
Volume 2 | Issue 2

2007

Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture (Volume 2, Issue 2)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal>

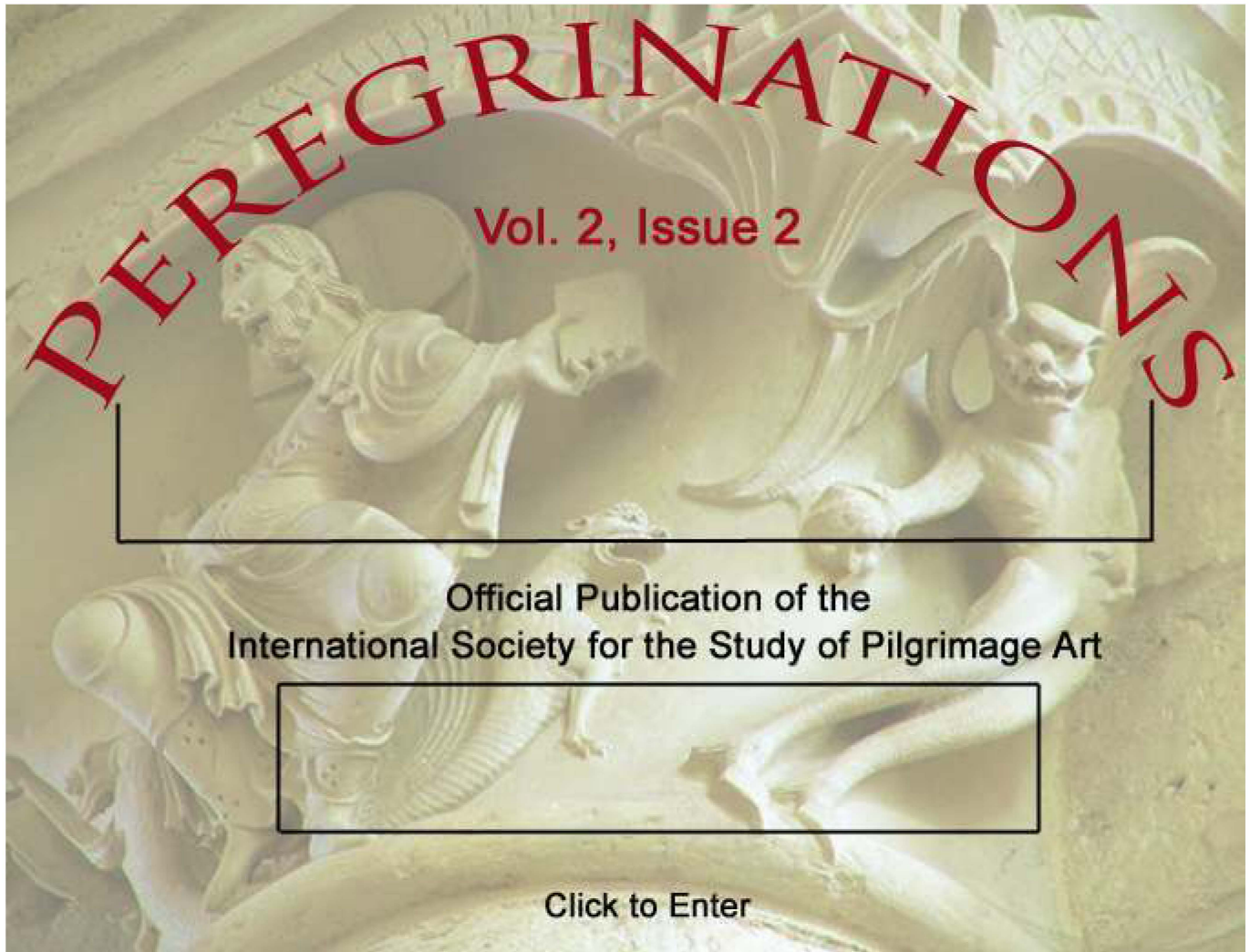


Part of the Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art and Architecture Commons

Recommended Citation

. "Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture (Volume 2, Issue 2)." *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 2, 2 (2007). <https://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol2/iss2/22>

This Full Issue is brought to you for free and open access by the Art History at Digital Kenyon: Research, Scholarship, and Creative Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* by an authorized editor of Digital Kenyon: Research, Scholarship, and Creative Exchange. For more information, please contact noltj@kenyon.edu.





PEREGRINATIONS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



Editor in Chief

Sarah Blick

Executive Editor

Rita Tekippe

Welcome

Welcome

Current Issue

Photo-bank

Photo-essays

**Photo-share and
Comments**

**About the
Society**

**Submission
Guidelines**

Call for Papers

**Publishing
Opportunities**

Conferences

Organizations

Exhibitions

**Research
Announcements**

Notices

Related Links

**Publications of
Interest**

Welcome to the sixth issue of *Peregrinations*. In this issue we feature a number of articles exploring a wide range of topics, expanding the purview of the journal further into and beyond pilgrimage art and architecture. Mary F. Casey, in a wholly-new approach, examines the origin and the Hebraic aspects of the child Jesus' actions in the Tring Tiles, while Mickey Abel examines the underlying strategies of building placement of small churches from the 8th-12th centuries that dot the landscape of Soria, Spain situating the buildings within current theory of spatial analysis and an understanding of medieval geographical approaches and beliefs. Pilgrimage and its art and culture is explored in Vicky Foskolou essay which examines the function and meaning of Byzantine pilgrim souvenirs, cutting through a thicket of misunderstandings and assumptions. Gary Waller reflect on how medieval misunderstandings gave rise to one of its most popular and enduring pilgrimage sites at Walsingham.

With this issue, we are inaugurating our new photobank database. With this program, one can search by keyword, list and save favorites, crop and focus on particular details of images, and more. It is with gratitude that we thank Asa Mittman and William J. Smither for their generous contribution of hundreds of copyright-free images of exceptional quality. The older images will soon be transferred to the new database.



We would also like to thank Rachel Danford for her beautiful and informative Photo Essay on Iglesia de San Juan in Portomarín.

In the Discoveries/Short Essays section, which features short essays on preliminary findings or hypotheses and various scholarly thoughts and topics, explores the unusual find of a pilgrims' footbath at Iona by Mark A. Hall, the fun and thought-provoking Google Earth website that enables you to look down on our planet's sites from above, a list of charitable places for those interested in supporting medieval art and architecture, and an editorial regarding changes in copyright fees charged by museums. The Short Notices and Announcements section has a special musical turn this issue with short articles and links to the works of Dick Le Mair and One Left. On the archaeological front, Richard Hedrich-Winter reports on intriguing papers presented at a recent archaeological conference. Joining his account is a hodge-podge of fascinating archaeological discoveries from Rome to Ireland. More links have been added to the Links page, and this issue features the sites of <http://romanes.com/> and a site that explores the extensive Pilgrimage Roads to Nidaros and the St. Olav Pilgrimage.

New Journals (under Publishing Opportunities) welcomes three new members of the scholarly community, including the beautiful *ShelfLife* devoted to manuscript research, *Different Visions*, a new web journal focused on new perspectives and theoretical approaches to medieval art, and the on-line *Journal of Cultural Patrimony* that seeks to refine our understanding of this complex topic. We also, as usual, list calls for papers, conferences, research announcements and more. Our photobank continues to grow, with copyright-free images all downloadable for use in research and teaching. In hopes of making the task of obtaining that perfect photo easier, we invite you to check out Photoshare, a community bulletin board where scholars can request specific images from fellow art historians and lovers of medieval art.

For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions as well as calls for papers and conference listings. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing process, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We are also looking for images to add to our photobank, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To round out the scholarly portion of the journal, we are also seeking short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Again, welcome to Peregrinations. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us at: blicks@kenyon.edu or rtekippe@westga.edu.

Our grateful appreciation and thanks for partial funding provided by **Kenyon College**.

Designer and Coordinator: **Scott E. Pringle**

Webmaster\ Database Engineer: **Nirajan Mandal**

Current Issue: Vol. 2, Issue 2

Vol. 2, Issue 1

Vol. 1, Issue 4

Vol. 1, Issue 3

Vol. 1, Issue 2

Vol. 1, Issue 1

FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

-- The motto of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch (Terry Pratchett, *Guards! Guards!*)

Publication Information

Peregrinations, ISSN 1554-8678 (online), is published 3-4 times annually by the International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Art. Topics of research include: art and architectural history, medieval history and religion. Currently indexed in Directory of Open Access Journals, Project Muse, etc. There are no subscription costs and no postage involved. For editorial and advertiser information, see <http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/about.html>.



PEREGRINATIONS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



Vol. 2, Issue 2



IN THIS ISSUE

FEATURES

The Fourteenth-Century Tring Tiles: A Fresh Look at Their Origin and the Hebraic Aspects of the Child Jesus' Actions, By Mary F. Casey, Independent Scholar

Strategic Domain: Reconquest Romanesque Along the Duero in Soria, Spain, By Mickey Abel, University of North Texas

Eine Reise zu den Wallfahrtsstätten des östlichen Mittelmeerraums: 'Souvenirs', Bräuche und Mentalität des Wallfahrtswesens, By Vicky Foskolou, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Crete
→ **English Translation** (Machine Translation by Google)

An Erasmian Pilgrimage to Walsingham, By Gary Waller, State University of New York at Purchase



DISCOVERIES

→ **Research Query: Pilgrims' Footbaths?**, By Mark Hall, Perth Museum, Scotland
→ **Google Earth**
→ **Charity for Medieval Art and Architecture**
→ **Editorial: A New Movement to Scrap Copyright Fees for Scholarly Reproduction of Images? Hooray for the V & A!**, By Sarah Blick, Kenyon College

SHORT NOTICES & ANNOUNCEMENTS

Music and Pilgrimage:

→ **The Official Music of the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela**, by Dick Le Mair
→ **"Wayfaring": Music Inspired by the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela**, By One Left
→ **Abstracts of Two Presentations at Archaeological**



Conferences, Reported By Richard Hedrich-Winter

- **Medieval Walkway Found at Bury St. Edmunds Abbey**
- **Book of Psalms Discovered in Ireland Bog**
- **Restoration Unveils Roman 'Sistine Chapel of the Middle Ages'**
- **Vatican Confirms St. Paul's Coffin Has Been Found**
- **New E-Mail Discussion List For Scholars of Early Medieval England**



FEATURED WEBSITES

The Pilgrim Ways to Nidaros

By Eiler Prytz, Oslo, Norway

Romanes

One of the most beautiful sites on the internet.

RESEARCH ANNOUNCEMENTS

Archives, apartments, research portals, and new image databases



EXHIBITIONS

Medieval beasts, Byzantine Travel, Armenian Sacred Art, and Early Bibles



FEATURED JOURNALS

ShelfLife

Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art

Journal of Cultural Patrimony

PHOTO-ESSAYS

- **Province of Palencia, Fromista, Carrion de los Condes, Baños de Cerrato** by William J. Smither
- **Province of Palencia, Moarves de Ojeda**, by William J. Smither
- **Iglesia de San Juan in Portomarín**, by Rachel Danford



PHOTO-BANK

Our on-going and ever-growing collection of copyright-free images. Your contributions and download use are both welcomed and encouraged.

- **New Image Database**

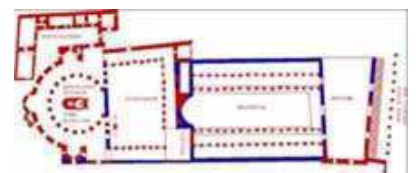


PHOTO-SHARE / COMMENTS

An image-request source for art historians.

Cover/Splash Page: *The Temptation of Christ*, Choir Capital
from Church of St. Martin, Plampied, France, 12th century. Photo:
Pierre Emmanuel, http://art-roman.net/plaimpie_d/plaimpie_d2.htm





The Fourteenth-Century *Tring Tiles*: A Fresh Look at Their Origin and the Hebraic Aspects of the Child Jesus' Actions

By Mary F. Casey

Images of the Christ Child rarely puzzle or astonish their viewers, as they routinely follow a canonically scripted format. As such, these traditional images of the Child Jesus stand in sharp contrast to the provocative images taken from the early apocrypha and laid down, sometime in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, on an over-sized set of ten rectangular, red clay tiles, known as the *Tring Tiles*.¹ **(fig. 1)** These extraordinary images yield a most unusual perspective on the childhood of Jesus as they portray stories derived from the second-century Apocryphal Infancy of Christ Gospels which purport to tell events from Jesus' life, from ages 5 – 12.² In these stories Jesus kills other boys and a Jewish teacher who offend him, and then returns them to life. Even though Jesus also performs traditional Christian miracles, such as planting a single grain of wheat to immediately produce an entire crop for the poor to harvest, and healing the lame and the injured, the Infancy stories were so startling that Church Fathers condemned them as unsuitable for inclusion in the canon.³

¹ This article is an expanded version of the presentation I made in 2005 at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

² J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993): ix-xv; 46-107; Ronald F. Hock, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*. (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1995); Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953):38-84; Oscar Cullman, "Infancy Gospels: in *New Testament Apocrypha*, (ed.) Wilhelm Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963) 363-417. For a collation and discussion of the Infancy Gospels see Mary Christine Dzon, *The Image of the Wanton Christ-Child in the Apocryphal Infancy Legends of Late Medieval England*, (U. of Toronto, Ph.D diss., 2004) 288-298.

³ Cullman: 368, 405; Jerome condemned the Infancy material under three popes. The Infancy Gospels are also believed to have been included in the fifth century decree, incorrectly attributed to Gelasius I, which contained a list of stories to be avoided by Christians. Ayers Bagley, "Jesus at School" in *The Journal of Psychohistory*, Vol. 13 – 1:



Tring Tile: Fig. 1A, Jesus building pools; dead boy. Fig. 1B, Mary, Jesus reviving dead boy. First quarter, 14th century, England. Courtesy of the British Museum.

While the sweet face of the Child Jesus as drawn on the *Tring Tiles* may belie the strangeness of his actions, it clearly reflects the resurgence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of Christianity's focus on the humanity of Christ and the desire on the part of the Christian faithful to know more about his childhood years. In addition, the stories, sometimes not so subtly, reflect the conflicts that existed between Jews and Christians in the early years of the

1985: Irenaeus, in "*Against Heresies*" condemned as "false and wicked" the school episode in which Jesus refused to say Beta until the teacher explained Alpha to his satisfaction, discussed below.

new faith when both groups proclaimed the predominance and superiority of their beliefs, while competing over converts. The stereotypical depiction of the Jewish figures in the stories on the Tring Tiles reminds us that these conflicts still existed in the minds of the fourteenth century English, even though King Edward I had expelled all Jews from England in 1290.

Written by an anonymous Christian author, the Infancy Gospels are generally presumed to contain more fiction than fact. Therefore, the framing of these presumably fictional stories within the Christian question: “Is this what (the child) Jesus would have done?” has provided centuries of readers and viewers a plethora of indignant curiosity and pronouncements. If the author’s intent was to humanize the Christ Child, he went to such an extreme that centuries of Popes, Church Fathers, theologians and scholars have dismissed the stories as incorrect and exaggerated, declaring the child Jesus to be rude, vindictive, unruly, and “non-Christian.”⁴ In spite of its official rejection of the Infancy gospels, the Church maintained a lenient policy towards their existence, while among the lay Christian populace the stories grew in scope and popularity throughout the centuries.

It is important to remember when experiencing the Infancy Gospels that they were written by early Christians who, while attempting to relate their version of what Jesus’ childhood might have been like, constructed the stories around their own experiences in the formation of Christianity. Scholars have attempted to associate these unlikely stories with the marginalized, heretical variants of early Christianity such as the Gnostics who believed that Jesus was

⁴ Elliott, 69; Hock, 86. See James, 39 and Elliott, 85, for discussion of Jerome and the Church’s rejection of the Infancy stories because of reference in Pseudo-Matthew to Joseph’s other sons, indicating his previous marriage.

omnipotent and omniscient from birth.⁵ Conversely, certain aspects of the stories appear to have been drawn from the canonical portrayal of Jesus' life.

The events in the Infancy Gospels exist as self-contained stories that have been combined in constantly-mutating forms since their creation. This structural style suggests that from their beginning the Infancy Gospels existed in oral culture and were passed through the centuries in this form.⁶ The composition of the *Tring Tiles*, when seen as individual entities, reflects this oral form. However, when the stories are experienced as a series in the written compilations of the Infancy stories, several cohesive narrative themes emerge. Primary to the genre is the Gospel of Thomas, believed to have been written as early as the second century.⁷ In the eighth or ninth centuries, the Gospel of Thomas was combined with the Proto-evangelium of James, which contains the Apocrypha of the Virgin Mary, to form the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. Beginning in the late twelfth century, intensified interest in the humanity of the Christ Child sparked the production of a large number of manuscripts based mainly on Pseudo-Matthew, many of which were composed in vernacular languages. It was from this extensive compilation of the Infancy

⁵ Elliott, 74, stories have 'Gnostic character'; see also Cullmann, 367-8. The Gnostics were especially interested in, and collected, Infancy stories in order to find details of Jesus' life which supported their speculations about Christ, Cullman, 401-2: cites the Docetics, however their belief in the totally spiritual aspect of the Child Jesus' being conflicts with the needs of late medieval Christians to know more about Jesus' human qualities. Also, James, 15: Irenaeus (i.13.1); the Marcosian sect knew of the Infancy stories, including Jesus' lecture to the teachers over Alpha and Beta.

⁶ Evelyn Birge Vitz, "The Apocryphal & the Biblical, The Oral & the Written, in Medieval Legends of Christ's Childhood: The Old French *Evangile de l'Enfance*" in *Satura. Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Robert R. Rymo* (eds.) Nancy M. Reales & Ruth C. Sternglantz. (Shaun Tyas Donington, 2001): 124-149. Vitz suggests that beyond the oral, storytelling tradition, the stories belong in a narrative performance tradition, which helps to explain Jesus' seemingly-outrageous actions.

⁷ Cullmann, 391; Hock, 3;

stories that the now-lost model for the *Tring Tiles* was drawn, as well as the rescensionally-related Anglo-Norman manuscript, *Les Enfaunces de Jesu Crist* which was combined with an Apocalypse manuscript to comprise the Bodleian MS. *Selden Supra 38*.⁸ Written in octosyllabic quatrains and dated to *c.* 1325, this manuscript is the earliest, most complete illuminated gathering of the Infancy Gospel stories extant. In spite of this recessional relationship, the style of the animated, caricatured images on the *Tring Tiles* varies markedly from the small, simple figures in *Selden Supra 38*.

The themes that emerge when the stories are seen or read in a sequence center around the child Jesus' miracles that result from his omniscience and omnipotence, as he attempts to play with other children. These episodes usually end in disaster and lead to confrontational episodes with the parents, children and teachers. A major thread that runs through the ancient stories, the anti-Judaic aspect of Christianity, is one that had expanded enormously by the thirteenth century. In this article I will discuss specific features in the stories that reflect medieval Christian antisemitism as seen on the *Tring Tiles*, and that are copiously detailed in the text of *Selden Supra 38*. At the same time, these stories serve to associate Jesus and his earthly family with the Judaic culture and the community of their ancestors. These narrative episodes that reflect the intermeshing of Jewish and Christian cultures in the early centuries of Christianity also function as the source for Christian image construction in the later Middle Ages.

⁸ Maureen Boulton (ed.), *Les Enfaunces de Jesu Crist* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1985): 28, dates the Infancy Gospel contained in Bodleian Ms. *Selden Supra 38* to *c.* 1325. I will use the manuscript's Bodleian shelf name, *Selden Supra 38*, in this discussion. See also the closely related old French manuscript by Maureen Boulton (ed.), *Evangile de L'Enfance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984).

Needless to say, the oversized *Tring Tiles* (13" x 6½") offer a format distinctly different from the manuscripts for the telling of the apocryphal stories. As opposed to the manuscripts, these large tiles with their actively gesturing, cartoon-like figures are the only extant major version of the Infancy Gospels that may have been intended for public viewing, possibly for a lay popular-culture audience, including children.⁹ The *Tring Tiles* contain no text, but their format suggests a didactic intent. Since the Infancy stories circulated in oral culture from the time of their inception, the details of the tile images may have been known to their viewers. They could also have been interpreted by persons familiar with the stories, such as literate medieval clergy, using the text of one of the numerous copies of the Infancy of Christ Gospel manuscripts then in existence. The available manuscripts might have included the now-lost illuminated manuscript that served as the model for the tile images. Similarly, I will borrow from the text of the *Selden Supra* 38 to explain the textless images of the *Tring Tiles*.

These ten *Tring Tiles* are the only major extant English tile work of this period on which images were produced by the complex, time-consuming technique, termed *sgraffito*. In this painstaking method, the tiles are covered with white slip, and the details of the figures etched through the slip. The background areas are then scraped away, leaving the finely drawn figures raised slightly above the tile surface, rendering a subtle three-dimensional effect that enhanced the expressive quality of the active figures. In firing, the white figures turn yellow, the result of the

⁹ C.M. Kauffmann, discusses the *Tring Tiles* as the art of popular culture in "Art in Popular Culture: New Themes in the Holkham Bible Picture Book" in *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture Presented to Peter Lasko* (eds.) David Buckton and T.A. Heslop. (London: Alan Sutton, 1994): 46-69. See also, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700-1550* (London: Harvey Miller, 2003): 213-242.

interaction between the white slip, the lead glaze and the iron-red clay. As the *Tring Tiles* show no surface damage, it is presumed that they were not used as floor tiles. Therefore, these artfully crafted, ten solitary *sgraffitoed* tiles, stand in contrast to the thousands of decorative floor tiles manufactured in medieval England by the common die-stamped, slip-filled method.¹⁰

The exact origin of the *Tring Tiles* is not known. The extant ten tiles and three sherds are all that remain from a presumably longer series. Eight of the tiles were purchased in a “curiosity shop” at Tring, Hertfordshire, sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, and are currently housed in the British Museum.¹¹ Two of the tiles are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, obtained from a woman in Exeter who stated that her husband had purchased them in 1881-1882, and was told that they had come from a church at Tring during renovations there. The two V&A sherds were found in rubble in Tring, one in an old wall and the other in a garden path. The sherd at the British Museum was found in excavations near Luton. The fourth sherd, and the only one to have been located near the church, was found before 1849 during digging for a vestry at the parish church of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Tring, Hertfordshire. Unfortunately, this piece was lost, but a drawing of it survives at the British library. The tiles were probably commissioned for a site in the Tring area, but the scarcity of evidence available to pin-point a specific location is vexing. Almost by default, the Tring Parish Church has been named as the original site for the tiles. Wherever their originally site, the tiles’ didactic quality suggests that they would have been displayed at a location

¹⁰ Elizabeth S. Eames, *Catalogue of Mediaeval Lead Glazed Tiles in the Department of Mediaeval and Later Antiquities of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1980) Vol. I & 2. Eames discusses the Tring Tiles in Vol. I, 56 – 61.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 56.

appropriate for viewing. Although it has been proposed that they were mounted on a wall, there is no documentation to support this theory nor has there been definitive scientific testing to verify such a placement. The question also remains as to why these unusual, in some ways offensive, stories would have been mounted on the walls of a small town parish church.

In contrast, I believe that there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to name another nearby site as the source of the tiles. Only 3 ½ miles east of Tring once stood Ashridge College, a medieval monastery, scriptorium and pilgrimage site, founded in 1283 by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the wealthy nephew of Henry III. Edmund established the monastery for an order called the Bonhommes, nominally associated with the Augustinian order, but as it only existed in England, it was probably Edmund's singular creation, and is considered to have been a "royal foundation."¹² The Bonhommes were created for the express purpose of revering and protecting a phial of Christ's blood, obtained by Edmund in Germany in 1257. With Christ's blood as a focus, the monastery may have wanted to extend to its pilgrims the opportunity to witness other aspects of his life and humanity, such as the display of the visually engaging *Tring Tiles* to elucidate the mysterious missing years of Christ's early life. While the tiles would teach the dual nature of Christ's childhood, as handed down from the second century, they would also send a message pertinent to contemporary fourteenth-century viewers. That message, embodied in the tiles' stereotyped images of the Jews, fed the on-going antisemitism that continued to permeate a

¹² H.J. Todd, *The History of the College of Bonhommes at Ashridge* (London: R.. Gilbert, 1823). The historical information on Ashridge, in all sources, is taken primarily from Rev. Todd's volume. For discussion of the Bonhommes also see David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948) vol. II, 23-24. A second Bonhommes monastery was established at Edington, Wiltshire in 1352 by the Edward, the Black Prince who took an interest in Ashridge and provided for the college in his will.

country that had seen few Jews since their expulsion from England in 1290. The *Selden Supra 38* manuscript (**fig. 12**) had especially pandered to this bias as its text is considerably more antisemitic than the ancient manuscripts from which it was derived, specifically the Gospels of Thomas and Pseudo-Matthew.¹³ As *Selden Supra 38* magnifies the rhetoric praising Christ, it also amplifies the virulent pronouncements which curse and damn the Jews. Such harsh dialogue provides a shadowy explanation for the caricatured, exaggerated faces of the Jews with whom Jesus clashes in the *Tring Tiles*.¹⁴



Fig. 12. *Selden Supra 38, fol. 8v. Jesus and Frondise with his followers. c. 1325, England. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.*

¹³ Dzon, 293-299, discusses other infancy manuscripts from this period and later ones in Middle English that continue to include venomous anti-Semitic language.

¹⁴ In spite of the anti-Semitic tone of the text, the images in *Selden Supra 38* do not overtly reflect stereotypical depiction.

The persistent antisemitism that was endemic in medieval Christianity and culture was fueled from a variety of sources. The friars, more than the clergy, were a major influence as, in the 1220's, they brought heightened spirituality and the preaching of antisemitic rhetoric aimed at the conversion of the Jews.¹⁵ As we examine the intensified persecution of the Jews in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is interesting to include Anthony Bale's assertion that a major motivation behind the ritual murder accusations lay in the desire to "craft a devotional Christian polity," even more than the drive to persecute the Jews. This goal was fueled by devotion to the martyrs' bodies, antisemitic images, sermons and poems, all of which played a role in bolstering a national Christian identity.¹⁶ Certainly, Henry III and his son Edward I held aspirations for a purely Christian England, a goal that could only be achieved through the conversion and assimilation, or the expulsion of the Anglo-Judaic population. They both financially exploited the Jews and concurrently exerted the pressure for conversion, including Henry's establishment in 1232 of a house in London for converted, impoverished Jews, the *Domus Conversorum*.¹⁷ Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, while manipulating the Jews' situation to increase his own immense wealth, acted as a major protector of Jewish individuals and communities. However, he could not contain his eldest son, Henry of Almain, and Prince Edward in their attempts to alter the financial and social position of the Anglo-Jewry. These two cousins, who held a strong hostility towards the

¹⁵ Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982) 13-85.

¹⁶ Anthony Bale, "Fictions of Judaism in England before 1290" in *Jews in Medieval Britain* (ed.) Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 129, 132-133.

¹⁷ Robert C. Stacey, "The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-century England," *Speculum*, 67 (1992): 267. Henry III devoted more effort towards converting the Jews than did his son, Edward I.

Jews, facilitated the damaging Statute of 1269 and the *Provisio Judaismi* of 1271.¹⁸ Then, as king, Edward enacted the Statutes of Jewry of 1275, which forbade usury, and in its place permitted the Jews to work as merchants and laborers, as well as to own homes and land.¹⁹ The Statutes imposed crippling taxation, some of which was directed for the upkeep of the *Domus Conversorum*. It also included a number of stigmatizing, humiliating social restrictions, including the enforced wearing of the yellow *tabula*.²⁰ These impoverishments paved the way toward the expulsion of 1290. Robert Stacey has defined the bargain that the financially indebted Edward struck with parliament in 1290, gaining from his Christian subjects the largest grant of taxes in English history, in return for the expulsion of the Jewish population from England.²¹ Other factors that led into the expulsion included the frustration of the king's court over both the failure to convert the Jews as well as the apostasy of Jews who had previously been converted.²² Certainly, the relief from debt economics served to weaken opposition from the rebellious barons and from the Christian population, as it furthered Edward's aims for building an untainted, cohesive English

¹⁸ Robin R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 61.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 62; 291-293.

²⁰ R.C. Stacey, (1992), 282-283. See also "The English Jews under Henry III" in *Jews in Medieval Britain* 54. There had been previous attempts to force Jews to wear an identifying badge, (including Henry III's 1253 Statute of Jewry) but they were not entirely successful.

²¹ *Ibid.* (1992): 282-283. See also Stacey (2003), 53-54.

²² *Ibid.* (1992): 280-283.

Christian identity, using the specter of the absent Jews to enhance his, and England's, stature and power.²³

The attitude that Edmund, Earl of Cornwall held towards Jews is unknown, so we must consider his position as the creator of the Christian house of the Bonhommes, as well as the anti-Jewish actions of his now-deceased brother, his close relationships with his cousin, Edward I, and his friend Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Winchester, who voiced his strong disapproval of Christians being subject to the "perfidious" Jews, even one who was a Christian convert and had Henry's support.²⁴ Edmund's most positive influence may have been that of his father, Richard of Cornwall, in his consistent acts as patron and protector of the Jews, even though he gained much wealth from them, including funds to finance his crusade. The presence of the *Tring Tiles* in this monastery would have signaled not only Edmund's devotion to the blood and life of Christ, but possibly presented his, and the monastery's, position towards the Jews.

The *Tring Tile* images begin with just such a construction of medieval Christian concepts, where Jesus, like any child of five years, has gone with friends to play on the banks of a river, and

²³ Mundill (1998) 14, cites Sophia Menache, "Faith, myth and politics –the Stereotype of the Jews and Their Expulsions from England and France," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 75: 351-74, as seeing "the expulsion of the Jews as a step forward in the growth of a national identity and as a political action designed to weaken internal opposition."

²⁴ Henry Almain was killed at Viterbo by his cousins, Simone de Montefort's sons, who claimed that Henry had played a part in their father's death. Henry's murder left Edmond as Richard's only legal heir. For the description of Thomas de Cantilupe's reaction to the situation involving a converted Jew, even one whom Henry III had knighted, see Stacey (1992) 277-278.

“in his nature,” he purifies the water.²⁵ Although most of the manuscript versions mention his going to a “river”, Pseudo-Matthew specifies the Jordan River, the site of Jesus’ future baptism.²⁶ In the first *Tring Tile* scene, Jesus has built three water pools on the bank of the river, (**fig. 1A**) differing from *Selden Supra* 38 and all other apocryphal texts which specify seven pools.²⁷ In the *Tring Tile* scene, Jesus does not use a stick or wand, his traditional tool for performing miracles, but a compass. This instrument is not a child’s play toy, and although it may be the tool of his earthly father, Joseph the Carpenter, here it references the attribute of God as “Architect of Heaven” in his act of Creation. Among the Infancy Gospel illustrations that depict this act, the compass detail appears only in the *Tring Tile* and the *Selden Supra* images. Maureen Boulton has suggested that the insertion of a compass in this scene is a curious misinterpretation by the artist of the Anglo-Norman verb *compassoit*, meaning to “arrange or construct.”²⁸ It also suggests that the artist was familiar with the images of God, the “Divine Architect” produced by this time.²⁹ The

²⁵ This *Tring Tile* image of Jesus building pools is the first in the extant series and coincides with the first episode in the Gospel of Thomas, as opposed to *Selden Supra* 38 and Pseudo-Matthew, both of which include the Nativity of Christ and the Flight to Egypt, before the family’s return “to Galilee” and the episode of the pools. However, the existence of the sherd at the V&A depicting two of the three Magi suggests that the tile sequence may have contained some episodes from the Nativity and the Flight into Egypt.

²⁶ The Infancy Gospel manuscripts differ as to Jesus’ location at this point. The Latin Thomas and *Selden Supra* 38 do not name a location; the Greek Thomas mss. A and B, and the Arabic gospels name Nazareth; Pseudo-Matthew states that Jesus is four years old, in Galilee by the Jordan River.

²⁷ The depiction of seven pools, as a symbolic a reference to creation, would have been more appropriate for Jesus’ action here. Therefore we must presume that the artist has reduced the number of pools to three to fit the image into the tile frame, although it also references the Trinity and Jesus’ role in that context.

²⁸ Boulton, 97-98, line 409.

²⁹ The *Tring Tiles* appear to contain the first depiction of the compass outside manuscript production and designed for public viewing, in contrast to W.O.Hassell (ed.), *Holkham Bible Picture Book, British Museum Add. 47682, fol.2, c.1320-30* (London: Dropmore, 1954.) who states that the image of God holding the compass does not appear in

artist also must have expected his fourteenth-century audience to have been aware of this association and by extension, the divine aspect of Jesus' persona, operating in a human boy's body.

There are three types of boys in these stories: Jesus, the generic children who are his playmates, and the Bad Boys who annoy and attack him. In this image one such Bad Boy, described as Jewish, breaks open a pool with a willow branch. Jesus responds in anger, curses the boy, gesturing with his left hand to damn and strike him dead. The boy hangs upside-down, a position which can denote not just death, but evil death.³⁰ **(fig. 1A)** Among the Infancy Gospel manuscripts, this depiction of the up-side down, dead boys, like the compass detail, appears only in the *Tring Tiles* and the earlier *Selden Supra 38*. Quite possibly the artist for a model manuscript drew his inspiration for the falling, evil-death position from the depiction of the pagan idols during the Holy Family's Flight to Egypt, seen in *Selden Supra 38* just two images prior to the story of the pools. In that image, an idol tumbles head-first from the temple, an iconographic concept derived from the depictions of the fall of the evil Rebel Angels.³¹

English church art until 1500. For compass iconography see J.B. Friedman, "The Architect's Compass in Creation Miniatures of the Later Middle Ages" *Traditio* 30 (1974): 419-429, who notes that 'God as Architect' who does not just draw but creates, appears first in the *Bible Moralisée* Ms., Vienna, ONB, 1179, fol.1, c. 1212/15-1225 and Bodleian Library 270b, fol. 1, c.1235-45. English manuscripts that depict God with the compass include the *Hugh Psalter*, British Museum Add. 38116, fol. 8v, c.1280 and the *Queen Mary Psalter*, British Library, Royal 2.B.VII, fol. Iv, c. 1310-20.

³⁰ Mary Frances Casey, *The Apocryphal Infancy of Christ as Depicted on the Fourteenth Century Tring Tiles*, M.A Thesis, (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1995): 59-7. Iconographic origin for this concept goes back to the fall of the rebel angels.

³¹ Boulton (1985), 4, 44, 46, 48, contain the lines in *Selden Supra 38* describing the falling demon and then 3 falling boys. Boulton 118: The Old French verb *trebucher* "to fall head over heels," is used to describe the demon's fall (l. 358 with image on fol. 8r). It does not appear in the story of the Bad Boy and the pools (l. 396-420, fol.9r), but is used in two incidents in which Bad Boys attack Jesus (l. 496-7, fol. 10v and l. 508-9, fol. 11r). The last image, of the

The dead boy's parents, in compliance with medieval Judaic custom, complain to Joseph, the man whom they presume to be Jesus' father. In light of their family structure, Joseph then asks Mary to talk with Jesus, although, in another episode Jesus lectures Joseph for scolding him. In the second scene on the first *Tring Tile*, (**fig. 1B**) Mary's appearance reflects the evolution of the Cult of the Virgin by the early fourteenth century as she is portrayed in elegant Gothic dress wearing the crown of the Queen of Heaven, as opposed to her depiction in *Selden Supra 38*, where she is seated, holding a book, with a shawl over her head.³² Responding as both an intercessor for the dead boy and his parents, and as a human mother, Mary admonishes Jesus for killing the boy who broke open his water pools. Jesus, complaining bitterly and cursing the Jewish boy, reminds her that human restrictions do not apply to him, yet states that, for her sake, he will revive the boy. In the text of *Selden Supra 38*, Jesus and Mary exchange several statements of affection, thus emphasizing the human emotional bond between them and highlighting this concept from early Christianity that had become a central Christian theme by the thirteenth century. In the *Tring Tile* image, Mary, with her hand on Jesus' back, encourages him to rejuvenate the dead boy.

Jesus revives the boy with a life-giving kick, and the boy walks off, now holding not the branch of the first image, but a club, symbol of the betrayal of Christ.³³ Jesus carries a book - the Book of Knowledge and in this context, the sign of a teacher. With these acts of bringing death

boy on Jesus' back, is depicted on *Tring Tile*, **fig. 2A**. *Trebucher* is commonly used to indicate a machine that catapults rocks during a siege.

³² *Selden Supra 38*, fol.21v, above.

³³ George Ferguson, *Signs and symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 172.

and revival, the child Jesus has exhibited his super-human power, defending himself from a Bad Boy who would harm him and his creation.

Missing from the extant *Tring Tiles* is a popular story which appears at this point in the apocryphal narrative, that of Jesus, still at the river, molding twelve sparrows out of clay. When the Jews scold Jesus for performing this act on the Sabbath, he lets the now-alive sparrows fly away. As one of the most frequently depicted of the Infancy stories, it is probable that this episode once formed part of the *Tring Tile* series. Also absent from the series is the story of another Jewish boy, the son of Annas the scribe, who is killed by “withering” when he strikes Jesus in anger. This method of killing is believed to be a reference to Matthew 21:19-21, in which the adult Jesus kills a fig tree for not producing fruit when he is hungry, and the tree withers, a metaphorical reference to Jews who do not recognize and accept Jesus.

The conflict between Jesus and the Bad Boys continues on the second Tring Tile, where the two scenes (**figs. 2A & 2B**) present a conflation and reversal of the narrative order. The first event in the textual order describes the scene on the right side of **figure 2A**, in which an angry boy jumps on Jesus’ shoulders. Jesus kills him and he is shown having fallen “head over heels” into a crumpled upside-down position behind Jesus. At this point, the parents, seen arguing with Joseph on the right side of the tile, (**fig. 2B**) are so angry and frightened that they threaten Mary and Joseph, demanding that if they cannot teach Jesus to bless and not to curse, they should take him and leave the village. It is at this point that the Jews’ tirade against Jesus reaches a high pitch,

including such insults as “child-killer” and “wanton.”³⁴ It is important to remember that it was a Christian author who put these words into the Jews’ mouths, an action which, in Christian minds, reflects negatively on the part of the Jews, more than on Jesus.



Tring Tile: Fig. 2A, *Zacharias, boy and Jesus; dead boy*. Fig. 2B, *Joseph and parents; Jesus reviving boy*.

First quarter 14th century, England. Courtesy of the British Museum.

³⁴ Roger R. Fowler (ed.), *The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi*, Vol. II: Lines 9229-12712 (Ottawa): 2000, line 11954, where the angry parents describe Jesus as “wanton and wild.” Dzon: 52-59, focuses the arguments in her dissertation on medieval scholarly assessments of Jesus as a “wanton child” or *lascivus*, interpreting these perceptions as leaning more towards his being mischievous than cruel. In contrast, the angry Jewish parents in this and other episodes consider Jesus to be out of control and dangerous, who with his cursing, had slain their child. Fowler, p. 133, also suggests that episodes such as this one provide evidence that the Jewish slanders provided an important polemical reason for the composition of the apocryphal Infancy Gospels.



Tring Tile: *Fig. 3A, Levi slaps Jesus; Jesus scolding. Fig. 3B, Teachers, Jesus; lame persons. First quarter, 14th century, England. Courtesy of the British Museum.*

In this image, Joseph's hat relates a puzzling message, as do Jewish men's hats in general, because they do not convey consistent meanings. In both Christian and Hebrew art, the headgear most frequently employed to depict medieval Jewish men was the pointed hat, termed the "upside-down funnel," seen with a variety of pointed, conical or rounded crowns. In addition, Joseph and other Jewish men are shown wearing various forms of the biretta and the coif.³⁵ Thus viewers must consider the context of the image in order to differentiate between the enemies of Christ and the respected Old Testament Patriarchs, whom Christians considered to be typological precursors

³⁵ Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, Vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press: Berkeley, 1993), 79-94.

and witnesses to their faith. In Christian art, Joseph's wearing of the "upside down funnel" identifies him as a precursor to the New Order. Yet, in this *Tring Tile* image Joseph's hat has a flat-top. It has been suggested that the point of his hat has been cut off to indicate his rejection of Judaism. However, this flat style of headdress is similar to those depicted in late medieval German-Hebrew manuscripts, except that they include a spike with a ball tip, representing the "Jewish Hat" of the fourteenth century.³⁶ It also closely resembles the straw hat worn by English peasants, field workers or shepherds in this period, which would speak to the humble laborer-carpenter role assigned to Joseph by the Church.³⁷ Iconography aside, Joseph's hat design could also simply be the artist's solution to the problem of fitting Joseph's figure into the crowded tile frame, although in this symbolic-laden context, that solution is questionable.

To calm the irate parents, Joseph follows the suggestion of the teacher Zacharias, seen on the left side of the tile, (**fig.2A**) and takes Jesus to school, ostensibly to correct his behavior and teach him to respect his forefathers, his fathers and his peers, and to learn his letters. The boy who is jumping on Jesus' back appears to be included in the same time frame as the teacher, even though in the Infancy texts this boy's story occurs before Jesus' visit to Zacharias. Thus, in the narrative, Jesus meets with the teacher by himself, not accompanied by the Bad Boy. This compression of the images, with Jesus and the jumping boy standing on the right, before the

³⁶ Thérèse and Mendel Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1982), 145-6.

³⁷ C. Willitt and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Mediaeval Costume* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952) 4.

teacher, on the left, also appears in *Selden Supra* 38. The compositional placement of the teacher seated on the left and Jesus standing on the right appears several times in the manuscript images.

In the *Tring Tile* image, Zacharias is hieratically seated on an elevated bench, holding a book or a tablet, his head capped with a stalked beret, a style seen frequently on Jewish scholars. He looks beyond Jesus to exchange gestures and glances with the Bad Boy, implying a possible collusion between the teacher and the boy, and reminding viewers of the Christian assertion that the Jews were blind to Christ. The exaggerated, yet comical, antisemitic caricature of Zacharias' visage does not suggest a man of wisdom.

Before Zacharias can begin Jesus' instruction, Jesus starts lecturing him, pointing out the teacher's ignorance, in contrast to Jesus' superior knowledge. To emphasize his divine, eternal identity, Jesus states that "before Abraham, I was." Then, in a reversal of traditional roles, Zacharias voices shame, embarrassment, and self doubt at being bettered by this unusual child. Thus, Jesus further establishes his divine identity as the Word of God.

Following an interlude of two *Tring Tile* stories, Jesus appears with a second teacher, a bearded Levi, seated on a bench with his legs crossed. This teacher also attempts to instruct Jesus, but Jesus rejects the teacher's instructions, exhibiting his knowledge of the alphabet and then angrily states that no one recognizes him nor understands the extent of his wisdom. In statements criticizing the teacher for his ignorance, Jesus displays his own omniscience, as he launches into abstract, allegorical, yet condescending rhetoric, stating that the teacher does not know the

meaning of *aleph* and therefore cannot teach *beth*. Jesus also upbraids him for not understanding the meaning of the structure of the letter *A*, a symbolic reference to the Trinity.³⁸ (**fig. 3A**)

The apocryphal texts are inconsistent at this point. In spite of their utilizing the Hebrew letter names in the teaching exercise, Jesus' description of the letter *A* more closely resembles the Western *A* than the Hebrew *aleph*.³⁹ In addition, in the original Greek text of the Gospel of Thomas and in its translations, the Greek letter names *alpha* and *omega* are used. Probably not coincidentally these letters coincide more closely with Jesus' assertion in Revelation 1:8 that he is Alpha and Omega. Also, in the Latin Thomas, the teacher states that he will teach Jesus Greek and then Hebrew, a detail not included in later manuscripts. It is with this episode, when Jesus expounds with christologically mystical statements, that contemporary scholars have attempted to associate the Infancy Gospels with the Gnostics, particularly regarding the concept that Jesus possessed complete knowledge, wisdom and power from birth, and as such was a Gnostic revealer.⁴⁰

Finally, as Jesus continues in his unyieldingly superior manner, the teacher scolds him for his insolence, and slaps him. (**fig. 3A**) The second figure of Jesus shows him responding to the teacher, as he in turn, scolds the Hebrew master.⁴¹ A third teacher, who appears in *Selden Supra*

³⁸ J.C.J. Metford, *Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1983).

³⁹ The Gospels of Thomas and Pseudo-Matthew and the *Selden Supra* 38 ms. all differ in their placement of the details in the teacher stories. Therefore, to be consistent with the primary use of the *Selden Supra* 38 version, I have placed Jesus' allegorical statements about the alphabet with the second teacher in **fig. 3A**.

⁴⁰ Elliott 69-70 and Cullman 390-392.

⁴¹ The right side of the tile (**fig. 3B**) shows Jesus talking with two teachers. Behind him are two lame persons whom Jesus, but not the teachers, can heal.

38 and other apocryphal texts, but is not represented in the extant *Tring Tile* sequence, repeats this teaching tactic, slaps Jesus, but falls dead when Jesus curses him.

Even as Jesus battles with these Jewish Masters and appears to be breaking away from the Old Faith to establish his identity as the foundation of the New Faith, these visits to the teachers serve to link Jesus with his human Jewish heritage. Ivan Marcus, in *Ritual of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe*, discusses two illustrations contained in the Hebrew manuscript, the *Leipzig Mahzor*, dated to 1300, which depict a richly complex Jewish educational ritual.⁴² The ritual involves Jewish fathers taking their 5 or 6 year old boys to school to study the Torah, and is timed by the Ashkenazi Jews to coincide with Shavuot, “The Festival of Weeks.” This springtime celebration commemorates Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law from God and presenting them to the people of Israel. The *Leipzig Mahzor* illustrations show the three steps in the ritual: in the center of **fig. 4A**, the father is taking the child to the teacher; on the left, boys are at school with the teacher; and right, the teacher is guiding the boys to the River Jordan to preserve their memory of the Torah.⁴³ On the second page, (**fig. 4B**) Moses gives the Torah to the Israelites, thus associating this crucial event with the symbolic ritual. Segments of this ritual date back to the

⁴² Ivan G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) 71-101. Information for the following discussion of the educational ritual is taken primarily from Marcus’ description of this complex, multi-faceted ritual, from which I have taken only the basic details pertaining to the child going to school for the first time. I would like to thank Robert C. Stacey for alerting me to Ivan Marcus’ book and its relationship to medieval Jewish children. The images are from the Leipzig Mahzor, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Hebrew Ms. Voller 1102, Vol. I, fols. 131A & 130B. Also see Belalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica Jerusalem, Macmillan, 1969) 33, 106-109.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 79. This three-part ritual symbolically recapitulates the Jewish spring festival trilogy of Passover, the Counting of the Omer (*sefirah*) and Shavuot.

Classical period, but by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it had evolved into the form practiced by Ashkenazi Jews. The ritual's existence at this time was partially in response to the recently established Christian practice of confirmation of six-year old children, but was also in rebuttal to the Christian belief and practice of the sacrifice of the Christ Child in the Eucharist.⁴⁴



*Fig.4A. Leipzig Mahzor, father with boy; teacher with boys
Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek, Hebrew Ms. Vollers 1102, vol. I. fol. 131A*

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 101.



Fig. 4B. *Leipzig Mahzor*, Moses handing down the tablets
Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek, Hebrew Ms. Vollers 1102, vol. I. fol. 130B

Examination of this ritual clarifies the encounters between Jesus and the teachers in the apocryphal Infancy Gospels and on the *Tring Tiles*. Comparison between the description of the Jewish ritual and the episode in the apocryphal texts reveals that the *Tring Tile* teachers are not merely attempting to instruct Jesus in the A B C's, but are introducing him to this historic Jewish ritual designed to teach the boy to love the study of the Torah. In addition, the ritual represented the child's rite-of-passage into the male, adult world of his culture. The teaching exercises also used verses and rhymes to enhance the child's memory and to incorporate instruction in moral behavior.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Hock, 102.

To begin the ritual the boy is wrapped in a cloak or a *tallit* to protect his purity and memory from the evil eye, in the form of Gentiles, dogs, and other contaminants. He is carried by his father, or a surrogate, through the town to the teacher, as depicted in the central image in the *Leipzig Mahzor*. The boy inhabits a liminal state of transfer which, in this multivalent ritual, represents the death of the boy's childhood as well as the journey of the Jewish people through Sinai.

Thus, in the *Tring Tile* image Joseph, like a good Jewish father, has taken his five-year-old son to school to begin his introduction into the Torah, mostly in response to the angry parents' threats, and at the suggestion of Zacharias, who witnessed Joseph's plight. The identification of this ritual as a traditional cultural structure which existed for the education of five-year old Jewish boys presents a major incentive for Joseph's decision to take Jesus to school. This motivation refutes some Infancy scholars' assertions that the trip to the teacher proved that Joseph was illiterate and had neglected his fatherly obligations by not teaching Jesus to read.⁴⁶ Although Joseph's level of literacy is not dealt with in the canon or apocryphal stories, his humility and poverty was important to the image of the Holy Family promulgated by the Church. However, in Pseudo-Matthew he states to Mary that he will leave to "build my buildings," and in six months, "returned from his building," suggesting that he may have possessed a higher level of literacy than that of a carpenter.⁴⁷ Furthermore, in Christian lore Joseph's literacy is not an issue, as emphasis

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 113, fn 6.2; Hone, William, *The Apocryphal Books of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1901).

⁴⁷ Proto-evangelium of James 9:2 and 13:1; and Cullmann 379-38.

is put on Mary's ability to read. She is often depicted following the type established by her mother Anne, as she holds a book and teaches her child to read. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Mary is increasingly given a role in Jesus' education and is even shown taking him to school.⁴⁸ However, following the Infancy Gospels, the question of who would have taught Jesus to read is a moot point, as he is presented as omniscient and therefore did not need to be taught, a concept that presents a divergence from Luke 2:52, that describes that Jesus, after his visit to the Doctors in Jerusalem, increased in wisdom.

The educational ritual also brings into question conjectures by Infancy scholars that the original author was a non-Jewish Christian, as his sense of geography of the Holy Land was askew and he seemed generally unfamiliar with Jewish culture.⁴⁹ It seems clear that the inclusion of this ritual and its centrality to the narrative of these stories would suggest that the author, even if not Jewish, had an understanding of this central aspect of Jewish culture.

After their trip through the village, the Jewish father presents the boy to the teacher, symbolizing the child's transfer from his natural mother to his new spiritual mother, the teacher, who in turn represents Moses, the nurturing mother of the Hebrew people. Through these steps, the boy bonds with other Jews in his community. In addition, he is a symbol for the collectivity of Israel, the Jewish people as well as representing a re-born individual who serves as a sacrifice for

⁴⁸ Bagley 17.

⁴⁹ Cullmann 372; Vitz, 132-133: rejects the possibility that the *Evangile* (the old French manuscript almost identical to Selden Supra 38/*Les Enfaunces de Jesu Crist*) could have been influenced by parallel stories of the life of Jesus based on Talmudic sources and apocryphal legends as the work is so generally ignorant of rudimentary aspects of Judaism.

the atonement of the Jewish community.⁵⁰ The child as sacrifice developed in the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries, in opposition to contemporary Christian motif of the Christ Child as Eucharistic sacrifice.⁵¹ In these symbolic themes of death, rebirth, and sacrifice, parallels to the Christian Jesus are clearly apparent, and suggestive of the exchange of rituals and patterns between Jews and Christians which occurred during the formative years of Christianity.⁵²

Unlike the rebellious Jesus who has rejected the teachers, the boy depicted in the *Leipzig Mahzor* image is seated on the teacher's lap, holding a sweet honey cake and an egg, given to him in celebration of his initiation.⁵³ The cake symbolizes the sweetness of the Torah that the teacher has provided to enhance the boy's learning and love of the Torah.⁵⁴ The ceremony involves many food metaphors, including honey, milk, nuts, oil, eggs and flour (bread and cake). Wheat and bread play a central role, as bread is equated with the Torah.⁵⁵ Another enticement includes the writing of Hebrew letters, in honey, symbolizing the name of God, which the boy is encouraged to lick off the slate. In the *Mahzor* images, both the slate that the teacher holds and the tablets that Moses is

⁵⁰ Marcus 15.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 99.

⁵² Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb* (Berkeley: University of California, 2006): xvii – xviii.

⁵³ Narkiss 33.

⁵⁴ There is evidence that the enticement of honey did not always work with the young boys, as noted in the *Mahzor Vitry*, “MS Reggie” (New York, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. MS Mic.8092, f.164b-165a), in which a teacher states “first we entice him and afterwards we use the strap.” This action is depicted in the *Coburg Pentateuch*, (British Museum, Add. 19776, fol.72v, dated 1395) which shows a teacher holding up a whip to coax a student, who is sitting in front of a book using a pointer.

⁵⁵ Wheat in this ritual draws attention to Tring Tile 9A where peasants are harvesting a field of wheat, miraculously grown from the one grain which Jesus has planted. In Pseudo-Matthew and Selden Supra 38 the grain is barley.

handing to the Israelites (**fig. 4B**) are gilded, thus linking the alphabet slate with the tablets of the Ten Commandments given on Mt Sinai.⁵⁶ Hebrew letters are also written on the cakes and eggs, and thus, the boy's eating of these foodstuffs symbolizes the ingesting the Torah, as well as the Word of God. The honey cake also symbolically represents the bread as manna provided by God to his people in their Exodus. This emphasis on ingesting bread also presents a comparison with the Christian rite in which the faithful partake of the Eucharistic Host.

Even though there are six known Hebrew manuscript texts, datable from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, that describe this ritual, there are no precedents for images of the teacher in *Leipzig Mahzor*.⁵⁷ It is thus presumed that this and another figure in these two folios have been borrowed from Christian sources for Hebrew manuscript depiction, a process reflecting a tendency in Jewish manuscript production to take images from the dominant culture that surrounded them, in this case, Christianity.⁵⁸ The Jewish artists transformed the Christian content by adapting and absorbing the figures into Jewish cultural language.

Evelyn Cohen has associated the iconographic concept for this respected Jewish teacher with the Christian Romanesque statue of the Madonna, seen in Majesty, as she is seated frontally on her cathedra, the Child Jesus on her lap.⁵⁹ (**fig. 5**) As such, the seated Virgin embodies the

⁵⁶ Marcus 58.

⁵⁷ Evelyn M. Cohen, "The Teacher, The Father and the Virgin Mary in the *Leipzig Mahzor*" in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, August, 1989, Division D, Vol. II, 72-76): of the six known texts which describe this ritual three are German, three are French, but none survive from England.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 75; also Bezalel Narkiss 30.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 73-74; Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

Sedes Sapientiae, the Throne of Wisdom, as she, herself, through the incarnation becomes a throne presenting the Christ Child as the Word of God, and as a sacrificial gift to the world, symbolized through the Eucharist.



Fig. 5. Virgin and Child / Sedes Sapientiae. North French, Meuse Valley, ca. 1210-1220. Oak with traces of polychrome, 48 ½ x 20 ¼ x 19 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.283) Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

This image of Virgin and Child has been symbolically associated with that of Solomon, seated on his Throne of Wisdom.⁶⁰ Therefore, this linkage between the images of the *Sedes Sapientiae* and Solomon in Judgment extends to include that of the *Leipzig Mahzor* teacher, seated on the Throne of Solomon. In addition to this conflation, the teacher, through the educational ritual, is bonded with Moses and therefore can be seen, also, as sitting on the chair of Moses.⁶¹ The earliest known statue of this Virgin and Child appears from about 946 and such images were produced throughout the eleventh century.⁶² The images of the Virgin as the Throne of Wisdom would become ubiquitous in the Middle Ages, in cathedrals dedicated specifically to her and at a multitude of other sites and in many manuscripts. Prime among her sculptural depictions is her visage situated on the west façade of Notre Dame de Chartres Cathedral (1145-47) where she embodies the symbolism of the stoic Romanesque *Sedes Sapientiae*, and through the Incarnation, emphasizes the human side of Christ's nature, the concept which assumed prominence during the following decades.⁶³ Evelyn Cohen utilized the sculptures at Amiens for explication of the evolution from this image (1210) to that of the *Mater Amabilis* (1260), discussed below.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Forsyth 24-26.

⁶¹ Jacobus De Voragine, *The Golden Legend* (eds.) Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941) 168, names three kinds of chairs: the chair of regal dignity, for kings, those of presbyterial dignity for bishops, and stools, the chair of the teacher Moses.

⁶² Forsyth 67.

⁶³ Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine and Money: the Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); 56-57, points out that the Virgin at Chartres was drawn from an older wooden cult statue situated in the crypt of the cathedral.

⁶⁴ Cohen 73, At Amiens Cathedral the Virgin in Wisdom is on the west facade and the trumeau figure of the *Mater Amabilis* on the north portal.

Particularly relevant to the iconographic puzzle on the *Tring Tiles* is an image of King Solomon in Judgment, as depicted in the Hebrew manuscript, the *Tripartite Mahzor* (1320).⁶⁵ **(fig. 6)** There is a striking similarity between the depiction of the teachers on the *Tring Tiles*, in *Selden Supra* 38, in the *Leipzig Mahzor*, and of Solomon in Judgment in the *Tripartite Mahzor*.⁶⁶ Sitting in formal uprightness, these figures extend their arms in speaking gestures, except for Levi who uses his extended arm to strike Jesus. Zacharias holds a book in his left hand, but the second arms of the other figures are placed in a similar awkwardly bent position. Furthermore, the image of Solomon appears to be a model reversal of the *Tring Tile* Levi, particularly when we look at the crossed-leg position of these two men. This detail also appears in the depiction of the *Leipzig Mahzor* teacher and in one teacher in *Selden Supra* 38. In manuscript production, this crossed leg position is commonly seen in the regal images of Solomon, and of David playing his harp.⁶⁷ The borrowing of this and the other details from the older manuscript images of these ancient kings conveys the Wisdom of Solomon and of David to the Jewish teachers. In contrast, however, Jesus' treatment of the teachers in the apocryphal Infancy Gospels negates this transfer of sagacity from the kings' images to the teachers, showing instead a declaration of sacred supremacy on the part of Jesus.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 74; *Tripartite Mahzor* 3 Vols., Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms. A384. The image of Solomon is in Vol.I, fol.183V.

⁶⁶ In addition, a third *Tring Tiles* image, **(fig. 3B)** depicts two teachers sitting in similar positions, facing Jesus, and can be added to this group.

⁶⁷ Of the numerous examples of these kings depicted with crossed legs and arms in similarly twisted positions, see Solomon in Judgment, fol.1 in British Museum Ms. Yates Thompson 9, and of David playing the Harp, fol.117v, British Museum Ms.Add. 11639. In addition, in *Selden Supra* 38, the model of the crossed legs is used for the bad king, Herod: fol. 2v where he points at the Three Magi; and fol. 4r in a scene of the Massacre of the Innocents.

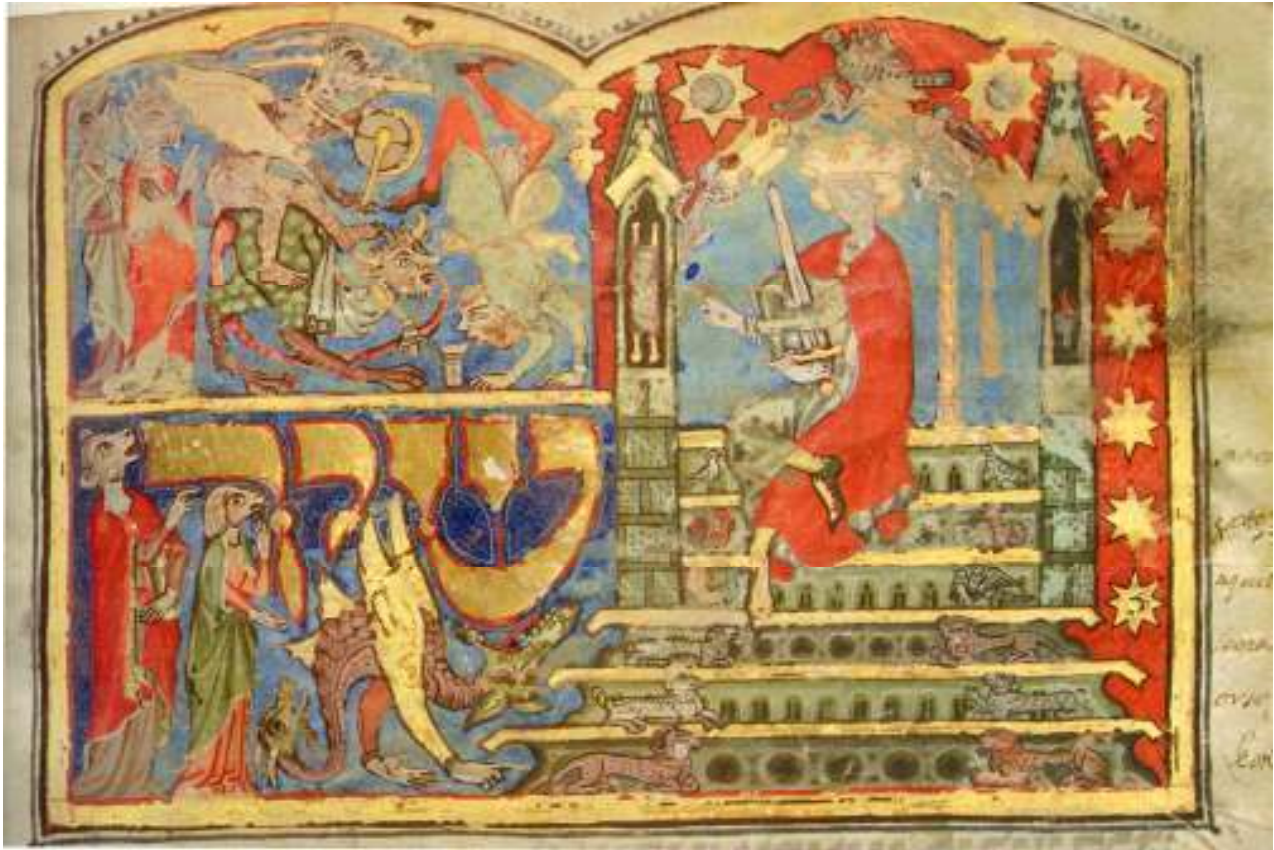


Fig. 6. Tripartite Mahzor, *Solomon in Judgment*
Ms. Kaufmann A384/I. fol. 182V. Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Evelyn Cohen has identified a second depiction of the Virgin and Child, the *Mater Amabilis*, the "Mother Deserving of Love," as the model for the Jewish father carrying his son to school, as they appear in the center of the Leipzig manuscript illustration.⁶⁸ (fig.7) In this compositional structure the Virgin and the Jewish father are standing, and the schoolboy, like Jesus, reaches his hand up to touch his parent's face, lending an affectionate interchange that contrasts with the more formal image of the teacher and child derived from the stiff *Sedes*

⁶⁸ Cohen 73.

Sapientiae. The orb that the Christ Child holds has become the golden sweet round honey cake in the hands of the schoolboy and his classmates. However, these cakes also have a marked resemblance to the Christian Eucharistic Host, which again, in the context of this complex Hebrew ritual and the Infancy Gospels, brings forth memories of the Christian accusations of Host desecration against the Jews.



Fig. 7. Madonna and Child as Mater Amabilis. The Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux. 1324-1339, Paris. Gilt silver, enamels, gold, pearls, granats, blue glass. Statuette, h: 68cm. Inv.: MR 419. Photo: M.Beck-Coppola.

Cohen points out other details that distort a purely Jewish presentation of these images, but which may suggest a literal transference of the figures from the Christian to Jewish illustration. These details include the absence of letters on the children's cakes and eggs, as well the lack of the stripes on the *tallit*, which, instead, resembles the Virgin's shawl, or the cloak of the father.⁶⁹ Both Cohen and Marcus puzzle over why the father holding his son is positioned in the center of that image, as he represents the transfer of the boy through the village, an event which occurs before they meet with the teacher. Cohen suggests that this arrangement might reflect the Hebrew tradition of writing from right to left, or it was chosen simply to present a visually balanced scene. However, in comparing this composition of the teacher and the child with the corresponding configurations on the *Tring Tiles* and in *Selden Supra 38*, where the teachers sit on the left side of the image frame and Jesus stands, facing them, on the right, it appears that the Jewish father and son's placement may have also been the result of copying from Christian manuscript composition.

Given these similarities in the *Leipzig Mahzor* and the *Tring Tile* images, the contrast between the Hebrew manuscript image of the loving father with his compliant child, as they stand before the teacher, and the embattled Jesus in the tile images, where he is attacked by the boys and pitted against the teachers, polarizes the difference between the cultural norm that Jesus was expected to follow and the path he actually pursues, as he attempts to clarify his identity as the New Law, by defying the teachers who would teach the Old Law. In addition, the venerated image of the Virgin as the Throne of Wisdom, holding the Christ Child, exemplifies the choice made by

⁶⁹ Therese and Mendel Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (New York: Alpine, 1982) 210, fig. 306, suggest the latter.

Jesus, as he refuses to follow the Hebrew ritual and sit on the teacher's lap. He fortifies that choice with statements of his omniscience as the Word of God, and simultaneously rebuffs the Jewish equivalent of the Holy Word, the Torah. He thus rejects this segment of his Jewish heritage, as he experiences his own right-of-passage. Indeed, he has rejected the faith of his ancestors with a determination equal to that with which the Jews have denied his existence as the Son of God.

In contrast to the borrowing of these symbolically laden images of the Virgin and Child and other Christian details, the *Leipzig Mahzor* illuminations also include one distinctly Hebrew manuscript feature, that of the distorted faces of the teachers and the boys who retain the round shape and bird beaks as seen in Ashkenazic manuscript illumination. These distortions reflect the influence from an ascetic movement of the twelfth century, in southern Germany, which forbade the representation of human faces.⁷⁰ Under the restrictions put forth by this movement, the heads of birds and animals were substituted for their human counterparts. Occasionally, the faces were featureless or the heads turned away from the viewer. This detail can be seen in the figures that are included with the Solomon in Judgment image in the *Tripartite Mahzor*, most of whom have animal or bird heads. The face of Solomon, himself, is affected by this proscription, as it is almost featureless.

Given the polemic that was exemplified by Jesus' actions, and in spite of the ability of the medieval Jewish manuscript artists to adapt Christian images to reflect Hebrew content, it is ironic

⁷⁰ Narkiss 29-32. In addition to the *Tripartite Mahzor*, two other manuscripts which reflect this Ashkenazi tradition include the *Birds' Head Haggadah* of 1300: (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms 180/5); and the *Ambrosian Bible* of 1236-1238: (Milan, Ambrosian Library, Ms.B.32, INF and Ms.B.30-31).

that the artists would have chosen such highly symbolic sculptural figures, such as the *Sedes Sapientiae* and the *Mater Amabilis* as models for the figures in the *Leipzig Mahzor*. The transformation is certainly a tribute to the artist's ability to wash clean the content of symbolic images and adapt the appropriate qualities so that he can present the images to an audience who then is willing to view these images in a newly-altered light.

Over time, this Jewish educational ritual disappeared, partially due to its role as a counter to the contemporary Christian motif of the Christ Child as a Eucharistic sacrifice. Only traces of the educational ritual persisted, such as giving small school children a piece of honey cake or candy.⁷¹ Also, on a more practical level, both Jews and Christians developed a better understanding towards children and raised the age at which children should be initiated into their respective faiths.

Two *Tring Tile* stories continue the polemic between Christianity and Judaism. In the first story, a father with a huge key has locked his son in a tower, to protect him from the "accidents" which seemed to occur when children play with Jesus. **(fig. 8)** The *Selden Supra* 38 text describes him as a cruel father, providing justification for Jesus' act of "saving" the child by pulling him through a slit in the wall. Only a hint of the father's caricatured facial features remain in the tile image.

⁷¹ Marcus 14, 17: the initiation was replaced in the 15th or 16th c. by the early stages of the bar mitzvah; 99.



Tring Tile: Fig. 8A, Father locks son in tower. Fig. 8B, Jesus pulls boy from tower. First quarter, 14th century, England. Courtesy of the British Museum.

The castle tower was an important feature of medieval Anglo-Jewish life.⁷² Unless they were given permission by the king to do otherwise, Jews were required to live in a town with a royal castle, where Jewish business affairs with Christians were managed and the document chests, the *archae*, were kept. The tower was also a place of refuge when Jews were threatened by angry, murderous Christians. Conversely, towers, especially the Tower of London, were used to imprison and execute the Jews. At times, Jews saved their lives by converting while they were imprisoned

⁷² V.D. Lipman, "Jews and castles in medieval England" in *The Jewish historical Society of England, Transactions, Sessions 1981-1982, Vol. XXVII* (The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1984) 1-17.

in the Tower.⁷³ Fourteenth-century English Christians viewing this image would have recognized the association between the now-absent Jews and the tower.

The source for this Infancy story is unknown, as it is not included in the Gospels of Thomas or Pseudo-Matthew, suggesting that it was a later addition to the apocryphal Infancy Gospel story series.⁷⁴ Regardless of the date of when it was written and first included in the apocryphal stories, this story is most pertinent to the period when the relationship between the Christian and the Anglo-Jewish communities was joined at the royal castles.

A second confrontational story depicted on the *Tring Tiles* portrays three fathers who hide their children in an oven to protect the boys from Jesus when he attempts to play with them. **(fig. 9)** When Jesus asks the fathers what is in the oven, they reply “pigs.” With a retort, Jesus changes the boys to pigs, which then leap from the oven when the door is opened. Missing from the extant *Tring Tiles* is the pig-children’s culminating escape from the oven, but this dramatic scene would undoubtedly have been part of the original tile series. In early apocryphal literature, this story occurs in the Arabic Infancy Gospel, where the boys are transformed into goats, not pigs. However, it is not found in the extant Greek and Latin texts of the gospels of Thomas and Pseudo-Matthew, although it may have originally been a part of one of the early versions of Thomas from which it was expunged for being too distasteful.⁷⁵ The story in which the boys become pigs does then appear in the later medieval Christian manuscripts, such as the extensive *Selden Supra* 38 and,

⁷³ Stacey, (1992): 277.

⁷⁴ Boulton 13.

⁷⁵ James 80-82; Elliot 100-107; Cullmann 404-409.

obviously, the lost model for the *Tring Tiles*. Infancy scholars have suggested that the Gospels were originally written in Syriac and translated into Arabic before the fifth-sixth centuries, providing Muslims, including Muhammad, access to the stories, resulting in the Prophet's inclusion of some of the Infancy material in the Quran.⁷⁶ Conversely, another scholar suggests that the story originally took form in the seventh century Arabic gospels.⁷⁷



Tring Tile: Fig. 9A, Harvesting Jesus' wheat. Fig. 9B, Fathers and Jesus at oven.
First quarter, 14th century, England. Courtesy of the British Museum.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Claudine Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast: Jews, Christians, & the Pig* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) 93.

The exchange of the pigs for goats has been attributed to a Christian statement of the Jewish aversion to pork, a restriction shared with Islam. However there is more to the appearance of Jewish children as pigs than just religious culinary limitation, namely the persistent historic antisemitic association of Jews with pigs. One additional statement of antisemitic stigmatizing and religious conflict can be seen in an historic Islamic concept, contained in the Quran and elaborated upon in Islamic literature, in which Jews, as well as Christians, were once punished by being transformed into pigs and apes.⁷⁸ This punishment was also later applied, in the afterlife, to Muslims who damaged the solidarity of Islam by following certain rejected beliefs of Jews and Christians. The discrepancies between the Arabic and Christian versions of the tale exemplify the historic fluidity of the Infancy gospels, a process that has muddled our understanding of the original version of the story. But what is clear in the stories about Jesus and the pigs is that it again emphasizes Jesus' break from Judaism, as early Christians strengthened their own identity by separating themselves from the old faith through rejection of the Jewish proscription against pigs and pork.⁷⁹

After Jesus revokes his punishment by changing the pigs back to boys, the story ends with a triumph for Jesus, as the adults, who are no longer angry, tell the children to always do whatever the marvelous Jesus commands them to do. This reversal in the parents' attitude is seen throughout

⁷⁸ Uri Rubin, "Apes, Pigs and the Islamic Identity" *Israel Oriental Studies XVI, Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam* (eds.) Uri Rubin, David J Wasserstein (Tel Aviv: Eisenbrauns, 1997) 89-105.

⁷⁹ Fabre-Vassas, 93. The Council of Antioch (third century) recommended to Christians the consumption of pork in rejection of the Jewish tradition. Fabre-Vassas also notes that another author has assembled over thirty popular culture versions of this Infancy story.

the Infancy narrative as the adults' anger and fear turns more to awe and wonder after Jesus performs the miracles of reviving the dead boys. However, this story of the fathers who attempted to hide their children provided Christians with additional evidence to accuse Jews of being liars, as well as being blind to Jesus' divine identity, a theme that runs throughout the *Selden Supra* 38 text. One example can be seen, when just before the Zacharias episode, Jesus calls a group of angry parents "blind," but when they marvel at Jesus' restoration of the dead boy, he states that they are no longer "blind in heart." From the Jewish perspective, the fathers in both the tower and the oven stories would have recognized the need to hide their children from Jesus, not just for their physical safety, but to protect them from the threat of medieval Christians who attempted to convert Jewish children to Christianity.

The two *Tring Tiles* at the Victoria and Albert Museum depict images that reflect such conversions.⁸⁰ (**figs. 10 & 11**) These tiles contain the only duplicate images in the *Tring Tile* series, showing Jesus with two groups of kneeling children. He revives and blesses his playmates, after they accidentally fall while attempting to follow him as he jumped from hill to hill and slid down a sunbeam.⁸¹ These images show docile, dutiful children, as Jesus' blessing gesture suggests that he is fulfilling his mission and converting the children. All the adults, who earlier were furious with Jesus over their children's deaths, (**fig. 11A**) now witness and marvel at his miraculous power and his ability to revive the dead children. These tile stories defined for medieval viewers, including

⁸⁰ Mary Casey, "Conversion as Depicted on the Fourteenth-Century Tring Tiles" *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* (Brepols, 2000), 339-352.

⁸¹ *Selden Supra* 38, fol.20v (fig. 13) contains one image of a boy kneeling before Jesus. He had died when another boy pushed him down the stairs of a house, but is revived by Jesus. Otherwise, in fol. 14r and fol. 24v the boys who have fallen from the hills and the sunbeam, are shown standing, not kneeling.

children, the importance of Jesus' life-saving power, even though following his lead can be difficult. The repetition of this image of kneeling children suggests a special emphasis on conversion, possibly of children. However, the tile images of the children brought back to life is also a reminder of the "convert or die" threat often faced by Jews, as they infer successful attempts by the Christian English to convert the Jews. In reality, the attempted conversion failed after a two-century effort which ended in the expulsion of 1290.



Tring Tile: Fig. 10A, Jesus and kneeling boys. Fig. 10B, Jesus and boys at well
First quarter, 14th century, England. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

Tring Tile: Fig. 11A, Joseph and angry parents. Fig. 11B, Jesus and kneeling boys
First quarter, 14th century, England. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

Images of figures kneeling in adoration are a common motif in Christian manuscript illustration. *Selden Supra* 38 includes three such episodes that were possibly taken from models similar to those of the kneeling children on the *Tring Tiles*. The first image occurs after the fall of the pagan idols, when Frondise, the King of Egypt, and his two followers, recognizing Jesus' power over their gods, kneel and adore Jesus. (**fig. 12**) The second image of kneeling, mentioned above, shows Jesus blessing the boy who was pushed down some stairs. (**fig. 13**) The parents witness Jesus blessing the child. The third episode of kneeling occurs near the end of the Infancy

Gospels, when two teachers kneel to adore Jesus. (**fig. 14**) In all these cases, the text reveals that blessing and conversion is taking place, indicating the triumph of Jesus and therefore Christianity.⁸²



Fig. 12. Selden Supra 38, fol. 8v. Jesus and Frondise with his followers. c. 1325, England. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

⁸² *Selden Supra* 38, fol. 8v: Frondise; fol. 20v: kneeling boy; fol. 30r: two kneeling teachers.



Fig. 13. Selden Supra 38, fol. 20v, Jesus and kneeling boys; parents.
C 1325, England. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



Fig. 14. Selden Supra 38, fol. 30r, Jesus and kneeling teachers; Joseph and teacher.
c. 1325, England. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Pervious to this episode of the kneeling teachers, Jesus was taken to school three times to be instructed by Zacharias, by Levi, and by a third teacher who slapped Jesus, was struck dead, and then revived. Immediately following this last encounter, Jesus was sent to school for a fourth time. Upon entering he did not read from the book that the teacher handed him but “spoke of the Holy Spirit.” Here the manuscript image illustrates Jesus blessing the two kneeling teachers who are so overwhelmed by his power, wisdom, and learning that they convert. **(fig. 14)** The epiphany of the Jewish teachers concludes a hard-fought process for Jesus during which he has reversed the traditional relationship between the teachers and their students, and has become the teacher himself. The conversion of these Jewish teachers reflects the ambitions of the medieval Christian Church and the English kings, when in reality, the majority of the Anglo-Judaic population chose to endure enforced poverty and expulsion rather than convert to Christianity.

One additional episode of Jesus and the teachers described in the Infancy of Christ Gospel texts is not depicted on the *Tring Tiles*. The story, related in Luke 2:42-50, tells of when Jesus, at age twelve, goes to Jerusalem at Passover with his parents and disputes with the doctors in the Temple. The timing of this final visit to the doctors is relevant to the educational ritual, as Passover precedes the Festival of Shavout in the Hebrew spring festival trilogy.⁸³ Like the medieval Ashkenazi boys who made their journey through the village and visited the teachers to begin their ritualistic education during Shavout, Jesus, following Passover, made his theological journey, by himself, to remain the several days with the Hebrew doctors. When found by Mary and Joseph, Jesus said that he must be about his father’s business, once again emphasizing his unique identity

⁸³ Marcus 79.

and separating himself from the old faith of his earthly family.⁸⁴ Duplicating the resolution of Jesus' conflicts with the teachers in the Infancy Gospels, in Jerusalem he once again became the teacher, exhibiting his success at convincing the Jewish doctors of his divine status and omniscience.

Although the four episodes in the Infancy Gospels that depict the encounters between Jesus and the teachers are clearly based on the Jewish educational ritual, Infancy scholars have interpreted these meetings as expansions on Luke's telling of Jesus' visit to the temple. Therefore it seems obvious that the apocryphal stories describing Jesus' trips to the teachers and the doctors exist as a conflation of the early Christian author's awareness of this Jewish educational ritual, as well as his dependence upon the stories that were to be included in the Christian bible.

The final *Tring Tile* image depicts a wedding scene drawn from the canonical Wedding at Cana, in which Jesus changes water to wine. **(fig. 15)** The tile's importance as a climactic statement is evident by its composition as the only single-scene story in the tile series. This episode of the wedding feast also appears in *Selden Supra* 38, but does not exist in the original texts, indicating that it has been added to complete this fourteenth-century Christian narrative. Derived from the canonical event which represents the adult Jesus' first miracle, the inclusion of this wedding feast fuses the centuries-old division between the Church's accepted events in Jesus' life and these officially rejected stories, lending an air of legitimacy to the marginalized apocryphal Infancy Gospels. Thus, the stories of Jesus' childhood on the *Tring Tiles* culminates in a

⁸⁴ Albrecht Koschorke, *The Holy Family and Its Legacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) 13-14, discusses how Jesus, through his miraculous conception, breaks from traditional Jewish patrilineal kinship order and rejects his earthly family in favor of those disciples who would leave all to follow him and his heavenly father.

miraculous episode which encapsulates the Christian symbolism associated with Christ's death, and particularly, his shedding of blood and the ritual of the Eucharist.

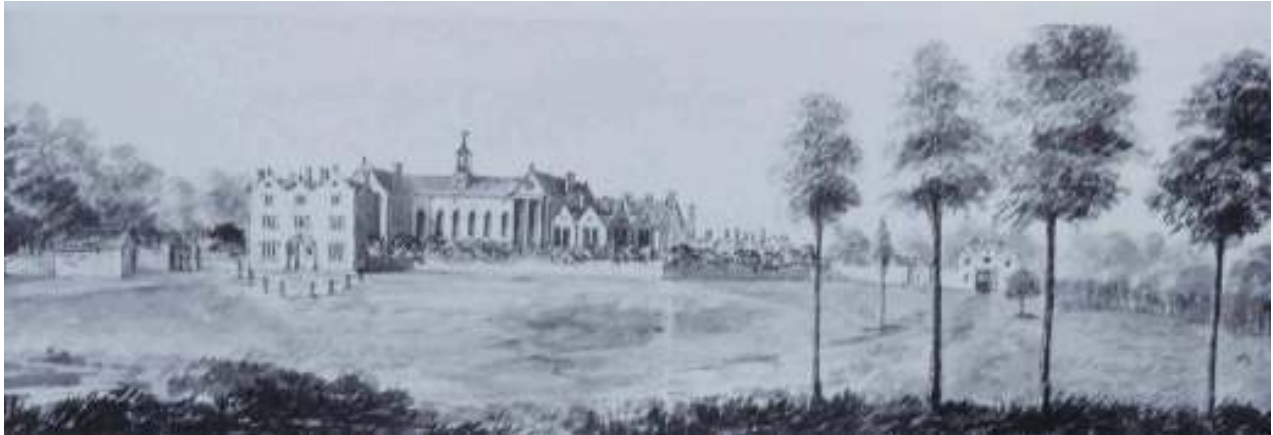


Tring Tile: *Fig. 15, Jesus changes water to wine at the wedding of Architeclin. First quarter, 14th century, England. Courtesy of the British Museum.*

While appropriate for any Christian site, this symbolically laden image exemplifies the major focus of Edmund of Cornwall in his founding of Ashridge College and its dedication to the life and blood of Christ. In 1257, when his father, Richard of Cornwall, was King of the Romans, Edmund accompanied him to Germany and obtained a phial of Christ's blood.⁸⁵ After his father's death in 1272, Edmund placed 1/3 of this blood in a shrine at Hailes Abbey, his father's monastic establishment, which became a major pilgrimage site, as the relic is reported to have wrought

⁸⁵ R. Holinshed, *Chronicle of England* (1577; 1807 ed., vol. 2, 472); Todd 276.

many miracles.⁸⁶ The remaining 2/3 of the blood from the phial was reserved for the chapel of St. Mary at Ashridge College. **(figs. 16 & 17)**



*Fig. 16. Ashridge College in early 18th century. Gough Maps II, fol. 62r.
Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.*



Fig. 17. Ashridge College in 1761. By kind permission of the National Trust.

⁸⁶ L. Margaret Midgley, *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296 – 1297* (London: Royal Historical Society, series 3, vol. 66, 1945) x.

In addition to the Holy Blood, Ashridge College held the relic of the heart of Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, now acclaimed as a saint. As Edmund's friend, Thomas held the position of first Bishop of Ashridge. His heart, placed in a repository described as an exquisite piece of art, was positioned on the north side of the choir of the Conventual Church, alongside the Relic of the Holy Blood.⁸⁷ Upon Edmund's death, his heart was in turn placed next to the saint's. Thus, Ashridge developed as a pilgrimage site, situated on the pilgrimage road between Dunstable Abbey and St. Albans Abbey. Traces of history suggest that pilgrims could have slept at a hospice in nearby Piccott's End, while the Bonhommes brethren at Ashridge provided them with "bodily refreshment and spiritual renewal."⁸⁸ Until the Dissolution, some of England's wealthiest families chose to be buried in the chapel of the College, in close proximity to these relics in order to receive the prayers of the brethren.⁸⁹ Edmund's position also established Ashridge as a place for royal and aristocratic gatherings. For example, Edward I spent much of December and January at Ashridge, following his queen Eleanor's death and Henry VIII made an offering to the Holy Blood at Ashridge during his visit to the College in 1530, just a few years before Ashridge was surrendered to the king, on November 6, 1539.⁹⁰

The Christ-centered focus of Ashridge is also evident in murals, of unknown date, painted on the walls of the cloister, depicting forty episodes from the life of Jesus. The second panel

⁸⁷ Todd 23, 23d.

⁸⁸ Douglas Coult, *A Prospect of Ashridge* (London: Phillimore, 1980) 24.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 49, quotes Todd 4, who includes a long list of benefactors, as recounted in the Ordinances and Martyrology.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 65.

portrayed the “Dispute in the Temple” along with the usual episodes from the miracle and passion stories of Christ’s life.⁹¹ Coult suggested that they may have been done by a member of the group of painters’ at St. Albans, who, following Matthew Paris in mid-thirteenth century, are known to have done work at churches and chapels in the area.⁹²

The founding charter of Ashridge states that the Bonhommes should devote their piety to the Precious Blood of Christ.⁹³ They were also dedicated to learning and scholarship. Extant manuscripts produced at Ashridge present evidence that a scriptorium existed at the monastery. The earliest remaining manuscript associated with the site is a copy of an *Historia Scolastica* of Petrus Comester, dated 1283-1300, made for Edmund of Cornwall, which he presented to the monastery.⁹⁴ The presence of a scriptorium at the foundation of a patron such as Edmund, who was dedicated to the blood of Christ, also suggests the possible presence of manuscripts that were dedicated to the life of Christ, and at least, the possibility of access to an Infancy of Christ Gospel manuscript. The scriptorium, too, introduces the possibility of an artist-scribe who could have drawn the expressive figures on the *Tring Tiles*, in the rare *sgraffito* technique.

In addition, Ashridge’s patron was no stranger to decorated ceramic tiles, as records show that Edmund purchased decorated floor tiles for the several religious houses to which he gave

⁹¹ Todd 58-59 contains a list of the images, which were described in 1794 as having damage to a few of the panels. See also Coult 31-32, 222.

⁹² Coult 53.

⁹³ Todd 276.

⁹⁴ London, British Library MS Royal 3, D.VI (Ashridge Petrus Comester). See H.C. Schulz, “The Monastic Library and Scriptorium at Ashridge” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. I/1, October, 1937, (San Marino, CA, 1937) 305-311.

financial support.⁹⁵ He therefore would have had access to tilers who could have made and fired the tiles, either on site, or possibly at nearby Penn, a town known for its tile production.⁹⁶ Although the decoration on these floor tiles was produced by a different method than the *Tring Tiles*, an experienced tile artist could have worked in both techniques, possibly even using drawings made by an artist at the scriptorium. The presence of floor tiles at Ashridge, listed as “paving tyles,” is attested in an inventory document in 1575, when Elizabeth I sold Ashridge -- a gift from her father Henry VIII after the Dissolution. However, this listing does not indicate whether the tiles were decorated.⁹⁷

Yet, the historical record does mention the existence of decorated floor tiles, possibly transferred from Ashridge to the Church of John the Baptist in nearby Aldbury.⁹⁸ In 1575 or 1576, when Elizabeth I sold the manor and grounds of Ashridge to a private buyer, Sir Edmund Verney moved his family’s tomb and two carved stone walls to create a chapel at the parish church in Aldbury. Records include the medieval floor tiles that cover the floor around the tomb with the establishment of this chapel, but with the same disregard given most tiles of this period. They were laid in a different direction from all the other tiles in the church, indicating a different time of installation, and as such, present the possibility of being the only known intact floor tiles that had

⁹⁵ Eames 291. Hailes Abbey is the best documented site, where his father, Richard, and Edmund paid for their heraldic tiles which decorated the floors of the abbey. Other sites to which Edmund gave financial support and from which there are surviving medieval tiles include Rewley, Burkhamsted, and Wallingford.

⁹⁶ Christopher Hohler, “Medieval Pavingtiles in Buckinghamshire” in *The “Records of Buckshire”* vol. XIV, Parts 1 & 2 (1942); Miles Green, *Medieval Penn Floor Tiles* (Miles Green, 2003).

⁹⁷ Todd 32.

⁹⁸ Coult 50; This chapel was referred to by various names, including Harcourt, Pendley, Whittingham, and Verney.

been in place at Ashridge before the dissolution. The designs in the tiles indicate that they were made at Penn using the common die-stamped method.⁹⁹ Two tile fragments were found among others that were lining an old grave in Penn parish churchyard with decoration produced by the etching method similar to that of the *Tring Tiles*, except that the background had not been scraped away.¹⁰⁰ The figures on the tile display a similar linear liveliness to those on the *Tring Tiles*. It has been conjectured that this was an earlier method than the die-stamped process, but both types may have been made at the same time at Penn tile works.

Most of the monastery buildings were demolished between 1802 and 1804 and turned to rubble to make room for a neo-Gothic mansion for the seventh Earl of Bridgewater. By that time the contents of the old monastery had been auctioned, destroyed, stolen, or sold, possibly including the *Tring Tiles*. The demolition produced huge piles of rubble, which might have been the source of the *Tring Tile* sherds found later in Tring and Luton.

Such was the end of this unusual monastery, where pilgrims, including the families of the dead buried there, had come to revere the relic of the Precious Blood of Christ and the heart of a saint. In the rarified atmosphere of Ashridge and the Bonhommes, these lively, child-centered images would have augmented the attraction of the relics and provided, for all the Children of God, an amplified version of the missing years from Jesus' life. However, whether the *Tring Tiles* were located at Ashridge College or at Tring Parish Church, the apocryphal stories contained on

⁹⁹ My inspection of the tiles at Aldbury determined that their patterns match those attributed to the tileworks at Penn, **Buckinghamshire**, as shown in the publication on Penn tiles by Christopher Hohler.

¹⁰⁰ Green 39-40.

these rare clay tiles demonstrated for viewers the dangers of defying Jesus and the rewards of following his lead, as they utilized the specter of the absent Jews to assert the power and superiority of Christianity and to help format and solidify an English Christian message and identity.



Strategic Domain: Reconquest Romanesque Along the Duero in Soria, Spain¹

By Mickey Abel

What can be seen in a map? This is a loaded question for it is dependent on the type of map to which one is referring and the type of information for which one is searching. Generally, a modern map should replicate what is observable in nature.² With the right notational symbols, shapes, or outlines a variety of natural information should be discernable—mountains, rivers, cities, etc. However, as the perspective becomes more myopic, as for example when one zooms in on a satellite image, significant details may be gained, but important spatial relationships are lost, making that natural, observable information less relevant because the broader context has become blurred.

Metaphorically, this is the problem encountered when analyzing the building patterns of a group of eleventh-and twelfth-century churches found in the Upper Duero region of the province of Soria, Spain. Rather than providing clarity and understanding, the close inspection of their formal details actually poses more questions than it provides answers. Methodologically or theoretically, it appears that these questions can only be addressed through the distance of geographical context. Through this contextual distance,

¹ This material was first presented at the annual conference of the Historians of Medieval Iberia, Exeter University, September, 2005. I would like to thank the editors and anonymous readers for their comments and suggestions.

² E. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World*, (London, 1997), vii. Alternative views to mapping are discussed in Geoff King, *Mapping Reality: An Exploration of Cultural Cartographies*, (New York, 1996).

one come to see a pattern in the topographical siting and portal orientation of the eleventh- and twelfth-century churches, such as that witnessed at Peridices, **(Figure 1)** where the church is located on the highest point in the area with its lateral portal facing out to the open plain. I want to suggest that initially this topographical orientation would have been seen as a subtle Visigothic mark on the Roman landscape, that in its early stages would have signaled a site of Christian security. However, by the time of the twelfth century, or the period of time surrounding the proliferation of church building in the Sorian district, this pattern of building had evolved into an exemplary sign of Christian dominance over the surrounding domain. This conclusion is reached by way of a mapping project that highlights the orientational relationship between a set of small chapels built in close proximity to the defensive fortresses that defined the boundaries of the Reconquest along the upper Duero in the region of Soria. Archaeologists and art historians alike have ignored these small chapels and their relationship to the fortresses that dominated the frontier landscape. In terms of our understanding of the later twelfth-century churches' distinct configuration, I will argue that this chapel/fortress relationship is particularly telling.



Figure 1: *Perdices, East of Almazan, looking towards the Northwest.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

When examined with close focus, a prominent feature that links many of the rural churches of twelfth-century Iberia into a distinct corpus is their portal composition.

(Figure 2) Found throughout the kingdoms of Castile and León, but for the purposes of this study particularly in the Sorian region, the churches of this stylistic group feature a deeply recessed, porch-like space created through the combination of incrementally stepped archivolt surrounding a tympanum-free portal opening.³ Isolated in this manner, the portal configuration generally resembles a set of eleventh- and twelfth-century churches found in the Charente-Poitou region of Western France.⁴ **(Figure 3)** The

³ I say “porch-like” because this not technically a separate distinguishable spatial unit, but by way of the configuration of architectural elements, appears to be a space to be entered. See S. Haven Caldwell, “The Introduction and Diffusion of the Romanesque Projecting Single-Portal Unit in Northern Spain,” Ph.D. Dissertation (Cornell University, 1974). Caldwell suggests that although the archivolt do not technically form an architectural porch, they provide a transition from exterior to interior, and thus give the feel or experience of a porch.

⁴ These Iberian churches have been incorporated into a broader study, which seeks to illuminate the function and meaning of the archivolted, tympanum-free portal configuration, particularly as it developed in the Charente-Poitou region of Western France. See M. Abel-Turby, *Rhetorical Translation, Exegetical Interpretation: The Archivolt as a Statement of Philosophy*, Unpublished Dissertation (University of Texas at Austin, 2001), Appendix A, 363-365. In general, see M. Durliat, *El arte románico en España*, (Barcelona, 1972); M. Gómez-Moreno, *El arte románico español*, (Madrid, 1934); J. Gaya Nuño, *El románico en la provincia de Soria*, (Madrid, 1946); and W. Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*, (Oxford, 1968).

compositional distinction that serves to distinguish the Sorian churches as typically Iberian is however, the addition of an Islamic or Mozarabic inspired *alfiz*.⁵ **(Figure 4)** This linearly-articulated rectangle surrounding the set of concentric archivolts provides both visual definition to the architectural composition and three-dimensional expansion to the unit by pulling the portal configuration out from façade wall to form the porch-like entrance.⁶ **(Figure 5 and Figure 6)**

⁵ J. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*, (University Park, 1989), 33, 86, 88, 96. Dodds shows examples of the *alfiz* for both Islamic and Mozarabic contexts. See also M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes: Arte español de los siglos IX a XI*, (Granada, 1998). French façade programs are more typically flat with the archivolts of the portal forming a concave opening. See Abel-Turby, Appendix B, 436-437.

⁶ For a broader discussion of Iberian porches, see I. Gonzalo Bango Torviso, “Atrio y pórtico en el románico español: concepto y finalidad cívico-litúrgica,” *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, 40-41 (Universidad de Valladolid, 1975), 175-88; and I. Gonzalo Bango Torviso, “El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española,” *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 4 (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1992), 93-132. Bango Torviso suggests that the zone in front of and next to the lateral portal was extremely privileged and could be used for a variety of functions to include liturgical celebrations, penitential acts, reunions of the laity, and especially the internment of socially privileged personages.



Figure 2: *Perdices, Detail South Lateral Portal.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 3: Maillé (c.1100), Poitou, France, Western Façade.
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 4: *Santa Maria del Castillo, Calatañazor, West of Soria, Western Portal.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 5: *Coroña del Conde, West of Soria, South Lateral Portal.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 6: *Valdegeña, East of Soria, South Lateral Portal.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

Stepping back from this myopic focus on portal's formal elements, one notes another conspicuous commonality linking many of the rural churches of Castile and León. Not only are these churches similarly defined by their archivolted portal configurations, which are generally positioned on either the north or the south sides of the church,⁷ but they are uniformly sited on the top of isolated hills or rocky outcroppings, clearly acknowledging the visual advantages of this area's natural topographical features.⁸ As seen at Viana de Duero, (**Figure 7**) this combination of portal orientation

⁷ Bango Torviso, "Atrio y pórtico," 186, says that the village people would have entered the church by way of either the north or south lateral portal, depending on which side of the church would have been closest to the road leading to the church.

⁸ A Western orientation and elaborately sculpted portal configuration common to the Poitou region of western France can also be found in Iberian churches, but they are more commonly associated with urban

and topographical siting conveys a dominating presence not felt in the French context. Empirically speaking, the Iberian churches appear to be more actively engaged in the vocabulary of their landscape setting than the detail-laden facades of Poitou. In Iberia, particularly in the open rural areas of Castile and León, this visual presence calls to mind the strategic--and one might say purposeful--placement of modern billboards.⁹ **(Figure 8)** Prominently placed so as to be recognized from a long distance, buildings with these portal configurations were singularly associated with a church building. Functioning as a “branding” device—or monogram—the portal could be read as the “sign” that signifies the general civility of Christianity.¹⁰ As the dominant visual identifier of the building, I have suggested elsewhere that the portal configuration operated in a manner similar to the way the Golden Arches at a freeway exit signal a safe place for a food break on an unfamiliar stretch of highway.¹¹

settings and date to the later twelfth century. A good example is that of Santo Domingo in the town of Soria, which dates to the end of the twelfth century. This church is said to represent a “Hispano-Franco” style resembling that of Notre-Dame-la-Grande in Poitier. See L Lojendio and A. Rodríguez, *Rutas románicas en Castilla y León/1* (Madrid, 1995), 15-24. The churches considered in this study are rural and although they may be found throughout Castile and Leon, this study isolates those of Soria because of the historical documents’ emphasis on the Duero as a defining element of both geography and historical events.

⁹ The idea of a church façade working as a billboard comes from C. Altman, “The Medieval Marquee: Church Portal Sculpture as Publicity,” *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages* (Bowling Green, 1986), 6-16.

¹⁰ The portal configuration of both France and Spain can be likened to monographic icons in the modern advertising sense that the specific arrangement of sculptural features was specifically placed on the building to signal a particular association—in this case, a church and not a house, palace, or market. The idea of a “monographic icon” is taken from R. Walker, “The Wall Paintings of the Panteón de los Reyes at León: A Cycle of Intercession” *Art Bulletin* 82/2 (2000), 200-225.

¹¹ M. Abel, “Before Nationalities: Peace Initiatives and Corporate Identity via the Medieval Parish Church Portal” *Connections: European Studies Annual Review*, Center for the Study of Europe, Brigham Young University, Vol. 1 (2005): 6-11, (<http://europe.byu.edu/rmesc.html>).



Figure 7: *Viana de Duero, North of Almazan, Northern Wall.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 8: *Sorian Plain, from Almazan, looking to the Northeast.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

But what of the landscape and the highway? If the portal configuration and topographical orientation was so familiar in a particular region as to be ubiquitous--as is suggested by highlighting the number of sites with these features in the upper Duero region of Castile, known as Soria (**Figure 9**)--to whom were these buildings broadcasting and what was the message presented by their distinctive formal elements? Was there something within the context of this region that called for the repetition of this particularly dramatic employment of portal orientation and topographical siting? How would these buildings and their landscape setting have been originally seen and “read?” To answer these questions, one must realize that, at the most basic level, the rural topography of the Sorian landscape looks today essentially as it would have appeared in the Middle Ages. If we can see beyond the multiplication of later constructions and trust our modern assessment of the visual correlation between landscape and church, such as that seen across the Sorian plain on the road out of Almazan, (**Figure 10**) the questions become: what did the replication of this pattern of correlated topography and orientation represent to the people who used these churches regularly? And further, would this more regularly seen and locally familiar visual interaction have been significantly different from that experienced by someone who was simply passing by these churches on their way to somewhere else?



Figure 9: Map, Sites with Twelfth-Century Churches.
Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.



Figure 10: Sorian Plain, from Almazan.
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

Unfortunately, as is the case with many investigations into the Middle Ages, the surviving written records do not reveal the data necessary to answer the type of questions suggested by the architecture. One needs to expand beyond these documents in search of an answer. In this case, the use of an archaeologically inspired spatial analysis to create a contextual map of the Sorian province will help explain the relationship of these churches to one another and to their geographical/ historical environment.¹²

THE HISTORY OF THE REGION AS IT PERTAINS TO ITS GEOGRAPHY

The preeminent cultural factor shaping our contextual understanding of this period was the Reconquest.¹³ The Duero River, both historically and geographically, has been highlighted in the scholarship as a significant line of demarcation between Christianity to the north and Islam to the south.¹⁴ A close reading of the historical events and the sites

¹² Spatial analysis is often the basis of domain studies. For example, see S. Bonde and C. Maines, "Sovereignty and Territory: The Construction of Monastic Domains in the Medieval Diocese of Soissons as a Case Study," *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of Medieval and Later Archaeology: Medieval Europe* (Basle, 2002), 453-463. In this endeavor I find myself, as J. B. Harley would describe it, in the nebulous area between the historian who "is primarily concerned with the extent to which the evidence of maps can be evaluated as a 'true' record of the facts of events in space," and a mapmaker who plays a "rhetorical role in defining the configurations of power in society as well as recording their manifestations in the visible landscape." See J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape*, D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.), (Cambridge, 1988), 277-312. For maps and the problems associated with mapping in the Middle Ages, see P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London, 1991); and D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.), "Introduction," *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge, 1988), 1-10. I am proposing to re-contextualize these churches by situating them in the environment in which they were conceived and used. In doing so I am acknowledging, as Edson, vii, says, "the hand of the map maker is guided by a mind located in a certain time and place and sharing inevitably the prejudices of his or her surroundings." After beginning with a brief explanation of the theoretical methodologies to be used, the data gathered will be organized and presented cartographically.

¹³ D. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (New York, 1978); R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity 400-1000* (New York, 1983); C. Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest," *A History of the Crusades*, K. Setton (ed.), (Madison, 1975), Vol. 3: 396-456; and J. Powers, *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages 1000-1284* (Berkeley, 1988).

¹⁴ Harley, 302, says, "Cartography remains a teleological discourse, reifying power, reinforcing the *status quo*, and freezing social interaction within charted lines." In terms of the historian's rendering of the divisive line along the Duero, it is applied more apply to the lower Duero. In the Sorian region the hilly topography prevents the river from defining a clear line on the landscape.

on which they were played out, shows that while the Duero does indeed signify a metaphorical line in the sand, the geographical and historical realities are much less clearly defined. A detailed history of the Reconquest illustrates that sites on either side of the Duero changed hands frequently--so much so that the back-and-forth nature of conquering and holding a fortress site was a greater reality than the more familiar historical overview that presents the conquest as a steady march southward.¹⁵

Geographically, the Duero River has its headwaters in the mountains above and slightly to the west of the town of Soria. **(Figure 11)** It runs south about 36 kilometers in the general direction of Almazan, where it turns to the West and meanders through Spain to Portugal all the way to the Atlantic coast. It represents, therefore, a long and continuous natural boundary—one where the historical events that took place in the lower sections of the river, to the west of Zamora, had significantly different connotations than those that took place in the upper or Sorian region.

¹⁵ Lomax, Chapter 2, “The Struggle for the Duero,” 35-49.



Figure 11: *Map, Soria, the Duero River.*
Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.

Historically, the modern telling of these events tends to give us a picture of this landscape as “neutral”—a kind of “existential tableau”¹⁶ that had the particulars of history and culture written on it. Yet, the upper Duero can be separately identified as a “place” or “an arena of common engagement,”¹⁷ distinct in time and space from other Reconquest sites. Phenomenologically, the underlying assumption is that contemporary perceptions of the region would have reflected the same compartmentalizing or apportioning of space according to historical events that we sense in the written records—that the people who inhabited this region at the time the historical records were written would have had a similar mental picture of the area’s natural boundaries and geologic features as did those

¹⁶ E. Casey, “How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena” *Senses of Place*, S. Feld and K. Basso (eds.), (Santa Fe, 1996), 14.

¹⁷ C. Geertz, “Afterword,” *Senses of Place*, S. Feld and K. Basso, (eds.), (Santa Fe, 1996), 260-262.

who were doing the official recording.¹⁸ Moreover, we assume that there would have been a correspondingly shared knowledge or sense of the events taking place within these places.¹⁹ We, therefore, have to ask whether the people living on the north or south side of the Duero saw and understood themselves to be essentially the same? Or was their understanding of their own identity based on location? Did their sense of identity change with the events of the Reconquest? Or was the daily existence of these people unaffected by the political events surrounding their lived experience?

If we want to understand the medieval rendering of the divisive line we have drawn along the Duero, we have to attempt to reconstruct not only those landscape elements that might have instructed the inhabitant's perception, but also the rituals or allegories that guided these people's conduct within those spaces. We can do this using an archaeologically and anthropologically constructed "cognitive map."²⁰ This is the kind of map one draws for a friend describing the way to a place using the visual landscape as it is recorded in one's mind or memory without reference to standard cartographic devices like scale, specific road names or cardinal directions. However, because we know that human perceptions are not strictly sensual, but are socially and culturally constructed, our cognitive map should reflect this and should include internal, as well as external horizons. In addition to an accounting of such exterior perceptions as

¹⁸ These theoretical ideas are explored in D. Smail, *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille* (Ithaca, 1999), 1-41.

¹⁹ Casey, 13-52, reminds us that at any one moment the mental picture of these boundaries and features would have been static or even stable, but like our own perceptions were constantly shifting.

²⁰ C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, "What Did They Think?: Cognitive Archaeology, Art, and Religion" *Archaeology Theories, Methods, and Practice* (New York, 2004), 393-397, 406-408; Kevin Walsh, "A Sense of Place: A Rule for Cognitive Mapping in the 'Postmodern' World?" *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*, Hodder, *et al* (eds.), (London, 1995), 131-140; and S. Feld and K. Basso, "Introduction," *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, 1996), 11. See also J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power" *The Iconography of Landscape*, D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.), (Cambridge, 1988), 277-312.

the direction of the rising sun we have to register the internal, i.e. allegorical or ritual connotations, such as the sun's association with the Biblical Resurrection.²¹ We know by way of medieval travelogues such as the *Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago*, that this type of "sensual emplacement"²² was common practice in relating geographical space.²³ Distances were conveyed not in measurable units, but by how far one could ride or walk in a day. Sites were described by their prominent features or the rituals associated with them. As such these are "embodied renderings"²⁴--initiated from within the body inhabiting space, and are therefore quite different from the information one would find on a modern map. For the sake of orientation, however, the modern map will provide a foundational view of the region.

Topographically, the Sorian portion of the Duero hugs the base of the mountainous wooded area known as the *Pinares de Almazan*. (**Figure 12**) Highlighted as green on the map, this wooded area forms the northern border of a high sierra of open rolling hills. This plain, pictured in **Figure 13** from the North looking South is bound to the south by other mountain ranges, also defined by a river—the Jalon, which runs east to the Mediterranean. As defined by the white area on the map, (**Figure 12**) the high sierra between the two rivers formed a more permeable "zone of demarcation" than the definitively drawn line along the Duero River.²⁵ The separation effect of this high sierra

²¹ Casey, 16-19.

²² Feld and Basso, 9.

²³ P. Gerson, J. Krochalis, A. Shaver-Crandell and A. Stones, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Critical Edition*, Volume II: The Text (London, 1998).

²⁴ Feld and Basso, 11.

²⁵ L. Caballero Zoreda, "Arqueología tardorromana y visigoda en la provincia de Soria," *Actas del Ier Symposium de Arquelogia Soriana*, 9 (1984), 452-455.

zone becomes even clearer when we begin to situate historically significant sites on the map. Defensively, the wooded areas on either side of this zone had long been valued for their protective and strategic positions. The two major Roman roads, indicated in red on the map, **(Figure 14)** which connected the hilltop fortified sites at Numancia, Uxama, and Clunia to the north and Medinaceli, Secontia, and Termantia to the south, indicate that as early as the second century this region was an important center of an east/west trade and travel pattern.²⁶ It is, however, by way of the built infrastructure that Roman Soria begins to define itself as a distinct, internally connected region. The local-interconnecting secondary roads indicated in deep blue on the map, **(Figure 15)** which run north and south, provided regional communication between the urban sites along the two major roads. The extensive aqueducts and irrigation systems of the areas north of Medinaceli and Termancia **(see Figure 15)** indicate a regionally-connected organization based on a shared understanding of water technology.²⁷ And the impressive triumphal arch at Medinaceli, **(Figure 16)** which was built in the second century on one of the highest, most visible points in the regional topography, marked the crosspoint where the major east/west route met that of the north/south.

²⁶ P. Díaz, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity" *Towns and Their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, G. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, and N. Christie (eds.), (Lieden, 2000), 3-35; P. Artigas y Corominas, "San Estaban de Gormaz: La Epigraphia Romana" *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 39 (1931), 19-29. For the study and analysis of ancient roads and their importance to trade and travel, see B. P. Hindle, *Medieval Roads* (London, 1982); O. R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge, 1994); and T. Glick, Chapter 3, "Urbanization and Commerce" *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1979), 110-134.

²⁷ Various Authors, "Excavaciones arqueológicas en el yacimiento de Tiermes: Informes preliminares de la Octava Campaña (1982)," *Celtiberia*, Vol. XXXII/64 (1982): 329-358; and T. Glick, Chapter 4, "Irrigation in Al-Andalus: A Reassessment" *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester, 1995), 64-91.



Figure 12: Map, Soria with Rivers and Wooded areas that define the Sorian Plain.
Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.



Figure 13: Sorian Plain, from Gormaz Fortress looking South.
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 14: Map, Soria with major Roman Roads.
Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.



Figure 15: Map, Soria with Roman Infrastructure.
Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.



Figure 16: *Medinaceli, Roman Arch, 2nd Century, South of Almazan.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF SORIA

Preferring to reuse what the Romans had left behind, the Visigoths of Soria did not, as a rule, build fortresses or castles.²⁸ Muslims after the conquest in the 8th century did, however, build on many of the old Roman sites along the Roman trade routes, indicating that much of that earlier regional vitality and defensive value remained operative through the intervening centuries.²⁹ **(Figure 17)** From an archaeological point of view, there-building on these architectural sites would suggest a teleological progression of events—a seamless continuity of settlement. It is however, instructive to

²⁸ J. Jiménez Estaban, *El castillo medieval español y su evolución*, (Madrid, 1995), 43-51. J. Kaufmann and H. Kaufmann, *The Medieval Fortress* (Cambridge, 2001), 81, say that the Visigoths did build a series of small fortifications of adobe brick to prevent a Basque group from raiding. These were taken by the Bardulians in their fight against the Arabs.

²⁹ *Castillos de Soria: Aproximación a la arquitectura militar medieval*, Junta de Castilla y León, (Madrid, 1949), 27-30; and F. Cobos Guerra and J. Javier de Castro Fernández, *Castillos y Fortalezas* (León, 1998), 3-10.

remember that in the mapping of *people* as distinct from the life of architectural sites, we are dealing with inherent discontinuities and multiplicities of voice.³⁰ In Soria this is especially true when one takes into consideration the multiplicity of individual events that made up the whole of the Reconquest—particularly the back-and-forth nature of the individual site battles, which sparked the much-debated pattern of abandonment and repopulation of the region.³¹



Figure 17: Map, Soria, Roman sites inhabited by Muslim Fortresses.
Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.

³⁰ Feld and Basso, 5.

³¹ C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y Repoblación del Valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires, 1966). One of the “Libros de Repartimiento” has been translated from the Castilian by T. Glick in “Resettlement and Redistribution of Land” *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, O. R. Constable, (ed.), (Philadelphia, 1997), 228-231.

In Soria, we know that the majority of the Visigoths who settled in the region did so on the open plain as peasant farmers--many of them staying on after the Muslim conquest.³² And while not recorded in significant buildings, their presence can be seen in the peppering of the area with hundreds of sculpted stones, known as “estelas.”³³ **(Figure 18)** Named for their “star-like” decorative forms, these displaced funerary monuments incorporated a variety of vegetal and geometric motifs and are found in forty-nine different locations in the Sorian district, indicating wide-spread Visigothic settlement. **(Figure 19)** There is also documentary evidence that, after the Muslim conquest, as early as 718, Christians from the north had begun to resettle in the ruins at Uxama.³⁴ **(See Figure 17)** Because of the constant need for open pastureland, this gradual resettlement from the north continued on an ad hoc basis until 1085, when the Christian kings made re-settlement more deliberate and politically motivated.³⁵ Historians, generally basing their arguments on the chronicles left by these Christian kings, would paint a picture of an era of as much as a hundred years of complete abandonment and depopulation—the

³² C. de la Casa Martínez, “Aproximación al hábitat visigodo de Termes,” *II Simposium de Arqueología Soriana*, Vol. II, (1989), 1007-1019.

³³ C. de la Casa Martínez, *Estelas medievales de la provincia de Soria* (Soria, 1993), 134; and M. Doménech Esteban, “Dispersión geográfica y temática decorativa de las estelas medievales de la provincia de Soria” *Actas del I Simposium de Arqueología Soriana* (Soria, 1984), 525-531, who notes that these stones are found most often reused as wall ornamentation in later Romanesque churches, but also in private gardens and resituated in modern cemeteries.

³⁴ Uxama is now named Osma. See Lomax, 52.

³⁵ J. Gautier-Dalché, “Reconquête et Structures de l’Habitat en Castille” *Castrum 3: Guerre, Fortification et Habitat dans le Monde Méditerranée au Moyen Âge* (Madrid, 1985), 200-206; Lomax, 96; and personal conversation with E. Pascua, at the 2005 meeting of the Historians of Medieval Iberia at Exeter University, where an earlier version of this material was delivered. Dr. Pascua is preparing her own paper, “Round and About Water: Christians and Muslims in the Ebro River in the 14th Century,” for a Festschrift dedicated to Professor Richard Fletcher, edited by Peter Linehan and Simon Barton, (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2006). See also, J. Ángel García de Cortázar, “Sociedad rural y organización del espacio en la Castilla del año mil” *Campagnes Médiévales: L’Homme et son Espace* (Paris, 1995), 613-625; and Powers, 13-24. For a study of the people caught in this nebulous period, see T. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200* (Leiden, 1994), 20-25.

Christians fleeing to the north or sold into African slavery—the Muslims retreating further south.³⁶ Others, like Thomas Glick, are more sensitive to the archaeological evidence and suggest that these accounts refer primarily to elite populations occupying the hilltop fortresses. Further, the occasional stories of burning and pillaging of crops, or the rustling of herds as booty, should be seen as an indication that, like the products themselves, the farmers and shepherds who produced them were considered valuable commodities by both sides.³⁷ Glick feels that these people were, for the most part, outside the purview of the military skirmishes, and were generally left alone so that they could continue to be productive.³⁸ Indeed, the design of Muslim fortresses, like that at Gormaz (**Figure 20**) shows that they were built initially as a simple walled precinct—an *alcazaba*—and used, not to stake out a military frontier as Christian castles came to be used, but rather as an outpost protection for herds, harvested crops, and the people who tended both.³⁹

³⁶ C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del Valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires, 1966).

³⁷ Glick, (1979), 51-106; and Glick, (1995), 125-164.

³⁸ Powers, 22, 94, 210, suggests that some of the skirmishes may actually have been between the farmers, who were primarily Muslim, and the shepherds, who were primarily Christian. The control of water was more the issue than a difference in religion. In her forthcoming article, Esther Pasqua illustrates the political necessity and acceptance felt by Christian rulers for the Muslim expertise in regards to the operation of mill and irrigation systems. See note 26.

³⁹ For the function of an Islamic castle see, Glick, (1995), "Incastellamento," 105-113; L. Monreal y Tejada, *Medieval Castles of Spain* (Cologne, 1999), 11-21; H. Kennedy, "Fortifications in the West and East before the First Crusade" *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), 1-11; and Kaufmann and Kaufmann, 79-83, 129-130. For the development of Christian castles see M. Bur, "The Social Influence of the Motte and Bailey Castle" *Scientific American*, Vol. 248/5 (1983), 132-143. In general see, J. Espinosa de los Monteros and L. Martín-Artajo Saracho, *Corpus de castillos medievales de Castilla*, (Bilbao, 1974); J. Bernad Remon, *Castillos de Soria*, (Leon, 1994); F. Sainz Robles, *Castillos en España: su historia, su arte, sus leyendas* (Madrid, 1962); A. Weissmuller, *Castles from the Heart of Spain* (New York, 1967); R. A. Brown, *Castles: A History and Guide* (New York, 1980); and M. W. Thompson, *The Rise of the Castle* (Cambridge, 1991).



Figure 18: Visigothic Estelas.
Photo, Carlos de la Casa Martinez.

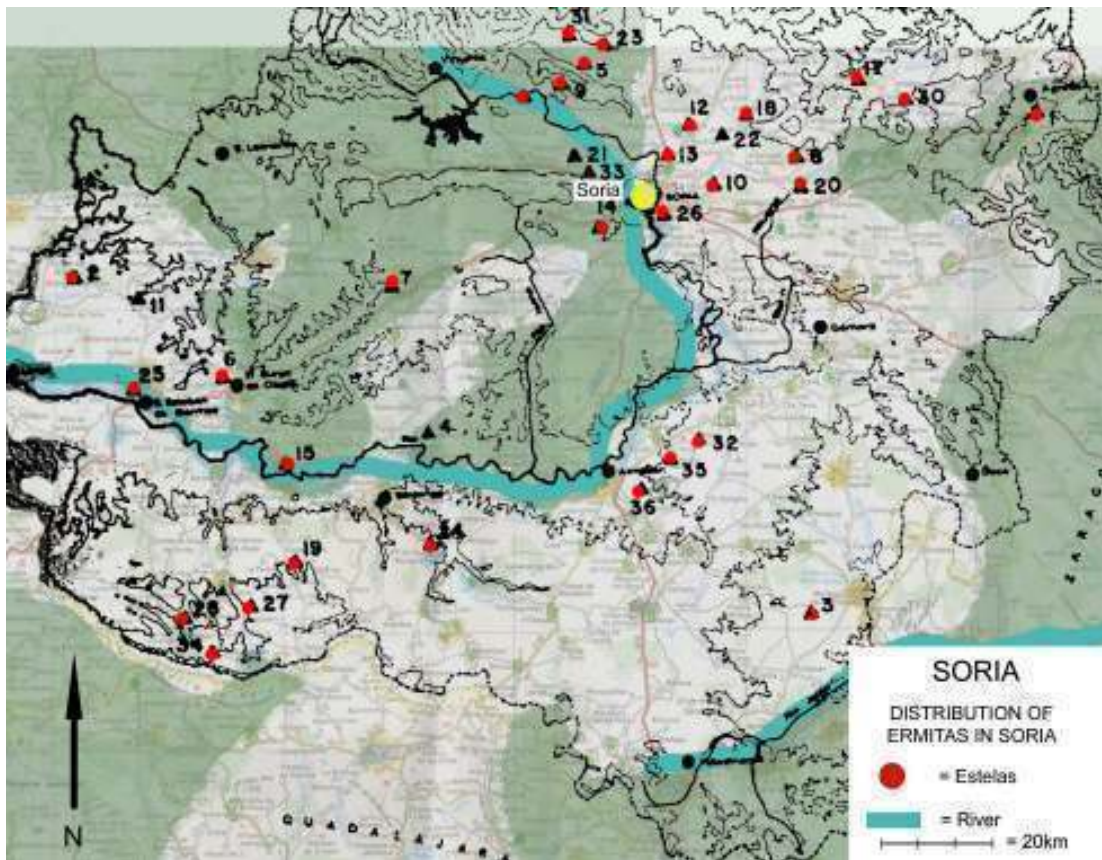


Figure 19: Map, Soria, Distribution of Estelas.
Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.



Figure 20: *Gormaz Fortress, West of Almazan, Northern Wall.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

What we can, therefore, begin to sense in the accounting of these early settlers is a bilateral pattern of habitation⁴⁰—the life of the farmer, herder, or mill hand juxtaposed to that of the elite political events associated with the domineering fortresses. As seen in the view taken from the fortress of Calatañazor looking out to the farmland below, (**Figure 21**) this pattern of habitation is mirrored in the topographic landscape—the farmers and herders residing on the rolling plain, the ruling elite separated by elevation in their hilltop preserves. And thus, when the defensive sites of the Reconquest are added to the cognitive map, (**Figure 22**) one recognizes that the continued exploitation of the natural

⁴⁰ Feld and Basso, 6, theorize this as a “multi-sensual oscillation between a foreground of everyday lived emplacement” and “a background of social potential.”

topographic features—particularly the mountain vistas—that is witnessed in both the historical documents and in the continual re-use of the significant architectural sites, is a reflection of the abstract economic/political intentions of the actual power structure. However, in the expansion of the Roman infrastructure—such as the significant Muslim improvement of the Roman irrigation systems-- one should see not only a record of agricultural production, milling, and trade, but also a nuanced, multivalent picture of the populace who continued to inhabit the high sierra zone and keep the area's economy productive.



Figure 21: *Calatañazor Fortress, West of Soria, view from fortress to the West.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 22: *Map, Soria, Fortress sites of the Twelfth Century.*
 Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.

CHURCH BUILDING

Importantly, for the purposes of this mapping project, one of the requirements of these early shepherd/ farmer settlers—whether they be Visigoth descendants or transplanted northern Christians--was a priest to say Mass and perform the sacraments.⁴¹ Evidence indicates that settlements were routinely abandoned if a priest could not be provided or maintained. Structurally, what seems to have been required to accommodate these priests was a simple architectural form, like that at San Sebastian at Montuenga de Soria, (**Figure 23**) large enough only to house a baptismal font and mark a plot for a

⁴¹ Lomax, 97, refers to Alfonso VII's charters of the twelfth century in describing the measures taken to establish settlements. He says kings, such as Alfonzo, provided priests in order to maintain the morale and to convince the settlers of the "transcendental nature of their work." See also, J. M. Lacarra, "Les villes-frontières dans l'Espagne des XIe et XIIe Siècles" *Le Moyen Âge* 69 (1963), 205-222; and M. Aubrun, *La Paroisse en France: des origins au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 48-51, 56-63, 81-89, and 198.

necropolis.⁴² Remains of graves can be seen at several sites, to include Rominillos de Medinaceli, **(Figure 24)** San Baudelio de Berlanga, **(Figure 25)** and San Miguel de Gormaz.⁴³ **(Figure 26)** Interestingly, these small chapels, commonly known today as *ermitas*,⁴⁴ which were built to house the outpost priests and their fonts, give us an indication of the beginnings of the distinct portal orientation and siting of the later Romanesque churches. Like that at Torre de Pozuel, **(Figure 27)** they are situated high on the sides of hills, their portals are consistently oriented out towards the open plain.

⁴² For a discussion of the necropolis of Soria, see *Celtiberia* XXXII/64 (1982), 348-352; Caballero Zoreda, 433-458; and B. Taracena Aguirre, *Carta arqueológica de España: Soria*, (Madrid, 1941), 17-21. In general, see E. Zadora-Rio, "The Role of the Cemetery in the Formation of Medieval Settlement Patterns in Western France" *Medieval Archaeology*, C. Redman (ed.), (Binghamton, 1989), 171-186.

⁴³ At Rominillos de Medinaceli, **(Figure 24)** the church is built directly on the stone bedrock at the top of a flight of stairs. The graves are found to the right of the church's portal in an enclosed cemetery precinct and are carved into the same stone as that which forms the church's foundation. Similarly, those at San Baudelio de Berlanga **(Figure 25)** are carved into the bedrock, but here the precinct extends to the side of the church. At San Miguel de Gormaz **(Figure 26)** the exposed graves are today inside the enclosed porch. Bango Torviso, "El espacio para enterramientos," 94-98, discusses the space of the lateral porch or lateral entrance in pre-Romanesque Iberian churches as having special significance for burials.

⁴⁴ Historically, an *ermita* is defined as the dwelling of a hermit—a hermitage. It is a term generally used to distinguish small isolated churches from parish churches that had sacramental rights. Evidence presented here suggests that at least some of the churches encompassed in this study processed these rights, and thus the colloquial usage of the term "ermita" is not technically correct. It is, however, how these churches are indicated on maps, road signs, and guide books. I use it here to distinguish these essentially-undocumented chapels from the more codified designators of the twelfth-century churches, where we are on relatively solid ground in assigning them to a parochial system.



Figure 23: *Ermita San Sebastian at Montuenga de Soria, East of Medinaceli, South Lateral Portal. Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.*



Figure 24: *Rominillos de Medinaceli, Necropolis Precinct to the East of the South Lateral Portal. Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.*



Figure 25: *San Baudelio de Berlanga, Necropolis Precinct to the West of the South Lateral Portal. Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.*



Figure 26: *San Miguel de Gormaz, Necropolis Precinct inside the North Porch.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 27: *Ermita Torre de Pozuel, Western and Northern Walls.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

Dating the ermitas is, however, problematic. Some have been attributed to the Visigoths based on building materials, inscriptions, and the carving of the baptismal fonts,⁴⁵ while others are ascribed to the northern Christians based on the dates of various Christian conquests and the style of the buildings. Some may even have had a temporary life as a mosque, like that at San Julian Medinaceli, which is located just inside the “Arab

⁴⁵ For the Visigothic evidence, see P. Banks and J. Zozaya, “Excavations in the Caliphal Fortress of Gormaz (Soria), 1979-1981: A Summary” *Papers in Iberian Archaeology*, T. Blagg, R. Jones, and S. Keay, (eds.), BAR International Series 193(ii), (1984), 679; Caballero Zoreda, 443-451; and J. Zozaya, “Evolución de un Yacimiento: El Castillo de Gormaz (Soria)” *Castrum 3: Guerre, Fortification et Habitat dans le Monde Mediterranean au Moyen âge*, (1988), 177. For baptismal fonts, see M. A. Alonso Sanchez, “Pilas Bautismales Sorianas con Omega-Alfa” *II Symposium de arqueología soriana*, Vol. II, (1989), 1131-1143.

Gate” in the walled village of Medinaceli.⁴⁶ **(Figure 28)** Occasionally we find this indicated by way of interior decoration, such as horseshoe arches or inscriptions, as seen with the inscription of Hakam II **(Figure 29)** and the horseshoe arch **(Figure 30)** found at San Miguel de Gormaz.⁴⁷ The most famous in this category is, of course, San Baudelio **(Figure 31)** with its mosque-like configuration, horseshoe arched door, **(Figure 32)** and secular, Islam-inspired murals.⁴⁸ To further confound this dating issue, many of the extant ermita have been significantly remodeled through Renaissance and early modern use.⁴⁹ Seen from the outside, the added portal ornamentation and rebuilt walls of the ermita at Romanillos de Medinaceli **(Figure 33)** obscures all but the stones of the medieval foundation. And like many of the ermitas the interior has been plastered and whitewashed. Similarly, at the ermita at Torre de Pozuel, **(See Figure 27)** one can see signs of rebuilding in the fabric of the upper portion of the walls, where the earlier rubble-stone construction of the lower wall changes to a cut and mortared stone just under the eaves, probably to accommodate a new, more substantial roof.

⁴⁶This sort of “temporary life” has also been recorded and studied in the Portuguese context. See *Terras de Moura Encantada: Art Islámica en Portugal* (Porto, 1999). I would like to thank Dr. Clark Maines for calling this to my attention. For a discussion of a layering of meaning in ecclesiastical space that comes through re-use and appropriation, see J. Dodds, “Spaces,” *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, M. Menocal, R. Scheindlin, and M. Sells, (eds.), (Cambridge, 2000), 83-95.

⁴⁷M. Ocaña, “Lápida árabe de la Ermita de San Miguel de Gormaz” *Al-Andalus* 8 (1943), 450-452. For a discussion of horseshoe arches in the Spanish context, see Dodds, 17-20 and *passim*.

⁴⁸J. Andrio Gonzalo and E. Loyola Perea, “Necropolis Medieval de San Baudelio de Casillas de Berlanga,” *II Symposium de arqueología soriana*, Vol. II, (1989), 1069-1087; and A. Escolano Benito, *San Baudelio de Berlanga: Guía y Complementarios*, (Salamanca, 2003). San Baudelio has long been embroiled in a “dating” controversy of its own based on the two styles of mural paintings found on the interior. For this argument see, J. Garnelo, “Descripción de las pinturas murales que decoran la ermita de San Baudelio en Casillas de Berlanga (Soria)” *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 32 (1924): 96-109; C. Hawes, “Two Paintings from the Hermitage Church of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Castile, Spain” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 26, no 153, (1928), 6-11; and A. Kulp, *San Baudelio de Berlanga: New Considerations* (University of Washington, 1984). I would like to thank Rachael Garnett for bringing these citations to my attention.

⁴⁹For a discussion of remodeling in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see I. Gonzalo Bango Torviso, “El neovisigotismo artístico de los siglos IX y X: La restauración de ciudades y templos” *Revista de ideas estéticas*, 148 (1979), 319-338.



Figure 28: *Ermita San Julian Medinaceli-ville, South Lateral Portal.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 29: *Inscription of Hakam II, San Miguel de Gormaz.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 30: *Ermita San Miguel de Gormaz, Interior Portal leading from the Porch into the Nave. Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.*



Figure 31: *Ermita San Baudelio de Berlanga, West of Almazan, South Lateral Portal.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 32: *Portal Detail, Ermita San Baudelio de Berlanga.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 33: *Ermita Romanillos de Medinaceli, South of Almazan, Western Wall.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

The most vexing question related to the dating problem, however, results from the ermita's orientation in relation to the domineering fortress that often sits directly above them. Like the relationship between fortress and ermita at Torre de Pozuel, (**Figure 34**) the ermita San Miguel de Gormaz (**Figures 35 & 36**) is positioned approximately 16 meters below the elevation of the perimeter wall of the hilltop fortress. This diminutive ermita is comprised of a rectangular nave with an enclosed porch that runs the length of the southern wall. The eastern end of the building is identified as an apsidal space on the exterior by way of its lowered roof line, and on the interior by way of a single raised step. This apsidal space is large enough to accommodate only a podium-like altar or baptismal

font. The western wall of the building, which now serves as the bell tower or *espadaña*, is likely a Renaissance or Baroque addition, but reflects the position of many medieval bell towers of this region, with its elevated roof and arched openings for the hanging of bells. (See **Figure 42**) The singular portal is located midway on the northern wall. This door leads into the porch and gives way to a second portal that opens onto the space of the nave. Interestingly, to the left of this interior door there is a horseshoe-arch opening—now walled off—that could have been an earlier door or perhaps a window. (**Figure 30**) It replicates both the horseshoe configuration and the northern orientation of the main gate of the fortress directly above it, (**Figure 37**) and thus visually links the two structures, suggesting the possibility of either an interactive accessibility or at least a relationship between the two based on power and control.



Figure 34: *Ermita and Fortress, Torre de Pozuel, Southeast of Almazan, Eastern Wall.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 35: *Ermita and Fortress, San Miguel de Gormaz, Southern Wall.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 36: *Ermita San Miguel de Gormaz, Northern Wall, before restoration (Image in the public domain).*



Figure 37: *Gormaz Fortress, Southern Wall above the Ermita, double arch of main entrance gate. Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.*

The ideological problem with this visual and topographical correlation comes about when we try to justify the interaction with the historians' rendering of divisive events of the Reconquest. If we are to put stock in the documentary evidence, it seems inconceivable that even the smallest of Christian churches would/could have been built in the vulnerable position directly in front of a defensive fortress—especially one occupied by Muslim forces, as was the case with Gormaz. Unfortunately, archaeologists, thus far, have not addressed the correlation of the church and the fortress,⁵⁰ and art historians seem to have passed over the relatively unarticulated ermita in favor of later, more

⁵⁰ M. Retuerce Velasco, "La arqueología medieval en Soria, Estado de la cuestión" *II Symposium de arqueología soriana*, Vol. II, (1989), 1061-1069.

architecturally-rich Romanesque churches of the twelfth century. In terms of our understanding of the orientational siting of the later twelfth-century churches, however, it is precisely this locational correlation between the ermita and to what we assume to be a defensive castle--no matter whether the inhabitants were Christian or Muslim--that makes these remote little churches so interesting.

If we consider the ermitas to be Visigothic and the fortresses to be built subsequent to them, one has to wonder, from a topographical point of view, why building the ermitas mid-way up the side of the hill was the preferable location. Why not the top of the hill? Archaeological evidence suggests that many of the fortresses may have been built on some sort of Roman site. So even if the ermita were built in a period of time when there was physically nothing of significance left on the top of the hill, there may well have been some connotation of the hilltop site as “occupied.” Further, the label “ermita” implies a sense of isolation or remoteness associated with a hermitage that is lost in their present correlation to the domineering fortress and the expansion of the lower village. In the absence of these more prominent visual presences—that is above the floodplain and away from the village settlement further down the valley--the positioning of the small chapel may have connoted the religious significance of isolation and protection associated with a hermit’s existence. Seen from this frame of reference, the subsequent building of the fortress in relation to the church can imply two things according to the political affiliation of the power elite occupying the fortress. If these fortress occupants were Islamic, then one might conclude a control factor was in play, suggesting a sense of toleration in the coexistence of the two religions in close physical proximity. If, on the other hand, the fortress was occupied by Christian forces, then the

element of protection could be seen as co-dependent. The spiritual protection emanating from the religious power of the church reflected and corroborated that military protection of the Christian forces sheltering the vulnerable ermita.

The political implications of the close physical correlation between ermita and fortress shift significantly if we consider the ermita to be built by Christian settlers after the conquest of the Muslims. In this case the building of the ermita under the protective wings of a Christian-occupied fortress seems quite plausible as it could be seen to service the religious needs of both the military forces above it and the village people below it. Building a Christian chapel directly under the watchful eyes of a Muslim fortress, like the relationship of the ermita at Gormaz (**Figure 38**) and the Muslim fortress above it is, however, more problematic. Can we assume an air of spiritual toleration on the part of the Islamic occupants as they sought to provide spiritual refuge for the Christian inhabitants of the plain?⁵¹ Should we then assume it was a matter of direct control—Muslim forces watching their Christian subjects' religious behavior under close scrutiny?

⁵¹ The prominent presence of bells in the western bell-tower wall (*espadaña*) would argue against this arrangement as this type of outward, metaphysical sign of Christianity was generally banned. Although several of the ermita have western bell-tower walls, a difference in building material suggests that some were Renaissance or Baroque additions and should not play into this analysis. For the general significance of Christian bells in an Islamic context, see Lomax, 104.



Figure 38: *Gormaz Fortress, View from main entrance gate South to Ermita San Miguel.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

This last line of speculation is moot if we simply assume that the ermita were built only after the Christian conquest of Muslim territory. It is under these conditions that the portal orientation and topographical siting are the most relevant. Seen from the open plain, the ermitas, like that seen to the left of the hilltop fortress in the image of

Torre de Pozuel (**Figure 39**) in comparison to the fortresses above them, appear to be small, isolated buildings. They are positioned in accordance with the typical E/W orientation of a Christian church—the apsidal end is generally rectangular and elevated slightly, the western end sometimes having openings cut into the wall so as to hang bells.

A survey of the extant ermita shows that uniformly, the portal is positioned on either the north or the south wall and not on axis with the apse.⁵² What becomes evident by way of on-site observation, and as the result of this mapping project, is that long-distance visibility is similarly key to the siting of both the fortress/castle and the ermita. While the mountains to the rear of most of the fortresses—both north and south of the sierra--have peaks up to 300 meters above the rolling hills of the high plain, the elevation of most of the fortresses is at least 130 meters above the river. As seen on a clear day from the height of the fortress at Montuenga de Soria down to the ermita below and across the plain, (**Figure 40**) there is a visibility of up to 50 kilometers out across the sierra divide, which is itself not much wider than this in some areas.⁵³ Situated so as to be elevated above the plain, but below the fortress walls, the ermitas share in some of this visibility. In their elevated stance in relation to the domineering fortress, they are, therefore, simultaneously visible from the fortress opening and from across the open landscape.⁵⁴ Most interestingly, their portals are oriented so as to face out towards the wide sierra and away from the fortress gate, in front of which they stand. Consistently, the ermitas' portals face north if the fortress is on the south side of the sierra, and conversely, they

⁵² See Appendix listing of these ermita.

⁵³ P. Banks and J. Zozaya, 674-690.

⁵⁴ This sort of visibility is associated with the “miradores” of Islamic palaces. See D. Fairchild Ruggles, “The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture” *Gesta*, XLIII/2 (2004), 87-98.

face south if they are on the north side of the divide. As illustrated by their position on the map, **(Figure 41)** this orientation suggests that the interaction with the natural topography was as significant as their relation to the domineering fortress. As such, the orientational positioning of the chapels serves to re-state the separating factor of the wide sierra. In turning their portals to face the open plain, these small chapels conveyed, on a diminutive scale, the subtle message of refuge, and security meant to be understood in the function of the fortified gates of the fortress above them.⁵⁵ For the purposes of this mapping project, the combination of the formal elements of the portal, apse, and bell-tower wall signaled a Christian presence that worked to mediate the positivism of the political divide that we sense in the reading of the historical documents.⁵⁶ As such the ermita lend credence to the archaeological notion that the high sierra was never completely abandoned, but continued to be used as pasture and farmland, and inhabited by people ideologically conditioned to this type of visual message.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ For a description of Islamic fortified gates see, J. Zozaya, "Islamic Fortifications in Spain: Some Aspects," *Papers in Iberian Archaeology*, T. Blagg, R. Jones, and S. Keay, (eds.), BAR International Series 193(ii), (1984), 639-645.

⁵⁶ J. Morland, *Archaeology and Text* (London, 2001), argues generally for an archaeological remedy to the disconnect that lies between the written "word" studied by historians and the "object" studied by the archaeologist.

⁵⁷ In this case the ermitas speak for the communities they were used by. For this line of thought, see Moreland, 35-44. Some military historians also work from the idea that the plains were never fully abandoned and that village militias grew out of these plains people's need to defend themselves. See Powers, 1-39.



Figure 39: Monteagudo Fortress and Ermita below to the left.
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 40: Ermita Montuenga de Soria, Southern Wall.
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

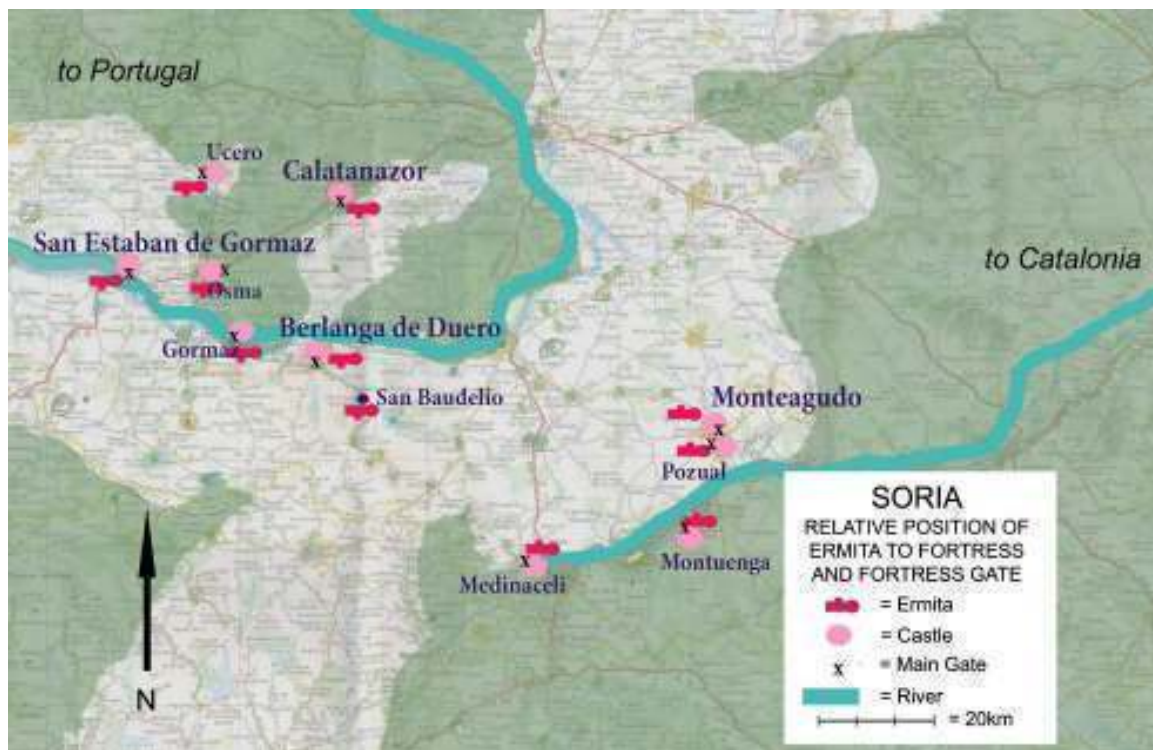


Figure 41: Map, Soria showing orientation and relative position of Fortress and Ermita. Map, George Neal, Amy Hamman, and Mickey Abel.

Thus, when we finally add the Christian sites of the twelfth century to our cognitive map, we see that between 1085-1150 the plain had become littered with Romanesque churches. (See **Figure 9**) Like their ermita predecessors most of these new foundations were prominently placed on hilltops or outcroppings—albeit smaller and less domineering than those of the ermita--nonetheless making them visible from across the rolling plain and from one village to another.⁵⁸ Emulating the orientational stance of the ermitas, the north or south portals of the twelfth-century churches, like that at Valdegeña (**Figure 42**) or Calatañazor, (**Figure 43**) complete with sculptural ornamentation and enframing alfiz, faced out towards the open space. To all who would pass by, they

⁵⁸ Theoretically, this development is similar to one traced and analyzed in early medieval Italy. See R. Francovich and R. Hodges, “Conclusions: Four Stages of Transformation,” in *Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy, c. 400-1000* (London, 2003), 106-114.

proclaimed, more defiantly than their ermita predecessors, their Christian affiliation. With the prolific replication of these churches, the Sorian region could no longer have been seen or perceived as an area of mixed messages. Branded by the repetitious broadcast of similarly configured and locationally oriented churches, the Duero plain would have been seen as occupied and dominated by a Christian presence.



Figure 42: *Valdegeña (c. 1100), East of Soria, Southern Wall.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.



Figure 43: *Calatañazor, West of Soria, North Wall with North Lateral Portal.*
Photo, Hillary Turby and Mickey Abel.

Appendix A: Ermitas Considered in this Study (See Map, Figure 41)

San Miguel de Gormaz

San Baudelio de Berlanga

Medinaceli

Montuenga de Soria

Monteagudo

Ucero

Calatañazor

Torre de Pozuel

Berlanga de Duero

Osma

San Esteban de Gormaz

Bibliography

- Abel, M. "Before Nationalities: Peace Initiatives and Corporate Identity via the Medieval Parish Church Portal." *Connections: European Studies Annual Review*. Vol.1 (2005): 6-11. (<http://Europe.byu.edu/rmesc.html>)
- Abel-Turby, Mickey. *Rhetorical Translation, Exegetical Interpretation: The Archivolt as a Statement of Philosophy*. Unpublished Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2001.
- Acien Almansa, Manuel. "Sobre la función de los husun en el sur de Al-Andulus. La fortificación en el Califato." *Coloquio Hispano-Italiano de Arqueología Medieval*. Granada, (1992): 263-274.
- Alonso Sanchez, M. A. "Pilas Bautismales Sorianas con Omega-Alfa." *II Symposium de Arqueología Soriana*, Vol. II (1989): 1131-1143.
- Altman, C. "The Medieval Marquee: Church Portal Sculpture as Publicity." *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages*. Bowling Green (1986): 6-16.
- Andrio Gonzalo, J. and Loyola Perea, E. "Necrópolis medieval de San Baudelio de Casillas de Berlanga." *II Symposium de Arqueología Soriana*, Vol. II (1989): 1069-1087.
- Artigas, P. "San Estaban de Gormaz: La Epigraphia Romana." *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 39 (1931): 139-154.
- Asin, M. *Guadalajara medieval, arte y arqueología árabe y mudéjar*. Madrid, 1984.
- Aubrun, M. *La Paroisse en France: des origins au XVe siècle*. Paris, 1986.
- Aznar, Fernando. *Guía de Viaje al Arte: Hispano-Musulmán*. Madrid, 2005.
- Bango Torviso, Isidro Gonzalo. "Atrio y pórtico en el románico español: concepto y finalidad cívico-litúrgica." *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, Universidad de Valladolid, 40-41 (1975): 175-88.
- _____. "El neovisigotismo artístico de los siglos IX y X: La restauración de ciudades y templos." *Revista de Ideas Estéticas*, 148 (1979): 319-38.
- _____. "El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española." *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid 4 (1992): 93-132.

Banks, P. and Zozaya, J. "Excavations in the Caliphal Fortress of Gormaz (Soria), 1979-1981: A Summary." *Papers in Iberian Archaeology*. T. Blagg, R. Jones, and S. Keay eds. BAR International Series 193(ii) (1984): 679.

Barrios García, Angel. "Repoblación de la zona meridional del Duero. Fases de ocupación, procedencia y distribución espacial de los grupos repobladores." *Studia Historica* 3/2 (1985): 33-82.

Bishko, C. "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest." *A History of the Crusades*. K. Setton ed. Madison, 1975.

Bonde, S. and Maines, C. "Sovereignty and Territory: The Construction of Monastic Domains in the Medieval Diocese of Soissons as a Case Study." *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of Medieval and Later Archaeology: Medieval Europe*. Basle, (2002): 453-463.

Bur, Michael. "The Social Influence of the Motte and Bailey Castle." *Scientific American*, Vol. 248/5 (1983): 132-143.

Burman, Thomas. *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*. Leiden, 1994.

Brown, R. Allen. *Castles: A History and Guide*. New York, 1980.

Cobos Guerra, F. and Javier de Castro Fernandez, J. *Castillos y fortalezas*. Leon, 1998.

Constable, Olivia Remie, ed. *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*. Philadelphia, 1997.

_____. *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula: 900-1500*. Cambridge, 1994.

Casado, Antonio Herrera. *El románico de Guadalajara*. Guadalajara, 1994.

Cosgrove, Denis and Daniels, Stephen. *Iconography of Landscape*. Cambridge, 1988.

Dodds, Jerrylynn. "Spaces." *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. M. Menocal ed. Cambridge, 2000.

_____. *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*. University Park, 1989.

Doménech Estaban, Manuela. "Dispersión geográfica y tematica decorativa de las estelas medievales de la provincia de Soria." *Actas del I Symposium de Arqueología Soriana*. Soria (1984): 525-531.

Durliat, M. *El arte románico en España*. Barcelona, 1972.

- Edson, Evelyn. *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World*. London, 1997.
- Escolano Benito, A. *San Baudelio de Berlanga: Guía y Complementarios*. Salamanca, 2003.
- Espinosa de Los Monteros, J. and Martin-Artajo Saracho, L. *Corpus de castillos medievales de Castilla*. Bilbao, 1974.
- Feld, Stephen and Baso, Keith, eds.. *Senses of Place*. Sante Fe, 1996.
- Fernandez Prada, A. "Mudéjar en la Extremadura del Duero." *Boletín del Seminario de Arte Arqueología de Valladolid*. Valladolid, 1962.
- Fossier, Robert. *Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin du milieu du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe siècle*. Paris, 2000.
- Francovich, Riccardo and Hodges, Richard. *Villa to Village*. London, 2003.
- Garcia de Cortázar, José Angel. "La repoblación del Valle del Duero en el siglo IX: Del Yermo estratégico a la organización social del espacio." *La reconquista y repoblación de los reinos hispánicos: Estado de la cuestión de los últimos cuarenta años*. Zaragoza, 1991.
- Gardelles, J. *Le Chateau féodal dans l'histoire medievale*, Milan, 1988.
- Garnelo, J. "Descripción de las pinturas murales que decoran la ermita de San Baudelio en Casillas de Berlanga (Soria)." *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 32 (1924): 96-109.
- Gautier-Dalché, Jean. "Reconquête et structures de l'habitat en Castille." *Castrum* 3, (1988): 199-206.
- Gearson, P., Krochalis, J., Shaver-Crandell, A. and Stones, A. *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Critical Edition*. London, 1998.
- Glick, Thomas. *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*. Princeton, 1979.
- _____. *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*. Manchester, 1995.
- Gomez-Moreno, M. *El arte románico español*. Madrid, 1934.
- Haven Caldwell, S. "The Introduction and Diffusion of the Romanesque Projecting Single-Portal Unit in Northern Spain." Ph.D. diss. Cornell University, 1974.

- Harvey, J.B. "Map, Knowledge, and Power." *Cambridge Studies of Historical Geography*, Vol. 9, (1988).
- Harvey, P.D.A. *Medieval Maps*. Toronto, 1991.
- Hawes, C. "Two Paintings from the Hermitage Church of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Castile, Spain." *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 26/153 (1928): 6-11.
- Higuera, María Teresa Pérez. *Arquitectura mudéjar en Castilla y León*. Valladolid, 1993.
- Hindle, Brian. *Medieval Roads*. Aylesbury, 1982.
- Hodder, Ian., et al. eds. *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*. London, 1995.
- Hodges, R. and Wickham, C. "The Evolution of Hilltop Villages." *A Mediterranean Valley: Landscape Archaeology and Annals History in the Biferno Valley*. G Barker ed. , Leicester, (1995): 254-287.
- Jiménez Estaban, J. *El castillo medieval español y su evolución*. Madrid, 1995.
- Kaufmann, J.E. and Kaufmann, H. W. *The Medieval Fortress: Castles, Forts, and Walled Cities of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, 2001.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *Crusader Castles*. Cambridge, 1994.
- King, Geoff. *Mapping Reality: An Exploration of Cultural Cartographies*. New York, 1996.
- Kulp, A. *San Baudelio de Berlanga: New Considerations*. Seattle, 1984.
- Lambert, E. "L'Influence artistique de l'Islam dans les monuments de Soria." *Anuario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos*, 3, (1935): 43-50.
- Lomaz, Derek. *The Reconquest of Spain*. London, 1978.
- López del Amo, José Luis. *All Soria and Province*. Barcelona, 1987.
- Martínez, Carlos de la Casa. *Estelas medievales de la provincia de Soria*. Soria, 1993.
- _____. "Aproximación al hábitat visigodo de Termes." *II Symposium de Arqueología Soriana*, Vol. II (1989): 1007-1019.
- Menéndez Pidal, R. "Repoblación y tradición de la cuenca del Duero." *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica*, Vol I. Madrid, 1960.

- Monreal y Tejada, Luis. *Medieval Castles of Spain*. Cologne, 1999.
- Moreland, J. *Archaeology and Text*. London, 2001.
- Ocaña, M. "Lápida árabe de la ermita de San Miguel de Gormaz." *Al-Andalus* 8 (1943): 450-452.
- Ousterhout, Robert and Ruggles, D. Fairchild. "Encounter with Islam: The Medieval Mediterranean Experience Art, Material Culture, and Cultural Interchange." *Gesta* XLIII/2 (2004): 83-85.
- Ortego, T. "Del románico soriano: la iglesia de San Bartolomé," *Celtiberia*, (1969): 293-298.
- Petersen, Andrew. *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture*. London, 1996.
- Powers, James. *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284*. Berkeley, 1988.
- Ramirez Rojas, T. *La arquitectura románica en Soria*, Soria, 1894.
- Remon, Javier Bernad. *Castillos de Soria*. Leon, 1994.
- Renfrew, Colin and Bahn, Paul. *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*. London, 2004.
- Retuerce Velasco, M. "La arqueología medieval en Soria, estado de la Cuestión." *II Symposium de Arqueologia Soriana*, Vol. II (1989): 1061-1069.
- Ripoll, G. and Arce, J. "The Transformation and end of the Roman Villae in the West." *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. G. P. Brogiolo, et al, eds. Leiden, 2000.
- Ruggles, D. Fairchild. "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture." *Gesta* XLIII/2 (2004): 87-98.
- _____. "The Eye of Sovereignty: Poetry and Vision in the Alhambra's Lindaraja Mirador." *Gesta* XXXVI/2 (1997): 180-189.
- Rutas románicas en Castilla y León: Provincias de Soria, Segovia, Ávila y Salamanca*. Madrid, 1995.
- Sainz de Robles, Federico Carlos. *Castillos en España*, Madrid, 1952.
- Sáiz, Javier Sáinz. *El románico rural en Castilla y León*. León, 1993.

_____. *Arte Prerrománico en Castilla y León*. León, 1996.

Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero, *Buenos Aires, Instituto de Historia de España*. Buenos Aires, 1966.

Shaver-Crandell, Annie and Gerson, Paula. *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*. London, 1995.

Smail, Daniel Lord. *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille*. Ithaca, 1999.

Soler, Isabel and Goig, L. *Soria y su provincia*. León, 2004.

Taracena Aguirre, C. *Carta Arqueológica de España; Soria*. Madrid, 1941.

Terras da Moura Encantada: Art Islamica en Portugal. Porto, 1999.

Thompson, M. W. *The Rise of the Castle*. Cambridge, 1991.

Torres Balbas, L. "La influencia artística del Islam en los monumentos de Soria." *Al-Andalus* 5, (1940): 465-467.

Various Authors. "Excavaciones arqueológicas en el yacimiento de Tiermes: Informes preliminares de la Octava Campaña." *Celtiberia*, Vol. XXXII/64 (1982): 329-358.

Walker, R. "The Wall Paintings of the Panteón de los Reyes at León: A Cycle of Intercession." *Art Bulletin* 82/2 (2000): 200-225.

Weissmuller, A. *Castles from the Heart of Spain*, London, 1967.

Whitehill, W. *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*. Oxford, 1968.

Zadora-Rio, E. "The Role of Cemeteries in the Formation of Medieval Settlement Patterns in Western France," *Medieval Archaeology* 60 (1989), 171-186.

_____. "Le village des historiens et le village des archéologues." *Campagnes Médiévales: L'homme et son espace*. E. Mornet ed. Paris, 1995: 145-53.

Zoreda, Luis Caballero. "Arqueología tardorromana y visigoda en la provincia de Soria." *Actas del Ier Symposium de Arquelogia Soriana*, 9 (1984): 452-455.

Zozoya, J. "Islamic Fortification in Spain: Some Aspects." *Papers in Iberian Archaeology*, B.A.R. 193, Oxford, 1984.



Eine Reise zu den Wallfahrtsstätten des östlichen Mittelmeerraums: „Souvenirs“, Bräuche und Mentalität des Wallfahrtswesens.¹

Von Vicky Foskolou

Die Begriffe *Peregrinus* und *Peregrinatio*, von denen sich die heutigen Worte Pilger und Pilgerfahrt herleiten, bedeuteten im Mittelalter „der Fremde“ und „die Reise ins Ausland“. In der mittelalterlichen griechischen Sprache kommt kein entsprechendes Wort vor, das den heutigen Begriff der Pilgerfahrt (griech. *proskynema*) beschreibt.² Dennoch dürfte die Reise an einen heiligen Ort zum Zweck der Anbetung, eine Praxis, die aus der jüdischen und aus paganen Religionen bekannt war, bereits am Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts auch in der christlichen Welt verbreitet gewesen sein. Der Bischof Eusebios von Caesarea hat wiederholt erwähnt, daß man zu seiner Zeit zu den heiligen Stätten des Alten und Neuen Testaments in Palästina geführt wurde.³ Diese Information wird durch die älteste uns erhaltene Reisebeschreibung des anonymen Pilgers aus Bordeaux bestätigt, der im Jahr 333 nach Palästina gereist war. Er zählt nämlich eine große Anzahl von Sehenswürdigkeiten mit Bedeutung für das Christentum auf, die ihm gezeigt wurden. Dies verdeutlicht, daß bereits zu jener Zeit eine Art von Fremdenführung für christliche Pilger existierte.⁴

Einen zeitlichen Fixpunkt für das Einsetzen der massenhaften christlichen Pilgerströme markiert die Errichtung bedeutender Kirchen durch Konstantin den Großen, an den Orten, die mit den wichtigsten Ereignissen des Lebens Christi verknüpft waren, nämlich mit der Geburt, der Auferstehung und der Himmelfahrt. Jerusalem und insbesondere die Kirche des Heiligen Grabes, die mit großen Feierlichkeiten am 14. September 335 geweiht wurde und das Grab Christi, Golgotha sowie später die Kreuzreliquie beinhaltet, galt als das Zentrum der Welt und das wichtigste Ziel für

¹ Diese kurze Einführung zu den Pilgerfahrt in Byzanz und seinen materiellen Zeugnissen wurde als Vortrag am 13. Februar 2005 in der Archäologischen Staatssammlung München anlässlich der damaligen Ausstellung „Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe“ präsentiert. Zu der Ausstellung siehe Archäologischen Staatssammlung München, Sonderausstellung „Die Welt von Byzanz“, http://www.lrz-muenchen.de/~arch/html/byzanz/rundg_001.html (13/02/2007).

² Mango (1995-97), S. 2-3.

³ Maraval (2002), S. 66.

⁴ Engemann (2001), S. 45-46.

jeden christlichen Pilger. Seit dieser Zeit bis zum Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts reisten kontinuierlich Hunderte von Gläubigen aus allen sozialen Schichten und Teilen der damals bekannten Welt zur Anbetung an die christlichen Kultorte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum. Diese umfassen außer den Stätten in Palästina und im Sinai, an denen sich das Leben Christi auf Erden und Ereignisse des Alten Testaments abspielten, auch solche in Ägypten, Syrien und Kleinasien, die mit den Gräbern und Gebeinen von Märtyrern, oder mit lebenden Heiligen verbunden waren.⁵

Ein charakteristisches Beispiel für den ersten Fall war das Pilgerheiligtum in Abu Mina mit dem Grab des heiligen Menas in Ägypten westlich von Alexandria.⁶ Für den zweiten Fall sind die berühmtesten lebenden Asketen der Epoche zu nennen: die beiden Säulenheiligen Symeon in Syrien, die sogenannten „Symeon Stylites“ (stylites leitet sich vom griechischen Wort *stylos* = Säule ab): Symeon der Ältere, der im Jahr 420 auf eine Säule auf dem Qal’at Sim’an nordöstlich von Antiochia stieg und dort die weiteren 40 Jahre seines Lebens blieb, sowie sein Namensvetter, der sogenannte Jüngere, der ein Jahrhundert später dessen Beispiel folgte und auf einer Säule auf dem *Mons Admirabilis* (Wunderberg) etwas außerhalb von Antiochia ausharrte.⁷ (**Abb. 1**)

⁵Vikan (1998), S. 229-30.

⁶Zu Abu Mina siehe Grossmann (1988). Zur den Ausgrabungen in Abu Mina siehe Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, *Abu Mina*, <http://www.dainst.org/index.php?id=50> (20/02/2007).

⁷ Zu Qal’at Sim’an siehe Strube (1996), S. 59-71 mit ältere Literatur. Zum *Mons Admirabilis* siehe Lafontaine-Dosogne (1967) und Djobadze (1986), S. 57-115.



Abbildung 1: Die Kirche des Hl. Symeon in Qal'at Sim'an, Syrien (ca. 470-90),

Quelle:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Ruins_of_St_Simeon_Stylites.jpg
(20/02/2007)

Über die Scharen von Gläubigen unterschiedlicher Herkunft, die die Säule des heiligen Symeon des Älteren besuchten, sind wir durch seinen Zeitgenossen, den Bischof von Cyrrhus, sehr gut informiert. Er spricht von Ismaeliten, Persern, Armeniern, Iberern, Spaniern, Briten, Galatern und Leute aus Italien, die in Strömen kamen. Dadurch bietet er uns ein lebhaftes Bild von den massenhaften und multinationalen Charakter des Pilgerwesens in der frühbyzantinischen Zeit.⁸

Durch die arabische Eroberung der Ostprovinzen des byzantinischen Reiches, d.h. Syriens, Palästinas und Ägypten, im 7. Jh. fand der massenmäßige und internationale Pilgerverkehr ein Ende. Danach erreichten die großen Wallfahrtsorte des Ostens bis auf die im Heiligen Land und im Sinai nie wieder den Ruhm der frühbyzantinischen Zeit. Ein wichtiger Grund dafür ist, daß die Byzantiner sich verstärkt Pilgerorten zuwandten, die innerhalb ihres Herrschaftsgebiets geblieben waren, wie z.b. Agios Demetrios in Thessaloniki. Konstantinopel, das durch die

⁸ Vikan (1982), S. 3-4. Vikan (1998), S. 230.

Überführung von Reliquien aus dem Osten zum „Neuen Jerusalem“ ausgerufen wurde, wurde in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit für die Byzantiner zum Wallfahrtsort schlechthin.⁹ (Abb. 2)



Abbildung 2: Die Kirche des Hagios Demetrios in Thessaloniki (5.Jh.)

Palästina und vor allem Jerusalem hörten aber niemals auf, Reiseziel von christlichen Pilgern zu sein. Denn die islamischen Behörden waren sich des wirtschaftlichen Gewinns, der durch die Pilger verzeichnet werden konnte, durchaus bewußt und verhinderten den Pilgerverkehr deshalb nicht.¹⁰ Obwohl die Reise zwar unangenehme Überraschungen für die Wallfahrer bereithalten konnte, schreckten die Pilger nicht davor zurück, bis nach Jerusalem zu reisen. Byzantinische Heiligenviten des 7. Jahrhunderts und später, in denen die Reise nach Jerusalem als unerläßlicher Bestandteil für den Lebenslauf eines Heiligen angesehen wird¹¹, sowie westliche Schriftquellen, die sich auf Pilger im Heiligen Land bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts

⁹ Vikan (1998), S.257-263, Talbot (2002), S. 60.

¹⁰ Sumption (1975), S. 183.

¹¹ Talbot (2001), Kaplan (2002), S. 119, 122. Siehe auch Külzer (1994).

beziehen¹², bestätigen, daß die internationalen Pilgerreisen in der Gegend, zwar begrenzt waren, aber nicht aufhörten. Mit der Errichtung des Lateinischen Königreiches von Jerusalem im Jahr 1099 durch die Kreuzfahrer erfuhr die Wallfahrt in das Heilige Land eine neue Phase des Aufschwungs.¹³ Während des 12. Jahrhunderts wurde die Heiliggrabkirche von den neuen lateinischen Herrschern der Stadt umgebaut und neu dekoriert.¹⁴ Die einfallenden Massen von Gläubigen kamen nun vornehmlich aus Westeuropa. (**Abb. 3**)



Abbildung 3: Die Kirche des Heiligen Grabes, Jerusalem, Quelle:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Holy_sepulchre_exterior.jpg

(20/02/2007)

Für die Untersuchung der mittelalterlichen Pilgerfahrt stehen uns zwei Kategorien von Quellen zur Verfügung: Texte und materielle Reste. Die Texte umfassen historische und theologische Werke, Berichte von Taten und Wundern von Heiligen, und vor allem die Reisebeschreibungen der Pilger selbst. In der zweiten Kategorie sind die Denkmäler selbst enthalten, d. h. die Heiligtümer, ihr

¹² Sumption (1975), S. 182-4.

¹³ Sigal (1974), S. 96-97. Sumption (1975), S. 137f. Savage (1977). Friedman (1999).

¹⁴ Über den Umbau der Heiliggrabeskirche durch die Kreuzfahrer siehe Folda (1995), S. 175-245.

Denkmalschmuck, die Gegenstände, die für die Pilgern als Andenken dienten und die Votive, die die Pilger dem Heiligtum darbrachten.¹⁵

Die meisten Pilger, die uns ihre Reiseerfahrungen übermittelt haben, kamen aus dem Westen und schrieben auf Latein. Ihre Texte unterscheiden sich in Stil und Inhalt voneinander, je nach den Interessen und den Kenntnissen ihrer Autoren.¹⁶ Obwohl sie nicht gerade durch literarische Qualitäten sich auszeichnen, bilden sie eine einzigartige, lebendige Quelle, aus der wir Informationen über die heiligen Stätten und die praktischen eine Pilgerreise betreffenden Fragen erhalten: wie z.B. über die Umstände, die Transportmittel, die Reisewege und Stationen.

Die meisten Pilger reisten zulande, entweder zu Fuß oder mit Lasttieren. Natürlich hingen die Verkehrsmittel von ihrer jeweiligen wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Stellung ab. Das belegen Berichte über Personen adeliger Herkunft, vornehmlich Frauen, die die Bequemlichkeit hatten, in ihren privaten Wagen und mit ihrem Gefolge zu reisen. Wenn man berechnet, daß die Wallfahrer täglich eine Strecke von 30 bis 50 km zurückgelegt haben dürften, dauerte eine Reise in jedem Fall überaus lang.¹⁷ Daher ist es sicherlich kein Zufall, daß sie ihren Aufenthalt an den Pilgerstätten oft ziemlich ausdehnten. Charakteristisch ist der Fall der Egeria, einer Nonne aus Spanien, die am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts vier Jahre lang zu allen damals bekannten Wallfahrtsorten pilgerte. Dabei dürfte die Reise selbst ca. ein Jahr gedauert haben, während sie drei weiteren Jahren in Jerusalem verweilte.¹⁸

Den verlängerten Aufenthalt verursachte nicht nur die lange Reisedauer, sondern auch die große Zahl an heiligen Stätten, an Reliquien und Asketen, die man im östlichen Mittelmeer besuchen konnte. Die Reisebeschreibung des unbekannten Pilgers von Piacenza in Italien aus dem 6. Jahrhundert offenbart uns die Vielfalt der Sehenswürdigkeiten, die das heilige Land zu bieten hatte. Er berichtet nämlich, daß er nach seiner Ankunft im Hafen von Ptolemais (das heutige Akko) in Diocaesarea war, um den Stuhl zu sehen, auf dem die Mutter Gottes während der Verkündigung gesessen hatte, dann Kanaan aufsuchte, um die beiden Hydrien der berühmten Hochzeit zu

¹⁵ Vikan (1998), S. 231.

¹⁶ Zu den Reisebeschreibungen des Heiligen Landes siehe Wilkinson (1977) und Wilkinson (1988).

¹⁷ Zu den Umständen der Pilgerreise siehe Maraval (1985), S. 163-177.

¹⁸ Vikan (1982), S. 7. Maraval (1982), S. 31, 38-39.

berühren und Nazareth, um das Lesebuch des Christuskindes zu sehen. Erst danach machte er sich nach Süden zu seinem eigentlichen Pilgerreiseziel Jerusalem auf.¹⁹

Um ihre Rundreise zu organisieren, sich zu verständigen und lauerten Gefahren begegnen zu können war es notwendig, einen ortskundigen Fremdenführer zu haben. Über die Existenz von Reiseführern schon im 4. Jh. in Jerusalem, werden wir durch den heiligen Hieronymus informiert, der seinen Ärger über ihre Ungenauigkeiten und ihre Unkenntnis ausdrückt. Daß ein Sarazene für eine Reise von Negev zum Berg Sinai mit 3,5 Goldsolidi bezahlt wurde, das heißt mit der Hälfte des damaligen Wertes für ein Kamel, zeigt, für wie notwendig man Reiseführer hielt. Später, im 12. Jahrhundert hielt es der russische Mönch Daniel für sein großes Glück einen alten Mann gefunden zu haben, der sehr gebildet war, griechisch sprach und ihn auf seiner Rundreise in Palästina begleitete. In derselben Zeit berichtet Johannes von Würzburg von einem Mönch, der mit viel Dramatik und intensiver Zeichensprache zum Kloster der Maria Magdalena in Jerusalem geleitete.²⁰

Im Reisegepäck eines jeden Pilgers mußten sich außer der Bibel auch Karten mit den wichtigsten Sehenswürdigkeiten der heiligen Stätten befinden haben, wie uns ein Mosaikboden vermuten läßt, der in Madaba in Jordanien gefunden wurde und eine topographische Karte von Palästina zeigt²¹, sowie Reisehandbücher. (**Abb. 4**) Der Breviarius, d.h. die kurze Beschreibung, von Jerusalem aus dem 6. Jahrhundert, der knappe topographische Auskünfte über die Stadt gibt, gehört zu dieser Kategorie.²² Nach dem ersten Kreuzzug waren im Westen Reisehandbücher in Umlauf, durch die die ältere Reisebeschreibungen auf den neuesten Stand gebracht wurden. Sie beschrieben die Entfernungen zwischen den Städten, die Denkmäler und die Kultorte und berichtete von den Ereignissen, die sich dort abspielten.²³ In jener Zeit kamen auch Kataloge mit notwendigen Sätzen auf Latein und Griechisch auf, die man zum „Überleben“ und zur Verständigung brauchte (wie zum Beispiel, *Da mihi panem: Dos me psomi*).²⁴ Diese beide Gattungen von Texten, die sich wohl an Pilger richteten, kennzeichnen das wiedererwachte Interesse des Westens am Heiligen Land nach der Gründung der Kreuzfahrerstaaten in der Levante.

¹⁹ Vikan (1982), S. 6.

²⁰ Über die Reiseführer siehe Vikan (1982), S. 8 und Sumption (1975), S. 260-261.

²¹ Israeli (2000), S. 190.

²² Wilkinson (1977), S. 4-5, 59-61.

²³ Sigal (1997), S. 85.

²⁴ Sumption (1975), S. 195.



Abbildung 4: Die topographische Karte von Jerusalem, Mosaikboden der Georgkirche in Madaba, Jordanien (6.Jh.), Quelle: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Madaba_Jerusalem_Mosaic.jpg (20/02/2007)

Außer den Reiseführern und den Reisehandbüchern erleichterten den Pilgern auch Gasthäuser und Hospize, den beschwerlichen Weg, die oft auf kaiserliche und kirchliche Initiative in Wallfahrtsorten entstanden. Charakteristische Beispiele bildeten zweifellos die beiden Pilgerheiligtümer, die sich in Abu Mina und auf dem Qal'at Sim'an entwickelten. Dort waren rund um das Kultzentrum eine Reihe von Gebäuden, Hospize und Bäder sowie große Höfe für die Pilger eingerichtet worden.²⁵ (Abb. 5a-b) Der Aufenthalt, vielleicht auch die Verpflegung, dürfte an den Orten, die unter der Ägide der Klöster und der Kirchen standen, kostenlos gewesen sein, wie dies aus den zahlreichen diesbezüglichen Berichten hervorgeht. Mit Sicherheit fanden die Schwachen und Kranken, die die Mehrheit der Pilger ausmachten, Unterkunft in den großen Hospizen der Klöster und Kirchen. Der Pilger von Piacenza berichtet von einer Herberge bei der Marienkirche von Jerusalem, die in der Lage war, 3000 Personen aufzunehmen. und später, im 9. Jahrhundert, wird ein weiteres Hospiz mit 2000 Betten für die westlichen Besucher der Stadt erwähnt.²⁶

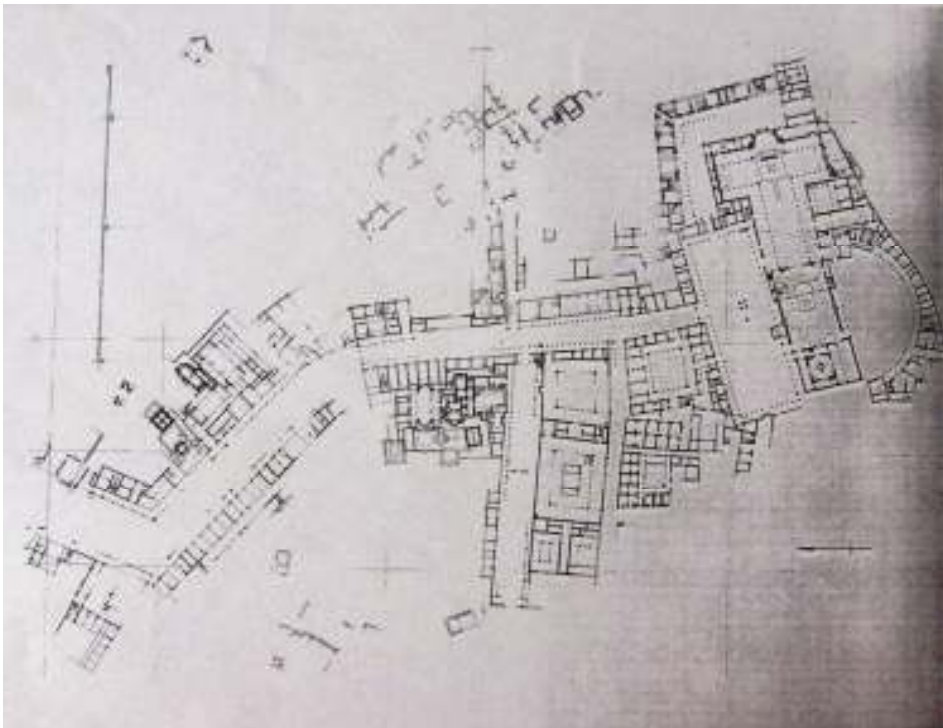
²⁵ Severin (1995-1997). Siehe auch Maraval (1985), S. 167f.

²⁶ Siehe Vikan (1982), S. 7 und Sumption (1975), S. 198-99.



Abbildungen 5a: Überblick über das Pilgerheiligtum von Hl. Symeon in Qal'at Siman, Syrien, Quelle:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Overview_of_St._Simeons_from_the_North_Syria.jpg
(20/02/2007)



5b: Plan des Pilgerheiligtums von Abu Mina, Ägypten, Quelle, Grossmann (1998).

Derartige Informationen erwecken den Eindruck, daß die Unterhaltung eines Wallfahrtsortes mit hohen Kosten verbunden war. Dennoch bedeuteten der Verkehr und der Aufenthalt der Pilger reichliche Einnahmen sowohl für den Pilgerort selbst als auch für die weitere Umgebung. Kaiserliche Stiftungen und solche von reichen Gläubigen, die oft ihr ganzes Vermögen am heiligen Ort ließen, auch die Gaben der finanziell Schwächsten dürften diese Kosten mehr als ausgeglichen haben. Bereits im 4. Jahrhundert beschuldigte der heilige Hieronymus den Bischof von Jerusalem unangemessen viele Reichtümer durch den Glauben der Leute angehäuft zu haben, und der Pilger von Piacenza beschrieb im 6. Jahrhundert die an der Außenwand des Heiligen Grabes hängenden Votive, wobei er von kostbarem Geschmeide, Gürteln, einer Kaiserkrone und Emblemen einer Kaiserin sprach. Beides verdeutlicht auf lebhafte Weise den wirtschaftlichen Nutzen für die Pilgerstätten.²⁷

Durch die Entstehung einer Art von Propaganda-Literatur seit dem 5. Jahrhundert, als welche Cyril Mango die sogenannten „miracula“ d.h. Sammlungen von Heiligenwundern an den Pilgerstätten bezeichnet²⁸, zeigt sich zudem, wie groß das Interesse der Institutionen, die den Wallfahrtsort betrieben, an immer neuen Pilgern war. Gleichfalls äußert sich dieses Interesse durch die Existenz einer Soldatenwache, die den Pilgern den Weg von Alexandria zum Heiligtum des Heiligen Minas sicherte.²⁹

Diese Information gibt uns die Gelegenheit etwas über die Gefahren zu sprechen, denen sich die Pilger gegenüberstehen. Die Quellen berichten unter anderem von Hunger, Durst, Wetterwidrigkeiten, wilden Tieren, Räubern, Vergewaltigern oder einfach feindlichen Einwohnern, oder aber auch von der Gefahr, vom Weg abzukommen.³⁰

Wenn man den Aufwand an Zeit, Kosten und die Gefahren der Reise bedenkt, ist es berechtigt, nach den Beweggründen zu fragen, die so viele Menschen dazu trieben, ihre Heimat zu verlassen und jahrelang an fremden Orten umherzuirren. Welche Motivation hatten sie?

Sie selbst und viele zeitgenössische Texte geben uns vielfältige Antworten darauf. Am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts schreibt Bischof Paulinus von Nola, daß kein anderes Gefühl die Menschen nach Jerusalem trieb als ihre geistige Sehnsucht, die Orte

²⁷ Vikan (1982) 10. Engemann (1995-97), S. 229. Siehe auch Sumption (1975), S.158-167.

²⁸ Mango (1995-97), S. 7-9.

²⁹ Maraval (1985), S. 166.

³⁰ Maraval (1985), S. 173-177.

zu sehen und zu berühren, an denen der Herr gelitten hatte, auferstanden und in den Himmel aufgefahren war. Denn, fügt er hinzu, all das mache seine Anwesenheit auf Erden bewußt und offenbare die tiefen Wurzeln unseres heutigen Glaubens.³¹ Der Besuch eines heiligen Ortes erfüllte also die geistigen Bedürfnisse und hatte didaktische Bedeutung. Dieses Motiv muß auf die Gebildeten und die religiös Kundigen den größten Anreiz ausgeübt haben, also auf diejenigen, die wie Egeria die heiligen Stätten mit der Bibel in der Hand aufsuchten um die Heilsgeschichte ins Gedächtnis zu rufen und so selbst quasi nochmal mitzuerleben.³²

Die meisten Gläubigen dürften jedoch durch den äußerst weit verbreiteten Glauben bewogen worden sein, daß in den Reliquien, aber auch an den heiligen Stätten, an denen die Heiligen gewirkt hatten, ihre wunderbewirkende Kraft lebendig war und daß über sie der Segen auf den Gläubigen übertragen werden konnte.³³ Charakteristisch ist beispielsweise die Bemerkung von Basileios dem Großen, daß die Gläubigen, die die Gebeine von Märtyrern berührten, durch deren Gnade geweiht würden.³⁴ Dieser Glaube und der Wunsch der Pilger die Reliquien zu sehen, zu berühren und deren Segen zu empfangen, spielte eine große Rolle sowohl in der Entwicklung der religiösen Zeremonien als auch in der architektonischen Gestaltung der Heiligtümer.

In den großen Wallfahrtsorten wurde die Reliquie in der Mitte eines Zentralbaus aufbewahrt, der den Pilgern einen bequemen Zugang und den optischen Kontakt mit dem heiligsten Ort der Pilgerstätte ermöglichte, wie auf dem Qal'at Sim'an, wo die Säule des Symeon mit einem Oktogon umbaut wurde und in der Auferstehungskirche, wo das Heilige Grab in der Mitte einer Rotunde steht. (**Abb. 6a-b**) Oft wurden die Stellen umgebaut, um den Pilgermassen Platz zu bieten, wie die unterirdische Krypta in Abu Mina mit dem Grab des Heiligen, die vergrößert wurde und Treppen für den Auf- und Abstieg erhielt.³⁵

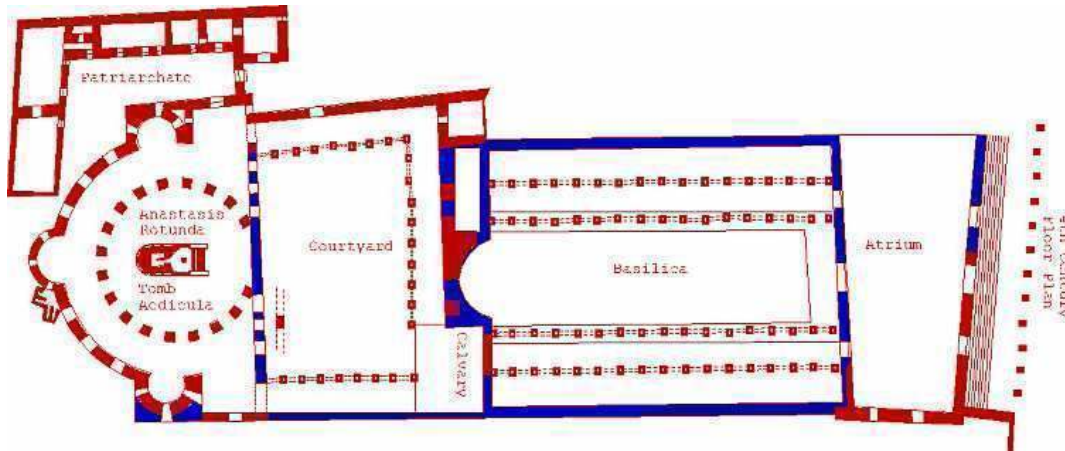
³¹ Sumption (1989), S. 89.

³² Sumption (1989), S. 90-94. Maraval (1985), S. 138-9.

³³ Vikan (1998), 231f. Engemann (2001), S. 42f.

³⁴ Maraval (1985), S. 147, 222-224.

³⁵ Brenk (1995-97), S. 96-107. Grossmann (1988), S. 286.



Abbildungen 6a: Rekonstruktionsplan der Kirche des Heiligen Grabes im 4.Jh.

Quelle:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Anastasia_Rotonda_4th_century_floor_plan_2.png
(20/02/2007)



6b: Die Säule des Hl. Symeons in Qal'at Sim'an, Syrien. Quelle:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Column_of_Simeon_Syria.jpg (20/02/2007)

Den Reliquien wurde auch in der Liturgie große Bedeutung beigemessen, wie zum Beispiel dem Heiligen Kreuz. Denn den Höhepunkt im Verlauf der Osterwoche bildete für die Gläubigen die Anbetung des in der Auferstehungskirche aufgestellten

Heiligen Kreuzes. Gemäß den Quellen hielten die Priester während der Zeremonie die heilige Reliquie ganz fest und beaufsichtigten die vorbeikommenden Pilger streng. Denn früher hatte es einmal jemand geschafft, das Kreuz hineinzubeißen und ein Stück zu stehlen.³⁶

Dieses unpassende Verhalten des unbekannten Pilgers verdeutlicht uns, daß der Kontakt mit einer Reliquie oft nicht ausreichte, um die Gläubigen zufriedenzustellen. Denn sie wollten das Andenken an diesen Kontakt für immer bewahren und deshalb einen greifbaren Beweis dieses Segens mit sich nach Hause nehmen. Da es ihnen unmöglich war, die Reliquie selbst zu bekommen, hat man allmählich eine Reihe von Ersatzreliquien geschaffen, die die wundervollbringenden Eigenschaften der Reliquie, der heiligen Stätte oder des Heiligen selbst innehatten und den Segen übertragen konnten. Es handelte sich dabei um Substanzen wie Öl, Salböl oder Weihwasser, die entweder mit der Reliquie in Kontakt gekommen waren oder auf wundersame Weise daraus hervorquoll, oder aber es handelte sich einfach um wertloses Material wie Erde oder Stein, das von der heiligen Stätte stammte.³⁷

Diese Praxis basiert auf dem Glauben, daß die Heiligkeit der Reliquie auch auf die materiellen Dinge übertragen und so an die Gläubigen weitergegeben werden kann. Ein charakteristischer Beleg für diese Sichtweise ist, daß Johannes Chrysostomos seine Gläubigen dazu aufrief, die Gräber der Märtyrer zu besuchen, da ihre Gebeine eine solch große Kraft hätten, daß sie die Gräber und die darin befindlichen Reliquiare weihten.³⁸

Derartige Reliquiare sind uns erhalten. Sie sind aus Marmor gefertigt und haben oft die Form kleiner Sarkophage. Sie haben zwei Öffnungen, eine im Deckel und eine im eigentlichen Behälter, die erste diente dem Eingießen von Öl, die zweite dem Ablassen des geweihten Öls.³⁹ (**Abb. 7**)

³⁶ Vikan (1998), S. 234.

³⁷ Vikan (1982), S. 10f. Maraval (1985), S. 233-241. Engemann (1995-97)a, S. 32-33. Vikan (1998), S. 234-236.

³⁸ Maraval (1985), S. 143-44, 147.

³⁹ *Welt von Byzanz* (2004), S. 187 no 247 – 248 (J. Witt) mit ältere Literatur

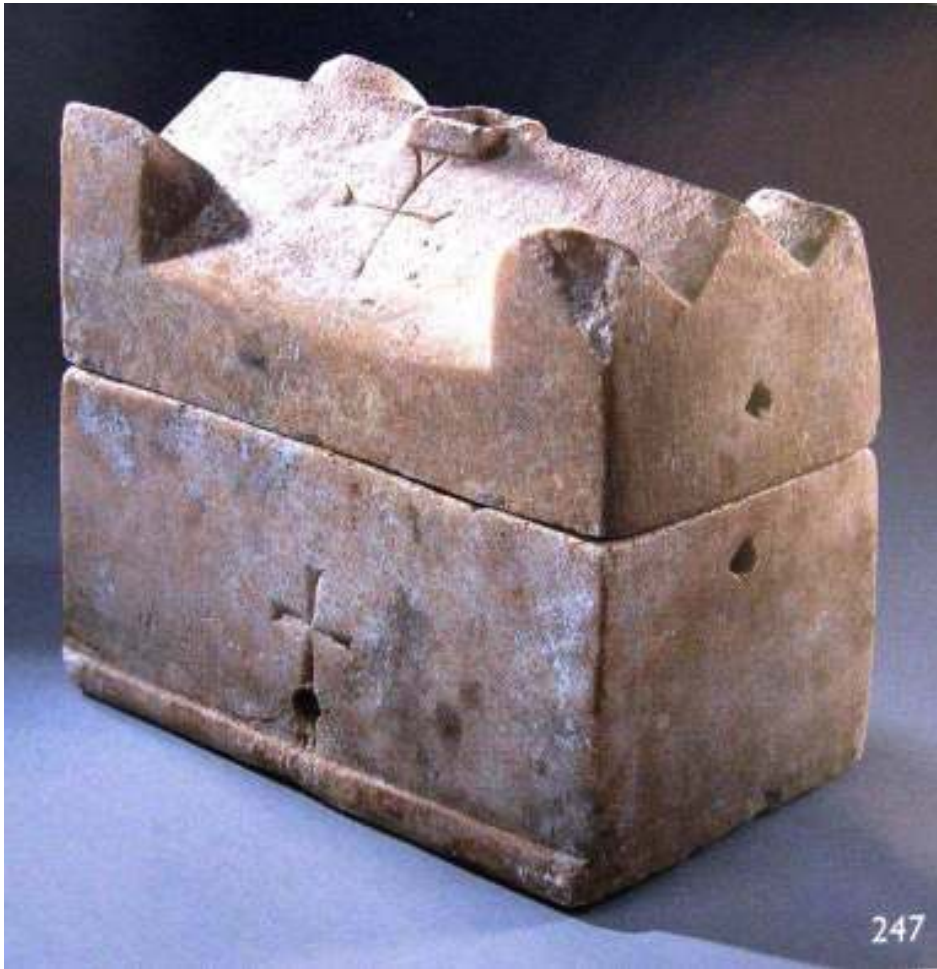


Abbildung 7: Marmorreliquiare, östliches Mittelmeergebiet (5.- 7. Jh.), Privatsammlung. Quelle: Die Welt von Byzanz (2004), S. 187 no. 247.

Zum Transport der geweihten Substanzen aus dem Pilgerort wurden kleine Ampullen (Fläschchen) aus billigem Material, gewöhnlich Ton oder Blei verwendet. Charakteristische Beispiele dafür sind die Tonampullen aus dem Heiligtum des Menas in Ägypten, die den Heiligen in betender Haltung abbilden und oft die Inschrift „*εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ*“, übersetzt also: „Segen des heiligen Menas“ tragen.⁴⁰ (**Abb. 8**) Diese Ampullen und andere Tonobjekte, wie Tonstatuetten in Frauen- oder Tiergestalt, die wohl ebenfalls für die Pilger bestimmt waren und zwar wahrscheinlich als Votivgaben⁴¹, wurden in den Werkstätten des Wallfahrtsortes in großen Mengen hergestellt.⁴² (**Abb. 9**)

⁴⁰ Witt (2000) mit ältere Literatur.

⁴¹ Engemann (1995-97), 231-2. Siehe auch *Welt von Byzanz* (2004), S. 205 no. 293 (G. Kaminski), S. 206 no. 294-295 (H. Bode).

⁴² Grossmann (1998), S. 299-300.

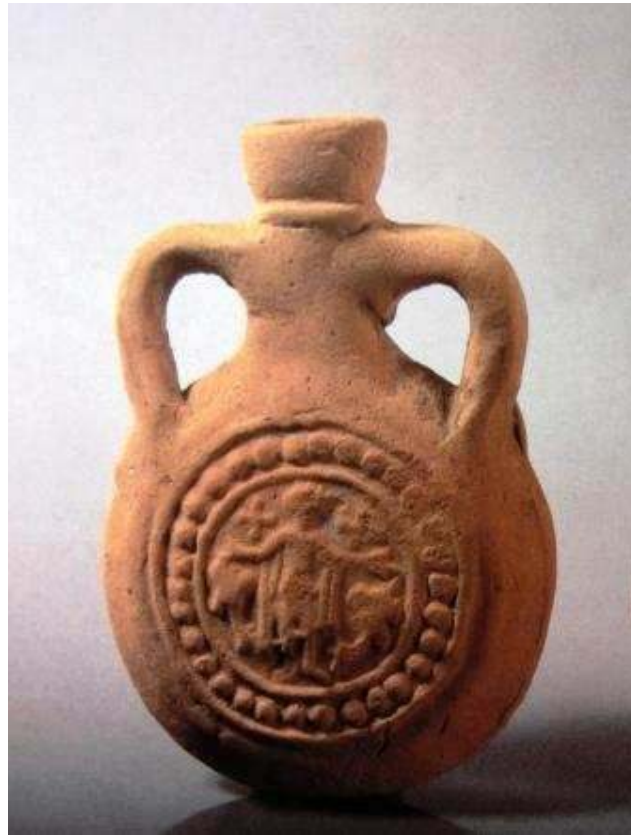


Abbildung 8: Ampulle aus Ton von Abu Mina (5.- 7. Jh.), Quelle: D. Papanikola Bakirtzi (ed.), *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (exhibition catalogue, White Tower, Thessaloniki, October 2001—January 2002), Athens 2002, S. 174 no. 197.



Abbildung 9: Fraustatue aus Ton von Abu Mina, Ägypten, (5.- 7. Jh.), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Quelle: Die Welt von Byzanz (2004), S. 206, no. 294.

Für den Transport des Öls, das die Gläubigen häufig von den Lampen nahmen, die im Heiligen Grab brannten oder von Öl, das mit der Kreuzreliquie in Kontakt gekommen war, benutzten sie kleine Bleiampullen, die gewöhnlich die folgenden Inschriften tragen: „*Ελεον ξύλου ζωής των Αγίων Τόπων*“ (=Öl vom Holz des Lebens aus dem Heiligen Land) und „*Ευλογία κυρίου των Αγίων Τόπων*“ (=Eulogie d.h. Segen des Herrn aus dem Heiligen Land). Diese wie auch die Bildthemen, mit denen sie geschmückt sind, nämlich die Salbenträgerinnen am Grab und die Kreuzigung lassen keinen Zweifel an ihrer Verwendung und Herkunft.⁴³ (Abb. 10a-b)

⁴³Grabar (1958) und Engemann (1973). Siehe auch *Welt von Byzanz* (2004), S. 199 no. 271-72 (J. Witt).



Abbildungen 10a & 10b: Pilgerampulle aus Blei-Zinn-Legierung, Palästina (6/7. Jh.), Privatsammlung. Quelle: Die Welt von Byzanz (2004), S. 199, no. 271.

Der interessanteste Aspekt dieser Gegenstände ist, daß in ihren Bildern konkrete topographische Angaben zu den heiligen Stätten des Heiligen Landes gemacht werden.⁴⁴ Der bezeichnendste Fall ist das Grab, das in der Szene mit den Salbenträgerinnen gezeigt wird, in dem die Forscher eine synoptische Darstellung des tatsächlichen Denkmals, also des Heiligen Grabes erkennen. Auf diese Weise bestätigt die Ikonographie nicht nur die Authentizität der Objekte, sondern verstärkt auch ihre Funktion als Pilgerandenken.⁴⁵ So wurde allmählich das Bild, das den heiligen Ort darstellte, selbst zur *Eulogie*, d.h. zum Segensträger. Dies belegt eine Reihe von einfachen Medaillons aus Ton oder Blei, die dieselben Themen zeigen und die wahrscheinlich ebenfalls Pilgerandenken waren.⁴⁶ (**Abb. 11a-b**)

⁴⁴ Weitzmann (1974)

⁴⁵ Wilkinson (1972). Barag and Wilkinson (1974)

⁴⁶ Camper (1981). Rahmani (1993). Siehe auch *Welt von Byzanz* (2004), S. 200 no. 273-275, 202, no. 279 – 284 (J. Witt).



Abbildungen 11a: Bleianhänger, Palästina (6./7. Jh.), Privatsammlung. *Quelle:* Die Welt von Byzanz (2004), S. 200, nos. 273-274.



11b: Medaillons aus Erde formgepresst (6./7. Jh.), Privatsammlung. *Quelle:* Die Welt von Byzanz (2004), S. 202, nos. 279-282.

Von den beiden Heiligtümern der Säulenheiligen Symeone in Syrien bekamen Pilger ebenfalls Medaillons aus Ton, die als Hauptmotiv die Büste des Heiligen auf der

Säule abbilden.⁴⁷ (**Abb. 12**) Sie wurden aus der die Säulen umgebenden Erde hergestellt, da diese gemäß den Quellen wunderbewirkende und insbesondere heilende Eigenschaften hatte. Bereits zu seinen Lebzeiten gab der heilige Symeon der Jüngere als Arzt selbst dem Pilger dem jeweiligen Leiden entsprechend Anweisungen zur Benutzung, das heißt entweder sollte die kranke Stelle mit der Erde des Medaillons eingerieben werden, oder die Erde sollte mit Wasser gemischt und hinuntergeschluckt werden. In einem anderen Fall bot er dem Gläubigen sein Tonsiegel an und erklärte ihm, daß sein Bild auf ihr genüge, um ihn zu schützen und im Notfall zu helfen.⁴⁸



Abbildung 12: Erdemedailles mit Stylitendarstellungen, Syrien (6./7. Jh.), Privatsammlung. Quelle: Byzanz (2001), S. 183-4 no. I67.

Diese Sichtweise, also daß das Bild eines wunderbewirkenden Heiligen selbst zum Segensträger und zum schützenden Amulett wird, bekam nach dem Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts größere Bedeutung. Es ist daher kein Zufall, daß während der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, d.h. im 10. bis 11. Jh., als das Heiligtum des Symeon des Jüngeren eine Phase des Wiederauflebens erfuhr, die angefertigten Pilgerandenken

⁴⁷Lafontaine-Dosogne (1967), S. 170 f., Sodini (1989), Sodini (1993). Siehe auch Byzanz (2001), S. 183 no. I.67 (J. Witt).

⁴⁸Vikan (1984).

demselben ikonographischen Schema folgen wie die früheren. Doch nun sind sie nicht mehr aus Ton, das heißt aus der den Wallfahrtsort umgebenden Erde, sondern aus Blei. (Abb. 13) Dieser Wechsel des Materials zeigt, daß sich die Authentizität der Medaillons als Segensträger des Pilgerorts auf dem *Mons Admirabilis* nicht mehr auf das Material bezieht sondern auf die Ikonographie.⁴⁹



Abbildung 13: Bleimedaillon mit Darstellung des Hl. Symeon des Jüngeren, Syrien (10./11. Jh.), Byzantinische und Christliche Museum, Athen. Quelle: Everyday Life in Byzantium, S. 176-77 no. 200.

Die besondere Bedeutung, die die Ikonographie der Pilgerandenken in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit erlangte, verdeutlichen uns auch die Bleiampullen, die in Jerusalem im 12. Jahrhundert für die Kirche des Heiligen Grabes angefertigt wurden. Auf ihnen ist auf der einen Seite eine christliche Szene abgebildet, wie z.B. die Frauen am Grab und auf der anderen eine synoptische Abbildung der Kirche.⁵⁰ (Abb. 14a-b) Die ikonographischen Elemente, die zu ihrer Wiedergabe ausgewählt wurden, wie die

⁴⁹Vikan (1998), 256-260. Siehe auch *Welt von Byzanz* (2004), S. 211 no. 311 (J.Witt).

⁵⁰Kötzche (1988). Siehe auch Folda (1995), S. 294-297.

Öllampen und die diese drei runden Formen, stellen nicht nur einen Teil der Außenseite des Gebäudes dar, sondern waren auch mit den Verehrungsritualen und den Erfahrungen der Pilger am Ort verbunden. Konkret nimmt die Öllampe Bezug auf das Ritual des Heiligen Lichts, das sich auf wundersame Weise seit dem 9. Jahrhundert an jedem Karsamstag im Grab Christi entzündet; die drei runden Formen zeigen die Öffnungen in der Marmorverkleidung um den Felsen, in dem der Leichnam Christi gelegen hatte, durch die die Pilger die Reliquie berühren konnten. Es handelt sich hier nicht um eine topographische Anspielung, wie bei den frühchristlichen Segensträgern, sondern um die Abbildung des Denkmals selbst, was jeder Pilger, der einmal dort gewesen war, wiedererkennen konnte.⁵¹



Abbildungen 14a: Pilgerampulle der Kreuzfahrerzeit, Zinn – Blei- Legierung, Palästina (2. Hälfte 12. Jh.), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Quelle: Die Welt von Byzanz (2004), S. 200, nos. 276.

⁵¹ Vgl. Foskolou (2004).



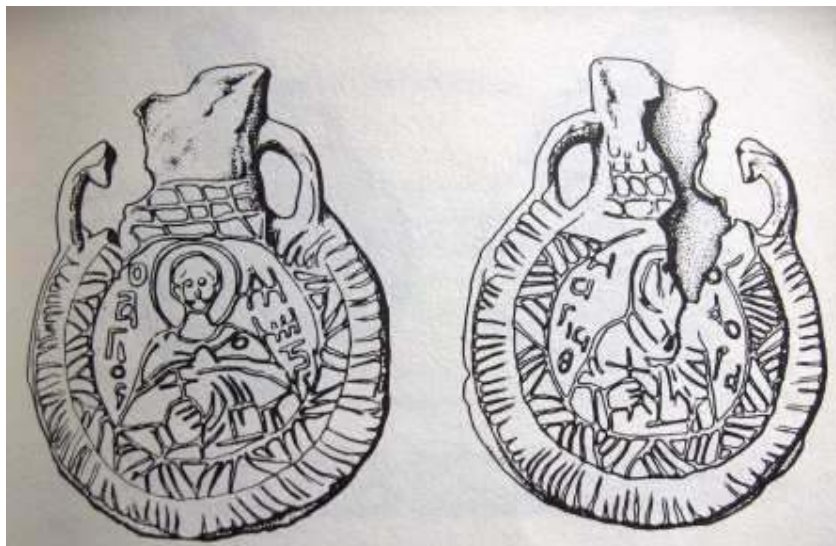
14b: Zeichnung der Pilgerampulle. Quelle: Kötzche (1988) Abb. 7.

Eine weitere interessante Gruppe von Pilgerandenken aus der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit sind die sogenannten *koutrouvia*, die für das Salböl bestimmt waren, das auf wundersame Weise aus dem Grab des heiligen Demetrios in seiner Kirche in Thessaloniki heraustrat.⁵² Es handelt sich um Bleiampullen, die auf einer Seite den heiligen Demetrios und auf der anderen einen weiteren Heiligen abbilden, der entweder am selben Ort verehrt wurde, wie z. B. der Hl. Nestor, oder in einer anderen Kirchen Thessalonikis verehrt wurden, wie zum Beispiel die heilige Theodora (die *myrovlitria* hieß, also die sogenannte duftende, weil aus ihren Gebeinen Duftöl heraustrat). (**Abb 15a-b**) Die verschiedenen Kombinationen von Heiligen auf Koutrouvia erlauben uns anzunehmen, daß sie nicht nur für die Demetrioskirche hergestellt wurden und darüber hinaus daß die Produktion von Pilgerandenken nicht mehr durch das Pilgerheiligtum selbst geschah, sondern durch die Werkstätten der mit ihm verbundenen Stadt.

⁵² Bakirtzis (1990)



Abbildungen 15a: Bleiampulle, Pilgerandenken von der Demetrioskirche in Thessaloniki, das sog. Koutrouvion, (12. /13. Jh.). Quelle: *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, S. 184 no. 203.



15b: Zeichnung einer Bleiampulle aus Demetrioskirche in Thessaloniki, Benaki Museum, Athens. Quelle: Bakirtzis (1990), Abb. 51.

Dies bestätigt sich auch durch den Fund einer Werkstatt in Akra, die aufgrund des Ausgrabungsbefundes in die Zeit der Kreuzfahrerstaaten datiert werden kann.⁵³ Die dort hergestellten Bleiampullen waren vegetabil, geometrisch oder mit kreuzförmigen Elementen dekoriert. Diese neutrale Dekoration war für die Forscher ein Indiz dafür, daß die Flaschen nicht für einen bestimmten Wallfahrtsort hergestellt worden waren. Sondern sie konnten von den Pilgern für die Aufnahme von geweihter Substanz aus verschiedenen Pilgerheiligümern verwendet werden, die diese auf ihrer Reise durch das Heilige Land besuchten.

Die letzten Objekte, die in dieser kurze Übersicht behandeln werden, gehören zu einer großen Gruppe von Glasmedaillons mit sowohl byzantinischen als auch westlichen religiösen Themen. (**Abb. 16**) Aufgrund ihrer einfachen Produktionsweise, des billigen Rohmaterials und der Menge an erhaltenen Exemplaren, hatte man zunächst angenommen, daß sie in der Nachahmung byzantinischer Vorbilder im 13. Jahrhundert in Venedig produziert wurden und die These aufgestellt, daß sie als Pilgerandenken benutzt wurden. Vor allem hinsichtlich der Herkunft der Stücke wurde dieser Meinung vehement widersprochen. Eine Gruppe von Forschern hat sie für byzantinische Werke gehalten, aber die Frage der Funktion blieb bislang unberührt.⁵⁴

⁵³ Syon (1999).

⁵⁴ Wentzel (1959), Ross (1962), Wentzel (1963), Vickers (1974).



Abbildung 16: *Glassmedaillon mit der Darstellung des Hl. Georgios (13. Jh.), Benaki Museum Athen. Quelle: Foskolou 2004a, Abb. 5.*

Neulich hat die Studie der entsprechenden Stücke des Benaki Museum in Athen gezeigt, daß einige der Medaillons anhand der ikonographischen Analyse mit bestimmten heiligen Stätten in Verbindung bringen können, wie zum Beispiel das Medaillon mit dem heiligen Jakobus mit seinem Heiligtum in Santiago de Compostela in Spanien und die Medaillons mit der Darstellung der Geburt mit der Geburtskirche in Bethlehem.⁵⁵ (**Abb. 17 -18**)

⁵⁵ Foskolou (2004) a.



Abbildung 17: *Glassmedaillon mit der Darstellung des Hl. Jakobus (13. Jh.), Benaki Museum Athen. Quelle: Foskolou 2004a, Abb. 18.*



Abbildung 18: *Glassmedaillon mit Geburtdarstellung, (13. Jh.), Benaki Museum Athen. Quelle: Foskolou 2004a, Abb. 9.*

Die Objekte sind mit Sicherheit alle in einer einzigen Werkstatt angefertigt worden, wie ihre morphologischen Ähnlichkeiten belegen, also die Form, die Größe, der Inschriftentyp, aber auch Gemeinsamkeiten in der Zusammensetzung des Materials und der Herstellungstechnik. Dies ging aus der Analyse der Objekte im Benaki Museum hervor.⁵⁶

Die gemeinsame Herkunft, die Massenproduktion und die internationale Verbreitung dieser Objekte weisen auf eine Handelskraft von internationaler Reichweite, und auf organisierte Glasproduktion hin, so daß ich zu dem Schluß kam, daß dafür nur Venedig in Frage kommt. Zu dieser Ansicht paßt auch die Analyse der Medaillons des Benaki Museums, die sie der Tradition westeuropäischer Glaswerkstätten zuschreiben läßt.

Wie wir sahen, wurden die Pilgerandenken zunächst in Werkstätten hergestellt, die zur Pilgerstätte gehörten. Sie waren aus der umgebenden Erde geschaffen und

⁵⁶ Kotzamani (2004).

enthielten Öl und Salböl von dort. Gerade diesem Aspekt der Herkunft verdankten sie ihre Heiligkeit wie auch ihre Wunder vollbringenden Eigenschaften. Wenn sich auch später die Produktion von den Pilgerorten abgelöst hatte, waren die Objekte dennoch immer noch für geweihte Substanzen von den heiligen Stätten bestimmt. Die Herstellung von Pilgerandenken an einem zentralen Ort und ihre Verbreitung durch die Handels- und Seesupermacht Venedig auf der ganzen damals bekannten Welt in jener Zeit verdeutlicht einen fundamentalen Wandel des Pilgerwesens. Darin spiegelt sich auch ein Wandel in der Mentalität der Pilger wider, sowie ein Wandel in der Organisation der Pilgerstätten. Entsprechende Veränderungen stellen wir auch anhand der Informationen fest, die wir den zeitgenössischen Quellen entnehmen. Beispielsweise ist es für dieselbe Epoche, d. h. für den Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts, bezeichnend, daß von Venedig aus Schiffsreisen organisiert wurden, die sich ausschließlich an Pilger richteten und als bequeme und sichere Lösung propagiert wurden, um in das heilige Land zu gelangen.⁵⁷ Es ist ebenso diese Zeit, in der im Westen Pilgerembleme als gewinnbringendes Unternehmen angesehen wurden. Große Händlerfamilien bezahlten dem Wallfahrtsort reichlich um das Monopol für deren Verbreitung zu haben.⁵⁸

Die Distanz, die die Tonandenken der frühbyzantinischen Zeit von den Glasandenken „made in Venice“ trennt, ist sehr groß. Es ist nicht nur eine zeitliche, sondern vor allem auch eine Distanz im Wert, in der Bedeutung und in der Wahrnehmung dieser Objekte bei den Menschen in jeder Epoche. Dies ist schließlich das Beeindruckende an diesen einfachen und recht wertlosen Objekten. Denn wenn wir sie in Verbindung mit Quellen untersuchen, verraten sie uns zum einen viel über die Religiosität und den Glauben und zum anderen über die Mentalität des mittelalterlichen Menschen.

⁵⁷ Sigal (1974), S. 94, Sumption (1975), S. 188-189.

⁵⁸ Sumption (1975), S. 175.

Literatur

Bakirtzis (1990)

Bakirtzis Charalampos, Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki, in Ousterhout Robert (Hg.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Illinois Byzantine Studies 1), Urbana - Chicago 1990, S. 140-149.

Barag and Wilkinson (1974)

Barag Dan – Wilkinson John, The Monza-Bobbio Flasks and the Holy Sepulchre, *Levant* 6 (1974), S. 179-187.

Brenk (1995-1997)

Brenk Beat, Der Kultort, seine Zugänglichkeit und seine Besucher, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991* [= JbAC Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 69-122.

Byzanz (2001)

Chr. Stiegemann (Hg.), *Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten. Kunst und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Katalog der Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn 2001), Mainz 2001.

Camper (1981)

Camper R., A Hoard of Terracotta Amulets from the Holy Land, in: *Actes du XV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Athènes 1976*, II/A, Athènes 1981, S. 99-106.

Djobadze (1986)

Djobadze Wachtang, *Archeological investigations in the region west of Antioch on-the-Orontes*, Stuttgart 1986.

Engemann (1973)

Engemann Josef, Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F.J.Dölger-Institut in Bonn, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 16 (1973) 5-27.

Engemann (1995-1997)a

Engemann Josef, Das Jerusalem der Pilger. Kreuzauffindung und Wallfahrt, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991* [= JbAC Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 24-35.

Engemann (1995-1997)

Engemann Josef, Eulogien und Votive, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991* [= JbAC Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 223-233.

Engemann (2001)

Engemann Josef, Pilgerwesen und Pilgerkunst, in: *Byzanz* (2001), S.45-52.

Folda (1995)

Folda Jaroslav, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187*, Cambridge, New York and Melbourne (Cambridge University Press) 1995.

Foskolou (2004)

Foskolou Vassiliki, Representations of the Holy Sepulchre and their Symbolism in the Late Byzantine Era, *Deltion Christianikes Archeologikes Etaireias* 25 (2004), S. 225-236 (auf griechisch mit engl. Zsfg).

Foskolou (2004) a

Foskolou Vassiliki, Glass medallions with religious themes in the Byzantine Collection at the Benaki Museum: a contribution to the study of pilgrim tokens in Late Middle Ages, *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 4 (2004), S. 51-73.

Friedman (1999)

Friedman Yvonne, Pilgrims in the Shadow of the Crusader Kingdom, in: Rozenberg Silvia (Hg.), *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Exhibition Catalogue, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem 1999), Jerusalem 1999, S. 100-109.

Grabar (1958)

Grabar André, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza – Bobbio)*, Paris 1958.

Grossmann (1998)

Grossmann Peter, The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ, in: Frankfurter David (Hg.) *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, Leiden - Boston - Köln (Brill) 1998, S. 281-301.

Israeli (2000)

Israeli Yael, Pilgrimage to the Holy Places, in: Israeli Yael – Mevorah David (Hrgs.), *Cradle of Christianity* (Exhibition Catalogue, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem 2000-2001), Jerusalem 2000, S. 189-193.

Kaplan (2002)

Kaplan Michel, Les saints en pèlerinage à l'époque mésobyzantine (7e-12e siècles), *DOP* 56 (2002), S. 109-128 (siehe auch <http://www.doaks.org/DOP56/DP56ch08.pdf>).

Kotzamani (2004)

Kotzamani Despina, Glass medallions with religious themes in the Byzantine collection at the Benaki Museum: technical analysis, *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 4 (2004), S. 75-89 (auf griechisch mit engl. Zsfg).

Kötzche (1988)

Kötzche Lieselotte, Zwei Jerusalemer Pilgerampullen aus der Kreuzfahrerzeit, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51 (1988), S. 3-32.

Külzer (1994)

Külzer Andreas, *Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam: Studien zu Pilgerführen und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer und metabyzantinischer Zeit*, Frankfurt a.M. (P. Lang Verlag), 1994.

Lafontaine-Dosogne (1967)

Lafontaine-Dosogne Jacqueline , *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche. Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (Bibliothèque de Byzantion no. 4), Bruxelles 1967.

Mango (1995-1997)

Mango Cyril, The Pilgrim's Motivation, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991* [= JbAC Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 1-9.

Maraval (1982)

Maraval Pierre (ed.), *Égerie, Journal de voyage (Itinéraire). Introduction, texte critique, traduction, note, indexes et cartes*, Paris 1982.

Maraval (1985)

Maraval Pierre, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1985.

Maraval (2002)

Maraval Pierre, The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East (before the 7th Century), *DOP* 56 (2002), S. 63-73 (siehe auch <http://www.doaks.org/DOP56/DP56ch05.pdf>).

Rahmani (1993)

Rahmani L.Y., *Eulogia* Tokens from Byzantine Bet She'an, *Atiqot* XXII (1993), S. 109-119.

Ross 1962

Ross Martin, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol 1: Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting, Washington D. C. 1962.

Savage (1977)

Savage H.L., Pilgrimage and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095, in K.M. Setton (Hg.), *A History of the Crusades*, IV, Madison 1977, S. 36-78.

Severin (1995-1997)

Severin Hans-Georg, Pilgerwesen und Herbergen, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September* [= JbAC Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 329-339.

Sigal (1974)

Sigal Pierre André, *Les marcheurs de Dieu. Pèlerinage et pèlerins au Moyen Age*, Paris 1974.

Sigal (1997)

Sigal Pierre André, Le pèlerinage de Terre sainte aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, in: Rey-Delqué Monique (Hg.), *Les Croisades. L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à saint Louis, 1096-1270* (Catalogue d'Exposition, Ensemble conventuel des Jacobins Toulouse 1997), Milan, Toulouse (Electa) 1997.

Sodini (1989)

Sodini Jean-Pierre, Remarques sur l'iconographie de Syméon l'Alépin, le premier Stylite, *Monuments et Mémoires. Fondation Eugène Piot* 70 (1989), 29-53.

Sodini (1993)

Sodini Jean-Pierre, Nouvelles Eulogies de Symeon, in: Jolivet – Lévy J., M. Kaplan, Sodini J.P. (Hrsgs.), *Les saint et leur Sanctuaire à Byzance. Textes, images et monuments* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 11), Paris 1993, S. 25-33.

Strube (1996)

Strube Christine, *Die «Toten Städte». Stadt und Land in Nordsyrien während der Spätantike*, Mainz 1996.

Sumption (1975)

Sumption Jonathan, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, London 1975.

Syon (1999)

Syon Danny, Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A crusader Workshop of Lead Ampullae from Acre, in: Rozenberg Silvia (Hg.), *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Exhibition Catalogue, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem 1999), Jerusalem 1999, S. 110-115.

Talbot (2001)

Talbot Alice-Mary, Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century, in: Patrich J. (Hrsgs.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the 5th Century to the Present* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 98), Leuven 2001, S. 97-110.

Talbot (2002)

Talbot Alice-Mary, Dumbarton Oaks Symposium 2000: Pilgrimage in the Byzantine Empire: 7th-15th Centuries. Introduction, *DOP* 56 (2002), S. 59-61 (siehe auch <http://www.doaks.org/DOP56/DP56ch04.pdf>).

Wentzel (1959)

Wentzel Hans, Das Medaillon mit dem Hl. Theodor und die venezianischen Glaspasten im byzantinischen Stil, in: *Festschrift für E. Meyer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Hamburg 1959, S. 50-67.

Wentzel (1963)

Wentzel Hans, Zu dem Enkolpion mit dem Hl. Demetrios in Hamburg, *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 8 (1963), S. 11-24.

Vickers (1974)

Vickers Michael, "A Note on Glass Medallions in Oxford", *Glass Studies XVII* (1974), S. 18-21.

Vikan (1982)

Vikan Gary, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications no. 5), Washington, D.C. 1982 (siehe auch <http://www.doaks.org/PilgrimageArt.pdf>).

Vikan (1984)

Vikan G., Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium, *DOP* 38 (1984), S. 65-86.

Vikan (1998)

Vikan Gary, Byzantine Pilgrims' Art, in Safran Linda (Hg.), *Heaven on Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium*, Pennsylvania 1998, S. 229-266.

Weitzmann (1974)

Weitzmann Kurt, Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine, *DOP* 28 (1974), S. 31-55.

Welt von Byzanz (2004)

Wamser Ludwig (Hg.), *Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe* (Katalog der Ausstellung im Archäologischen Staatssammlung – Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München vom 22.10.2004 bis 3.4.2005), München 2004.

Wilkinson (1972)

Wilkinson John, The Tomb of Christ. An Outline of Its Structural History, *Levant* 4 (1972), S.

Wilkinson (1977)

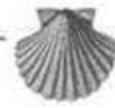
Wilkinson John, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster 1977.

Wilkinson (1988)

Wilkinson John, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, London 1988.

Witt (2000)

Witt Janette, *Werke der Alltagskultur Teil 1: Menasampullen*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst Bestandskataloge, Bd. 2, Wiesbaden 2000.



(Translated Using Google Translate)

**A journey to the barrier travel places of the eastern Mediterranean area:
„Souvenirs“, customs and mentality of the barrier travel nature.**

By Vicky Foskolou

The terms *Peregrinus* and *Peregrinatio*, from which the today's words pilgrims and Pilgrimage deduce themselves, meant the journey in the Middle Ages „the foreigner“ and „abroad“. In the medieval Greek language no appropriate word seems, that the today's term to the Pilgerfahrt (Greek. *proskynema*) describes. Nevertheless the journey would be allowed to do to a holy place for the purpose of the Anbetung, a practice, which admits from the Jewish and from pagan religions was, already at the beginning 4. Century also in the Christian world spreads been its. Bishop Eusebios von Caesarea mentioned repeated that one was led to its time to the holy places of the old person and new will in Palestine. This information is confirmed by oldest us the received travel description of the anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux, who had traveled in the year 333 to Palestine. It enumerates a large number of objects of interest with meaning for the Christianity, which it were shown. This clarifies that already at that time a kind of stranger guidance for Christian pilgrims existed.

The establishment of important churches marks a temporal fixed point for using the massive Christian Pilgerströme by Konstantin the large one, at the places, which were linked with the highlights of the life Christi, i.e. with the birth, the Auferstehung and the Ascension Day. Jerusalem and in particular the church of the holy grave, which were geweiht with large ceremonies on 14 September 335 and which contained grave Christi, Golgotha as well as later the Kreuzreliquie, was considered as the center of the world and the most important goal to each Christian pilgrim. Since this time up to the beginning 7. Century traveled continuously hundreds of Gläubigen from all social layers and parts that at that time admitted world to the Anbetung to the Christian cult places in the eastern Mediterranean area. These cover such in Egypt, Syria and small Asia, which with the

graves and Gebeinen were connected with living holy ones by martyrs, or except the places in Palestine and in the Sinai, at which the life Christi on ground connection and events of the old person of will took place, also.

A characteristic example of the first case was the Pilgerheiligtum in Abu Mina with the grave of the holy Menas in Egypt to the west of Alexandria. For the second case the most famous living Asketen of the epoch is to be called: the two column-holy Symeon in Syria, the so-called „Symeon Stylites “(stylites is derived from the Greek word *stylos* = column): Symeon the older one, which rose there in the year 420 to a column on the Qal' RK Sim' to northeast from Antiochia and the further 40 years of its life remained, as well as its name cousin, which so-called younger ones, who followed one century later its example and endured on a column on the *Mons Admirabilis* (miracle mountain) somewhat outside from Antiochia. (fig. 1)



Figure 1: *The Kiche of the Hl. Symeon in Qal' RK Sim' on, Syria (approx. 470-90). From: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Ruins_of_St_Simeon_Stylites.jpg (20/02/2007)*

Over the crowds of Gläubigen of different origin, which the column of the holy Symeon of the older one visited, we are by its contemporary, whom bishop von Cyrrhus informs, very well. He speaks of Ismaeliten, Persern, Armenians, Iberern, Spaniards, the British, Galatern and people from Italy, which came in rivers. Thus it offers to us a lively picture of the massive and multinational character of the Pilgerwesens in the early Byzantine time.

By the Arab conquest of the east provinces of the Byzantine realm, i.e. Syria, Palestine and Egypt, in 7. Jh. found the measure-moderate and international Pilgerverkehr an end. Afterwards reached the large places of pilgrimage of the east up to in the holy country and in the Sinai never again the fame of the early Byzantine time. An important reason for it is that the Byzantiner strengthens Pilgerorten turned, which had remained within its rule area like e.g. agio Demetrios in Thessaloniki. Konstantinopel, which was

proclaimed by the transfer by Reliquien from the east to „the new Jerusalem “, became in the central Byzantine time for the Byzantiner the place of pilgrimage absolutely. (fig. 2)



Figure 2: The church of the Hagios Demetrios in Thessaloniki (5.Jh.)

Palestine and above all Jerusalem however never stopped being destination from Christian pilgrims to. Because the Islamic authorities were quite conscious itself of the economic profit, which could be registered by the pilgrims, and prevented the Pilgerverkehr therefore not. Although the journey could hold unpleasant surprises ready for the barrier drivers, the pilgrims did not frighten back to travel until Jerusalem. Byzantine Heiligenviten 7. Century and later, in which the journey is regarded after Jerusalem as an essential component for the personal record of a holy one, as well as western sources of writing, itself on pilgrims in the holy country up to the end of the 11. Century refer, confirm that the international Pilgerreisen was limited in the area, but did not stop. With the establishment of Latin of kingdom of Jerusalem in the year 1099 by

the cross drivers the Wallfahrt experienced a new phase of the upswing into the holy country. During 12. Century the holy grave church was converted by new Latin the rulers of the city and again decorated. The incident masses of Gläubigen came now primarily from Western Europe. (Fig. 3)



Figure 3: The church of the holy grave, Jerusalem.

From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Holy_sepulchre_exterior.jpg

(20/02/2007)

For the investigation of the medieval Pilgrimage two categories of sources are to us at the disposal: Texts and material remainders. The texts cover historical and theological works, reports of acts and miracles of holy ones, and above all the travel descriptions of the pilgrims themselves. In the second category the monuments themselves are contained, i.e. the Heiligtümer, their monument decoration, the articles, which served pilgrims for as memories and which Votive, which brought the pilgrims to the Heiligtum.

Most pilgrims, who conveyed us their travel experiences, came from the west and wrote on Latin. Their texts differ in style and contents from each other, depending upon the interests and the knowledge of its authors. Although they are not characterised straight by literary qualities, they form a singular, alive source, from which we receive information about the holy places and the practical Pilgerreise questions concerned: as e.g. over the circumstances, means of transport, the itineraries and stations.

Most pilgrims traveled zulande, either to foot or with load animals. Naturally the means of transport depended on their respective economical and social position. Reports over persons of noble origin, primarily women, occupy who had the comfort to travel to their private cars and with their attendants. If one computes the fact that the barrier drivers might have put daily a distance back from 30 to 50 km lasted a journey in each case extremely long. Therefore it is surely no coincidence that they expanded their stay at the Pilgerstätten often rather. The case of the Egeria, a nun from Spain, those is characteristic at the end 4. Century four years long to all at that time well-known places of pilgrimage pilgerte. The journey might have taken approx. one year, while it stayed to three further years in Jerusalem.

Not only the long travel duration, but also the large number at holy places, at Reliquien and Asketen, which one could visit in the eastern Mediterranean, caused the extended stay. The travel description of the unknown pilgrim of Piacenza in Italy from that 6. Century reveals the variety of the objects of interest, which the holy country had to offer to us. It reported that it was after its arrival in the port of Ptolemais (the today's Akko) in Diocaesarea, in order to see the chair, on which the nut/mother of God had sat during the Verkündigung, then to Canaan visited, in order to affect the two Hydrien of the famous wedding and Nazareth, in order to see the reader of the Christ child. Only after it it opened itself to the south to its actual Pilgerreiseziel Jerusalem.

In order to organize their round trip, to reasonable and lurking dangers to meet to be able was it necessarily to have a local well-informed tourist guide. Over the existence of travel guides already in 4. Jh. in Jerusalem, we are informed by the holy Hieronymus, which expresses its annoyance over its inaccuracies and its unawareness. That a Sarazene

was paid for a journey from Negev to the mountain Sinai with 3,5 Goldsolidi, i.e. with half of the value at that time for a camel, necessarily for like one shows travel guides held. Later, in 12. Century regarded it the Russian monk Daniel as his large luck an old man to have found, who was very educated, spoke Greek and accompanied him on its round trip in Palestine. In the same time Johannes reports Maria Magdalena in Jerusalem led from peppering castle of a monk, that with much Dramatik and intensive sign language to the monastery.

In the luggage of each pilgrim also maps with the most important objects of interest of the holy places must have been, like us a mosaic soil have assumed leave except the Bible, which was found in Madaba in Jordanian ones and a topographic map of Palestine shows, as well as travel manuals. (Fig. 4) the Breviarius, i.e. the short description, of Jerusalem from that 6. Century, the knappe topographic information on the city gives, belonged to this category. After the first crusade travel manuals were in circulation in the west, by which the older travel descriptions were brought on the newest conditions. They described the distances between the cities, the monuments and the cult places and reported of the events, which took place there. In that time also catalogs with necessary sentences on Latin and Greek arose, which one needed for „surviving “and for the communication (like for example, there mihi panem: DOS ME psomi). These two kinds of texts, which probably addressed themselves to pilgrims, mark the again-awaked interest of the west in the holy country after the establishment of the cross driver states in the Levante.



Figure 4: The topographic map of Jerusalem, mosaic soil of the George church in Madaba, Jordanian one (6.Jh.). From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Madaba_Jerusalem_Mosaic.jpg (20/02/2007)

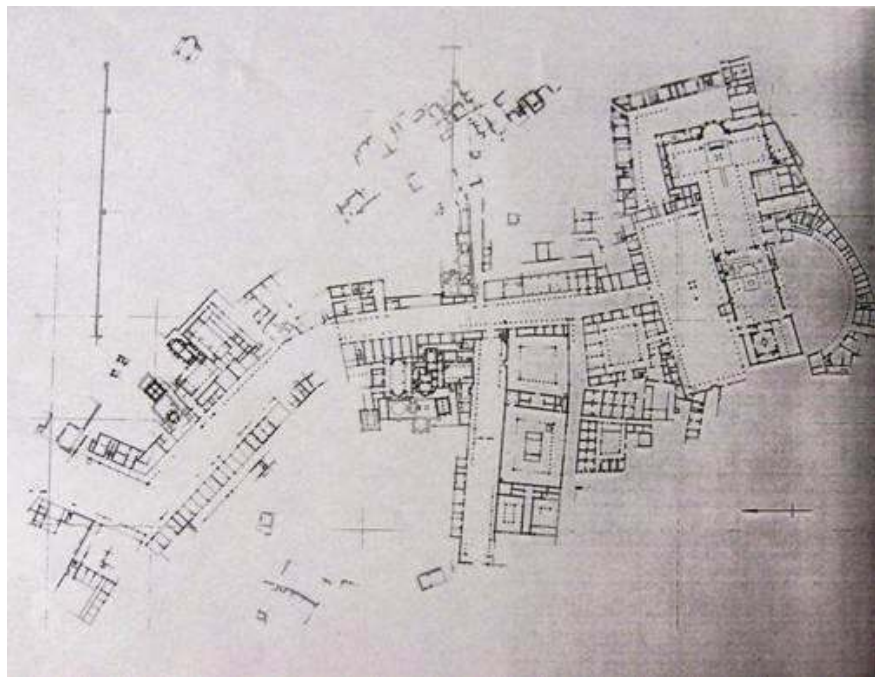
Except the travel guides and the travel manuals also hotels and Hospize, the cumbersome way, facilitated which often developed on imperial and church initiative in places of pilgrimage for the pilgrims. Characteristic examples formed certainly the two Pilgerheiligtümer, which developed on in Abu Mina and on the Qal' RK Sim'. There around the cult center a set of buildings, Hospize and baths as well as large yards for the pilgrims had been furnished approximately. (fig. 5a-b) the stay, perhaps also the food supply, might have been free at the places, which stood under the auspice of the monasteries and the churches, as this comes out from the numerous relevant reports. With security the weak ones and patient, which constituted the majority of the pilgrims, found accommodation in the large Hospizen of the monasteries and churches. The pilgrim of Piacenza reports of a lodging with the Marienkirche of Jerusalem, which was able to

accept 3000 persons. and later, in 9. Century, is mentioned a further Hospiz with 2000 beds for the western visitors of the city.



Figure 5a: Overview of the Pilgrage of St. Symeon in Qal'at Siman, Syria.
From:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Overview_of_St._Simeons_from_the_North_Syria.jpg (20/02/2007)



5b: Floor plan of the Pilgrage of Abu Mina, Egypt, source, Grossmann (1998).

Such information arouses the impression that the maintenance of a place of pilgrimage was connected with high costs. The traffic and the stay of the pilgrims nevertheless meant plentiful incomes both for the Pilgerort and for the further environment. Imperial donations and such of rich Gläubigen, which often left their whole fortune at the holy place, also the gifts of the financially weakest ones might have these costs more than balanced. Already in 4. Century accused the holy Hieronymus the bishop of von Jerusalem inadequately many wealth by the faith of the people to have accumulated, and the pilgrim of Piacenza described in 6. Century the Votive, whereby he spoke of precious Geschmeide, hanging on the external wall of the holy grave, belts, an emperor crown and emblems of an empress. Both clarifies the economic use for the Pilgerstätten in lively way.

By the emergence of a kind of propaganda literature since that 5. Century, when which Cyril Mango the so-called shows up „miracula “i.e. collections of holy miracles to the Pilgerstätten”, besides, the interest of the institutions, which operated the place of pilgrimage, at always new pilgrims was as large. Also this interest expresses itself by the existence of a soldier guard, which secured the way from Alexandria to the Heiligtum of the holy Minas for the pilgrims.

This information gives to speak us the opportunity somewhat about the dangers, which the pilgrims were faced with. The sources report among other things of hunger, thirst, weather adversities, wild animals, robbers, Vergewaltigern or simply hostile inhabitants, or in addition, of the danger to get off the way.

If one considers the expenditure to time, costs and the dangers of the journey, it is justified to ask for the motives which drove as many humans to it, their homeland to leave and for many years at strange places around-mad. Which motivation did they have?

They and many contemporary texts give us various answers to it. At the end 4. Century writes bishop Paulinus von Nola that no other feeling drove humans after Jerusalem than their mental longing, the places to see and affect, at which the gentleman had suffered, had up-arisen and had driven into the sky. Because, he adds, all makes his

presence on ground connection conscious and reveals the deep roots of our current faith. The attendance of a holy place fulfilled thus the mental needs and had didactical meaning. This motive must have exercised on the education and the religiously well-informed ones the largest incentive, thus on those, like Egeria the holy places with the Bible in the hand visited around welfare history in the memory to call and so even quasi again see.

Most Gläubigen might however by the extremely wide-spread faith induced to be the fact that into the Reliquien, in addition, at the holy places, at which the holy ones had worked, their miracle-causative Kraft were alive and that over them the benediction to the Gläubigen will transfer could. Characteristic is for example the remark of Basileios the large one that the Gläubigen, which affected the Gebeine of martyrs, by whose grace were geweiht. This faith and the desire of the pilgrims the Reliquien to see to affect and their benedictions receive, played a large role both in the development of the religious ceremonies and in the architectural organization of the Heiligtümer.

In the large places of pilgrimage the Reliquie in the center of a Zentralbaus was kept, which made a comfortable entrance and the optical contact with the holiest place of the Pilgerstätte for the pilgrims possible, as on on the Qal' RK Sim', where the column of the Symeon with an octagon was converted and in the Auferstehungskirche, where the holy grave stands in the center of a rotunda. (Fig. 6a-b) often the places were converted, in order to offer the Pilgermassen place, as the underground crypt in Abu Mina with the grave of the holy one, which was increased and stairs for the ascending and descending received.

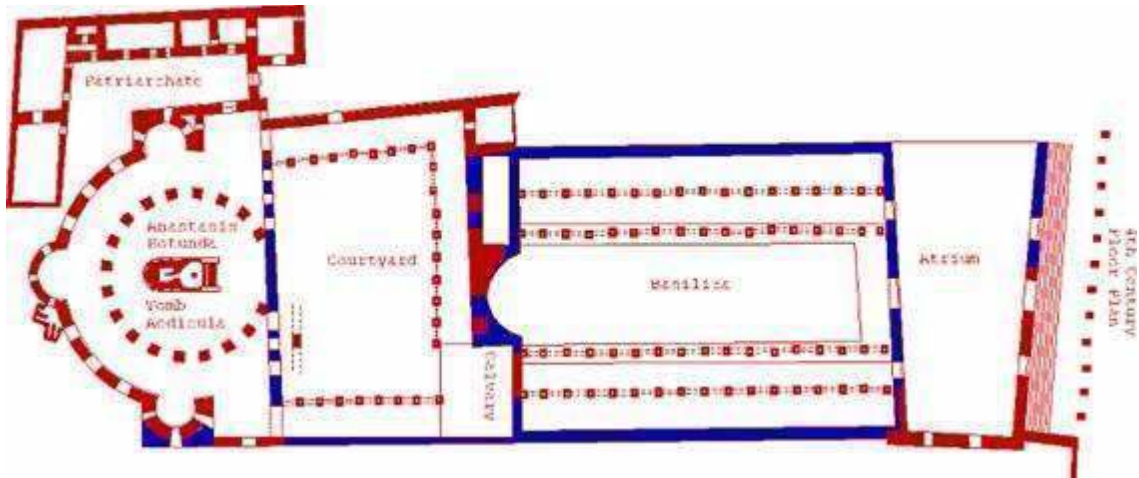


Figure 6a: Reconstruction plan of the church of the holy grave in the 4.Jh. From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Anastasia_Rotonda_4th_century_floor_plan_2.png (20/02/2007)



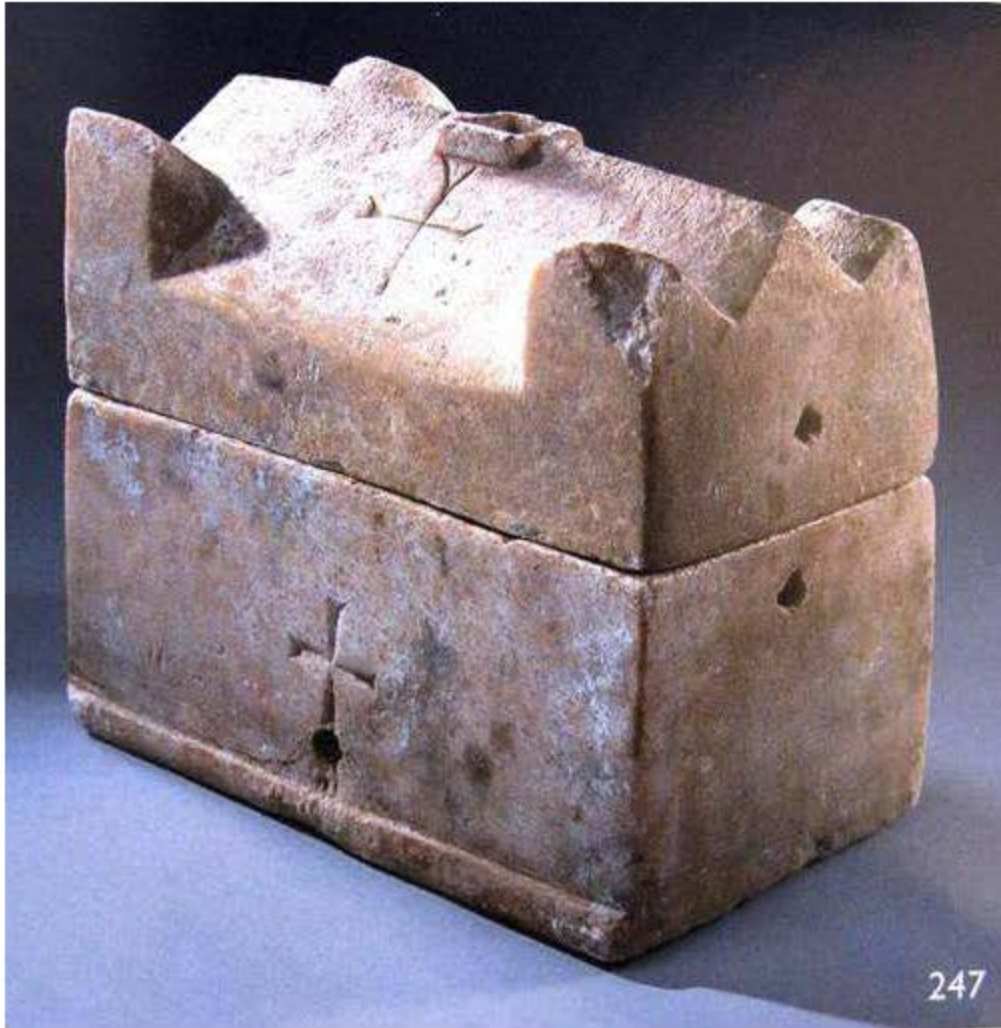
6b: The column of the Hl. Symeons in Qal' RK Sim'on, Syria. From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Column_of_Simeon_Syria.jpg (20/02/2007)

The Reliquien also into the Liturgie great importance one attached, like for example to the holy cross. Because the Anbetung formed the high point in the process of the Osterwoche in the Auferstehungskirche of set up holy cross for the Gläubigen. In accordance with the sources the priests held the holy Reliquie during the ceremony completely and supervised the going past pilgrims strictly. Because in former times it had created once someone to in-bite the cross and steal a piece.

This mismatching behavior of the unknown pilgrim clarifies us that the contact with a Reliquie was not often sufficient, in order to satisfy the Gläubigen. Because they wanted to always retain the memory to this contact and to take therefore a seizable proof of this benediction with itself home. Since it was impossible them, the Reliquie themselves to get, one created gradually a set of Ersatzreliquien, the characteristics wonderful-bringing of the Reliquie, which held holy place or the holy one and which benedictions could transfer. It acted thereby around substances such as oil, Salböl or Weihwasser, which had come either with the Reliquie into contact or in wondrous way from it out-poured, or however it concerned simply worthless material such as earth or stone, which came from the holy place.

This practice is based on the faith that the holiness of the Reliquie can be passed on also on the material things transferred and in such a way to the Gläubigen. A characteristic voucher for this aspect is that Johannes Chrysostomos called its Gläubigen to visit the graves of the martyrs since its Gebeine such a large Kraft would have that they weihten the graves and the Reliquiare in it.

Such Reliquiare is received to us. They are manufactured from marble and have often the form of small Sarkophage. They have two openings, one in the cover and one in the actual container, first served casting in oil, second discharging the geweihten oil. (fig. 7)



*Figure 7: Marmorreliquiare, eastern Mediterranean area (5. - 7. Jh.), private collection.
Source: The world of Byzanz (2004), P. 187 No. 247.*

For the transport of the geweihten substances from the Pilgerort small ampuls (Fläschchen) from cheap material, clay/tone or lead were usually used. Characteristic examples of it are the clay/tone ampuls from the Heiligtum of the Menas in Egypt, the holy ones in praying attitude illustrate and often the inscription „εὐλογία τοῦ Ἁγίου Μηνά“, translated thus: „Benedictions of the holy Menas“ carry. (fig. 8) these ampuls and other clay/tone objects, like Tonstatuetten in woman or animal shape, those were probably likewise intended for the pilgrims probably than Votivgaben, in the workshops of the place of pilgrimage in large quantities were manufactured. (fig. 9)



Figure 8: Ampul from clay/tone of Abu Mina (5. - 7. Jh.), source: D. Papanikola Bakirtzi (OD.), Everyday Life in Byzantium (exhibition catalogue, White Tower, Thessaloniki, October 2001-January 2002), Athens 2002, P. 174 No. 197.



Figure 9: Fraustatue from clay/tone of Abu Mina, Egypt, (5. - 7. Jh.),

National museums to Berlin. Source: The world of Byzanz (2004), P. 206, No. 294.

For the transport of the oil, which the Gläubigen took frequently from the lamps, those in the holy grave or of oil, which had come with the Kreuzreliquie into contact, used they burned small lead ampuls, which usually carried them the following inscriptions: „Ελεον ξύλου ζωής των Αγίων Τόπων “(=Öl of the wood of the life from the holy country) and „Ευλογία κυρίου των Αγίων Τόπων “(=Eulogie i.e. benediction of the gentleman from the holy country). These like also the picture topics, with which they are decorated, i.e. ointment carrier inside at the grave and the Kreuzigung do not leave a doubt about their use and origin. (fig. 10a-b)



Figure 10a & 10b: Pilgerampulle from lead tin alloy, Palestine (6/7.

Jh.), private collection. Source: The world of Byzanz (2004), P. 199, No. 271.

The most interesting aspect of these articles is that in their pictures concrete topographic data are given the holy places of the holy country. The most characteristic case is the grave, which is ointment carrier inside shown in the scene with, in that the researchers a synoptic representation of the actual monument, thus the holy grave recognizes. In this way the iconography confirms not only the authenticity of the objects, but strengthened also their function as Pilgerandenken. Thus gradually the picture, which represented the holy place, became even the *Eulogie*, i.e. the benediction carrier. This occupies a set of simple Medaillons from clay/tone or lead, which show the same topics and which were probably likewise Pilgerandenken. (fig. 11a-b)



Figure 11a: Lead trailer, Palestine (6/7. Jh.), private collection. Source: Those World of Byzanz (2004), P. 200, nos. 273-274.



11b. Medaillons from earth form-pressed (6. /7. Jh.), private collection. Source: The world of Byzanz (2004), P. 202, nos. 279-282.

From the two Heiligtümern of the column-holy Symeone in Syria pilgrims got likewise Medaillons from clay/tone, which illustrate the Büste of the holy one on the column as main motive. (fig. 12) you were made of the earth surrounding the columns, since this in accordance with the sources miracle-causing welfare-ends and characteristics in particular had. Already during its lifetimes the holy Symeon the younger one than physician gave to the pilgrim respective suffering according to instructions for the use, i.e. either should the ill place with the earth of the Medaillons be rubbed in, or the earth should be mixed and down-swallowed with water. In another case it offered its clay/tone seal to the Gläubigen and explained to it that its picture on it is sufficient, in order to protect it and in emergency help.



Figure 12: Erdemedailles with Stylistendarstellungen, Syria (6. /7. Jh.),

Private collection. Source: Byzanz (2001), P. 183-4 No. 167.

This aspect, thus that the picture of a miracle-causative holy one becomes even the benediction carrier and the protecting Amulett, got 7 after the beginning. Century greater importance. It is therefore no coincidence that during the central Byzantine time, i.e. in 10. to 11. Jh., when the Heiligtum of the Symeon of the younger one experienced a phase of the rereviving, which made Pilgerandenken follows the same ikonographischen pattern as the earlier. But now they any more are not from clay/tone, i.e. from the earth surrounding the place of pilgrimage, but from lead. (Fig. 13) this change of the material shows that the authenticity of the Medailles refers as benediction carrier of the Pilgerorts on the *Mons Admirabilis* no more to the material separates to the iconography.



Figure 13: Bleimedaillon with representation of the Hl. Symeon of the younger one, Syria (10. /11. Jh.), Byzantine and Christian museum, Athens. Source: Everyday Life in Byzantium, P. 176-77 No. 200.

Also the lead ampuls, those clarify us the special meaning, which attained the iconography of the Pilgerandenken in the central Byzantine time, in Jerusalem in 12. Century for the church of the holy grave were made. On them side is shown the Christian scene, like e.g. the women at the grave and on the other one a synoptic illustration of the church on a. (fig. 14a-b) the ikonographischen elements, which were selected to their rendition, like the oil lamps and these three round forms, do not only represent a part of the exterior of the building, but were connected also with the admiration rituals and the

experiences of the pilgrims at the place. The oil lamp purchase to the ritual of the holy light concretely takes itself, in wondrous way since that 9. Century at each Karsamstag in the grave Christi ignites; the three round forms show the openings in the marble lining around rock, in which the body Christi had lain, by which the pilgrims the Reliquie affect could. A topographic does not concern here allusion, like with the earlyChristian benediction carriers, but around the illustration of the monument that each pilgrim, who could recognize had been once there.



Figure 14a: Pilgerampulle of the cross driver time, tin - lead alloy,

Palestine (2. Half of 12. Jh.), national museums to Berlin. Source: The world of Byzanz (2004), P. 200, nos. 276.



14b: Design of the Pilgerampulle. Source: Kötzsche (1988) fig. 7.

A further interesting group of Pilgerandenken from the central Byzantine time the so-called out-stepped *koutrouvia*, which were intended for the Salböl, in wondrous way from the grave of the holy Demetrios in its church into Thessaloniki. This concerns lead ampuls, which illustrate the holy on a side Demetrios and on the other one a further holy one, which was admired either at the same place, like e.g. the Hl. Nestor, or in another churches Thessalonikis were admired, how for example the holy Theodora (myrovlitria, the so-called smelling, because from its Gebeinen smell oil out-stepped) was thus called. (Abb 15a-b) the different combinations of holy ones on Koutrouvia permit to accept us that they were manufactured not only for the Demetrioskirche and that the production of Pilgerandenken no more via the Pilgerheiligtum were done beyond that, but by the workshops of the city connected with it.



Figure 15a: Lead ampul, Pilgerandenken of the Demetrioskirche in Thessaloniki, the so-called Koutrouvion, (12. /13. Jh.). Source: Everyday Life in Byzantium, P. 184 No. 203.



15b: Design of a lead ampul from Demetrioskirche in Thessaloniki, Benaki museum, Athens. Source: Bakirtzis (1990), fig. 51.

This is confirmed also by the find of a workshop in distal extremity, which can be dated due to the excavation findings into the time of the cross driver states. The lead ampuls manufactured there were vegetable, geometrical or with cross-shaped elements decorated. This neutral decoration was for the researchers an indication for the fact that the bottles had not been manufactured for a certain place of pilgrimage. Separate they could by the pilgrims for the admission of geweihter substance from different Pilgerheiligtümern be used, the this on their journey by the holy country visited.

The last objects, which will treat in this short overview, belong to a large group of Glasmedaillons with both Byzantine and western religious topics. (Fig. 16) due to their simple production way, the cheap raw material and the quantity of received copies, one had first assumed that her in the imitation of Byzantine models in 13. Century in Venice produced and the thesis it were set up that they were used as Pilgerandenken. Particularly regarding the origin of the pieces to this opinion vehement one contradicted. A group of

researchers regarded it as Byzantine works, but the question of the function remained so far unaffected.



Figure 16: Glassmedaillon with the representation of the Hl. Georgios (13. Jh.),

Benaki museum Athens. Source: Foskolou 2004a, fig. 5.

Recently the study of the appropriate pieces of the Benaki museum pointed to Athens that some the Medaillons on the basis the ikonographischen analysis with certain holy places in connection can bring, like for example the Medaillon with the holy Jakobus with its Heiligtum in Santiago de Compostela in Spain and the Medaillons with the representation of the birth with the birth church in Bethlehem. (fig. 17,-18)



*Figure 17: Glassmedaillon with the representation of the Hl. Jakobus (13. Jh.),
Benaki museum Athens. Source: Foskolou 2004a, fig. 18.*



*Figure 18: Glassmedaillon with birth representation, (13. Jh.), Benaki museum Athens.
Source: Foskolou 2004a, fig. 9.*

The objects were made with security everything in only one workshop, as their morphologic similarities occupy, thus the form, the size, the type of inscription, in addition, thing in common in the composition of the material and the art of manufacturing. This came out from the analysis of the objects in the Benaki museum.

The common origin, the mass production and the international spreading of these objects point to a commercial strength from international range, and on organized glass production, so that I came to the conclusion that for it only Venice is applicable. This opinion fits also the analysis of the Medaillons of the Benaki of museum, which lets it attribute to the tradition of Western European glass workshops.

As we saw, the Pilgerandenken was manufactured first in workshops, which belonged to the Pilgerstätte. They were created from the surrounding earth and contained oil and Salböl from there. Straight ones this aspect of the origin owed it their holiness like also its miracles achieving characteristics. Even if the production of the Pilgerorten had become detached later, the objects were nevertheless still intended for geweihte substances of the holy places. The production of Pilgerandenken at a central place and its spreading by the handels and sea-superpower Venice in the whole at that time well-known world in that time clarify a fundamental change of the Pilgerwesens. Therein also a change in the mentality of the pilgrims reflects itself, as well as a change in the organization of the Pilgerstätten. We determine appropriate changes also on the basis the information, which we infer from the contemporary sources. For example it is for the same epoch, i.e. for the beginning 14. Century, characteristically the fact that by Venice from ship journeys were organized, which addressed themselves exclusively to pilgrims and as if consented and secure solution were publicised, in order to arrive into the holy country. It is likewise this time, in which in the west Pilgeremblem were regarded as profitable enterprise. Large dealer families paid the place of pilgrimage plentifully around the monopoly on their spreading to have.

The distance, which separates the clay/tone memories of the earlyByzantine time from the glass memories „larva into Venice“, is very large. It is not only a temporal, but above all also a distance in the value, in the meaning and in the perception of these objects with humans in each epoch. This is finally the impressing at these simple and quite worthless objects. Because if we examine it in connection with sources, they tell us on the one hand much over the Religiösität and the faith and on the other hand over the mentality of medieval humans.

Literature

Bakirtzis (1990)

Bakirtzis Charalampos, Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki, in Ousterhout Robert (Hg.), *The Blessings OF Pilgrimage* (Illinois Byzantine Studies 1), Urbana - Chicago 1990, P. 140-149.

Barag and Wilkinson (1974)

Barag Dan - Wilkinson John, The Monza Bobbio Flasks and the Holy Sepulchre, *Levant* 6 (1974), P. 179-187.

Brenk (1995-1997)

Brenk Beat, the cult place, its accesibility and its visitors, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef tightness man (Hrgs.), *documents of the XII. International congress for Christian archaeology, Bonn, 22. - 28 September 1991* [= JbAC supplement 20 (1995-1997)], P. 69-122.

Byzanz (2001)

Chr. Stiegemann (Hg.), *Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten. Kunst und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Katalog der Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn 2001), Mainz 2001.

Camper (1981)

Camper R., A Hoard of Terracotta Amulets from the Holy Land, in: *Actes du XVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Athènes 1976*, II/A, Athènes 1981, S. 99-106.

Djobadze (1986)

Djobadze Wachtang, *Archeological investigations in the region west of Antioch on-the-Orontes*, Stuttgart 1986.

Engemann (1973)

Engemann Josef, Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F.J.Dölger-Institut in Bonn, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 16 (1973) 5-27.

Engemann (1995-1997)a

Engemann Josef, Das Jerusalem der Pilger. Kreuzauffindung und Wallfahrt, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für*

Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991 [= *JbAC* Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 24-35.

Engemann (1995-1997)

Engemann Josef, Eulogien und Votive, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrsgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991* [= *JbAC* Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 223-233.

Engemann (2001)

Engemann Josef, Pilgerwesen und Pilgerkunst, in: *Byzanz* (2001), S.45-52.

Folda (1995)

Folda Jaroslav, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187*, Cambridge, New York and Melbourne (Cambridge University Press) 1995.

Foskolou (2004)

Foskolou Vassiliki, Representations of the Holy Sepulchre and their Symbolism in the Late Byzantine Era, *Deltion Christianikes Archeologikes Etaireias* 25 (2004), S. 225-236 (auf griechisch mit engl. Zsfg).

Foskolou (2004) a

Foskolou Vassiliki, Glass medallions with religious themes in the Byzantine Collection at the Benaki Museum: a contribution to the study of pilgrim tokens in Late Middle Ages, *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 4 (2004), S. 51-73.

Friedman (1999)

Friedman Yvonne, Pilgrims in the Shadow of the Crusader Kingdom, in: Rozenberg Silvia (Hg.), *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Exhibition Catalogue, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem 1999), Jerusalem 1999, S. 100-109.

Grabar (1958)

Grabar André, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza – Bobbio)*, Paris 1958.

Grossmann (1998)

Grossmann Peter, The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ, in: Frankfurter David (Hg.) *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, Leiden - Boston - Köln (Brill) 1998, S. 281-301.

Israeli (2000)

Israeli Yael, Pilgrimage to the Holy Places, in: Israeli Yael – Mevorah David (Hrgs.), *Cradle of Christianity* (Exhibition Catalogue, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem 2000-2001), Jerusalem 2000, S. 189-193.

Kaplan (2002)

Kaplan Michel, Les saints en pèlerinage à l'époque mésobyzantine (7e-12e siècles), *DOP* 56 (2002), S. 109-128 (siehe auch <http://www.doaks.org/DOP56/DP56ch08.pdf>).

Kotzamani (2004)

Kotzamani Despina, Glass medallions with religious themes in the Byzantine collection at the Benaki Museu: technical analysis, *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 4 (2004), S. 75-89 (auf griechisch mit engl. Zsfg).

Kötzche (1988)

Kötzche Lieselotte, Zwei Jerusalemer Pilgerampullen aus der Kreuzfahrerzeit, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51 (1988), S. 3-32.

Külzer (1994)

Külzer Andreas, *Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam: Studien zu Pilgerführen und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer und metabyzantinischer Zeit*, Frankfurt a.M. (P. Lang Verlag), 1994.

Lafontaine-Dosogne (1967)

Lafontaine-Dosogne Jacqueline, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche. Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (Bibliothèque de Byzantion no. 4), Bruxelles 1967.

Mango (1995-1997)

Mango Cyril, The Pilgrim's Motivation, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991* [= JbAC Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 1-9.

Maraval (1982)

Maraval Pierre (ed.), *Égerie, Journal de voyage (Itinéraire). Introduction, texte critique, traduction, note, indexes et cartes*, Paris 1982.

Maraval (1985)

Maraval Pierre, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1985.

Maraval (2002)

Maraval Pierre, The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East (before the 7th Century), *DOP* 56 (2002), S. 63-73 (<http://www.doaks.org/DOP56/DP56ch05.pdf>).

Rahmani (1993)

Rahmani L.Y., *Eulogia* Tokens from Byzantine Bet She'an, *Atiqot* XXII (1993), S. 109-119.

Ross 1962

Ross Martin, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol 1: Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting, Washington D. C. 1962.

Savage (1977)

Savage H.L., Pilgrimage and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095, in K.M. Setton (Hg.), *A History of the Crusades*, IV, Madison 1977, S. 36-78.

Severin (1995-1997)

Severin Hans-Georg, Pilgerwesen und Herbergen, in: Ernst Dassmann - Josef Engemann (Hrgs.), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September* [= JbAC Ergänzungsband 20 (1995-1997)], S. 329-339.

Sigal (1974)

Sigal Pierre André, *Les marcheurs de Dieu. Pèlerinage et pèlerins au Moyen Age*, Paris 1974.

Sigal (1997)

Sigal Pierre André, Le pèlerinage de Terre sainte aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, in: Rey-Delqué Monique (Hg.), *Les Croisades. L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à saint Louis, 1096-1270* (Catalogue d'Exposition, Ensemble conventuel des Jacobins Toulouse 1997), Milan, Toulouse (Electa) 1997.

Sodini (1989)

Sodini Jean-Pierre, Remarques sur l'iconographie de Syméon l' Alépin, le premier Stylite, *Monuments et Mémoires. Fondation Eugène Piot* 70 (1989), 29-53.

Sodini (1993)

Sodini Jean-Pierre, Nouvelles Eulogies de Symeon, in : Jolivet – Lévy J., M. Kaplan, Sodini J.P. (Hrsgs.), *Les saint et leur Sanctuaire à Byzance. Textes, images et monuments* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 11), Paris 1993, S. 25-33.

Strube (1996)

Strube Christine, *Die «Toten Städte». Stadt und Land in Nordsyrien während der Spätantike*, Mainz 1996.

Sumption (1975)

Sumption Jonathan, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, London 1975.

Syon (1999)

Syon Danny, Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A crusader Workshop of Lead Ampullae from Acre, in: Rozenberg Silvia (Hg.), *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Exhibition Catalogue, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem 1999), Jerusalem 1999, S. 110-115.

Talbot (2001)

Talbot Alice-Mary, Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century, in: Patrich J. (Hrsgs.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the 5th Century to the Present* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 98), Leuven 2001, S. 97-110.

Talbot (2002)

Talbot Alice-Mary, Dumbarton Oaks Symposium 2000: Pilgrimage in the Byzantine Empire: 7th-15th Centuries. Introduction, *DOP* 56 (2002), S. 59-61 (<http://www.doaks.org/DOP56/DP56ch04.pdf>).

Wentzel (1959)

Wentzel Hans, Das Medaillon mit dem Hl. Theodor und die venezianischen Glaspasten im byzantinischen Stil, in: *Festschrift für E. Meyer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Hamburg 1959, S. 50-67.

Wentzel (1963)

Wentzel Hans, Zu dem Enkolpion mit dem Hl. Demetrios in Hamburg, *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 8 (1963), S. 11-24.

Vickers (1974)

Vickers Michael, "A Note on Glass Medallions in Oxford", *Glass Studies XVII* (1974), S. 18-21.

Vikan (1982)

Vikan Gary, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications no. 5), Washington, D.C. 1982 (<http://www.doaks.org/PilgrimageArt.pdf>).

Vikan (1984)

Vikan G., Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium, *DOP* 38 (1984), S. 65-86.

Vikan (1998)

Vikan Gary, Byzantine Pilgrims' Art, in Safran Linda (Hg.), *Heaven on Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium*, Pennsylvania 1998, S. 229-266.

Weitzmann (1974)

Weitzmann Kurt, Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine, *DOP* 28 (1974), S. 31-55.

Welt von Byzanz (2004)

Wamser Ludwig (Hg.), *Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe* (Katalog der Ausstellung im Archäologischen Staatssammlung – Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München vom 22.10.2004 bis 3.4.2005), München 2004.

Wilkinson (1972)

Wilkinson John, The Tomb of Christ. An Outline of Its Structural History, *Levant* 4 (1972), S.

Wilkinson (1977)

Wilkinson John, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster 1977.

Wilkinson (1988)

Wilkinson John, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, London 1988.

Witt (2000)

Witt Janette, *Werke der Alltagskultur Teil 1: Menasampullen*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst Bestandskataloge, Bd. 2, Wiesbaden 2000.



An Erasmian Pilgrimage to Walsingham

By Gary Waller

Professor of Literature, Cultural Studies and Drama Studies
Purchase College, State University of New York

In the summer of 2006, I undertook what I will explain was an ‘Erasmian’ pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, in remote northern Norfolk. I did so partly for scholarly purposes, partly from nostalgia for peregrinations there in student days. What I discovered--as in the case of so many folk who longen “to go on pilgrimages”--was an unexpected measure of the uncanny and I think that fellow peregrinators, scholars and travelers alike, might be amused by sharing my discoveries.

Erasmus, who made pilgrimages to Walsingham in 1512 and 1524, traveling (as I did) from Cambridge, gave a detailed, though fictionalized, description in one of the dialogues of his *Colloquies*.¹ He went to Walsingham when it was England’s most important medieval Marian pilgrimage site, surpassed only by the shrine of St Thomas a Becket in Canterbury as the most popular place of pilgrimage in England,. His witty and genially tolerant comments on the charm, superstitions, and mild venality of the Shrine and its guardians were--unanticipated by him, I am sure-- influential a decade or so later, when Henry VIII’s civil and ecclesiastical administrators found reasons to abolish the

¹ Desiderius Erasmus, “Pilgrimage for Religion’s Sake,” *Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury*, ed. J.G. Nichols (London, 1849), 1-75. The most reliable, though somewhat outdated, historical introduction to Walsingham is J. C. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956). There is a helpful website for both the Catholic and Anglican shrines at www.walsingham.org.uk.

great religious houses and forbid pilgrimages, and used some of Erasmus's amusing satire for bureaucratic and ideological vindictiveness. Amidst the devastation of England's many medieval pilgrimage sites Walsingham, with its Holy House, its "image" of the Virgin, and its vial of the Virgin's milk, attracted special attacks from the Reformers. In 1536, one of Cromwell's agents reported that government agents had found "much superstition in feigned relics and miracles" there.² In 1538, the statue of Our Lady of Walsingham was removed to London and was burnt along with other 'idols'; the Abbey was wrecked, and the abbott and monks variously rewarded, imprisoned or executed, depending on their willingness to cooperate with Cromwell's agents and support the Royal Supremacy. The Shrine crumbled, pilgrimages were forbidden, and in the words of a ballad attributed to Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, written around 1570: "Sinne is wher our Ladie sate, Heaven turned is to hell,/ Sathan sittes wher our Lord did swaye, Walsingham oh farewell."³ In fact, the ghost of Walsingham uncannily haunted the Elizabethan age in poems and folk songs, including the famous Walsingham Ballad (spectacularly set by Byrd, Bull and others), Ophelia's song in *Hamlet* 4.5, and the strange and extraordinarily haunting poem by Raleigh, "As you came from the Holy Land," and Robert Sidney's Sixth Song, "Yonder Comes a Sad Pilgrim."

Another ballad, dating from the fifteenth century--and found uniquely in the Pepys Library in my old College, Magdalene--tells in earnest doggerel the legend that in the eleventh century, a noble widow, Rychold de Faverches, prayed to the Virgin to ask how she should honor her. In a dream, she was taken to Nazareth to view the House of the Annunciation, and told to build a replica at Walsingham. The builders, however,

² *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*, ix, p. 230.

³ Dickinson, p.68.

found Our Lady's instructions ambiguous--two pieces of land, 200 paces apart, seemed to fit the instructions. Rychold chose one, but as the house started to be built, it did not fit together. That night, she prayed for guidance and in the morning the builders found that their work had been miraculously transported to the other site, and moreover, assembled more perfectly than they could have achieved.⁴ The miracle was a modest, English equivalent to the transportation by angels of the 'real' Holy House, the Santa Casa di Loreto, from Palestine to Illyria in the Balkans and thence to Loreto, supposedly in the thirteenth century, though not written down until the fifteenth (and thus, in both cases, postdating the claims of Walsingham).



*Pilgrim Badge of the Monstrance Reliquary Containing the Milk of the Virgin Mary, Walsingham, (1450-1500). Collection: Museum of London.
Photo: Emile Radcliffe.*

Like Erasmus, I came partly to scoff and snigger: my son walked first into the gift shop, always a must for the arriving pilgrim, then came out and warned me very firmly that there was a nun in there and that I was to behave myself. And I did—and in fact, I have rarely been so impressed with a place of pilgrimage, and am now—in what its authorities and inhabitants would no doubt see as blasphemous and perverse, but nonetheless intense, way--a convert. Why? It's not the grandeur. Little Walsingham is a

⁴ Dickinson, pp. 124-30; Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys 1254.

tiny village. It has a bunch of cute cottages, a postbox, a weekly market, and a bus stop; in the minute village square, the “Common Place”-- where one can imagine mystery and miracle plays being performed by the local guilds in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries--there is a post-Dissolution water pump dedicated in 1538, no doubt after the desecration of a medieval cross. Across from it is a Shrine shop, full of mildly tacky Anglican and Catholic tinsel, Bibles and missals, statues, plaques, postcards, and medals; thin clergymen with Oscar Wilde’s Archdeacon Chasuble voices discussing whether they will be able to attend Mass next Wednesday; and signs on the plastic Holy Water bottles apologizing that because of the low level of the well spring, there was no holy water available--I bought one anyway, thinking it would be a nice desk-piece, and I could fill it from some other spring, perhaps less holy but more gushing, like Perrier or (if the illusion of holiness is comforting) San Pellegrino.

Also on the Common Place is the Black Bull pub (excellent beer), and a second hand bookshop named--somewhat incongruously for such a Catholic-minded place of pilgrimage--The Pilgrim’s Progress (and yes, there were a number of editions of the work by that low-born radical evangelist tinker of Bedford, eighty miles away across the fens and innumerable tributaries of the Ouse). Nearby there was an entrance to the Museum and Abbey grounds, plus notices directing visitors to the village’s Catholic reception office. The Catholics at Walsingham--to the part annoyance, part amusement, of my Italian-Irish wife who, given her upbringing, is really the one who should have been warned to behave in the presence of nuns--are relegated to former Slipper Chapel, in the nearby village of Houghton St Giles, which is not, alas, named after the slippers or bare feet that pilgrims are reputed to have donned (or shed) to walk the last mile to

Walsingham. The Catholic ‘national’ shrine there has a contemporary statue of the Virgin and Child and a hideous painting of the Descent of the Holy Ghost to Mary (oh yes, and the other disciples are there, too). Houghton St Giles is a mile from Little Walsingham, and is reached by a very narrow track. On our way there, we were almost overwhelmed by Satanic forces in the form of a huge truck that bore down on us, occupying at least nine eighths of the road; indeed--to adopt Erasmus’s tone in his description of how a fully armed knight was enabled by the Virgin to pass, fully armed and on horseback, through a narrow wicket gate into the Shrine--I think we were able to pass only with the intervention of Our Lady herself, though perhaps with the slight aid of a muddy grass verge that seemed to open itself miraculously as we gingerly inserted our car into it, getting wider and narrower at need, plus some helpfully empirical navigation by my passengers. In Shakespeare’s *All’s Well, That Ends Well*, Lafew tells us that “miracles are passed”; I must say I had cause to wonder after that escape. The Catholic shrine is a place of some quiet awe, much enhanced on a rainy day with no other pilgrims, real or fake, around, but a good Samaritan (not a nun) who helped us send a postcard by producing a stamp from her purse that miraculously exactly fitted the space on the corner of the postcard (which we had actually purchased at the rival shrine, a mile away, an instance perhaps of practical ecumenism). It is a rumor that when the Catholic shrine built toilets for the relief of pilgrims, it designed the urinals in the form of the Anglican shrine so that male visitors would vent their feelings upon the more ostentatious upstarts occupying the site closest to the original site. I myself did not check this, but it is vouchsafed by at least two printed sources of impeccable authenticity and so must be true (Erasmus’s tone *is* catching!).

Back to Little Walsingham. The Abbey ruins were sobering. Here was a huge twenty-two acre expanse of a place of pilgrimage that had offered itself for refuge, devotion, and (despite Erasmus's scorn) learning for 500 years, and now reduced—as it was very quickly after Henry VIII set Cromwell and his henchmen upon it—to a gatehouse, stripped and crumbling but still functional, a large and lonely arch at the east end of what would have been the abbey, a few pillars, the remains of one turned into a tasteful flower garden, some outcrops at the western end of the abbey, a bridge and several pieces of wall and a few other piles of rock. It had the melancholy of Rievaulx or Tintern, places where human emotion and devotion had been concentrated and destroyed in large part because of the intensity of those feelings.



Pilgrim Badge of the Knight's Gate: Ralph de Boutetort on horseback entering the low gate while praying (in star-shaped frame). (1320-1340). Collection: King's Lynn, Lynn Museum. Photo: Emile Radcliffe.

It is not unimportant that the one standing piece of ruin is the arch, since cultural critics and architectural historians have long speculated that the medieval church was shaped so that its entrance resembled the genital entrance into a woman's body, and the decorations often mandorla or almond shaped accordingly. For Walsingham today, as it must have overwhelmingly in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, is a place of

devotion to the female religious experience--that is experience not just by, but of, the female. Again, historically, we know that Erasmus's path of pilgrimage to Walsingham from Cambridge, Newmarket and Fakenham was called both the Pilgrim's Way and the Milky Way, since it led pilgrims to a vial of the Virgin's Milk and it passed through a number of lesser shrines and churches that emphasized the reproductive and nurturing aspects of women's bodies.⁵ But today's reconstruction of Walsingham as a place of pilgrimage, contemplated in the 1890s, fulfilled in the 1930s, and continuously added to since, is also--within an only moderately obsessive English and amusingly (at least to one who believes that the centre of the cultural universe hovers between Florence and Rome) mildly italianate aesthetic--a celebration of the female, arguably the oldest stratum of human spiritual experience, one which the Protestants accurately identified, and violently repudiated, within Catholicism. In medieval Walsingham, the condescending masculinism of Christian theology was quietly marginalized: God was largely relegated to an approving patron, surveying his spouse/daughter/sister/mother calmly embodying--or as Christian theology would have it, incarnating--peace, reconciliation, beauty, creativity, order, and passion. Sitting in the Holy House, I understood why St Bernard could devote himself to praising the Virgin in the most extravagantly erotic terms or why St Teresa found her own sexual ecstasies in imitating the pain of the Virgin embracing her son. And why the Protestant iconoclasts were made so uneasy about the power of what Cranmer and Latimer, like the Lollards before them, saw as the "wyche of Walsingham"⁶ and felt that they needed to vandalize, obliterate, and burn to rid themselves of its insistent power over them. The great crime of the Reformation was not

⁵ Nichols, p. 248; Susan Signe Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private Piety As Public Performance* (London: Routledge, 2000), ch.1.

⁶ Dickinson, p. 27.

that it pointed out how intellectually wrong or silly many of the aspects of medieval Catholicism may have been but that in its attempt to replace the religion of the visual and sensual by the idolatry of the word, the Reformers distorted and destroyed some of humanity's most creative and nurturing religious feelings—and worse, not just within their own threatened, anxious Reformist selves but for the generations that followed as well. Perhaps the English were always an emotionally repressed people, but the Reformation has much blame for reinforcing that tendency.



Walsingham Abbey Ruins. Photo: Arne Pettigrew.

The architecture and design of Walsingham's twentieth-century shrine, which now attracts thousands of pilgrims, reinforces the quiet but insistent focus on the female. The mandorla motif is explicit in the image of Our Lady over the altar in the Holy House: an almond shaped orifice surmounted by a semi-circular 'mons'; from the orifice formed

by the drapes proceeds the Virgin and child as if being born from the all-powerful vaginal canal, the lips spread by the emerging figures. Outside the church, the same symbolic ingredients, so appalling to the Protestants then and now, are evident: even if the gardens of Walsingham are not strictly laid out as a mandorla, nevertheless, entering them, with the weaving paths and interwoven fronds of flowers, shrubs and and herbs, one encounters a myriad reminders of the female, with all the vital parts not precisely in the recognizable anatomical places, but re-arranged like a Picasso, highlighted, thrust forward, and above all to be entered, revered, even to be worshipped. There are the scents of the herb garden, the (unfortunately not flowing) spring of water near the shrine's center, and the very heart (though that is the wrong anatomical metaphor) of the shrine—the reproduction of the original Holy House, England's Nazareth, a small rectangular room at the west end of the church itself, with a flowing art deco reproduction of the Virgin, and surrounded by hundred of candles, most placed there by visitors and petitioners. This was the ecstatic center of the shrine, the clitoris as it were of the female anatomy upon which the shrine, dedicated so firmly to the female, is centered. Intriguingly, some architectural historians speculate that there is sufficient architectural and mystical evidence, scanty though it is, for a medieval cult of the Virgin's holy vagina. Or, to put in more 'new age' terms, of the Goddess. The Templars are often mentioned in these terms. Many medieval theologians' overwhelming obsession with the virgin birth, seen from the viewpoint of the body of Mary, suggests that would have indeed been a natural development, even if it would have been kept at the fringes of the culture. Part of the persecution of the Cathars, too, may also have involved their propensity for such devotions.⁷

⁷ For the mandorla, see Elizabeth Blackledge, *The Story of V: Opening Pandora's Box*

Quite aside from such speculation, the Holy House was ecstatic but also curiously domestic and nurturing. Outside this center of the shrine (shimmering and seemingly to pulsate with all the glowing candles), pilgrims are invited to write three objects of prayer on small slips of paper, for selection for the daily prayers for intercession from the Virgin. The statue (what the Protestants called and no doubt still call the “idol”) was surrounded by hundreds of typed and scribbled petitions on small rectangles of paper. There were no grandiose or apocalyptic petitions for victory over the Saracen or the Conversion of the Jews, but rather personal and domestic—my sister Agnes pray for her; in memory, mother; my son Alistair. In other words, the only visible difference from pre-Reformation times was the lack of tributes from the rich and powerful—ostentatious jewels or gold—though their modern equivalent showed in the tasteful elegance of the buildings and the immaculate upkeep of the grounds and (after signing up as a Friend of Walsingham) in the insistent series of letters which I have subsequently received asking for financial support. Too late I remembered that Erasmus had left a poem in Greek—and later mocked the keepers of the shrine for thinking it was in Hebrew. I could have at least knocked out a limerick or two, though in retrospect, I might have attempted to add another stanza or two of the ballad.

I stress the sexual and the domestic, and above all the sense of a religious experience centered on women’s core experiences. But right in the middle of the garden, on a slight mound, were thrust, as a reminder that this was not some benevolent pagan Goddess-centered religion but Christianity—masculine, patriarchal, misogynic—three

(London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2003), 52-54; for vulva-like representations in art and architecture, see e.g. Dan Cruickshank, *The Story of Britain’s Best Buildings* (Buffalo: Firefly Books, 2003), pp. 57-69; Karma Lochrie, “Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies,” in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 180-200.

crosses, as if reminding pilgrims of the ultimate male control over the *mons veneris* and all that lay beneath it. They were sepulchrally white, stark in their threat, unmovingly masculinist in their hard humorless angles, peering down upon and disciplining the dignified but colorful and ever-changing female life beneath. The authorities, of course, of medieval (and contemporary) Walsingham would regard such an interpretation as blasphemous nonsense. Indeed, they did (and do) assert the theological orthodoxy that all mariological power and devotion are subservient to and expressions of the redemptive power of the God who hung on the central cross, and that the devotion to the Mother exists only for the glory of the Son and as expressions of the will of the Father. Yet, intriguingly, the Reformers in the 1530s (along with the Lollards before them and a handful of Evangelical Protestants who occasionally parade today in the street to protest the revival of such popery in the Church of England) said with violent, iconoclastic vehemence that medieval Catholicism did replace “domine” with “domina,” as the Protestant propagandist William Crashaw sneered in 1612 (yes, the father of the more famous son, the Catholic convert whose baroque praises of the Virgin were barely less extreme than the terms I have used).⁸ In the 1530s, as Cromwell and his henchmen robbed, dismantled and abolished the Abbey and shrine, the accusations were of paganism and blasphemy, of witchcraft based on the sexuality that Protestants saw all too clearly in medieval devotions to the Virgin. Thomas Bilney called Walsingham’s “sister,” Our Lady of Willesden, whose statue was also burnt in 1538, the “common paramour of baudry.” Contemplating the destruction by fire of a number of images of the Virgin seized from shrines, “our great sibyl” of Worcester, “hath been the devils instrument to many” along with “her old sister of Walsingham,” said King Henry’s iconoclastic bishop

⁸ William Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached at the Crosse* (London, 1608), p. 64.

Hugh Latimer. Statues of the Virgin were not only idolatrous, mere “sticks and stones,” but specifically designated as all the more deceptive because specifically female.⁹ In his anxious gynophobic anthropomorphism, Our Lady--or, behind her, the Goddess, if She exists--undoubtedly was haunting Latimer, perhaps to his death, burnt by Catholics under the reign of Mary.



Pilgrim Badge Showing the Miracle-working Statue within the Holy House, (14th century). Collection: Michael Mitchiner. Photo: Emile Radcliffe.

In one sense, of course, the Protestants were right--late medieval devotion to Mary did indeed focus obsessively on the physicality of the Incarnation, and specifically and fetishistically on Mary's body, especially on the sexual and maternal organs—however they may have been transformed, transfigured, transcended in theological orthodoxy. The physical fact of the Incarnation was at the center of medieval Christian devotion, and the womb, breasts, hymen, and sexual and birth canal of the Virgin—the forbidden vaginal entrance—became obsessive objects of attention. No less than in modern pornography, they were peered at, examined, praised, idealized. Eucharistic theology put Mary's body at its center: “the Christian,” comments the modern Anglo-Catholic theologian E L Mascall, “returning from his communion can repeat in a totally

⁹ Dickinson, p. 65. For a survey of such terms of abuse, see Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 162-73.

new sense the words of Adam, ‘The woman gave me and I did eat.’”¹⁰ Protestant attacks on Walsingham as superstitious, involving the blasphemous attribution of divine power to persons, places, objects, mere created objects, were based in part on the accurately perceived female aspect to its magic, derived from some deep sources and associated with the mysterious figure of the Goddess.

The specific bodily function especially fetishized in Walsingham was lactation: on the altar of the shrine, Erasmus reported, was a vial of Mary’s milk—one of many then and, at least in Catholic churches, now—across Europe and beyond. When pilgrims followed the “Milky Way,” in churches along the way, where pilgrims might rest, possessed other Marian relics, included one of many copies of the Virgin’s girdle—a fetish of particular power associated with what the Protestants perceived as blasphemous idolatry. The reverence of relics is of course one aspect of the human propensity to fetishization—where we cannot bear, or obtain, the full reality or power of the beloved, we substitute a reminder which, we hope, can be invested with sufficient power to accommodate or recall for us the original and its hold over us. Among the “idolatry, superstitions, and abuses” Latimer castigated, or as another Reformer, Thomas Bilney, put it, the “horrible impiety, idolatry, superstitious abuses,” which in Protestant eyes Walsingham represented and which were excoriated and destroyed, relics at pilgrimage shrines were particularly ridiculed and gathered for destruction—what Bilney termed the “stinking boots, mucky combs, ragged rockets, rotten girdles, pyld purses, great bullocks’ horns, locks of hair, and filthy rags, gobbets of wood, . . .and such pelfry, beyond estimation” were seen as “intolerable superstition and abominable idolatry.” As James

¹⁰ E. M. Mascall, “Theotokos: The Place of Mary in the Work of Salvation,” in E.L. Mascall and H. S. Box, *The Blessed Virgin Mary: Essays by Anglican Writers* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963), p. 25.

Simpson comments, the Reformers' language regarding images of the Virgin blurs the feminine with the idolatrous and diabolic, "presaging the campaign of witch-hunting that began in the late sixteenth century," and the Catholic Church as female, "a corrupting, feminine force."¹¹ There are repeated Protestant gibes at the horrific rites associated with witchcraft, the black mass and the sexual level of such rites as part of the blasphemous idolatry of papistry. In his vitriolic attack on Catholicism and the cult of the Virgin, William Crashaw precisely identifies his reforming activities with the act of uncovering the diabolic source of papist perversion by revealing the threatening sexuality of a woman when he vows not to "spare to discover her skirts, and lay open her filthinesse to the world; that all men seeing her as shee is, may detest and forsake her."¹²



Slipper Chapel, (14th century), Walsingham. Photo: Sarah Blick.

¹¹ James Simpson, *The Oxford Literary History: Vol 2 1350-1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 416.

¹² Crashaw, *Sermon*, p. 84.

My feelings about Walsingham and all it suggested to me show that it engenders just the opposite of detestation and forsaking. It is a place where the female asks to be adored by what medieval theologians termed hyperdulia, the highest kind of devotion to a human being--another doctrine also reviled by the iconoclastic Protestants. And, I suggest, such sentiments do not have to be explicitly 'religious' or even Christian. As we have learned from recent theorists of pilgrimages, the motives and experiences of peregrination are varied--and as I discovered at Walsingham, unpredictable. About the same time as Crashaw is delivering himself of his purgative sermon, Donne is begging that the true Church show herself like a woman, open to all men, and begging his profane mistress to show herself to him as to a midwife. Where Donne is celebrating the power of female sexuality (and secretly keeping a painting of the Virgin in his study) Crashaw's puritannical horror of the female is what Klaus Theweleit points to in his classic study of male fantasies, the realization "that (perhaps) lies in the hearts of all men"¹³ there is a dread of the female sexual organs and what they represent, as well as the potential (feared by William Crashaw, admired by Donne, ecstatically embraced by Richard Crashaw) to recognize and worship their salvific and holy nature. Walsingham suggests, then and now, that "salvation"—perhaps a strange word for a Goddess-obsessed pagan to use, but one that this magical place of pilgrimage produces in me—lies precisely where the Protestants feared, where medieval Catholic devotion (despite the euphemistic qualifications of its theologians) placed it--in and around what Donne termed what we

¹³ See Barbara Ehrenreich, Intro. to Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies: Vol 1 Women Floods Bodies History*, trans. Chris Turner et. al (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. xv.

love, and that is, the “centrique part,”¹⁴ where the Goddess has always told us it resides. As I stood up and left the Holy House, pausing to regret the dryness of the well—no ritual of sprinkling for me that day—I asked myself what so many pilgrims ask: Have we listened? Perhaps the Guardians of the shrine would have had me listening to a more orthodox lesson, but what I was hearing was: Have we nurtured in all of us, men and women, what Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline* terms the “woman’s part”? Not, I think, enough. Walsingham gently suggests, to this pilgrim at least, that doing so is where our salvation may most profoundly lie.

¹⁴ John Donne, “Loves Progress,” *The Collected Poems of John Donne*, ed. Roy Booth (London: Wordsworth, 1994), p. 84.



Research Query: Pilgrims' Footbaths?

By Mark Hall, Perth Museum, Scotland

Recently a rare object associated with pilgrimage has been discovered, a footbath. Does anyone know of other such footbaths that have been identified? If so, please respond to the author or to the editors of *Peregrinations*, who would be interested in publishing another such find.





Mark Hall (mahall@pkc.gov.uk) has supplied the above images (photographed by Nigel Ruckley) of an unusual item of pilgrimage to be found at Iona Abbey, Argyll, Scotland. It has been fully recorded by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in its magisterial Iona volume of the Argyll Inventory (RCAHMS 1982), where it was classified as an Early Christian (so circa 6th - 10th century) carved stone. The entry (p.106, no. 6) is brief enough to justify a full quote here:

'Outside the w door of the abbey church there is a massive block of granite, 1.32m in length by 0.55m in maximum width and at least 0.4m in height, bearing on one end a linear incised Greek cross with barred terminals. A shallow depression, measuring 0.93m by 0.34m and only 45mm in depth, has been carved out of the surface, and the stone has been described as a trough in which pilgrims washed their feet. In local tradition it was known as "the cradle of the north wind" and was credited with the property of attracting a favourable wind.'

An enduring fascination with this object and with the generally taken-for-granted importance of feet for pilgrimage prompts Mark to ask if anyone knows of other examples of pilgrims' footbaths (or indeed any other furniture for pilgrims' feet)?

RCAHMS 1982 *Argyll An Inventory of the Monuments Volume 4 Iona*, Edinburgh.



Google Earth

Need to distract yourself for a bit? Try Google Earth. This free program, which you can download from <http://earth.google.com/>, is incredibly fun. The site uses satellite imagery and maps creating a fascinating look at our planet and its most intriguing features: mountains, lakes, and of course, fabulous buildings like Cologne Cathedral or the pyramids at Giza. You can even climb Mt. Everest or explore the floor of the Grand Canyon with ease! What makes this so intriguing is the three-dimensional quality of the images and their surprising detail. You'll find not only large structures, but big things on the move, such as a herd of elephants, a dirigible, and more.



Google Earth

If you wish, you can turn on a labeling feature which names rivers, streets, monuments, and even hotels. At the site of some of the more picturesque monuments, there is often a link to a National Geographic story about the site. One caveat: people can submit their own labeling, so one ends up with multiple titles in popular spots or just strange designations that you would never find in a strictly-professional map. For instance, see if you can spot the “Awful Tourist Hotel” neatly labeled near the pyramids in Egypt. A fun site that focuses on the interesting thing you can see on Google, Earth is The World According to Google <http://maps.pomocnik.com/>

So, look up your favorite medieval site and see what you can find!



Venice from Google Earth

P.S. For those who need more than planet earth, check out <http://www.google.com/mars/> and <http://moon.google.com/>.





Pyramids





Notre Dame, Paris



*Elephant herds in
Republic of Chad, Africa*



Charity for Medieval Art and Architecture

Charity as cited in the Bible was the Greek word “agape” which is more commonly translated as “love.” When St. Jerome translated the Bible into Latin he used “caritas” or “charitas” in place of “agape.” For those of a charitable mindset, there are many charities that help restore and teach others about medieval art and architecture. Below is a short list of some of these. E-mail Peregrinations with your favorites and we will add them to the list.



*Giotto, The Seven Virtues: Charity. 1306 Fresco, 120 x 55 cm
Cappella Scrovegni (Arena Chapel), Padua*

<http://www.gutenberg.org/fundraising/donate> (Project Gutenberg)

<http://whc.unesco.org/pg.cfm?cid=143> (UNESCO Heritage Sites)

http://www.westminstercathedral.org.uk/help/help_financial.html (Westminster Abbey)

<http://www.cathedral.org.uk/pages/html/gift.html> (Norwich Cathedral)

http://www.chartres-csm.org/us_fixe/don/basemenu.html (Chartres)

<http://www.gloucestercathedral.org.uk/yourhelp.asp> (Gloucester Cathedral)

<http://www.justgiving.com/canterburycathedral/donate> (Canterbury Cathedral)

<http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org/friendsjoin.html> (Canterbury Cathedral)

<http://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk/help.friends.php> (Salisbury Cathedral)

<http://www.dekathedraal.be/en/> (Antwerp)

<http://www.cofe-worcester.org.uk/cathedral/involved.php> (Worcester Cathedral)

<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.900> (English Heritage)

<http://www.yorkminster.org/index6.html> (York Minster)

<http://www.friendsoffriendlesschurches.org.uk/membership.html> (Restores and saves historic churches)



A New Movement to Scrap Copyright Fees for Scholarly Reproduction of Images? Hooray for the V & A!

By Sarah Blick, Kenyon College

A stunning change has occurred recently in connection with copyright fees which torment us all. After thoughtful consideration, the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (<http://www.vam.ac.uk/resources/buying/index.html>) has decided to eliminate charges for reproducing images from its collection in scholarly or education publications, believing that such charges are counter to its central mission. Following this, the Metropolitan Museum of Art announced plans to drop its fees for reproductions of images used in scholarly publications with small print runs. As a start, two thousand images will be made available through <http://www.art.stor.org>, with plans to expand significantly. This initiative through ARTstor, entitled "Images for Academic Publishing" (IAP), will make such images available without charge by the Museum, via software on the ARTstor site. At first, the images will be available at the more than 700 institutions that now license ARTstor. But very soon, the Metropolitan Museum of Art staff will be extending this service to unaffiliated scholars, and those at institutions that do not license ARTstor.

This is welcome news. Even more promising, the Art Fund, which is a major source of monies for acquisitions for museums in the United Kingdom, will now require that once a museum accepts an acquisition grant from their fund, it must allow free reproduction of the image in scholarly books and journals. It is believed that this requirement may be made retroactive, covering more than 850,000 acquisitions made since 1903. Needless to say, if this goes forward, most image reproduction policies of museums in the UK will be transformed. This movement echoes the requirement instituted by the National Institutes of Health, a major funding source for scientific research granted by the U.S. government. In late 2004, it stipulated that any publication resulting from research supported, in whole or in part, with direct costs from NIH must be submitted electronically to the NIH National Library of Medicine's (NLM) PubMed Central (PMC). Scientists have lauded this policy decision because costs of scientific journals (published by for profit presses) have skyrocketed, making access to these findings ever scarcer.

Peregrinations, through its Photobank, has protested against the short-sighted policies of museums and libraries that charge exorbitant prices to reproduce images in scholarly venues. How many of us have had to truncate an argument or give up a scholarly project due to these outrageous prices? As I've written elsewhere, to escape the exorbitant costs, many art historians have turned to images in the public domain (usually culled from nineteenth-century books) or are using sketches. It seems strange that in the twenty-first century art historians should be reduced to using nineteenth-century standards to illustrate their publications!

Indeed, no one is making any money from this, even the museums themselves. One factor that led the Victoria and Albert Museum to make their now-historic decision

is that the costs of running a licensing program turned very little profit and kept scholars from researching and promoting the objects in their collection. I hope that more museums and cultural institutions will follow the lead of the V & A, the Met, and the Art Fund, transforming art-historical research by making reproduction of images easy and affordable, leading to better research and teaching across the board.



An article on the spiraling costs of art publishing due to image costs (December 2001)
<http://publishingtrends.com/copy/01/0112/0112stealthisimage.htm>

An earlier article from *Art Bulletin* detailing the problem (March 1997)
http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0422/is_n1_v79/ai_20824290