



HAL
open science

Chiselled in rock, printed on paper: Francesco Quaresmio and the epigraphy of the Holy Land

Estelle Ingrand-Varenne

► To cite this version:

Estelle Ingrand-Varenne. Chiselled in rock, printed on paper: Francesco Quaresmio and the epigraphy of the Holy Land. *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 2023, Pilgrim Knowledge: Travel and Empiricism in the Early Modern Holy Land, 38 (2), pp.273-290. 10.1080/09518967.2023.2266056 . halshs-04343027

HAL Id: halshs-04343027

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-04343027v1>

Submitted on 20 Aug 2024

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Article accessible sur

<https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/S9VB89U5GNMDUVZT9ATT/full?target=10.1080/09518967.2023.2266056>

Chiselled in rock, printed on paper: Francesco Quaresmio and the epigraphy of the Holy Land

Abstract:

The substantial two-volume work *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (1639) by the Franciscan Franciscus Quaresmius (1583–1656) is known as a veritable encyclopaedia on the Holy Land. It is also an itinerary of pilgrimage through the holy places, taking their monumentality and graphic landscape into account. Quaresmius was especially attentive to the Latin inscriptions made by the Crusaders, here copied by him as autoptic testimonies. This is part of a more general phenomenon: the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries in Europe has been called the “Age of Inscriptions”, when epigraphy was recognized as a source of ancient history on a par with philology and archaeology. The overall aim of this article is to show how Quaresmius, while continuing a medieval tradition of Franciscan scholarship, improved upon epigraphical study by deploying a specific technology, the visual rendering of uncial inscriptions in print. His rigorous observations would have been nothing without the technical mastery of the printer-typographer Balthasar Moretus. Following previous developments in pilgrimage literature, where inscriptions – especially the Crusader epitaphs at the foot of Calvary – were common places, Quaresmius studied inscriptions not only as texts, but also considered formal and material aspects. Finally, this study argues that these Latin epigraphic texts played a role in his theological argumentation and in the defense of the *loca sancta* as Latin possession.

Keywords: Epigraphy, Holy Land, Franciscan Order, Crusades, Typography, Pilgrimage.

Introduction¹

In 1639 the *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (“Explanation of the Holy Land”) was published in Antwerp, written by the Observant Franciscan Franciscus Quaresmius (1583–1650). The work is a monumental contribution to history, geography, archæology, moral science, and biblical scholarship of almost 2,000 pages, in two volumes and numerous engravings. Based on biblical, patristic, scholastic, and historical authorities, it traces a sweeping and detailed critical history of the Holy Land, and earned Quaresmius renown as a pioneer in the field of the study of Palestine and Holy land studies, in the golden age of early modern biblical criticism.² The first volume is a theological treatise, but the second volume (books IV–VIII) is thought of as a pilgrimage itinerary and is divided into 35 *peregrinationes* (routes). The journey through the holy places takes into account their monumental nature and their iconographic and epigraphic ornaments especially in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

¹ I am very grateful to Sundar Henny, Richard Oosterhoff and the anonymous reviewers for their feedback. This study is a part of the GRAPH-EAST project on the inscriptions and graffiti in Latin alphabet in Eastern Mediterranean during the Middle Ages. This ERC Starting grant project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 948390.

² Tully and Leahy, *Jerusalem Afflicted*, chapter 5 “The Preacher in Palestine”; De Sandoli, *Quaresmio Francesco, Elucidatio*, I–II; and more generally on Biblical criticism, Miert, Nellen, Steenbakkens, and Touber, *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism*.

in Jerusalem and the Nativity Church in Bethlehem. All in all, Quaresmius recorded 107 inscriptions, mostly in Latin and from the twelfth century. In fact, Quaresmius was the only early modern scholar who had the aim of copying and reproducing most of these inscriptions as autoptic testimonies. Quaresmius is of interest as he stands at the crossroads of a centuries-old historiographical tradition of Holy Land writing and the burgeoning study of epigraphy, by the early seventeenth century a highly developed branch of learning. Besides its significance in the history of early modern scholarship, the *Elucidatio* has also become an important epigraphical source in its own right as it preserves some now vanished inscriptions, notably those at the Holy Sepulchre, where the medieval inscriptions have mostly disappeared in the fire of 1808.

Born in the town of Lodi, Lombardy, probably in 1583, Quaresmius joined the Observant Franciscans in Mantua, where he held chairs as professor of Theology, Philosophy, and Canon Law, before carrying out a long apostolate in the East, holding two of the most important positions in the order.³ In 1616, after a trip to Jerusalem, he became Guardian and Vice-Commissary Apostolic in Aleppo (1616–1618), then Custos and Commissary Apostolic of the East (1618–1619). Imprisoned twice by the Ottomans, he returned to Europe in 1620, before arriving again in Jerusalem in 1626 and Aleppo as Papal Commissary to the Nestorian Chaldeans and Maronites of Syria and Mesopotamia (1627–1629). In 1629 he went to Italy to report to the Holy See on the state of the Eastern Churches, and then returned to the East. Appointed Guardian of Sant’Angelo in Milan in 1637, he became Definitor and General Procurator of the Order (1645–1648), and died in Milan in 1650. He secured permissions to publish his work from his superiors in the Order as early as 1625, but would continue to supplement his research for another decade.

The context of the *Elucidatio*, written in Latin and directed at Western European audiences, has been well highlighted by Bernard Heyberger and Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck: the former emphasised the fervent crusading zeal of Quaresmius and his apocalyptic vision of history; the latter stressed the Franciscan perspective of the text and its highly territorial aim to claim the Holy Land for the Franciscans and turn it into an entirely Franciscan space.⁴ The focus of this article is the treatment of the medieval Latin inscriptions by Quaresmius, during a period considered the “Age of Inscriptions”, when epigraphy came to be recognized as a source of ancient history on a par with philology and archaeology.⁵ These *peregrinationes* provided the first extensive, systematic epigraphic corpus of the Holy Land. The article proceeds by considering the method the Franciscan developed in order to investigate the holy places. It then considers how he considered medieval inscriptions as visual representations that must be reproduced on the printed page to improve epigraphic study of this period. Finally, the essay asks what role these epigraphic texts played in his theological argumentation and his “defense” of the *loca sancta*, in other words how his techniques supported the Latins in their claim to possess these places.

I. Quaresmius’ Method and its Application to Epigraphy

Quaresmius was critical of his predecessors, self-consciously developing his own methodology (*me singularem methodum servasse*.)⁶ In the preface, he explained the general guiding principles of his method in both the theological part and the description of pilgrimage. He conceived the *peregrinationes* as a knowledge of the holy places “which is of great benefit

³ De Sandoli, *Quaresmio*, I–II; Tully and Leahy, *Jerusalem Afflicted*, 70–73.

⁴ Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 197–200; Ritsema van Eck, *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts*, 192–200.

⁵ Vuilleumier Laurens and Laurens, *L’Âge de l’inscription*.

⁶ Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, XXXI.

both to other (profane sciences) and to knowledge of Sacred Scripture”.⁷ His discussion of the holy places is characterised by his own keywords of *diligentia* and *fidelitas*, and autopsy, as well as what we might call exhaustiveness, and traceability. Even if these words were partly scholarly *topoi*, they seem to have particularly their application in epigraphy.

Dealing with the holy places was a difficult task and the adjective *perdifficilem* (“very difficult”) is the word that opens the *Praefatio*. One of the reasons was that previous writers offered discordant opinions, as places changed over the centuries (*propter locorum ex temporum mutabilitate varietatem*).⁸ But the main reason was that “some wrote according to what they saw, others what they heard, and still others without observing carefully, speeding past like runners, so that they could not carefully and faithfully (*diligenter et fideliter*) describe what they themselves had seen.”⁹ These two adverbs are recurrent in the Franciscan’s writings. *Diligentia* means and requires attentiveness, thrift, assiduity, carefulness, whereas *fidelitas* implies accuracy, close visual observation of the thing itself, rather than knowledge through book-learning or tradition. *Diligentia and fidelitas* demand skilful imitation and meticulousness in the representation of detail. Both are necessary to producing first-hand knowledge.

Was this statement of principle really applied? A comparison of some of Quaresmius’s drawings with the inscriptions preserved today reveals some variations. In the mosaics of Doubting Thomas in the Nativity Church, his copy of the quotation of John 20:27 (*infer digitum tuum huc*) [Fig. 1] is very close to the present state, showing what a careful and conscientious recorder he was regarding the layout on either side of the column and the palaeography [Fig.2], but the line TVM (end of *digitum*) is missing at the right side.¹⁰ This reading may reflect the state of conservation in the 1620s, as suggested by the partial restoration of this part; the words IANVIS CLAUSIS may have been in the upper part of the scene, now lost.

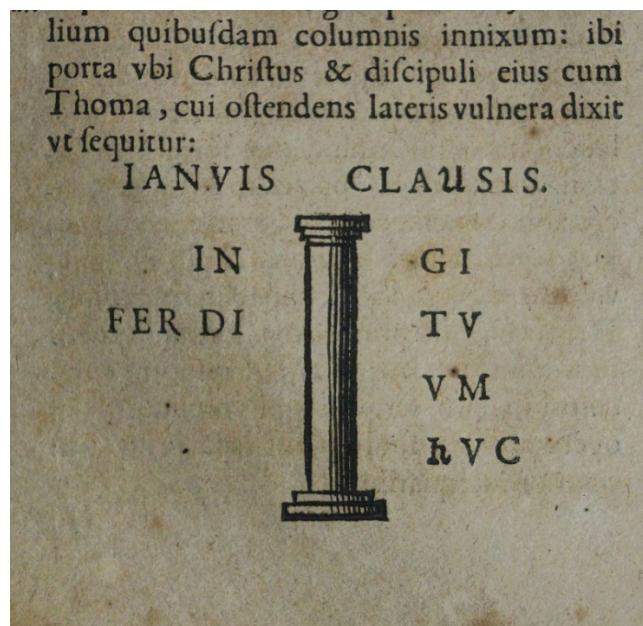


Figure 1: Drawing of the inscription in the mosaics of the doubt of Thomas in the Nativity Church. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 672. Picture © Biblioteca Generalis, Custodia Terrae Sanctae.

⁷ Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, XXXII: “sanctorum locorum cognition plurimum conducit, tum ad alia, tum ad sacrae scripturae intelligentiam.”

⁸ Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, XXXI.

⁹ Ibid: “Scripserunt alii ut viderunt, alii ut audierunt, et alii aliquando non diligenter adverterunt; sed tamquam cursors praetierunt, quare a se ipsis visa, diligenter et fideliter scriptis consignare non potuerunt.”

¹⁰ Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 672.



Figure 2: The scene of the doubting Thomas in the mosaics of the northern side of the transept in the Nativity Church of Bethlehem. Picture: Estelle Ingrand-Varenne.

The qualities of *fidelitas* and *diligentia* are derived from eyewitness observation, in other words autopsy, even if this word is not used in the preface.¹¹ Dealing with Bethlehem, Quaresmius reported first the testimonies of previous authors and then what he and other eyewitnesses had carefully observed.¹² His apostolate of more than twenty years gave him the opportunity and the time to study deeply monuments and inscriptions, and to have access to certain parts of the building that could not be seen by ordinary pilgrims. These three qualities were particularly at work in the drawings of inscriptions, as we will show in the second part.

When describing monuments, Quaresmius tried to be exhaustive, explaining all the ornaments and the inscriptions, and not only the architecture and the history. For Bethlehem, he dedicated an entire chapter to the images and writings that can be found in the Nativity Church.¹³ This particular attention to inscriptions was original. Generally, the literature on the Holy Land included the epitaphs of Godfrey of Bouillon, the first ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1099 to 1100, and of his brother Baldwin I, the first king of Jerusalem from 1100 to 1118.¹⁴ Their tombs were in the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, at the foot of Calvary, and integrated into the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre as early as the twelfth century.¹⁵ In medieval Franciscan scholarship on the Holy Land, gathered at the former monastery on Mount Zion, the mentioning of those epitaphs served to continue the theme of Crusade and salvation history long after the definite expulsion of the Latins from Palestine in 1291.¹⁶ As a common place of pilgrimage and Holy Land literature, the epitaphs became the focus of heightened attention in the sixteenth century when pilgrims corrected the literature on the

¹¹ On the concept of autopsy, see Daston, *Authenticity, Autopsia*.

¹² Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 640: “primoque aliqua ex aliis relata, deinde a nobis et aliis oculatis testibus diligenter adnotata explicabimus.”

¹³ Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 645: *caput XIII De picturis et scripturis quae adhuc cernuntur in Ecclesia Sancta Maria Bethlehem*. The name Saint Mary was the former name of the Nativity church.

¹⁴ Gomez-Géraud, *Le crépuscule du grand voyage*, 470–472.

¹⁵ Re'em, Ingrand-Varenne, Berkovitch. “Surviving Three Cycles of Destruction”; Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, I, 117.

¹⁶ Campopiano, *Writing the Holy Land*, 168–175, 339.

basis of their first-hand encounter and the tombs including inscription started to be depicted in manuscript and printed pilgrimage accounts.¹⁷ The other sources for the Latin medieval epigraphic texts available to us today, besides the tradition around the crusader tombs, are two twelfth-century German pilgrims, John of Würzburg and Theodoric, who each wrote a *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, but they were not yet available in print in the seventeenth century and had a limited readership.¹⁸

Quaresmius was surely indebted to tradition. The sources he quotes confirm that: Eusebius of Caesarea, Adomnán, William of Tyre, Burchard of Mount Sion, William of Boldensele, Christian van Adrichem, Jean Zuallart, Bernardinus Amicus, just to name the most important ones. At the same time, the very fact that we can trace the sources of his information shows him eager to participate in a growing culture of attribution.¹⁹ Neither was Quaresmius content with just amassing extant information. Rather he compared the findings of tradition with what he saw himself. In the Holy Sepulchre, for example, he found no remnant of the alleged Epitaph of Christ that had been recorded by other authors, such as Apianus.²⁰ Another aspect in which he went beyond tradition was the sheer scope of his endeavour. He was much more inclusive and systematic than anything previous. To appreciate his effort, one needs to take into account the epigraphic landscape of the Holy Land. Because of the successive domination of the Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic empires and the shared sacred spaces, it was characterised by multiple scripts and languages. Quaresmius was interested, in principle, in all the epigraphic witnesses in the *loca sancta*, not only those in Latin (72 texts), but also in Greek (34 texts).²¹ For Armenian and Arabic inscriptions, such as the wooden leaves of the Nativity Church, he gave only the Latin translation.²² He did not transcribe Georgian inscriptions, because they were mostly pilgrim graffiti and not monumental text,²³ nor Syriac inscriptions, probably because they were not visible (for example, the Syriac signature in the mosaics of Bethlehem was uncovered by Gustav Kühnel in the early 1980s²⁴) and in spaces only accessible to these communities. In fact, he is the only early modern scholar to have gathered so many inscriptions in the Holy Land.

In his methodological considerations, even if not always in actual practice, – such as his aim to look for clarity and precision and to use personally observed experience – Quaresmius has to be seen against the backdrop of the fast changing field of epigraphy. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, epigraphy had become an antiquarian discipline in its own right. The first manifestations of systematic examination and recording of inscriptions can be seen from the fifteenth century onwards, with figures like Ciriaco d’Ancona who himself was inspired by an early Christian pilgrim’s practice.²⁵ The key period for the emergence of epigraphy as a discipline in its own right – accompanied by the publication of epigraphic corpora relying on autopsy and by attempts of classification – was the middle and

¹⁷ For correction on the basis of autopsy, see the case of Falck mentioned in the Introduction to this Special Issue. Miniature replicas of the tombs were also brought home by pilgrims, see Henny, Shalev, “Jerusalem Reformed,” 817 n 85.

¹⁸ Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres*.

¹⁹ Brizay, Sarrazin, *Érudition et culture savante*, 7–15; Grafton, *The Footnote*.

²⁰ Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 500–501.

²¹ There is one inscription in Hebrew for the well-known trilingual case of the titulus of the Cross, which was preserved in the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome (Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 397). As it was not in the Holy Land, we will leave this complex example aside. For previous studies, see: Georgi, Rüfenacht, Brinkmann, *Archäologie des Heils*, 130–137; Schwab, Grafton, *The Art of Discovery*, 109–161.

²² Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 645.

²³ Gagoshidze, “Georgian Inscriptions in the Holy Land.”

²⁴ Kühnel, “Neue Feldarbeiten Zur Musivischen,” 512.

²⁵ See now Datchev, “Ciriaco d’Ancona.”

the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁶ The crowning achievement of it all was the collection edited by Jan Gruter, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis romanis in corpus absolutissimum redactae*, in 1602–3 in Heidelberg, which included over 12,000 inscriptions. Antiquarians of the seventeenth century produced erudite explanations of particular texts and continued to compile inscriptions, expanding earlier corpora and correcting the texts in successive editions.

II. Medieval Inscriptions as Visual Representations of the Past

Heir to the works of the sixteenth-century scholars, Quaresmius adapted the new methods to his own terrain, the sacred sites. Autopsy and *fidelitas* were to be used to reproduce epigraphic texts, which were both textual and visual in nature. The work's great originality was in transmitting eighty medieval inscriptions, on mosaics, paintings and stones, not just as texts but also as visual representations. The introduction described the book's origins, explaining how Quaresmius came to perceive these sources: "When about to leave Milan to begin my holy pilgrimage to Jerusalem, I went to pay my respects to the Most Reverend Giorgio Odescalchi, bishop of Vigevano, who was then in Milan, who, standing before me, seriously urged me to compose a small work on the holy places, in which I was to draw the holy places geographically, and write about their history [...] Considering how I might partly satisfy such a bishop, since, being inexpert in the art of drawing, and thus not being able to draw the holy places and their ruins geographically, I thought I would render a better service were I to explain with more diligence the holy places, and were I to add that which others have handed down to us."²⁷ As this quote shows, Quaresmius aimed at both continuing and correcting the tradition of Holy Land writing.

In pilgrimage accounts and treatises on the Holy Land, drawings, maps and illustrations were very important to make a description concrete, to show and thus help the European readers. They help to enable future journeys, transmitted a sense of discovery and authenticity, and could support mental or spiritual pilgrimage. The enormous success of the *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* of Bernhard von Breidenbach (1486) on the European book market was in part thanks to the twenty-six engravings of the artist Erhard Reuwich.²⁸ Besides pictures, the book of Breidenbach and Reuwich contained alphabetical charts of non-Latin script as used by the inhabitants of the Holy Land. Exactly a century later, Jean Zuallart learnt to draw in four months as he was preparing for his journey to Jerusalem. The long-lasting impact of his *Devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme* (1587) – which appeared revised and expanded in French in 1608 – was owed to the fifty-one engraved plates that provided views of cities and monuments along the route and of the distant Holy Land.²⁹ As such, they were knocked-off by numerous subsequent printed pilgrimage books. At home, they also effectively supported the meditation of the faithful. Quaresmius confessed that he was writing and describing precisely because of his scant skill in the practice of drawing monuments or landscapes. He borrowed engravings, maps and plans from other authors. The inscriptions were the only "drawings" made by him. He considered these monumental inscriptions as

²⁶ Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions & Writing Ancient History*.

²⁷ Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, XXXVII: "His accedit, quod, cum Mediolano discederem, ut sanctam Ierosolymorum peregrinationem assumerem, reverentiae gratia adierim Reverendiss. Georgium Odelscalcum Viglevani episcopum, tunc Mediolani existentem, qui me coram serio adhortatus fuit, ut opusculum quoddam de locis sanctis conficerem, in quo loca sancta geographice delinearem, et illorum historiam referrem [...] Mecum ergo cogitans, quomodo huic tanto praesuli ex parte satisfacerem, cum artis delineatoriae imperitus loca sancta et ipsorum ruinas geographice delineare non possem; existimavi, melius me ei morem gesturum, si loca sancta studiosius enuclearem, et ab aliis praetermissa adderem."

²⁸ Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach*.

²⁹ On Zuallart, see Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 66–77; Gomez-Géraud, *Le crépuscule du grand voyage*, 199–218; Henny, Shalev, "Jerusalem Reformed," 806–809.

visual representations, a status all the more emphasised in his book because he did not reproduce the figurative decorations.

In a traditional work of history on the Holy Land reproducing the textual content of the inscriptions would have been sufficient. But Quaresmius's approach to the texts was not essentially a literary one. On the contrary, he was a "visually aware" scholar, to use William Stenhouse's expression. In the sixteenth century Joannes Metellus (1520?–1597) made clear his belief in the historical importance of examining the appearance of letters, arguing that their shape was an important tool for their dating. Quaresmius spent time and care in copying and representing the inscriptions, for example, in the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, where mosaics represented thirteen prophets holding a scroll with an inscription announcing the Resurrection. On the scroll of the prophet Joel, it reads: *Ego Dominus Deus vester et no(n) est amplius et non confundetur populus meus in eter(n)um* (Joel 2:27: I am the Lord your God and there is no more, and my people will not be shamed forever."). He reproduced the layout, with ten horizontal lines, the capital letters, the uncial characters *E* in the words *ego* and *eternum*, and *M* in *meus*, the abbreviations with a tilde in *non* and *eternum*, and the punctuation with a final dot.³⁰ [Fig. 3]

³⁰ Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 369.

Alterum obseruandum est, omnes ferè, vel saltem præcipuas figuras, vt Prophetarum, Regum & Sacerdotum, vltra coronas regias, si Regum sunt, gestare in capite diademata, quæ sancta Ecclesia solet apponere capitibus Sanctorum; siue illæ Sanctonum sint, vt Davidis, Ezechia, Iosia, Helena, &c. siue dubiterur de illorum salute, vt Salomonis, & Constantini: siue etiam sint eorum quos Ecclesiastici & sacri Scriprores damnant, vt Heraclij, Roboami, Abia, &c. Ratio huius assignabitur Capite sequenti.

In parte Occidentali & Orientali huius ordinis omnes figuræ collapsæ sunt; superest tantum in Meridionali versus Occidentem historia Tobia iunioris, quando ad flumen Tigris illum piscis inuasit: hic integer apparet, Angeli verò & Tobia tantum extremæ partes. Igitur hic, incipiendo ex parte Meridionali, primò apparet Ezechiel Prophetæ cum sequenti sententia:

HÆC DIC
IT. DÑS
DEVS AQ
VATVOR
VENTIS VE
NI SPVS. ET
INSVFFLA SV
PER INTER
FECTOS VT
REVIVISCA
NT.

Sequitur secundo Daniel cum sequenti Prophetia:

MULTI DE
HIS QUI DOR
MIVNT IN
PVLVERE
EVIGILAVT:
ALII IN VI
TAM ET ER
NAM ALII IN
OBBROBR
IVM.

Tertio, Oseas cum sua Prophetia:

OMORS
ERO MORS
VA MORS
VS TVVS
ERO IN
FERNE.

Quarto, figura M. Constantini in quadam fornice in habitu Imperiali, dextra manu tenentis crucem, sinistra globum, in quo crux simplex est exarata, cum inscriptione vt sequitur:

CONS
TATI
NVS IM
PATOR
KON
CTAN
TINO
G

Quinto, Ioël Propheta cum suo vaticinio:

EGO DOMI
NVS DE
VS VES
TER ET NŌ
EST AMPLIVS
ET NON CONFV
NDETVR
POPVLVS
MEVS IN
ETERVM.

Ioel. 1, 27.

Sexto, Amos cum sequenti sententia:

IN DIE ILLA
SVSCITA
BO TABER
NACVLV
DD QVOD
CECIDIT ET
REEDIFICA
BO APTVR
AS MVRO
RVM EIVS.

Amos 9, 17

Septimo denique est Abdias cum Prophetia:

IN MONTE
SION ERIT
SALVATIO
ET ERIT
SCS ET ERIT
DOMINO
REGNVM

Abd. 1, 17

A par-

Figure 3: Medieval inscriptions of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, inscribed on the scrolls of the prophets. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 369. Picture © Biblioteca Generalis, Custodia Terrae Sanctae.

In the epitaph of the Crusader king Baldwin I (see above) in the same church, he even copied the geometric or floral signs at the end of the line that fill the blank spaces and graphically mark the end of each verse.³¹ In the triad of injunctions for analysing writing that Jean Mabillon proposed fifty years later in the *De re diplomatica* (1681) – observe, catalogue, describe³² – Quaresmius stopped at the first two, as he never described the characters in technical terms, and did not expand the abbreviations either. However, he produced an empirical palaeography, without the name, setting the stage for the development of new knowledge. In this way, he can be considered as a pioneer for medieval epigraphy, a discipline which did not yet exist as such.

The pictorial reproduction of those inscriptions *ad vivum* entails a paradox or reversal. If we consider the scenes in which they appear in the great basilicas: the inscriptions (as scrolls of the prophets) were already part of a pictorial setting. In Quaresmius's reproduction the inscriptions were read as images in their own right, while the images became words through the description. Moreover, the importance of graphic mimesis and visual aspects might seem to minimise the textual content, making it less accessible to the reader and even presenting a riddle to be deciphered. Quaresmius proposed no interventionist corrections to avoid problems of grammar or to fill a gap. Still, the inscriptions were never presented set apart as isolated texts or illustrations, cut off from the main narrative. Rather they were integrated into the discourse by a sentence that announced and situated them. The source text that inspired them was indicated: in the case of biblical quotation, the author put the reference in a marginal note, as he did for the quotations of the prophets in the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre already mentioned (see Fig. 3). Generally, the inscriptions stand without commentary or explanation on their content and meaning, but for each of the thirteen church councils (seven ecumenical councils and six provincial synods of the early church) in the mosaic of the nave of the Nativity Church, Quaresmius offers a historical and theological development of one or two pages.

Although his palaeographical analysis was very reduced, with no ambition to assess their value by dating or to lay out the rules for authenticating epigraphic documents, it does not mean there is no reflection on the past through epigraphy, in particular in the Nativity Church. On the contrary, in these holy places, which were constantly changing, as he wrote in the preface (see above)³³, the inscriptions were tangible fixed points in the monument, both historically in fixing time and topographically in marking space. They were part of the description of the holy places in their present state, but their relationship to time was more complex. First of all, they are clearly distinguished from the question of the construction of the buildings of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Nativity Church, and their authors (Helen, Constantine). In the paragraph introducing them for Bethlehem, Quaresmius first situates them in a vague past with the adverb *olim* and refers to the classical topos of all-ravaging time (*edax tempus*), helped by the barbarity of infidels.³⁴ The fact that there is no temporal distinction contrasts with the precise date he gives for his survey at the end of the same paragraph: 1626.

In the Nativity Church, Quaresmius's introductory remarks on material inconsistency over time is in fact misleading, as the inscriptions themselves bear precise dates: the Arabic and Armenian inscriptions on the wooden doors give the years 624 and 676, which is 1227 AD rendered in the Islamic and Armenian calendars. The bilingual Latin-Greek mosaic

³¹ Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 482.

³² Barret-Kriegel, *Mabillon*.

³³ Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, XXXI.

³⁴ *Ibid.*: “Sacratissima haec ecclesia olim pulcherimis picturis et scripturis exornabatur, quas pro majori parte edax voravit tempus et infidelium barbaries and injuria consumpsit. De reliquis agemus in praesentia...” Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15:234.

inscription refers to the Byzantine year [.]677 (for 6677) after the Creation of the World, which corresponds to 1168–69 AD. Furthermore, the reigns of the Byzantine emperor and the Latin king, dating elements in themselves, are indicated. These different calendars are not explained by the author, but by adding the date of his visit, he adds a layer of time, the Gregorian calendar, which he clearly situates, with the expression *ab ortu Salvatoris nostri*. Moreover, the inscriptions are situated in relation to each other: those on the mosaics belong to the same iconographic programme, as Quaresmius has understood,³⁵ whereas that on the baptismal font is perceived as ancient (*antiquo baptistero*, it is indeed of the sixth century).³⁶ While not precise chronologically, the mere presence of the adjective shows that Quaresmius differentiated it historically from the rest.

The pilgrimage proposed by our author did not presuppose an unchanging Holy Land. On the contrary, Quaresmius historicised Palestine and the sacred sites were represented in their current state, based on his own first-hand experience. The inscriptions are the most striking physical evidence of this.

III. The Author, the Printer and the Woodcutter

Scholars' assiduous efforts to respect the shape of the letter, the missing parts, the deliberate or accidental erasures, did not necessarily transfer easily to the printed page, however. They regularly blamed printers for misrepresenting details of inscriptions.³⁷ Jean Zuallart is known to have directly controlled the printing process of his work, in particular the engraving of original drawings.³⁸ Anthony Grafton has shown the close connections between the work of printers and scribes and their impact on the ways in which scholars made knowledge.³⁹ How did Quaresmius face the problem of how to present epigraphy? What was the impact?

Quaresmius's rigorous observation and recordings would have been nothing without the competence and the technical mastery of a printer-typographer. The diligence and accuracy, with which the Franciscan scholar transcribed the epigraphic material, were understood and shared by a famous printer. The *Elucidatio* was published in 1639 by Balthasar Moretus (1574–1641), owner of the *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp, founded by his grandfather Christophe Plantin. The printing house had not only brought out the famous *Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (1568–72) and other ambitious works in non-Latin script but also excelled in engraved book illustration during the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ At the beginning of the seventeenth century and until about 1640, Antwerp printing experienced a brilliant late season, perfecting form and fine illustration. The tendency to pay more attention to letter type, illustrations, and layout than to content triumphed under Moretus.⁴¹ His printing house received a new impetus thanks to its close ties with Spain and its colonies, and its luxury editions, which were known throughout Europe. It was an instrument of the militant Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation.

The *Elucidatio* was not a luxury work, but the printing of books in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an expensive business, and this was especially true of illustrated books. The book was in a large format, in-folio, two volumes, a double-column layout, with several full-page or even two-page illustrations. The *Officina Plantiniana* had many

³⁵ Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 673.

³⁶ Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 645; Bacci, *Mystic Cave*, 88–89.

³⁷ Stenhouse, "Epigraphy and Technology," 23–44; Stenhouse, *The Paper Museum Of Cassiano Dal Pozzo*.

³⁸ Germain-de-Franceschi, *D'encre et de poussière*, 170.

³⁹ See, e.g., his recent book: Grafton, *Inky Fingers*.

⁴⁰ For the history of the Plantin Press, see Rooses, *Catalogue du Musée Plantin-Moretus*; Rooses, *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus*; Voet, *Golden Compasses*; Bowen, Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations*; Proot, Sordet, Vellet, ed., *Un siècle d'excellence typographique*.

⁴¹ De Nave, "A Printing Capital," 93.

employees, artists, technicians, engravers in wood and copper particularly for book illustrations, and during the years 1625–1640 employed the man considered to be the greatest of the seventeenth century practitioners: Christoffel or Christopher Jegher (1596–1652), a Flemish wood engraver, one of the best of the Rubens school. Thanks to the archives of the Plantiniana, we know that Christoffel Jegher engraved 483 plates of inscriptions for the *Elucidatio*.⁴² Indeed, woodcuts were especially compatible with the printed book; woodblocks and lead types could be integrated in the same formes and printed on the same presses. Typographical unity was preserved.⁴³

The *Officina Platiniana* had already printed works dedicated to epigraphy, such as Martin Smet in 1588.⁴⁴ The novelty for the printer lay in the difference between the medieval script and the script of the ancient inscriptions, which were more widely published so far. The twelfth-century inscriptions of the *loca sancta* had two specific features: first, a new type of characters, the uncials (they were rounded capitalised letters commonly used from the eleventh century onwards); then, “letter-play” (connected letters, nested letters, interlaced letters⁴⁵). In the edition of the *Elucidatio*, the printer seems to have invested considerable efforts to represent letters of different shapes and sizes, including the specific medieval arrangements of characters.

For the uncial characters, the typographer wanted to preserve the diversity of shapes and seems to have played with two different fonts, to have mixed two letterings, because the non-capital letters *E*, *M*, *H*, *U* do not have the same rendering: they are thicker, they have a fatter body, particularly because of the serifs. He probably reused capitals he already had and created only the uncial letters. This is particularly visible in an inscription which was painted in the cave church of Gethsemane in Jerusalem and was inspired by the Gospel of Luke (22:42–44). The inscription is still extant today, but heavily restored.⁴⁶ [Fig. 4]

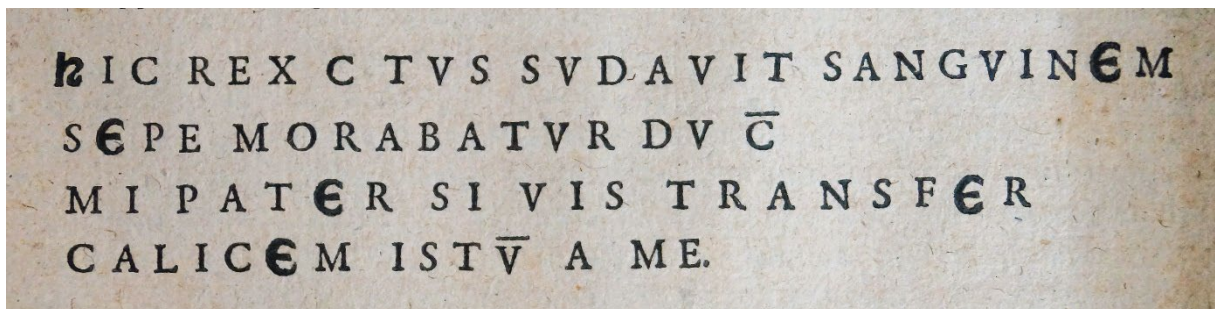


Figure 4: Medieval inscription of Gethsemane with different fonts. Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 160. Picture © Biblioteca Generalis, Custodia Terrae Sanctae.

The letter plays can be observed in the epitaph of Baldwin V, the young king who died in 1186 at the age of eight. On that epitaph inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the word *tumulo*, the letters *T* and *U* are connected, and *U* is a nested letter in the *M*. The four hexameters read: + *Septim(us) in tumulo puer isto rex tumulat(us) / Est Baldewin(us) regum de sanguine nat(us) / Quem tulit e mundo sors prime conditionis / Ut paradysiace loca possideat regionis* (“In this tomb was buried the seventh king, the child Baldwin, of royal blood. The fate abducted him from this world at his early age, to possess the holy places of

⁴² Rooses, *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus*, 299–301. On this woodcutter: Myers, “Rubens et les gravures sur bois de Christoffel Jegher”. The term “inscription” in Myers’ article is undoubtedly to be taken in a broad sense, as we have only counted 107 epigraphic texts using specific characters in the second volume of the *Elucidatio*, and less than a dozen in the first volume.

⁴³ Voet, *Golden compasses*, 201.

⁴⁴ Smet, *Inscriptionum Antiquarum*.

⁴⁵ Tedeschi, “Histoire et préhistoire;” Ingrand-Varenne, “L’écriture en jeu.”

⁴⁶ Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 160; Pringle, *The churches*, vol. III, 98–103, n°292.

the paradise”).⁴⁷ One can imagine that the typographic composition required a highly skilled worker. [Fig. 5]

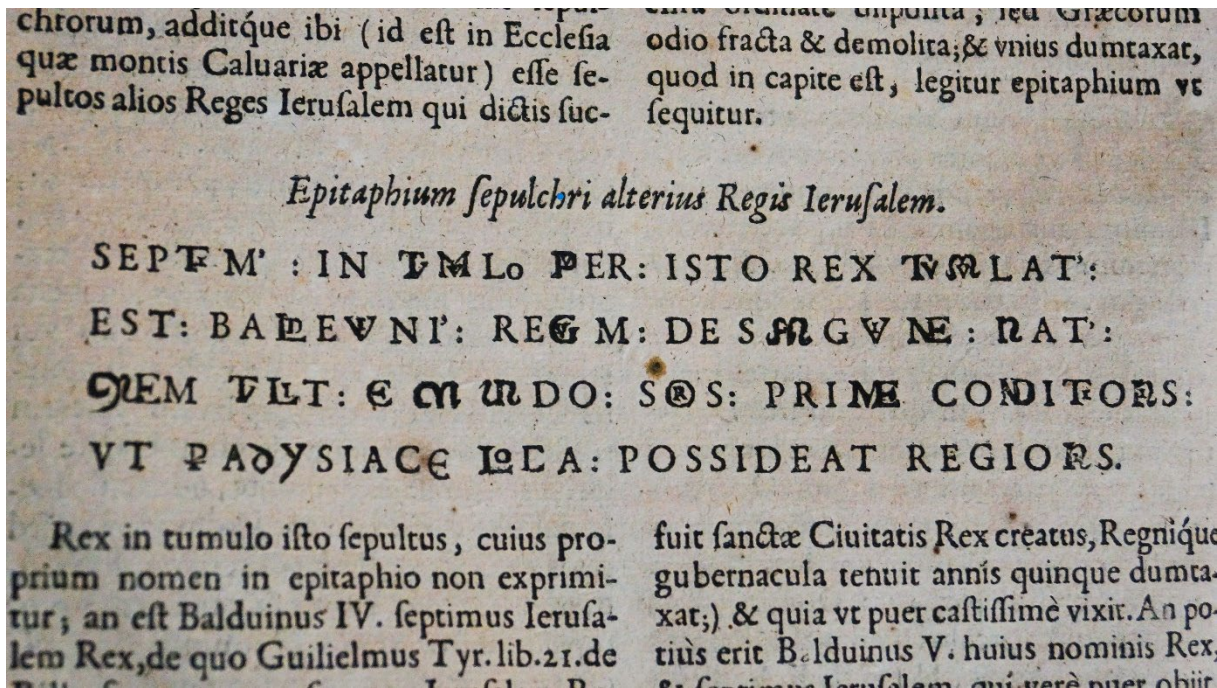


Figure 5: Epitaph of Baldwin V with letter plays. Picture © Biblioteca Generalis, Custodia Terræ Sanctæ.

Again, Quaresmius has to be seen in the context of the first half of the seventeenth century, when it became an editorial ideal to emulate sources – whether manuscripts, inscriptions, coins, or seals – not just textually but also visually and in typography. Contacts with the eastern Mediterranean had paved the way for that development already in the late fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries. I have already mentioned Breidenbach’s and Reuwich’s alphabetical charts. Later on, Guillaume Postel in his *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium Alphabetica* (1538) more systematically compared non-Latin scripts and also provided the first visualisation of a shekel. Later on, within one year, the very different works of Leonhard Thurneysen (*Onomasticum*, 1583) and Martin Crusius (*Turcograecia*, 1584) aimed to reproduce all kinds of sources, many of them written in or containing non-Latin scripts, with a visual awareness that would set new standards.⁴⁸ In the wake of that development and closer to Quaresmius’s publication in time and space was the Antwerp-based project, entrusted first to Jean Bolland, of editing the *Acta Sanctorum*.⁴⁹ The same ideal is manifest in the *Elucidatio* through the search for characters that are as faithful as possible to twelfth-century writing. The underlying processes can be described as those of the area-wide objectification of the reality of life, with configurations similar to those of the new natural sciences.⁵⁰

IV. Scholarship as an Argument in the “Possession of the Holy Land”

For all the emphasis put here on the scholarship of Quaresmius and his ideal of careful study and objective emulation we should refrain from seeing his endeavours as disinterested. Scholarly culture also served as a weapon in religious conflicts in the seventeenth century,

⁴⁷ Quaresmio, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 482.

⁴⁸ For Thurneysen, see the Introduction to this Special Issue and Bulang, “Die Welterfahrung des Autodidakten.” For Crusius as an antiquarian, see Calis, “Reconstructing the Ottoman Greek World.”

⁴⁹ See Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus*, esp. 323.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

and its polemical dimension had existed for a long time. Already for Lactantius, erudition was an issue in the affirmation of Christians against pagans.⁵¹ The crusading spirit was not extinguished and it was the clerics who kept it alive with the fear of the Muslim danger.⁵² Quaresmius, in a sermon entitled *Ierosolymae Afflictae* (“Jerusalem afflicted,” delivered in 1626 and published in 1631) asked the King of Spain, Philip IV, to relaunch a crusade to “free the Holy Land from Turkish tyranny.”⁵³ What was the role of the inscriptions in this context, and the goal of their particular place in the book?

Firstly, the dilapidated and poorly maintained character of the holy places is pointed out through the inscriptions, which are difficult to read because they have been erased or damaged or had become incomplete through age and neglect. About Gethsemane, Quaresmius writes: “on the right side, i.e. on the north, there was writing, which now for the most part, as with the other paintings as well, has suffered and is erased because of its age and humidity. However, it seems appropriate to note here what remains, because it provides, it seems, not the least proof of what is claimed about the holy place.”⁵⁴

Behind this observation lay the need to restore the largest church in the Holy Land, indeed to restore all the places trod by Christ and (re)built or adorned by the Crusaders, if not to their former glory, then at least to a decent state. Moreover, their poor state could call into question the sanctity of these places, while their inscriptions asserted (*asseruntur*), claimed, and affirmed it, as in the example of Gethsemane. The sanctity of holy places was never granted and always needed to be re-demonstrated, all the more so as the buildings had undergone numerous changes. Quaresmius continued in the Preface “in fact, we know that they have changed so much that they seem to have lost the clues of their primitive form: not to say of their beauty and simplicity; indeed, not even their relics remain, nor even their memory in the human mind.”⁵⁵ The reproduction of these texts participated both in the process historicizing the holy places and building their sanctity or their “hierotopy”, to use Alexei Lidov’s term.⁵⁶

Apart from 34 inscriptions in Greek, the majority of the inscriptions transcribed was in Latin script. As such they were visible markers of the Latin or Crusader past. Remnant in many of the holy places, they were serving as important witnesses to a living Latin history. By recording inscriptions (in Latin as in Greek), dating back to Latin rule, Quaresmius anchored and defended Franciscan territorial power in the best possible way. The work of Quaresmius was part of the long-term mission of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, which consisted of maintaining a Latin presence in Palestine at all costs, preventing any further retreat and, if possible, reclaiming the usurped places.⁵⁷ This mission also involved publications: during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the friars of the Holy Land published over twenty pilgrimage treatises, two chronicles, and several scholarly texts.⁵⁸

In the fight for possession, the Franciscans – as the representants of Latin Christianity – not only or even primarily struggled with the Muslim overlords. As Bernard Heyberger

⁵¹ On this topic, see Hardy and Levitin, *Confessionalisation and Erudition*.

⁵² Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*. 194.

⁵³ Tully and Leahy, *Jerusalem Afflicted*.

⁵⁴ Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 2, 160: “Ad ejus latus dextrum, id est Aquilonare, erant scripturae, quae modo ex majori parte, sicut et aliae picturae, prae nimia vetustate et humiditate sublatae sunt et abolitae ; quae tamen remanserunt, quoniam non exiguam fidem afferre videntur his quae de sancto loco asseruntur, hic adnotare placuit.”

⁵⁵ Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, vol. 1, XXXI: “addeo enim ea mutatae novimus, ut nec pristinae formae vestigium, non dico pulchritudinem et candorem, servare videantur; imo plurimum nec reliquiae, imo ne memoria quidem remansit in mentibus hominum.”

⁵⁶ Lidov, “Hierotopy: The creation of sacred spaces”; Lidov, *Hierotopy*.

⁵⁷ Buffon, “Les Franciscains en Terre sainte.”

⁵⁸ Armstrong, “Jerusalem in the reinvention of the Catholic tradition,” 11–12.

sums up, “the fight was less against the Muslim than against the heretic or the schismatic, i.e. the other Christians: Armenian or Greek”.⁵⁹ The sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem were constantly at stake in “territorial” struggles.⁶⁰ The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was shared between Latins, Copts, Armenians and Greeks; any change or restoration posed a problem, with each denomination vying with the Sublime Porte to prevail over the others.⁶¹ The ‘question of Holy Sites’ was first formulated in 1630 by the Greek patriarch Theophanus III who pleaded before the Ottoman authorities to protest the Franciscans three centuries over the church of the Nativity. In 1637, the Porte ruled against the friars, reducing their privilege in the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity. From the beginning of the *Elucidatio* Quaresmius asked the question: who were the first possessors of the Holy Land?⁶² Following the lead of Franciscan authors such as Paul Walther von Guglingen and Francesco Suriano, Quaresmius rewrote history and reinterpreted the life of St. Francis of Assisi to include his presence in the Holy Land, asking what his journey was, which places he visited, and thus legitimising the presence of the Franciscans who had settled there since 1335.⁶³

Quaresmius lived in a period, following the Council of Trent (1545–1563), when the perception of inscriptions changed and a militant use was made of these texts: in the context of the religious struggle, inscriptions multiplied in order to comprise a catechism in images, both in the Catholic and the Protestant camps. Images and inscriptions went hand in hand with the sustained effort made by the Churches to make the masses literate.⁶⁴ The faithful and meticulous reproduction of the inscriptions fulfilled many expectations and served a militant erudition.

Conclusion

The *Elucidatio* was republished by F. Cipriano from Treviso in Venice in 1880, and in 1989 by Sabino De Sandoli of the Franciscan Printing Press. This recent edition selects the descriptive parts of the holy places, omitting the theoretical parts on theology, morality, law, etc., but it reproduces the drawings of the inscriptions. In the abundant literature on early modern pilgrimage to Jerusalem printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *Elucidatio* has a special place. Quaresmius’ description of the inscriptions in the context of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land shows a scholarly and technical research, connected with the practices of the emerging epigraphy. Experimenting with a different method of representing, he stressed the value of the inscriptions for understanding the holy places, their visual and even iconic dimension.

Historians often associate the decades 1630–1650 with a major moment in the history of scientific and philosophical thought in Europe, a moment of mutation of rationality certainly very inspiring (1632 Galileo, *Dialogues*; 1637 Descartes, *Discours de la méthode*). But these reasons were hardly the only major epistemic shifts we should associate with this period, taking into account the political and religious tensions of the time. To be sure, Quaresmius limited himself; although clearly sensitive to the letters, the scholar did not comment on the iconography of monuments or describe visual decoration in detail. This only underscores his epistemic focus: he saw that the inscriptions, in their own right and in several ways, played an important role as evidence and *realia* in his systematic argument. More

⁵⁹ Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 219.

⁶⁰ For the conflicts between the different ethno-religious Christian entities and Ottoman policy about them, see Peri, *Christianity under Islam*.

⁶¹ Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 221–222.

⁶² Ritsema van Eck, *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts*, 201.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 206 and 209.

⁶⁴ Hénin, “*Ceci est un bœuf*”. 76–78 and 86–89.

generally, his reproduction of epigraphic documentation participated in two ways of knowing, both in the process historizing the holy places and in the process of constructing their sanctity.

Franciscan scholarship within this ecclesiastical context was a militant scholarship, defending the Latin presence in the holy places, in the face of other Christian communities and Ottoman power, while addressing itself to Catholic Europe and bridging the gap between East and West with a missionary zeal. The Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, which has been established since 1335, had two challenges: to maintain itself and to defend and consolidate its position at the holy places, especially vis-à-vis the Armenians and the Greeks, through endless quarrels over questions of encroachment. The Latin inscriptions copied by Quaresmius offered a stripped-down reproduction of authenticity, without development of the texts or comment, but this epistemic move was necessitated by these religio-political needs. They were part of this taking of possession of the place and the legitimization of their presence.

Bibliography

Primary sources and editions

- Barret-Kriegel, Blandine ed. *Mabillon : Brèves réflexions sur quelques règles de l'histoire*. Paris: POL, 1990.
- De Sandoli, Sabino ed., *Quaresmio Francesco, Elucidatio terrae sanctae*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1989.
- Huygens R. B. C. *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, Iohannes Wirziburgensis, Theodericus*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994.
- Quaresmio, Francesco. *Historica, theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio*. Antverpiae: ex off. Plantiniana B. Moreti, 1639.
- Roger, Eugène. *La Terre Sainte : ou description topographique tres particuliere des saints Lieux & de la Terre de Promission*. Paris: A. Bertier, 1646.
- Smetius, Martinus. *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber. Accessit auctarium a Justo Lipsio*, Lugduni Batavorum : ex off. Plantiniana : apud F. Raphelengium, 1588
- Van Adrichem, Christiaan, *Theatrum terrae sanctae et Biblicarum historiarum cum tabulis geographicis aere expressis...* Coloniae Agrippinae : in off. Birckmannica, 1590.
- Zuallart, Jean. *Le très dévot voyage de Jerusalem*. Anvers: Arnout Coninx, 1608.

Secondary literature

- Armstrong, Megan C. "Jerusalem in the reinvention of the Catholic tradition, 1500–1700." In *Layered Landscapes: Early Modern Religious Space Across Faiths and Cultures*, edited by Eric Nelson and Jonathan Wright, 11–29. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Armstrong, Megan C. *The Holy Land and the Early Modern Reinvention of Catholicism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Bacci, Michele. *The mystic cave: a history of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem*. Brno: Masaryk University; Roma: Viella, 2017.
- Bagatti, Bellarmino. *Gli antichi edifice sacri di Betlemme: In seguito agli scavi e restauri praticati dalla custodia di Terra Santa (1948–51)*. Gerusalemme: Tip. dei PP. Francescani, 1952.
- Biddle, Martin. *The Tomb of Christ*. Stroud: Sutton publishing, 1999.
- Brizay, François and Véronique Sarrazin ed. *Érudition et culture savante. De l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2019.
- Buffon, Giuseppe. "Les Franciscains en Terre Sainte: de l'espace au territoire, entre opposition et adaptation." In *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Heleen Murrevan den Berg, 65–91. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Bulang, Tobias. "Die Welterfahrung des Autodidakten. Fremde Länder und Sprachen in den Büchern Leonhard Thurneysers zum Thurn." *Daphnis* 45 (2017): 510–37.
- Calis, Richard. "Reconstructing the Ottoman Greek World: Early Modern Ethnography in the Household of Martin Crusius." *Renaissance Quarterly* 72.1 (2019): 148–93.
- Campopiano, Michele. *Writing the Holy Land: The Franciscans of Mount Zion and the Construction of a Cultural Memory, 1300–1550*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Corbo, Virgilio Canio. *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*. 3 vols., Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981.
- Datchev, Lillian. "Ciriaco d'Ancona and the Origins of Epigraphy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 76.2 (2023): 444–96. doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.439.

- Daston, Lorraine. "Authenticity, Autopsia, and Theodor Mommsen's *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*." In *For the sake of learning: essays in honor of Anthony Grafton*, edited by A. Blair, & A.-S. Goeing, vol. 2, 955–973. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- De Nave, Francine. "A Printing Capital in its Ascendancy, Flowering, and Decline." In *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis, 16th-17th c.*, edited by Jan van der Stock, 87–95. Exh. cat. Antwerp: Hessenhuis. Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993.
- Gagoshidze, Giorgi, "Georgian Inscriptions in the Holy Land." In *Georgian Christian Community in the Holy Land*. Tbilisi, 2022.
- Georgi, Katharina, Andreas Rüfenacht, and Bodo Brinkmann. *Archäologie des Heils: das Christusbild im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Auflage. Lindenberg im Allgäu: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2016.
- Germain-de-Franceschi, Anne-Sophie. *D'encre et de poussière: l'écriture du pèlerinage à l'épreuve de l'intimité du manuscrit: récits manuscrits de pèlerinages rédigés en français pendant la Renaissance et la Contre-Réforme (1500–1620)*. Paris: H. Champion, 2009.
- Gomez-Géraud, Marie-Christine. *Le Crépuscule du grand voyage, les récits de pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458–1612)*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000.
- Grafton, Anthony. *The Footnote: a curious history*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Grafton, Anthony. *Inky Fingers*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020.
- Hardy, Nicholas, and Dmitri Levitin ed. *Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe: An Episode in the History of the Humanities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Hénin, Emmanuelle. "*Ceci est un bœuf*". *La querelle des inscriptions dans la peinture*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.
- Henny, Sundar, and Zur Shalev. "Jerusalem Reformed: Rethinking Early Modern Pilgrimage." *Renaissance Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (2022): 796–848. doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.212.
- Heyberger, Bernard. *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle)*. 2nde édition. Rome: École française de Rome, 2014.
- Ingrand-Varenne, Estelle. "L'écriture en jeu et enjeux d'écriture dans la pratique épigraphique française." In *Homo ludens, homo loquens. Le jeu et la parole au Moyen Âge*, edited by M. P. Suarez. 345–360. Madrid: Universidad autónoma de Madrid, 2013.
- Kühnel, Bianca and Gustav Kühnel. *The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem: the crusader lining of an early Christian basilica; with a new edition of the mosaic inscriptions in the appendix by Erich Lamberz*. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019.
- Kühnel, Gustav. "Neue Feldarbeiten Zur Musivischen Und Malerischen Ausstattung Der Geburts-Basilika in Bethlehem." *Kunstchronik* 37 (1984), 507–513.
- Kühnel, Gustav. *Wall painting in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1988.
- Lidov, Alexei. "Hierotopy. The creation of sacred spaces as a form of creativity and subject of cultural history." In *Hierotopy. Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, edited by Alexei Lidov. 32–58. Moscow: Indrik, 2006.
- Lidov, Alexei. *Hierotopy. Spatial Icons and Image-Paradigms in Byzantine Culture*. Moscow: Theoria, 2009.
- Miert, Dirk van, Henk J. M. Nellen, Piet Steenbakkens, and Jetze Touber ed. *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age: God's Word Questioned*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Myers, Mary L. "Rubens et les gravures sur bois de Christoffel Jegher." *Bulletin du Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 25 (1966), 7–23.

- Noonan, F. Thomas. *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; [Washington, D.C.]: Library of Congress, 2007.
- Peri, Oded. *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Pringle, Denys. *The churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus. Volume III: the city of Jerusalem*. New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Proot, Goran, Yann Sordet, and Christophe Vellet, ed. *Un siècle d'excellence typographique: Christophe Plantin et son officine (1555–1655)*. Paris: Éditions des cendres, Bibliothèque Mazarine & Cultura Fonds Library, 2020.
- Re'em, Amit, Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, and Ilya Berkhovitch. "Surviving Three Cycles of Destruction: The Graves of the Crusader Kings in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region*. XV (2022), 71–103.
- Ritsema van Eck, Marianne P. *The Holy Land in observant Franciscan texts (c. 1480-1650): theology, travel, and territoriality*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019
- Roses, Max. *Catalogue du Musée Plantin-Moretus*. 5^e éd. Anvers: J.-E. Buschmann, 1902.
- Roses, Max. *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus*. Paris: Hachette, 1913.
- Sawilla, Jan Marco. *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum Werk der Bollandisten. Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009.
- Shalev, Zur. "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible." *Imago Mundi*, 55:1 (2003), 56–80.
- Schwab, Maren Elisabeth, and Anthony Grafton. *The Art of Discovery: Digging into the past in Renaissance Europe*. Princeton and Oxford: University Press Princeton, 2022.
- Sparrow, John. *Visible Words. A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Stenhouse, William. "Epigraphical Research and Historical Scholarship 1530–1603." PhD dissert., University College London, 2001.
- Stenhouse, William. *The paper museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo: a catalogue raisonné: drawings and prints.... Series A, Antiquities and architecture. 7, Ancient inscriptions*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, in association with the Royal Collection, 2002.
- Stenhouse, William. *Reading Inscriptions & Writing Ancient History. Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*. London: Institute of classical studies suppl. 86, 2005.
- Stenhouse, William. "Epigraphy and Technology: The Impact of the Printing Press." In *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives*, edited by Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais, 23–44, Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2010.
- Tedeschi, Carlo. "Histoire et préhistoire des 'jeux de lettres'." *In-Scriptio* (2017) [en ligne:] <http://in-scription.edel.univ-poitiers.fr/index.php?id=196>;
- Timm, Frederike. *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs: Die "Peregrinatio in terramsanctam" (1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift*. Stuttgart: E. Hauswedell, 2006.
- Tully, Ken, and Chad Leahy. *Jerusalem Afflicted: Quaresmius, Spain, and the Idea of a 17th-Century Crusade*. London/New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Voet, Leon. *The Golden compasses, vol. 1, Christophe Plantin and the Moretuses: their lives and their world*. Amsterdam: Vangendt and C^o; London: Routledge and K. Paul; New York: A. Schram, 1969.
- Voet, Leon, *The Golden compasses, vol. 2, The Management of a printing and publishing house in Renaissance and Baroque*. Amsterdam: Vangendt and C^o; London: Routledge and K. Paul; New York: A. Schram, 1972.

Vuilleumier Laurens, Florence, and Pierre Laurens. *L'Âge de l'inscription. La rhétorique du monument en Europe du XV^e au XVII^e siècle*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2010.

Williams, Wes. *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: "The Undiscovered Country."* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.