Towards Jerusalem: The Architecture of Pilgrimage

Thesis

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TOWARDS JERUSALEM: THE ARCHITECTURE OF PILGRIMAGE

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This dissertation is dedicated to the quintessential traveller, my mother, Ora Merin.
INTRODUCTION

Suspended between heaven and earth, Jerusalem is not just a site—but an orientation. Occupying a place in the geographic subconscious of Western culture, its name is evoked in poetry and dedications of cities, its soil covers the floors of chapels, rocks collected from its ground are used as foundation stones for towers, and relics of those who lived and died there are enshrined in the world’s most visited sites. Despite this undeniable influence, this thesis strays away from such symbolic toponymy or literal displacement of fragments, and opts instead to focus on the spatial transliteration of Jerusalem in order to appropriate its sanctity. It considers issues of ritual, representation, topography, and memory in order to explore how the idea of Jerusalem has articulated the human relationship with the sacred. Specifically, it focuses on a particular praxis that has mobilized the aura of the Holy City for millennia—pilgrimage. Studying this phenomenon reveals that, despite its temporal character, pilgrimage is a powerful vector that often destabilizes the civic, economic, and political conditions of the places that cross its path. This means that while pilgrims move with a clear sense of religious orientation, their mental- ity is often hijacked by institutions of power that wish to exploit their subjectivity for their own gain. The manipulation of spiritual will into spatial form results in the production of structures, landscapes, and representations that I refer to as the Architecture of Pilgrimage. Before exploring the themes and case studies of this thesis, it is important to state the obvious: pilgrimage did not begin in Jerusalem; it is a phenomenon that maintains continuity from antiquity until today.1 Anthropologist Simon Coleman argues that any attempt to define pilgrimage is futile, as the conditions that influence its character—namely systems of movement and modes of spirituality—are perpetually in a state of flux.2 As such, pilgrimage spans fields of scholarship in which the discussion is often not about pilgrimage but rather about the lens through which it is understood: themes such as ritual and faith, subjectivity and identity, historical geography and archaeology, and, in this thesis, the architecture and landscape.3 Amongst the various attempts by theorists to define pilgrimage, there are several similarities and contradictions that are relevant for this discussion. The Oxford Dictionary provides a rather loose definition: pilgrimage is “a journey to a place of particular interest or significance,” while another source claims, with somewhat more precision, that “pilgrimage implies a journey by a devotee in pursuance of a primarily religious objective.”4 Anthropologist Matthew Dillon suggests that the pilgrim’s goal is not to visit a place of interest nor to satisfy a religious objective; rather, what is at stake in pilgrimage is the very first act of detachment, of “paying a visit to a sacred site outside the boundaries of one’s own physical environment.”5 Indeed, as in any ritual, a crucial aspect of the pilgrim’s journey is the disturbance caused to daily life: a break from ties of kinship and domestic labour.6 By disengaging from these structures (and replacing one ritual for another), the pilgrim enters a state of anti-structure, becoming a subject driven by a crystallised sense of purpose, intention, and orientation. This places the pilgrim as a stranger in his or her travels, true to the etymological origin of pilgrimage from the Latin proponere, or foreigner.

During this phase—defined by Victor and Edith Turner as liminal—the pilgrim develops a heightened mode of perception, as he or she becomes susceptible to new concepts and becomes acutely aware of the sensory details of their surroundings. Due to this receptive intensity during the pilgrim’s liminal stage, the thesis places particular emphasis on the enigbles written by pilgrims on their journeys. A neologism of travel and monologue, a travelogue is a form of writing that is between a survey and a diary; it implies being physically on the journey while also claiming a particular agency of personal interpretation and representation. This travelogue is written within a particular timeframe in a pilgrim’s life, what Turner defines as being out of time—beyond or outside the time which measures secular process and routine.7 In From Ritual to Theatre (1982), Turner cites Arnold van Gennep’s Rites of Passage (1908) in defining the three phases of separation, transition and incorporation. At the initial stage of separation, the pilgrim is detached from daily life while entering into “a new state or condition.”8 In the next stage, the transition, the pilgrim enters an ambiguous stage of liminal nature where new social rules and rituals can be assumed. It is during this phase, I argue, that pilgrims document their

2 Introductions in Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman Antiquity by the Editors, eds. Jan Elsner and John Gillingham (Oxford University Press, 2001), 1
6 Victor and Edith Turner define the anti-structure condition as communitas: “a form of primary social organization that is essentially unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arise spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances [...] the distinction between structures (and community) and communion is that between secular and sacred, communitas is an essential and generic human bond.” — Turner and Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture, 310
8 Ibid
Christian pilgrimage is not dissimilar from the Jewish and Islamic traditions in its ritualistic components. However, in stark difference, Christian pilgrimages were not, as a general rule, allocated a fixed itinerary. It is; thus, it is distinctly personal and personally voluntary. Thus, early Christians who embarked on a Scriptural journey to the land of the Bible were not, for the most part, on well-trodden roads, and they certainly were not rewarded by a clerical institution. Their gain was personal, moral, and spiritual; it reflected their established community and perhaps increased their devotional authority. In that sense, Christian pilgrimages present a particular subjectivity whose agency lies in its own hands. It is a personal and voluntary activity. It thus places the emphasis on the pilgrim’s personal decision rather than a theological framework. It is for this reason that travels are crucial; each pilgrimage does not merely reproduce only a portion of an existing religious text, but rather as a single subject who opts out of their own daily routine in order to voluntarily enter this liminal stage. Their topographic reading is thus crucial in light of their own initial expectations and motivations for the journey.

This personal aspect of Christian pilgrimage is a mandatory rite that includes a single visit to Mecca by every adult Muslim at least once in their lifetime. As the birthplace of Muhammad, Mecca is the House of the Kaaba, the “House of God”, where a series of rituals (known as Umrah) take place, such as circling the shrine seven times, kissing the black stone of the wall of the Kaaba, and finally praying towards the Kaaba. Within the valley, one can visit the Prophet’s Mosque, and performing animal sacrifice. Prayer was not initially directed towards the Kaaba; in 610 AD, the prophet Muhammad dictated that the first direction of prayer—the Qibla—should be oriented towards Jerusalem; only in 624 AD, shortly after his migration from Mecca to Medina [Hijri], did the Qibla’s reference point shift to Mecca. Indeed, the Quran does not specifically Mecca itself as a holy place but speaks of an “ancient house” that is the destination of Muslim pilgrims: “Announce to the people the pilgrimage to the sacred house. Several times, on every camel, coming from every deep and distant highway that they may witness the benefits and recall the name of God [...] then let them complete with the other rites their pilgrimage and confound the ancient house” [Quran 22:27–30]. Pilgrimage in Islam is thus based on the ritualisation of script and place.

The history of pilgrimage is almost as fickle with the authority of their journey, which have been documented in the travelogues which contribute to their elevated status. Written during a particular time (or “out of time” as Turner called it) in a pilgrim’s journey, these travelogues are highly subjective in nature, often including the projection of imaginary views over an actual territory. These are not only travelogues about roads and monuments, but also of natural landscapes, urban spaces, and the rituals of those encountered within them: in a word, the topography of their journey. This topographic understanding of their journey is crucial for the thesis: it is understood as the spatial envelope of pilgrimage, formed in the scale between buildings and places. Travelogues and their topographic reading are thus a key in this sense, a defining element of this design project, because they not only expose the condition of the pilgrim’s journey and places of worship but also continually rebuild the history of pilgrim activity, which have included symbols and codes that reflected a pagan background, though they have included a monotheistic rationale. According to the Hebrew Bible, these travelogues were mandatory: “Offer a sacrifice a three times a year, on the anniversary of the celebration male among you must appear before God the Lord” [Exodus 23:14–17]. A Jewish pilgrimage participating in these festivals became part of a large group of pilgrims, acting as a passive and passive participant in public worship while fulfilling a religious obligation.

Pilgrimage in Islam is similar in that respect. Following among the most significant events in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, namely to Greek and Egyptian antiquity, where healing pilgrimage was common amongst individuals seeking to improve their physical condition. One of the most significant events in the pilgrimage industry was the Asserki of Jerusalem, the “House of God”, where a series of rituals (known as Umrah) take place, such as circling the shrine seven times, kissing the black stone of the wall of the Kaaba, and finally praying towards the Kaaba. Within the valley, one can visit the Prophet’s Mosque, and performing animal sacrifice. Prayer was not initially directed towards the Kaaba; in 610 AD, the prophet Muhammad dictated that the first direction of prayer—the Qibla—should be oriented towards Jerusalem; only in 624 AD, shortly after his migration from Mecca to Medina [Hijri], did the Qibla’s reference point shift to Mecca. Indeed, the Quran does not specify Mecca itself as a holy place but speaks of an “ancient house” that is the destination of Muslim pilgrims: “Announce to the people the pilgrimage to the sacred house. Several times, on every camel, coming from every deep and distant highway that they may witness the benefits and recall the name of God [...] then let them complete with the other rites their pilgrimage and confound the ancient house” [Quran 22:27–30]. Pilgrimage in Islam is thus based on the ritualisation of script and place.
through tangible recollection. Collective memory and monuments thus go hand in hand: they are used by those in power in a continuous process of invention and localisation of time. This tension will group the unity and continuity. Their visibility and affectivity provide proof that the past is not just a series of ordinary events occurring in nondescript places, but meaningful sites in order to facilitate the transfer of Jerusalem's typological, structural, and topographical attributes beyond its physical boundaries and onto other Jerusalems in Europe.

Scriptural pilgrimage in Christianity can thus be defined as the travel to monuments that commemorate or to artefacts erected by a community of individuals to commemorate or to recollect collective memories. As a constellation of sacred sites, these mnemonic markers demarcate a territory that has come to be known as the Holy Land. This sacred topography was complemented by biblical cities like Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Capernaum, and natural sites such as the Jordan River, Mount Tabor, or the Valley of Elah. The land was thus made holy as an accumulation of sites invested with scriptural affiliations. This, for this thesis, since shrines such as those found in Rome or Compostella, despite their religious significance for Christian memory, are products of cults of relics and martyrdoms centuries after the canonisation of the Bible, and are therefore excluded (in the context of this research) as sites of scriptural pilgrimage. Thus, this thesis focuses on Christian pilgrimage, but also to understand this phenomenon through a modern lens: that is, their subjugation to the cult of heritage, where the past is being continuously exploited for economic and political gain.

IMAGE AND PILGRIMAGE

While script plays a crucial role in the history of Jerusalem pilgrimage, it nevertheless remains subject to the regime of visual perception. Unlike the Jewish or Islamic religions, Christianity (par- ticularly the Roman Latin Church) instrumentalised religious art as the bridge between the visible and the invisible. Catholicism’s reliance on the agency of visual representations has been both its strength and its weakness: it allowed the Church to expand its power amongst the literate crowds of pre-Revolution Europe, while after 1557 it led to recurring attacks and finally to the purge of those images as icons of idolatrous worship. This thesis studies the use of visual representation in theological art and acknowledges its centrality to the phenomenon of pilgrimage, as it oscillates between the symbolic element that is contingent on interpretation and religious experience and an aesthetic sensibility that re- lates to invention and localisation of time. This tension will group the unity and continuity. Their visibility and affectivity provide proof that the past is not just a series of ordinary events occurring in nondescript places, but meaningful sites in order to facilitate the transfer of Jerusalem’s typological, structural, and topographical attributes beyond its physical boundaries and onto other Jerusalems in Europe.

The chapters of this thesis unfold both chronologically and thematically. Chapter One begins with the birth of Christianity, exploring how a religion that was essentially universal and anti-worldly territorialised in Constantine’s Jerusalem of the fourth century. In a series of monuments and landmarks, Christian memories were localised across the sacred topography of the city and were consequently ritualised by processes of clergy and pilgrims who cited scriptural verses over historic sites in order to recall Christ’s final days of sacrifice. This public character of worship in Jerusalem encapsulated the triumph of Christianity over paganism after centuries of persecution, and heralded a golden age for Jerusalem pilgrims that would come to an end in the seventh century with the Islamic conquest of the city. The city of Jerusalem’s Christianisation was thus completed by the West began to erect adaptations of Jerusalem’s sanctity and authority through local altars, structures, and landscapes, which became pilgrimage sites or the sacred places those who configured the city in the East. These other Jerusalem were built by instrumentalising analogical thinking, a concept theorised in Chapter Two by analysing the way in which Jerusalem’s most holy place, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was spatially abstracted into its distinct features: a basilica and a rotunda. This architectural coupling was then abstracted, displaced and reconstructed in Europe and in Europe’s analogical Jerusalems, a new site which could not only facilitate particular rituals which were indigenous to Jerusalem’s liturgy but have also spatialised the tension which is found in pilgrimage and in Christianity at large.

While the second chapter explores how particular structures facilitated flexible practices of recollection, Chapter Three focuses on a single ritual: the Stations of the Cross. Based on the Passion, the Via Crucis is an episodic progression of Christ’s path from trial to crucifixion and final resurrection. Consequently, the weakness and the issues of sacred topography and pilgrimage in order to formulate a critique of collective memory.

As a counter-project to the valorisation of Jerusalem into an archipelago of landmarks where historic monuments are valorised (literally ‘enhanced’) for maximum productivity and profitability within the heritage industry, it is here that the thesis questions issues of sacred topography and pilgrimage in order to formulate a critique of collective memory.

However powerful these rituals are in fostering the recollection of memory, Baldwíns argues that in order to assure continuous recollection, Baldwíns argues that in order to assure unity, “[a] society, first of all, needs to find landmarks.” The visibility and its spatial, architectural and topographical attributes beyond its physical boundaries and onto other Jerusalems in Europe. The chapters of this thesis unfold both chronologically and thematically. Chapter One begins with the birth of Christianity, exploring how a religion that was essentially universal and anti-worldly territorialised in Constantine’s Jerusalem of the fourth century. In a series of monuments and landmarks, Christian memories were localised across the sacred topography of the city and were consequently ritualised by processes of clergy and pilgrims who cited scriptural verses over historic sites in order to recall Christ’s final days of sacrifice. This public character of worship in Jerusalem encapsulated the triumph of Christianity over paganism after centuries of persecution, and heralded a golden age for Jerusalem pilgrims that would come to an end in the seventh century with the Islamic conquest of the city. The city of Jerusalem’s Christianisation was thus completed by the West began to erect adaptations of Jerusalem’s sanctity and authority through local altars, structures, and landscapes, which became pilgrimage sites or the sacred places those who configured the city in the East. These other Jerusalem were built by instrumentalising analogical thinking, a concept theorised in Chapter Two by analysing the way in which Jerusalem’s most holy place, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was spatially abstracted into its distinct features: a basilica and a rotunda. This architectural coupling was then abstracted, displaced and reconstructed in Europe and in Europe’s analogical Jerusalems, a new site which could not only facilitate particular rituals which were indigenous to Jerusalem’s liturgy but have also spatialised the tension which is found in pilgrimage and in Christianity at large.

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in sites of Jerusalem pilgrimage, it imagines a topography that embodies the notion of being "inside" Jerusalem; documenting the enduring power of the holy city to attract pilgrims not only through its physical entity but also to locations where its identity has been displaced and celebrated as an idea that is larger than the city itself. This travelogue disregards geographical trajectories and opts, instead, to move from station to station through means of association and imagination.

By constructing this travelogue, the photographer becomes a designer of a new spatial entity; a topographical path with a clear orientation that provides an alternative to physical travel through the possibility of analogous journeys.

**TOPOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHICS**

As a practice of actual movement through space, pilgrimage could not be understood merely as the intermittent fulfilment of the monument, but rather as the continuous sensation of topography. Topography, (literally ‘place description’) is understood here as the three-dimensional formation of the terrain (including both natural and artificial elements) that articulates the cultural and the natural. Topography is also fundamental to the experience of travel; it is perpetually redefined by the movement and perception of those who cross it; their projections, imaginations, and representations construct its surface and define its contours. As such, the topographic reading of pilgrimage can be understood as the methodological approach of this dissertation: the construction and reconstruction of topography through surveys of places of worship. This topographical understanding was not only used as the primary material of this dissertation—as can be seen in chapters one and four—which rely on travels on primary materials—but also as the method of inquiry itself.

The photographers were Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Terence Maloney, and Robert Poliakoff. The exhibition presented a series of hand-bound portfolios, surrounded by the repeated photographic mise-en-scène of a building facade. The aim was to break through its spiritual envelope. As a result, both the photographs and the exhibition depicted an urban wasteland, by using the visual attitude that was purposefully unsentimental. By adopting the 'indifferent' attitude of Baltz, Adams blurred figure and ground, giving prominence to the ground, and even to those in Jerusalem itself—set within the holy city to attract pilgrims not only towards sites of Jerusalem pilgrimage, it imagines a continuous topography of pilgrimage, not different from markers, paths, homes, and passers-by.

This interpretation of topography is derived from a photography exhibition that took place in upstate New York in 1975. Entitled New Topographics: Photographs of Man-Altered Landscape, the exhibition included the works of ten photographers who were: Lewis Baltz, Robert Adams, Robert Poliakoff, Terence Maloney, and Robert Poliakoff. The exhibition was a critical reading of the relationship between photography and the environment that was both influential and controversial. The exhibit was curated by John Szarkowski and Peter Galassi, with a written introduction by Lewis Baltz. The exhibition was a milestone in the development of contemporary art photography and had a significant impact on the field.

The exhibition was a milestone in the development of contemporary art photography and had a significant impact on the field. It helped to establish the New York School of photographers and marked the beginning of a new era in landscape photography. It also helped to establish the importance of topography and the environment in contemporary art.

By adopting the ‘indifferent’ attitude of Baltz, Adams, and Shore, the photographs are my attempt to downplay the monumentality of Jerusalem and to break through its spiritual envelope. As a result of four years of fieldwork, these images illustrate the written chapters and comprise the design project of this dissertation. Adopting the temporal and liminality of the on-the-road topographers, these photographs encapsulate both a physical terrain and a mental state, where real and imaginary elements construct the sacred topography of my own pilgrimage. Thus, this PhD by-design considers this topographic survey as a project, following the genealogy and history of architect-historians such as Denise Scott Brown and François Choay who have used photography to observe the built and devise a design methodology through image-making. The resulted images are then the illustration of the historical component of the dissertation and the photographic travelogue that concludes it. By creating this body of work, this thesis will demonstrate that topography is manipulated not only by designation, enclosure, urbanisation, and agricultural improvement, but also through the carving of religious beliefs. Pilgrims—myself amongst them—do not simply cross landscapes; they fabricate topographies through peripatetic rituals that redefine the three-dimensional surface of the earth. The pilgrim’s journey is thus directed by a topographic perception of architecture, landscapes, and representations, resisting the contained spaces that are delineated by organised structures of power. The notion of sacred topography is further discussed in Medieval Modem: Art out of Time (2012), where Alexander Nagel asserts that the transpor- tation of Jerusalem’s relics (both defined objects and formless earth taken from the city) to Rome generated a fluid territory, where one inhabits a space that is “both grounded and not grounded in real earthly territory.” This geographical detachment from both Jerusalem and Rome creates the possibility of being neither here nor there, an effect he calls “topographical destabilization.” The possibility of bringing Jerusalem to Rome reveals the true character of both cities, and confirms “the deeper philosophical conviction that earthly places are themselves only distributions within the spatial dimension, a dimension, like that of

**INTRODUCTION—TOWARDS JERUSALEM**

The visitors are free to roam the exhibition, which is presented as a single large-scale installation. The exhibition is divided into three sections: the first section is dedicated to the history of topography, the second to the history of photography, and the third to the history of landscape architecture.

The exhibition is presented in a series of large-scale photographs that are displayed on a wall. The photographs are arranged in a grid, with each photograph accompanied by a brief written introduction. The exhibition is accompanied by a catalogue that includes an introduction by the curator and an essay by the photographer. The exhibition is open to the public and is free to attend.

The exhibition is a milestone in the development of contemporary art photography and had a significant impact on the field. It helped to establish the New York School of photographers and marked the beginning of a new era in landscape photography. It also helped to establish the importance of topography and the environment in contemporary art.
time, that is no more than a flustering veil from a metaphysical perspective.” Laugel’s conviction regarding the flexibility of geographical affiliations is one that might actually bring forth a truer version of the original, one distilled from the excess profanities of reality.

Ludovico Laugel, three scholars are notable for discussing the translation of Jerusalem in the West: Bianca Kühnel, Robert Ousterhout, and Anabel Wharton. A historian of medieval Jerusalem, Kühnel pioneered the investigation of Jerusalem’s translations in the West. She edited the essay anthologies The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art (1998) and Visual Constructs of Jerusalem (1996), exploring the ways

Jerusalem has been represented in monuments, maps, and visual representations around the world, including both tangible elements such as topographic maps, and visual representations such as paintings and photographs. This study analyzes the ways in which Jerusalem was represented and explored in the literature and artistic production of the Middle Ages, focusing on the role of the written word and visual representation in shaping perceptions of the holy city. The chapter introduces the context and the main argument of the thesis, outlining the significance of Jerusalem as a site of pilgrimage and pilgrimage literature, and emphasizing the role of the written word in the construction of Jerusalem’s identity.

1. The Architecture of the City: The Case of Santo Stefano

2. The Role of the Written Word: The Case of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

3. The Visual Representation of Jerusalem: The Case of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

4. The Mapping of Jerusalem: The Case of the Holy City

5. The Colonial Appropriation of Jerusalem

This thesis examines the complex and multifaceted ways in which Jerusalem was represented and explored in the literature and artistic production of the Middle Ages, focusing on the role of the written word and visual representation in shaping perceptions of the holy city. The study analyzes the ways in which Jerusalem was represented and explored in the literature and artistic production of the Middle Ages, focusing on the role of the written word and visual representation in shaping perceptions of the holy city.
also generating surplus value. Rossi’s book, written before the rise of UNESCO and the heritage industry, could not have predicted the ultimate commodification of what he described as “certain artefacts [that] become part of [the city’s] memory […] in this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it.” Indeed, these memories within the city have been enclosed, enhanced, and as this thesis will show - have turned into an asset under the cult of heritage which has seen exponential growth in the last three decades. This commodification distorts the phenomenon of spiritual travel and blurs the distinction between a pilgrim and a tourist; this economic aspect of collective memory will be scrutinised in this thesis for exploiting cultural and religious values for the creation and circulation of capital.

Once this legacy of corruption is confronted, the thesis will attempt to reclaim the enchantment initially found in pilgrimage by proposing alternative methods of devotion that could be enacted in flexible topographies through the combination of text, image, memory, and imagination. Using photography as a design tool to create an alternative travelogue, a new type of pilgrimage can emerge where the effect of ‘destabilising topography’ described above could be balanced by the stabilising quality of rituals, and where memory could be reclaimed in a personal, rather than collective, sense. Arguably, the effect of ‘destabilising topography’ described above can only be balanced by the stabilising quality of rituals. In the words of Antoine Saint-Exupery, rituals are “temporal techniques of making oneself at home in the world.” Like things in space, rituals offer structure, sameness, and repetition; they allow one to create distance or even estrangement from themselves. Be they physical or mental, still or peripatetic, speaking or silent, this thesis will thus try to untangle the rituals of pilgrimage from its ties to power in order to reclaim it as an act of liberty, of movement through space and time, progressing towards a destination that may never fully arrive, but nevertheless declares an orientation to life itself.

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49 Weizman, Eyal, Hollow Land (London and New York: Verso, 2007)
52 Ibid
53 Quoted in Han, Byung-Chul, The Disappearance of Ritual (2009)
THE INVENTION OF THE HOLY LAND

PILGRIMAGE AND THE CHRISTIAN APPROPRIATION OF JERUSALEM

The earliest traces of human settlements in Jerusalem date to 5000 BC. A Canaanite village perched on the Judean Mountains above the Gihon spring, far from any strategic trade-route, it was populated mostly by graves. By the nineteenth century BC, Jerusalem was a substantial city-state, its name first recorded as “Urusalim”, perhaps after Salam or Shalom (“peace” in Arabic or Hebrew). Over the next centuries, Jerusalem experienced recurring attacks from the New Kingdom of Egypt to the south and Assyria to the north, which encouraged Jerusalemites to build their city as a citadel of steep fortification, terraced housing, and intricate tunnels. However, it was not until King David captured the stronghold in 1000 BC that Jerusalem was established as a capital city. This was also the beginning of the city’s spiritual significance as the centre of the Hebrews, a uniquely monotheistic tribe that had arrived centuries earlier from Mesopotamia.

David’s son, King Solomon, built the First (Jewish) Temple on top of Mount Moriah—believed to be the biblical site where the Hebrew patriarch Abraham nearly sacrificed his only son, Isaac—thus commemorating the site as one of unconditional devotion. Built over seven years, the shrine at the centre of Temple Mount housed “The Holy of the Holies”—the wooden Ark of the Covenant. According to the Book of Exodus of the Hebrew Bible, pilgrimage to the Temple was mandatory for all Jews three times a year, corresponding to the agricultural calendar. This ritual came to a halt in 587 BC when the city was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, who executed King Zedekiah, burned down Solomon’s Temple, and exiled the Hebrews.

In Babylon, the Israelites formed the Biblical community, and rebuilt the physical city below, the nascent Jewish religion ascribed increasing religious and symbolic significance to the Jerusalem above as the city of an idea.
Towards Jerusalem

Chapter One

The Invention of the Holy Land

Contrary to the hopes of Christ’s persecutors, the crucifixion of the charismatic leader from Nazareth did not put an end to his messianic fervour. On the contrary, it transformed the capital of the empire—Rome—into a pilgrimage site. The Holy Land—so it was called—was an imagined topography, which manifested itself in the collective memories of the believers, who shared memories. In the words of anthropologist Gil admirer of the sacred city and its memory, the land was ‘the city of the living memories’ (in today’s Syria), where the adherents were nick-named “Christians” by the local pagans. The Jerusalem Synagogue responded to this dramatic conversion by sending its leaders to Damascus to counter this movement, and successfully so. Unfortunately, this mission failed when he was confronted mid-route with the new Christ. As a consequence, Paul (or Saul) would eventually become the faith’s most important figure after Christ. Paul began his missionary activities by spreading the faith through ambitious excursions and the writing of letters. His message was simple, clear, and direct: anyone could enter the coming kingdom of God, provided they believed in him. This sense of currency (or ‘universal salvation’) had no distinctions of class, gender or ethnicity. This moral code set Christianity apart from its genealogical ancestor: Judaism was an inherent and privileged tradition, formed through blood relations and collective celebrations, whereas Christianity was an inclusive religion, open to all who opted in and were willing to undertake an individual commitment. As such, in Christianity, we witness a shift from the terrestrial finite to celestial eternity, from collective fate to individual faith.

In Paul’s missionary travels between the urban areas of North Africa and the Holy Land, his letters and appeals to convert were addressed not only to Jews but also uncircumcised Gentiles. With this emancipation from the Jewish roots, Christianity was born. It was an independent faith and could reach as far as the capital of the empire—Rome. Mixed Jewish-Gentile communities proliferated in urban centres across the Mediterranean; they would gather on Sundays to read scripture (often out loud), initiate new converts into the faith through baptism, and perform the ceremonial breaking of bread. Faith, therefore, was the cornerstone of the teachings, giving, Eucharist, or the Eucharist. Reading and the authority of the written word were crucial to the expansion of the Church, allowing a steady flow of spiritual texts for the first century. Questions of good and evil, life and death, order and chaos, sacred and profane—these fundamental issues were articulated in the letters that were read aloud in Sunday gatherings. Literacy was thus a critical factor in the expansion of the early Church, creating an alternative channel of communication which functioned as an unconfined infrastructure for the spread of Christian theology.

In addition to the prescriptive letters of the Apostles (and their successors, the ecclesiastical Fathers) written in the Old Testament Book of Prophecies, which chronicles the conquests and defeats of the Israelites in Judaea, as well as the memories of the traditions of the Synagogue in Israel, God did not abandon the faithful and recalled from within an intangible celestial realm, accessible from one’s own mind. Thus, collective memories were strategically uprooted and depersonalised away from the earthly Jerusalem, which was now used as a symbol in sermons and prayers to facilitate reorientation and give a clear orientation.

Also, the earthly Jerusalem—associated with the Jewish enslavement and sacrifice and geographic specificity—was deemed inferior to the possibility of unbound ritual freedom. Christianity’s relocation into the spiritual Jerusalem was strategic: as an illegal cult operating within a pagan Roman empire, separation from land was required for the expansion of the religion. Indeed, early Christianity did not grow through forced territorial conquests, nor by subjecting nations to its control (at least not at first). It was a diffuse form of power that spread through the flow of travellers and pilgrims. These minor social actors were invited to an imagined topography, which manifested during prayers as an orientation to the easterly Jerusalem.

While the Crucifixion paints a picture of Christ’s entire life in the Galilee, the recollection of collective memories focuses on his last days in Jerusalem. The Christian’s historical collective memory, sacrifice (rather than his life with the disciples or his miracles) would eventually make Jerusalem the principal site for these memories to be localised. This process of conversion and centralisation of collective memories of the Holy Land, was an inclusive religion, open to all who opted in.

The last quarter of the first century was marked by a series of crises. The Christian Scriptures had morphed from allegory into history, and now presented the Crucifixion as a literal event that happened to Christ as a man. The final product of Christ’s resurrection and ascension is a clear example of the ‘conversion of things not seen’, the localisation of memories was the conclusion of a process of institutionalisation in Christianity, whose growing spiritual power was translated into control over people and resources, and thus had to take physical form.

The localisation of memory was made possible in 312 AD when Emperor Constantine assumed the title of ‘Chrisios’ (Christios) and led a Christian army to victory over the Roman forces at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. The Edict of Milan (313 AD) legalising a religion that had been persecuted for centuries by pagan Rome, was a monumental proclamation to Christianity’s ability to direct his economic powers to the East and commemorate scriptural sites (preferably on top of pagan shrines). This monumental conversion was, however, a two-edged sword (and Constantine himself), but soon established Jerusalem as a tangible destination for Jerusalem pilgrims to congregate, pray, and recollect the life and popular memory of Christ. Scriptural pilgrimage could now be practised through retracing Christ’s own salvation, moving between the places where he walked, preached, and suffered, as the journey described in the New Testament.

Text, indeed, is crucial here. It was the scriptural travel of early Christian pilgrims, which were guided by scripture and later recorded their personal experiences in writing for the benefit of future travellers. Unlike their Jewish and pagan predecessors, these pilgrims were distinguished by their inherent subjectivity and outlook on the journey. To better understand this phenomenon, two travel writings of fourth-century Christian pilgrims will be explored below: the itinerary of the Pilgrim from Bordeaux (333 AD) and the letter written by Saint Egeria’s companion Nitza (362 AD) of her journey from Nazareth did not put an end to his messianic fervour, and now presented the Eucharist as the principal site for these memories to be localised. This process of conversion and centralisation of collective memories of the Holy Land, was an inclusive religion, open to all who opted in.

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sites, thus creating a useful index for the scriptural enthusiasts of the Roman province. The Bordeaux pilgrim’s narrative shared some similarities with the itinerary, namely the subordination of a place to text and the mythologisation of Palestine’s geography. However, in contrast to the alphabetical order of the Itinerarium, the novelty of the Itinerarium was its linear character: the pilgrim from Bordeaux lists the sites in order of geographic encounter, thus becoming a useful tool for future travellers.

Once the pilgrim passes Caesarea (the capital of the Roman Province of Judea) the initial brevity of the Itinerarium gives way to an elaborate guidebook, which uses affective language to conjure up scriptural memories in greater detail:

... A mile from there is the place called Sychar, where the Samaritan woman went down to draw water, at the very place where Jacob drew the well, and our lord Jesus Christ, upon Jesus’ departure from Jerusalem, took branches and strewed them in Christ’s path. The rime he saw was part of Solomon’s Second Temple, not of the first one, built by Solomon; Zacharias was a silversmith from the Old Testament, not father of the holy Baptist; and the plane trees he saw were planted by Jacob; a rock he described in a vineyard marks the site of Judas’s betrayal of Jesus; a palm tree is the same one “from which children took branches and strewed them in Christ’s path.” Places relating to Christ’s life as a man, however, had yet to be infused with a redemptive narrative, and were therefore omitted from the journey—or from its representation. Capernaum and Nazareth, located only a day’s trip from his route, were ignored. The Itinerarium projected a system of belief that was developed outside the Holy Land and thus was concerned only with the particular events recollected in Western services.

In the Holy City, the Bordeaux Pilgrim bore witness to the invention of Christian Jerusalem.

This invention was achieved through a large-scale construction project launched in the aftermath of the Council of Nicaea in 325 AD, when Constantine summoned the Empire’s bishops (a recorded total of 318 attendees) to discuss the unification of the Christian doctrine and the celebration of Easter. As an emerging institution, Christianity was in need of newly-erected monuments where its members’ recollections could be staged. Following a recommendation from Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem, Constantine ordered the construction of a series of churches in Palestine to commemorate the events of the Passion, death, and resurrection.

Less than a decade after the Council, these recently established monuments would appear in the Bordeaux Pilgrim’s increasingly elaborate descriptions. He enters Jerusalem from the East Gate and proceeds west along a walled street towards the Temple Mount, thus tracing the path of Jewish pilgrims before 70 AD. He describes the enormous labour that went into its construction, the architectural remnants of the great vaults “where Solomon used to torture demons”, and the subterranean chambers of Solomon’s former palace “where he was when he wrote of Wisdom.” When he reaches the epicentre of the Temple Mount plateau, where the shrine used to stand, he describes the residues of both pagan and Jewish presence: And in the sanctuary itself, where the Temple stood which Solomon built there is marble in front of the altar which has on it the blood of Zacharias—you think it had only been shed today […] two statues of Hadrain stand there. And, not far from them, a pierced stone which the Jews come and anoint each year. They mourn and rend their garments and then depart.

While archaeologically inaccurate, the text nevertheless paints a picture of Jerusalem as a city undergoing ideological and theological transformation. For the first time since 70 AD, Jews were allowed back into the city thanks to Constantine’s decision from 334. For him, Jewish Jerusalem was no longer a threat; much like the pagan Aelia, it was now part of the past. Indeed, Jerusalem was about to be transformed by a series of monuments that would shift the centre of gravity away from the palimpsest of the old Jerusalem on Temple Mount and towards an entire territory of sacred sites.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim visits several of these sites, including a basilica on Mount Olives “where the Lord went up to pray,” the tomb “in which laid Lazarus, whom the Lord Raised”; an “exceptionally beautiful basilica” in Abraham’s city, Tereninhar, and the Basilica in Bethlehem, where Christ was born. Many of these sites were built by Constantine’s mother, Empress Helena, who is also believed to have discovered Christ’s True Cross. Constantine’s biographer wrote that Helena’s journey to Palestine was one “to the ground which the Saviour’s feet had trodden,”
Christianity by the Empire, as well as the empowerment of foreign visitors to dramatically alter the conditions of prayer in Jerusalem. In the following decades, additions in stone were erected in and around the Holy City to commemorate a growing number of sites: the Basilica of the Apostles on Mount Zion, the Chapel of St. James (352 AD), the Martyrium of the Baptist near the Mount of Olives (363 AD), an octagonal church on the site of the Ascension, and a church in memory of the Agony (358 AD). But the epiphrasis of this wide construction project was undoubtedly the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the most spatially complex and theologically charged site of them all, was created to commemorate Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection, the dogmatic events of the Christian religion. Although these events had an inherently spatial dimension in religious recollection, they were not readily visible as material traces or artifacts in fourth-century Jerusalem; therefore, a site for their localisation was needed. For the erection in that spot of a house of prayer: and this he did, not on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Saviour himself. He judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality all expectation, the venerable and hollowed monument of the Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine, Chapter XXVII.

The reappearance of Christ’s empty grave from the depths of the earth signalled the dawn of the New Jerusalem from above. While the accuracy of Eusebius’s description is debatable, its political implications for Jerusalem were undeniable: the recovery of Christ’s empty tomb was tangible proof of his resurrection and would remain unchallenged until the late nineteenth century, as will be explored in chapter four. Jerusalem was destined to become the spiritual capital of the Roman Empire, and funds began to flow into the city from all directions. In a letter to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, Constantine delivered precise instructions for the erection of the world’s most beautiful church, and designated infinite amounts of marble, gold, and labourers for the completion of the task. The Bordeaux Pilgrim visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre two years after the Council of Nicaea (two years before the official dedication of the edifice). He describes the church’s multiple localities:

On your left is the hillock Golgotha where the Lord was crucified, and about a stone’s throw away from it the vault where they laid his body, and he rose again on the third day. By order of Emperor Constantine there has now been built there a basilica—‘I mean a place for the lord’—which has beside it cisterns of remarkable beauty, and beside them a baptistery where children are baptised. This description of the early phase of the erection of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre conveys the juxtaposition of two historical locations, coupled with liturgical vessels, such as the basilica (an ancient structure that became the typological blueprint for Christian churches, as will be discussed in the following chapter) and a baptistery, where new members were initiated into the faith (the Bethulda has been excavated by the expedition). Eusebius’s text describes in great detail: from the north-south axis of Asia’s cardo, the church’s layout extends towards the west. First, a campo-santo, or open area, composed of three highly ornate, east-facing gates, designed to attract passers-by and welcome a multitude of visitors; next, an inner courtyard, or atrium, large enough to host a great amount of pilgrims; then the Colonna basilica (known later as the Martyrium), where congregations could gather in the central nave of 22 metres long, complete with marble floors and glazed ceiling; further on, an aisle, the street, the focal point of the complex—the tomb, surrounded by twelve columns (after the apostles) and adorned, according to Eusebius, with “gold, silver, and precious stones.” The space around the tomb was intended as an open-air courtyard, and remained in this form at the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim’s visit; however, it was soon enclosed and covered by a rotunda, and named the Church of the Anastasis. In 335 AD, three years before the death of Constantine, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was consecrated.

The dedication—a hybrid manifestation of political and religious power—was attended by bishops from all over the eastern province of the Empire, travelling at the state’s expense as official leaders of the Christian empire. Christian pilgrimage had finally found a terrestrial destination; the gathering of the bishops from across the Roman provinces foretold what would be perpetually re-enacted in the next millennium by pilgrims from the whole world. While the only depiction of this event and its magnitude comes from Eusebius, a biased observer, the historian David Hunt argues that this historical account, as imaginative and subjective as it may be, portrays the excitement that accompanied the erection of this building, and its potential to lure future pilgrims. Indeed, with the erection of numerous monuments in Jerusalem, pilgrimage was about to explode in popularity. Weaving together existing locations of memory and newly established ones, a system of Christian holy sites spread across the city of Jerusalem. From the text of the Bordeu Pilgrim, we learn that the initial movement between Golgotha and “a stone that had taken away,” extends into a wider territory of historical Jerusalem, which would soon become the stage for a public ritual invented by the local liturgy and adapted in the urban realm. The details of this intricate ritual are best described in the letters of Egeria.

**IT MAKES FAR TOO MUCH TO REMEMBER**

**EGERIA’S PRESCRIPTION OF THE JERUSALEM LITURGY**

Fifty years after the pilgrimage of the traveller from Bordeaux, the Spanish nun Egeria arrived in Jerusalem. She spent three years in the city (384-384 AD) and recorded her experience in a series of enthusiastic letters addressed to her ‘sisters’, a community of Christian believers back home in Galicia. The original contents of her letters, as reconstructed from a damaged eleventh-century manuscript, reveal in detail the formation of a Christian calendar through the rituals performed by the Jerusalem liturgy across the city’s holy sites. As a Roman citizen in pursuit of her soul’s salvation, Egeria would become a model for Jerusalem pilgrims in the centuries to come, and her comprehensive descriptions were distilled into replicable rituals that could spread across the Christian world, catalysing the diffusion of Jerusalem back to the West.

Egeria’s letters, according to what is left of them, begin in the Sinai Desert on her way to Jerusalem. Much like the Itinerarium Burdigalense, her text can be divided into two segments: her days of private wandering in the desert, where she recorded her spiritual experiences in an affective first-person voice, and her years in Jerusalem, which are recorded as a third-person account of her participation in the local liturgical services. Egeria’s letters reflect the changes that took place in the Roman Empire since its Christian conversion: whereas the Bordeu Pilgrim travelled across an administrative infrastructure and lodged in roadside inns, Egeria was welcomed by monks in the desert, heirs to the tradition of offering hospitality to foreigners. Their welcoming generosity was a source of comfort amidst the changes in account, especially for those who had withdrawn from the crumbling Empire or Egyptians who had pulled away from the state—who had

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Chapter One—The Invention of the Holy Land

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Fig 1: Eusebius’ description of the church on Golgotha (drawing by the author, after John Wilkinson)
received particular knowledge through oral tradition. As Egeria explains, “I asked about it [a holy site] and the holy men replied, ‘Holy Moses was buried here’” (Fig 1). Our predecessors were pointed this place to us, and now we point it to you. They told us that this tradition came from their predecessors. With the help of her guides and a Bible in hand, Egeria meanders across Sinai in the following biblical localities:

All the way I kept asking to see the different places mentioned in the Bible, and they were all pointed out to me by the Holy Men […] some of the places were to the right and others to the left of our route, some a long way off and others close by. Throughout the text, Egeria’s tone remains the same—conversational and highly descriptive, often echoing lines from scripture. Like the pilgrim from Bordeaux, Egeria’s gaze hardly ever wanders from the landscape with historical events. This lengthy (and somewhat tedious) account stands […] they showed us where holy Moses ordered the people to remember. But it may help you, loving sisters, the better to recollect all these places one after the other, and it makes far too much pronounciation. All the holy places were pointed out to us, and the古代 men replied, “Holy Moses was buried here.” Indeed, whenever we arrived anywhere, I myself always wanted the Bible passages read to us. Egeria’s description exemplifies her affinity for reading a site’s scriptural affiliation while remaining within the familiar framework of recollection—her “usual way.” Indeed, anthropologist Glenn Bowman argues that Egeria did not invent a Holy Land, but rather inherited one from the memories of her guides and the itineraries of her predecessors. Her mode of worship, much like the sacred topography of Sinai, was imported from the tradition of a religion in exile that maintained its narrative events transpired, thus creating a ritual path across the Sinai based on geographical progression rather than scriptural chronology. The serialization and fragmentation of the ritual in the desert, following the Exodus of the Israelites, foreshadowed what Egeria would experience in Jerusalem: the systematic spatial character of the Holy City’s liturgy, this time reactualizing Christ’s own Passion.

Egeria arrived in Jerusalem in 381 AD. At that time, the unusually large liturgy was headed by Cyril of Jerusalem, who was ordained by Macarius the bishop (where Constantine’s conversion) and had occupied the seat of the bishop since the inauguration of the Anastasis Rotunda in 348 AD. Throughout the fourth century, Cyril was the only bishop who included pilgrims in his services, and he was most likely responsible for the formation of the city’s unique rituals. Egeria described Jerusalem’s liturgical structure in detail: the bishop was the father of the church; the presbyters read from the scriptures and preached to the crowd, prayed, and recited psalms; the deacons took part in the prayers but did not preach; and the clerics assisted with baptism. During the services, as each figure carried out their specific role while Egeria was but a silent observer; her pilgrimage through the desert did not elevate her status in the church hierarchy, and she remained a passive participant in clerical routines, like the majority of Christian laity within the religion’s hierarchical structure.

Egeria’s letters are so exhaustively detailed that they preserve—“like a fly in amber,” according to historian Jonathan Smith—the process of transformation that was then underway. Egeria begins her letters from Jerusalem: “Loving sisters. I am sure it will interest you to know about the daily service they have in the holy places, and I must tell you about them.” She reports, in the third person, every movement, conversation, service, and location of a holy site, giving equal emphasis to important information (such as scriptural quotes or prayers) as to benign details such as a building’s smell, making the experience ever more vivid for her audience. With great attention, she lists the elements of the services: poems, sung by the boys’ choir; prayers spoken by the bishop or a presbyter; lessons and preaching, where the Bible was read and taught; and the elaborate dismissal, or mess, when the bishop blessed all participants and sealed the service. Of special interest was the intricate daily service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre:

![Fig 1: Egeria’s approach to Sinai](drawing by John Wilkinson)

![Fig 2: Constantin's buildings on Golgotha in the time of Egeria](drawing by John Wilkinson)
The day continues with identical services at midday and three o’clock, as Egeria describes in similar detail: he first says the Consecration of the Eucharist, then the Bishop, the deacons, and the subdeacons are immersed in the urban fabric of everyday life, which will be explored in the third chapter.)

When the bishop arrives with his entourage the doors are all opened, and all the people come into the Anastasis, which is already ablaze with lamps. Inside, the service includes three psalms and three prayers before the bishop “takes the Gospel book and goes to the door, where he himself reads the account of the Lord’s resurrection.” This reading of the account of Christ’s resurrection intersected with at least two of the ten holy sites in Jerusalem and its environs. As Egeria shows, all possible gladness “would be observed with great devotion to strengthen Jerusalem’s spiritual perimeter of protection. By appropriating increasing urban territory for Christianity, the building two-storied structures of the palace, ponds with fountains, and aqueducts to supply water to the ever-growing metropolis. Unlike Constantine, whose patronage oriented the material and symbolic articulation of the city: it influenced the local economy, shifted the city’s structured power, and transplanted non-Christian processes, paved the streets with landmarks, and ritualised the urban fabric.

This new incarnation of Jerusalem was the inevitable outcome of a process sparked by Constantine, whose patronage oriented the material and symbolic articulation of the city: it influenced the local economy, shifted the city’s structured power, and transplanted non-Christian processes.
walls built with unusually large rocks and special cedar wood. Like Eudocia, Justian included accommodation in the program of the new complex, with one hospice for the sick and another for “visiting strangers”, that is, pilgrims, in need of lodging.

The sites erected in the first hundred years following Constantine’s conversion would shape the development of Christian consciousness until the Islamic conquest in the seventh century. The intervening centuries were a golden age for Jerusalem pilgrims and, by extension, for the church seeking to solidify collective memories. Jerusalem was experienced locally and re-enacted from afar as a sacred topography of natural elements and monuments, where the scriptural climax took place. Notably, the events commemorated in Jerusalem and formalised in the fourth century in the Christian annual cycle do not reflect the scripture in its entirety. Important sites in Nazareth, Mount Tabor, and Galilee, where Christ spent most of his life, are ignored, giving exclusive significance to the sites of Christ’s sacrifice. This process of selection and omission is emblematic of collective memory, which is not strictly obligated to the past but shaped by the present events and conditions defining the emerging group of believers. As an institutional strategy, Christianity had to preserve and reproduce the memories of Christ’s triumph over death and Constantine’s defeat of Jerusalem’s pagan and Jewish past.

THE BETTER TO PICTURE WHAT HAPPENED IN THESE PLACES?: TIME, SPEECH, AND SUPPRESSION OF PLACE

The succinct Itinerarium Burdigalense and the exhausitive letters of Egeria construct a history of Jerusalem’s appropriation into Christianity through the eyes of its visitors. In the first text, an anonymous traveller from Bordeaux transforms the geography of fourth-century Palestine into a sacred Christian topography, thus materialising a religion that once preached against the very notion of territorial rootedness. In the second, a Spanish nun scripted her own “Exodus” across Sinai, with the help of the monks of the desert, and from Jerusalem, and Egeria spent three years in Jerusalem—these pilgrims moved as innate suppliants within familiar biblical lands. They were conscious of their intentions, eager to record their journeys, and motivated by spiritual goals. Their travelogues thus reveal not only the changing status of Jerusalem during the Christian conversion of the Roman Empire, but also the power of travellers to project a reality upon the landscape and alter both the real and imagined city.

While this chapter links these two pilgrims through their roles in shaping Christian devotion in the Roman Empire, it must be acknowledged that they had contradictory motivations and wrote for different audiences. The traveller from Bordeaux constructed his text as a spatial path that could be retraced by future pilgrims heading towards Jerusalem. As a Christian traveller, he utilised a familiar literary technique to convince fellow Christians (often addressing his readers in the second-person present tense) that the Bible land was within their reach. Arguably, his text rearranged the imperial hierarchy by documenting the Holy Land as a tangible territory; by localising Christian memories within a real terrain, he eventually reversed the allegorical process of dematerialisation of the Old and New Testament that Christianity had adopted in exile. Crucially, the Itinerarium Burdigalense legitimised and facilitated physical travel to sacred locations for the purpose of recollecting Christian memories. As Hallowachs observes, the physical examination of symbolic sites reveals the essence of religious phenomena—“those stones erected and preserved by crowds and by successive generations of people whose traces one can follow in these very stones. These are not traces of a human or supernatural individual but rather of groups animated by a collective faith.” The Bordeaux traveller thus encourages participation in cyclical commemorative works re-enacted on sites and shared with a growing crowd.

Egeria had the opposite aim. By capturing a prescriptive account of Jerusalem’s liturgy to send back to the West, her detailed letters could serve as a guidebook to re-enact Jerusalem’s rituals anywhere, using the chronological system standardised across the empire. By reading the text according to the dates of the year, Egeria’s readers could re-enact her movements in the Holy Land, basing their confidence in her comprehensive personal account confirmed by geographic alignments with scripture. Egeria’s letters facilitated a withdrawal from the geographic specificity of Jerusalem and a focus on vivid imagination of spiritual places. She emphasises time over space, commending the liturgy for fixing texts as temporal events in a daily, monthly, and yearly chronology: “What I admire and value most is that all the hymns and antiphons and readings they have, and all the prayers the bishop says, are always relevant to the day which is being observed and to the place in which they are used.”

Thanks to the letters of Egeria, a ritual born in Jerusalem could be replicated in the West with near-identical precision of time and speech. In this process, space was suppressed, giving rise to imagination, meditation, and visualisation as alternatives modes of recollection. This also allowed for new collective memory to conform with more flexibility of localisation and commemoration. As the physical city of Jerusalem grew less amenable to Western visitors in the centuries to come, this relocation of the faith proved valuable. As the next chapter will explore, other Jerusalems proliferated across Medieval Europe, offering pilgrimages alternate destinations to the Holy Land—yet these places were still oriented towards Jerusalem, similar literary technique between Egeria and the Bordeaux traveller, combining movement, text and memory.
THE BASILICA AND THE ROTUNDA

THE CONCEPT OF ANALOGY AND THE RISE OF URBAN PILGRIMAGE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

The public form of Christian worship in Jerusalem would come to an end in the seventh century. The brief invasion by the Persians in 614 AD and the Islamic conquest of 638 AD destroyed the city’s shrines and left the Christian capital in ruins. As a result, the collective memories that were localised by Constantine and his successors were gradually lost; the rituals that maintained the possibility of recollection were suppressed. It was during those interim centuries between the fall of the city to Islam in the seventh century and its recapture by the Crusades in 1099 AD that Jerusalem’s physical unavailability was negated through the erection of alternatives in Europe. As such, the spiritual vector towards Jerusalem was inverted away from the city itself and toward the bastions of Christianity in the West, taking the shape of physical traces (such as relics, pieces of earth, and containers of specimens) and place-naming European shrines after sites in the Holy Land, which allowed recollection to occur away from the historical markers in the ancient city.

Another form in which Jerusalem was transferred outside its boundaries was through the spatial replication of architectural elements that held a mnemonic association with the Holy City. More specifically, this chapter will focus on the transfer of a spatial logic that was abstracted from Christianity’s most revered sites and transplanted into new locations. This translation will be explored through the concept of analogy in order to understand how an archetype that was born in Jerusalem was appropriated in the West for political, spiritual, and economic gain. These alternative Jerusalems—altars, churches, and landscapes—differed in scale and program, and yet they were all united by their commitment to a certain abstraction of the Holy City that can be understood through analogical thinking, an intelligence that is fundamental for both this chapter and the thesis at large, as it questions notions of territorial specificity in favour of a spatial temporality and flexible geography.

THE CASE AGAINST JERUSALEM PILGRIMAGE

While the idea of pilgrimage to an alternative Jerusalem became prominent in the Middle Ages, it should be understood within the political and theological framework of the fourth century. As the first chapter showed, the public worship that emerged in the urban condition of Jerusalem made Christianity visible and powerful. However, it also distanced the faith from the founding principles of its cult, established two centuries earlier. As described in the previous chapter of this dissertation, Christianity was developed as boundless, universal, and anti-world; the symbolic ownership of Jerusalem’s topography through the processional liturgy seems to contradict these notions, especially those put forth by St Paul. In his letter to the Corinthians, Paul argues that “your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you.” His radical idea that God is found within one’s body was as strategic as it was spiritual: it allowed Christians under persecution and in exile to practice religion in solitude through contemplative prayer. It also separated Christianity from the Graeco-Roman traditions of celebratory public rituals, and thus from the sanctity of physical objects or geographical places. Within this theological framework, the journey to a divine site, with the associated physical and mental hardships, could be seen as superfluous to the faith. In the fourth century AD, as Christianity’s memories were being materialised in the Holy Land, some religious leaders voiced their opinion against the rise of Jerusalem pilgrimage. Two prominent figures were St Jerome and Gregory of Nyssa, who wrote letters to refute the rising phenomenon of spiritual travel to the Holy City. While their arguments were essentially theological, their reasoning was no doubt underpinned by political motivations, which are deeply embedded in the powerful vector that is pilgrimage.

St Jerome arrived in Jerusalem in 385 AD. He left Rome, where he was the secretary of Bishop Damasus 1, with an entourage of noblemen who intended to spend the remainder of their days in Palestine.
From his monastic cell in Bethlehem, Jerome dedicated himself to writing letters and translating the Old and New Testament to Latin. In his Letter 58 from Rome to Potin, he disapproved of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem From his monastic cell in Bethlehem, Jerome dedicated himself to writing letters and translating the Old and New Testament to Latin. In his Letter 58 from Rome to Potin, he disapproved of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He commended Paul of Samosata’s spiritual thinking when he tells Potin that “the true worshipers worship the Father neither at Jerusalem nor on mount Cer- dius” and that access to the courts of heaven is as easy from Britain as from Jerusalem, for “the kingdom of God is within you” (Luke 17:21). Matter things may pass, and when that happens, he warns, so will the places made hollow by Christ’s history; only those who embody the cross within them shall remain. Jerome’s letters would not be so influential if they merely reiterated the zeitgeist of the learned Church. As his letter unfolds, it reveals an attitude derived from a firsthand experience in the fourth-century city, where prostitution, crime, and evil are more prevalent than the spiritual aura emanating from the scenography of the Passion. He writes: Jerome suggests that the archetype of salvation is the body itself, a body that is protected from various forms of exploitation that can occur in liturgical worship. This attitude dominated the monastic movement which was emerging at the time amongst those who rejected the urban and opted for an internalization of the faith. In that sense, Jerome advocated for a sedentary form of pilgrimage as a journey that would take place within one’s own mind. Jerome’s contemporary, Gregory of Nyssa, shared a similar attitude towards physical pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but for completely different reasons. His letter to his sister Egeria, written when hordes of pilgrims were making their way to Jerusalem, strongly advised against travel due to the exposure to immoral behaviour that would be encountered along the way. It is not the physical markers nor tangible proof to recollect them:

14. The Basilica and the Rotunda

CHAPTER TWO—

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AS AN ARCHETYPE

Suspended between public services and private meditations, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre emerged in the fourth century as a Christian archetype through the coupling of liturgical spaces: the basilica and the rotunda. This spatial configuration forms the basis for the Jerusalem analogy. The analogy (from the Greek ekologi or the Latin analogia) is a comparison between two objects or a group of objects. An analogy can be defined as an abstraction shared between two structures or compositions that are not otherwise alike, or it can be used as a tool to show how two things that are essentially dissimilar can carry an analogical similarity. Ciorgio Agamben elaborates on this notion in The Signature of All Things (2007), paraphrasing a theory put forth by Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben, “Melandri argues that analogy is opposed to the dichotomous principle dominating Western logic” by suggesting an alternative that is neither A nor B “an analogical third [that] is attested here above all through the disidentification and neutralization of the first two.”

In the context of the ideas drawn from Gregory and Jerome, the Church architectural analogy can be instrumentalised to understand the alternative pilgrimage sites developed in medieval Europe. It is neither Paul’s heavenly Jerusalem of the Coming, nor Constantinople’s earthly proof of the Gospels, but a third incarnation, constructed through the analogical transfer of a spatial logic through which the ritual of Jerusalem pilgrimage can be performed. According to Agam- ben, “Melandri finds that analogy is opposed to the dichotomous principle dominating Western logic” by suggesting an alternative that is neither A nor B “an analogical third [that] is attested here above all through the disidentification and neutralization of the first two.”

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In order to understand how these two types work together, it is important to trace their typological origins as shared basils. In that way, it is argued that the coupling of these two spaces—a centrally planned, double-shell structure and a strictly longitudinal basilica—created a composition that could be distilled and applied as an analogue target. It is an abstraction taken from Jerusalem, towards Jerusalem.

Fig 2. Constantinian basilica on colgola, reconstruction by Richard Krautheimer.

In contrast to this paper is Jerusalem’s most venerable site, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (whose construction, consecration, and celebration was discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation), specifically its distinct architectural combination of basilical and Rotundal precedent, both in form and function, that the coupling of these two spaces—a centrally planned, double-shell structure and a strictly longitudinal basilica—created a composition that could be distilled and applied as an analogue target. It is an abstraction taken from Jerusalem, towards Jerusalem.

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Before the erection of the rotunda, and according to the description of the pilgrim from Bordeaux, Christ's tomb aedicule stood in the center of a semi-circular portico, open to the sky. This setting is reminiscent of the Christian Heroe, erected from as early as the second century AD to honour sites of martyrdom. In the third century, these open spaces were replaced by monumental martyria, which accommodated both the grave of a martyr and space for memorial services. In Jerusalem, the Anastasis was erected as a replica of the grave of the martyr and a place to commemorate and recall the greatest martyrdom of all.

Spatially, the rotunda could accommodate a complete liturgy around the tomb, while the barrel-vaulted ambulatory provided for circulation. This layout was common in Roman sepulchral architecture of the Third and Fourth centuries, meaning that Christian martyrs were often indistinguishable from imperial mausolea, and thus inspired by the monumental paganism of temples. This similarity, according to Krautheimer, became acceptable due to the ambiguous nature of funerary buildings, which were generally void of religious overtones due to their nature as private memorials. It is possible, then, that the centrally-planned Anastasis was a mausoleum, a martyrion, and a house for Christ—a place to commemorate a man, God, and king.

The combination of a longitudinal basilica and a centrifugal rotunda created two distinct spaces for public and private modes of worship, and could accommodate a service that was mobile and hierarchical. Egeria, who stayed in Jerusalem from 381 to 384 AD, reveals in her letters their multiplicity of spaces and sequence during the daily mobile services. She describes a procession that moves from a service in the Martyrium Basilica to the composition in the Rotunda; when the Bishop himself enters the calixtae of the cave while the faithful walk through the eight doors which are then locked shut. At this time the catechumens, which have yet to be initiated into the faith, waited in the outer atrium, where they could hear the loud applause coming from within but not see the mystery of baptism and the climax of the service. It is therefore clear that the Anastasis is placed on the highest of spiritual hierarchy of spaces within the complex: it is the focal point of the composition, standing at the far end from the entry, at the culmination of a symbolic and literal passage of rites.

While the basilica is placed below the Rotunda on the sacred scale, it nevertheless allows a variety of liturgical movements. During the period before Easter, Egeria writes that “the bishop’s chair is placed in the middle of the Great Church, the Martyrium (basilica), the presbyters sit in chairs on either side of him, and all the clergy stand. Then one by one the ones who are seeking baptism are brought up, men or women, and they take their mothers. This description shows how the bishop interrogates the candidates who walk up and down the central axis in order to assess their readiness for baptism. This staged activity surely produces a conspectus association with judiciary basilical halls and with political power, showcasing how its aisles, columns, and raised galleries contribute a service that is instrumentalized in space, separating the bishop and his clergy from the candidates.

The basilica is also used for teaching sessions during which “the bishop sits and preaches, while the faithful utter exclamations which are often loud, creating a clear stage presence between the bishop and the audience.” The most detailed teachings occur during Lent, when the catechumens go through a complete biblical induction. Here Egeria describes a different spatial distribution: “The bishop’s chair is placed in the great church, the Martyrium, and all those to be baptised the men and the women, sit around him in a circle [...] his subject is god’s law; during the forty days he goes through the whole Bible, beginning with Genesis, and first relating the literal meaning of each passage, then interpreting its spiritual meaning.”

This unique circular configuration eliminates the usual hierarchical distribution, and it is then that students can, in turn, respond with questions on the scriptures, thus engaging in a dialogue with the bishop. According to Egeria, these in-depth teaching sessions occur in the basilica for three months each of several weeks, each of which includes an introductory calendar with their mothers. What is clear from these examples is that within the course of several weeks, each of which includes an introductory calendar with their mothers.

affordiveness and immersion in the memory. The combination of these two spaces creates a situation in which the body of the worshippers takes part in an orchestrated service that is deployed spatially in a choreographed ritual. The novelty found in Jerusalem's Christian architecture is not only a typology but a relational composition of specific pre-existing types that set the stage for a textually-bound ritual.

It is this composition that forms the analogical counterpart of other Jerusalems. It could then be abstracted and implanted within a different condition as a target. This analysis of other Jerusalems stems from the seminal essay by Richard Krautheimer, Introduction to ‘Iconography of Medieval Architecture’ (1942), where he argues that the Ancient Early Middle Ages Churches were intended with meaning by “imitating a highly venerated prototype”—the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. While Krautheimer doesn’t use the word analogy or the terminology of source and target (he refers to them as the original and an architectural copy), his analysis is similar to analogical thinking. That is, he does not wish to discuss a mimetic representation of the Holy Sepulchre elsewhere but an inexact reproduction that is based on selective replication of symbolic architectural elements. Some examples include St. Michael at Fulda (820-842 AD) and the Holy Sepulchre of Cambridge (first quarter of the 12th century), where a centralised structure with a surrounding vaulted ambulatory provided the connotations of the Anastasis Rotunda. In this case, the dispersion of geometric configuration and architectural elements, the sanctity of Jerusalem’s holy sites was transported spatially in a choreographed ritual. In analogical terms, this type of association can be regarded as a superficial similarity, where there is a resemblance between the properties of the source and target. Structural similarity, however, refers to “the resemblance in the underlying systems of relations between the elements of the sources and the elements of the target. Structural similarity exists if the relations between the objects in the source are similar to the relations between the objects in the target, independently of the similarity between the objects themselves.” That is, structural similarity can be found in the underlying analogy, even if a superficial similarity is not readily apparent. Considering this interpretation, it can be argued that the examples provided by Krautheimer, while they may be a design and layout of round churches, give only partial attention to the analogical source by focusing on the element that is the highlight of the complex. Instead, a spatial system of motion must be implemented: a basilica and a rotunda.

In order to explain this particular kind of analogical thinking, and how it has facilitated the diffusion of Jerusalem, two case studies will be explored below. While essentially different from one another, these structures exemplify both the process of constructing an analogy and the intelligence of its use. Both of the cases are set in the Twelfth Century, a time when the increased physical connection to the Holy Land was established by the Crusades and the urbanisation of Europe. The ability to import spatial ideas from Jerusalem—be it the earthly, the heavenly, or a blurred representation of the two—played a crucial role in this process.
The most elaborate structure that maintains its analogical coherence is found in the complex of Santo Stefano in Bologna. While the dating of the complex is disputed, a tradition (Fifth Century) and learned archaeologists (Twelfth Century), it seems that the earliest reference to the church as a local Jerusalem dates to 887 AD. Located on the road leading east from Bologna’s old city center, the complex has both Pagan and Paleo-Christian foundations: a shrine to the Egyptian goddess Isis was in use until the Fourth Century, when, according to tradition, it was converted into a baptistry. The adjacent structure was consecrated as the Vitale and Agnole Cathedral, where the remains of the two Bolognese martyrs (that were discovered in 393 AD) were interred.

The complex as we know it today was reconstructured sometime between 1164 and 1180 AD. Its main feature is the centrally-planned ‘Holy Sepulchre’, an irregular-octagonal structure that is covered by a dome. It is dominated by a large tomb in its center (though on a slight offset) that is encircled by a ring of twelve supports and an ambulatory separated from the crypt by a gallery. While the proportions between the size of the tomb and the structure itself are different, the structure replicates several architectural elements that were observed from the Anastasius Rotunda in Jerusalem. The octagonal structure is accessed from a porticoed courtyard that is referred to as Civile di Pilato: a water basin in the center is commemorative of the one used by Pilate to wash his hands before Christ’s trial (Matthew 27:24). On the Eastern edge of the atrium, across from the ‘Holy Sepulchre’, is a shallow structure that terminates in a porch and two chapels. One of the chapels take the form of a semicircular apse, while the central one is cruciform in plan and is dedicated to Santa Croce. In the Twelfth Century, the chapels were referred to as Calvary, where an artificial mound was completed with a cross to create a local Hill of Golgotha. Together, these three features—the octagon surrounding a tomb, an open-aired courtyard with a symbolic monumet, and the series of reliquary chapels—begin to draw an analogical relationship with the original Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

In the following years, Santo Stefano played a role in both the local cult and as a surrogate of Christ’s sepulchre. The stational services can be dated to the Ninth Century, meaning that, according to historian Colin Morris, the mobile form of devotion predated the sites, and it is the liturgical needs for stations that initiated their localisation in the city. In other words, it was the demand for topographical recollection of scriptural events that structured the analogy: a visit to the tomb on Good Friday is paralleled by a pilgrimage to the Holy Week, in a small chapel that was adjacent to the open-air courtyard.

The services in Bologna’s analogous Jerusalem, much like the source, extended beyond the confines of a single complex and well into the urban domain. A monastery built on a nearby hill was called St. Giovanni in Monte Oliveti, and the valley separating these two churches was described as a landscape that was traversed by a procession of monks carrying candles and singing Ave Maria luliati. The Jerusalem service of the Adoretto Cross had its parallel place in Bologna, this time in the series of Chapels at the east end of the complex. Much like in Jerusalem, the Bolognese Calvary was where worshippers could kiss the precious Cross on the Thursday of Holy Week, in a small chapel that was adjacent to the open-air courtyard.

The Jerusalem service of the Scala Santa was enclosed within the tomb, and over the next three days men and women (on alternating days) were allowed to enter the tomb and visit the Cross. On Easter morning, the tomb was ceremonially opened following a procession of monks carrying candles and singing Aurora Lucis radiatii. The Jerusalem service of the Adoretto Cross had its parallel place in Bologna, this time in the series of Chapels at the east end of the complex. Much like in Jerusalem, the Bolognese Calvary was where worshippers could kiss the precious Cross on the Thursday of Holy Week, in a small chapel that was adjacent to the open-air courtyard.

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And yet there is a seminal difference between Bologna and Jerusalem which highlights the way the aura of the latter was appropriated. In Bologna, the topographical traces can be dated to the Ninth Century, meaning that, according to historian Colin Morris, the mobile form of devotion predated the sites, and it is the liturgical needs for stations that initiated their localisation in the city. In other words, it was the demand for topographical recollection of scriptural events that structured the analogy: a visit to the tomb on Good Friday is paralleled by a pilgrimage to the Holy Week, in a small chapel that was adjacent to the open-air courtyard.

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This document retains the only source on the establishment of Santo Stefano as a surrogate Jerusalem. Scholars such as Krautheimer, Motris, and Ousterhout render the manuscript’s claim for a Fifth-Century structure unreliable, and sug-
that the story is but a retrospective invention by the author. Further, Ousterhout argues that Santo Stefano’s combination of a central- ly-planned domed structure, a porticoed court- yard and a series of reliquary chapels, constructs a composition that is strikingly similar to the description of how he “carefully measured with a condition in which the mea- surement was in solitude” the tomb in length and breadth and height, for when people are present it is quite impossible to measure it.” — The Life and Journey of Daniel, 170-171, in Baker, J. “Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Places” in The Mediterranean World in the High Middle Ages: Alea Marina (The Mary Flaxman Institute for the history of Science, 2009), 9.

Ousterhout, Robert, “Yoov dressed in the Jerusalem (Brill, 1995): Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage Attempts the great Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the

In the following centuries Islam showed tolerance towards Christian rituals in the city, and while the official conversion from Greek to Arabic, the two religions maintained a relative peace by conserving the clear division between the religious centres. However, these
conditions have changed in the Eleventh Century. On the one hand, the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the manic Caliph Hakim in 1008, the prosecution of Christians, and the banning of Easter had stirred the Western acceptance of foreign rule of Jerusalem; at the same time, the strengthening of religious sentiment and the burden of sin have brought pilgrimages to earthly Jerusalem (and the quest for indulgences) back to popularity. Encouraged by the speech made by Pope Urban II in 1095—who showed no reserves in advocating actual possession of the city—the first Crusade was born. Leaving the Pauline image of heavenly Jerusalem behind, the Crusaders headed for the Holy Land with faith and force. When the Crusaders entered Jerusalem, they had to relocalise Christianity’s memories in the city by constructing holy places. When possible, they relied on existing markers that could or even the days of Christ—that could be adopted from Islam but also the Temple Mount. The large Al Aqsa Mosque was renamed the “Temple of Solomon,” and the octagonal Dome of the Rock transformed into the “Temple of the Lord,” attempting to bypass Islamic history and claiming a direct connection to the days of Solomon and the Kingdom of David.

With their new appropriated Temple, the reinstated Church in Jerusalem created a calendar of festivities that reflected their power over the city. An annual service traced a line between the hills of Moriah and Golgotha in the form of a bishop-lead public procession between the Holy Sepulchre and the Templum Domini where a prayer was cited across from the former al Aqsa Mosque. With the new monuments, the celebrations of the liturgical year that was common in the entire Chrisis were extended. On Palm Sunday, for example, palm and olive branches were blessed and distributed to the worshipers on the plateau of the Temple Mount, before they were lead to the valley of Josaphat where they met another procession bearing the Cross from Bethany; after it was brought there early in the morning from its chapel in Golgotha. The joined procession returned to the Temple Mount through the Golden Gate—which was opened only once per year on this occasion—where they encircled the ‘Temple of Solomon’ (Mosque of al Aqsa) and finally ended with prayers in the Templum Domini.

This theatrical ritual—which was greater in length and geographical scope than any procession that took place in the Fourth Century—included Scriptural references to the Old Testament. Indeed, collective memory adapts itself to the contemporary needs of the group: in twelfth century Jerusalem, it was crucial for the Christian rulers, in their efforts to eliminate Islam’s legitimacy, to establish their direct genealogy from Judaeism. As the Crusades, saw their war against Islam as analogous to the Israelites’ liberation from Egypt. The Bishop of Jerusalem at the time of the First Crusade, for example, preached to the camp from the Old Testament: “it is our duty to pray, and it is your duty to fight the Amalekites.” With Moses [ and you, intrepid fighters, thrust your sword into Amalek. Their evocation of Solomon’s Temple could connect Christ to David (Solomon’s father who was not just a religious leader, but a king of the province of Judea). In that sense, Jerusalem, as the new capital of the Crusaders’ Latin Kingdom, was at once a spiritual centre, a subject of monachy, and a military headquarters.

It is within this newly-appropriated space, known to the Crusades as the Temple, that Christian’s first monastic-military order was established: the Templars. Officially called the “Poor Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon,” the Templars took an oath of charity and poverty that was based on the Rule of St. Benedict. While monastic in character, the Order’s main duty was military: to police and protect pilgrims on route to the Holy Land, who were perpetually harassed by robbers. The Order received Papal approval in 1126 from Honorius II, and thus became an official body of warrior-monks, living by faith and force. In the Temple Mount, the Knights converted the mosque into a basilica, an armory, and lodging; in the Dome of the Rock they built St James’ chapel and a sanctuary for Mary; beneath the Temple Mount, an existing e
The Templars arrived in London, one of the West’s most powerful secular centres, in 1128. By 1144 they were given a site in Holborn, on a former Romano-Celtic temple, where they built their first church. In 1161, the expansion of the Order had led the Templars to move to a new location given by King Henri II (1154-1189) on the banks of the Thames. This was the Templar church by Ludgate and Westminster. On the Thames, the Templars had both access to transportation and the prestige of the river exposure. This relocation to a new site was an enlarged version of the one that was protected from the city by walls and gates, where they built gardens, courtyards and lodging for three groups: the fully-professed knights, the non-professed armourers (who were their domestic servants), and the non-professed priests, who were appointed by the knights. At the center of the precinct was the Temple Church: the order’s source of income by receiving land from the Church and the security where the Holy Cross was kept.

Architecturally, the Templars were based on the Temple Mount, they neverthe-

less maintained a close connection to the Holy Sepulchre by safeguarding the keys to the trea-

soure where the Holy Cross was kept.

Back in the West, the Templars played a major role in Crusading efforts by providing two valuable resources: wealth and manpower. The Order acted as a depository of royal treasuries or moneyminders, collecting alms in gold, jewellery, and land. Essentially, the Templars were powerful bankers: for instance, they loaned money to King Baldwin in Anatolia in order to secure a relic of the True Cross, and in 1215 they loaned King John 1,100 marks to obtain the body of Saint Louis. By mobilising funds and goods from the West, the Templars used their position as an intermediary to establish a new chain of power, buying and selling the most valuable commodities in the Mediterranean.

Like in Jerusalem, the Temple Church is composed of two distinct components: A rotunda, also called the “Round,” and a recten-
gular choir. In the Round, an inner ring of six marble pillars, each consisting of a cluster of four columns, is encircled by a lower vaulted ambu-
latory. Above the central space, eight arched windows punctuated the thick mass of the drum, which is supported by exterior buttresses. The Round was consecrated in 1185, and only half a century later, with the presence of King Henry III in 1230, a rectangular choir was added to its east.

Replacing a former aisles-chancel, it was a Hall-

counter horizontal movement. The slenderness of the Choir’s stylistic elements are reminiscent of the Round and the Anastasis Rotunda was clear. As argued by Krautheimer, the construction of a round church could easily be accepted in mass, the conducting bow of the royal treas-

ture, and a source of revenue from pilgrims.

Following the idea of analogy, I argue that the Temple Church became a target of a source that had now changed: it did not only refer structur-

tally to the relationship between the basilica and rotunda in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but also to the composition of the two shrines on Temple Mount, the former basilica and the domed-oval, but the liturgical values of these spaces will be explored below as a new analogous Jerusalem came to rise in London, appropriating not only Jerusalem’s spiritual aura, but also its economic power and political charisma.

Like in Jerusalem, the Temple Church type, containing a central nave and two aisles, took its form in the thirteenth century. The Choir’s stylistic elements are reminiscent of the Round and the Anastasis Rotunda was clear. As argued by Krautheimer, the construction of a round church could easily be accepted in mass, the conducting bow of the royal treas-

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gatherings took place every Sunday, Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost in the Temple Church, and in particular within the Round, where the brothers would sit in a circle against the wall.\textsuperscript{155} The Round would also serve as the backdrop for another distinctively Templar activity, the infamous initiation ceremonies. These cyclical rituals were divided into two stages: the first would take place in the choir, the relatively public realm, where the novice would be surrounded by his family and friends. Then, only the brothers would escort him in a procession into the Round, where the candidate said his vows of chastity and poverty to God and the Order.\textsuperscript{156} Hence, there was a clear hierarchical distinction between the basilical space of the choir, where all believers were invited to partake in service, and the Round, where only those accepted into the order could enter during a specific ritual. This is clearly analogous to the relationship in Jerusalem between the Basilica and Rotunda, capturing the manifested meaning of the community’s hierarchy that is described by Egeria.

The weekly mass was attended not only by the brothers, but also by officials of the crown who were in the precinct to conduct business and, of course, pilgrims. The latter were frequent, as the Pope granted indulgences (the deduction of sixty days in purgatory) for those who visited the church annually.\textsuperscript{157} Its location between Westminster and St. Paul’s meant that the Temple Church was easily accessible on the pilgrim’s route through the city, and its display of relics from Jerusalem, such as wood from the cross and the blood of Christ, assured its popularity.\textsuperscript{158} Inside the church, the two distinct focal points—the Round on the west and the altar at the eastern wall of the choir—created an ambivalent hierarchy of space. As such, when the Eucharist was performed in the altar, the congre- nation could turn towards the East, or orient the worshippers away along the same axis, but the location of the Qibla, towards the East, orients the worshippers away from the Dome. The Temple’s choir is similar to the fluidity of memory when it comes to the recollection of Jerusalem after the Crusades. Indeed, from its very moment of foundation on the non-existing Temple of Solomon, it seems thus as the Anastasis Rotunda and the Dome of the Rock were interchangeable, both in appearance, symbolic value, and historical tradition. The Temple’s seal, depicting a decorated dome atop an arched drum, was cited by historians as both the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple Mount; while an attempt to prove either can prove the original intentions, it seems irrelevant. Modern authors are not dissimilar: in his Architectural Illustrations and Account of the Temple Church (1838) the Nineteenth Century British architect, Robert W. Billings writes of the Temple’s origin:

“...the Temple Church, Built and instituted by the Templars in London, was a copy (and doubts it many of its details) from the Temple at Jerusalem, of which the purpose of their institution as a military order gave them the possession and guardianship. Of that Temple at Jerusalem, we are, procuring Temple of Solomon supplied beyond question the archetypical, if not material model.\textsuperscript{159}

The fact that the actual Temple of Solomon was gone for over fifteen-hundred years when the Crusades captured its site and the lack of physical traces to supply both “archetypical [and] material models” did not matter to Billings or to the Templars. Connecting the Templars to Solomon and thus to the dynasty of Hebrew Monarch was crucial for the narrative of Christian victory, which finally united the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem. Before the final assault on Jerusalem in 1099, the Duke of Normandy told his soldiers: “Here you see the cause of all our labours. This Jerusalem is the reflection of the heavenly Jerusalem. This city has the form of the city to which we aspire [...] this Jerusalem you see, which you face, prefigures and represents the heavenly city.”

This patrimonial and physical possession of united Jerusalem was readily translated into the urban realm of London, where the Templars emulated their metaphor of power in London’s urban fabric, reminding locals and visitors of their privileged position both in the East, as rulers of the Holy City, and in the West, as tightly connected to the monarchy.\textsuperscript{160} The analogy was constructed by utilizing a stylistic framework that resonates with the Southern-England royal and noble patronage of the government, while incorporating a spatial logic that was imported from Jerusalem’s mobile and hierarchical liturgy.\textsuperscript{161} This transfer was not restricted to a singular monument, a sacred icon or a symbolic element, but as a complex of scriptural and contemporary references that were distictively urban.

The ITINERARY OF ANALOGY

If we return to the definition of analogy by A. Amben, we will learn that his reading of Aristotle defines analogy not as an induction nor a reduction, but a transfert of intelligibility from one singular to another singular. Within this framework, understanding Bologna and London as analogous Jerusalem can be seen through the transfer of the specific intelligibility of Jerusalem—from its hierarchical spatial compositions within the church across the services to a city-wide distribution of monuments—into the Western urban realm, where the analogy played a crucial role in the local development of religious power, civic identity, and economy.
The spatial logic discussed in this chapter is not only analogous to specific monuments in urban Europe, but is also embodied in the life of a Christian pilgrim and the tension in the Christian religion at large. The perpetual movement between the centrifugal and the axial is embedded in every stage of the pilgrim’s journey—a directional horizontal movement versus defined points of rest, or a passive participation in a mass congregation versus an inward focus on personal meditation. This configuration also embodies the contradiction in the founding principles of the church—the university of St Paul and his followers, embodied in the egalitarian rotunda, versus the hierarchical structure of power, developed since the second century, expressed in the linear composition of the basilica. In the Renaissance, architects attempted to solve this tension by designing churches that were both centralised and axial, such as the Santissima Annunziata in Florence by Leon Battista Alberti and San Bernardino in Urbino by Francesco di Giorgio. The latter exemplifies the ultimate abstraction of the basilica and rotunda, combining a wide transept with a centralised plan, the dome supported only by four monumental columns. The plan of San Bernardino shows how, with imagination and abstraction, archetypal concepts can be resolved in an innovative design, where universality and hierarchy are not in conflict but coincide in a spatial arrangement that derives meaning from their tension.

Indeed, the intelligence of analogical thinking is not confined to the transfer of spatial relations, but of a sociospatial system of rituals. As such, when this system was abstracted from its origin in Jerusalem into the metropolitan centers of urbanising Europe, it replicated not only a structural composition but a hierarchical system of Christian recollection. This geographical re-distribution of collective memories to analogous Jerusalems provided pilgrims with an easier path to recollection, while subjecting its faculty to multiple bodies of power that exploited its spiritual charisma for political and economic gain. In other words, the intelligence of analogical thinking has been utilised as a form of control over those who seek to locate their memories, who saw this spiritual desire as an opportunity for the transfer (and division) of power from one epicenter to its analogues.

While analogical thinking is not innocent, it should nevertheless be noted for its embedded potential in the field of sacred space. Behind the idea of the analogy we find an incredible imaginative capability that sees the notion of “real” as flexible and adaptable. Considering the violent wars that wage over sacred space, the value of alternative sanctuaries could not be overstated. Rather than searching for a singular site of objective authenticity, analogies allow for a proliferation of subjective truths that relieve the need for territorial specificity. Memories that were initially located in Jerusalem could then travel and multiply, creating temporalities for those seeking affective recollection, so long as the orientation of structures, landscape and rituals remains towards Jerusalem.

Figures 15: San Bernardino in Urbino by Francesco di Giorgio (1482–1491)
The Stations of the Cross, also called the Via Crucis (Way of the Cross), is one of the most common rituals in the Catholic church. It consists of a sequence of numbered stations that commemorate Christ’s Passion, encompassing the sentencing, crucifixion, and entombment of Jesus. Today, the Stations of the Cross have been standardised and conceptualised both in their appearance and in their ritual protocol. Typically, there are fourteen stations: each one is numbered, marked with a wooden cross, and arranged along a circuit at intervals of a distance relative to the scale of the site. Usually located along the aisles of Catholic churches, in monastic cloisters, or across an urban quarter, the stations must be followed as a single devotional sequence. The movement between stations is a crucial element in the ritualised re-enactment of the Passion: it heightens the recollection of events that occurred in the Holy Land by embodying their spatial dispersion across a broad sacred topography.

The underlying mechanism of the Via Crucis derives from the paradoxic nature of the station as a sign that marks a stop in order to perpetuate movement. These periodic stoppages are instrumental in unravelling the Christological narrative and dividing it into fragments that are easier to grasp as episodes. The re-enactment of the Passion, a violent event full of tragedy and drama, maintains a degree of control by choreographing the narrative as a serial progression of emotions, formulating a mode of spirituality that is inherently theatrical. Theatrical, indeed, as each station must be staged, like a scene, through time, space, and text; theatrical, as the compositional relationship on the plane of interaction (the frame of a picture, the boundaries of a stage, the edge of a bas-relief or the viewing hole of a tableau) is directed towards a captive audience, and it harbours emotional excess that is known from theater.

This theological strategy was mobilised by the Franciscan Order in the late Middle Ages, but by the sixteenth century its legitimacy was being undermined by figures of the Reformation, who saw its embedded theatricality as a risk. This gave rise to a debate around the use of images in religious representation. To explore this dispute around the employment and restriction of theatricality, this chapter will study one of the most radical renditions of the Stations of the Cross—the Sacri Monti (sacred mountains), erected as strongholds of Catholic piety in the Italian Alps during the crucial decades of Protestant reform. Specifically, it will explore the inception, destruction, and reconstruction of the first example of such religious complexes: the Sacro Monte di Varallo (1491), which became a laboratory of artistic experimentation aimed at disciplining religious representations and taming excessive affectivity. Indeed, by the end of the turbulent sixteenth century, Varallo had undergone a radical disciplinary process: its artistic program was recreated under a new visual regime that encapsulated the moral and theological reform of the Catholic church. Devout, decent, and direct, Varallo’s art modelled an abundance of restraint not only in the use of images, but also in its tolerance for imagination, physical movement, and Christian behaviour. Varallo thus became a blueprint for stational devotion: the critical purge of theatricality brought to prominence a counter-belief in legibility, which ultimately shaped the coherent Catholic ritual we know today.

ORIGIN OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

While the stations embody collective memories anchored in Jerusalem’s sacred topography, they belong to a ritual of recollection infused with a medieval sense of piety rooted in monastic orders and processional liturgies in the West. In

CHAPTER THREE

STATION TO STATION

THEATRALITY AND DISCIPLINE OF THE VIA CRUCIS IN THE SACRED MOUNTAIN OF VARALLO

Fig 1: Easter Friday procession in the Sacro Monte di Varallo. Photo by the author, 2019
Jerusalem, the Stations of the Cross are known today as the Via Dolorosa (Way of Suffering), leading from the Arch of the Cæsars (where Christ was crucified) to Calvary. The first documented pilgrimage through this route took place at the end of the thirteenth century, though a definitive route was established only in the fourteenth century. The precedent for this route, wrote a pilgrim in 1384, was the Virgin Mary’s own pilgrimage between “the sites of her son’s last days in Jerusalem.” Somewhat perplexingly, this Passion-led route did not follow the topographical locations of Christ’s real journey in Jerusalem, but oscillated between places of veneration that were enabled by Jerusalem’s conditions. The itinerary of the Via Crucis was neither geographically nor scripturally accurate, but derived from a geopolitical reality in Mamluk Jerusalem. Indeed, since the fall of Acre, the last Crusader’s stronghold in the Holy Land, in 1291, Christian territoriality had been suspended in Palestine by the local regime, and the movement of Christian visitors was limited.

Yet even under Islamic rule in Palestine, Christian presence in the Holy Land was not completely eradicated, maintaining its continuity through the work of the Third Order of the Franciscans. The Order’s founder, St Francis of Assisi, died in the 1210s on a mission that was spiritual as well as political, aiming to create diplomatic ties by meeting with the local Sultan. A century later, in 1324, A century later, in 1324, the Franciscans took over another Crusader shrine in Jerusalem. Indeed, since the fall of Acre, the last Crusader’s stronghold in the Holy Land, in 1291, Christian territoriality had been suspended in Palestine by the local regime, and the movement of Christian visitors was limited.

The Franciscans took over another crucial role from the Crusaders (in particular, the Knights Templar), becoming the sole providers of care and instruction for pilgrims in Jerusalem. Exercising the privileges given to them by the Mamluks, the Franciscan promoted Holy Land pilgrimage for essentially the same purposes that had brought Egeria to Jerusalem one millennium before: to visit the holy places associated with Christ’s earthly life. While Egeria was able to roam Constantine’s Jerusalem and join city-wide processions, the Islamic-rulled city prevented spiritual travelers from moving freely. Instead, they were led around by a Franciscan monk within a limited territory. The ritual facilitated by the Franciscans was thus limited both in space and time; not only was it confined to sites under their supervision, but these localities could be seen only in passing, on a hurried tour, often in the early hours of the morning. As such, the possibility of contemplation at each station did not permit the ritual, meditations, and dramatic re-enactments that were characteristic features of the Jerusalem experience.

Despite these constraints, the Franciscans increased the popularity of the Stations by infusing their limited space in imaginative ways. Using a pietistic method of emotional devotion that originated in the monastic West, the Franciscans narrated the sites of Mamluk Jerusalem with vivid verbal descriptions that conjured up the backdrop of Christ’s first-century Jerusalem to reframe the contemporary locations. The Dominican friar Felix Fabri, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1480, described being led in a group by a Franciscan guide through the route where “Christ was led out of the city along that path burdened with the heavy cross.”

Along this journey, they stopped at places where Jesus “fell beneath the load of the cross, or [was] assailed by some special outrage, [or] where he was scourged and crowned.” In 1506, Sir Richard Gough likewise wrote that he “visited all the way by which our Saviour Christ was led from the house of Pilate to the place of the Crucifixion”, visiting locations where Christ “had suffered many injuries,” took a bit from the bishop’s servants, “was scourged, his face covered and blooded, and most egregiously beaten.”

These dramatic descriptions transformed “empty” topographical locations into a theatrical sequence of encounters, a spectacle projected onto the city through affective imagination. Emotionally and physically exhausting, these organized tours were incredibly difficult for many pilgrims. Gough, for example, died from exhaustion six days after arriving in Jerusalem.

This ritualization of urban movement through stops and regular intervals of movement formed the core of the canonical fourteen Stations of the Cross. Though the route had varied significantly over time in terms of arrangement, number of stations, and distances, the Via Crucis, gradually separated into a distinct geographical and spiritual entity in every pilgrim’s visit to Jerusalem. In fact, the word station (in a sense of a halting place in a procession) first appeared in the narrative of the English pilgrim William Wey in 1462 as a spiritual exercise that was complete in itself.

However tiring their journeys, the pilgrims who wrote these detailed manuscripts of Christ’s suffering in Jerusalem made no pious displays of compassion, as they were not in Palestine. Passion-led devotion in Jerusalem reveals little sign of emotion: the main contents include a list of places visited, distances between stations, costs of travel, and even observations on the behaviour of locals, but no affection or personal reactions felt by the pilgrim. This uniform aural voice reflects local prohibitions on displaying such emotions along the route. Calvary, according to a sixteenth-century pilgrim: “we had no more compassion than just to see them as we passed on our way, since it is not permitted to make any halt nor to pay veneration to them with uncovered head, nor to make any other demonstration, nor to look at them fixedly, nor to write nor take any notes in public.”

Indeed, in Jerusalem itself, any form of outward compassion was forbidden, as can be seen in the pilgrimage of Margery Kempe, the only known woman in the early modern period to write such an account. In 1411, allowing her freedom from her husband and their fourteen children, Kempe embarked on a Franciscan-led journey of extreme piety. In Calvary, she cried “in a loud and very loud manner” to Calvary: “in the body, soul, and strength of Christ, by the sacrifice of Calvary.” In this act, Kempe demonstrated how the pilgrimage of compassion could be used not just as a way to escape the constraints of social and religious norms in the realm of personal piety, but also as a way to challenge them.
Kempe’s outward reaction to her imaginative visualization was not only unusual in Jerusalem, but also inappropriate; it reflected a pious activity that stemmed from an experience of truly compassionate devotion that was unthinkable in Jerusalem itself. Indeed, an immersive recollection of Christ’s route to salvation could only be carried away from the political and geographical constraints of earthly Jerusalem, making it the least plausible place to practise the Stations of the Cross.

Thus it was that the Franciscans accommodated pilgrimage in Jerusalem by offering the ordered laborious activities and ideological tendencies in the West. The projection of the Passion onto the urban space of Jerusalem by the Franciscans helps us fully understand the centrality of the Franciscan order to the Franciscan way of life. As a guide to recite the stations, those texts encouraged internal pictorial visualization with descriptions of places, distances, patterns, and materials, allowing Christians to realize their way to immanence and recollection. With their realist specificity, these textual representations became incredibly popular, reflecting both a religious need and a political mission in Meditations on the Life of Christ, the author instructs, “Turn your eyes away from His image to your own heart...” and then continues, “as a man” when describing Christ’s bruised and beaten flesh: “look at him well, as he goes along, bowed down by the Cross and grasping a spear; feel as much compassion as you can... with your whole mind imagine yourself present.”

Indeed, being present in the scene was a key component of Franciscan piety. Before text became their main method to induce contemplative labour for mental imitation, the Franciscans used realistic staging through text representation, in an attempt to bring the ideal into the living. While church plays had existed since the twelfth century, it was St Francis that introduced the concept of staging a scriptural event amidst daily life. According to his biographer, during the Christmas of 1223, St Francis decided to construct an event whose violence and cruelty would otherwise be too hard to grasp. These artworks not only addressed the desire for a realistic depiction of the Passion, but also created an apocalyptic progression not distinguishable from the sacramental devotion in Jerusalem itself, making use of the theatricality introduced by Francis. These artworks not only surpassed the pius beholder to emotional reaction, but also encouraged an identification with the moral code of Christ: a life of submission, patience, and obedience.

The agency of the visual was promoted by the Franciscan religious thinkers of the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) repeated that images should be used as text for those who cannot read; St. Bonaventure (d. 1274) confirmed this by claiming that images are necessary in order to transform the “sensible things which they see” into “the intelligible which they cannot see.” Thus, by keeping the Passion on stage, the sense of humanization itself, mental visualization, and contemplative meditation were never the primary goal of Passion meditation—the visualization of the Passion was just the means to another end. Whether through guided movement in Mamluk Jerusalem, a staged scene with animals and hay, a frame-by-frame narrative painting, or an internal view into the church, the embodiment of the Passion was but a stepping-stone towards spiritual ascension. In the words of Gregory the Great (999 AD): “When you see an image, imagine the thing that is in your soul with love for Him whose picture you wish to see. We do no harm in trying to show the invisible by means of the visible.” Though we are unable to access the divine through material means, we can use images attached of things seen, in order to grasp the unseen. The one is the mystery of the Passion, made visible through spiritual devotion and the theology of the cross.

In that sense, there is no meaningful distinction between physical and mental pilgrimage of the stations, as both forms are premised on imaginatively labour and emotional engagement rooted in the pre-existing drama of art: dramatic intensity, emotional intensity, and staged immediacy.

The humanist-realist representation of the Passion had a didactic purpose to be a popular vehicle for the imitation of Christ by the laity in their own surroundings. This style was widely disseminated after the death of St Francis in 1228, when the order embarked on a large-scale project to erect permanent buildings decorated with images of the humanised Christ. In highly dramatized and brutally detailed sequential compositions, these frame-by-frame representations of the Passion fragmented an event whose violence and cruelty would otherwise be too hard to grasp. These artworks not only addressed the desire for a realistic depiction of the Passion, but also created an apocalyptic progression not distinguishable from the sacramental devotion in Jerusalem itself, making use of the theatricality introduced by Francis. These artworks not only surpassed the pius beholder to emotional reaction, but also encouraged an identification with the moral code of Christ: a life of submission, patience, and obedience.

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In that sense, there is no meaningful distinction between physical and mental pilgrimage of the stations, as both forms are premised on imaginatively labour and emotional engagement rooted in the pre-existing drama of art: dramatic intensity, emotional intensity, and staged immediacy.

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looming at the end of the fifteenth century was the growing power of Eastern Orthodox Christianity—fostered by the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453—that was increasingly pushing the Franciscans out of their shrines and putting into question their papacy-awarded Custodia Terra Sanctae.

When Caimi returned to Italy, he embarked on a project to provide a local alternative to Jerusalem pilgrimage. Obtaining financial aid and papal permission, Caimi began the construction of a spiritual complex atop an uninhabited hillside by the Sesia river, whose topography resembled that of Jerusalem—at least in his eyes. Within this imaginary landscape, he erected three chapels and renamed some elements of the terrain: the Holy Sepulchre on the hill of “Mount Calvary,” Nazareth by “Mount Tabor,” and Bethlehem below “Mount Zion.” Caimi declared that the spatial configuration of the chapels, the distance between them, and their relation to Varallo’s topographical features were to be identical to Jerusalem, creating an analogous equivalent to Jerusalem by replicating its physical conditions and bringing the pilgrim experience closer to Jerusalem by replicating its physical conditions.

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The first chapel was completed in 1491. Dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, it was built as a series of chambers through which the pilgrims passed, configuring their bodies by kneeling, bending, and crawling in response to the shifting architectural proportions of space. Described as a replica of the church in Jerusalem, it was designed as a vessel for physical imitation, thus generating an affective and intimate relationship between the Jerusalem pilgrim and Christ. Caimi’s Jerusalem Chapel was joined by those of Nazareth and Bethlehem, commemorating in Varallo only the sites under the Order’s custody in Jerusalem. Accordingly, movement was directed between the locations by the site’s analogous geography rather than scriptural chronology, causing a confusion amongst pilgrims who were accustomed to encounter such episodes in a linear fashion.

In an attempt to resolve this spatial complexity and perhaps to bring the site even closer to the Custodia Terrae Sanctae, Franciscan guides were made available to lead visitors between the chapels. Unlike Jerusalem’s hurried tours, in Varallo the guides allowed and even encouraged contemplation of each event of the Passion in its corresponding location, resulting in a combination of physical and mental imagination that was never possible through meditation guidebooks, and certainly not in Jerusalem itself.

In 1507, the ambassador to the king of France, Gerolamo Morone, visited the Sacro Monte at Varallo. He recorded his moving visit in an emotional letter to his friend, the poet Lanzino Curzio: “Because of the difficulties and dangers endured by the pilgrims who visit Mount Calvary in Jerusalem, the Franciscans have built in Varallo a copy... The events of the Gospels are represented in many chapels into which I was introduced by a pious friar who has seen the place where the real body of Christ is buried.” Morone emphasised the leadership of a local friar in Varallo, who had seen the real sites and could confirm that the “distances between these chapels and the structures in which the events are reproduced correspond exactly to the originals.” Precision and specificity were thus crucial to the erection of what he called a copy that was not only identical, but possibly even superior to the real one. He concludes:

“I never saw anything more pious or devout; I have never seen anything that could pierce the heart more, which could compel one to neglect everything else and follow Christ alone. [...] Let us henceforth those who-called Roman stations; let even the Jerusalem pilgrimage [...] the ingenuous site surpasses all antiquity.”

Indeed, Caimi’s isolated complex was revealed from the dangers posed by a politically and economically charged urban entity. As a local Jerusalem, it could be both Herodian (i.e. first century AD) and Mamluk, yet typologically entirely vernacular. It fulfilled Caimi’s desire to create a local stage for devotion in a place that was once remote and accessible. However, the site relied on the capability of the devout to generate a mental image; in that sense, it was not much different from Jerusalem itself, requiring such imaginative labour from the believer. Considering the site’s audience—the semi-literate lay people and the unattended clergy of vernacular origins—Caimi’s analogical Holy Land was not enough. Hence, to reach a popular audience, the order’s verbal sermons had to be translated into tangible representations using hyper-real art. This resulted in a project that would become what Rudolf Wittkower called “one of the most extraordinary enterprises in the history of Catholic devotion and religious art.”

The site’s artistic program owes its form to the Valencian artist Gaudenzio Ferrari. Born in 1476, he arrived in Varallo in 1513 as an accomplished artisan, a painter, philosopher and mathematician. Ferrari’s project in Varallo sought to expand Caimi’s miniature Holy Land into a staging of Christ’s life and death by transforming each of the existing chapels (plus some twenty more) into a biblical tableau vivant using architecture, sculpture, relief, and paintings. With life-size terra-cotta figures, perspective illusionism, natural light, and the site’s topographic conditions, Ferrari created mini-theatres that made Christ’s Passion an immediate reality. By 1514, close to thirty chapels were built in this manner, transforming the religious complex from a toposonic constellation of markers to an elaborate facsimile of the life of Christ.

In order to address the site’s audience, Ferrari’s polychrome figures were dressed in clothes made from real fabric, their heads covered with wigs, beards made from horsehair, and their eyes made of glass pebbles. Other artifacts and accessories, such as chairs, ropes, buckets, and beds, were incorporated with the painted and sculpted. Finally, sand, soil, and earth covered the chapel’s floor, merging the site’s landscape with scenic murals, and the Holy Land with Varallo. The use of vernacular imagery—regional clothes, landscapes, and even facial features—mediated the distant and foreign through the familiar and homely.

The use of utilitarian objects in religious art merged the sacred with the everyday, giving a real form to the unseen, thus aligning Varallo with the Franciscan mission of giving Christ’s humanity a palpable immediate presence. Rooted in medieval drama, yet enhanced by Renaissance techniques, these illusionary details transformed each episode from the life of Christ to be read as a scene in the drama of Calvary, enacted as a station in the theatrical ritual.

Over the next three decades, the site grew exponentially, both in scale and detail, into what Wittkower described as “an enterprise rarely matched in its successful appeal to popular imagination.” It was popular, for its intention was to deliver a clear, intense, and emotional message; popular for its childlike simplicity and immediacy; popular for staging spirituality with extreme...
verisimilitude; and popular because it stood outside of “high art” and its subtle, classical, and elitist trappings.

Ferrari’s unidealised art was not invented in Varallo; it encapsulated a religious sentiment that stemmed from twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic spirituality, conceived in St Francis of Assisi’s nativity in Greccio. In fact, affective life-size representations had been readily used in the sculptural works of Italian artists such as Guido Mazzoni and Niccolò dell’Arca, who created compositions of life-sized polychrome figures before Ferrari brought them to Varallo. Born in Modena around 1450, Guido Mazzoni spent fifty years working as an artist, goldsmith, and sculptor, creating ultra-realistic votive tableaux for various clients. Featuring extreme facial expressions and dramatic stagings, his life-size terracotta hands and faces (often those of his patrons and even touch the holy figures for additional indulgence promised by the guiding Franciscans.

Indeed, since the stigmatisation of St Francis himself, readers and beholders were encouraged to become not just spectators but actual actors through identification. Empathy was crucial; the power of the observer to project herself into the object of contemplation in order to fully understand it.

In the chapel of the nativity, for example, a pilgrim could take part in the events that happened in Bethlehem. Located down the hill from Varallo’s Calvary, the complex of nativity chapels was completed in 1528 by Caudenzo Ferrari. Upon entry, the pilgrim encounters the Procession of the Magi to Christ’s birth: a densely populated space filled with life-sized sculptures, surrounded by floor-to-ceiling scenographic murals, scriptural characters, and their accompanying crowd. The first magus holds a golden box in his hand, dressed in a gold tunic with blue boots; his terra-cotta face, framed by long hair, is painted black to represent his African origin, following literally the tradition of the Magi being from the continents of the world. Behind him another ‘black’ figure looks upward towards a sculpted horse emerging from the wall in relief, adding a sense of movement frozen in time. The second magus holds a gift for Christ the child, wearing a blue tunic and a red cape. He looks toward the ‘sky’, where a carefully placed skyscape sheds a ray down onto the chapel, presumably representing the star that directs their way, in this case into the next room, where Mary and Joseph cradle their newborn.

At night, guided only by the Franciscans and candles, Varallo’s pilgrims would join the procession. Passing between the characters and paintings, they would pass through a small door from the chapel into the Nativity Crotto. Their performative involvement activated the scene; standing between the two spaces at the doorway, they were witnesses to the moment of Christ’s birth, caught between the Magi, Mary, and Joseph. Ferrari’s greatest creation was the chapel of Calvary, completed in 1520 on the site of the original chapel built by Caimi. Located at the top of the complex, it is a simple monumental room, built as a continuous surface from walls to ceiling, painted with an immersive scenography of panoramic murals. In the centre, three wooden crosses (today the only wooden sculptures in the site) emerge from an artificial elevated bedrock, surrounding the motionless bleeding Christ who bows his head, around him, ninety figures (some sculpted, some painted) contrast his static gesture with a hyperactive display of dynamic movement and intense emotions of excitement, devotion, and pain. His mother collapses into the arms of her companions, her arms outstretched with despair; Roman soldiers play a game over Christ’s garments; a grotesque tormentor reaches out to Christ with a sponge soaked in vinegar; and St John gazes at the crosses. In addition to these canonical figures, Ferrari composed sub-narratives with criminals, bystanders, witnesses, women carrying children, wild horses, and dancing angels. This constellation of Franciscan-themed, para-scriptural occurrences echoes the fragmentation of the Passion as it was expanded in the mind, through meditation guidebooks, and physically, at new locations and markers in Jerusalem’s city space in the centuries to come.
As in the nativity chapel, pilgrims walked into the chapel of Calvary and partook in the scene. As a door at one end brought the visitor in front of and between the contemporary visitor and observers and actors, these painted pilgrims that arrived from Rome and Santiago (according to the chapel would see the figures of two pilgrims at one end brought the visitor in front of and behind the mind that they could later be effortlessly provided the opportunity to encounter the divine.

Whether as a member of the Magi procession or a witness in Christ's crucifixion, each pilgrim became a witness to the divine. The participatory theatricality in the chapels of Bethlehem and Calvary in 1521—the first waves of iconoclasm were arriving from the north of Europe—created a sense of asceticism, intense, and bodily pain. In like religious art penetrated the isolated mountain-top. Now feared for its power to transform pious reverence into an outburst of uncontrollable violence, the church had to find a way to represent its sacred art.
In their quest to de-link the signified from the signifier, the church made it clear that these images were mere representations, not sacred themselves. These were ‘prototypes’ of the divine, visual aids to imagine that which we cannot see, giving the devout observer a “great profit [...] because the miracles which God had performed by means of the saints [...] are set before the eyes of the faithful.” In order to distinguish the real images, the Council gave orders to the clergy that “great care and diligence be used herein by bishops, as that there be nothing seen that is disorderly fashion. This not only caused confusion among pilgrims, but also distracted their minds from the solitary contemplation and emotional clarity they needed for spiritual ascension, compassion, and recollection. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, Varallo would retake the centre-stage with a project of reconstruction and renovation which aimed to stand extremely close to the partition in order to entirely reconsider the relationship between image and beholder, ex novo, with two major revisionary approaches: restricting the gaze into the chapels and ordering the stations along the route. Alessi’s project thus demarcated the tableaux as a venerated image and beholder, it became both visible and obscured. It creates a sense of self-reflection. In order to control body and mind Varallo would go on to implement these ideas in Varallo: from his first visit to the site in 1578 to his last in 1584, shortly before his death, the site was transformed into a systematic vehicle for pious devotion.

In the mid-1960s, when D’Adda, a wealthy Milanese related to Varallo by marriage, became the administrator of the Sacro Monte. His appointment followed a period of turmoil; in vain, the Asinari family engaged in the town between the Franciscans (affiliated with the founder of the site) and the local fabbrici, a civic elite who controlled the alms given by pilgrims to the site. Some of them also adopted the Counter-Reformation. In 1554, an argument raged in the town between the Franciscan Caimi and the fabbrici wanted to retake control over its content and layout. As the site’s administrator, d’Adda commissioned the project under which the town of Varallo was cleared and the site was fenced in (1552-1557) to refurbish the neglected pilgrimage site. Alessi, who trained in Perugia and worked extensively in Milan, Cenova, Bologna, and Naples, delivered his project for Varallo as the Libro Dei Misteri (1565-1569) as a volume of plans, sections, elevations, and construction details outlining the extensive reconstruction project of forty-four chapels. In the book, Alessi not only outlined the design of the site, but proposed the entire reconsideration of the relationship between image and beholder, ex novo, with two major revisionary approaches: restricting the gaze into the chapels and ordering the stations along the route. Alessi’s project thus demarcated the tableaux as a venerated image and beholder, it became both visible and obscured. It creates a sense of self-reflection. In order to control body and mind Varallo would go on to implement these ideas in Varallo: from his first visit to the site in 1578 to his last in 1584, shortly before his death, the site was transformed into a systematic vehicle for pious devotion.

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The Transfiguration Chapel is but one example of Alessi’s revision of the site’s legibility. With the grille partitions, Alessi created a design to discipline the gaze in the site’s elder and future chapels, presenting each tableau as a representation—not an embodiment—of the divine. To assure complete clarity, Alessi inserted a device within a device, a viewing aperture in the Vetriate. Its particular width and placement created a condition for solitary devotion, withdrawing the pilgrim from risky engagement with a group of emotional fellow-travellers. Isolation, after Trent, was crucial; pilgrimage was to return to its earlier condition for solitary devotion, withdrawing the confessional was widely introduced in order to regulate sensorial interactions; it fixed a spatial composition as a precondition for pious activity. An examination of a detail from Alessi’s Libro shows a pilgrim kneeling before a tableau, grasping his hands, lifting his gaze, and praying in stillness. According to scholars, it is not by chance that Alessi chose to demonstrate this device in the Chapel of the Temptation of Christ, stilling seduction by eliminating visual and physical contact. Not dissimilar from Alessi’s Vetriate, the confessional was widely introduced in order to regulate sensorial interactions; it fixed a spatial composition as a precondition for pious activity.

The second major revision proposed by Alessi was to give a sense of order to the physical movement of the pilgrim through the site. At a time when the church was trying to impose order and restriction on religious spaces by standardizing the reception of images and their behavioural consequences, Varallo could not afford a lack of clarity. While each chapel represented a scriptural episode and an affective response, it was essentially a singular station that was part of a larger constellation in the devotional process. This process, given the site’s topographical conditions, had to be staged as a clear roadmap to salvation.

When Alessi arrived at Varallo, the neglected Franciscan complex was in disorder, suspended between its own geography and Jerusalem’s sacred topography; its spiritual narrative was only legible with the help of a local guide who was familiar with both Varallo’s mysteries and its prototype in the Holy Land. But Varallo was not Jerusalem, nor an urban entity at all: it was an isolated religious complex unaffected by the political, social, and economic constraints of a real city. Alessi, who was employed by the Libreria rather than the Franciscan Order, could alter the site’s original layout in accordance with The Temptation of Christ, Libro Dei Misteri (1565–1566).
only encountered such events in the scriptures, must have been confused, wrote Alessi. In the prologue of the Libro, he noted:

"Because of rash the first founders placed the chapels with little order so that what often happens is that visitors to the mysteries find first that which they should find later, which seems to me to be a huge defect of great importance." 26

This “huge defect” in the order of the mysteries would harm the affective progression expected from the site’s visitors. Varallo’s winding paths, haphazard placement of chapels, and overgrown greenery had to be completely rethought. Unlike his surgical intervention in the chapels themselves, here Alessi proposed to destroy the existing paths and create a clearly marked route across the site. This path would follow Christ’s life, disregarding the impossibility of any proximity between these places and the real Holy Land. For example, he proposed that the Annunciation (in Nazareth) and the Nativity (in Bethlehem) should be juxtaposed, thus following a narrative structure as opposed to a geographic one (as the cities are distant from each other in reality). While chapels were removed or remodelled, hills were flattened and trees planted; the original topography, which remotely recreated the Holy Land pilgrimage, became a stage for a chronological route that spatialised a textual journey through the Scriptures. 27

To add narrative legibility, Alessi proposed to subdivide the site into three distinct areas: first, the uneven terrain and dense green areas of Nazareth and Bethlehem, which constituted the prelude to Christ’s days as Saviour. From there, an arched path led to the ‘urbanised’ Jerusalem space, with its geometrically organised monumental buildings, connected by arcades, colonnades, and stairs, leading to an additional level. The third compound, placed below the hill’s summit, was to include the afterlife. 28

The complete sequencing of Varallo’s stations served the site’s role as an elaborate lesson on the importance of sin and justification. Though never completed, the pilgrim’s route was to end in the complex of stations representing the afterlife, with the chapels of Universal Judgment, Limbo, Purgatory, and Hell. 29 The mirror image to the site’s conclusion in hell is its beginning in Heaven, or the Garden of Eden, where Adam and Eve are caught in their sinful temptation. 30 Placed by the site’s porta principale in the new Varallo, the chapel framed the entire journey of the pilgrim through the site in the shadow of original sin. Kneeling in
front of the Vetrate’s opening, the pilgrim’s gaze was directed (albeit with a peripheral upheaval of exotic and domesticated wildlife) towards the focal moment of humanity’s lustful appetite, a reminder of the need for personal redemption. From there, a path to salvation was activated not only for the pilgrim but for all mankind. Hence, a ‘correct’ passage through Varallo’s devotional stations would award the visitor with not only the remission of his own sins, but the spiritual rebirth of humanity: from the flesh to the mind and back, and from the first Adam to the second, Jesus Christ.113

The reorganisation of Varallo reflected a desire to control the body and mind of the pilgrim by delimiting what their eyes could apprehend, and simultaneously to isolate them from the greater mass of spiritual movement, away from the experience of collective devotion. Notwithstanding the stylistic continuity of the tableaux, the transformation from Ferrari to Alessi pointed to a shift, as described by Annabel Wharton, “from experiential to dogmatic space.”142 In the process of systematisation, Varallo became a blueprint for devotional piety; from an interactive, dramatic, and theatrical performance of the body to a distant experience, to a hyper-localised device of devotional piety; from a communal activity to a solitary one; from an interactive, dramatic, and theatrical performance of the body to a disciplined, contained, and stationary meditation of the mind; from the proliferation of meanings and memories to a clear, unconfusing recollection; from an imitation of a pilgrim’s journey through urban complexity to a legible, prescribed, self-guided itinerary; from monastic spirituality to Catholic theology; from open-ended imagination to worship of archetypes; from spontaneous uncontrolled emotion to a steady progression of psychological affection. Thus, Through Alessi’s removal of the spectacle from the represented, meditation was unburdened of all distractions and distilled the ritual itself from representation. This stripping of excess distractions initiated a process of systematisation that concluded with the statal ritual being reduced to mere units and the Via Crucis becoming impoverished of its initial intensity.

STATION AS UNIT, RITUAL AS ALGORITHM: THE RISE OF TECHNIC

As shown in the case of Varallo, the angst fomented by the Protestant Reformation impelled the Catholic Church to revise its position on artistic representations. The Sacred Mountains offered a comprehensive prototype—a controlled, affective environment embedded in a natural landscape—that could be replicated (with local variations) in a series of nine Sacri Monti, which acted as Catholic bastions in the Italian Alps. Addressing at once the risk from home and away, it kept the theatrical excesses of pilgrimage in check, while neutralising the threat of Protestant infiltration with Catholic compassion.114

The network of Sacred Mountains built over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lay sprawled, like a line of defence, along the Swiss border. Each was composed as a sequence of chapels (whose typology varied from site to site) that featured, behind a viewing partition, episodes from the lives of the saints, represented with polychrome terra-cotta figures and scenographic frescoes. The first Sacro Monte to succeed Varallo was built in Orta in 1591. It consisted of twenty chapels laid out by a member of the Franciscan order on the hilly landscape above Lago di Orta. Inside the chapels, local artists and craftsmen created figural scenes from the life of St Francis; compared to the tableaux at Varallo, their works were less coherent, at times pairing sculptures with unrelated painted backdrops. Sacro Monte de Crea, where construction began in 1589, included twenty-three chapels illustrating the mysteries of the Rosary. Refurbished in the nineteenth century, its terra-cotta figures were replaced with plaster sculptures, also set against scenographic murals.

Among the Sacri Monti, the culmination of the developing statal order can be found in Varese. This design was initiated by Federico Borromeo, Carlo Borromeo’s nephew and successor as archbishop of Milan, and a similarly committed supporter of the Sacri Monti. Works began in 1604 by the local architect Giuseppe Bernasconi, who designed fourteen monumental chapels, each a variation on the typology of a porticoed temple. By 1623, the chapels were complete, featuring scenes from the Mysteries of the Rosary with hyper-realist figures and elaborate paintings, created by over a dozen painters and sculptors, which could be viewed through grille partitions on the chapel’s exterior. The placement in the site no longer reflects any desire for spatial similarity to Jerusalem or topographic mnemonics; the chapels were placed at regular intervals along a two-kilometre path that ascended the mountain to the cathedral at the top. Attention was given to the path’s width, for the easy passage of processions; the occasional chapel is turned ninety-degrees, almost as a side-note to movement itself. To add rhythm, triumphal arches subdivided the ascent further into three groups: joy, grief, and glory.
ultimately created a system that was not con-

fined by the realm of theological complexes, but

the same mechanisms of order, restraint, and

serenity, steadily removing content from the pil-

grim’s path.

Despite their different modes of representa-

tion, Jerusalem’s stations are not, in fact, so dif-

c
def erent from those of the Sacri Monti. Via Dolorosa

may be in the same city where Christ passed his

final days, but it has no geographic or scriptural
correlation to Christ’s actual journey (the street he

crossed in the first century was not only ten

metres below the present ground surface, but

located in an entirely different part of the city).

As such, the Via Dolorosa is just another instance

of the many re-enactments of Catholic devotion to

the Stations of the Cross. Placed in an urban

void, it relies solely on its internal mechanism: a

steady progression of intensifying emotions, each

ignited only in relation to that which follows and

precedes.

Arguably, the Sacro Monte in Varese presents a
crystallisation of the Stations of the Cross: the

path as primary element and the chapels as mere

progressive stoppages. In Varese, traces of

Jerusalem or the urban as such were no longer

necessary: the representation grew further from

the presented, as detached from the archetype as

they were removed from the viewer. Any possi-

bility of theological confusion or disordered mem-

ories was removed; urban complexity disappeared

in favour of linearity and legibility—no more nor

less than the canonical fourteen stations.

Not long after the completion of Varese, the

systematic order of the stations was imported

back to the Holy City: penetrating through the

intricate patchwork of space negotiated between

the city’s diverse ethnic and religious communi-

ties, a path was finally carved, numbered, and

rationalised by the Franciscans, who continue to

to control the Via Dolora today. Unlike the Sacri

Monti, these stations are bereft of any dis-

tinct representation, displaying only a Roman

numeral on the wall for those confirming the

sequence. Despite the complexity of the urban

route, Jerusalem’s numerous pilgrims undertake

the journey in complete devotion. Drawing on

their ingrained Western tropes of linearity and

devotional practice, they are able to complete the

route in a single trajectory, even without a guide,

ignoring the realities of the contemporary city. In

that sense, Giovanni Cale’s 1616 illustration pre-

figures the design approach of a 2021 tourist map: the
city and its inhabitants disappear, leaving only

markers, stoppages, or stations, which set the

rhythm for an ordered, codified, and regimented

spiritual movement. Indeed, the steady process

of reciprocal influences from the fourteenth to

the seventeenth century resulted in the popular-

isation, serialisation, and optimisation of the Via

Crucis. This ritualisation of theatrical devotion

ultimately created a system that was not con-

fined by the realm of theological complexes, but

would expand into the urban, eventually shap-

ing the architecture of Jerusalem itself through

the same mechanisms of order, restraint, and

The canonisation of the stations at the dawn of

modernity can be ascribed to the rise of a con-
dition known as Technic. Technic is “the spirit of

abstract instrumentality, according to which

everything is merely a means to an end”, writes

Federico Campagna in Technic and Magic (2018). While

a complete outline of Campagna’s argument is

beyond the scope of this thesis, some of its

notions can be applied to highlight what is

at stake in this chapter and, to some extent, in

the next. According to Campagna, the world, and

our existential experience within it, derive from a

system (or “reality-system”) of Technic, which is

contrasted to that of Magic. The internal struc-
ture of Technic, which constitutes the anatom-
ic components of our world, includes absolute

language, measure, and unit. Campagna cites French

philosopher Gilbert Simondon, who distilled his

analysis of technology into an original theory of

individuation, when “a thing […] is in a con-

tinuous process of actualisation of its original,

overflowing potential. As the process of individ-

uation unfolds, we witness the procession of a

long series of ‘individuals’, each defined by the

specific limits of its interaction with what consti-

tutes its surroundings at that particular stage.”

Considering this interpretation, we can read the

rationalisation of the stations as the first signs of

Technic: a new order in which the station is but

a component in an algorithm condition that sees

the Via Crucis as a syntactic composition. In this

new order, the mystery and miracles of the medi-

ceval church—its claims to magical powers—were

eradicated through an empirical understanding

of religious agency. Christ’s Passion had been

abstracted into units, formalised as stations. In

this process, it lost its autonomy, moving from

a theatrical representation of emotions—trau-

ma, arrogance, grief, pain, sympathy, anger, hate, and love—to a reduced chapter in Trent’s

archetypal narratives and fixed affective cues. The

algorithm of this plot is dictated by the Catholic

pedagogy and its synthesis of the Passion as the

logical outcome of all past events. Confusion and

curiosity, once harbingers of imaginative labour,

were eradicated to prioritize a confessional con-

templative introspection, replacing theatricality

with control and discipline, heralding a new era

of intellectual inquiry where Technic triumphs.
Jerusalem has always benefited from its image. Located at a distance from transportation routes (both over land and sea) and with little natural resources to extract, the city had to capitalise on its symbolic value for economic survival. However, this condition arrived at a point of excess in the nineteenth century, when the influx of visitors had completely destabilised the city in terms of its civic space. This long century, from Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt in 1798 to the British occupation of Jerusalem in 1917, was the period when Christian travel to Jerusalem reached its peak.

Several factors—the decline of the Ottoman Empire, a series of local and foreign reforms, and technological advancements—allowed the West to reconquer the Holy Land through different means: tourism. During this era Jerusalem was transformed by the arrival of new types of pilgrims: surveyors and tourists.

The former appropriated the subjectivity of a spiritual wanderer into that of a mission-driven military man. Steeped in religious curiosity and equipped with modern tools, the surveyors did not perform religious rituals per se, but they were occupied with authenticating the Scriptures by studying the sacred topography of the Holy Land. Thanks to the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, the possibility of ownership allowed explorers to shift their investigation from the surface of the terrain to its depth, where evidence of Christian heritage could be recovered.

The exponential growth of archaeological sites changed the landscape of Jerusalem. Under the guise of spirituality, a Christian narrative was memorialised in a series of historic monuments that were ritualised, naturalised, and commodified by a mass movement of tourists—privileged travellers hoping to locate (and, to a certain extent, to project) a particular memory in and on the land. The ritualisation of Jerusalem’s city space by tourists perpetuated the process of valorisation (enhancement or expansion), defined as increasing the value of a certain resource in order to generate surplus. The heritage project in Jerusalem proved instrumental in the valorisation of its monuments: over the twentieth century, the British mandate would entirely reshape the city by simplifying its past for the sake of familiarity, legibility, and profitability.

JERUSALEM IN TRANSFORMATION

In the years leading to the 1830s, Jerusalem was home to a population of about 9,000 residents, mainly shopkeepers and craftsmen who lived within a walled enclosed city. At the time, Jerusalem was a spiritual home to the three Abrahamic religions, and pilgrimage was just another than to the local population) in the form of diplomatic relations and official religious institutions, allowing them to mobilise their power for its official survey. Holy Land exploration was not a new phenomenon: in 333 AD, the pilgrim from Bordeaux recorded his encounter with Biblical Palestine in great detail, and the Dominican Felix Fabri wrote a descriptive travelogue in 1483 that...
would be used by both physical and virtual pilgrims for centuries to come. What made them unique within the sphere of pilgrim diaries is that they downplayed the subjective element of the journey in favour of what can anachronistically be described as a scientific observation of the sites, including measurements, sketches, detailed plans, and comparative observations.

Not until the nineteenth century would this sense of curiosity and desire to locate the “truth” about Christ’s land be met with such favourable geopolitical conditions. The 1839 Ottoman Tanzimat (literally ‘reorganisation’) was an Empire-wide reform echoing the seismic shifts that took place in Europe in the nineteenth century. It included the introduction of basic civil liberties like freedom and security, a reform of the banking system, the replacement of religious with secular law, the institutionalisation of labour through guilds, and a new Ottoman flag and anthem. Most importantly for Palestine, the Tanzimat introduced a new land code that was designed to centralise land and property rights, in contrast to the collective custom, and to allow individual cultivators to register their land and thus to subject it to regular taxation, and it allowed individual cultivation of land for capitalistic purposes. It abolished existing notions of collective ownership and use rights, in favour of speculative investment targeted at increasing the value of soil. This commodification of land into an immovable asset was the manifestation of the state’s attempt to spatialise its power under the Tanzimat reforms by ordering, regulating, and classifying economic and social activities.

Though it was not successful on all fronts, the reform effectively liberalised the land market in Palestine. The abstraction of territory through mapping and registration reshaped the land according to a regime of enclosure and exclusion. Under the new legal conditions, land could be freely alienated and sold without discrimination—even to foreigners. Though the Christian Church had held ecclesial properties in Palestine since Byzantine times, only after the reform was it allowed to expand, develop, and enclose its own missionary institutions, educational facilities, hospitals and hospices. These included the German deaconess Hospital, the Anglican hospital, the Notre Dame Hospice and the Italian hospital, as well as St Joseph nursing school. The monumental Russian compound was built on a hill across from the Old City under the name “Nova Jerusalem”, with an investment of about 250,000 pounds sterling from the Russian government. These ventures were to
provide pilgrims with a home in the holy city, as well as subsidies in the form of food, lodging and medical aid, while allowing foreign powers to expand their control on the ground. By accommodating the accommodation of pilgrims, the mechanisms by which land was privatized, alienated and sold led to its radical transformation in the decades to come by allowing Western exploration on the surface of the land—and into its depths.

**ACT I: THE EXPLORER-SURVEYOR**

The quintessential pilgrim-explorer of Biblical Palestine was Edward Robinson. Born in 1794 in Connecticut, Robinson studied law, mathematics, and Greek, spending his early career translating the New Testament into English and publishing Hebrew-English lexicons of the Old Testament. In 1800, he was awarded a gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society for his work in the Levant, which was widely accepted in the West; it won him a public facility.

However, unlike his predecessors, who followed well-trodden paths, recapitulated previously-written accounts, and relied on information provided by local monastic institutions, Robinson decided to question the ecclesiastical traditions of nineteenth-century Palestine by using his own methods: measuring tape, minute observations, and a detailed system of orthography.

Thanks to his rigour, Robinson discovered hundreds of previously unknown or unrecognized sites, amongst them the remains of an arch that led to the Temple Mount (known today as “Robinson’s Arch”) and the Siloam tunnel that runs beneath the city into the Siloach fountain, Jerusalem’s first water source. Robinson’s three-volume publication, Biblical Researches in Palestine (1841), was widely accepted in the West; it won him a gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society in London in 1842. In the preface to the first volume, Robinson explained his intentions:

> We wish it to be regarded merely as a beginning, a first attempt to lay open the treasures of Biblical Geography and History still remaining in the Holy Land; treasures which have lain for ages unexplored, and had become so covered with the dust and rubbish of many centuries [...] May He, who has thus far sustained me, make it useful for the elucidation of His truth. [...] Indeed, Robinson came to be known as the “father of Biblical Geography”. The certainty introduced by his scientific (and pseudo-scientific) methodology inspired generations of religious-oriented explorers to seek the paradoxical religious truth that could be differentiated from what Robinson referred to as legendary traditions. His noble intentions notwithstanding, his statements were nonetheless revealing of the paternalistic approach to the territory and the ease with which he discarded centuries of histories, a sentiment of Western superiority that would be repeated by future travellers-cum-colonisers.

While Robinson expanded the field of vision by questioning existing traditions, he was still confined to the island of land-and-book research, where one was to be read in light of the others. That is to say, his mission was to identify and authorise sites mentioned in the Scripture, not to conduct a general topographic or archaeological study of a given area. When encountering an ancient Christian inscription along one of his routes, for example, he did not bother to interpret the text as the site was not on his biblical checklist; when he passed by what would later be recognised as the remains of the ancient walls of Jericho, Robinson dismissed the site as a mount of “rubbish” due to its distance from known sites. This mode of specific inquiry changed in the 1860s when European powers began to send a different kind of explorer—not the learned scholars of the Bible, but surveying military men. In that sense, it is perhaps unsurprising that the first survey was framed not by religious intentions but by a prototypical colonial motivation: improvement.

Jerusalem’s recurring breakouts of cholera and dysentery were to be solved by a donation from an English noblewoman who was eager to rebuild the city’s water system. In 1864, she provided £500 to the Royal Engineers to conduct an accurate study of the city. Led by Captain Charles Wilson, this was the first Western mission to be sent by a government body rather than merely inspired by personal curiosity and interest. This time, skilled surveyors utilized modern equipment to map the city at 1:2,500 scale, including the city walls and gates, layout of streets, and locations of important buildings and public facilities. The resulting “Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem” was the first accurate map of the city, and proved invaluable to the Empire in its eventual expansion to Palestine.

While the improvement plan for Jerusalem’s water supply was never realised, Wilson’s survey precipitated the foundation of the largest-enterprise Western biblical inquiry, the Palestine Exploration Fund. The PEF was launched in 1865 before a group of clergymen, scientists and public officials. The Archbishop of York introduced the Fund:

> Our object is strictly an inductive inquiry. We are not to be a religious society; we are not about to launch into any controversy; we are about to apply the rules of science, which are so well understood by us in other branches, to an investigation into the facts concerning the Holy Land.

**CHAPTER FOUR—**

Faced with controversies amongst Christian denominations (notably between Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals), the Fund was able to unite men in and outside the Church by hailing the Bible not only as a religious guide but as a historical document whose merit was yet to be fully understood. They claimed that the Holy Land was “crying out for accurate investigation” and...
that their publications would consist of facts, not opinions. By studying its archaeology, manners of the local population, topography, geology, and the natural resources, the PEF could settle once and for all the various speculations regarding the origin of the Christian faith.

The PEF thus encapsulated the spirit of the time: on the one hand, it employed scientific tools to produce knowledge about distant lands, a quintessential Victorian trope (in fact, Queen Victoria was one of its first patrons); on the other hand, it was religiously motivated, responding to the industrialisation and secularisation endemic to England’s academic circles and to some extent European society at large. These two parallel sentiments were imbued with a sense of patrimony that was explicit in the PEF’s opening statement: “This country of Palestine belongs to you and me, it is essentially ours [...] We mean to walk through Palestine in the breadth of it because that land has been given onto us.”

In the following decades, similar organisations joined England’s colonial-religious mission, including the American Palestine Exploration Society (1870), the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine (1878) and the American School of Oriental Research (1900), although the PEF remained the wealthiest and most prolific of these institutions.

In 1878 the PEF published the ambitious “Survey of Western Palestine” (SWP) based on triangulation across the length of the territory of the so-called Holy Land. Funded by the War Office, the SWP had a clear strategic objective of achieving knowledge over the region in order to secure the Suez Canal (opened in 1869) and protect India in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. However, the survey had an additional layer of “sentimental character” (as the Chief of the War Office described it) and thus includes biblical, early Christian, and Crusaders sites. These maps, which took seven years to complete, provided the locations of every city, ruin, and contemporary village in the land, more than 10,000 place-names in total (compared with Robinson’s 1,712), many of them previously unknown.

Amongst the sheets were two special editions dedicated to illustrating the Old and New Testaments by mapping the Scriptures onto the terrain, including the boundaries of Israel’s twelve tribes, the borders of the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the locations of Canaanite cities and the divisions of King Solomon’s governments; the map of the New Testament also included cross-referenced biblical, Talmudic and modern names.

The SWP presents a moment in which the certainty of modernity was met with something that was imaginary, mythical, and spiritual. No longer disputed or misidentified, Robinson’s studies and the PEF’s maps were actively appropriating the land and demarcating their territory by highlighting the specificity of the Christian narrative, excluding existing traditions, and eliminating the complexity that had been shared for centuries. In Enclaves, Cary Fields argues that cartography is a technological way of overwriting the land by mapping arguments over a represented territory. As an instrument of force, he argues that maps not only shape consciousness about the land, but they “become models of what they represent.”

This rearrangement of geological strata landscaped the PEF’s vision onto the ground, transforming it into what Edward Said refers to as “imagined geographies” – where groups project their own reading of a patrimonial territory before they act upon it with physical force. This particular vision was based on memories that had been constructed in the West for generations: it would soon spatialise itself in Jerusalem, both symbolically and literally, in a series of historic monuments.

Before addressing the concept of the historic monument, we should understand what constitutes a monument in Jerusalem. As this thesis shows, from as early as the fourth century AD, monuments have been erected in Jerusalem over places where biblical events took place in order to assure their emotional affectivity on the members of the group and their ability to recollect memory.
 These monuments, such as the Churches of the Holy Sepulchre or the Nativity that were discussed in chapter one, were erected with a purpose. They were conceived and erected as instruments of recollection, denoting sanctity, continuity, and power. In time, additional memories proliferated as localities, and the place where Christ was stripped of his garments, where the apostles met after resurrection, the column of flagellation, where the crown of thorns was found, and many more. However, these symbolic memories were not monumentalised with structure ex nihilo; their mnemonic associations were infused into existing places in the context that often carried no previous significance. This process of turning a non-descript site into one that commemorates historical events is what Chowy defines as creating a historic monument. In many respects, the historic monument is antithetical to the monument: it is “constituted posthери by the converging gazes of the historian and the amateur who choose it from a mass of existing edifices.” In other words, structures that did not initially have a memorial purpose can be converted into a historic monument on the basis of a particular knowledge that is based on systematic research and the traditions that have since evolved around it.

The Via Crucis, for example, was staged as a sequence of dramatic events designed to cyclically recollect the Passion of Christ. In chapter two we witnessed the construction of the Stations of the Cross with the sole purpose of staging this theatrical ritual. The room in which Pontius Pilate condemned Jesus to his death did not, originally, have a mnemonic intention; its significance in the present, however, is that it serves as the point of recollection of the savior’s trial. The occasions on which Christ fell under the weight of the Cross or encountered various characters (Mary, Symon of Cyrene, Veronica, or the Women of Jerusalem) have been localised in pieces of pavement, a corner of a street, or fragment of buildings in Jerusalem that have since assumed a religious meaning within the systematised recollection of Stations of the Cross.

The foundation of a historic monument is not based on sentiment or scripture, but on an acquired, ‘objective’ data. This idiosyncratic recognition emerged as a discipline in the second half of the nineteenth century in the form of biblical exploration. Through excavation, a non-descript site could become a holy space. In this process, the underworld was declared to be the setting of the past’s truth; as Rosalind Williams argues, “the earth’s inner space may no longer be regarded as sacred, but is still a repository of spiritual value because it is assumed to hold the secrets of lost time.” In the case of Jerusalem, the sacred ground was seen as a speculative archive of biblical residues—referred to by a founder of the PEF as a “treasury of truth”—where foundations of Western society could be identified and monumentalised by appropriating elements of the existing city into historic monuments. In that process, the ‘detritus’ of other narratives was dissolved, thus legitimising future actions of eviction, displacement, and demolition, advancing what is referred to by Halbwachs as a “colonisation of memory.”

In what is to follow, we will witness how archaeology was mobilised to bring invisible facts into the visible surface, and how the movement of pilgrims has fixed particular memories in space.

**ACT II: THE ARCHAEOLOGIST**

Although archaeology was active in Palestine since the mid-nineteenth century, actual digging into the ground did not officially commence until the 1860s. Prior to that, conditions were not favourable for several reasons: local Jewish and Muslim communities often resisted the work—which caused disturbance to daily prayers or were considered desecrating—and the Ottomans showed minimal interest in such activity, as they could not assume ownership over found items. Permits often depended on diplomatic relations and religious bodies, which were in a constant conflict of interests over publication and future funding to secure more strategic land.

However, this changed after 1858, when the Land Code allowed Church bodies (such as the Greek and Russian Orthodox, Armenians, and the Catholic Dominicans and Franciscans) to buy land and freely excavate it as they pleased. Their hope was to find within their domain a trace of Biblical Jerusalem that could be transformed into a historic monument, which would then attract pilgrims and revenue.

While each institution sought after different traces of religious narratives, according to its group’s own collective memories, one sentiment was shared by all: historic Jerusalem was hidden beneath the layers of a modern city, and the indigenous inhabitants of the city had been oblivious to this fact for centuries. “One of the wonders” of Jerusalem, writes Helen B. Harris in Pictures of the East (1897), is that “deep under the ground, beneath the tress of the busy multitude of all nationalities that throng the leading streets of modern Jerusalem, lie the remains of successive buried cities of the past.” Like Harris, American clergyman Henry Van Dyke saw this past lost as a “hidden present” where he could find “the soil of that land where so much that is strange is memorable.” These attitudes were common amongst explorers-archaeologists and diggers-carum-scientists who refreshed the existing Jerusalem in favour of Christ’s city. In Buried Cities Recovered (1882), the American Consul in Jerusalem, Frank De Haas, writes:

Beneath this accumulation of filth, covered with rubbish, lies the “City of the Great King.” Dig down almost anywhere within the old walls [...] and you will come upon broken columns, grand gateways, massive substructures, and other remains of a great city [...]. This buried city is the Jerusalem of Christ.”

De Haas calls for the physical removal of post-biblical strata, which he sees as the excess debris of ‘profane’ and ‘fake’ civilisations. Similarly, the Swiss theologian Philip Schaff wrote that the “Jerusalem of our Saviour and the apostles lies buried [...] under the ruins and rubbish of centuries.” Like them, the French explorer Pier Loti hoped that by digging beneath...
the Old City, “the Jerusalem of Christ will soon be reconstituted”22 suggesting the belief that all Western scholars had to do was find the “Bible under the cobblestones” of modern Jerusalem. In other words, it is there that memory can be literally excavated and brought into the surface where it will be readily available for recollection. One of the recovered sites was the Sisters of Zion Convent, built on land purchased by Father Marie-Alphonce de Ratisbonne in the 1860s. Until excavations under the convent began, the convent carried no mnemonic function as it was merely in the vicinity of holy sites, such as the ruined section of a Roman arch that came to be reconstituted, “the remains of a Roman room and pieces of an foundation of a tower in Siloam (right), ca. 1900”23. Convent, the Sisters could not explore where the property in the 1880s 24. “When first I stood beside those walls, he brought round the judge-seat at a place called the Pomegranate, but in lighton, Gallabatha.” 25. Conde, Pierre, Jerusalem (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1880), xiv; trans. W. K. Raith (Philadelphia: H. Mcber, 1910), 111.

Recollection thus occurs based on affectivity; this ancient room gained a mnemonic function thanks to a pseudo-scientific fragment, a local fragment of religious authority, and proximity to other holy sites. Following the monastery’s discovery, other holy sites proliferated nearby based on their perceived authenticity. Soon around Gallabatha were erected the Monastery of the Flagellation, where Christ was Rogged by the Romans, and the Church of the Condemnation, where Christ picked up his cross. In addition to events related to Christ and the Via Crucis, other minute details from the Scriptures were localised. The patrimonial inflation included not only religious bodies but also national institutions. As Hana Harris writes, the English hospital excavated under its premises to discover: a very ancient and massive prison […] with several cells enclosed, and it is thought that very possibly it was in one of these that the Apostle Peter was imprisoned and from which he was so miraculously delivered, as described in the Acts of the Apostles. […] even if it be not the actual prison, it must be of equal antiquity, and serves to illustrate the Scripture incident most vividly.26

Harris admits that even if it is not exactly a prison, nor Peter’s cell, she can still understand the Scriptures better due to its authentic characteristic.

Gordon visited Jerusalem with the aim of locating another sign of the divinity in the natural world: Golgotha, the hill where Christ was Crucified, also known as the place of the skull, or Calvary. Gordon traced contour lines onto Jerusalem’s PEF Surveys in search of patterns that would suggest the position of Golgotha, only to finally confirm its location on a site that had been speculatively identified as both the Tomb of Christ due to a supposed connection between the name of the place and the skull-shaped rock above it. One of the strongest advocates of this site was Claude Reignier Conder, who had written an account that discounted the existing Calvary and assumed this ancient rock tomb as the true site of Christ’s burial. In his 2nd Work in Palestine (1878), Conder explains his findings using a process of identification similar to that applied to some of the Stations of the Cross: he emphasized its proximity to the place of St Stephen’s Martyrdom and to a Sephardic Jewish cemetery, as well as its location outside of the Old City walls, as written in the New Testament 27. Conder was convinced that the existing Calvary “lowers the Christian faith in the eyes of the Moslem” because of its desecrating falsehood.28 After laying out his detailed observation and investigation into his Calvary, he concludes, “we cannot, I would argue, consider these facts to be mere coincidence; they are rather strong confirmation of the accuracy of the more generally accepted views regarding the topography and monuments of ancient Jerusalem.” 29

It took a decade to secure the purchase of the site that came to be known as “Gordon’s Calvary.” Initially bought by a Swiss investor, it was collectively purchased by the Garden Tomb Association, a private organisation composed of noblemen and women who showed an “earnest
from owning the holy places, the leaders of the Protestant community were compelled to invent their own historic monuments in order to assure the group's faculty of recollection.

This was the height of Jerusalem's patrimonial project, designed to attract Western pilgrims to the city. The proliferation of historic monuments countered the spiritual drainage emanating from industrial Europe, by providing a place of spiritual worship and affective recollection. Thanks to scientific practices, existing elements such as a rock cairn or a fragment of an arch could turn into proof of one's own history. However, the scrutiny under which the materiality of the city was studied and designated also dissolved Jerusalem's sacredness as a pilgrimage site, and was hidden beneath a Muslim masonry. This pious environment was Measuring 

The Garden Tomb in 2020. Photo by the author

TOWARDS JERUSALEM

CHAPTER FOUR—

The Innocents Abroad

Fig 18: The Garden Tomb in 2020. Photo by the author

desire [...] that the garden and its tomb should be secured from disrespect or profanation or superstition on the other. The Association purchased the land and adjoining plots (measuring 8,640 sqm) that bordered the property of Muslims and Greeks and was hidden beneath a Muslim cemetery, perched on the so-called “Skull Hill” above. Though the land was initially considered as Mulk (freehold), in 1905 the association managed to change its designation to Wqaf in order to prevent it from reverting back to the state when its heirless owners would pass away. Over the next decades, the Association refrained from erecting structures within the grounds, investing instead in a luscious garden around the tomb, where Protestants could find secluded space for contemplation. This pious environment was radically different from the congested and contested atmosphere in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, located just a few hundred meters to the south inside the Old City walls. Despite the lack of a monument per se, the hewn rock of the tomb and its surrounding garden was invested with a memorial function; it became a historic monument of another typology—the garden—which became a place for the recollection for English and American Protestant communities.

The invention of the Garden Tomb was as strategic as it was spiritual. Unlike other “rediscovered” holy sites in Jerusalem, the protestant Cologho not only added an additional site to the pilgrimage’s route, but also attempted to discredit another. This was a deliberate decision on the part of the Protestants—who were not recognised by the Ottomans as an autonomous confessional community, and thus did not share a piece of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre like other denominations. In fact, the Status Quo agreement from 1833 dictated: “The actual status quo will be maintained and the Jerusalem shrines, whether owned in common or exclusively by the Greek, Latin, and Armenian communities, will all remain forever in their present state.” This meant that nine sites in and around Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with their intricate and fragmented sacred spaces, would remain in the custody of the Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Syriac Orthodox, Coptic Christians, and Ethiopians in perpetuity. Forever excluded from problematising spiritual journeys across many centuries through the lens of their secular motivations—cultural curiosity, political aspirations, economic gain, and natural sceneries—they objected to pilgrimage being turned into a chain of hotels, and well-trained tour guides, for profit was maximised through a system of commodified pilgrimage. With fixed itineraries, a chain of hotels, and well-trained tour guides, the tourist industry was able to capitalise on Jerusalem’s holy space, valorising it as a leisure activity, and promoting as an attraction—displaying all the characteristics of modern tourism as we know it today. Pilgrimage was thus made lucrative by tourist agencies who fused business and missionary ventures, administering Jerusalem’s heritage as a resource to be enhanced—or valorised—for mass consumption.

In François Choay argues that valorisation (or enhancement) is the key to the heritage enterprise. It refers to the increase in value—cultural, spiritual, intellectual, and of course, economic—which rises with the accessibility and legibility of patrimonial constructions, such as historic monuments. Valorisation transforms the historic monument into an enhanced product that is readily consumable by their target audience: pilgrims. Before describing Jerusalem’s tourism project, it is important to consider the interpretation of valorisation not only by Choay (or as she called it in French, mise en valeur) but also by Karl Marx (or as he termed in German, Verwertung). In chapter four of Capital, Volume I, Marx explains the difference between the Commodity-Money-Commodity Model (C-M-C)—in which a person sells one commodity in order to buy another for use—and the Money-Commodity-Money model (M-C-M)—where one commodity is only bought to be resold at a higher price. The C-M-C circuit is completed when the sale of one commodity enables the purchase of another, which is then consumed. In contrast, M-C-M is an interminable process that begins and ends with money: it concludes a movement “only to begin it again”. Marx defines the distinction between the two modes as “a palpable difference between the circulation of money as capital, and its circulation (or enhancement) of value is referred to as valorisation. Therefore, to valorise in Marxist terms means to increase the surplus-value extracted from a commodity, valorisation is what converts consumption into capital.

In that sense, both Choay’s and Marx’s definitions of valorisation are at play in late nineteenth-century Jerusalem. As explained below, at the same time that its monuments were adapted to appear increasingly legible and comprehensible to visiting tourists, their potential for problematic spiritual journeys were valorised and sold as a leisure activity, and promoted as an attraction—displaying all the characteristics of modern tourism as we know it today. Pilgrimage was thus made lucrative by tour agencies who fused business and missionary ventures, administering Jerusalem’s heritage as a resource to be enhanced—or valorised—for mass consumption.

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host Temperance Tours (helping men abstain from alcohol and nicotine) in 1841, Cook’s office expanded in 1850 to arrange tours to Paris, Italy, and the Alps; in 1852 he transported 165,000 people to the Great Exhibition in London’s Crystal Palace, providing transportation and accommodation. Conducting the tours in person, buying wholesale tickets, and targeting the expanding middle class—whose vacations were an integral part of ‘healthy work’—Cook positioned himself at the forefront of the business of leisure-making. The arrival of the steamship, improvement of railways, and the paving of roads encouraged his entrepreneurial spirit to expand his ‘educational’ services beyond Europe. Reflecting both the era’s expansionist sensibilities and his own missionary sentiments, Cook was oriented to the East. It was there that he could combine the curiosity of the ancient world with the comfort and security of modernism; above all, it was where he could merge business with piety.

When Cook arrived in Palestine in 1864, he wanted to revolutionise the existing model of pilgrimage. Until then, visitors were responsible for planning their own routes, hiring guides, preparing food, and booking transfers and accommodations for themselves. They travelled in large caravans that were crucial for economic and security reasons, often in the company of officers and soldiers. When Cook arrived in Palestine for the first time, he established a permanent base in Jerusalem. He purchased land and built a storage facility for running his business. He also formed a close relationship with the British consul in Jerusalem.

In the spring of 1869, Thomas Cook led thirty pilgrims on his first organised trip to Palestine. These pilgrims—tourists—were led across the country on horseback and housed in camps that were lavishly equipped with comfortable beds, dining rooms, and washing facilities. Every morning, these camps were easily dismantled, relocated, and erected in the next station before the travellers would return from their day’s trip. Each group was escorted by chefs, porters, donkeys, and a dragoman—a local guide, translator, and druggist. Cook’s established familiarity with local authorities allowed his tours to camp in close proximity to the points of interest: in Jerusalem, for example, his groups were deployed by the Damascas and Jaffa Gate.

By the 1870s, Cook purchased land and built a storage facility for his gear by the Old City; in the following years, he bought additional plots in order to accommodate his expanding agency. His first office in Jerusalem was opened in 1881; by 1903, he already had three in the city, in addition to outposts in Jaffa, Cairo, Constantinople, Algiers, Tunis, and Kharout. By 1883, less than fifteen years after he had set up, Cook was responsible for the escort of over two-thirds of all Holy Land travellers arriving from the West. One of the keys to his success, aside from catering to his clients’ needs for comfort and security, was the introduction of hotel coupons and circular notes. The former paid for accommodation, the latter covered meal and transportation costs, and the travel agency would make the necessary reservations in advance. Cook’s representative in Jerusalem also served as a place of resort as well as detailed itineraries, maps, and turning the Holy Land into nothing less than a resort: a place of resort as well as a place of pilgrimage.

In Jerusalem, Cook created a near-monopoly over the tourist industry in the Holy Land, positioning Cook and his clients as privileged amongst Jerusalem’s visitors; in 1885, Cook’s representative in Jerusalem sold a month-long investigation to retrieve their belongings to the British Foreign Office in London. By the end of the nineteenth century, Cook’s representative in Palestine also served as the American vice-consul. Indeed, much of the power and fame of Cook’s Tours came from the support of the Empire; in return, Cook served the colonial powers with great loyalty. In 1892, Cook purchased land and built a storage facility for his gear by the Old City; in the following years, he bought additional plots in order to accommodate his expanding agency. His first office in Jerusalem was opened in 1881; by 1903, he already had three in the city, in addition to outposts in Jaffa, Cairo, Constantinople, Algiers, Tunis, and Kharout. By 1883, less than fifteen years after he had set up, Cook was responsible for the escort of over two-thirds of all Holy Land travellers arriving from the West. One of the keys to his success, aside from catering to his clients’ needs for comfort and security, was the introduction of hotel coupons and circular notes. The former paid for accommodation, the latter covered meal and transportation costs, and the travel agency would make the necessary reservations in advance. Cook’s representative in Jerusalem also served as a place of resort as well as detailed itineraries, maps, and turning the Holy Land into nothing less than a resort: a place of resort as well as a place of pilgrimage.

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Cook openly admits to reducing the complexity of the land for the benefit of the tourist. Controlling both the inhospitable and his clients’ knowledge, he projected a single narrative and frames a view over the land as the only truth. When faced with ambiguous sites or sites, the tourist could confide with the authority of the European guidebook (of which Cook’s was only the first) where they could be reassured with familiar facts and figures.

The guidebook also included detailed itineraries that are worth exploring. Day 1 on Cook’s “Ten Days Tour in Judea” is described as such: “Jerusalem to Mar Saba, Riding to Rachel’s Tomb, Solomon’s Pools, over the hills of the Wilderness...”}

Indeed, for Sophia and Emmeline, “Every bit of biblical meaning, appeared on Cook’s Tours as anchors of memory. As excursions and explorations took place, the number of sites was ever-expanding, growing in scale, typology, and spread. Cook had first access to these newly-discovered holy sites, thanks to his close work with the PEF in providing the logistical needs for their missions; thus, he could take advantage of a new archaeological and technological knowledge of the region for his own enterprise. This allowed Cook to constantly expand and update his itineraries with new localities, thus directly exploring discoveries for economic gain. At the same time, the immediate inclusion of these sites in Cook’s itineraries and newsletters validated and promoted the work of the Ph: the back in the West. This symbiotic relationship tied archaeology, heritage, and tourism into one self-perpetuating machine: from survey to excavation, from designation to ritualisation and, finally, to valorisation.

A prevailing mode of valorisation is the transmission of information, that along with the rise of the leisure society, engineered the cultural monster that is mass tourism. Travel guides, local agents, communication facilitators, and travel coordinators join hands to expand the value generated by a historic monument by mediating its content (or reducing it to the lowest common denominator) to a larger audience. This practice was used by Cook in both the written and spoken guides, who communicate their knowledge of their land to their travellers. When crossing a valley south of Jerusalem, the guidebook reads: “[we] pass through the famous Vale of Elah, where the Philistines, with Goliath, defined the armies of Israel, and where David gained his final victory of the giant. Process by Betheshames to Caph and camp there.” This natural element thus gains a patrimonial value thanks to the authority of the guidebook. In this process of valorisation, it becomes a point of collection within a constellation of attractions.

The Valley of Elah is also mentioned in an unpublished travelogue written by mother and daughter Sophie and Emmeline Barnsley, who undertook Cook’s Eastern tour from England in 1888. Rather than read from the written guide, the women cite the spoken descriptions offered to them by their guides, Mr. Howard and Mr. Bernard:

“We halted for lunch at the brook from which David selected the boulder which to the kill the Philistine. Then as we looked down the narrow valley it was easy to imagine the hills on either side covered with fighting men, Philistines on one side and Israel on the other... We are now well in the midst of the mountains of Judah and as we walk along the Bible seems no longer an old tale but a reality.”

Indeed, for Sophia and Emmeline, “Every bit of this wonderful land is full of sacred and historic interest,” as every item seen from the saddle, and every contemporary landmark is mediated and enhanced for their familiar knowledge. Thus it becomes ‘easy to imagine’, or, to put it in terms of collective memory, support recollection, by allowing the tourist to literally view it at its place of origin. This travelogue reveals the depth and breadth of Cook’s pedagogy, which extended to every aspect of the journey. The intensity of sites can be seen from a diary entry written ten days after the visit to the Valley of Elah:

“We came to a large square building which contains a rock on which it is said that Jesus and His disciples ate before and after the Ascension. Then we visited a very old church in which it is said that our Lord preached His first sermon. Then Joseph’s workshop and Mary’s well, and as it is the only water supply in the town it is quite possible that she drew water from it.”

There is no clearer way of valorising the Holy Land and its historic monuments than Cook’s idiosyncratic itineraries, which naturalised natural elements and archaeological sites as the backdrops of the tourists’ shared past. Since every bit of the land is communicated through narrative commentary, one can argue that Cook’s guides practice Choy’s valorisation by “cultivating” the public’s passivity, discouraging it from looking or deciphering with its own eyes, allowing meaning to escape through a sieve of hollow words. Cook’s itineraries are then a careful construction of a statical route of historic monuments that project Western-centric envelope over the entire territory of Palestine in order to frame the view of the travelers and market its attraction as “a tour back in time to Biblical Lands.” By preventing them from engaging in a free-flowing interaction with the land or encountering a monument in an unmediated way, Cook is able to conceal its reality and thus expand his profits.

It is true that in the eyes of tourists Jerusalem was reduced to an archipelago of valorised monuments. However, for the locals, these islands of heritage were consumable products floating within a real city, where streams of a modernised metropolitan were gaining strength. Cook and his counterparts worked hard to hide this, by engulfing the tour with Orientalist hues whenever biblical sites were not readily available for consumption. Cook’s tours often ended with a journey back to the city of Jaffa, where travelers could stay, according to Cook’s handbook, “at the Jerusalem Hotel, delightfully situated on the eminence overlooking the orange groves and the sea, till the arrival of the steamer.” Indeed, this exotic ending to the trip shows how, from arrival to departure, the tourists’ itinerary was designed...
to hide away everything that could obstruct the process of recollection. However, as the year 1900 approached, this reality could no longer be hidden. Jerusalem’s economy benefited tremendously from the capital brought by the religious industry, and the city was growing to an unprecedented scale. By the end of the nineteenth century, the area surrounding the Jaffa Gate became a local “central station” for pilgrim-tourists, where carriages arriving from the port of Jaffa could discharge their riders at the junction of the Old City and the new, where trade, commerce, and transportation was centered. From Jaffa Gate grew the new Jaffa Road, a place of 500 hotels, restaurants, and tour agencies which developed along the city’s only pedestrian sidewalks. In 1867, Jaffa Road was the first street to be paved in the city, leading to improved transportation to and from the port of Jaffa.

In the following years, senior residents’ homes, orphanages, banks, schools, post offices, and entertainment facilities formed a secular cluster outside the Old City gates.

This civic character was further developed by the levying of taxes, the instatement of a police force, the layout of parks and water fountains, and the supervision of urban planning and building regulations. A population register of the city’s residents was undertaken, depicting a multicultural mix whose urban identity was gaining visibility and legitimacy. In 1907, an Ottoman clock tower was erected on top of the Jaffa Gate—now the heart of the city—displaying universal scientific time shared by the “fellow citizens” of Jerusalem.

This was an era of relative equilibrium within the city; as Vincent Lemire writes, there was “a measure of harmony among its inhabitants, a sort of unity that linked the different segments of the population.” Despite multiple factors—the determination of the PEF, the ‘soft colonialism’ of the religious and diplomatic bodies, and the arrival of mass-tourism—a relative ambiguity remained across the city’s urban space, where the municipality’s main concerns still revolved around epidemics, railways, and beggars—not the city’s heritage.

But this modern city was not what tourists expected. As Cook writes himself in the handbook, “Most travellers have a feeling of disappointment on first seeing Jerusalem.” Indeed, the visitors to Jerusalem at the end of the nineteenth century were tourists, a term worth elaborating on in order to understand the reaction of Western travellers to the city. In The Tourist Gaze, John Urry and Jonas Larsen describe the particular way in which tourists observe the world. Tourists, they explain, are subjects who consume a pleasurable experience that differs from their daily life. They often behold the world through a lens that is socially framed by class, gender, education, culture, and religion; their vision is filtered through memories and ideologies in a way that does not reflect an actual reality. Urry and Larsen argue that the tourist gaze is not individually determined, but is constructed and directed through a cognitive work of comparison, classification, and connection; it is heavily based on visual and textual representation, which foster great anticipation from the tourist’s destination.

The gaze and the gaze are in a relationship of constant tension that is negotiated by travel guides, heritage experts, and local religious authorities. This is all the more true in the case of Jerusalem, where the city is inevitably compared to its representations in biblical literature and religious imagery spanning millennia and disseminated through Sunday school and church sermons, museum frescoes and postcards.

In other words, Jerusalem could not live up to its image in the West. Constructed of signs, this image is a collage of collective memories that find their material form in the city’s various signifiers: its ancient walls, Oriental elements (such as indigenous characters, camels, or palm trees), or the dome of the Holy Sepulchre. These signifiers are refined by tourism professionals who produce, valorise, and disseminate them within society through posters, guidebooks, and travelogues for mass consumption.

Since Jerusalem’s tourist industry generates surplus by producing valorised heritage rather than goods, its value is very much dependent on the faculty of sight. The possibility of seeing ancient Jerusalem became the prime objective of Thomas Cook & Sons; it is what every pilgrim-tourist desired. But “we do not literally ‘see’ things”, Urry and Larsen remind us: as tourists, we only see objects as signifiers of something else. In other words, it is the legibility of the signifier that dictates the satisfaction of the tourist gaze. This is problematic, of course, because when tourists see the city, they automatically complete an image according to the patterns of life necessary for their own recollection, while “various kinds of social experiences are in effect ignored or trivialised, such as the relations of war, exploitation, hunger, disease, the law and so on, which cannot be seen as such”, write Urry and Larsen.

Indeed, the complexity of the city cannot be understood by the touristic gaze: as we shall see, when something interrupts the image, the semiotic structure collapses.

“In a word, we can barely recognise Jerusalem”, wrote Constantin François de Chassebœuf in 1784. He saw an Oriental city which was far from the Jerusalem he expected, one of ancient beauty and history. While tourism had yet to be institutionalised when he wrote these lines at the end of the eighteenth century, this sentiment is emblematic of the touristic gaze of him and his fellow travellers who felt it their duty to report on the shortcomings of Palestine. The travelogues cited below, as well as dozens of others, are far from impartial representations of the East, and should be understood within the discourse on Orientalism. Travel writings from nineteenth-century Palestine should thus be studied for their agency in shaping Jerusalem. They directly contributed to its appropriation and exclusion by being complicit in colonialist discourse. As such, travelogues reveal the connection between travel, collective memory, imperialism, valorisation, and capitalism.

The first phase of travellers’ response includes a feeling of disappointment in reaction to the natural scenery. “Those who describe Palestine as beautiful”, wrote one traveller in 1875, “must have either a very inaccurate notion
of what constitutes beauty of scenery, or must we overlook the country through a highly coloured medium.142 Indeed, the gaze of these travellers over Palestine was framed by their own cultural and aesthetic expectations—beauty was defined in accordance with the prevailing Renaissance to Romanticism—which could not find satisfaction in mid-nineteenth-century Palestine. It is sacred to the heart, but not to the eye of this work-day world. It is sacred to the eye of what constitutes beauty of scenery, or must we overlook the country through a highly coloured medium.142 Indeed, the gaze of these travellers over Palestine was framed by their own cultural and aesthetic expectations—beauty was defined in accordance with the prevailing Renaissance to Romanticism—which could not find satisfaction in mid-nineteenth-century Palestine. It is sacred to the heart, but not to the eye of this work-day world. It is sacred to the eye of what constitutes beauty of scenery, or must we overlook the country through a highly coloured medium.

In his preface, he suggests that it is with innocent eyes that travellers must view the land, “instead of the eyes of those who traveled [sic] in those countries before him.”143 Surely, Twain’s Innocents Abroad was far from innocent: his gaze was framed within a particular touristic expectation. Twain did not see what was in front of his eyes, but a vision filtered through predetermine memories and shared ideologies. This bias notwithstanding, Twain’s travelogue sold over 67,000 copies in its first year and became the most widely-read travel book by an American author, propelling other travellers to share similar reactions.144 Contrast- ing his imagination with reality, Eliot Warbur ton writes:

So long the object of eager hope and busy imagination, it stood before me at length in actual reality [...]. A brilliant and chequered sunshine has something mournful in it, when all that it shines upon is utterly desolate and dreary.

The sense of desolation was shared by many trav- elers, who addressed the land’s natural features, in particular its state of productivity—or lack thereof. It was described as a “barren desert, [once a] well-watered plain [now reduced to] devasta- tion,” as nothing “but a barren, hard, despon- decent wasteland.”145 Henry M. Muhle described it as a land “full of old cheese [and bones of rocks] [...], a land of ruins, paralysed and forsaken [...], lying in dust and ashes,” its many “hills and valleys, stony, rugged, desolate, neglected, silent, and listless, succeed one another, as though the anger of God rested on this land, once flowing with milk and honey.” To put it more succinctly, it was “aaked, depopulated hell.”146

The general agreement about Palestine’s degraded physical condition was gradually transformed as the turn of the twentieth century drew near. As mass tourism shaped local infrastu- ructure, complaints of “the filthy and unconfort- able nature of the accommodation, the want of pure water, the disagreeable smells constantly to be encountered” were heard less and less.147 Unsurprisingly, technological advancement first arrived to the city via the hospitality industry: the pilgrim hostel of Notre Dame was the city’s first to use electric lighting, and the Fast Hotel had running water before any private home did.148 This improvement of facilities also meant that Jerusalem’s appeal to tourists was eroded by the success of the industry itself; luxury pri- vately-owned hotels and Western cafés further distanced the city from its image as a distant dream land of the past, and the improvement of infrastructure (such as the opening of the Jaffa- Jerusalem railways in 1892 and the improvement of roads) was seen as no less than a desecration of the terrain. A British author commented:

The first feeling that comes to us as we stand on the platform at Jaffa and hear the bell ring and the voice of the conductor shouting, “All aboard for Jerusalem,” is that a great sacrilege has been committed in the very fact of building a railroad in the Holy Land.

In the same year, a reporter in the popular Ameri- can magazine Scribler wrote that scruple “in the introduction of a railroad into Palestine, with the sound of whistle and rushing train among the old and quiet hills of Judæa. Tourists wanted the comfort of the train in Europe; Europe that they did not want to see or hear amongst the mythical hills of their imagined holy land.

These sentiments grew stronger upon arriv- ing in the city itself. “Outside the walls was a ‘pitiful and banal heap’, a ‘horrible new suburb with its smoking factory chimneys’ that was hiding ‘the real Jerusalem’, the “incredible thing that we have seen of old in pictures and prints.”149 It is doubtful that there were any smoking chimneys around the Old City; rather, what they saw was probably more reminiscent of industrial Europe than the city known from religious art. As the Irish Minister Josias Leslie Porter wrote, “the City of the Great King, the Holy City of the Crusaders, the picturesque City of the Saracens and Turks, is at the present time almost covered and concealed by the tasteless structures of modern traders and ambitious foreign devo- tees.”150 Even Cook’s own offices were disturbing, as Hanna Harris wrote: “the balcony in the sketch [...] is the American Consulate, and Cook’s Offices are just below; and very strange it is to the visitor whose mind is full of images of ancient and scrip- tural association, to have at every turn remind- ers such as these of modern life.”

It is clear that the Jerusalem of memory did not make itself available to the tour. Many of the direct descendants of the people of the place since early childhood, aligning Palestine with a sense of home.151 The Irish traveller Eliot Warburton wrote that while his “first impressions of child- hood were connected with the city”, the reality “is unlike anything else on earth—so blank to the eye, yet so full of meaning to the heart.”

The Swiss theologian Phillip Schaff wrote, “We approach Jerusalem with reverence and awe, and are overwhelmed with the memories of the stu- pendous events which here took place; but we are prepared to be pained and shocked by the bare and empty formalism which meet us everywhere.”152 William Prime writes of his first encounter with Jerusalem:

I had thought that moment for years, in waking and in sleeping dreams. [... I stood in the road, my hand on my horse’s neck, and with my dim eyes sought to trace the outlines of the holy place which I had long before fixed in my mind, but the fast-flowing tears forbade my succeed- ing. The more I gazed, the more I could not see.”

The gaze of Warburton, Schaff and Prime is con- flicted between constructed memories and phys- ical reality. Their vision was diffused between the array of signs so that, to them, Jerusalem was invisible: while they rectified their journeys, like Twain, by “writing their experience”, fellow Westerners opted for another solution. “The curse that hangs over Palestine is the curse of unjust and unwise government,” wrote Conder in 1891, before he was appointed as part of his unyielding property.153 As such, the touristic gaze was both passive and active, ready to showcase control, ownership, and agency in order to reshape Jerusalem into a legible city for those arriving at its gates.

ACT IV: THE COLONISER

Anesthetic, religious, and imperialist claims merged over Jerusalem in the twentieth century. Leaning on the economic value, it was widely expected that whoever inher- ited Jerusalem from the Ottomans “would finally put Jerusalem right [and] cleanse the city of the cultural pollution that has dimmed its spiritual brilliance.”154 These aspirations became possible when the British Mandate began its occupation of Palestine 1 in December 1917, following the inva- sion of Jerusalem by the British General Edmund Allenby and the subsequent withdrawal of the Ottoman forces.155 This was the first time, since the Crusade’s loss of Jerusalem in 1187 AD, that the land of Israel was ruled by a Christian power, and the city was ruled by a power that the British saw it as their duty to “restore Jerusalem and Palestine to their place among the nations.”156

The privilege of ‘cleaning’ Jerusalem of its accumulated ills was awarded to Sir Ronald Storrs, the first British governor of Jerusalem.157 Storrs was struck by the beauty of the city and its geography, which he described as “unparalleled
in the world, with an appeal to the imagination that not Rome, even Athens, could rival. His sentiments for the city were not dissimilar to those of Palestine’s late-nineteenth-century tourists, and he admitted little space for the task at hand. One of his first actions as military governor was to put an end to all construction in Jerusalem: within four months of his appointment, he released a statement announcing that “No person shall demolish, erect, alter or repair” any structure within 2,500 metres of the Damascus Gate of the Old City, without his written permission. Cars were to be left out of Jedia, and when asked about the possibility of a tram to run between Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives, he wrote that “the first rail section to the Damascus Gate of the Old City, without his
permit. "The two main things that both Ashbee and Storrs promoted. In his
plan—the project of legibility—was more complicated: it did not have a blueprint, but was made up of a variety of plans, projects, and legislation drafted over several decades by prominent architects and planners. In the context of this paper—the discussion on collective memory, legibility of its urban signifiers, and the valorisation of Jerusalem as a historic monument—I have chosen to highlight the plans (both realised and unrealised) that treated Jerusalem as a project of landscape design. I position this hypothesis within the theoretical framework put forth by Denjie Congore, Gary Fields, and W.T.J. Mitchell who argue not only that landscape is man-made, but
that it is an ideology, a Western construct, and that power is structured on imagined relationships with the natural world. For clarity, I have grouped these plans according to three mechanisms of landscape design: the imposition of a strong sense of the natural, the use of stone as a unifying building material, and the construction of Jerusalem into a familiar image by removing all visual obstructions. It is through the interlocking of these three elements that Jerusalem was irrevocably made into a place designed and sustained for the tourist gaze. The first element of landscape design was a strong sense of the natural. This has a twofold intention: to make Jerusalem closer to its mythical
image by beautifying it for the Western eye, and to legitimate removal and demolition in the name of parks and open spaces. This is something that both Ashbee and Storrs promoted. In his
Palestinian Notebook, Ashbee noted that it is urgent to plant trees for shade. For Stors, Jerusalem was “over-churched” by the immense construction of religious institutions and shrines; it was the outdoors, rather, that was perceived as more authentic, holy, and true to Jerusalem’s past. He favoured the Garden of Gethsemane, a plot of land that had been enclosed by the Latin Church in the 1870s, believed to be the scriptural site where Christ agonised before his arrest. For Stors, “all the places holyed by the passion of Christ none is more beautiful, few so authentic, as the Garden of Gethsemane.” Stors hoped to return the garden to its state during the days of Christ, but compromised by deciding to appeal to the Pope against the decision of the Custodia Terra Sancta (the Franciscan Order’s Custody of the Holy Land) to build structures in the garden. He believed, like many other tourists, that for Jerusalem to come into flower it must be made part of a clean Garden Tomb over the congested Holy Sepulchre, that open spaces are much more holy, and that while cities have changed, perhaps the moun-
tains and the interactions of Oriental communities; combines with a deep enthusiasm for the task, and a wild exhilaration at the chance which had been put into my hand.”

* Storrs, The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs, 204

* Pro-Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1920–1924, 4, quoted in Wharton, Jerusalem Remade, 54

* Edwardes, The Innocents Abroad, 9

* Penrose, Storrs, and Ashbee on Temple Mount

* After being appointed the military governor of Jerusalem, Storrs said: “I promised to military competitions whatever, and to very little administrative experi-
ence, but I did have an inside knowledge (with examples positive and nega-
tive) of the methods under which the management of a large colonial community, combines with a deep enthusiasm for the task, and a wild exhilaration at the chance which had been put into my hand.”

* Storrs, The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs, 204

* In Berlin, Jerusalem Remade, 4

* Patrick Geddes to turn Jerusalem into “the most

town-planner and sociologist, Geddes first arrived in Palestine in 1919 following a previous position with the colonial forces in India. Together with Ashbee, Geddes’s ‘Jerusalem Park Plan’ (1921) proposed to plant a green belt around the Old City walls. This gesture would isolate the Old City from the New, setting it, “so to speak, in the centre of a park, thus recognising the appeal it makes to the world—a city of an idea—that needs as much to be protected.”

* The protective layer of the park would not be designed with a special layout of
It would be an easy matter to remove this earth and rubbish further downhill […] in this way may be laid out It would be an easy matter to remove this earth and rubbish further downhill […] in this way may be laid out

As an autochthonous material, the stone rock, cutting soft but drying hard, has for three thousand years been quarried the clear white stone, weathering blue-grey or amber-yellow with Time, whose solid walls, barrels vaulting and pointed arches have preserved through the centuries a hallowed and immemorial tradi-

The violence embedded in this efficient ‘method’ could not be overstated. The remainder of the publications maintain similar notions of clearing the Citadel and clearing out of the city fosse”, “stone debris” and, of course, a mass of Ottoman material and human remains of the war: 

The ramparts walk is a classic example of valorisation; it enhances the Old City’s appeal by creating a quasi-historical attraction that engages with the materiality of the ancient. While it is based on the Ottoman walls, it was hailed by Ashbee as “the largest, and perhaps the most perfect, Medieval edifice in existence.”

view onto Jerusalem. This was not undertaken in one plan or legislation, but as a series of surgical interventions, recreational projects, and sketches contained in the personal notebooks of Ashbee and in the 1912 publication by the Pro-Jerusalem Society. The latter begins by boasting of “cleaning the Citadel and clearing out of the city fosse”, which included the removal of “great masses of stone debris” and, of course, a mass of Ottoman refugees. In their camps, “there was much sickness, the misery and squallor were pitiful, and it took a long time before the relief officers were able to cope with the difficulty.” The society found a creative way to deal with both the material and human remains of the war: 

The Society then worked out a method by which the clearing and cleaning should be done by refugee labour, and such of the refugees were able-bodied were utilised in, to speak, tidying up their own house. Many hundreds of men, women, and children, organised in different working gangs, were thus used. The violence embedded in this efficient ‘method’ could not be overstated. The remainder of the publications maintain similar notions of clearing and beautifying Jerusalem’s signifiers, of which the Citadel was only one. The Ramparts Walk, for example, was a fortified walking path on the ancient walls, originally used for security. Under the new plan, it was to become a promenade: “the spinal cord on which is to be built the whole series of parks, gardens, and open spaces of which the new city will be composed.” For this project, the Society opened disused guardhouses, removed several feet of landfill, built steps, installed iron handrails, and removed around thirty ‘encroachments’ that were built by the city’s residents in order to demarcate their domestic property. The Ramparts Walk is a classic example of valorisation: it enhances the Old City’s appeal by creating a quasi-historical attraction that engages with the materiality of the ancient. While it is based on the Ottoman walls, it was hailed by Ashbee as “the largest, and perhaps the most perfect, Medieval enceinte in existence.” Rising above the “wild ornamental plantation” but would instead attempt to recover the past; Jewish and ancient Creco-Roman rock-tombs would be preserved as “features” of the park, while the rest would be discarded in order to return Jerusalem into its natural, pre-Ottoman state. As Geddes wrote:

Westerner. As Geddes himself wrote, “on the eco-

Jerusalem would be ever-familiar to an arriving

of a green frame around its walls, the image of

it for the first time from afar. With the removal

residents, those who live and work within the

plans were intended to appeal not to the city’s

and kept permanently open the early Biblical Jerusalem, of

rubbish further downhill […] in this way may be laid out

It would be an easy matter to remove this earth and rubbish further downhill […] in this way may be laid out

However powerful the stone legislation was, there were still major revisions to the image of Jerusalem that had to take place. The third and final element of the design is thus the construction of a clear, unobstructed, and familiar city by this operation I need not expatiate. It is obvious that its attraction would be increased. The design of harmony, as the zoning scheme dictated, can also be seen as the imposition of an order or, more precisely, a mediation agent between the image of the city and its layers of varied construction.

The second design element proposed by the Pro-Jerusalem Society was an attempt to unify the fabric. The second design element proposed by the Pro-Jerusalem Society was an attempt to unify the fabric. The second design element proposed by the Pro-Jerusalem Society was an attempt to unify the fabric. The second design element proposed by the Pro-Jerusalem Society was an attempt to unify the fabric. The second design element proposed by the Pro-Jerusalem Society was an attempt to unify the fabric.
The idea of creating Jerusalem as a landscape is evident not only from the projects and texts undertaken by the Society, but also from the medium used to devise these plans. The design of the Jaffa Gate is presented as a juxtaposition in the 'before-and-after' style: above, we see a panoramic photograph taken beneath the Jaffa Gate, showing the situation at present. A cluster of houses of various materials and roof covers are stacked on the slopes that descend from the gate, where only the edge of the wall is visible beneath the yet-to-be demolished Ottoman Clocktower. The monumental tower of the citadel is not shown; it must have been cropped out due to the photographer’s format. Below, we see a hand-drawn rendering of Ashbee’s proposal: the medieval walls are clearly visible and intact, with the monumental tower of the citadel rising on the right. On the far left sprawls an Oriental-looking new city with domed roofs. The entire scene is framed by generous pine trees and luscious greenery; it is a projected vision of a productive, well-ordered world where old and new live together in harmony, encapsulating a Western vision of the beauty, the ancient, and the holy.

Below Ashbee’s rendering, the subtitle reads: “The same [the view onto Jaffa Gate] as suggested when the unsightly obstructions that hide the wall line are cleared away.” Indeed, Ashbee’s picturesque scene sees actions of displacement and demolition as nothing but the clearing of obstructions. As a case-study for Jerusalem at large, the redesign of the Jaffa Gate reveals the primacy of the distant view over the discomforts of proximity; it encapsulates the sensibilities of a landscape painter employed by the Pro-Jerusalem Society. Indeed, the particular gaze that is associated with landscape painting is that of possession and authority; it is a form of control that positions the external viewer in a paternalistic relationship with the local-insider. The latter is flattened along with all the rest of the elements within the frame—greenery, houses, natural elements, ruins, and monuments—into a picturesque composition. At the same time, the outsider is at liberty to enjoy the affectivity of the scene—and then turn their back on it.

Ashbee’s designs for Jerusalem elevates the sub-

informal layout of pine trees and flowers of the Green Belt, the Walk sold a biblical attraction that not only united the Old City in one perimeter, but allowed for an obstructed, dominating gaze on the sacred territory that it encloses. Another substantial undertaking was the ‘clearing-up’ of the old city gates. First, the society removed locals (such as a bath contractor or dung-cake bakers) that appropriated St Stephen’s Gate, repaired the guard-house at Herod’s Gate, and designed a new monumental scheme for Damascus Gate. Jaffa Gate was to be completely remodelled: the Ottoman Clock Tower—described by Ashbee as ‘hideous’ and by the Pro-Jerusalem Society as ‘unsightly’—was dismantled. A large open space replaced the existing make-shift market stalls, which would be cleared away, along with the shops that had been erected around the gate for decades. In addition, parts of the wall that had been breached over the years would be rebuilt “again exactly as it was”, and a new flower garden would be planted around the citadel. The Rampart Walk ca. 1910 Source: American Colony (Jerusalem), Photo Department

Fig 32: The Rampart Walk ca. 1910 Source: American Colony (Jerusalem), Photo Department

Fig 33: Above: “Modern encroachments that the Society is clearing” Below: Key Plan of the Rampart Walk

Fig 34: Jaffa Gate ca. 1910, with the clocktower visible, as well as other shops, stalls and carriages bringing pilgrims from the Port of Jaffa

Fig 35: Detail from the notebooks of C.R. Ashbee for the perimeter of the Old City Walls (left), View from the Rampart Walk in 2020 (right)
The same, as suggested when the unsightly obstructions that hide the wall line are cleared away.

Fig 40: Above: “The Jaffa Gate at present, looking towards the city.”

Below: “The same, as suggested where the unsightly obstructions that hide the wall line are cleared away.”

In 1725, common English use defined landscape as “a view or prospect of natural inland scenery, such as can be taken in at a glance from one point of view.” In Cosgrove, Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape, 15-19

In a landscape-painting, the view is of landscape painting intended to serve the purpose of reflecting back to the powerful viewer, at ease in his villa, the image of a controlled and well-ordered productive and relaxed world,” Cosgrove, Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape, 24

Jerusalem as a Historic Monument

W.J.T. Mitchell argues that “the invitation to look at a landscape is an invitation not to look at a specific thing, but to ignore all particulars in favour of an appreciation of the whole.” Indeed, the project of Jerusalem in the wake of the British occupation eliminated the spatial and social complexities of the city in order to improve, preserve, and recover an ideal city. The Jerusalem Park system created a morphological void between ancient and modern fabric, thus articulating the old and new cities by the logic of difference, the Jerusalem stone made all that it touches memorable and familiar, creating an instant signifier for the ‘city of the mind’, and the ‘removal of obstructions’ assured that Jerusalem would be instantly legible from a variety of distances. These interlocking interventions—in plan, legislation and demolition—used the medium of landscape to transform the city. In its use of landscape, the project was operating not only along religious sentiments but also under the rules of capitalism: indeed, the project was conceived on the principles of property, displacement, and exclusion, and it valorized Jerusalem as a consumable urban attraction, an enhanced historic monument. Its success was thus determined by the real estate market, subjecting Jerusalem to a pattern common to ancient cities across the globe, in which they are both made banal and subordinated to their symbolic value.

In recent decades, the state of Israel and the renewed municipality of post-67 Jerusalem have deployed mechanisms of enhancement that exemplify both Choay’s and Marx’s interpretations of valorisation. Viewing promenades, pedestrian streets, artist colonies, and outdoor festivals align the Holy City with tropes of leisure and increase the visibility of its historic monuments. By applying a Marxist analysis of valorisation, we can view the commodification of pilgrimage as the cause for the eliminations of other industries from the Old City and its environs in the hopes of increasing its surplus value from tourism, thus resulting in a condition where the city’s economic survival may even depend on the tourist industry’s sustained success.

In the process, Jerusalem became increasingly similar to any other historic city. Choay argues that “the valorisation of the ancient centres tends, paradoxically, to become the instrument of a secondary form of trivialisation, [as cities] begin to resemble each other so closely that tourists and multinational companies feel identically at home in every one of them.” Heritage thus becomes a cult that consumes the city, symbolically and literally. It is a condition in which capitalism exploits not only the city but also its travellers. The desire for distraction merges with the consumption of heritage, as historical knowledge becomes a form of entertainment. From pilgrims to surveyors, archaeologists, tourists and colonizers—Jerusalem’s visitor has morphed from a subject who undertakes a personal journey to a passive participant in the mass movement that generates capital. Along the way, the notion of
memory has been lost: what once carried analog-
ical power through textual and visual interpreta-
tion, has now been fixed in space and time, only
to be finally abstracted and reduced to a cyclical
recollection of drained values.

The design chapter of this thesis thus pro-
poses a counter-project to the valorisation of
Jerusalem. In order to untangle the tie between
pilgrimage and heritage, the project proposes a
journey, bound neither by geography nor by nar-
rativity, but sequenced according to association
and analogy. Its stations have not been scru-
tinised for authenticity, valorised for visibility,
or commodified for profitability; they cannot be
ritualised into one sequence, for their devotional
typology is as varied as pilgrimage itself. Instead,
the stations are composed as a multiple-choice
garden of forking paths that traverses the history
of the Holy City in order to carve an analogical
path towards Jerusalem.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ ibid
²¹⁶ ibid, 166
²¹⁷ ibid, 166
²¹⁸ In his “Garden of the Forking Paths”
(1941) Jorge Luis Borges
writes; “I leave to the
various futures (not to
all) my garden of forking
paths (...) In all fictional
works, each time a man is
confronted with several
alternatives, he chooses
one and eliminates the
others; in the fiction of
Ts’ui Pên, he chooses—
simultaneously—all
of them. He creates,
in this way, diverse
futures, diverse times
which themselves also
proliferate and fork.”
In January of 1417, Sister Truyde of the St Mary and St Agnes Convent in Diepenveen asked her fellow nun, Sister Ghertruut Huginges, to join her on a pilgrimage to Rome. If they had left the convent on time, Truyde said, they could make it to Rome by January 27—the day of the virgin martyr Agnes. But on the day of their departure, January 7, Ghertruut fell ill and stayed behind; Truyde said goodbye to her fellow sisters and departed on her own.

While she did arrive in Rome on time to join the celebrations of St Agnes’s Day, Truyde had never actually left the convent; in fact, neither she nor her fellow nun Ghertruut had ever been to the real city of Rome, and it is unlikely that they had been outside the convent at all in decades. The pilgrimage Truyde undertook in 1417 (and Ghertruut several years before her) was not a physical journey, but a mental one, conducted through a choreography of prayers, meditations and physical actions.

This unique form of female spirituality was common in the Middle Ages amongst enclosed women who could not afford (financially or spiritually) a physical pilgrimage. It provided them with a different way to ‘travel’ to the holy sites, gain indulgences and reach spiritual ascension—all without leaving their monastic cell. A key component of this ritual was the devotional manuscript, that was based on travelogues written by real pilgrims to the Holy Land and could thus aid one’s personal imitation of Christ through compassion (from the Latin com + patior, “to suffer with”). Evolving in time and space, these manuscripts led the reader through the Christological narrative from page to page and from station to station in the actual geography of the land and within the imaginary topography of the mind. Illustrations, descriptive text, and prescriptive prayers directed the virtual pilgrim through the sights of the journey, as it unfolded experientially in the imagination of the reader and spatially within the monastic cell.

The visual representations varied greatly in iconography and style, but maintained a consistent aim: to allow an enclosed woman to enact Christ’s last moments and thus embody his pain. The instructive manuscripts thus consisted of both figurative and symbolic motifs, from realist images of Christ’s bleeding body to measurements taken in the Holy Land such as the length of his tomb or number of steps between holy sites. These details provided the reader with the tools to reenact the exact ritual a pilgrim would undertake physically in Jerusalem, while her mind could meditate on Christ’s pain and suffering. She could, for example, climb 28 steps on her bleeding knees in the convent and walk the 232 “ells”

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1 Rudy, Kathryn, Virtual Pilgrimage in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages (Brepols, 2011), 123
2 Rudy, Virtual Pilgrimage in the Convent, 20.
3 McNamer, Sarah, Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)
To bring the Pilgrim to see Christ's place of birth and see his cradle in Bethlehem, one must look west into the mouth of the cave where they are in St. John the Baptist in Jerusalem. – Van Aaken, op. cit., 108. Thus, an expansion of mental pilgrimage, written in the fifteenth century, kept in the British Library, Ms. 41010, fols. 480v-481v.


The Stations of the Cross

Chapter Five—

Books and manuscripts regained their relevance as tools for sedentary pilgrimage in the nineteenth century with the invention of photography. Travelogues adorned with photographs were treated as more than an assembly of postcards—they could transmit the spatial experience of pilgrimage for those unable to undertake the physical journey, just like in a medieval convent. In 1894, an extensive reportage was published under the suggestive title Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee, showcasing over 450 photographs by the relatively unknown R.E.M. Bain and a text by the Bishop John H. Vincent. The book provides visual and textual descriptions of Christ's life on earth using “notebook and camera” for armchair readers who could enjoy “a delightful tour of Palestine […] without leaving home.” While Bain's over-

size photographs were the dominating element (Earthly Footsteps was over two feet wide), they were carefully mediated by scriptural verses and informative captions, such as “The Spot Where Christ Prayed” and “The Flock near the Pit into which Joseph was Thrown by his Brethren.” As in the medieval guides for virtual travel, the text was an instrumental part of the remote pilgrimage by fostering a mnemonic affiliation between what is pictured and the collective memories that are embedded in the Scriptures. Thus, the bishop's captions were infusing the landscape with transcendent meaning, thereby transforming Palestine's nonscripted sites into landmarks in the eyes of the book's reader. Framed by the syntactic composition of the photo book, this appropriation of the landscape added legibility and credibility to the sights without valorising the land itself or creating permanent transformations. Similar to the medieval manuscripts, these devotional travelogues instrumentalised image-and-text to root the journey in a sacred topography, while shielding its surface from various forms of political and economic exploitation.

Following this lineage of devotional travelogues extending from the nineteenth to the thirteenth centuries, the photographic project presented below is conceptualised as a travelogue for virtual pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This is, however, not only the physical place in
TOWARDS JERUSALEM

CHAPTER FIVE—

THE IMAGE AND THE CAPTION

The choice of format for this project is lead not only with the historic research on virtual pilgrim guides, but is set within the theoretical framework proposed by theorist and photographer Allan Sekula. In his polemical response to the New Topographics exhibition (in particular the depictions of industrial warehouses by Lewis Baltz), Sekula argued that photography cannot remain as sparsely-captioned images on the gallery wall, and that text should be used to “anchor, contradict, reinforce, subvert, complement, particularize, or go beyond the meanings offered by the images themselves.” In the context of 1970s America, when photography was gaining currency as an autonomous artistic practice, Sekula worked to reclaim the medium’s utilitarian origins and formulate an alternative practice by rethinking the relationship between image and text. His first major project, Aerospace Folktales (1973), follows the life of a middle-class family in Southern California after the father had lost his job as an aerospace engineer at Lockheed. Sekula photographs this prototypical family in and around their Los Angeles apartment as they go about their daily lives: the children read or play, the mother is mostly in the kitchen, and the father, coping with his new status as an unemployed white-collar professional, attempts to fix household appliances while applying for new jobs. Initially composed of 142 photographs, text cards, and a sound installation, Aerospace juxtaposes signs of everyday domesticity with behind-the-scenes details of his photographic process. The novelty of Aerospace is not the subject matter per se—similar subjects had been documented by Stephen Shore and Robert Adams—rather, Sekula is distinguished by his choice not to distance himself from the critique of the disintegration of the American dream. In a surprise shift from observational to autobiographical, we discover that the unemployed engineer is in fact Sekula’s father. Sekula thus presents a practice-based resistance to the modernist autonomy of the image, which viewed documented photography not as a utilitarian carrier of information, but as a commodity that entered the modern art market. By using text to construct a narrative, Sekula resists this valorisation by proposing an “essayistic discursive argumentation, the idea that the photograph could appear in a kind of ensemble in some way that is something like a prose or an essay was being played out. Through a careful syntax of image and text, Aerospace not only raises a constellation of themes such as domesticity, labour, class, and gender, but also involves issues of representation, visual semiology, and the role of the artist within society. My Stations of the Cross embraces this critique, and follows Sekula’s assertion that the photographer bears the responsibility to supplement the visual content with textual context.

Other combinations of text and image that inspired the Stations can be found in the works of artists Robert Smithson and Dan Graham. In 1967, Smithson travelled from New York City to his hometown in New Jersey with a notebook and a cheap camera. Travelling on foot, Smithson stops to photograph the entropic landscape of the Passaic River which he ironically (or perhaps poetically) captions as monuments: “the pipes dumping polluted liquids into the river are enti-

ted the Fountain Monument, and a floating pumping
derrick is simply Monument with Pontoon.” When Smithson asks if “Passaic has replaced Rome as the eternal city,” he is questioning not only the idea of monuments as sites of collective memory, but the very essence of recollection as it could arise from signs of mundanity. This interpretation is made possible thanks to Smithson’s clever use of the caption, a technique not dissimilar from the annotations of the medieval pilgrim guides, where text introduces a didactic context in order to resist the autonomy of the image and offer an alternative to the regime of visual perception.

Meanwhile, in Homes For America (1966), Dan Graham used a simple Kodak camera to photograph tract housing in New York and Levittown as beautiful works of minimalist art, which he affectionately labelled “his [Donald] Judd.” First presented as a slideshow, Graham’s photographs were later edited into a magazine article where the mass-produced homes were confronted with their mode of production, juxtaposing cheaply-printed colour photographs with developers’ offerings of floor plans, house models, finishing colours and furniture arrangements. Using his own photographs alongside readymade texts from advertising booklets, Graham forms a critique not only of the culture of cheaply-built cookie-cutter homes, but also the role of photography in disseminating and naturalising this domestic typology as an object of popular consumption.

The fascination with the replicated landscape of suburban visualised by Graham echoes that of an artist whose influence on this thesis cannot be overstated: Ed Ruscha. In 1961, Ruscha published Twenty-six Gasoline Stations, a series of photographs depicting every gas station between his Los Angeles home and his parents’ house in Oklahoma in a deadpan style of detachment. It follows a serial rather than associative logic, akin to a topographical study that were discussed in the introduction as the leading method of this dissertation. Ruscha perfected his approach in his subsequent Every Building on the Sunset Strip (1966), Thirty-Four Parking Lots in Los Angeles (1967), and Nine Swimming Pools and a Broken Glass (1968), where he documented the vernacular elements

Palestine, but the one enacted and adapted across the West as an idea and an orientation, using ana-
logical thinking and theatrical staging. Entitled ‘The Stations of the Cross, the project learns from the affective representational techniques explored above by juxtaposing image and text as parallel modes of representation. Rather than using illus-
trations or images of the Holy Land, like in the canonic Stations of the Cross that have been studied in this dissertation, it is composed of photog-

dographs of sites both in Jerusalem and outside of it. Instead of scriptural verses, prayers, instructions, or descriptions, it includes first-hand experiences of past pilgrims to Jerusalem. The text does not provide illustrative captions for the photographs or an explanation of the sights, but the reactions, disappointments, meditations, and subjective interpretations of the journey and its topography by pilgrims. By reading these excerpts alongside the photographs of Jerusalem’s alternatives, one may consider the tension between the real and imagined Jerusalem, the sign, signified, and dis-

ocation of collective memory.

Fig. 6: Allan Sekula, Aerospace Folktales (1973)

Fig. 5: Allan Sekula, Aerospace Folktales (1973)
of suburbanised Los Angeles with a mix of attraction and repulsion, compelling his audience to perceive the spatial experience of the city with a detached estrangement.

Despite their different approaches to text, serialization, and image sequences, these photographers were all meandering across America’s roads and cities with a camera, performing what can be described as a secular pilgrimage. The photograph, like the station, was thus an index of the ritual itself. Their work (the photobook or the magazine spread) spatialised this journey as a sequence of images that introduced a spatial temporality and were complemented with a parallel stream of textual descriptions from pilgrim travelogues that share superficial and structural analogies, echoing the functional aesthetics of hard economic times in a manner that he called documentary style. In 1938, Evans published American Photographs, a photobook that visualised his commentary on America, travel, and the role of photography within it. Comprising 87 photographs of the streets, homes, and citizens of America, this travelogue was organised not chronologically or geographically, but through nuances and analogies.

Evans’s photographic journeys across America’s topographies of desolation resurrect a mode of eremitic Christian pilgrimage that is now gone: the wandering foreigner who opts out of society in favour of a self-imposed exile. In this open-ended form of peripatetic devotion, all stations along the journey are equally worthy of meditation, thus removing the sacro-geographic hierarchy introduced by institutions. Evans’s radical photobook thus becomes the model for the Stations of the Cross, where every photograph carries the same amount of visual information: there is no progression of emotion or topographic escalation, but a steady journey towards a destination. The composition of the frames in the Stations echoes this assertion, as each monument is approached laterally, incorporating the path and landscape as equally valuable in the spatial envelope of the station, thus blurring topographic figure and ground. Images are organized in pairs that share superficial and structural analogies, and are complemented with a parallel stream of textual descriptions from pilgrim travelogues that open a field of associations and interpretations.

As an alternative to the Via Crucis, this travelogue unfolds across a non-linear journey, without a clear geographical path, a historical lineage, or even an typological logic, but rather through nuanced associations. This mode of traveling requires no means. It costs nothing; there are no alms distributed or indulgences collected, and no concessions to political or economic exploitation. The Stations of the Cross, like the manuscripts of the medieval nuns or the photomorphic travelogues of the nineteenth century, have the power to reclaim not only of travel, but...
also travel writing, as a genre tainted with cultural bias and bound with colonial violence. The Stations does not attempt to demarcate a foreign territory, cast subjective judgment, or ‘write-out’ a disenchanted encounter.

One might argue that the possibilities provided by digital platforms make such projects redundant. Religious services are available on-demand, virtual experiences dissolve geographical boundaries, and the infinite stream of visual content relieves any need for mental imagination. As such, the labour that was invested in such rituals is no longer relevant. Pilgrimage ceases to disrupt one’s daily life: something which once signalled a complete break from routine disintegrates from an anti-structure back to structure. If Christ is indeed found within oneself, perhaps a retreat from the public realm and the removal of ritualistic interruption will mark not the end, but the beginning of an old-new mode of devotion that is practised with one’s own confines. However, as things stand today, this seems far from possible: the sedentary journeys of the Middle Ages were exhausting undertakings, requiring intense physical, emotional, and mental labour. The nuns who created life-size dioramas within their monastic cells performed rituals that stabilised their lives in times of uncertainty and confinement. By repeating a set of prayers and actions, they could find a fleeting detachment from themselves in favour of a greater system of order.

Today, virtual experiences that offer remote travel are mere simulations: they create visual shortcuts to cathartic endings, which fail to move us to the emotional depths once experienced in sedentary pilgrimage. While technology does offer comfort and security—negating the disturbance caused by rituals—it nonetheless erodes whatever is left of our ability to imagine. As Byung-Chul Han argues in The Disappearance of Ritual (2009), “perception is never at rest: it has lost the capacity to linger. The cultural technique of deep attention emerged precisely out of ritual and religious practices [...] Every religious practice is an exercise in attention.” When rituals no longer require investment, distraction takes command, and they lose their stabilising power. The Stations propose an exercise of attention, setting off from within one’s room and meandering between images and text of travellers’ past, and thus constructing a topography that merges movement, sentiment, and space into a mode of analogical travel—one that does not fix the course of movement, but simply provides an orientation: towards Jerusalem. As Xavier de Maistre wrote in Journey Around My Room:

Read it! I have undertaken and performed a forty-two days’ journey round my room [...] The pleasure to be found in travelling round one’s room is sheltered from the restless jealousy of men, and is independent of fortune. [...] Every man of sense will, I am sure, adopt my system, whatever may be his peculiar character or temperament. Be he miserly or prodigal, rich or poor, young or old, born beneath the torrid zone or near the poles, he may travel with me. Among the immense family of men who throng the earth, there is not one, no, not one (I mean of those who inhabit rooms), who, after reading this book, can refuse his approbation of the new mode of travelling I introduce into the world.
The men I met coming from Jerusalem reported all sorts of contradictory impressions; and yet my own impression contradicted them all. Their impressions were doubtless as true as mine; but I describe my own because it is true, and because I think it points to a neglected truth about the real Jerusalem. I need not say I did not expect the real Jerusalem to be the New Jerusalem; a city of charity and peace, any more than a city of chrysolite and pearl.

I might more reasonably have expected an austere and ascetic place, oppressed with the weight of its destiny, with no inns except monasteries, and these sealed with the terrible silence of the Trappists; an awful city where men speak by signs in the street.

I did not need the numberless jokes about Jerusalem to-day, to warn me against expecting this; anyhow I did not expect it, and certainly I did not find it. But neither did I find what I was much more inclined to expect; something at the other extreme. There may be more of this in the place than pleases those who would idealise it. But I fancy there is much less of it than is commonly supposed in the reaction from such an ideal.
Here you see the cause of all our labours. This Jerusalem is the reflection of the heavenly Jerusalem. This city has the form of the city to which we aspire. This Jerusalem you see, which you face, prefigures and represents the heavenly city.
Then indeed I knew that what I saw was Jerusalem of the Crusaders; or, at least, Jerusalem of the Crusades. It was a medieval town, with walls and gates and a citadel, and built upon a hill to be defended by bowmen. The wall and gates which now stand, whatever stood before them and whatever comes after them, carry a memory of those men from the West who came here upon that wild adventure, who climbed this rock and clung to it so perilously from the victory of Godfrey to the victory of Saladin; and that is why this momentary Eastern exile reminded me so strangely of home.

When we had finished our prayer we remounted our asses, having our eyes full of tears and our cheeks wet with joy. This joy did not arise from passion, but from reason; not from the presence of an object of desire, but of a thing deserving of love because it was precious: it was not gladness which leads to licentiousness, but rather to seriousness, which moves one not to laughter, but rather to sobs; which does not shake the body, but bends the limbs; does not lead to speech, but to silence.
My impression remained primarily a thing of walls and gates; a thing which the modern world does not perhaps understand so well as the medieval world. There is involved in it all that idea of definition which those who do not like it are fond of describing as dogma. A wall is like rule; and the gates are like the exceptions that prove the rule. The man making it has to decide where his rule will run and where his exception shall stand. He cannot have a city that is all gates any more than a house that is all windows; nor is it possible to have a law that consists entirely of liberties. The ancient races and religions that contended for this city agreed with each other in this, when they differed about everything else. It was true of practically all of them that when they built a city they built a citadel. That is, whatever strange thing they may have made, they regarded it as something to be defined and to be defended.
I had thought of that moment for years, in waking and in sleeping dreams. . . I stood in the road, my hand on my horse’s neck, and with my dim eyes sought to trace the outlines of the holy places which I had long before fixed in my mind. The more I gazed, the more I could not see.
As I have said, I had expected many things of Jerusalem, but I had not expected this. I had expected to be disappointed with it as a place utterly profaned (sic) and fallen below its mission. I had expected to be awed by it; indeed I had expected to be frightened of it, as a place dedicated and even doomed by its mission. But I had never fancied that it would be possible to be fond of it; as one might be fond of a little walled town among the orchards of Normandy or the hop-fields of Kent.

So far as I can recall them, my impressions, though aesthetically and architecturally better founded, resume what we felt seven years ago: firstly, that the faking of the sites and indignity with which even when authentic they are now misrepresented, is an irritation, an imposition, and an affront to the intelligence; secondly, that the pathos, grandeur and nobility of the ancient City of the Heart easily countervails these very real annoyances.
I can understand a man who had only seen in the distance Jerusalem sitting on the hill going no further and keeping that vision for ever. It would, of course, be said that it was absurd to come at all, and to see so little. To which I answer that in that sense it is absurd to come at all. It is no more fantastic to turn back for such a fancy than it was to come for a similar fancy. A man cannot eat the Pyramids; he cannot buy or sell the Holy City; there can be no practical aspect either of his coming or going. If he has not come for a poetic mood he has come for nothing; if he has come for such a mood, he is not a fool to obey that mood. The way to be really a fool is to try to be practical about unpractical things. It is to try to collect clouds or preserve moonshine like money. [...] It may be argued that it is just as illogical to hope to fix beforehand the elusive effects of the works of man as of the works of nature. It may be called a contradiction in terms to expect the unexpected. It may be counted mere madness to anticipate astonishment, or go in search of a surprise. To all of which there is only one answer, that such anticipation is absurd, and such realisation will be disappointing, that images will seem to be idols and idols will seem to be dolls, unless there be some rudiment of such a habit of mind as I have tried to suggest in this chapter. No great works will seem great, and no wonders of the world will seem wonderful, unless the angle from which they are seen is that of historical humility.
Forsake cities and their crowds. live on a small patch of ground, seek Christ in solitude, pray on the mount alone with Jesus, keep near to holy places: keep out of cities, I say, and you will never lose your vocation.

All this historic or pre-historic interest may be touched on in its turn; but I am not dealing here with the historic secrets unearthed by the study of the place, but with the historic associations aroused by the sight of it. The traveller is in the position of that famous fantastic who tied his horse to a wayside cross in the snow, and afterward saw it dangling from the church-spire of what had been a buried city. I do not forget, of course, that all these visible walls and towers are but the battlements and pinnacles of a buried city, or of many buried cities. I do not forget that such buildings have foundations that are to us almost like fossils; the gigantic fossils of some other geological epoch. Something may be said later of those lost empires whose very masterpieces are to us like petrified monsters.
All the religious rubbish of the different nations, says a recent traveler, live at Jerusalem separated from each other, hostile and jealous, a nomad population [...] Jerusalem is but a place where everyone arrives to pitch his tent and where nobody remains.
A city that is set upon a hill cannot be hid; but it is more strange when the hill cannot anywhere be hid, even from the citizen in the city.
Palestine is a striped country; that is the first effect of landscape on the eye. It runs in great parallel lines wavering into vast hills and valleys, but preserving the parallel pattern; as if drawn boldly but accurately with gigantic chalks of green and grey and red and yellow. The natural explanation or (to speak less foolishly) the natural process of this is simple enough. The stripes are the strata of the rock, only they are stripped by the great rains, so that everything has to grow on ledges, repeating yet again that terraced character to be seen in the vineyards and the staircase streets of the town. And even what rock there is is coloured with a thousand secondary and tertiary tints, as are the walls and streets of the Holy City which is built from the quarries of these hills. For the old stones of the old Jerusalem are as precious as the precious stones of the New Jerusalem; and at certain moments of morning or of sunset, every pebble might be a pearl.

And all these coloured strata rise so high and roll so far that they might be skies rather than slopes. It is as if we looked up at a frozen sunset; or a daybreak fixed forever with its fleeting bars of cloud. And indeed the fancy is not without a symbolic suggestiveness. This is the land of eternal things; but we tend too much to forget that recurrent things are eternal things. We tend to forget that subtle tones and delicate hues, whether in the hills or the heavens, were to the primitive poets and sages as visible as they are to us. The sorrow of all Palestine is that its divisions in culture, politics and theology are like its divisions in geology. The dividing line is horizontal instead of vertical. The frontier does not run between states but between stratified layers. The Jew did not appear beside the Canaanite but on top of the Canaanite; the Greek not beside the Jew but on top of the Jew; the Moslem not beside the Christian but on top of the Christian. It is not merely a house divided against itself, but one divided across itself.
---X---

Left: Church of the Holy Sepulchre (ca. 12th Century), Basilica of Santo Stefano, Bologna, Italy
Right: Station IV, Sacro Monte di Crea (1589) Piemonte, Italy

Text: St Jerome letter 53 to Paulinus CA 395 AD

---XI---

Left: Station XIV, Sacro Monte di Orta (1583) Piemonte, Italy
Right: Temple Church of the Knights Templars (1185 AD) Inn of Court, City of London, United Kingdom


---XII---

Left: Tomb of Abshalom, son of King Solomon (1st Century AD) Valley of Kidron, Jerusalem
Right: The Holy Sepulchre (Round Church) of Cambridge (1284) Cambridge, England

Text: Marx, Karl, *New York Tribune* (New York), April, 15, 1854

---XIII---

Left: Mark of the Via Francigena, St. Bernard’s Pass, Aosta Valley, Italy/Switzerland
Right: Station II, Via Dolorosa, Jerusalem


---XIV---

Left: Station V, Adam Kraft’s Stations of the Cross (1490) Nuremberg, Germany
Right: Station I, Via Crucis of Tre Cunei, (date unknown) Piemonte, Italy

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CHAPTER FOUR


7. Demolition of the shops around Jaffa Gate to clear the wall (1904). Source: Library of Congress.

8. Demolition of the shops around Jaffa Gate to clear the wall (1904). Source: Library of Congress.


10. “Alas! The Jaffa Gate is open, looking towards the city,” by Rau, as suggested when the unskilled observations that hide the wall line are cleared away.” in Ashbee, Charles Robert, ed., Jerusalem, 1919-1920, being the records of the pre-Jerusalem council during the period of the British military administration (London: Murray, 1921), figure 44, 45.


