former stained glass window.

³ At the end of the row of portraits a small empty space suggests a former thirteenth portrait.

Utrecht	Jan van Ede	1525?	single portrait	1		x			
Utrecht	Hendrik van Leeuwen	>1560	single portrait	1	x	x			
Utrecht	Jan Hendriksz. Spijker/De Veer	>1564	single portrait	1	x	x			
Utrecht	Willem Willemsz	c.1500-1550	single portrait	1	x	x		x	
Utrecht	Steven de Witt	1604-1610	single portrait	1	x			x	x
Utrecht	Willem Verduyst and Agatha van Vianen	>1550	double portrait	2					
Utrecht	Resurrection of Christ with the Taets van Amerongen family	1496-1552	memorial panel	1	x				
Wijk bij Duurstede	Gijsbert Robbertsz	>1541-1544	single portrait	1	x	x			x
Zutphen	Crucifixion with the Keye family	1500-1540	memorial sculpture	2					
Unknown	Jacob Adriaansz. Van Domburg	1551	single portrait	1	x	x			
Unknown	Jacob Adriaansz. Van Domburg ⁴	1551	single portrait	1	x	x			
Unknown	Portrait of an unknown pilgrim	1530-1540	single portrait	1	x				
Unknown	Portrait of an unknown pilgrim	1501-1515	single portrait	1	x		x		
Unknown	Portrait of an unknown pilgrim	1562	single portrait	1	x			x	x
Unknown	Portrait of an unknown pilgrim	c.1535	single portrait	1	x	x			
Unknown	Portrait of an unknown pilgrim	c.1550-1600	single portrait	1	x		x	x	x
<i>Southern Netherlands</i>									
Antwerp	The congregation of the Alexians in Antwerp	1621?	group portrait	1	x			x	
Antwerp	Jan vander Linden	17th c.	single portrait	1	x			x	
Antwerp	Jan vander Linden	>1633	single portrait	1	x	x			
Antwerp	Nicolaas de Respaigne	c.1616-1618	single portrait	1	x				
Bruges	Ruben Perduyn	>1520	single portrait	1	x	x			
Bruges	Unknown pilgrim	<1516	book of hours	2	x		x		

⁴ There are two versions of this portrait. It is unclear which one is the original and which is the copy.

Cambrai	Jean Godin and Jeanne de Salembiens	>1465	double portrait	1	x	x			
Cambrai	Resurrection of Christ and view on Jerusalem with the Godin family	>1465	view on the Holy Land	2	x	x			
Mechelen	Jan Ysewijns	>1565	single portrait	1	x				
Valenciennes	Jacques Godin and Catharine le Comte	c.1500	double portrait	1	x	x			
Unknown	Unknown pilgrim	c.1650	single portrait	1	x				
Unknown	Unknown pilgrim	1562	single portrait	1	x		x	x	
Unknown	Crucifixion with unknown prayer portraits	17th c.	memorial panel	1	x				
Germany									
Cologne	Wolter Rotkirchen	1478	single portrait	1					
Liegnitz	Pilgrimage panel with Friedrich II of Liegnitz-Brieg	1510	view on the Holy Land	1					
Neuburg an der Donau	View on the Holy Land and Ottheinrich and his fellow travellers	1541	view on the Holy Land	9			x		
Nuremberg	Ketzel family	16th c.	succession series	8			x	x	x x
Nuremberg	View on the Holy Land with the Ketzel family	>1503	view on the Holy Land	8					
Wittenberg	View on the Holy Land with Frederick the Wise of Saxony	>1493	view on the Holy Land	1					
Unknown (Wittenberg or Nuremberg)	View on the Holy Land with Frederick the Wise of Saxony	>1493	view on the Holy Land	9 ⁵			x	x	x x
Unknown (Jülich-Berg)	Arnold von Harff	1496-1498	travel report	1					
Unknown	Unknown pilgrim	1564	single portrait	1			x		

5 1 on the front of the panel (Frederick the Wise of Saxony), and 8 on the back (the Ketzel family). Indicated attributes only relate to the Ketzel family on the back.

Switzerland						
Bern	Dance of death	1515-1519	dance of death	4		x x
Bern	Heinrich Wölfli ⁶	1521/1649?	travel report	1		
Schaffhausen	Hans Stokar	1556	single portrait	1	x	x x
Zurich	Peter Füssli	>1523	single portrait	1		x x x
South Tyrol						
Schluderns (Churburg)	Jacob VII Trapp	>1560	single portrait	1		x

⁶ It is likely that the illustrations which depict Wölfli were added later, in the seventeenth century, and were not included in the lost original.

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEXTS ON THE VIEWS OF THE HOLY LAND WITH PILGRIMS' DEPICTIONS

Gotha panel (front)



1: galileysch land	kinderlein	30: syon	45: ein heydenisch her
2: nazareth	16: betlehem	31: templ Salomonis	46: araben
3: maria grab	17: heymsuchung marie	32: gulden pfort	47: gaffa
4: ölperg	18: david	33: symon leprosi	48: ROMA
5: hymelfarrt	19: golyath	34: cayphas	49: S. georg
6: bethania	20: 12. potenklufft	35: S. steffan	50: Davils(sic) schloß
7: Sylo	21: beth semini	36: heylig grab	51: Emaus
8: todt mer	22: Judas	37: calpharie	52: Friderich von gottes gnaden / Herzog zu Sachsen vnd churfurst / Zug zum heyligen grab 1493
9: perg synay	23: gottesacker	38: Annas haus	53: S. petrus stein
10: alexandria	24: tal Josephat	39: spital der pilgram	
11: wustung	25: cedro	40: herodes	
12: Jhricho	26: yzayar	41: der Juden schul	
13: Jordan	27: die wel	42: pylatus	
14: abacuk	28: maria prun	43: Reichman	
15: vnschuldigen	29: bethphage	44: scheidung marie	

Back (from left to right)

- 1: Heinrich ketzel zug zum heiligen grab vnd auf den pergk Synay katherine grab 1389
- 2: Friderich von gottes [gn]adenn, Margraue zu B'annndenburg vnnd churfurst, zug zum hey-ligen grab. Vnnd ich Jorg ketzel mit Ime. 1453
- 3: [Ul]rich ketzel f[u]r auf [de]m wasser aus dem nyderlan[n]d zum heyli[ge]n grab. 1462
- 4: Ott von gote gnaden Her[zog von Ba]yrn zug z[um he]iligen grab [vn]d [ich] martin Ketzelt mit Ime. 1468. // Albrecht von gots gnaden hertzog von Sachsen zug zum heiligen grab vnd ich martin ketzelt mit [Ime] [...]
- 5: Friderich von gottes gnaden hertzog von Sachse[n] vnnd churfurst *etcetera* vnnd hertzog cristoff von Bayrn zugen zum heyligen grab. Vnd ich wolff ketzelt mit Inen. 1493.
- 6: Heynrich von gots gnadenn Hertzog von Sachsen zug zum heyligen grab vnd ich Jorg ketzelt mit Ime. 1498.
- 7: Heinrich von gottes gnade[n]n hertzog von Sachsen zug zum Heiligen grab. Vnnd ich Se[bo]lt ketzelt mit Ime. 1498.
- 8: Graff herman von hennenberg zug zum heyligen grabe vnd ich michel Ketzelt mit Ime. 1503.

The Jerusalem tapestry



- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1: Galilea | 18: daß tal [iosa]phat | 36: iuden schul | 52: Ber von hirnheim |
| 2: nasaret | 19: iede[?]a[?] | 37: S iacoben hauß | 53: Engelhart von hirsch
horn Ritter |
| 3: der olberg | 20: betfage | 38: marie schiedung | 54: Georg von wending
Riter |
| 4: himmelfart | 21: [?] evangelist | 39: S iohans altar | 55: Reinhart von
neuneck Ritter |
| 5: doet[...]cristus
scheinung[...]nach seiner
[...] | 22: paternoster | 40: mathia apostel | 56: Georg graf zu
zweien bruck herr zu
bitsch |
| 6: das palmzweig | 23: Absolons grab | 41: Emaus | 57: Ser durchlechtig
hochgeborn furst und
her her otthainrich
pfalczgraf bey rein
herzog in nidern und
obern bairn zoge uber
mer gem ierusalem zum
heiligen grab im iar nach
der gepurt cristi 1521. |
| 7: pelagia grab | 24: zacharias grab | 42: david schlos | |
| 8: Betania | 25: maria grab 52 koffet
[?] | 43: reichen [mans] haus | |
| 9: Siloe | 26: stefan | 44: lazarus | |
| 10: dot mer | 27: spital | 45: ierusalem | |
| 11: perg oreb | 28: heilig grab | 46: Simon | |
| 12: Egiptenn | 29: Calvarie | 47: herodes haus | |
| 13: S peter wainung | 30: maria geborn | 48: Bilatus haus | |
| 14: maria prun | 31: Solomons haus | 49: Bonaventura von
Braitenbach | |
| 15: perg sion | 32: Salomons tempel | 50: Philips ulner von
Dieburg | |
| 16: cristus geprediget | 33: maria tempel | 51: wilhelm Georg von
Leonrot | |
| 17: annas haus | 34: gest[orb?]en | | |
| | 35: Caiphaz haus | | |

The Jaffa tapestry



- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1: perck Synai | 11: Alexandria | 21: pach cedron | 30: ein hadnisch gericht |
| 2: machomets grab | 12: Betlehem | 22: haus des bosen rats | 31: Rama |
| 3: das rot mer | 13: geburt cristi | 23: salomons garten | 32: Ramatha |
| 4: die wüstung | 14: ieronimus grab | 24: iacob patriarch | 33: S michels grab |
| quarantana | 15: rachel grab | 25: Johannes geburt | 34: lidia |
| 5: cristus 40 tag gefast | 16: maria | 26: heiligen drei | 35: S Peter fischt |
| 6: path cristi | 17: Elisabet | k[ee]nig | 36: S i[o]r[ge]n[?] |
| 7: Alkeira | 18: Golias | 27: die witten leut garba [ger]icht | |
| 8: Jericho | 19: dauid | genant | |
| 9: iohanniskirchen | 20: der gotzacker | 28: iaffa | |
| 10: Jordan | acheldemach | 29: iaffa | |

APPENDIX C: OVERVIEW OF THE DEPICTED SCENES ON THE VIEWS OF THE HOLY LAND

This table lists the depicted scenes, both those based on biblical history and those based on the actual experience of the pilgrims, such as ships, contemporary buildings, means of transportation, etc., on the views of the Holy Land with pilgrim's depictions. The names of the objects refer to those used in the main text of this thesis, 'Erhard Reuwich' refers to the woodcut map of the Holy Land by Erhard Reuwich in the travel report of Bernhard von Breydenbach. The latter column is included only for easy reference; only those scenes are listed which are shared with (one of) the views of the Holy Land.

o: only depicted, x: depicted and written, u: depicted, whether indicated with text unknown. Numbers relate to the transcriptions in Appendix B.

Scene	Jerusalem tapestry	Jaffa tapestry	Gotha panel	Powerscourt panel ¹	Erhard Reuwich
<i>Jerusalem</i>	45		o	u	x
<i>Via dolorosa</i>					
Jesus before Pilate	48		42	?	x
Jesus before Herod	47		40	?	x ²
Ecce homo arch	36? ³		o	?	x
Mary faints	o				
Veronica	o		o	u	
Simon	46		o	?	
Jesus falls for the first time	o		o	?	
Jesus falls for the second time	o				
Jesus falls for the third time	o		o	o	
Crucifixion (Mount Calvary)	29		37	?	o
Church of the Holy Sepulchre	28		36	u	x

¹ Due to the bad quality of the available image, it is in a lot of cases impossible to identify whether scenes are really not depicted when they are not visible. This goes especially for the situation in the city of Jerusalem and on the Mount of Olives. Because of its high likeness with the Gotha panel, however, in many cases a certain scene can be expected to be there. In this case it is indicated by a question mark.

² Reuwich only depicts the buildings in which the events took place.

³ Unsure. The word is hard to read and does not make real sense: *geschyden*? It is depicted on an arch-like structure near Caiaphas' house, however.

Other scenes and buildings in Jerusalem

Birth of Mary (location)	30			x
House of Salomo	31			
Dome of the Rock (temple of Salomo)	32	31	u	x
Temple of Mary	33			x
Al-Aqsa mosque	o			x
Golden gate		32	?	x
Christ before Caiaphas	35	34	?	
House of St James	37			x
Pilgrims entering the city	o	o	?	
Tower of David	42	50	o	x
Mary and John ⁴	o	o	?	
Souks / vaulted alleys	o	o	o	
Jewish school (Disputation in the temple?)	34	41	u	
Pilgrims' accomodation	27	39	x	x
Lazarus and the rich man	43-44	43	u	
<i>Kidron valley / valley of Jehosaphat</i>	18	24-25	u	x
Martyrdom of St Stephen	26	35	x	x
Mary's grave and assumption	25	3	u	x
Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well		27 ⁵	?	
Martyrdom of Isaiah ⁶		26	x	

⁴ The location of this scene differs: on the tapestries next to the Tower of David, on the Gotha panel outside the city between the Tower of David and Emaus.

⁵ It is unclear whether this is indeed the scene depicted here, since according to John 4:4-26, the event took place in Samaria. The text only mentions 'die wel', and shown are Christ and another person sitting at a well.

⁶ Unclear. The text mentions *Yzayar* and displayed is a falling saint surrounded by two men who attack him. Legend

<i>Mount of Olives</i>	3	4	u	x
Gethsemane	o	o	u	x
Betrayal of Christ	o	o	?	
Entry into Jerusalem	o			
Christ teaches the Our Father to the apostles	22	o	?	x
Apparition of Christ	5	o	?	x
Ascension of Christ	4	5	u	
An angel with a palm branch announces Mary's death	6	o	u	x
Suicide of Judas	o	22	u	
Bethany	8	6	?	x
Bethphage	20	29 ⁷	?	x
Tomb of St Pelagia	7			
Tomb of Absalom	23			x
Tomb of Zechariah	24			
<i>Mount Zion</i>	15	30	u	x
Last Supper	o	o	u	x
St Peter denounces Christ (House of Annas) ⁸	17	38 ⁹	?	x
Site where Christ preached to the Apostles	16			
St Peter crying	13			

held that Isaiah was sawn to pieces and buried in the valley of Siloam. See Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, p. 186.

⁷ The Gotha panel not only names the village, but also displays the scene with the two apostles who found two donkeys there, on which Christ entered Jerusalem.

⁸ John 18:13. Ottheinrich's travel report states that this event took place at the house of Caiaphas, see Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, p.188.

⁹ Placed inside the city of Jerusalem.

Gihon source (Fountain of Mary ¹⁰)	14	28			
Dormition of Mary (location)	38	44	?	x	
Altar of St John ¹¹	39				
Site where St Matthias was chosen as new apostle	40				
<i>Galilee</i>	1	1	?	x	
Nazareth	2	2	?	x	
<i>Judea</i>					
Siloam	9	7	x	x	
Beth semini? ¹²	19	21	?	?	
Dead sea with Sodom and Gomorra	10	8	u	x	
Lot escapes from Sodom and Gomorra	o			x	
Mount Quarantal (temptation of Christ)		4	11	u	x
Christ fasting forty days		5			x
The path up the mountain		6			o
Jericho		8	12	x	
Monastery of St John		9			x
River Jordan		10	13	u	x
Baptism of Christ		o			x
Pilgrims drowning		o			
Pilgrims taken to heaven by angels ¹³		10			

¹⁰ Legend held that the Virgin Mary washed the swaddling clothes of Jesus here, see Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrichs*, p. 186. The Gotha panel places the stream in the Kidron valley.

¹¹ According to tradition St John read Mass to St Mary here after Christ's death; see Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, p. 188.

¹² Unidentified. The Gotha panel mentions *Beth semini*, the Jerusalem tapestry has a village at the same spot which is indicated as something like *iedemann?*.

Habakkuk		14		
Bethlehem	12	16	x	x
Birth of Christ	13	o	u	
Massacre of the Innocents	o	15	?	
Guiding star	o	o	o	x
Shepherds in the field ¹⁴		o	u	x
Visitation of Mary	16-17	17	?	x
The Magi	26			
Tomb of Rachel	15			x
Tomb of St Jerome	14			
David and Goliath	18-19	18-19	?	
Akeldama (pilgrim's cemetery)	20	23	?	x
Walled field with shrubs		o	o	
Cave where the apostles hid		20	?	x
Islamic army camp		45	u	o
Pilgrim groups on donkeys	o	o	o	o
Scene with Christ, Peter and a dead body (resurrection of Lazarus?)	o			
House of the 'boser Rat ¹⁵	22			
Garden of Salomo	23			
House of St Jacob	24			
Birthplace of St John	25			
People and animals of Arabia	o ¹⁶	46	u	x ¹⁷

¹³ It is likely that this scene is a rendering of the scene of the prophet Habakkuk taken up by an angel on the Gotha panel, since both are placed on the same location.

¹⁴ The Jaffa tapestry does depict some sheep.

¹⁵ Unclear what this represents, possibly the house of the high priest who had St James the Just executed.

¹⁶ The tapestries do not have the same scene called 'araben' which shows camels and ostriches as on the Gotha panel. However, a man riding a camel is represented near the Magi, and on the spot where the two ostriches are depicted, the Jaffa tapestry shows two birds which are more like geese.

¹⁷ Exotic animals, including a unicorn, are depicted on a separate woodcut illustration in Breydenbach's travel report.

Naked men, called 'garba', around a pool		27			
<i>Sinai</i>					
Mount Horeb	11				x
Mount Sinai		1	9	x	x
Monastery of St Catherine	o				x
<i>Egypt and Arabia</i>					
Flight to Egypt	12				
Alexandria		11	10	?	x
Cairo		7			x
Medina (tomb of Muhammad)		2			x ¹⁸
<i>Between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean Sea</i>					
Emmaus	41		51	u	x
Water mill	o		o	u	
Ramatha ¹⁹		32			x
Tomb of Samuel ²⁰		33			x
Ramla		31	48	u	x
Martyrdom of St George (Lod)		34, 36	49	u	x
Islamic punishment		30	o	o	
Man praying under baldachin			o	o	

¹⁸ Called 'Mecha'.

¹⁹ The place where Joseph of Arimathea came from.

²⁰ The Jaffa tapestry mentions 'S michels grab', but this seems to be a mistake. The angel Michael of course would have had no grave. It is likely that the grave of the prophet Samuel is intended here, since it is depicted in Ramatha, which is identified with the modern-day Nebi Samwil. Here lies the traditional burial site of Samuel. Ottheinrich also mentions this site immediately after Ramatha in his travel report: Ottheinrich, *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, pp.178-180.

Jaffa	28-29	47	x	x
Islamic army camp at Jaffa	o	o	o	o
Caves of St Peter at Jaffa		o		x
Pilgrims attacked by soldiers at the beach	o			
Pilgrims' galley getting ready for departure	o	o	o	o
St Peter fishing at Jaffa	35	53	?	
Islamic army at the beach near Jerusalem (battle?)			o	