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 towns, 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 toponomy or literal displacement of fragments, and opts instead to focus on the spatial translation 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 mentality 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.” 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.” 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.4 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 crystallized 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 progenitus, 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 enigmas 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.5 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.”6 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

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However powerful these rituals are in fostering the recollection of memory, Halbwachs argues that in order to assure continuous recollection, Halbwachs argues that to assure unity, “[a] society, first of all, needs to find a way of marking its unicity in material form.”

** 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) instrumental- ised 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-Reform Europe, while after 1571 it led to recurring attacks and finally to the purge of those images as the pillars 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 in senses. This tension will show, this form of appropriation was inevitably wasteful; it superseded a spatial order developed in a predominantly Christian society on a city that maintained its own multi-layered religious practices for centuries.

The simplification of Jerusalem’s com- plexity in favour of a single Christological order will be explored in Chapter Four. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, this ‘soft Crusade’ was led by two new types of pilgrims: surveys, who sought to locate the biblical truth within 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. However, the West began to erect adaptations of Jerusalem’s sanctity and authority through local altars, structures, and landscapes, which became pilgrimage sites geographically nazional and urban hierarchies by channeling the movement of people, power, and capital. As such, the wishes for pilgrimage is not just to study the occurrence of monuments as nodes of 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.

Even Jerusalem is only a shadow of the heavenly Jerusalem.” In other words, Alexandre Nagel. Since the real Jerusalem could not rival its own image, it had to be adapted to facilitate the rituals enacted in its analogous surrogates. In other words, Christian Jerusalems were built by two new types of pilgrims: surveys, who sought to locate the biblical truth within 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. However, the West began to erect adaptations of Jerusalem’s sanctity and authority through local altars, structures, and landscapes, which became pilgrimage sites geographically nazional and urban hierarchies by channeling the movement of people, power, and capital. As such, the wishes for pilgrimage is not just to study the occurrence of monuments as nodes of 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.

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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 topographical reading 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 Jerusalem 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 topographical elements in their primary materials—but also as the method of inquiry itself.

By adopting the ‘different’ 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 temporality and liminality of the on-the-road photographers, these photographs encapsulate both a physical terrain and a mental state, where real and imaginary elements construct the sacred topography of my own pilgrimage. This, PhD by-design considers this topographic survey as a project, following the genealogy 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 resulting images are then both the illustration of the historic 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 topographical perception of architecture, landscapes, and representations, resting the contained spaces that are delineated by organised structures of power. The notion of sacred topography is further discussed in Medieval Modern: Art out of Time (2012), where Alexander Nagel asserts that the transporation of Jerusalem’s relics (both defined objects and formless earth taken from the city) to Rome generated a fluid territory, where one inhabitates a space that is “both grounded and not grounded in real earthly territory.” This geographical detachment between 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 in sites of Jerusalem pilgrimage, it imagines a new topography that embodies the notion of being towards Jerusalem: documenting the overpowering energy of the holy city to attract pilgrims not only to its sacred site but to 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 photogapher 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.
time, that is no more than a fluster ing veil from a metaphysical perspective.22 Nagel’s conviction regarding the flexibility of geographical affili ations suggests that a theme that might actually bring forth a truer version of the original, one distill ed from the excess proficiencies of reality.

Alongside Nagel, three scholars are notable for discussing the translation of Jerusalem in the West: Bianca Kühnel, Robert Ousterhout, and Anabel Wharton. A historian of medieval art, Kühnel pioneered the investigation into Jerusalem’s translations in the West. She edited the essay anthologies The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art (1990) and Visuale Constructions of Jerusalem (2014), exploring the way

Jerusalem has been replicated in monuments, maps, and visual representations around the world, including both tangible elements such as relics and mnemonic replications of structures. In 2015, Between Jerusalem and Europe was published in honour of Kühnel, continuing the exploration into the appropriation of Jerusalem in specific case studies across Europe.23 This volume included the work of Robert Ousterhout, whose research paid special attention to the spatial and cultural affects of Jerusalem’s holy sites. His conceptualisation of flexible topographies, as well as his visual and theological analysis of the Church of St. Stefano in Bologna, informed my own specific case studies across Europe.

33 This mentality is influenced by Jack London’s ‘Reminiscences of Possibilities’ (1907) and the French-Venuese philosopher Paul Veyrin-Butz’s (2007) Reminiscence of the City, both of which discuss topic, geography, memory and the City.24

34 The Struggle for Jerusalem’s Holy Places (2013) references that the rhetoric of agricultural ‘improvement’ during the British Mandate was driven by the desire of institutions to exploit these sensory feelings of the past.

35 See for example, the study of David Landsman and David Voss, Clarence Goodpaster, and Leslie A. French (2007), Urbanism, Architecture, and Landscape in the City of the Holy Sepulchre, City of Jerusalem (Jordan), J. 269–270, Brepols, 2014.


37 See for example “The Holy City in the Age of Possibilities,” by Justinian’s Travels to the Holy Land: A Pilgrimage in Jerusalem (1978), reconstruction of the Holy City during the first century AD composed of architectural evidence and self-portrayal show, of Roman and Byzantine Jerusalem, which has been used for much of the drawings produced for this dissertation.

38 Although the focus of this chapter on the first three chapters of this thesis was largely dependent on archaeologists, theologians, and artists, the final chapter discusses topics that have been widely studied by historians. In the case of Jerusalem, Ben-Arieh have written extensively in Hebrew on the geopolitical transformation of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century, alongside French historian Vincent Lemire, who authored the rich volume Jerusalem 1900: The Holy City in the Age of Possibilities (2017) and John Moscrop’s Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestinian Expropriation Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land (2000). Wendy Pullen’s Benn–Arieh have written extensively in Hebrew on the geopolitical transformation of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century, alongside French historian Vincent Lemire, who authored the rich volume Jerusalem 1900: The Holy City in the Age of Possibilities (2017) and John Moscrop’s Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestinian Expropriation Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land (2000).

39 The complete list of selected readings written using the University of York Library’s reading of the past—a selective history that is then inserted back into the city’s monuments, where it makes tangible a single, often exclusionary, reading.

40 Rossi’s seminal book had an incredible influence on the profession in the following decades: until today, we witness architects who romanticise the possibility of evoking collective memories through their design, without realising the confl ictual formation of such sentiments. The thesis thus problematises the notion of evoking collective memories through designs that are real- and the desire of institutions to exploit these sensory feelings of the past.

41 Jerusalem’s urban space reveals that the heritage project is fraught with artificial constructions, national aspirations, and a selective reading of history that writes out the existence of those who are excluded from it. This project

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43 It is revealing to consider Edward Said’s assertion that Orientalism is not only a European invention of an exotic other, but also a method of distancing oneself from this exotic ‘other’. Said’s work, Orientalism (1978), which includes dozens of immediate impressions of Western travellers to the Holy Land, demonstrating how travelogues reveal the connection between Orientalization and architectural appropriation.

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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-Exupéry, 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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Chicago Press, 2002); Cosgrove, Denis E., Social formation and the Symbolic Landscape, (Wisconsin, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984) 47


Fig 6: Easter Friday procession at the “New Jerusalem” in Varallo, Italy. Photo by the author, 2019
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 Girih 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 “Urašlim”, 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 each 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 scriptures, solidified the religion, and awaited their redemptive day of return—and indeed, in 516 BC, the Second Temple was inaugurated on the ruins of Solomon’s first. This temple, which was modest in scale and decoration, was entirely remodelled in the first century BC by the half-Jewish, half-Arab Roman King Herod, who executed a megalomaniacal construction project that continues to dominate the topography of the Old City of Jerusalem until today. Over the next century, hundreds of thousands of Jews arrived in Jerusalem to visit the new altar built upon the exposed bedrock of Mount Moriah, in the heart of Herod’s vast man-made plateau.

This fortified city, with its monumental temple, was not only the bastion of Jewish tradition—it was also the city of Christ. Born in Bethlehem, a small village on the outskirts of Jerusalem, and raised in Nazareth, Jesus attended the Passover festivities in Jerusalem every year. After 30 AD, Jesus triumphantly returned to Jerusalem for what were to be his final days; the city’s streets and the Jewish Temple formed the backdrop for the Passion—Christ’s trial, crucifixion, entombment, and resurrection—and thus became inseparable from any Christian ritual of recollection. This heavenly city of both the Jewish Temple and Christ presented a unity between the ideal and the real for close to a century. In 70 AD, after years of siege, the Roman Emperor Titus captured the city and destroyed the temple, demolished houses, and burned most of the city’s trees. In that decisive moment, Holy Jerusalem was dispatched from its earthly corollary, which now lay in ruins and chaos.

For the next six decades, Jerusalem was reduced to a camp of the tenth Roman Legion (legio X Fretensis), and Jews and Nazarenes (a minor Palestinian sect that gradually separated from Judaism) were forbidden to live on its site, under the penalty of death. This urban vacuum gave rise to paganism. In 135 AD, following the defeat of yet another Jewish revolt, Emperor Hadrian changed the city’s name to Aelia Capitolina, after his own last name of Aelius and the Roman god Jupiter Capitolinus. Hadrian’s city was smaller than the one built by the Arab-Jewish King Herod only a century earlier, and held little religious or political significance within the Roman empire. As a pagan emperor, Hadrian obliterated the remains of monotheism in the city by transforming the ruins of the Jewish Temple into the Capitolium by covering the supposed burial place of Christ. While the primary goal of the Jews was to return and rebuild the physical city below, the nascent Christian religion ascribed increasing religious and symbolic significant to the Jerusalem above as the city of an idea.
In the third century AD, when Emperor Constantine relocated the official capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Byzantium (modern Istanbul), he designated it as the capital of the Christian Roman Empire (today’s Turkey). This move was seen as a significant step towards the Christianization of the empire and the spread of Christianity. The change in the political capital had profound implications for the development of the Christian church and its organization. Over time, it became the central focus of Christian pilgrimage and devotion.

The relocation of the capital had a significant impact on the development of Christian pilgrimage. Pilgrims from across the empire traveled to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Sepulchre, the site of Jesus’ crucifixion and resurrection. The city of Jerusalem became a major destination for Christian pilgrims, who sought to witness the sites associated with the life of Jesus Christ. The Roman emperor Constantine, who converted to Christianity, played a significant role in encouraging and facilitating Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The early Christian pilgrims were often simple people, motivated by a deep desire to connect with the sites associated with the life of Jesus. They faced numerous challenges on their journey, including long and arduous travel times, limited accommodation options, and difficult living conditions. However, the sense of community and shared purpose among the pilgrims helped them endure these hardships.

The pilgrimage routes that developed over time were crucial in shaping the organization of the Christian church. The pilgrims’ experiences provided a means of sharing the message of Christianity and spreading it to new regions. The pilgrims also played a role in the development of Christian sacraments, such as baptism and communion, as they observed the practices of the local Christian communities.

Today, the history of Christian pilgrimage is studied by scholars in the fields of history, religion, and geography. The study of pilgrimage routes and their influence on the development of the Christian church continues to be a vital area of research.

**Geography of the Pilgrim from Bordeaux**

The Itinerarium Burdigalense, a Latin text written around the year 333 AD, is a key source for understanding the early Christian pilgrim’s journey. It provides a detailed account of the pilgrimage route from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, including information on the stops along the way and the sites visited.

The route described in the Itinerarium Burdigalense is a classic example of a pilgrimage journey. Itineraries such as this were important for providing information about the sites and experiences of the pilgrimage, as well as for guiding future pilgrims.

**Bibliography**


**Further Reading**

sites, thus creating a useful index for the scriptural enthusiasts of the Roman province. The Bordeaux traveller's account shared some similarities with the directory, namely the subdivision of a place to text and the mythologisation of Palestine's geography. However, in contrast to the alphabetical order of the Onomasticon, 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 pilgrimage 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 spoke with her. Some plane trees are there, planted by Jacob, and there is a baptism which takes its water from the well.

This intricate account, which begins with a precise distance to direct future pilgrims, interlocks biblical toponymy (Sychar) with the new baptismal event: the architectural remnants of the great column of Solomon's temple. 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 strewn 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 transformation 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 scaled 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 its blood of Zacharias—you think it had only been shed today? [... ] two statues of Hadrian stand there. And, not far from them, a pierced stone which the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited several of these sites, including a basilica on Mount Olives “where the Lord went up to prayer” and the rock tomb “in which laid Lazarus, whom the Lord Raised”; an "exceptionally beautiful basilica" in Abraham's city, Terchinbasi, 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,”

Fig. 1: Above: Constantinian Church of Eleona on Olive Mount. Below: Constantinian Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Drawing by John Wilkinson.
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 to 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 (353 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 epicentre 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 had to be found by no other than Constantine himself. This is elaborated on in Eusebius’ Vita Constantiniana, a glorifying biography of Constantine written in the immediate aftermath of his death in 337 AD. Eusebius writes that Constantine:[16]

judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour’s resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, 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. For this he did, not on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Saviour himself. For the erection in that spot of a house of prayer: and for your sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the church itself as a whole may surmise all others whatsoever in beauty; but that the whole building may be of the most beautiful design, and enclosed by colonnades and fairest remains in every city of the empire, may be equally held: “the Church of the Holy Land,” says Eusebius, “is a terrestrial destination; the gathering of the Church of the Anastasis, to the very 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’—has with it cisterns of remarkable beauty, and beside them a baptistery where children are baptized.”

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 (as constructed; 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 Bathus had to be erected over Christ’s tomb). Eusebius’ text describes it in great detail: from the north-south axis of Aelia’s cardo, the church’s layout extends towards the west, incorporating, in the space 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 Colonnade ‘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 additional open-air courtyard, then the central nave of 22 metres long, complete with marble floors and glazed ceiling; further on, an additional open-air courtyard, complete with marble floors and glazed ceiling; finally, on 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 renamed 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.[17] 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 self-justifying as it may be, portrays the excitement that accompanied the erection of this building, and its potential to lure future pilgrims.[18] 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 Bordeau 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 celebrated in the urban realm. The details of this intricate ritual are best described in the letters of Egeria.[19]
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...’” Her 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 somewhat conversational and highly descriptive, often echoing lines from scripture. Like the pilgrim from Bordeaux, Egeria’s gaze hardly ever wanders from the words of her guides, who could affiliate the echoing lines from scripture. By the words of her guides, she could discern the presence of the Holy Land, and they were all pointed out to me. 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 close by.

Our path lay through the middle of the valley which stretched out in front of us, the valley in which, as I have told you, the children of Israel had their camp while Moses went up into the Mount of God and came down again. And all the way through the valley the holy men were showing us the different places. Right at the end of the valley, where we had spent the night and seen the Burning Bush out of which God spoke to Holy Moses, we saw also the place where Moses was standing before the Bush when God said to him “Unde the fastening of thy shoes: for the place where thou standest is holy ground” (Exodus 3:5, Acts 7:35) they showed us where the calf had been made, where a large stone was set in the ground and still stands [...]. They showed us where Holy Moses ordered the children of Israel to run “from gate to gate” (Exodus 32:27) when he had come back from the Mountain.

This lengthy (and somewhat tedious) account goes on to include, alongside the “Burning Bush” and “large stone”, additional places from the Book of Moses, such as the site of the miracle of the manna or the stream from which Moses drew water for the Israelites to drink (Exodus 16:10). Finally, Egeria concludes:

I know it has been rather a long business writing down all these places one after the other, and it may be too much to remember. But it may help those living sisters, the better to picture what happened in those places when you read the Books of Holy Moses.

This passage reveals Egeria’s candid motivation to write her letters not as a guidebook for future travelers, nor as a self-interested memoir, but as a visual aid for the imagination of those practicing scriptural recollections in Christian communities far from the holy places. In this passage, Egeria explains that the combination of land and text are crucial for the Christian faith because neither is legible on its own. Egeria’s pilgrimage exemplifies how text and place come together to foster an in situ recollection of Christian memories, similar to what took place in services in her home church. We learn of this ritual from Egeria’s description of her visit to Mount Sinai, where she met with the local presbyter (“a healthy old man... in fact just the man for the place”), and wrote:

...when the whole passage had been read out to us from the Book of Moses (on the very spot!) we made the offering in the usual way and received communion. As we were coming out of the church the presbyters of the place gave us “blessings”, some fruit which grows on the mountain itself... Thus the holy men were kind enough to show us everything, and there too we made the offering and prayed very earnestly, and the passages were read from the Book of Kingdoms. Indeed, whenever we arrived anywhere, I always wanted the Bible passages read to us.

Egeria’s remark 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 scripted 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 seriality and fragmentation of the ritual in the desert, following the Exodus of the Israelites, foreshadowed what Egeria would experience in Jerusalem: the systematic stational character of the Holy City’s liturgy, this time retracing 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 during 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 deacons assisted with baptism. During the services, each figure carried out their specific role while Egeria sat 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 banal 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 missus, 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:
All the doors of the Anastasis are opened before cock-crow each day, and the monazontes and porosynè (men and virgins), as they call them here, come in, and also all the way down the Mount to the city, and all through the day把持Inline-Text[285] the beginning). To participate in the Passion. As they descend the Mount of Olives, where Egeria listens to the scripted call (as read to them by the bishop) to the people the bishop in the very way the people did when once they went down the hill with the Lord. They go on foot all the way down the Mount to the city, and all through the day把持Inline-Text[285] the Anastasis of Jerusalem. This reading of the Quassemtrium proclaims the Passion of Christ and is thus the most strenuous ritual of the Christian Holy Week. The bishop’s regular service is followed by a walk to “the place of the care which the Lord used to teach” on the Mount of Olives, where Egeria listens to the “hymns and other antiphons suitable to the place and the day, and readings too.”

The group proceeds to the Immobon, “the place from which the Lord ascended into heaven,” where, at five o’clock, “the procession departs from the Church of the Ascension the children who met the Lord with palm branches, saying ‘Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.’” Matt 21:9 (a) In this event, unlike previous occasions, the entire community answers Christ’s scripted call (as read by them to the bishop) to participate in the Passion. As they descend the Mount, Jerusalem becomes a stage: the community of the Anastasis-Golgotha axis includes other commemorative sites throughout the city. Like the reading of Christ’s resurrection in his tomb, the Anastasis axis was an integral part of the Christian week. The Anastasis axis was always included in the Anastasis, the great intercommunal celebration, which will be explored in the third chapter.)

Additional events were scheduled in relative sequence: the fourth day after Easter was the “Feast of the Dedication (or the Encamation),” in which the consecration of the churches in Jerusalem was similarly celebrated by Christians across the province. Of the Anastasis axis, Egeria wrote: “...the reading of the Holy Spirit...”

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We understand these dramatic transformations through the personal writings of two travellers who both exemplify a new subject—the Christian pilgrim. Leaving behind extended periods of time—the Bordeaux Pilgrim travelled for over a year, mostly on the road to and from Jerusalem, and Egeria spent three years in Jerusalem—these pilgrims moved as innate foreigners within familiar biblical lands. They were conscious of their intentions, eager to record their journeys, and motivated by spiritual goals. These travelogues thus reveal not only the changing status of Jerusalem during the Christian version 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 Bordeaux constructed his text as a spatial path that could be retraced by future pilgrims heading towards Jerusalem. As a Christian traveler, 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.

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 traveler thus encourages participation in cyclical commemorative works re-erected 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 emphasised 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, place was suppressed, giving rise to imagination, meditation, and visualisation as alternatives modes of recollection. This also allowed for new collective manner of uniform 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 pilgrims 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.1 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.

1. Halbwachs, On Collective Memory, 234
2. Galatians 4:26, “Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.”
3. 1 Corinthians 6:19

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.2 In his letter to the Corinthians, Paul argues that “your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you.”2 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.4 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 I, with an entourage of noblewomen who intended to spend the remainder of their days in Palestine.2
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 BethSA, he compares the life of Paul with that of Jerome, highlighting the similarities between the two lives. Jerome acknowledges Paul’s renunciation of worldly desires and his dedication to a simple, ascetic lifestyle. He notes that Paul’s life was filled with people from all walks of life, yet he was able to maintain his spiritual purity. Jerome acknowledges that Paul had a vision of the Second Coming, but he reminds Paul that such visions are not to be taken lightly, as they may lead to complacency in one’s pursuit of spiritual goals.

Jerome’s letter to Paul also serves as a commentary on the dangers of the world and the importance of maintaining one’s purity. He warns Paul that the world is full of temptations and distractions, and that it is easy to lose one’s way if one is not careful. Jerome advises Paul to continue his practice of asceticism and to remain steadfast in his faith, even in the face of temptations. He also urges Paul to continue his work of translating the scriptures, as it is essential for the dissemination of the faith.

In his letter, Jerome also reflects on the importance of the monastic movement and the role of monastics in society. He notes that the monastics were seen as a source of spiritual guidance and inspiration, and that their example was vital for the development of the Christian community. He encourages Paul to continue his work as a public servant and to continue to serve the community in his capacity as a public servant.

In conclusion, Jerome’s letter to Paul serves as a reminder of the importance of maintaining one’s purity in the face of the world’s distractions. It also serves as a commentary on the role of the monastics in society and the importance of their work. Jerome’s advice to Paul is timeless and relevant today, as we continue to grapple with the challenges of the world and the demands of our faith.
In order to understand how these two types work together, it is important to trace their typological origins as separate basilicas. In that fashion, I argue that the coupling of these two spaces—a centrally planned, double-sheled structure and a strictly longitudinal basilica—created a composition that could be distilled and applied as an analogical target. It is an abstraction taken from Jerusalem, towards Jerusalem.

In the context of 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 basilica and roofed court. In that fashion, I argue that the coupling of these two spaces—a centrally planned, double-sheeled structure and a strictly longitudinal basilica—created a composition that could be distilled and applied as an analogical target. It is an abstraction taken from Jerusalem.

Authoritative terminology for analogical thinking includes naming a source and applying its logic to an analogous target. The source in this context 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 basilica and roofed court. In that fashion, I argue that the coupling of these two spaces—a centrally planned, double-sheeled structure and a strictly longitudinal basilica—created a composition that could be distilled and applied as an analogical target. It is an abstraction taken from Jerusalem.
Before the erection of the rotunda, and according to the description of the pilgrim from Bordeaux, Christ's tomb aedicule stood in the centre of a semi-circular portico, open to the sky. This setting is reminiscent of the Christian Heroes, erected as early as the second century AD to honour sites of martyrdom. In the third century, these open-air precincts 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 the grave of the martyr and a place to commemorate and recall the greatest martyrdom of all.

Spatially, the rotunda could accommodate a variety of liturgical activities 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 martyria were often indistinguishable from Imperial mausolea, and thus inspired by the monumental- ity of pagan temples. This similarity, according to Krautheimer, became acceptable due to the miraculous nature of the 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 provided 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 how liturgy moved through time and space during the daily mobile services. She describes a procession that moves from a service in the Martyrium Basilica to the composition in the Rotunda, where the Bishop himself enters the railings 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 outdoor atrium, while 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 altar, 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 literary sources. 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 and women, reconsecrated with their families and their mothers.” This description shows how the bishop interrogates the candidates who walk up and down the central axis in order to assess their maturity and compatibility with their new faith. This staged activity surely produces consensatory association with judicatory basilical halls and with political power, showcasing how its aisles, columns, and raised spatial configuration that is instrumentalized in space, separating the bishop and his clergy from the candidates.

The basilica is also used for preaching and teaching, during which “the bishop sits and preached, while the faithful utter exclamations which are often loud, creating a clear space 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 baptized 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 these in-depth teaching sessions occur in the basilica for three hours each morning during the seven weeks of lent, until Easter which takes place on the eighth week. It is then that the bishop assumes an elevated position in the basilica, when “[his] chair is placed at the back of the apse, behind the altar.”

What is clear from these examples is that within the course of several weeks, each of these spaces was used to serve a different liturgical function, the basilica being the most versatile: it is there that the bishop is moved within the space and in relation to his study, from the middle to the apse, in front of a lined audience or within a circle of listeners, and either leading an longitudinal precession or orchestrating an axial movement of the candidates. While in the Rotunda, the contemplative mysteries are set around the Tomb of the Lord, and are generally composed as more exclusive services, with a higher degree of affectivity 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 then 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 rouyr 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 in the early Middle Ages churches were invented 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 (820-822 AD) and the Holy Sepulchre of Cambridge (first quarter of the 12th century), where a central-planed structure with a surrounding vaulted ambulatory provided the connotations of the Anastasis Rotunda. In the description of the geometric composition and architectural elements, the sanctity of Jerusalem’s holy sites was transported into a local vessel of worship, imbuing it with the appropiated aura of the Holy Land. 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 exists if the relations between the objects in the target are similar to the relations between the objects in the source. Structural similarity exists if the relations between the objects in the target are similar to the relations between the objects in the source. Considering this interpretation, it can be argued that the examples provided by Krautheimer, which use the 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 case 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.
BRANDING BOLOGNA: JERUSALEM AS THE FOUNDATION STONE OF CIVIC CONSCIOUSNESS

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 amongst its traditions (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 centre, the complex has both Pagan and Paleo-Christian Foundations: a shrine to the Egyptian goddess Isis in use until the Fourth Century, when, according to tradition, it was converted into a baptistery. The adjacent structure was consecrated as the Vitale and Agnicole Cathedral, where the remains of the two Bolognese martyrs (that were discovered in 393 AD) were buried.

The complex as we know it today was reconstruted 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 covered by a dome. Its main feature is the centrally-planned ‘Holy Sepulchre’, an irregular-octagonal structure that is accessed from a porticoed courtyard 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 discovered from the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem. The octagonal structure is accessed from a porticoed courtyard that is referred to as Cortile di Pilato: a water basin in the center is surrounded by a portico and a gallery. The Jerusalem service of the Church of Santo Stefano, much like other Medieval architects, “did not intend it to imitate the prototype as it looked in reality, he intended to reproduce its typique and figuralité, as a memento of a venerated structure.” What he means is that it wasn’t an exact copy, but that some elements were closely borrowed from Jerusalem. The number of support around the tomb, for example, corresponds both to the number of the columns in Jerusalem and to the number of the apostles, being both a literal and symbolic choice. The octagonal, which was interchangeable in the Medieval mind with a circle, evokes the figure of eight—hence of resurrection and salvation—while alluding to the form of the Anastasis Rotunda.

But Santo Stefano is not just an amalgamation of memorenic referents: it also creates a structural analog in its compositional logic. As such, the relationship between the courtyard and the octagonal structure replicates the one between the atrium and the Anastasis in Jerusalem; it even follows the slight offset of the tomb in Jerusalem which allows a short path of the entrance of the centrifugal structure. The replication of an architectural logic that considers a round structure’s interior and exterior spaces, a central object of veneration, and an ambulatory for circulation, sets the space for a liturgical practice that originated in Jerusalem. This means that the analogical structures allows a pilgrimage to enact in Bologna the ritual he or she would perform in Jerusalem; the abstraction of a spatial logic and its implementation with local materials (such as brick masonry and evangelical iconography) enables Jerusalem worshiping pilgrims to perform a morally-risking journey. Furthermore, the addition of sacred sites within the church itself set the stage for a peripatetic worship that is at once mobile and yet bound by speech. The Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Santo Stefano played a role in both the local cult and as a centre for pilgrimage. During Easter Week, the stone tomb in the center of the octagon was the focal point of the service: as Good Friday as to the chamber of Christ’s imprisonment; stairs from the courtyard were referred to as the Scala Sante, leading to a room where a stone was said to be the pool where Pilate had his judgment; a window called Ecce Homo, marked the arch above the location of Christ’s arrest. Similarly to the proliferation of scriptural affiliation to Jerusalem’s topographical elements within Santo Stefano, they were dedicated to events from the New Testament, thus forming edges to a mobile form of recollection within the church complex itself.

Fourth scholars regard Santo Stefano as a local Jerusalem due to a number of reasons. Krautheimer argues that the creator of Santo Stefano, much like other Medieval architects, “did not intend it to imitate the prototype as it looked in reality, he intended to reproduce its typique and figuralité, as a memento of a venerated structure.” What he means is that it wasn’t an exact copy, but that some elements were closely borrowed from Jerusalem. The number of support around the tomb, for example, corresponds both to the number of the columns in Jerusalem and to the number of the apostles, being both a literal and symbolic choice. The octagonal, which was interchangeable in the Medieval mind with a circle, evokes the figure of eight—hence of resurrection and salvation—while alluding to the form of the Anastasis Rotunda.

The services in Bologna’s analogous Jerusalem, much like the source, extended beyond the confines of a simple complex and well into the urban domain. A monastery built on a nearby hill was called St. Giovanni Monte Olivet, and the valley separating these two churches was described as Josephat, following the topographical drop between the Old City and the Mountain of Olives in Jerusalem. An unknown pond supposedly represented the nautria Sire (the Sliam Pool), and the Church of St. Tecla (which no longer exists) bears references to the Field of Hakeldama. These elaborate markers are significant as they set the stage for a thrice-yearly and yet boundary crossing, similar to the one described by Egeria: On Palm Sunday, following the service conducted on St. Giovanni in Monte, palm branches were distributed to the participants who then followed a public procession to Santo Stefano.

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 markers can be dated to the Ninth Century, meaning that, according to historian colonies, colonies, the mobile form of devotion preceded the sites, and it is the liturgical focus 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 Easter Morning required a journey, and a public procession demanded stations. The chronological discrepancy between the stations and their ritualisation in the urban realm can be explained as part of an elaborate invention of an urban tradition that occurred in twelfth century Bologna. A manuscript from 1180 that chronicles the life of St. Petronius, Bishop of Bologna between 432 and 450 AD, traces the origin of Santo Stefano:

“With much labour (he) symbolically created a work, marvellously constructed, like the Sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem, which allowed a short path of the entrance of the centrifugal structure. The replication of an architectural logic that considers a round structure’s interior and exterior spaces, a central object of veneration, and an ambulatory for circulation, sets the space for a liturgical practice that originated in Jerusalem. This means that the analogical structures allows a pilgrimage to enact in Bologna the ritual he or she would perform in Jerusalem; the abstraction of a spatial logic and its implementation with local materials (such as brick masonry and evangelical iconography) enables Jerusalem worshiping pilgrims to perform a morally-risking journey. Furthermore, the addition of sacred sites within the church itself set the stage for a peripatetic worship that is at once mobile and yet bound by speech.”

This document remains the only source on the establishment of Santo Stefano as a surrogate Jerusalem. Scholars such as Krautheimer, Morris, and Ousterhout render the manuscript’s claim for a Fifth-century structure unreliable, and sug-
Let us imagine that the story is a reverse invention by the author. Furthermore, Ousterhout argues that Santo Stefano's combination of a centrally-planned church and a circular courtyard and a series of reliquary chapels, constructs a composition that is strikingly similar to the description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the eleventh century. The layout and spatial structure were drawn before the Crusaders destroyed Jerusalem in 1099. By 1100 and prior to the wide reconstruction of the city, Ousterhout argues that the basilica-less twelfth century Santo Stefano was indeed inspired by the structures in Jerusalem, but it couldn’t have been a fifth-century visit but an eleventh-century one that inspired the architectural guidelines. The striking similarity between the state of the Jerusalem complex between 1048 and 1149 and the buildings in Santo Stefano strengthen the argument that the city’s foundation in the twelfth century, rendering the Vita Sancti Petronii mythical at best. But it is important to consider the model mind and its imaginary perception of truth; while not an exact copy of the Holy Sepulchre, the Vite portrays an irreplaceable desire for a memory that ties Bologna, physically and spiritually, to Jerusalem itself. The emphasis on Petronius’ use of axiality when he obtained the Holy Relic and his description of how he “carefully measured with the monument, able to examine it and thus venerate it privately. The tenth-century Vita Sancti Petronii—its textual description and visualized burial site—hence, the tomb in length and breadth and height, for when people are present it is gait impossible measure it.” —The Life and Journey of Daniel, 170-171, in Hador, Z., “Christian Pilgrimage and Relic Veneration in Jerusalem” in Projecting the Holy in the Middle Ages: The Maryl Flanagan Institute for the History of Science, 2000, 243-263.


Joye, J.K., Society and Polity in Medieval Italy (Palgrave Macmillan, 1979), 79.

Bad, 74, 74. 75.

In the account of the invention of and lists of relics given in the form of, Lannoy, G., Petronio, natick: the last begins with relics of the garments of Christ, the wound and cloths of the Column, the wooden bowl of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the key with which he was confirmed, and the sepulchre.

Robert, J.K., Society and Polity in Medieval Italy (Palgrave Macmillan, 1979), 79.

Robert, 74, 74. 75.

The same religious principles or a European Italian is a very immediate and vivid account of an analogy was crucial; the invention of the relics of a statue, the rediscovery of St. Petronius’ tomb and the introduction of his cult helped shape Bologna’s identity. As historian J.K. Hyde claims, during those years civic pride was expressed through a loyalty to local Church, especially through the celebrations of legend that solidified the group around them. Indeed, when St. Petronius—who had supposedly been to Jerusalem and had access to its monument—became the new patron of the city, his grave was placed in the heart of the Bolognese Jerusalem, in the center of the tomb in Santo Stefano’s Holy Sepulchre.

In the following years, as Bologna would be economically revived, the myth of Jerusalem as the foundation of the city will be crucial. Petronius’ supposed journey to earthly Jerusalem created an explicit connection between the holy city and Bologna. With or without exact measures, the holy remains and religious symbols were imported from Jerusalem and implemented in Bologna, setting the stage for an already-existing ritualistic status by making it visible and physically. The invention of physical relics and a mythical story served the local community of Bologna by positioning it as true Jerusalem in the Medieval Sense: not a replica but a structural analogy, distilling Jerusalem’s liturgical vessels to implement its form of worship in a European setting. The invention of a relics memory that is tied to Jerusalem as an ideal city was an essential part of the process of fashioning Bologna as a powerful urban entity.

In addition to serving as a landmark for the local community, Santo Stefano could also capitalize on its identity as Jerusalem by attracting pilgrims. During the height of the Middle Ages, pilgrim’s journeys was a personal exhibition of faith, but an institutional practice of repenting sins. In a society ruled by the Church, an obsession with the tombs of the afterlife was constantly fed by the delicate balance between sin and punishment. While it preached for an earthly life of piety, the Church also

provided the possibility for salvation through the remission of sins, given in the form of a religious currency—indulgences—given to a sinner in return for confession, donation, or pilgrimage.

Measured in units of time, indulgences served as a get-out-of-hell free card, awarding days, months, or years deducted from a sinner’s time in the fire of purgatory (the temporal place of judgement between heaven and hell). On the scale of indulgences, Jerusalem stood at the highest rank. In that sense, Bologna succeeded in becoming a substitute to Jerusalem: the monks of the Celestial Order that had taken over the complex, published the indulgences provided for those making a pilgrimage to Santo Stefano as similar to those traveling to the city itself. And yet the ultimate remission of sins, the plenary indulgence, was only granted to one act: becoming a Crusader.

LONDON’S TEMPLE: A SOURCE WITH TWO TARGETS

When the city of Jerusalem was destroyed in 70 AD. Notwithstanding these historical discrepancies, what Omar found on the Herodian man-made plateau were ruins, as the site has been left neglected as Christian religious remains.

In Seventh Century Jerusalem, Temple Mount was left physically and symbolically out of the sacred topography of the city. Not only was it not a part of a new man-made space associated with the site—such as the creation of Adam and Abraham’s sacrifice of Isaac—have been relocated and commemorated in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the Present. Prawer, Joseph, “The Spiritual Meaning of the Great Mosque of Damascus,” Is a chapter in Holy Jerusalem: The Rise of the Holy City from the Second Temple to the Present (Routledge, 1999), 168-170.

Toward Jerusalem

CHAPTER TWO—

As Christ tells his disciples, Matthew 24:2, “And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and glory,” refers to the time in the future when the Messiah will descend from heaven. Therefore, the Son of Man will be visible to the entire world.

The Black Monastery is a book by the American author Annabel Wharton, which was published in 1982. It is a comparative study of Muslim and Christian religious architecture, focusing on the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple Mount.


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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 persecution of Christians, and the banning of Easter had stirred the Western accep-
tance of foreign rule of Jerusalem; at the same time, the strengthening of religious sentiment and the burden of sin have brought pilgrims to earthly Jerusalem (and the quest for indulgences) back to popularity. Encouraged by the speech made by Pope Urban II in 1085 — 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 be adopted and appropriated into Christianity. Thus, when the Crusaders took over the city, it was not only the Holy Sepulchre that had to be reclaimed 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 Chrisindome was extended. On Palm Sunday, for example, palm and olive branches were blessed and distributed to the worship-
ers 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 jointed 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 pro-
cession that took place in the Fourth Century— included Scriptural references to the Old Testament. Indeed, collective memory adapts itself to 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 gene-
alogy from Judaim. As such, 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 [...] 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 monas-
chrony and military headquarters.

It is within this newly-appropriated space, known to the Crusades as ‘Temple that Chris-
tians first monastic-military order was estab-
lshed: the Templars. Officially called “the Poor
Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon,” the Templars took an oath of charity and pov-
erty 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 their way 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

Fig 8: Temple Mount (Sharon El-Alitti) Drawing by the author

Fig 9: Jerusalem as the capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1187

Drawing by the author

Chapter Two—

Towards Jerusalem
The Templars arrived in London, one of the West’s most powerful secular centres, in 1128.\(^{118}\) By 1144 they were given a site in Holborn, on a former Roman fort, where they built their first church.\(^{119}\) In 1161, the expansion of the Order led the Templars to move to a new location given by King Henry II (1154-1189) on the banks of the Thames, where they erected the Temple Church.\(^{120}\) In 1184, the Knights of St John de Jerusalem were given another secured place in London, the Templars.\(^{13}132\) The Thames, the Templars had both access to transportation on the river and the prestige of the river exposure.\(^{133}\) This relocation to a non-vectorial two decades later was another construction of their first church (the Old Temple) that was protected from the city by walls and gates.\(^{134}\) This building was preceded by a relic of the True Cross, a relic which was secured by King Stephen of England in 1130.\(^{112}\) In 1215 they loaned King John 1,100 marks to obtain the only known and authentic relic of the True Cross, a relic that was carried by the archbishops of Canterbury.\(^{135}\) Considering the use of the elements, the church was perceived as a non-hierarchical space, almost a field condition; and, with a width-to-length ratio of 3:2, it was a building designed by Nikolaus Pevsner as “one of the most perfect and proportioned buildings of thirteenth century England, airy yet sturdy, generous in its spatial layout and its disciplines, and very sharply put together.”\(^{136}\) It was a modest structure, with an overall lack of decoration that resonated with the order’s initial (initial) monastic character.\(^{137}\) The mnemonic association between 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 of building the royal trea-
sury, and a source of revenue from pilgrims.\(^{138}\)

The Templars recognized the economic advantage of the city and treated it as a source of income by receiving land from the Church and renting it to the elite. Between the immunity granted to the poor and the exemption from taxation awarded by the Monarchy, the Templars had accumulated a vast amount of revenue; this had to be stored with an adequately monumental receptacle not only of their wealth, but also of the symbolic and literal possession of their origin and custody: Jerusalem.

The Templars arrived in London, one of the West’s most powerful secular centres, in 1128.\(^{118}\) By 1144 they were given a site in Holborn, on a former Roman fort, where they built their first church.\(^{119}\) In 1161, the expansion of the Order led the Templars to move to a new location given by King Henry II (1154-1189) on the banks of the Thames, where they erected the Temple Church.\(^{120}\) In 1184, the Knights of St John de Jerusalem were given another secured place in London, the Templars.\(^{13}132\) The Thames, the Templars had both access to transportation on the river and the prestige of the river exposure.\(^{133}\) This relocation to a non-vectorial two decades later was another construction of their first church (the Old Temple) that was protected from the city by walls and gates.\(^{134}\) This building was preceded by a relic of the True Cross, a relic which was secured by King Stephen of England in 1130.\(^{112}\) In 1215 they loaned King John 1,100 marks to obtain the only known and authentic relic of the True Cross, a relic that was carried by the archbishops of Canterbury.\(^{135}\) Considering the use of the elements, the church was perceived as a non-hierarchical space, almost a field condition; and, with a width-to-length ratio of 3:2, it was a building designed by Nikolaus Pevsner as “one of the most perfect and proportioned buildings of thirteenth century England, airy yet sturdy, generous in its spatial layout and its disciplines, and very sharply put together.”\(^{136}\) It was a modest structure, with an overall lack of decoration that resonated with the order’s initial (initial) monastic character.\(^{137}\) The mnemonic association between 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 of building the royal trea-
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The columns, which continue from the Round into the choir in Purbeck marble pillars—each consisting of four shafts that are connected to the arcade arches and the wall’s ribs—that are placed at regular intervals. The slenderness of the supports creates a structural lightness that is enhanced by the shallowness of the arcades (concealing the thickness of the upper walls, carried by the arcades carry).\(^{139}\) Considering the use of the elements, the church was perceived as a non-hierarchical space, almost a field condition; and, with a width-to-length ratio of 3:2, it was a building designed by Nikolaus Pevsner as “one of the most perfect and proportioned buildings of thirteenth century England, airy yet sturdy, generous in its spatial layout and its disciplines, and very sharply put together.”\(^{136}\) It was a modest structure, with an overall lack of decoration that resonated with the order’s initial (initial) monastic character.\(^{137}\) The mnemonic association between 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 of building the royal trea-
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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 walls. The Round would also serve as the backdrop for another distinct 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 would escort him in a procession into the Round, his family and friends. Then, only the brothers 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, with its uniform field of marble piers, evenly-difused light and diminished hierarchy between the naves. In that sense, the Temple Church is an analogous target with two sources, encapsulating 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 that although the Anastasis Rotunda and the Dome of the Rock were interchangeable, both in appearance, symbolic value, and historical traditions. This means that the sequential quality of Jerusalem’s complex—from the propylaea through the basilica, the atrium and finally the Anastasis—did not translate coherently to London, where the entrance was in the southern edge, and those who enter the church are positioned directly between two focal points. This discontent setting is further enhanced by the fact that the Round lacks a central element—its ring of inner piers does not surround one but several graves in the form of effigies of knights, that mark the knights’ cemetery below.

While there is a clear analogical relationship to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in terms of the service’s hierarchy and visual similarity of the aisles, there is also a similarity that can be drawn from the Temple Mount where the Templar Order was founded. In terms of composition, the Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa Mosque are both placed on either side of a vast platform, 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 fluid condition created in the Temple Mount, with its uniform field of marble piers, evenly-difused light and diminished hierarchy between the naves. In that sense, the Temple Church is an analogical target with two sources, encapsulating 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 that although the Anastasis Rotunda and the Dome of the Rock were interchangeable, both in appearance, symbolic value, and historical traditions. This means that the sequential quality of Jerusalem’s complex—from the propylaea through the basilica, the atrium and finally the Anastasis—did not translate coherently to London, where the entrance was in the southern edge, and those who enter the church are positioned directly between two focal points. This discontent setting is further enhanced by the fact that the

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 “archetypal [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 unified Jerusalem was readily translated into the urban realm of London, where the Templars embedded 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. The analogy was constructed by utilising 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. 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 distinctively urban.

According to Annabel Wharton, this “inscription of an eastern presence into a western urban landscape uncannily corresponds to the Templar’s role in the West’s increasing familiarity with money and its abstraction.” Indeed, during the economic expansion of Europe’s cities, the body in charge of transferring capital from the West to the occupation of the East celebrated its victory through the image of the city of Jerusalem. The Temple then appropriated Jerusalem’s sacrality through institutionalised force exploiting the city’s political charisma in order to construct a house for their accumulated capital, a monument of their political power, and a vessel for their monastic faith.

The INTELLIGENCE OF ANALOGY

If we return to the definition of analogy by Aristotle defines analogy not as an induction nor a reduction, but a transfer 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 Bernardo 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 Bernardo 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 analogies.

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.

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 analogies.
STATION TO STATION

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

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

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 Ecce Homo (where Christ was tried) 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 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 geographical 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 suppressed in Palestine by the local regime, and the movement of Christian visitors was limited.

Yet even under Islamic rule in Palestine, Christ’s 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, left the 1219 letter concerning 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, the Franciscans in Jerusalem benefited from the Crusader’s military expeditions and became the official custodians of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Over the next two centuries, the monastic order would gradually obtain control over additional sites in and around the Holy City from the rulers of neighbouring provinces. By establishing an earthly foothold with monasteries and convents, the Franciscans aimed to facilitate recollection in a way (and future pilgrims) knew from liturgical patterns in the West.

The Franciscans took over another crucial role from the Crusaders (in particular, the Knights Templar), becoming the sole providers of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Franciscans were in charge of guiding the Holy Land’s pilgrims and maintaining the shrines in the holy land: the grottos of grottos and crypts, they aimed to facilitate recollection in a way (and future pilgrims) knew from liturgical patterns in the West.

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Kemp’s outward reaction to her imaginative visualization was not only unusual in Jerusalem, but also inappropriate; it reflected a pious activity that Kierkegaard regarded as the repulse of truly compassionate devotion that was unthink-
able in Jerusalem itself. Indeed, an immersive recollection of Christ’s route to salvation could only arise freed from the political and geographical constraints of earthly Jerusalem, making it the least plausible place to practise the Stations of the Cross.

This radical shift from icon to realism was portrayed in Passion-related imagery, now focused on scenes of betrayal, flagellation, mocking, the bleeding crucifixion, and the entombment—all the events that were later commemorated in Jerusalem’s urban space by the Islamic rulers, what was termed as both forms are predicated on imagi-}

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immediacy.
Jerusalem Chapel was joined by those of Nazareth between the Jerusalem pilgrim and Christ. Caimi's designed as a vessel for physical imitation, thus as a replica of the church in Jerusalem, it was bending, and crawling in response to the shifting distance between them, and their relation to Bethlehem below “Mount Zion.” Caimi declared the terrain: the Holy Sepulchre on the hill of “Mount Zion” at Varallo—resembled that of Jerusalem—at least in his eyes. In an attempt to resolve this spatial complexity and perhaps to bring the site even closer to the Custodia Terr Sancte, 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, Geronamo Morone, visited the Sacro Monte at Varallo. He recorded his moving visit in an emotional letter to his friend, the poet Lancelino 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 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 in which the events are reproduced correspond exponentially, both in scale and detail, into what 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 much imaginative labour from the believer. Considering the site’s audience—the semi-literate lay people and the untutored 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, perspectival 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 toponymic 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 veils, wigs made from horsehair, and their eyes made of glass pebbles. Other artefacts 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 with the everyday, giving a realist form to the unseen, giving a realist form to the unseen, giving a realist form to the unseen, giving a realist form to the unseen, giving a realist form to the unseen, giving a realist form to the unseen, giving a realist form to the unseen. 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 few 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, classicist, and elitist trappings.

Ferrari’s unidealised art was not invented in Varallo; it encaptured a religious sentiment that stemmed from twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic spirituality, conceived in St Francis’s nativity in Greccio. In fact, affective life-size representations had been readily used in the cultural characters, and their accompanying crowd. These groups merged scriptural characters with empathetic participation. So, even touch the holy figures for additional indulgence promised by the guiding Franciscan. By floor-to-ceiling scenographic murals, 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.

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 terrace-cotta frame, framed by long horsehair, 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 towards the ‘sky’, where a carefully placed skylight 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 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 Cami. 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, devastation, 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, witnesses, two pairs of 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.

Despite the artistic similarities, the work of Mazzoni and dell’Arca differ from Ferrari’s in Varallo. First, their compositions did not include illusionist backdrops or elaborate spatial staging. Secondly, their scriptural scenes were not part of a narrative-cycle that dictated the progression of a ‘plot’. While these aspects were indeed theatrical, perhaps the most radical novelty in Varallo’s staging was something entirely new—the possibility of absolute participation in the sacred scenes. In Varallo, pilgrims were encouraged to enter the chapels, interact with the settings, and even touch the holy figures for additional indulgences promised by the guiding Franciscans.

In Varallo; it encapsulated a religious sentiment that stemmed from twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic spirituality, conceived in St Francis’s nativity in Greccio. In fact, affective life-size representations had been readily used in the cultural characters, and their accompanying crowd. These groups merged scriptural characters with empathetic participation. So, even touch the holy figures for additional indulgence promised by the guiding Franciscan’s.
As in the nativity chapel, pilgrims walked into the chapel of Calvary and partook in the scene. At one door at one end brought the visitor in front of and below Christ, who was completely surrounded by carved and painted actors. Upon entry, a visitor to the chapel would see a mass of pilgrims that arrived from Rome and Santiago (according to the badges on their clothing), who removed their hats in awe of the scene. Between fellow pilgrims and visitors, the chapel mediated between the contemporary visitor and the historical scene. This was made even more powerful at night, when the figures were lit by flickering candles and oil lamps. It is easy to imagine how night-time visitors to the chapel could believe the illusion of life-like movement. The pilgrim, already filled with a heightened sensory awareness, had little need for movement. The pilgrim could believe the illusion of life-like movement, whether as a member of the Magi procession or a witness in Christ’s crucifixion, each pilgrim playing an active role in a drama, acting out emotions of puzzlement, grief, and anger alongside members of Christ’s family and his followers, thus completing the theatrical function of the chapels. Hence, it was the bodies of spectators, the plastic arts, the natural landscape, and the site’s ephemeral conditions, such as weather and light, that created the possibility of complete immersion. Frye criticised exactly this co-dependency between the figures, words, objects, and spaces themselves at Varallo. Ferrai offered pilgrims complete engagement and uninterrupted meditation.

Varallo’s artistic versatility imitates a devotional literature conceived external to vision to be simply a key to internal vision; the Augustinian seeing in order to see the unseen. However, Ferrai’s creation was so intensively sensory that it threatened the pilgrim with an end in itself, a representation for its own performative sake. Aesthetic pleasure would divert the pilgrim from the representation’s function as a stepping stone to spiritual ascension. It would lead to the veneration of the representation rather than what it represented. By the middle of the sixteenth century, there was a clear appreciation of the risk in Varallo’s theatricality and the unquestioned Catholic obedience it would foster. As Ferrari was completing his masterpieces in Varallo—the chapels of Bethlehem and Calvary in 1521—the first waves of iconoclasm were arriving from the north in fear of superstitious, excessive, and emotional images. In 1528, Ferrari and his workshop were relocated from Varallo, which fell into temporary oblivion. It was only under the spirit of the Counter-Reformation that the images would be adapted into the theological needs of the Catholic church and be initiated again as a pilgrimage site.

Before exploring Varallo’s renovation, it might be beneficial to reiterate what the Counter-Reformation put at stake in the realm of visual representation and the use of images. Following Martin Luther’s attack on Catholicism in 1517 and the fear of superstitious, excessive, and emotionally compelling images, representation would have to be redacted and truncated. The Catholic church worked to reinvent itself by responding to Protestant accusations of its exploitation and abuse of religious power. Beyond the character of the church itself, the Reformers conformed its blasphemous practices, idolatrous rituals, and forms of affective piety, and attempted to redefine the agency of the church in mediating God and man by promoting rationality and clarity. In other words, the Reformers sought to eliminate and illuminate what they perceived as “dark”, superstitious, and ignorant: magic.

Magia, here, refers to the range of powers the church claimed to possess on the eye of the Reformation. These included performing miraculous solutions for earthly problems, such as curing the ill, increasing fertility (of land, livestock, or women), or healing sterility. Holy water, the recitation of prayers, the sign of the cross, or the worship of saints were all ways to conjure magic, implying that supernatural powers were not contingent on the devout’s moral state or belief, but on magical characteristics inherent to holy persons, words, objects, or places themselves. At Holy water, for example, would “automatically” drive away evil spirits, remedy illnesses, and bless people, houses and food. Prayer would work if recited through time, even if the reciting them did not understand the text itself, for there was virtue in mere repetition. This means that there was not much distinction between a spell or a prayer, or between magic and religion.

The Church’s claim to magical powers was one of the tropes of medieval theology that the Reformers sought to eradicate. They argued that the church could not assume divine powers: it must discard the fraudulent ideas of miracles and sacred objects (since the celestial cannot be accessed through the terrestrial world) and reframe its dramatic rituals as memorial acts.

In this religious climate, the use of images became a crucial issue. While the extreme Reformers hoped to suppress any kind of religious representation, the Counter-Reformation sought to reclaim the agency of visual art in light of the Protestant critique. Images were to be used only in a legitimate way that served a didactic religious purpose, rather than allowing superstitions to rise from the visible world. The rich variety of characters, plots, and narratives in late-medieval religious art would have to be redacted and replaced with a pius simplicity. Direct, austere, and emotionally compelling images, representing scenes from the Old and New Testaments (preferably those of a tragic character), would be explicitly portrayed with theological precision, leaving little room for spontaneous imagination. This restraint reflected both the church’s remorse over its recent misbehaviour, but also the Catholic appropriation (and internalisation) of the Protestant assertions that discipline should come from within oneself.

Since visual representations were to serve a didactic purpose (following St Gregoire’s claim to
disorderly behaviour; if used correctly, however, images could cause chaos and confusion and distraction. This set of guidelines was legislated in the Council of the Catholic Church in Trent between 1545 and 1563, held in response to the Protestant Reform. Alongside the clarification of the role of the church’s liturgy, the celebration of mass, and its attitudes towards sin, justification, and salvation, the Council also issued a decree about the use of images. Controlling the uncontrolled expansion of representational themes and subjects, the decree sought to discipline the multiplicity of meaning created by those images. In other words, the Council sought not only not to control what themes were to be represented, but also what could be to included in religious art. The decreed (a) forbade the making of images, and others who sustain the office and charge of teaching” to instruct on the use of images, now limited to the representation of Christian archetypes—Christ, the Virgin Mother, and saints—while anything else was considered “false doctrine” and banned as a “dangerous error to the uneducated.” This cautious attitude towards images—their careful placement, correct content, and spatial configuration—reflects the Catholic adaptation of the Protestant critique; if used improperly, images could cause chaos and disorderly behaviour; if used correctly, however, that Gospel illuminations are “the book of the unlearned”), a set of instructions had to be devised for both image-makers and the clergy. Indeed, artists were to illustrate the merits of Christian dogma in a manner that would prevent the possibility of confusion and distraction. This set of guidelines was legislated in the Council of the Catholic Church in Trent between 1545 and 1563, held in response to the Protestant Reform. Alongside the clarification of the role of the church’s liturgy, the celebration of mass, and its attitudes towards sin, justification, and salvation, the Council also issued a decree about the use of images. Controlling the uncontrolled expansion of representational themes and subjects, the decree sought to discipline the multiplicity of meaning created by those images. In other words, the Council sought not only not to control what themes were to be represented, but also what could be to included in religious art. The decreed (a) forbade the making of images, and others who sustain the office and charge of teaching” to instruct on the use of images, now limited to the representation of Christian archetypes—Christ, the Virgin Mother, and saints—while anything else was considered “false doctrine” and banned as a “dangerous error to the uneducated.” This cautious attitude towards images—their careful placement, correct content, and spatial configuration—reflects the Catholic adaptation of the Protestant critique; if used improperly, images could cause chaos and disorderly behaviour; if used correctly, however, images would instruct the laity to “order their own lives and manners in imitation of the saints.”57

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 faith.”58 In order to distance the faithful from the 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 and without sense” to the Devil. Therefore, since the images were meant to cause spiritual ascension, contemplation, and recollection. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, Varallo would retake the centre-stage with a project of reconstruction that led to the site’s revival, following an elaborately program to adjust, restrain, and discipline its theatricality by reinstating theological precision.

REFORMING VARALLO: SHIELDS AND FIXED ITINERARIES

Vulnerable to a Protestant invasion from the north and largely affiliated with Catholic Milan, Varallo stood at the forefront of the Counter-Reformation. A fervent support of the arts and culture, the patronage of Cardinal Bembo, Borromeo, and others added a degree of cultural capital. Images, now limited to the representation of Christian archetypes—Christ, the Virgin Mother, and saints—while anything else was considered “false doctrine” and banned as a “dangerous error to the uneducated.” This cautious attitude towards images—their careful placement, correct content, and spatial configuration—reflects the Catholic adaptation of the Protestant critique; if used improperly, images could cause chaos and disorderly behaviour; if used correctly, however, that Gospel illuminations are “the book of the unlearned”), a set of instructions had to be devised for both image-makers and the clergy. Indeed, artists were to illustrate the merits of Christian dogma in a manner that would prevent the possibility of confusion and distraction. This set of guidelines was legislated in the Council of the Catholic Church in Trent between 1545 and 1563, held in response to the Protestant Reform. Alongside the clarification of the role of the church’s liturgy, the celebration of mass, and its attitudes towards sin, justification, and salvation, the Council also issued a decree about the use of images. Controlling the uncontrolled expansion of representational themes and subjects, the decree sought to discipline the multiplicity of meaning created by those images. In other words, the Council sought not only not to control what themes were to be represented, but also what could be to included in religious art. The decreed (a) forbade the making of images, and others who sustain the office and charge of teaching” to instruct on the use of images, now limited to the representation of Christian archetypes—Christ, the Virgin Mother, and saints—while anything else was considered “false doctrine” and banned as a “dangerous error to the uneducated.” This cautious attitude towards images—their careful placement, correct content, and spatial configuration—reflects the Catholic adaptation of the Protestant critique; if used improperly, images could cause chaos and disorderly behaviour; if used correctly, however, scene, and felt it should be protected by a shield that would effectively separate the beholder from the representation. The chapels were no longer open to physical interaction but were redesigned for viewing only, composed more as flat paintings than three-dimensional works. In the Calvary, Alessi settled for glass, while in the other chapels—built of Franciscan marble and newly built—he proposed a sophisticated viewing device: the Vetriste. Installed from floor to ceiling and across the chapel’s width, the Vetriste separated the visitor from the sacred space, which meant that visitors could no longer engage physically with the figures but only view them through a screen. Within this partition, specific viewing holes were placed, designed to view towards particular occurrences in the scene, thus ensuring clarity. Whether the content was dozens of figures or an entire scene, it was designed to be legible from a single point of view. Due to the size of the openings and the conditions of natural light inside the chapel, the pilgrim needed to stand extremely close to the partition in order to see the mystery, placing him or herself at the optimum viewing location.
This ‘veiling’ of the tableaux could heighten the symbolic power of what was partially hidden, directing the pilgrim’s attention to the unseen and ungraspable. In the Chapel of the Transfiguration of Christ, for example, the climax of the mystery is deliberately shielded from view. Built on top of a natural hill in Varallo, this circular chapel replaced the Caimi-era Chapel of the Transfiguration. The clear separation between the space of the pilgrim and that of the figure and the ‘Vetriate’ through which viewing takes place.

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 older 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-travelers. Isolation, after Trent, was crucial; pilgrimage was to return to its eremitic origins, distanced from society in self-imposed exile, undertaking spiritual exercises in private through meditation and contemplation.

The pilgrimage would also be protected from what Trent referred to as confusing theological messages, preventing ‘dangerous errors to the uneducated’ by directing the gaze properly to particular elements of the elaborate scene. Through careful placement, the viewing holes literally framed hand gestures, extreme facial expressions, and personal encounters that were familiar to the viewer from sermons. This not only made the lesson entirely legible to the viewer, but it portrayed nothing more nor less than the ‘prototypes’ prescribed in Trent.

It is important to remember that while Varallo’s stational ritual was constructed as a sequence of lessons and Christian rites to be followed physically, the route to personal salvation was contingent on an interior journey. After Trent, remission of sins and justification through action was crucial, and Alessi’s Vetriate should be viewed in the context of this religious climate. Like prayer itself, the confession of sin was spatially ordered in Milan in the 1560s through the church confessional, a device with two separate compartments for the kneeling confessor and the seated Father. Between them, a small window was fitted with a perforated metal grille, enabling the exchange of words but not glances, preventing 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.

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, alluding to the curiosities posed by images. Thus, Alessi’s penitential viewing device not only tamed but also channelled the viewer’s devotion. By likening the still tableau to a flesh-and-blood bishop, Alessi bestowed the terra-cotta figures with the authority of remission. This was not far from the truth: in 1587, Pope Sixtus V declared the Sacro Monte of Varallo a ‘religious [monument] of extraordinary antiquity’ (religioso antiquissimus monumentum insignis), and promised that a visit to each chapel within this complex would award the pilgrim with an indulgence of 100 days, an amount matched only by Jerusalem itself.

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 geographic 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 fabbriceri rather than the Franciscan Order, could alter the site’s original layout in accordance with Tridentine concerns. Like the Vetriate, this new system had a twofold reasoning: to prescribe a fixed itinerary for the body (hence, of the mind), and to stage sufficient clarity to enable a solitary, unguided ritual.

As described earlier in this chapter, Caimi’s Varallo was constructed as a series of detached chapels, whose location supposedly corresponded to a hallowed site in the Holy Land. Visitors to Varallo who had never visited Jerusalem, and had...
only encountered such events in the scriptures, must have been confused, wrote Alessi. In the prologue of the Libro, he noted:

Because of such 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..

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). At first, the uneven terrain and dense green areas of Nazareth and Bethlehem, which constitute 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 the site’s conclusion in hell. To assure clarity and negate even further the pilgrim’s need for a local guide, Alessi numbered the chapels with a clear order, and used greenery, terraces, and paved paths to connect the entrance of each chapel both visually and physically to the next. Nearby chapels that were out of order were obstructed from view through the clever placement of hedges, stairs, terraces, arches, and walkways.

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 the site’s conclusion in hell. To assure clarity and negate even further the pilgrim’s need for a local guide, Alessi numbered the chapels with a clear order, and used greenery, terraces, and paved paths to connect the entrance of each chapel both visually and physically to the next. Nearby chapels that were out of order were obstructed from view through the clever placement of hedges, stairs, terraces, arches, and walkways.

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. 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 sinfull temptation. 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
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 Aleisi pointed to a shift, as described by Annabel Wharton, “from experiential to dogmatic space.” 114 In the process of systematisation, Varallo became a blueprint for stational devotion to Christ’s Passion—from an analogous Franciscan site, meant to emulate 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. 115

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 stational 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. 116 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 ascension further into three groups: joy, grief, and glory.
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 represented, as detached from the archetype as they were removed from the viewer. Any possibility of theological confusion or disordered memories was removed; urban complexity disappeared in favour of linearity and legibility—no more nor less than the canonical fourteen stations. Not long after the compilation 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 communities, a path was finally carved, numbered, and ritualised by the Franciscans, who continue to control the Via Dolorosa today. Unlike the Sacri Monti, these stations are bereft of any distinct representation, displaying only a Roman numeral on the wall for those confirming the stations (in different 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.

The canonisation of the stations at the dawn of modernity can be ascribed to the rise of a condition known as Technic. Technic is “the spirit of absolute 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 structure of Technic, which constitutes the anatomical 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, where “a thing […] is in a continuous process of actualisation of its original, overflowing potential. As the process of individuation unfolds, we witness the procession of a long series of ‘individuals’, each defined by the specific limits of its interaction with what constitutes 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 an algorithm of this plot is dictated by the Catholic templative introspection, replacing theatricality with control and discipline, heralding a new era of intellectual inquiry where Technic triumphs.
VALORISING MONUMENTS, COMMODIFYING PILGRIMAGE

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 of the city’s industries. Things began to change in 1831 when the Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali revolted against Constantinople and occupied the region of Syria, which included Palestine. This event began a process of loosening the region’s physical and intangible borders by showcasing religious tolerance towards non-Muslims and even non-Ottoman subjects: pilgrim tolls were abolished, shrines of all denominations could be erected, and a freedom of religious practice meant that Christians and Jews were now equal, if not privileged, citizens.

In an attempt to gain support from the West, Ali permitted diplomatic institutions to be founded in Jerusalem: the first was the British consulate in 1838, followed by the consulates of Prussia (1842), France (1843), Sardinia (1843), America (1844), and Austria-Hungary (1849). Religious organisations were likewise welcome: the Latin Patriarchate was revived in 1843 for the first time since the Crusades, the Anglo-Episcopal See was established in 1841, and the Protestant Church inaugurated its first ‘cathedral’ in 1849, thus Declaring itself an equal to the prominent Orthodox and Catholic communities in Jerusalem.

Despite his efforts to win the endorsement of the West, Ali was ultimately disarmed by the peasant revolts that erupted in Palestine, which resulted in raids, destruction, and famine. He retreated from the region in 1840, but his encouragement of ‘soft’ Western imperialism could not be reversed. European powers now had a territorial footprint in the Holy Land (a territory whose boundaries were much clearer to Westerners 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
powers to advance not only political agendas, but also economic aspirations.

In pre-reform Palestine, agriculture engaged both urban dwellers and village farmers in the production and exchange of grain, fruit, and oil. Land was divided into numerous categories whose intricacy is beyond the scope of this paper; however, it is crucial to understand that before the 1858 Land Code, the concept of private property was unknown in Palestine: the majority of the population (about 80%) inhabited and cultivated land that was owned by the Empire (Miri) to whom they would pay tax (in kind or cash) through intermediary collectors, often the local elites. Miri land accounted for about 90% of agricultural land in the Empire, giving cultivators a durable right of use yet no possession over the land itself. In other words, a tree planted was owned by the Empire, but the land itself belonged to the Sultan. Furthermore, the customary right to cultivate Miri land was contingent on continuous production: if left unattended for three years, the land would revert back to the state.

Other types of land that are relevant for this discussion include the freehold Ma‘at, which often consisted of urban plots for dwelling, and Waqf, or Islamic trust, which was untaxable land dedicated to services for the Muslim community (such as mosques, education, roads, and resting places for travellers). In many villages, the distribution of productive land was based on Musha tenure, where cultivators shared collective rights over land. In this self-governing model, parcels of land were redistributed amongst the village Hamulas (extended families) every five years. As all production was taxed by collectors (who were themselves pressured by the Empire), this system meant that the risks posed by the uncertainty of agricultural life would be pooled, thus preventing the impoverishment of individual farmers. However, in terms of surplus, it also meant that there was little incentive for individual farmers to improve the land by fertilising the soil or planting trees.

Since the Land Code sought to dramatically improve the Empire's revenue, the reform targeted two factors: the amount of land that was being cultivated and the incentive of each cultivator to increase production. The former was increased by awarding land-by-subscription to those cultivating 'dead' land; the latter was bolstered by allowing tenured farmers on Miri land to assume private ownership (giving the cultivator a full right of possession and heritable rights), in contrast to the collective Musha system. Peasant ownership of land through tithe deeds had two benefits for the empire: it forced cultivators to register their land and thus to subject it to regular taxation, and it allowed individual accumulation by encouraging improvement of a territory that was no longer shared. This shift from use-rights to private ownership re-ordered the land by employing the rhetoric of progress, improvement, and modernisation; in the process, it abolished existing notions of collectivity 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 ecclesiastical properties in Palestine since Byzantine times, only after the reform was it allowed to expand, develop, and enclose its own missionary institutions, educational facilities, hospices and hospitals. These included the German deaconess Hospital, the Anglican hospital, the Notre Dame Hospice and the Italian hospital, as well as St Joseph nursing school. On a larger scale, the monumental Russian compound was built on a hill across from the Old City under the name “Nova Yerusalima”, 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.28 Beyond 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 1838, a year after being appointed as the first professor of biblical literature in the Theological Seminary in New York, Robinson travelled to what was then Muhammad-ali-occupied Palestine.29 Thanks to the easing of travel restrictions, his profound knowledge of the Scriptures, and his interpreter Eli Smith, Robinson could see what he described as ‘the promised land’ unfiltered before his eyes.30 Similar to those before him, he saw the Scriptures as a guidebook of topographic details, names of towns and villages, and locations of natural elements, as well as an atlas of fauna, flora, and climate.31 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: a measuring tape, minute observations, and a detailed system of orthography.32

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.33 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 1842.34 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 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!35

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.36 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.37

While Robinson expanded the field of vision by questionning existing traditions, he was still confined to the idiom of land- and book research, where one was to be read in light of the other.38 That is to say, his mission was to identify and authenticate sites mentioned in the Scripture, not to conduct a general topographic or archaeologica 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.39 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.40 In 1864, she provided £1000 to the Royal Engineers to conduct an accurate study of the city. Led by Captain Charles William Wilson, this was the first Western mission to be sent by a government body rather than merely inspired by personal curiosity and interests.41 This time, skilled surveyors utilised 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.42 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.43

While the improvement plan for Jerusalem’s water supply was never realised, Wilson’s survey precipitated the foundation of the largest enterprising Western biblical inquiry, the Palestine Exploration Fund.44 The PEF was launched in 1865 before a group of clergymen, scientists and public officials.45 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 only 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.46

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”47 and...
Plan of the Temple Mount by Ermete Pierotti for the Palestine Exploration Fund, showing subterranean water channels and cisterns (1862)

TOWARDS JERUSALEM

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 thus includes biblical, historical and topographical studies and the PEF's maps were actively appropriated 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 PEF (1878) and the American School of Oriental Research (1900), although the PEF remained the wealthiest and most prolific of these institutions.

In 1865, the PEF produced 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 village, 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 new, which was not only shape consciousness about the land, but their “become models for and not maps of what they represent.” As an instrument of force, he argues that maps not only shape consciousness about the land, but that they become models for and not maps of what they represent. This rearrangement of geological strata landscape 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 recall memory.
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 saviour’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 consecration. These monuments, such as the Churches of the Holy Sepulchre or the Nativity that were discussed in chapter one, were erected with a priori commemorative purpose. They were conceived and erected as instruments of recollection, denoting sanctity, continuity, and power. In time, additional memories proliferated as localities in which the apostles lay buried or the Cross encountered Jesus. In the visible surface, and how the movement of pilgrims has fixed particular memories in space.

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 times.” In the case of Jerusalem, the sacred ground was seen as a speculative archive of biblical residues—referring to 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 ‘debris’ of other narratives was discarded, thus legitimising future actions of exclusion, 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 have fixed particular memories in space.

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 collective memories, one sentiment was shared by all: historic Jerusalem was hidden beneath 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-ground, beneath the tred of the busy multi-

tude 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 lost past as a “hidden present” where he could find “the soul of that land where so much that is strange is memorable.” These attitudes were common amongst explorers-archaeologists and clerogeo-pm-scientists who devalued the existing Jerusalem in favour of Christ’s city. In Buried Cities Recovered (1882), the American Consul in Jerusalem, Frank De Hass, 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 Hass 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 Jesus 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”2, showcasing 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-Alphonse 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 known as the Ecce Homo Arch, where Christ’s trial took place. Determined to find a biblical trace beneath the convent, the Sisters discovered the remains of a Roman room and pieces of an ancient pavement, twelve meters below.22 As they could only dig within the territory owned by the Convent, the Sisters could not explore where the path led; however, its orientation in the direction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (where Calvary was monumentalised) and proximity to the Ecce Homo Arch was sufficient to establish the site as a node in the route of the Stations of the Cross. Thus was born the new historic monument of Christ’s burial.23

Recollection thus occurs based on affectivity; this ancient room gained a mnemonic function thanks to a pseudo-scientific fragment, a local figure 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 Gabbatha were erected the Monastery of the Flagellation, where Christ was Rogued 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 inertia included not only religious bodies but also national institutions. As Hanna 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 serve to illustrate the Scripture incident most vividly.24

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 character.

This was the general sentiment for many holy sites, whose authenticity was questioned but nevertheless accepted. What initially emerged as Peter’s prison has remained as such, even though other researchers have discredited the initial findings. This tendency encapsulates what Vincent Lemaire calls a “historical inertia,” a condition in which a historic monument’s status, once designated, is rarely reversed.25

While the notion of a patrimonial inertia is true for most of Jerusalem’s sites, it was not the case with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, whose authenticity remained contested amongst explorers and archaeologists. While pre-modern pilgrims accepted the uncertainty of the site, in the nineteenth century this ambiguity was no longer tolerable.26 The first volume of the PEF’s Recovery of Jerusalem (1871) read: “There are differences of opinions […] whether the present church of the Holy Sepulchre does or does not cover the true Sepulchre of our Saviour; if not, whether the true site can yet be recovered.”27 Likewise, Lieutenant Claude Reignier Conder of the Royal Engineers writes in 1878 that “the study of the rock [the existing Calvary] drives us irresistibly to the conclusions given above, and thus forbids us to accept the traditional site of the Sepulchre as genuine.”28 The dispute surrounding the existing site, investigations that were far beyond historico-critical, and resulted in the invention of an alternative holy site: the Garden Tomb. The British Major-General Charles Gordon arrived in Palestine in 1881. Following a quest to find the exact location of the Garden of Eden in Shechem, the site on a map that had been speculatively identified as the Tomb of Christ due to a supposed connection between the name of the place and the skull-shaped rock above.29 One of the strongest advocates of this site was Claude Reignier Conder, who had written an account that discarded the existing Calvary and assumed this ancient rock tomb as the true site of Christ’s burial.30 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.31 Conder was convinced that the existing Calvary “lowers the Christian faith in the eyes of the Moslem” because of its desecrating falsehood.32 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.”33

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 subsequently collectively purchased by the Garden Tomb Association, a private organisation composed of noblemen and women who showed an “earnest

Gordon visited Jerusalem with the aim of locating another sign of the divinity in the natural world: Colgotha, the hill where Christ was Crucified, also known as the place of the skull, or Calvary.34 Gordon traced contour lines onto Jerusalem’s PEF Surveys in search of patterns that would suggest the position of Colgotha, only to finally confirm

**Fig 12:** Excavations on G holog, showing rock-beam slaps (left) and foundations of a tower in Hulun (right), ca. 1900

**Fig 13:** Map of the area around Skull Hill and the Garden Tomb property in the 1880s

**Fig 14:** Jerusalem’s Calvary (left enclosure) and Skull Hill (centre), with the Muslim Cemetery pushed above, with its location on a map that had been speculatively identified as the Tomb of Christ due to a supposed connection between the name of the place and the skull-shaped rock above. One of the strongest advocates of this site was Claude Reignier Conder, who had written an account that discarded 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. Conder was convinced that the existing Calvary “lowers the Christian faith in the eyes of the Moslem” because of its desecrating falsehood. 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.”

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 subsequently collectively purchased by the Garden Tomb Association, a private organisation composed of noblemen and women who showed an “earnest
desire […] that the garden and its tomb should be secured from desecration on the one hand or dilapidation on the other.” The Association purchased the land and adjoining plots (measuring 6,440 sqm) that bordered the property of Muslims and Greeks and was buried beneath a Muslim cemetery, perched on the so-called “Skull Hill” above. Though the land was initially considered as Mulk (freestone), in 1905 the association managed to change its designation to Wofl 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 gardens 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 Golgotha not only added an additional site to the pilgrim’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 religious community, and thus did not share a place in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre like other denominations. In fact, the Status Quo agreement from 1853 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 fragmentiated 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 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 counteracted the spiritual drainage embolic of industrial Europe, by providing a place of spiritual worship and affective recollection. Thanks to scientific practices, existing elements such as a rock cave 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 historic monuments, in which a commodity is only bought for resale 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 intermittent 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 Marxian terms means to increase the surplus-value extracted from a commodity, valorisation is what converts money into capital.

In that sense, both Chossay and Marx’s definition 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 problematizing religious authority (or as he termed in German, Verwertung) was maximised through the commodification of pilgrimage. With fixed itineraries, a chain of hotels, and well-trained tour guides, the tourist industry was able to capitalise on Jerusalem’s spiritual and material values by turning each of its sites as a producible asset. Practices of recovery, reconstruction, and restoration, as applied to the newly invented sites in the Holy Land, were established as fundamental mechanisms achieving both forms of valorisation. On one hand, they designate existing artefacts with a form of meaning that can be consumed by the religious industry; on the other hand, they embody the M-C-M model by investing in an archeological site to legitimise its inclusion in the patrimonial circuit as a historic monument, thereby generating surplus value by turning it into a marketable tourist attraction. Both forms of valorisation will be explored in further detail below.

The architect of Jerusalem’s tourism project was Thomas Cook. Born in England, Cook was a Baptist missionary who was both a faithful Christian and a business man. Starting from a small endeavour to...
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 1851, 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-leisure-making. The arrival of the steamship, improvement of railways, and the paving of roads encouraged his entrepreneurial spirit to expand his 'education' 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 of the Ottoman army. Cook offered something completely different: a packaged deal that would provide all of his client's needs on the ground. He visited Palestine twice to make connections and provide all of his client's needs on the ground. He

The best time of the year for being in Palestine—the best travelling facilities, the best hotel accommodation—the best guides that can be engaged—the best places of interest to be visited—the routes to and from England—and the cost of the whole tour for two months.

Indeed, Cook's religious zeal and entrepreneurial spirit were not separated from one another. Marketing and turning the Holy Land into nothing less than a resort: one London-based journalist wrote that Cook's travelers enjoyed a "healthful mode of travelling. The very excitement and pleasure of camp life, the deepest interest of its hallowed spots, the wide field it allows for exploration, and the wild beauty that lingers everywhere, combined to make Palestine a place of respite as soon as the modern facilities for travelling brought about an easy fortnight's distance from our own."

In the spring of 1869, Thomas Cook led thirty visitors on his first organised trip to Palestine. These pilgrim-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 travelers would return from their day's trip. Each group was escorted by chefs, porters, donkeys, and a dragon—a local guide, translator, and dispenser of baksheesh, or passage bribes on the open road. 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 Damascus and Jaffa Gates. By the 1870s, he 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, Algeria, Tunis, and Khartoum.

By 1882, less than fifteen years after he had set up, Cook was responsible for the escort of over two-thirds of all Holy Land travelers 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 were pre-purchased accommodation vouchers that eliminated the need for currency exchange and price haggling, and the latter were the fore-runners of traveler's cheques, replacing heavy gold coins with notes that could be exchanged in Cook's agencies. This vast economic network created a near-monopoly over the tourist industry in the Holy Land, positioning Cook and his clients as privileged amongst Jerusalem's visitors; in 1883, less than fifteen years after he had set up, Cook was responsible for the escort of over two-thirds of all Holy Land travelers arriving from the West.

This sense of paternalism is not surprising considering Cook's ties to local diplomatic powers: in 1869, when one of Cook's camps was robbed, the British consul in Beirut and the Turkish governor of Jerusalem conducted a month-long investigation to retrieve their belongings and bring them 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: without difficulty, either on horseback or in the dim light of the tent [... that in any moment any information may be ascertained.]

Addressing a group that was literate and well versed in Evangelical theology, Cook included not only practical information but also Scriptural references for all the sites on his itinerary. By combining the guidebook with the

Fig: Fig 19: The camp set up by Cook for the state of Wilhelm II of Germany in 1898. Soldiers; and in 1884, the British government employed Cook to transport supplies to their soldiers in Sudan. Cook was also in charge of the Royal Tours of the Prince of Wales (1862), Prince George (1882) and the renowned visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany in 1898. However, the social and political elites were not his target audience; these trips were merely tools to disseminate his message and advance his desire to democratise travel, as well as cater to the middle-class desire for self-improvement through leisure. He even encouraged women to travel, arguing that with ‘their energy, bravery, and endurance of toil [...] they are fully equal to those of the opposite sex [...] they push their way through all difficulties and acquire the perfection of tourist character.’ These lines were written in Cook’s newsletter, The Excursionist (1851–1902) (later the Traveller’s Gazette, 1902–1935), which promoted Cook’s Tours by showcasing its development and published articles on new destinations, transportation fares, and testimonials from returning travelers and Cook’s employees. In addition to the newsletter, Cook created another publication: Cook’s Handbook that published periodically and was to accompany Western tourists on their trip to Palestine.

Cook’s Handbook included practical information for travellers—preferred season, currency exchange rates, dress codes, diet, camp life, and so on—as well as detailed itineraries, maps in various scales, and descriptions of the land’s natural features, various religions and sects, and local history, as well as addresses of post office, physicians, foreign consulates, and bankers. The index (of the guidebook, Cook explains, is that it could be read ‘without difficulty, either on horseback or in the dim light of the tent [. . .] that in any moment any information may be ascertained.’

CHAPTER FOUR—

The Innocents abroad
Bible, Cook assumes authority over all the didactic content (both spiritual and practical) of the traveller’s visit—and removes everything else as excess. As Cook himself writes in the introduction, the volume is intended as a handbook for Tourists; it does not, therefore, attempt to give exhaustive information concerning the multitude of threads of controversy woven around nearly every sacred site. [. . .] It points out all that is to be seen, and endeavours to provide concise information upon all subjects in which the Tourist [sic] may find interest.

Cook openly admits to reducing the complexity of the land for the benefit of the tourist. Controlling both the geography 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 confer 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 Judæa” is described as such: “Jerusalem to Mar Saba, Riding to Rachel’s Tomb, Solomon’s Pools, over the hills of the Wilderness of Judea [. . .] to the Dead Sea, giving some idea of Judea before the inundation of Elisha at foot of the Mountain of Temptation.”

Rather than read from the written guide, the tourist could view the illustrations, giving them the opportunity to see for themselves what the guidebook describes. As Bernard writes in his introduction to the 1903 copies of Cook’s office near the Jaffa Gate, ca. 1903, “the guide tells of the places where they come to entertain the tourists: ‘The villagers of modern Jericho come up in a body for the purpose of performing dances accompanied by song; the steps of these dances are a taunt, and they sing of the so many spices such as it is, consists in the gradual wearing away of the body, the mimic to which the dance is performed consists in casting of hands.’”

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 famed Vale of Elah, where the Philistines, with Goliath, defined the armies of Israel, and where David gained his final victory over the giant. Process by Bethshean to Cath 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 recollection within a constellation of attractions.

The Valley of Elah is also mentioned in an unpublished travelogue written by mother and daughter Sophie and Emmaline 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:

The valley floor was a large square building which contains a rock on which it is said that Jesus and His disciples ate before and after the Resurrection. 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 for cooking and housekeeping. 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 “private” into the public sphere. We come to a large square building which contains a rock on which it is said that Jesus and His disciples ate before and after the Resurrection. 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 for cooking and housekeeping.

We halted for lunch at the brook from which David selected the water by which to kill the Philistines. 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 Judon and as we plod along the Bible seems no longer at all taut but a reality.”

Indeed, for Sophia and Emmeline, “Every bit of
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, where a plethora of hotels, restaurants, and tour agencies developed along the city’s only pedestrian sidewalk. In 1867, Jaffa Road was the first street to be paved in the city, leading to improved transportation and to the port of Jaffa, causing a rise in habitation and property speculation outside the walls. In 1870, the official boundaries of the city extended beyond the Old City to include European compounds and independent Jewish neighbourhoods that had been sprawling since the 1858 Land Code. In 1896, municipal, judiciary, and military offices followed

suit, relocating from within the Old City to Jaffa Street. 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 instauration 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 sobriety 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 travelers 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 gazer 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 touristic 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 intercepts 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 have viewed the country through a highly coloured medium.\textsuperscript{157} Indeed, the gaze of these travelers over Palestine was framed by their own cultural and aesthetic expectations—heavily influenced by the grand narratives of Renaissance to Romanticism—which could not find satisfaction in mid-nineteenth-century Jerusalem, where sanctity was not coupled with profit and an abundance of monuments. Perhaps the most prolific critic of the Holy Land during those decades was Mark Twain. Traveling in Palestine in 1867 with a group of one hundred fifty fellow Americans, Twain was so disappointed by the “hopeless, dreary, heart-breaking, and picturesque” landscape that he decided to warn future travelers about the reality of Palestine by writing an entire book about his experience: 

\begin{center}
\textit{Palestine is desolate and lovely. And why should it be otherwise? Can the curse of the Despot beautify a land? Palestine is no more of this work-day world. It is sacred to poetry and tradition—it is dream-land.}
\end{center}

In his preface, he suggests that it is with innocent eyes that travelers must view the land, “instead of the eyes of those who traveled [sic] in those countries before him.”\textsuperscript{158} Surely, Twain’s Inunctions of Palestine 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 landscape “dreaming in a purple cloud, or inserted in the upper vault of a church. A horse’s neck, and with my dim eyes sought to trace the outlines of the holy place I had long before fixed in my mind, but the fast-flowing tears forbade my succeeding.”\textsuperscript{159} The more I gazed, the more I could not see.\textsuperscript{160}

The gaze of Warburton, Schaff and Prime was conﬁcted between constructed memories and physical reality. Their vision was divided between the array of signs so that, to them, Jerusalem was illegible: While they rectified their journeys, like Twain, by “we[eling] their experience, fellow Westerns opted for another solution. “The curse that hangs over Palestine is the curse of unjust and unwise government” wrote Conder in 1891, before the British Mandate, “and the sires of the future will be pained and shocked by the bare superstition and pompous events which here took place; but we are all Israelites together, and those who are pained and shocked by the curse which is the Holy Land.”\textsuperscript{161} As such, the touristic gaze was both passive and active, ready to showcase control, ownership, and agency in order to reinject Palestine into a legible city for those arriving at its gates.

\textbf{ACT IV: THE COLONISER}

Anesthetic, religious, and imperialist claims merged over Jerusalem in the twentieth century. Leaning on the symbolic and historical value, it was widely expected that whoever inherited Jerusalem from the Ottomans “would finally put Jerusalem right [and] cleanse the city of the cultural pollution that has dimmed its spiritual brilliance.”\textsuperscript{162} These aspirations became possible when the British Mandate began its occupation of Palestine in 1917. Following the inversion of Jerusalem by the British Colonial Edmund Allenby and the subsequent withdrawal of the Ottoman forces.\textsuperscript{163} This was the first time, since the Crusade’s loss of Jerusalem in 1187 AD, that the city was ruled by a non-Islamic power. The British saw it as their duty to “restore Jerusalem and Palestine to their place among the nations.”\textsuperscript{164} The privilege of ‘cleaning’ Jerusalem of its accumulated filth was awarded to Sir Ronald Storrs, the first British governor of Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{165} 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 not Athens, could rival. His sentiments for the city were not dissimilar to those of Palestine’s late-nineteenth-century tourists, and he admittedly had little experience 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 Judea, and when asked about the possibility of a train to run between Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives, he wrote that “the first rail section would be laid over the dead body of the military governor.”

As much as Storrs wanted to restore Jerusalem to its biblical past, he was advised that “there are many problems in economics, hygiene, town planning, social reconstruction, to which ‘there are many problems in economics, hygiene, town planning, social reconstruction, to which’ no solution in the Judean Hills prevented by extensive afforestation, and terracing encouraged in order to improve the land’s fertility, making sure ‘the land can be made really productive.’” The second part of his plan—the project of legibility—was more complicated: it did not have a blueprint, but part of his plan—the project of legibility—was already underway. He lamented his responsibility for the “reconstruction of Jerusalem into a familiar image by removing the great whole together [...].”

When Ashbee arrived in Jerusalem, it was in a desperate state: “it is difficult to imagine a sharper contrast than between the Jerusalem of man’s imagination [...], and the actual Jerusalem left us by the Turks.” He lamented his responsibility for the “reconstruction of Jerusalem into a familiar image by removing the great whole together [...].”

Storrs appointed the Arts and Crafts advocate and William Morris follower C. R. Ashbee as director. As Storrs, Ashbee believed that the urgency of their mission was a matter of not only archaeology or preservation but of beauty: “Everything that we associate with our sense of beauty is alive in danger: Landscape, the units of streets and sites, the embodied vision of the men that set the great whole together [...].”

As an expert in town planning, Ashbee intended to do well with the city—and prevent others from doing ill within. Within this framework, Jerusalem would become a project of two cities: a new metropolis to be build structures in the garden. He believed, like many other Protestants who preferred the open parks, thus recognising the appeal it makes to the outdoors, rather, that was perceived as more holy, and that open spaces are much more holy, and that sustain the tourist gaze.

The first element of landscape design was 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 elements that Jerusalem was irreversibly made into a place designed and sustained for the touristic gaze.

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 elements that Jerusalem was irreversibly made into a place designed and sustained for the touristic gaze.

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Storrs 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 Protestants who preferred the open parks, thus recognising the appeal it makes to the outdoors, rather, that was perceived as more holy, and that open spaces are much more holy, and that sustain the tourist gaze.

It is within this spirit that Storrs asked Patrick Geddes to turn Jerusalem into “the most extensive Sacred Park in the world.” As a Scottish 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, “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 such to be protected.” The protective layer of the park would not be designed with a special layout of the outdoors, rather, that was perceived as more authentic, holy, and true to Jerusalem’s past. He lamented his responsibility for the “reconstruction of Jerusalem into a familiar image by removing the great whole together [...].”

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“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:

It would be an easy matter to remove this earth and rubbish further downhill [...] in this way may be laid out rubbish further downhill [...] in this way may be laid out the features of the park, while the rest would be discarded in order to return Jerusalem into its holy landscape, its ancient walls, originally used for security. Under the British Mandate, the city was, there were still major revisions to the park plan. As Eyal Weizman argues, this ‘petrification’ of Jerusalem is literal— a City built upon a rock. From that point on, it was to become a promenade: “the ancient walls, which the present old city is but a later development.

The park plan was an elaboration of the 1918 Zoning Scheme by William McLean, which established four zones: the Old City, which should preserve its “Medieval aspect”; the park, which should remain unbuilt; and two additional zones designated with a specific character and height limit, “rendering them in harmony and in scale with the Old City.” Both the zoning and park plans were intended to appeal not to the city’s residents, those who live and work within the city, carrying a symbolic value for not only British colonists but also Israel’s master planners in 1967, who likewise claimed the stone to “stimulate other sensations embedded in our collective memory, producing strong associations to the ancient holy city of Jerusalem.”

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 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 1921 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 buildings.

In their camps, “there was much sickness, the misery and squalor 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, so 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
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.206

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.207 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.208 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.209

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.210 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.211 At the same time, the outsider is at liberty to enjoy the affectivity of the scene—and then turn their back on it.212

Ashbee's designs for Jerusalem elevates the sub-
pectivity of its visitor-spectators while ignoring the lives of its permanent inhabitants, who do not have the privilege to walk away. He constructed a reassuring and familiar ancient city, known not only from religious collective memory but also from landscape paintings. Relocated from the walls of a European villa to the drafting tables in British-Mandate Jerusalem, the constructed view reflects back to the viewer—as-creator an image of his static patrimonial possession. 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 valorised 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 viability 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 analogical power through textual and visual interpretation, 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 proposes 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 narrativity, but sequenced according to association and analogy. Its stations have not been scrutinised 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 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”
names for Islamic monuments and wrote about going to the House of Veronica and Pilate's Palace, despite the entry restrictions on Christian visitors enforced at the time of his visit.

An additional manipulation by Fabri was the rearrangement of his itinerary into a more legible one for a distant reader. Instead of recording places in the geographical order he had seen in Palestine, Fabri chronicles his visits according to their Scriptural position. In other words, the sites appeared in his pilgrim guide as they would be read and prayed, not as one would see them in reality. While a physical pilgrim could first see Nazareth, then Jerusalem, and finally Bethlehem, his account reordered these sites to follow the narrative of Christ's Nativity, miracle-working in the north, and finally the Passion in Jerusalem. This altered itinerary removed the confusing toponymical conditions and thus made the narrative coherent for a virtual traveler.

Part-biblical, part-Crusader, and part-scriptural, Fabri's Jerusalem could never exist on earth, but could be readily imagined in the minds of his readers. This appropriation and authorial agency could be completed with the nails of the Cross could be recalled (to refer back to Halbwachs' 'landmarks'), they could be recalled within a flexible toponography through mnemonic association, sensorial interaction, and imaginative labour.

JOURNEY ROUND MY ROOM

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 400 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 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 nondescript 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 twentieth centuries, the photographic project presented below is conceptualised as a travelogue for virtual pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This (re)production, however, is not only the physical place in...
Palestine, but the one enacted and adapted across the West as an idea and an orientation, using analogical 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 illustrations 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 photographs 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 interpretations of the journey and its topography, the photographs of Jerusalem’s alternatives, one can consider the tension between the real and imagined Jerusalem, the sign, signified, and dislocation of collective memory.

THE IMAGE AND THE CAPTION

The choice of format for this project is lead not only with the historic research on virtual pilgrimage guides, but is set within the theoretical framework proposed by theorist and photographer Allan Sekula. In his polemic response to the New Topographics exhibition (in particular the depictions of industrial warehouses by Lewis Baltz), Sekula argued that photography cannot remain as sparsely-captions 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 Folklore’ (1975), 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 Folklore’ poses signs of everyday domesticity with behind-the-scenes details of his photographic process and anecdotes from the mechanism of family life. 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 surefire shift from observational to autobiographical, we discover that the unemployed engineer is in fact Sekula’s father.2 Sekula thus presents a practice-based resistance to the modernist autonomy of the image, which viewed documentation photography not as a utilitarian carrier of information, but as a commodity that enters 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 invokes issues of representation, visual semiotics, 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 entitiled the Fountain Monument, and a floating pumping derrick is simply Monument with Pontoons. 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 to the annotations of the medieval pilgrimage 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 Jersey 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 suburbia visualised by Graham echoes that of an artist whose influence on this thesis cannot be overstated: Ed Ruscha. In 1961, Ruscha perfected his approach in ‘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
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, singularity, 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) visualised his-collected, and no concessions to political or economic times in a manner that he called documentary style. In 1938, Evans published American Photograph, 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 Allan Sekula’s 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 laterality, 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 photographic 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. He will misersly 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 traveller, 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 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  

Text: Chesterton, G.K., *The New Jerusalem*  
(London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1920)

**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  

Text: Chesterton, G.K., *The New Jerusalem*  
(London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1920)

**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  

Text: Chesterton, G.K., *The New Jerusalem*  
(London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1920)
CHAPTER FOUR

1. Folio in the Villers Miscellany, ca. 1320, showing the measured wound of Christ (incorporated in a world image design), with a textual description of the associated indigenous right. Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 9967, fols. 189v-190r.


5. "Albino's Jerusalem at noon, looking toward the city," in "The same, as suggested when the sunshiny observations that hide the walls are cleared away" in Askins, Charles Robert, ed., Jerusalem, 1918-1920, being the record of the pre-Jerusalem council during the period of the British military administration (London: Murray, 1921), figures 44, 45.

6. "The camp set up by Thomas Cook for the state pilgrimage, Jerusalem, 1918-1920, being the record of the pre-Jerusalem council during the period of the British military administration (London: Murray, 1921), figures 44, 45.

7. "Joab's Well" (1898-1914). Source: American Colony, Jerusalem. View from the rampart walk in 1920s; right photo by the author.

8. "Albino's Jerusalem at noon, looking toward the city," in "The same, as suggested when the sunshiny observations that hide the walls are cleared away" in Askins, Charles Robert, ed., Jerusalem, 1918-1920, being the record of the pre-Jerusalem council during the period of the British military administration (London: Murray, 1921), figures 44, 45.

9. "Joab's Well" (1898-1914). Source: American Colony, Jerusalem. View from the rampart walk in 1920s; right photo by the author.

10. "Albino's Jerusalem at noon, looking toward the city," in "The same, as suggested when the sunshiny observations that hide the walls are cleared away" in Askins, Charles Robert, ed., Jerusalem, 1918-1920, being the record of the pre-Jerusalem council during the period of the British military administration (London: Murray, 1921), figures 44, 45.

11. "Albino's Jerusalem at noon, looking toward the city," in "The same, as suggested when the sunshiny observations that hide the walls are cleared away" in Askins, Charles Robert, ed., Jerusalem, 1918-1920, being the record of the pre-Jerusalem council during the period of the British military administration (London: Murray, 1921), figures 44, 45.