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The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage



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Eventum:

A Journal of Medieval Arts and Rituals *and its First Issue*

Abstract

This first introductory article presents the brand new, interdisciplinary, and diamond open access journal *Eventum*, along with the specific theme of Issue 1: “The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage”. It describes the rationale and scope of the journal in association with the three key terms of its subtitle, in reverse order: ‘rituals’, ‘arts’, and ‘medieval’. As for the topic of the present issue, which explores the arts and rituals of the medieval and postmedieval practice of pilgrimage, some important points are noted in relation to the issue’s five subsequent articles.

Keywords

Eventum; Journal of Medieval Arts and Rituals; first issue; pilgrimage

Eventum: A Journal of Medieval Arts and Rituals is a major deliverable of the H2020 project “Network for Medieval Arts and Rituals” (NetMAR, 2021–23; Grant Agreement no. 951875). *Eventum*, an annual diamond open access journal of medieval and postmedieval or medievalist research, is modelled on *Interfaces: A Journal of Medieval European Literatures* (<https://riviste.unimi.it/interfaces>), from the Centre for Medieval Literature (University of Southern Denmark, Denmark and University of York, UK), and shares its model’s commitment to new high-quality scholarship that is international, transparent, egalitarian, non-profit, and widely available. The language of *Eventum* is English, the dominant lingua franca of international research. The journal will publish both thematic and non-thematic issues falling within its scope as elucidated below.



The gender-balanced (this issue's contributors are three women and three men) and often gender-informed research (one third of the issue's articles deal with gender issues) promoted by *Eventum* is situated at the crossing of various humanities disciplines: history, archaeology, art and architectural history, philology, literature, linguistics, philosophy, theology, anthropology, musicology, and theatre studies. In short, this new journal reaches out to international scholars from all these fields including late antique, medieval, early modern, modern, and postmodern studies, studies in medievalism, ritual studies, performance studies, cultural studies, and cultural heritage studies, inviting contributions from around the world. Contributors from early to late career stages are asked to explore the interrelations of arts and rituals in one or more medieval cultures or to examine the heritage of medieval arts and rituals in later periods of the Western world. For *Eventum*'s purposes, the term 'medieval' is used in a broad sense, covering Byzantine, Western European, Coptic, Syriac, Hebrew, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavic cultures from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries.

Eventum aspires to become a channel for innovative approaches by bringing all types of medieval arts (visual, literary, and performing) and rituals (religious, semi-religious, and secular) under one roof and by inaugurating a forum of broader discussions across medieval cultures and later ones continuing the medieval legacy. At the same time, *Eventum* seeks to form future scholarship by introducing novel, interdisciplinary, and connecting research projects and methods for the study of past and contemporary cultures. By revealing, stimulating, and putting in dialogue the intersections of medieval arts and rituals, *Eventum* expects to significantly contribute towards a better understanding of the workings of medieval and later cultures, and to disclose aspects of those cultures that could not otherwise be seen. The (comparative) study of medieval rituals and ritual arts can thus provide priceless information about their creation, recreation, patronage, and reception, and especially about the interconnection of artworks and their value and significance as they were or are performed for and perceived by medieval, later, and contemporary audiences.

In sum, *Eventum* is dedicated to the artistic aspects of medieval rituals, the ritual dimensions of medieval arts, and the intersections between visual, literary, and performance works within the framework of

rituals. *Eventum* aims to reposition the arts and rituals of medieval traditions and to foster research on: (1) all types of medieval arts *in* and *as* rituals; and (2) the initiators, participants, spaces, forms, structures, and artistic elements of all types of medieval rituals. At the same time, *Eventum* provides a platform for the examination of the relationship between medieval, postmedieval, and contemporary arts and rituals, bringing to the fore the rich cultural heritage of the Middle Ages for a better understanding of both the past and the present.

Rituals

Although ritual is a universal category, it cannot be defined universally. This is the reason why the ritual theorist Catherine Bell speaks not of ritual, but of *ritualization* – the “way of acting that is designed and orchestrated to distinguish and privilege what is being done in comparison to other, usually more quotidian, activities” (Bell 74). The “strategies of ritualization”, continues Bell, “are particularly rooted in the body. [...] Essential to ritualization is the circular production of a ritualized body which in turn produces ritualized practices” (Bell 93). By introducing ritualization, Bell provides a corrective to current universalizing definitions of ritual which describe it as formal, fixed, unchanging, and repetitive while ignoring other important aspects of rituals, such as the embodiment, interaction, agency, and creativity that often cancel out formality, fixity, unchangeability, and repetition.

Although ‘ritual’ and ‘ritualization’ are modern terms, they concern practices and ways of acting that are as old as human civilization.¹ Across time and cultures, rituals (in the plural) and forms of ritualization have been innumerable, diverse, and complex, serving varied purposes: political, religious, institutional, community, and familial. Thus, rituals cannot be properly described and fathomed unless they are placed within their specific historical, social, and cultural contexts. Even if *Eventum* does not constrain its authors to a given definition of ritual, the Latin word that is used for the journal’s title – *Eventum* – suggests a certain direction for approaching medieval rituals and their later uses and transformations.

1. See, e.g., Bradley, “Ritual, Time”;
idem, *Ritual and Domestic Life*; Insoll.

According to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, the word ‘eventum’ means, among other things, “a happening, event, experience”. Rather than employing the most common, masculine version of the word – ‘eventus’ – we opted for the neuter ‘eventum’, which is a gender-neutral word in a male-dominated language, to propose the treatment of rituals as ritualized events and, more precisely, as “special events”, in Jan G. Platvoet’s words. Following Platvoet, *Eventum* invites its authors to take as their point of departure a “provisional” definition of rituals, describing them as “special event[s], [often] performed at special place[s] and/or time[s], for special occasion[s] and/or with special message[s]” (Platvoet 42). Seen in this light, rituals can also be described as examples of occasionalism, in Peter Burke’s terms. For Burke, occasionalism – the emphasis on the occasion that at each time determines human behaviour – includes “different temporalities in an individual life, in different domains” involving rituals and festivals (Burke 45).²

2. I am most grateful to Nils Holger Petersen for bringing Burke’s notion of “occasionalism” to my attention and for providing valuable feedback on an earlier version of this article.

As special events or occasions, rituals are inextricably related to their treatment as creative performances entailing different types of arts – visual arts, literature, and the performing arts – with the intention of evoking specific emotions and influencing the ritual participants’ perceptions. The treatment of rituals as events, namely as spaces of performance, experience, creativity, and transformation, is not new but goes back to Victor Turner’s work on anthropological ritual in the late 1950s (Turner, *Schism*). It is, however, in his later work that Turner highlights rituals as liminal events, which he treats as critical, generative, and creative performances by associating them with theatre and play.³

3. See, e.g., Turner, *Ritual Process*; idem, *Dramas*; idem, *From Ritual*; idem, “Liminality”; idem, “Anthropology”.

In short, *Eventum* focuses on the strong performative and creative dimensions of rituals. By bringing together medieval rituals and arts, the journal’s subtitle (*A Journal of Medieval Arts and Rituals*) proposes the treatment of rituals also as Gesamtkunstwerks (universal artworks or total artworks). Richard Wagner’s notion of the “Gesamtkunstwerk”, which he developed in two writings – *Art and Revolution* (*Die Kunst und die Revolution*, 1849) and *The Artwork of the Future* (*Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, 1850) – represents a unification of the arts and their interaction into a combined work that is situated at the boundaries of art, religion, and politics. The total work of art is thus

conceived not just as a synthesis of the arts, but as a form of artful performance that provokes the viewers' involvement, communality, and transformation.

Like Wagner's "Gesamtkunstwerk", medieval rituals were simultaneously artful performances and syntheses of different art forms with effects upon participants. As the *sine qua non* of rituals, arts were in constant negotiation with ceremonial imperatives and artistic values. While church and state representatives or wealthy individuals turned to various artists to realize a ritual and maximize its effects, the latter had to create works that were both artistic and functional, provoking powerful experiences in participants. Religious and profane rituals often intersected, since they served similar purposes, such as the establishment of a social bond among participants and the validation of authority.

Arts

As the previous discussion has made clear, medieval arts were inseparable from rituals. In the Middle Ages, rituals could not be realized without the involvement of arts, while arts arose together with rituals. As is the case with the term 'rituals', the equally modern term 'arts' represents universal creative behaviours that go back to the beginnings of human civilization.⁴ Arts and rituals originated from the same human needs and interests, and they co-developed throughout the centuries (Dissanayake, *Homo Aestheticus*).

4. See, e.g., Dissanayake, "Art as a Human Universal"; Dutton; Kristeller.

For the field of arts, a parallel notion with Bell's ritualization is Ellen Dissanayake's "artification": "to make something art". Undertaking an ethological or bio-evolutionary approach, Dissanayake considers all types of arts, including crafts and decoration, in all societies and all times, describing them as behaviours that are as intrinsic to human nature as language, toolmaking, play, ritual, and symbolization. In a series of publications (*What Is Art For?*; *Homo Aestheticus*; *Art and Intimacy*; and "Art as a Human Universal"), Dissanayake, like Bell and Platvoet in the field of rituals, describes art-making ("artifying") as a process of "making special". For Dissanayake, arts are created through the transformation of ordinary objects, materials, movements, sounds, and words, which are made *extraordinary* to render socially

significant activities, such as rituals, memorable and gratifying. Dissanayake's artification is valid also for the Middle Ages.

In Umberto Eco's words,

[medieval] art belonged to the realm of making. [...] Thus, the two principal features of the medieval theory of art were intellectualism and objectivism: art was the science [...] of constructing objects according to their own laws. Art was not expression, but construction, an operation aiming at a certain result. (Eco 93)

The term "arts", therefore, in the title of this new journal is a broad term referring to the productions of craftsmen and craftswomen, builders, architects, painters, sculptors, mosaic-makers, orators, poets, musicians, singers, dancers, and mimes. The productive activities of all these people, who were aware of the rules for artifying, served different (ritual) purposes and aimed at achieving specific results, such as the participants' spiritual and emotional responses.

Medieval (and Medievalisms)

The use of the term "medieval" to refer to the period between antiquity and modern times in the tripartite division of human history into ancient, medieval, and modern goes back to the fifteenth century and the time of Petrarch (Mommsen).⁵ It was, however, from the seventeenth century onwards that the word gained wider use in historiography (Reuter). Even though there is a general scholarly agreement that the term 'medieval' is problematic – it does not represent a homogenized era, but one characterized by chronological, geographical, social, and cultural divisions – the word remains in use for reasons of convenience. It is in its conventional, descriptive, and broad sense that *Eventum*, too, understands the word 'medieval'. As far as the duration of the Middle Ages is concerned, on the other hand, there is much disagreement among medievalists (Robinson). In its attempt to include as many regions and cultures as possible, *Eventum* has a wide chronological range, covering twelve centuries, from c. 300 to c. 1500, and a large geographical area, including the Mediterranean, Black, Baltic, and North Seas.

Yet *Eventum* does not invite only studies on medieval arts and rituals, but also research on their appropriations, adaptations, and

5. For the use of various Latin terms – *media tempora*, *media tempestas*, *media antiquitas*, *media aetas*, and *medium aevum* – to refer to what we call today the 'Middle Ages' from the fifteenth century onwards, see, e.g., Burr, "Anent"; idem, "How the Middle Ages"; Gordon; Lehmann; and Pitz.

performances in postmedieval cultures in a variety of fields, including social and political theory, philosophy, theology, visual arts, crafts, literature, graphic novels, theatre, music, computer games, forms of reenactment, and tourist sites. Being both a medieval studies journal and a journal of studies in medievalism, *Eventum* adopts Richard Utz's fifth and sixth manifestos of medievalism.

Medievalism and medieval studies have a mutually beneficial relationship, and a thorough understanding of the broader cultural phenomenon of medievalism enhances academic medievalists' tool kits by increasing their theoretical sophistication, critical self-awareness, and social impact. (Manifesto 5; Utz 85)

Furthermore, studies in medievalism allow "a more truly co-disciplinary, inclusive, democratic, and humanistic engagement with what we call, for better or worse, the Middle Ages" (Manifesto 6; Utz 87).

This Issue

Pilgrimage – an actual or spiritual visit to a short- or long-distance sacred site – is a religious practice originating in antiquity that is still active in various forms.⁶ From its beginnings, pilgrimage has been open to everyone: men and women, young and old, rich and poor, healthy and unhealthy, literate and illiterate. Pilgrimage has been chosen as the theme of the first issue of *Eventum* because it constitutes the ritual *par excellence* of the Middle Ages. Rich evidence from various traditions shows that medieval pilgrimage was not only a ritual in itself, but that it also involved other rituals, operating in fact through them. Medieval pilgrims engaged in a series of rituals before, during, and after their religious journey(s).⁷ Furthermore, they participated in rituals that were performed at pilgrimage sites: sanctuaries, shrines, cult churches, cathedrals, monasteries, and other holy places.⁸

The practice of pilgrimage was itself a central motif of literature and visual arts.⁹ Architects designed buildings with the intention of promoting pilgrimage and by taking into consideration patrons and pilgrims' needs and expectations. Similar ends were served also

6. For antiquity, see, e.g., Collar and Kristensen; Elsner; Elsner and Rutherford; Munt. Concerning medieval pilgrimage, see, e.g., Birch; Chareyron; Howard; Kaldellis; Vikan; Whalen. As for contemporary pilgrimage, see Albera and Eade; Coleman; Margry; Ron and Timothy.

7. See, e.g., Birch; Craig; Skyrms.

8. See, e.g., Elad 51–82; Hahn; Meri.

9. See, e.g., Dyas; Frank; Harris; Howard; Nuechterlein; Zaleski.

by the other artists involved: painters, sculptors, musicians, rhetors, and actors. Pilgrims, for their part, cultivated their own arts: music, dancing, singing, and writing, which they shared with their fellow pilgrims, the local communities of pilgrimage sites, and audiences back home. At the same time, pilgrims took back to their home towns the arts and art objects they learnt about and acquired along the pilgrimage route and at the pilgrim sites.¹⁰

10. See, e.g., Ashley and Deegan; Bader.

The articles in this issue were developed from selected papers delivered during two scholarly events entitled the “The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage” that were organized at the Centre for Medieval Arts & Rituals of the University of Cyprus within the framework of the NetMAR project: an international workshop (26–28 May 2022) and an international conference (1–2 December 2022). Most of the issue’s authors structure their analysis around one or more of the following axes:

(1) Pilgrimage Settings: the specific material and topographical contexts that pilgrimage rituals and arts acquire on a particular pilgrimage route; namely, how space and the division of space determine the forms and performances of pilgrimage rituals and arts, and how the latter define and transform their settings.

(2) Structures of Pilgrimage Rituals and Arts: this axis concerns the conception of pilgrimage rituals and arts. More specifically, under discussion are the shapes, themes, and structures of pilgrimage rituals and arts, and the ways in which rituals inform and are informed by arts in pilgrimage, as well as how different artistic works interact with each other during or in reference to a certain pilgrimage ritual.

(3) Pilgrimage Experiences: the focus here turns to the pilgrims themselves, their expectations and needs, their ideas, and their experiences. Of interest also are the meanings of pilgrimage rituals and arts for pilgrims of different origin, gender, and status; the ways in which pilgrimage rituals and arts affect different pilgrims, either individually or collectively, and what they aim to achieve for them.

(4) Afterlives of Pilgrimage Rituals and Arts: under investigation within the framework of this axis are postmedieval pilgrimage rituals and arts from the fifteenth century onwards.

In the article entitled “Revisiting the Pilgrimage Site of St John Lampadistis: Art and Ritual Space”, Ourania Perdiki reconstructs the routes taken by medieval pilgrims to the shrine of the Cypriot saint John Lampadistis, located in the Marathasa valley. Perdiki considers the complex architectural space of the shrine and the saint’s tomb, relics, and *vita*-icons and how these determined the pilgrims’ religious experiences. Moving to pilgrimage routes in Central Europe during the Middle Ages, Gerhard Jaritz (“Postmortem Proxy Pilgrimages from Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages: The Examples of Vienna and Pressburg (Bratislava)”), discusses postmortem proxy pilgrimages to Vienna and Pressburg by considering chronological, financial, and gendered aspects and patterns.

Focusing on the late fourth-century pilgrimage account produced by Egeria (“Egeria’s ‘Panoramic Now’: Time and Temporality in Late Antique Pilgrimage”), Georgia Frank examines how the female pilgrim’s somatic, interpersonal, and sensory experiences and feelings shaped her understanding of temporality. As is shown, Egeria’s itinerary in association with liturgy shaped her understandings of the biblical past. The relation between a past and a present in pilgrimage contexts is also examined by Simon Coleman and Evgenia Mesaritou in their article, titled “Sacred Saliences? Afterlives of Archaeology in the Restoration of Medieval Shrines”. Focusing on the restoration of material culture associated with pilgrimages, the authors discuss how a temporally distant period might be reanimated in the present, through a comparative examination of two pilgrimage sites (Walsingham in England and the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas in Cyprus), both characterized by disruptive historical caesuras that define salient periods of destruction of valued eras from the past.

Before being replicated in Walsingham through the Virgin’s order, the Holy House where the Annunciation took place in Nazareth took flight to and landed in Loreto (Italy), which became a major Roman Catholic pilgrimage site. The Marian litanies (*litaniae lauretanae*) that developed at the site became sources of inspiration for modern composers, including Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who, after participating in the site’s litanies, composed two settings (in 1771 and 1774). In “W. A. Mozart’s *Litaniae lauretanae* Compositions and the Loreto Pilgrimage”, Nils Holger Petersen analyzes parts of the two settings in the light of the Loreto pilgrimages’ historical

background and the litany's ritual and musical uses. Mozart's settings emerge as musical reenactments of ritual experience.

All in all, the articles of this first issue of *Eventum* reveal that the power and efficacy of medieval and postmedieval pilgrimage emanated not only from its associated rituals, but also from its arts. In fact, visual, literary, and performing arts are the *sine qua non* of pilgrimage. For example, church music and church furnishings – such as icons, panels, sculptures, tapestries, precious books, and other liturgical objects – were not independent artistic expressions (as most scholars tend to treat them) but parts of ecclesiastical rituals for which they were created and used. In short, the transformative experience that pilgrims sought through pilgrimage was achieved through the interaction of arts and rituals.

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Egeria's "Panoramic Now":

Time and Temporality in Late Antique Pilgrimage

Abstract

Focusing on the late fourth-century travel account produced by a woman known today as Egeria, this article asks how her somatic, interpersonal, and sensory experiences and feelings shaped her understanding of time, or temporality. The various ways she experiences time in both parts of her diary are considered: her descriptions of travels to holy places and people in Palestine, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, followed by a detailed description of Jerusalem's Lenten, Holy Week, and Easter rites. Taken together, the two parts of Egeria's travel diary reveal diverse ways of measuring and feeling time. It is argued that her feelings – frustrations, excitement, joys, and sorrows – shape her experiences of the biblical past, whether through its availability or grief at its loss. The *itinerarium* and liturgy provide many ways to engage biblical time, whether topographically, liturgically, or calendrically.

Keywords

Egeria; pilgrimage; temporality; liturgy; biblical past; late antiquity

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Sometime in the early 380s, a woman set out on a journey east. Over the next three years, her travels would take her through Constantinople, Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, as well as on a multi-year sojourn in Jerusalem. Her story of that journey survives in a fragmentary manuscript from the eleventh century, now housed in Arezzo, Italy.¹ Rediscovered in the nineteenth century, what remains of this Latin manuscript consists of two parts: the first part describes her travels to biblical holy places and martyrs' shrines in Egypt and Syria and some monastics she met along the way; the second part recounts the church rituals and special feasts she witnessed in Jerusalem over the course of the three years she spent there.



Readers interested in the current state of research on this text will be well served by the introduction and bibliography in McGowan and Bradshaw, as well as bibliographies curated by Devos ("Egeriana"), Janeras, Starowieyski, and <https://users.ox.ac.uk/~mikef/durham/egebib.html> (last accessed January 2023).

2. Holy places and relics: Hunt, *Holy Land*; Maraval, *Lieux saints*; worship: Baldovin; J. Z. Smith; the poetics of pilgrims' writings: Elsner; Bowman; Hunt, *Holy Land*; Leyerle, "Landscape as Cartography"; and Frank, *Memory of the Eyes* 102–33; eadem, "Pilgrimage").

3. For scholarship on female pilgrims and travellers in late antiquity, see Talbot; J. A. Smith; Elm; Laato; Falcasantos, "Wandering Wombs"; Stafford. On debates concerning the gender of the Bordeaux pilgrim, see Douglass.

Egeria, as this pilgrim is now called by modern scholars,² witnessed several innovations in late fourth-century Jerusalem, a heyday for religious innovation in the aftermath of Christianity's legalization. She participated in emerging networks of holy places, the growing circulation of relics, a burgeoning ascetic movement, and mobile worship interlinking holy places and sacred events from the Bible. What Egeria produced is arguably the earliest surviving account penned by a female Christian traveller.³ Like an earlier account from the 330s by an unnamed pilgrim from Bordeaux, Egeria provided an *itinerarium* of distances between stops along Roman road systems and sought out physical traces of biblical events. More so than other pilgrims, Egeria paid special attention to the sights and sounds, the crowds, and the feelings of actual worship. In her own words, she conveyed enthusiasm, wonder, devotions, and eagerness. Although much about her identity remains debated, her writings reveal her fervent quest for lost time.

Time is important for understanding Egeria. The modern conception of fixed time (Birth 1–3), measured in dates, in calendars, and by clocks, have led historians to date her travels to sometime between 381 and 384 CE. Less well understood, however, are her attitudes towards and feelings about time: the ways time has been culturally constructed and historically conditioned by religion and culture. 'Temporality' – or, more precisely put, 'temporalities' – captures the social, religious, economic diversity of how humans experience time in various settings.

This article asks how Egeria's somatic, interpersonal, and sensory experiences and feelings shaped her understanding of time, or temporality. In what follows, I consider the various ways she experiences time in each part of the work, first at the holy places she visited, then during the liturgical festivals she witnessed in Jerusalem. Her feelings – frustrations, excitement, joys, and sorrows – shape her experiences of the biblical past, whether through its availability or grief at its loss. The *itinerarium* and liturgy provide many ways to engage biblical time, whether topographically, liturgically, or calendrically.

Time and Temporality

4. This section draws from helpful definitions provided in Gribetz and Kaye, *Time* 138–40; cf. Elias and Burges. On theories of the human experience/construction/fabrication of time, see Goldhill 1–6; Darbo-Peschanski; Bender and Wellbery 1–18.

Before turning to Egeria's diary, it would be helpful to clarify the temporal vocabulary employed in this article.⁴ Time is the "idea of continual change", whether a point in time or a duration of time. Time may appear stable and universal: today, a minute lasts a minute in any time zone, with the advent of the world clock. Temporality, however, calls attention to the fact that time can also be understood as "constructed, relative, and local" (Gribetz and Kaye, "Temporal Turn" 339). If 'temporal' refers to "anything related to time" in specific contexts, temporality takes many forms. Temporalities may be differentiated by religion, culture, memory, economics, society, gender, and history. To study temporality involves considering the assumptions and dispositions towards various temporal phenomena, i.e. concepts and behaviors that reveal an attitude or disposition towards time. Temporal phenomena may include memory, clocks, calendars, commemoration and reenactment, souvenirs, and monuments. Whereas modern historians seek a past that is over (Lowenthal 289–301; Hartog), temporality does not presuppose the past's absence. Temporality attends to the ways experience – sensory, affective, embodied – allows a subject to traverse, absorb, erase, or animate more than one temporality. Temporalities take many forms. Some are linear, as the past is over, such that prior events cannot be reversed or revisited. Some temporalities, however, are cyclical, as they revisit or repeat an earlier event.

To delve into the temporal phenomena described in Egeria's diary requires reuniting the "two Egerias" many modern scholars have created: the traveller and the liturgical witness who described Jerusalem rites held between Epiphany and Pentecost. This article focuses on her encounters with a variety of temporal phenomena, particularly her experience of time as mediated by the people she visits, the people from the Bible, the people who worship alongside her, and the people whom she addresses in her writing. These human connections reveal a variety of temporalities. Egeria's writings reveal the fluidity of time and the blurring of tidy separations between past and present. Her descriptions suggest the affective pull to people who lived before her and grief when traces of their lives are lost to her. Thus, her wording may reveal an awareness not of timelessness or eternity,

but more of colliding or converging times, what some have called *heterogeneous* temporalities, when “past and present appear in the *now* simultaneously” (Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?* 5–7, 70). Unlike *achrony*, the absence of time, or anachronism, which cannibalizes the now and leaves its subject stuck in the past (Dinshaw, “Temporalities” 108), *heterogeneous* temporal phenomena produce “a capacious *now* constituted of multiple times and attachments” (Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?* 107). This temporally diverse vocabulary might refine interpreters’ ways of describing temporal experiences that have been conventionally considered to be “timeless”, “mystical”, or beyond time, as in “biblical realism” (Frank, *Memory of the Eyes* 29–33, 106–07).

Egeria’s Travel Temporalities

Egeria’s writings reveal powerful desires and attachments propelling her to various sacred places. Many temporal frameworks are absent: there is no mention of dates or genealogical time, whether her age, kinship, or status. She does not mention being anyone’s daughter, wife, widow, sibling, or mother in the pages of the manuscript that survive. Moreover, natural or seasonal time is conspicuously absent from Egeria’s account: not a fallen leaf, a new bloom, or even birdsong suggests that Egeria is aware of nature’s seasons (Spitzer 244; cf. Day 555). Time, for Egeria, is measured by roads and places, as she records some distances (e.g., 6.1); the stages on her journeys (e.g., 7.2); and sometimes the duration of a rest (6.1) or a stay (e.g., 9.1; 20.1; 21.1). Like other travel writers in late antiquity, Egeria provides an *itinerarium*, a list of cities, staging posts, places of interest, and distances between them.⁵ These cartographic points are not just spatial; they also chart the temporal spans of her travels.

s. Cassibry 17–62; Kolb 235–37; Johnson 30–34; Elsner 187–88; Coogan 342 (with valuable insights from Michel de Certeau’s distinction between an itinerary and a map). Stages, according to some estimates, required a day’s travel (McGowan and Bradshaw 24).

Time is primarily biblical for Egeria. If, as one interpreter has observed, “the agendum of the pilgrim-traveler is an agendum of moments of perception” (Campbell 20; cf. Elsner 192), then Egeria’s *desiderium* is to locate touchpoints with the biblical past in the terrain before her (Hunt, “Itinerary” 39–40). Egeria enlisted local clergy and monastics to feed this hunger for traces of the past. She implored them to “show us each one of the places mentioned in the Bible” (2.3; trans. Wilkinson 93) The location of a hermit’s cell prompted her to ask her guides what biblical event prompted the

monk to settle there. "I knew there must be some special reason", she explained to her "sisters" (16.3; trans. Wilkinson 111–12). As she suspected, she learned that the monk settled in the deserted Valley of Cherith, where the biblical prophet Elijah long ago sojourned, drank from its brook, and was fed by ravens (cf. 1 Kings 17:3–4). When present activities connected to biblical events Egeria could claim to "see completely (*pervidere*) all the places" of the Israelites' journey to the Red Sea following their liberation from enslavement in Egypt (7.1; trans. Wilkinson 100 [modified]; cf. 5.8, 7.3). Such synchronicity also prompted her to return to some places she had visited earlier on her journey, as when she returned to the land of Goshen and Tathnis to "learn more" (*ad plenum discere*, 9.6) about Moses' birthplace and the Israelites' journey to Sinai.

Rituals at the holy places immersed the pilgrim in biblical time. Hearing sacred stories read at the holy places where they had occurred thrilled Egeria. As she recalls, "when the whole passage had been read to us [at Sinai] from the Book of Moses (on the very spot!) we [...] received Communion" (3.6; trans. Wilkinson 94). She explains, "it was always our practice [*semper consuetudinis*] when we managed to reach one of the places we wanted to see to have first a prayer, then a reading from the book, then to say an appropriate psalm and another prayer. By God's grace we always followed this practice [*consuetudinem*] whenever we were able to reach a place we wanted to see" (10.7; trans. Wilkinson 105–06). As these examples suggest, ritualized readings provided a point of entry into the events of the sacred past.

To be clear, Egeria differentiates between the time of her activities and events from the distant past. She uses the past tense when describing biblical events. Yet, when she says, "This is [the water] that Moses gave to the children of Israel when they were thirsty" (10.8; trans. Wilkinson 106), the water is ontologically co-equal. Even as it moves in a single direction – the present becomes past, but the past never becomes present – Egeria's deictic "this is" suggests it is the very same water, a vivid "now" that contains past and present.⁶ In Egeria's "now", traces of the biblical past resurface to greet her present.

6. On the deictic vocabulary as markers of emotional proximity, see the helpful analysis by Rijksbaron.

Time's heterogeneity, however, demands some erasure. For instance, Egeria makes no mention of contemporary Jews in the

landscapes she visits. In her quest for the “Old Testament dead”, she ignores any trace of the “Jewish dead” (Jacobs 119). Thus, even as she differentiates between her present experiences and past events described in the Bible, some temporal distinctions blur in holy places. Her hosts and guides provide her with a layered past, viewed synchronically.

This present is where stories converge; a “timeless present” emerges when language “performs the effects of the past on the present” (Goldhill 163 (on Herodotus)). From the summit of Mount Nebo, Egeria listens as presbyters and monks instruct her to “pay heed and see (*attendite et videte*)” the places “that are written in the Books of Moses”, as they point out “these places [...] that are visible (*loca haec, quae parent*)” (12.3; trans. McGowan and Bradshaw 125). She recalls her “delight” at the way story connects to place, like buttons for a light-up map. To illustrate this convergence of story and time, one panoramic description merits a longer quotation:

From the church door itself we saw where the Jordan runs into the Dead Sea, and the place was down below where we were standing. Then, facing us, we saw Livias on our side of the Jordan and Jericho on the far side of the Jordan, since the height in front of the church door, where we were standing, jutted out over the valley. In fact, from there you can see most of Palestine, the Promised Land and everything in the area of Jordan as far as the eye can see. (12.4–5; trans. Wilkinson 107)

Here, Egeria situates herself and the audience outside the church to behold a vast and simultaneous montage of the Israelites’ vistas. Her pleasure in surveying this landscape might be likened to Aristotle’s ideal of a plot that he describes as *eusynoptos* (“easily seen in one view”).⁷ Like canon tables, the early church historian Eusebius’ gospel apparatus for following parallel episodes, Egeria delights in creating a vantage point from which to preserve the narrative integrity of each episode, while seeing multiple episodes from the Bible at once (Coogan 339).

One event from the Bible – the destruction of the city of Sodom, from Genesis (chapter 19), as a punishment by God for the townspeople’s violation of hospitality – stands out. On this occasion, the past does not rise up to meet Egeria’s present. When she beholds “the whole country of the Sodomites and the ruins

7. *Poetics* 23.1459a30–4 discussed in Purves 24–65

of Segor (or, Zoar)", she presumes the "heaps of ruins" were the result of being "burned to ashes" in God's destruction of Sodom. Although instructed not to turn around, Lot's wife could not resist and, for doing so, was turned into a pillar (Gen. 19:26). Yet, Egeria found no trace of that pillar:

what we saw, reverend ladies, was not the actual pillar, but only the place where it had once been. The pillar itself, they say, was submerged in the Dead Sea – at any rate we did not see it, and I cannot pretend we did. In fact it was the bishop there, the Bishop of Zoar, who told us that it was now a good many years since the pillar had been visible. It used to stand near the sixth milestone from Zoar, but was now completely submerged by water. (12.7; trans. Wilkinson 107)

Time and water had engulfed traces of the sacred past and erected a barrier between the pilgrim and the events of the Bible. The site also recalls primeval divine intervention and anticipates future divine judgement. Yet, the missing pillar makes "Egeria's regret [...] palpable" (Leyerle, "Lot's Wife" 60). The ravages of time are both frustrating and poignant for someone who has come so far to behold a now lost past.⁸ The disappearance of the pillar deprives her of an expected marker from the sacred past. Egeria's disappointment – rare in this account – offers us a glimpse into her keen desire for a palpable past that withstands the passage of time. Such palpability is important to her experience and also that of her audience back home. As she explains elsewhere, her detailed descriptions of the holy places are meant to "help you, loving sisters, the better to picture what happened in these places when you read the holy books of Moses" (5.8; trans. Wilkson 97–98).

8. Her dismay might invite comparisons to "ecological grief", or "climate grief", an emotional response to changes caused by climate change (Barnett 4–23; cf. Marshall et al. 584–85). These feelings of loss also drive stories about those who survive cataclysmic change, only to feel a sorrow that one literary scholar has described as "belatedness" (Mehl 29–32) or "asynchrony" (Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?* 131–36).

9. Falcasantos, "Christian Religious Symbolism" 294; the significance of time for the reimagined Jerusalem would also be shaped by Christian preaching (Walker), hymnography (Shoemaker), and lectionaries (Stökl Ben Ezra).

Egeria's Jerusalem Liturgies

When Egeria reached Jerusalem, she plunged herself into a "treasury of typology", a layering of sacred events upon a navigable topography.⁹ If "ritual is a relationship of difference between 'nows'" (J. Z. Smith 110), Egeria straddled those nows in her observations of daily, weekly, and festal worship, particularly events from Christ's life, death, and resurrection. In the Jerusalem portion of her diary, cyclical or calendrical ritual feasts (Day 556–61) shape her experience of time. Egeria presents the Christian liturgical year as a series of recapitulations: every Sunday is Easter, just as Easter Sunday happens the same way every year. Each event has a fixed

start and stop time. She is attentive to the amount of light available in pre-dawn hours, whether artificial, in the number of lamps or candles (24.9; 25.7; 36.2), or how a twilight dismissal allows the average viewer to discern silhouettes of bodies. There are hourly markers, cock-crow, daybreak, and various hours of the day. Amid this precise account, there is also a remarkable degree of repetition. "On Monday, the next day, they do the same as in the rest of Lent" (32.1; trans. Wilkinson 133). "Tuesday is the same as Monday, but with one addition" (33.1; trans. Wilkinson 133). "If Wednesday is exactly like Monday and Tuesday from cock-crow through the day" (34.1; trans. Wilkinson 134), then "Thursday is exactly like Monday and Tuesday, and Friday is like Wednesday" (27.7; trans. Wilkinson 129). Even as it is challenging to differentiate days of the week, Egeria's days are interlaced by the sounds and rites repeated and anticipated in one another. She best conveys the cyclical nature of time in her use of the word *consuetudo*, "habit or use". There are over sixty uses of the word (Bastiaensen 26–31; Blackman and Betts 25–26), with more than two thirds in the Jerusalem section. For Egeria, repetition assures the fullness of the present and its imminent return.

Egeria's description of Good Friday readings captures the heterogeneous temporalities experienced in rituals and story during the three hours beginning at midday: the readings "are all about the things Jesus suffered: first the psalms on this subject, then the Apostles (the Epistles or Acts), which concern it, then passages from the Gospels. Thus, they read the prophecies about what the Lord would suffer, and the Gospels about what he did suffer" (37.5; trans. Wilkinson 137). "Having been hard at it all night" (36.5; trans. Wilkinson 136) – all while fasting – places an enormous physical strain on the worshippers, not to mention the fatigue from linguistic barriers (Leyerle, "Voices" 566–71; Väänänen 135–38), as it is unlikely Egeria understood much if any of the Greek spoken. Perhaps because of these linguistic barriers, Egeria is a keen observer of non-verbal cues, the gestures, emotions, and feelings she witnesses. As she reports,

It is impressive to see the way all the people are moved by these readings, and how they mourn. You could hardly believe how every single one of them weeps during the three hours, old and young alike, because of the manner in which the Lord suffered for us. (37.7; trans. Wilkinson 138)

Nor are such emotional outpourings confined to the day of Jesus' death. The day before at Gethsemane, the readings and hymns conclude with a gospel reading about Jesus' arrest. "By the time it has been read," she observes, "everyone is groaning and lamenting and weeping so loud that people even across in the city can probably hear it all" (36.3; trans. Wilkinson 136).

Good Friday's biblical readings were extensive and without a sermon. According to one estimate, it took some three hours to hear them all recited or sung (Sweeney, "Wailing" 124). Portions of psalms filled much of this time. A ritual instruction book (known today as the Armenian Lectionary) reflects some fourth-century Jerusalem rites. It lists the psalms and other scriptural readings Egeria would likely have heard on Good Friday (Renoux 281–95). The instructions, or rubric, for Good Friday includes verses from eight psalms. In addition, she would have heard all the gospel accounts of Jesus' crucifixion. The service is interlaced with psalmody, or more accurately, individual verses from various psalms sung as a refrain or response. The antiphons, as these one-verse refrains are called, span a wide range of emotions, often in a first-person voice.¹⁰ Over the course of the three hours, worshippers would sing along with words of these psalm selections. Several emotions resounded in this responsorial singing: fear and confusion ("When unjust witnesses rose up, they kept asking me about what I was not familiar with" (Ps. 34(35):11)); courage ("I am ready for scourges, and my pain is ever with me" (Ps. 37(38):17)); despair ("They divided my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots" (Ps. 21(22):19)); equanimity ("Into Your hands I will entrust my spirit" (Ps. 30(31):6)); torment ("They gave me gall as my food, and for my thirst gave me vinegar to drink" (Ps. 68(69):22)); meekness ("I became like a helpless person, free among corpses" (Ps. 87(88):5)); and desperation ("O Lord, listen to my prayer and let my cry come to you" (Ps. 101(102):2)). Taken from psalms of dereliction and suffering, some of these verses would have also been familiar from gospel accounts of Jesus' agony and death (Attridge 101–02). To hear and sing these antiphons for several hours, without sermon or homily to interrupt or interpret them, left the congregation hearing Jesus himself in agony, "gruesomely suffering and even pleading for his life", as one recent interpreter astutely suggests (Sweeney, "Grief" 132). Worshippers, he explains, "heard these texts, on the

10. All but one – "his heart gathered lawlessness to himself" (Ps. 40[41]:7) – were verses spoken in the first person. I cite the Septuagint (LXX) psalm and verse numbers and provide the Masoretic numbering in brackets. All translations of the LXX refer to the translation by Pietersma and Wright.

day of Christ's Passion, largely as a long monologue spoken by Christ himself" (Sweeney, "Grief" 132). Even if Egeria could not understand the words sung in Greek, she could intuit that she stood among the bereaved, viscerally reacting to a suffering saviour's words. It might come as no surprise that in any language, a hungry, exhausted, and devoted congregation did not shield their wailing laments and groaning.

The heavy use of the psalms' first-person voice achieves a temporal repositioning. Such intense and devastating displays of grief on Good Friday and at Gethsemane the day before thrust Egeria and audiences into the biblical event itself. The density of three hours' continuous psalms and readings thickened the *now* of Jesus' crucifixion, just as the prior veneration of the wood of the true cross had made the biblical event palpable. Audiences kissed the wood, heard Jesus' pleas in the psalms, and relived the gospel stories recited to them. Egeria experiences what for a later pilgrim, Margery Kempe, was "a *now* shot through with different times" (Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?* 153). That intense presence and wonder pulses through Egeria's travelogue. As she concludes her account, she "admire[s] and value[s] most [...] that all the hymns and antiphons and readings [...] are always relevant to the day which is being observed and to the place in which they are used" (47.5; trans. Wilkinson 146). The alignment of place and a vivid past trigger powerful and intense emotions. From the frisson of hearing a biblical passage read "on the very spot!" to listening to Jesus' pleas in the words of the antiphons on Good Friday, time's uncanniness unleashes a diverse range of emotions resonating with relived Bible events.

As this article has suggested, when we view both parts of Egeria's travelogue as a whole, her hunger for a biblical present pervades the entire work and stirs keen emotions. If, as one theorist of temporalities has claimed, "[t]he experience of time and the way subjects situate themselves within time is imbued with, if not defined by, emotions, and vice versa", then the strong affects Egeria witnesses situate her in a "porous present" in which the past is available once again (Pernau 3, 13). Past and present may be differentiated, but only by a very permeable boundary. The clergy, monks, and hosts Egeria meets set her sights on Bible stories, intertwined like skeins of a rope by which to tug that past up into

her present. So, too, in Jerusalem. The stories from the gospels and the voice of Christ she and other worshippers hear in the psalms infuse the present with agonized voices of the past. Such intense interest in the intertwined present and past allows little room for the future. Rather, Egeria is more attuned to the past making itself felt in the present. Her anticipation is liturgical, as a psalm or melody might echo or anticipate words or songs from a festival elsewhere in the liturgical year. Beyond this liturgical future, Egeria recasts home as a place where her "sisters" may soon experience the Bible differently thanks to Egeria's reports.

Thus, emotion plays an important role in how Egeria situates herself in this intersection between the present and the past. She feels the past in her present, imbued with emotions. Her emotions crackle whenever the sacred past reveals (or hides) itself in her present. And her knowing situates her as witness to biblical events and allows her to accompany Christ during his final days and hours on earth. Liturgy interweaves the past and the present. Worship back home prepared her for this journey, so that by the time she arrived in Jerusalem, its liturgy unleashed strong emotions (Krueger 130). Liturgy and sacred travel cracked open for Egeria a "capacious now", encompassing both a painful past and an eternal present. Egeria shows her sisters how they, too, may enact a kind of "temporal co-presence" and dwell in a vivid past (Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?* 65). Egeria's writings record not only movement in space, but always movement in time through "heterogenous temporalities" (Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?* 78; cf. 106). Through her embodied memories, her words generate an abundant panorama of the temporal possibilities, inviting others into that capacious now.

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Revisiting the Pilgrimage Site of St John Lampadistis:

Art and Ritual Space*

Abstract

This article investigates the intriguing pilgrim cult of a Cypriot saint, John Lampadistis, during the Middle Ages. It considers first the development of the saint's cult, and his shrine in the Marathasa valley as a place of pilgrimage. The complex architectural space and the physical presence of the tomb, relics, and *vita*-icons of St John Lampadistis were the focal point of the pilgrims' unique religious experiences. Subsequently, the article attempts to reconstruct the routes taken by pilgrims and to determine who might have promoted the pilgrimage to the saint's shrine. Finally, the spread of the saint's cult around the island of Cyprus is examined.

Keywords

John Lampadistis; pilgrimage site; medieval art and architecture; Cyprus

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Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπαδιστῆς εἰς τὴν Μαραθάσα,
ὅπου διώχνει τὰ δαιμόνια

"And in Marathasa, there is the great John Lampadistis
who drives away demons."

(Leontios Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §36)

Introduction

From the late Bronze Age (c. 1700–1125/1100 BCE) to the present day, Cyprus has had a long history of sacred spaces (cf. Papantoniou, *Religions*; idem, "Cypriot Ritual"). Christianity spread through the island following the first mission of the Apostles Paul, Barnabas, and Mark – the last being of Cypriot descent – in 45 CE (*Acts of the Apostles* 13: 4–12). The island was one of the first places outside the Holy Land to encounter the new religion, long before it came



to Athens, Rome, or Alexandria. The Edict of Milan, issued in 313 CE by the emperors Constantine I and Licinius, gave official recognition to Christianity; however, it was only in the fourth and fifth centuries that Christianity began to prevail in Cyprus, with the erection of numerous Christian basilicas and the ordination of several prominent bishops (Deligiannakis, “Last Pagans”; idem, “From Aphrodite(s)”). The fact that it had a well-organized and autocephalous local church, together with its geographical location close to the Holy Land near the eastern end of the Mediterranean, were two important reasons for the development of a large number of pilgrimage sites on the island. Over the centuries the fame of its saints and holy places has attracted many pilgrims, who travelled to the island by sea. Cyprus was also a principal stopover for pilgrims heading to or returning from the Holy Land (see Perdiki, “Through the Eyes”).

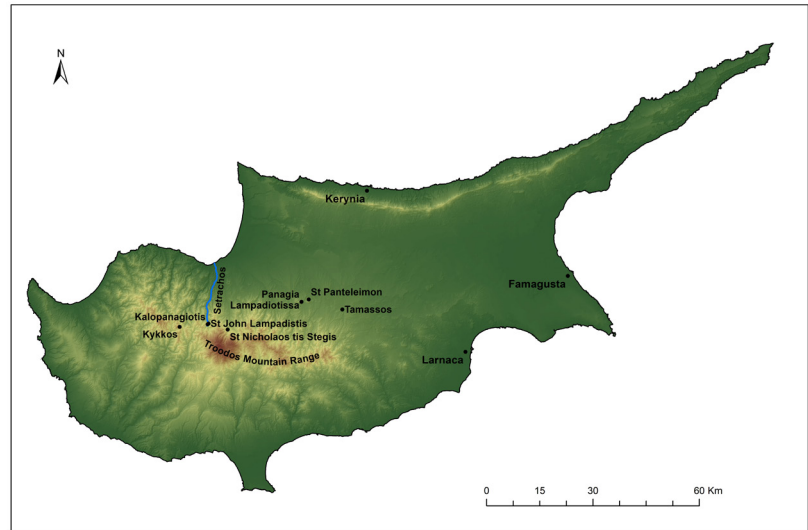
The outlines of the political and religious history of medieval Cyprus are well known (see Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel). The island was part of the Byzantine Empire until 1191, when it was conquered during the Third Crusade and ruled for three centuries (1196–1489) as an independent kingdom by the Lusignans, a French Catholic family of career crusaders, followed by a century under Venetian control (1489–1570). The Lusignans imposed a Western feudal system on the island. The Latin Church of Cyprus was established on 13 December 1196, with four episcopal sees. From 1269, the king of Cyprus was also proclaimed king of Jerusalem. The *Bulla Cypria* (1260) issued by Pope Alexander IV defined relations between the two religious communities of the island. It marked the subordination of the Orthodox bishops of Cyprus to the Latin Church and imposed an oath of fidelity to the Latin Archbishop of Cyprus and the pope.¹ The fall of Acre in 1291 ushered in a new era for Cyprus, as many refugees from Syria and Palestine flowed to the island, which became a melting pot of cultures and religions (see Jacoby).

1. Although the *Bulla Cypria* (1260) subordinated the Greek Orthodox Church and declared the Orthodox population to be Greek-rite Catholics, as early as 1250, mixed marriages took place, and the Latin-rite laity had begun attending Mass in Greek churches. Moreover, it is striking that the Lusignans did not curtail the Greek Orthodox monasteries in their realm, and there were more Greek establishments on Cyprus at the end of their reign than at their arrival; cf. Schabel 182–83, 200–01.

The subject of this article is the intriguing medieval pilgrim cult of a Cypriot saint, John Lampadistis. Firstly, it considers the development of the saint’s cult, and his shrine in the Marathasa valley (Fig. 1) as a place of pilgrimage. Secondly, the article attempts to reconstruct the routes taken by pilgrims and to determine who might have promoted the pilgrimage to the saint’s shrine. Finally, the spread of the saint’s cult around the island of Cyprus is examined.

Fig. 1: Map of Cyprus:
©Chrystalla Loizou.

The Saint



2. The *vita* (1640) was written by a priest named Savvas from the village of Agios Theodoros Agros. This work was copied by Monk Kyrillos of Stavrovouni Monastery in 1903 (ms. Stavrovouniou 4). Generally, three versions of his *vita* are preserved, dating to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kakkouras 52ff.).

The earliest surviving *vita* of St John Lampadistis was copied from a now lost manuscript dating from 1640.² As Georgios Kakkouras assumed, the initial *vita* and the commemorative services (*akolouthiai*) of the saint must have been composed soon after his death, and definitely before the thirteenth century (Kakkouras 89–90). However, the earliest surviving written testimony is a recently discovered festal canon preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript, Sin. gr. 669, in which the anonymous compiler must have had in mind the main points of the saint's *vita* as well as miracles probably recorded in the local oral tradition (Ioakeim).

Valuable information about John Lampadistis' life is also given in two *vita*-icons dating from the thirteenth century, one of which has overpainting from the sixteenth century (Figs. 2–3; Mitsani; Carr, "Holy Sepulcher"; Papamastorakis 55–58; Hadjichristodoulou, "Άγιος Ιωάννης"). Moreover, an iconographic cycle seems to have been developed on the walls of the saint's chapel in the thirteenth century – today only three scenes are preserved. Besides his chapel dated to the twelfth century, these *vita*-icons and the frescoes constitute the earliest evidence of his cult.³ Leontios Makhairas, the Cypriot chronicler, writing between 1426 and 1432, informs us: "The great John Lampadistis in Marathasa, who drives away demons; and he was a deacon in the district of Marathasa" (Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §36). The information which Makhairas gives

3. See below.

4. See the relevant discussion below.

about the saint's ecclesiastical position is not mentioned in the written *vitae*, which normally give his status as that of a *notarius*.⁴



Fig. 2: *Vita*-icon of St John Lampadistis, 13th and 16th century, 100x65.5 cm. Kalopanagiotis, Chapel of St John Lampadistis. Photograph: ©Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.

Fig. 3: *Vita*-icon of St John Lampadistis, 13th century, 115x75 cm. Kalopanagiotis, Ecclesiastical Museum of the Monastery of St John Lampadistis. Photograph: ©Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



St John Lampadistis is one of the most beloved local saints in Cyprus. He was a pious man who was born and lived in a village called 'Lampadou' – a medieval settlement, now abandoned – at the end of the eleventh century, during the reign of emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81; cf. Kakkouras 121–39, 148–57). At an early age, his parents decided that it was time for him to get married. The future in-laws served him poisoned fish, causing him to lose his eyesight, and the marriage never took place. He lived as a blind man for some years, until the day he saw his death approaching

and summoned his servant to bring him a bunch of grapes from his father's new crop. The servant brought a succulent bunch of grapes to John. When his father saw him, he was furious, and John handed the bunch back to the servant and told him to return it to where he had taken it from. The servant obeyed, and the bunch of grapes rejoined the vine at the exact spot from which it was cut. By the time the servant returned, John had already died. Soon after his death, his father, the priest Kyriakos, following certain divine signs attributed to his son, initiated the translation of his relics from their initial resting place in the Church of St Herakleidios at Kalopanagiotis (eleventh century), and buried them in ground outside the church on its northern side. Here Kyriakos erected a chapel dedicated to his son over the tomb. Thus, the cult of John Lampadistis began soon after his death in the twelfth century.

5. Regarding the discussion of the origin of his name cf. Kakkouras 121–47.

6. For St Herakleidios, see below.

7. For the church see: Papageorgiou, “Λαμπαδιώτισσα”.

The saint's name, ‘Lampadistis’ (Λαμπαδιστής), was probably given in token of his place of origin,⁵ the village of Lampadou or Lampados, as recorded in his *vita*. It is worth mentioning that a toponym ‘Lampadistos’ can be found in the *Acta Barnabae* (BHG 225 – fifth century) and in the *vita* of St Herakleidios (BHG 743 – fifth century; Kakkouras 122–24; Efthymiadis, *Η βυζαντινή αγιολογία* 33, 52–53). In both cases, the site is linked with St Herakleidios, first Bishop of Tamassos.⁶ Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify the geographical location of this toponym; the site might be in the wider Tamassos area, and more specifically near the present-day village of Mitsero in Nicosia district (Kakkouras 126–28). The record of properties held by the Archdiocese of Cyprus, dating from 1783, notes among other things that properties belonging to the Monastery of St Panteleimon in Achera were located in the Lampadou area (Peristianis 439). Moreover, the existence of a church (today in ruins) dedicated to Panagia Lampadiotissa (end of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century) in the area around Achera supports the hypothesis that a homonymous settlement existed there.⁷ However, based on his *vita* and the work of medieval and pre-modern historians, the saint seems to have been born and lived in the area of the Marathasa valley, not far from the Church of St Herakleidios (Kakkouras 129–31, 137). It is also significant that the mural portraying John Lampadistis (thirteenth century) preserved in the Church of St Nicholas *tis Stegis* in Kakopetria bears the epithet ‘Maratheftis’ (ο Μαραθεύτης), indicating his origin (Fig. 4; Stylianos and Stylianos, *Painted Churches* 72, 74).

Fig. 4: St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kakopetria, Church of St Nicholas *tis Stegis*, naos, east face of the south-west pier attached to the west wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Archbishop of Cyprus.



On the other hand, the name Lampadistis means ‘brilliant, enlightened, or shining’, and thus the name may have reflected the saint’s personality. The historian Étienne de Lusignan noted in 1573: “John Lampadistis, whose name means the enlightened, brilliant and luminous, was born in a village of Marathasa” (*Description*, 58v).⁸ It is worth noting that according to his *vita* his tomb emitted light soon after his interment.⁹

8. See also Kakkouras 141–47.

9. See below.

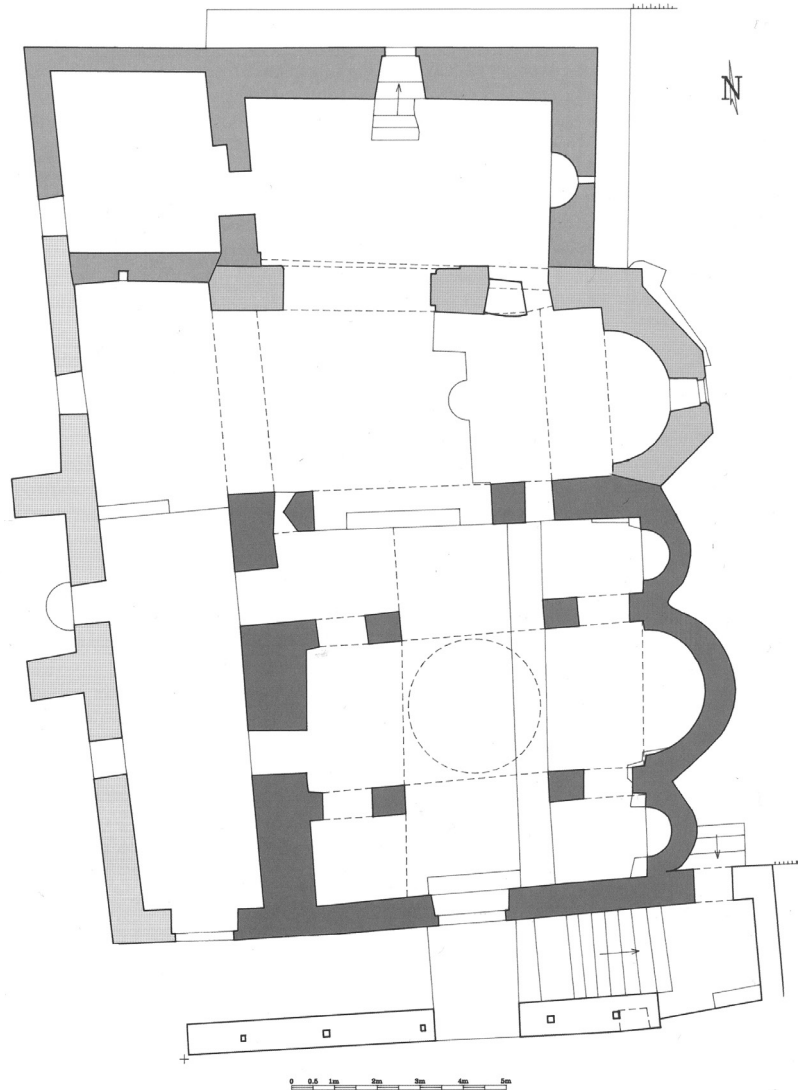
The Shrine

The Monastery of St John Lampadistis is situated in the central area of the Troodos Mountain range, in the Marathasa valley, which is dotted with a number of medieval churches. The monastic complex stands on the eastern slope of a deep ravine formed by the river Setrachos, opposite the village of Kalopanagiotis (Fig. 5). The



Fig. 5: Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, exterior view of the monastic complex towards the East. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki.

Fig. 6: Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, plan of the monastic complex. Plan: Bakirtzis and Filotheou 129, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus and the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.



The history of the buildings evolved around the expansion of the Church of St Herakleidos, the *katholikon* (main monastery church) dating from the eleventh century. The dedication of the church to St Herakleidos, first Bishop of Tamassos and a key figure in the establishment of Christianity in Cyprus, is associated with the tradition that he was baptized by the Apostles Paul and Barnabas

10. Regarding the monastery, see Bakirtzis and Filotheou 126–43; Papageorgiou, “Λαμπαδιστή” 357–63; idem, *Η μονή*; Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches* 292–320.

11. St Herakleidios was ordained first Bishop of Tamassos by the Apostles Paul and Barnabas during his visit to Cyprus around 49 CE. His basilica – the *martyrion* in Tamassos (the present-day village of Politiko) – can be roughly dated to the second half of the fourth to the early fifth century; it contained his tomb. For St Herakleidios: Efthymiadis, *Η βυζαντινή αγιολογία* 29–57; Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 380–98.

in the Setrachos River near the monastery.¹¹ Not far from the monastery, on its northern side, there are natural springs with healing properties; it may be that an *Asklepieion* existed there during the Hellenistic and Roman period (Myriantheas 60). The Church of St Herakleidios is a domed cross-in-square-plan building. It is not known if it served as the *katholikon* of a monastery soon after its foundation. Although there is no historical evidence for a monastery at the site until the seventeenth century, the presence of a monastic community from at least the twelfth century is probably indicated; the depiction in the apse of two kneeling monks, in a wall painting in the apse of the bema, dating to the twelfth century, may be evidence for this hypothesis (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 22–23). In any case, even if we accept that a monastic community was active during the early twelfth century, it is not clear whether the monastery was dedicated to St John Lampadistis at that time. The earliest written source for the dedication of the monastery is from a much later date, in the seventeenth century. This is the text of the saint's *akolouthia*, which was published in Venice in 1667 (Kakkouras 71–75).

12. According to Athanasios Papageorgiou, the building collapsed at the end of the fourteenth century (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 20).

13. For Barsky, see below.

14. For the chapel of the Holy Trinity, see Procopius 142–60.

15. The adjective 'Latin' given to the chapel is probably due to the Italo-Byzantine style of its decor and architecture; there is no evidence for its use by Latins of the Catholic rite (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 21–22. See also Eliades; Frigerio-Zeniou 99–203.

There is evidence for the cult of John Lampadistis from the twelfth century, linked to the addition of a single-aisle chapel dedicated to him on the north side of the Church of St Herakleidios (Fig. 7; cf. Carr, "Holy Sepulcher" 475–88). At some point the chapel collapsed apart from its north-east pier, which stands over the saint's tomb, and a narrow arch springing from it to the east preserving traces of thirteenth-century wall paintings.¹² Most probably, the chapel was rebuilt at the beginning of the eighteenth century; this must have been before 1735, when Vasili Grigorovich-Barsky visited the monastery and signed his name on the wall (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 20).¹³ According to Athanasios Papageorgiou (*Η μονή* 20), the original chapel probably had a dome over the central area, like other chapels of the same period (e.g., the chapel of the Holy Trinity at the Monastery of St John Chrysostom at Koutsoventis).¹⁴ In the middle of the fifteenth century, a common narthex was added to the west side of both churches (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 20). During the second half of the fifteenth century a vaulted chapel dedicated to the Akathist Hymn, the so-called 'Latin' chapel, was attached to the north of the chapel of John Lampadistis.¹⁵ At a later time, the three churches were united. To the *katholikon* and chapel a second shared roof was added, while the chapel of the Akathist Hymn had a separate, higher roof. The roofs were covered with hook-shaped tiles.

Fig. 7: Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, interior view of the chapel of St John Lampadistis towards the East. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced with the permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



The painted decoration of the building complex attests to the continuity of its use. Thus, the *katholikon* preserves traces of paintings of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries; the chapel has fragments dating to the thirteenth century; the narthex was decorated by a Constantinopolitan painter in the first half of the fifteenth century, while the Akathist Hymn chapel contains Italo-Byzantine paintings executed in the sixteenth century.¹⁶

16. See n. 10 and n. 15.

The Two *Vita*-Icons

As already noted, two *vita*-icons dating from the thirteenth century, one with overpainting from the sixteenth century, are preserved at the shrine (Figs. 2–3). Although the episodes depicted in the two *vita*-icons are very close to the narrative of 1640, it has been assumed that a *vita* of the saint, whether written or as an oral record, was possibly already known soon after his death. The two *vita*-icons as well as the mural painting preserved above his tomb, all dating to the thirteenth century, constitute the earliest surviving evidence for the saint's cult.¹⁷ Their presence in the thirteenth century attests to the prosperity and popularity of the pilgrimage site. Generally, the icons function as markers, identifying the sacred person and place (cf. Carr, "Icons").

17. For the narrative of 1640, see Kakkouras 91–96. For the wall paintings, see below.

Both icons have a large frontal depiction of the young John Lampadistis at the centre, holding a cross and censer. The portrait is surrounded by fourteen small-scale scenes from his life. The episodes can be read beginning from the upper left-hand corner, right along the upper horizontal frame, continuing down the right-hand vertical side, and then from the top of the left-hand vertical side down, then along the lower horizontal frame, ending at the bottom right corner. The surviving scenes are as follows:

18. At Hadjichristodoulou, “Άγιος Ιωάννης” 252, where the icon was first published, due to a typographical error the given dimensions are wrong.

Icon A (thirteenth century with sixteenth-century overpainting) 100 × 65.5 cm (Fig. 2)	Icon B (thirteenth century) 115 × 75 cm¹⁸ (Fig. 3)
1 The birth of John Lampadistis.	The birth of John Lampadistis.
2 John at school reading the opening words of the Psalter.	John at school.
3 The wedding of John.	The wedding of John.
4 John eats the poisoned fish and goes blind.	John eats the poisoned fish and goes blind.
5 John is led to his parents' home by his father.	John returns to his parents' home.
6 John gives alms to the poor.	The gold-winged eagle appears to John.
7 The gold-winged eagle appears to John.	John asks his servant for a bunch of grapes and the servant cuts the cluster.
8 John asks his servant for a bunch of grapes.	John is struck by his father for eating unblest grapes.
9 John is reproved by his father because he ate unblest grapes.	John sends the servant to replace the bunch, and the saint's death.

10	John sends the servant to put the bunch of grapes on the vine.	Burial of John.
11	John's death.	A man (probably a lunatic) opens the tomb, supervised by John's father.
12	A man (probably a lunatic) opens the tomb, supervised by John's father.	John's relics prove thaumaturgic, curing lunatics and others.
13	John's relics prove thaumaturgic, curing lunatics and others. ¹⁹	John's father summons a painter to paint the saint's icon in the chapel dedicated to him.
14	Persuaded by the relics' efficacy, John's father follows the request of his son in a dream and builds a church dedicated to him.	The painter creates John's icon in the chapel.

19. The scene is very abraded.

20. The painter who overpainted the figure of John Lampadistis is the same artist who in 1539 overpainted the central figure of the Virgin with Child on the *vita*-icon of the Virgin Kallionitissa (the original painting can be dated to the thirteenth century) preserved at the Church of St Anna at Kalliana. The small-scale episodes around the central figure also remain untouched. Both dominant figures (Virgin and John Lampadistis) dated to the sixteenth century are characterized by smooth and classicizing faces. I would like to thank Dr Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou for this information. Regarding the icon of the Virgin Kallionitissa, see Gerasimou and Papaioakeim.

Although the two icons are roughly contemporaneous, they were not painted by the same artist. Icon A is most probably the original, *proskynetarion* icon. Today, Icon A is more abraded than Icon B, and the former was at some point cropped at the top, right side, and bottom, perhaps to fix it on to the iconostasis or the *proskynetarion*. In the sixteenth century, the central figure of the saint in Icon A was replaced; from the earlier painting, only part of the saint's hair at the level of the neck and the decorative relief motifs on his garments (collar and armbands) have been preserved (Hadjichristodoulou, "Άγιος Ιωάννης").²⁰ Furthermore, the original saint's dark red robe, which is still perceptible on the left side of the garment, has been replaced by a brocaded golden tunic. The reason for the overpainting is still unknown; it is not known whether the central figure was damaged or if there was a purpose to the replacement. Note that the narrative scenes of the icon were not affected by the overpainting. Nevertheless, the unusual position of the saint's hands in front of his chest suggests that originally the saint was depicted with his palms open in front of his chest, as in his depiction (thirteenth century) in the Church of St Nicholas *tis Stegis* at Kakopetria (Fig. 4). It is suggested that the fresco at Kakopetria had the *vita*-

icon as a prototype (Hadjichristodoulou, “Άγιος Ιωάννης”). Icon A was until recently covered with a gold-plated revetment dating from 1776 (Perdikis). As already mentioned, Icon A served as a *proskynetarion* icon for a period, as indicated by the revetment, abrasion and overpainting. However, the original function of Icon B is still unknown. The differing use of the two *vita*-icons is also shown by the iconographic differences in the themes selected in each icon for the sequence of scenes in the *vita* cycle (Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 479). Therefore, the later icon (Icon B) does not seem to be a copy of the original one (Icon A), as different episodes are depicted in each icon and even the same scenes do not share the same iconography; generally, the episodes in Icon B are more developed and include a greater number of figures.

The format of these *vita*-icons, which included a considerable number of posthumous episodes, suggest a pilgrimage function, recording and explicating the events which took place at their location and around the saint’s tomb (Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 481).²¹ Thus, the episodes from the saint’s life were intended to shed light on his identity through the events which led to his sanctification.²² The difference between the two icons lies mainly in the last scenes, in which each icon celebrated different posthumous episodes associated with the saint. Accordingly, Icon B adds two more episodes relating to the tomb compared with Icon A. Therefore, of the fourteen narrative scenes, six in Icon B and four in Icon A are devoted to posthumous events. It is notable that the scene showing the artist producing the saint’s portrait was also added to Icon B. As Annemarie Weyl Carr notes, “the smaller panel [Icon B] would depict the miraculous character of the larger one [Icon A], validating its own authority and illustrating the special charisma of its original. Together, the two panels address the site of pilgrimage and the image through which the site’s charisma was disseminated” (“Holy Sepulcher” 482). The scene in Icon B depicting the miraculous creation of John’s icon would show the creation of the model image of St John: that is, Icon A, the *proskynetarion* icon. When an icon is replicated in another icon, then its special sacred identity is visible. Furthermore, the presence of episodes from the saint’s afterlife was necessary to celebrate and develop the cult of a very new saint whose *vita* was still being composed or was little known. The two panels served as a medium for making the new saint known to a wider public.

21. For *vita*-icons, see Chatterjee; Papamastorakis; Ševčenko, “*Vita* Icon”.

22. Regarding the recognition of the sanctity of a holy person, see Talbot, esp. 218–20.



Fig. 8: Detail of the episode of the artist painting the saint's image, *Vita*-icon of St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Ecclesiastical Museum of the Monastery of St John Lampadistis. Photograph: ©Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.

According to Carr (“Holy Sepulcher” 481), the scene of John’s entombment seen at the centre of the lower frame in Icon B is much abraded, perhaps reflecting wear and tear from being an object of veneration for pilgrims. Furthermore, the depiction of a domed building in the last episode of both icons which can be identified with the domed Church of St Herakleidios or even with the Lampadistis chapel – if we accept the hypothesis that the chapel was possibly a domed cross-in-square-plan building – suggests that this was the site of the saint’s tomb; a *locus sanctus* is depicted (Fig. 8). In any case, both icons lay great emphasis on the holy place where the saint’s relics reside; Icon A depicts the church in the last episode, while Icon B has a representation, rare in Byzantine art, of an artist painting the saint’s image in front of his church (cf. Vollero-Levy and Gasanova; Kalopissi-Verti). According to this *vita*, the saint’s father commissioned a painter to create the saint’s icon. As the painter had never seen the saint, St John Lampadistis appeared to the painter dressed as a *notarius* (Kakkouras 242).

The Mural Paintings of the Chapel

Above the saint’s tomb, three paintings survive in fragments, at the intrados of the east blind arch in the chapel’s north wall; a portrait of the saint and two posthumous episodes are preserved (Perdiki, *L’iconographie* 396–98). Apart from these, the other episodes of the saint’s cycle seem to have been lost, as the chapel was destroyed.

The scene of the translation of the saint’s relics is preserved in the western part of the intrados (Fig. 9). A barefoot man wearing a long grey tunic is holding the saint’s sarcophagus and walking to the left, where a boy with straight shoulder-length hair, wearing a long-sleeved white tunic and black boots, is holding a shovel and looking at the sarcophagus. A building is seen in the background which can probably be identified with the monastic edifice.

Fig. 9: Translation of the relics of St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, chapel of St John Lampadistis, western part of the intrados east blind arch in the north wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



In the following composition, which occupied the east part of the intrados, the saint's father, the priest Kyriakos, is shown in the middle and facing to the left. He has long grey hair and a beard. He wears a grey *sticharion* and a pointed cap. His hands are raised to chest height, holding something. A building with two domes – one on the left and one on the right – is seen in the background. The scene can be identified with the episode of the construction of the saint's chapel (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10: Construction of the chapel of St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, chapel of St John Lampadistis, east part of the intrados east blind arch in the north wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



The third painting, a portrait of John Lampadistis, is on the west face of the pillar, below the previous scene. Only the upper part of the composition survives (Fig. 11). A young man with a halo is depicted, without a beard and with short brown hair and a tonsure. The figure is facing to the right. Traces of his white(?) tunic are visible. The figure is accompanied by the inscription Ο / Α/ΓΙ/Ο / [Σ] [ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο] ΛΑ/[ΜΠΑΔΙΣΤΗΣ].²³

²³ Traces of the upper part of the letters of the saint's epithet are preserved.

Fig. 11: St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, chapel of St John Lampadistis, west face of the north-east pillar. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



²⁴ Previous scholars dated the chapel's frescoes to the twelfth century (Bakirtzis and Filotheou 131; Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 36–37).

The above-mentioned mural paintings can be dated to the thirteenth century and linked with the contemporaneous mural decoration of the *katholikon*.²⁴ Despite their relatively poor state of preservation and their fragmentary condition, the chapel's paintings are stylistically closer to those in the *katholikon*. Indeed, the architectural elements depicted in the two episodes of the chapel paintings can be compared to those seen in the scenes of the Raising of Lazarus (vault embracing the Crucifixion to the south,

Fig. 12), the Entry to Jerusalem (vault embracing the Crucifixion to the north, Fig. 13), and the Crucifixion (west wall above the entrance to the narthex, Fig. 14) of the *katholikon*. Furthermore, the figures' physiognomic features are comparable in both churches (e.g. the figure of the priest Kyriakos in the chapel is close to the men of Jerusalem who are waiting to meet Christ before the city gates in the Entry to Jerusalem; the shape of the face and the use of scarlet red to emphasize cheeks and lips in the figure of the young boy with the shovel are almost identical to the style of the youths with round-jawed faces in the Entry to Jerusalem). Moreover, the form of letters preserved in John's portrait and in the scenes in the *katholikon* are rather similar. In both cases, the paintings are reminiscent of Comnenian style and characterized by rigidity and linearity. The colours are vivid, with scarlet and yellow ochre predominating. It is also interesting to note that in some scenes the figures have an oriental flavour in their characteristics (e.g. the young boys and the men in the Entry to Jerusalem; cf. Carr, "Holy Sepulcher" 483–84).

Fig. 12: The Raising of Lazarus, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, *katholikon*, south face of the western vault. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



Fig. 13: The Entry to Jerusalem, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, *katholikon*, north face of the western vault. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



Fig. 14: The Crucifixion, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, *katholikon*, west wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



It should be stressed that it is difficult to find the iconographic prototypes for the painted episodes in the chapel. The scene with the saint's translation is not depicted in the two *vita*-icons. Furthermore, the composition with Kyriakos may correspond to the last scene in Icon A. Unfortunately, the poor state of preservation, especially in the *vita*-icons' episodes, makes it difficult to draw conclusions. Generally, the paintings in the *katholikon* have been dated by Andreas and Judith Stylianou to the first half of the thirteenth century (*Painted Churches*, 295–96), and by Annemarie Weyl Carr to the 1270s (“Holy Sepulcher” 484), while Athanasios Papageorgiou has proposed the thirteenth century (*Η μovή* 27). As already noted, it is difficult to provide precise dates; nevertheless, based mainly on the stylistic analysis, we can date the mural paintings on both churches to the second half of the thirteenth century, and the two *vita*-icons perhaps followed the mural paintings in the chapel, as they are more or less contemporaneous.

25. Regarding the iconographic programme of St Herakleidios, see Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 482–87; Papageorgiou, *Η μovή* 22–36; Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches* 292–320.

26. For example, the swooning Virgin, the Crucifix with the prominent abdomen, the round shield with the rampant lion of Longinus, the red background at the scene of Crucifixion; the starry backgrounds of the prophets in the dome; the round faces of the figures in the scenes of the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Ascension; and the linearity of the figures are close to the local art of the Syro-Palestinian mainland. In addition, the scene of the Crucifixion repeats the distinctive gestures and style seen in Crusader works, like the Latin Perugia Missal (1250) produced in Acre, in the Armenia Queen Gospels (1272), and in icons at Sinai. Cf. Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 483ff.; eadem, “Art” 299–303. The scene of the Crucifixion and the fainting Virgin in particular have been discussed in relation to the Latin presence in Cyprus by Paschali, “Swooning Virgin”; see also eadem, *Painting Identities* 55–56.

In any case, it is important to underline the speed with which the cult of a new local saint developed during the thirteenth century. The development of a mural painting programme in the adjacent Church of St Herakleidios (in the dome, the south vault, and the western arm of the nave) in the thirteenth century may also reflect this flourishing of the pilgrimage.²⁵ Based on iconography and style, these paintings are close enough to those preserved on the Syro-Palestinian mainland, which flourished in environments shaped by the *mélange* of cultures created by the Crusades.²⁶ Furthermore, the iconographic programme from this period was designed to give the viewer the sense of being present in the Holy Land, as Carr suggests (“Holy Sepulcher” 482–88). Indeed, the location of the scenes of the Sacrifice of Isaac just below the Raising of Lazarus to one side of the Crucifixion underlines the link with the Holy Land and the Holy Sites (Golgotha). The two scenes in the western bay can be linked to the fact that Orthodox pilgrims to the Holy Land venerated Golgotha as the site of both Abraham's and Christ's sacrifices (Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 482–88). In addition, the men wearing turbans in the depiction of the Entry into Jerusalem confirm this association with the Holy Land, as turbans were worn there by people of many faiths (cf. Fernandez-Meyer, “Se vêtir” 213). Furthermore, a person entering St Herakleidios' church through its original western door looks directly at the depiction of St Paraskevi, then of St Herakleidios, and finally at St Kyriaki. St Paraskevi is

the personification of the day of Good Friday, and St Kyriaki is both Sunday and Easter Sunday, so the visitor moves from Good Friday to Easter, and, just above, in the vault, the Easter events are depicted (Raising of Lazarus, Entry to Jerusalem, Crucifixion). The depictions in the Church of St Herakleidos are intended to suggest a Holy Land pilgrimage site: behind this must lie the building of a new local *locus sanctus*: the tomb of John Lampadistis. The question that arises is whether the medieval pilgrim entering the church could understand these connections. Probably not.

The episodes preserved both in the mural paintings and in the frame of the two *vita*-icons would have served as a guide for visitors and pilgrims (Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 481ff.). They not only narrate the life of the saint but highlight the events after his death, especially the discovery of his relics, their translation, and the construction of a chapel dedicated to him. Through the power of the image, the message delivered to the public is made much clearer. The aim of illustrated episodes was to inform the faithful about who the saint was, and what miracles he had performed, thus helping to create a pilgrimage site. Undoubtedly, the artistic activity in the church during the thirteenth century was associated with the visual promotion of the cult.

The Pilgrimage Spaces

Relative to the pilgrimage spaces, two questions arise: how was the pilgrimage cult served, and how did the great mass of pilgrims circulate in the complex? The addition of the Akathist Hymn chapel and the large common narthex along the western side of the Church of St Herakleidos and the St John Lampadistis chapel must be seen as responses among other things to the need to provide extra space for the pilgrims. These two spaces, which are discussed below, may have served multiple roles linked with the cult of the saint.

As noted, the narthex was added during the fifteenth century; this was associated with the presumed monastic function of the church.²⁷ Generally, this space was multifunctional and was frequently the location for various rituals, as well as private meditation and prayer.²⁸ The iconographic programme of the narthex was intended to stimulate transformative experiences in the viewers before they

27. For the narthex at Kalopanagiotis, see Triantaphyllopoulos; Gkioles.

28. For the function of the narthex see, for example, Gerov.

entered the *naos* (cf. Schroeder 107–08). The composition of the Last Judgement dates to the end of the fifteenth century – it occupies the east and lower south walls of the narthex’s southern entrance bay and must be related to the circulation of the worshippers in the shrine (Fig. 15; Carr, “Hell” 368–75). It is significant that the Last Judgement is visible to the people and pilgrims coming to the main church and the adjoining chapel. The location of the paintings on the narthex walls invited the faithful to follow a specific route when visiting the church. Thus, the placing of the Last Judgement here makes sense mainly if the narthex was usually entered by the south door. If the composition is understood from the perspective of people coming in and out of the south door of the narthex, it works perfectly, drawing them in as they arrive, marching alongside the blessed going to Paradise, and warning them with a depiction of the devil and sinners as they leave. When we imagine the narthex in this way, its function becomes more apparent, considering the presence of *katholikon* and chapel. Having the narthex as a place where the public could come and go would also suit its role as a part of the pilgrimage.

Fig. 15: Last Judgment, end of the 15th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, narthex, east and south walls. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



On the other hand, it is possible that, thanks to the increased number of pilgrims visiting the saint’s tomb, access to the site through the narthex became difficult at some point, and a new access point

29. Regarding the architectural reconstructions, see Papageorgiou, *Η μὲν* 20–22. Frigerio-Zeniou 100.

30. At the monastic complex of Hosios Loukas in Boeotia (11th century), the pilgrims most probably followed a specific route in order not to disturb the monks. The architecture of the monastic complex responded to the sacred presence and to the necessities of pilgrimage (Bouras 16–19, 25–28). See also Marinis and Ousterhout 169.

31. It is interesting to cite again the case of St Luke at Hosios Loukas in Boeotia, where the saint's relics were removed from his tomb in 1011 and placed in a *proskynetarion*. The position of the *proskynetarion*, in a vertical relationship to the tomb, which was located below it, is accessible to pilgrims coming from the exonarthex and *lita* of the Panagia church and from the *katholikon*, as well as through a passageway in the east wall of the complex (Marinis and Ousterhout 169; Mylonas 57–60).

32. Regarding the reliquary, see Myriantheas 38–39.

33. An example is the case of St Mary the Younger, whose relic was translated to a different tomb inside the same church; see Marinis and Ousterhout 170–71.

through the chapel of the Akathist Hymn was needed (cf. Eliades 175). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that at the eastern end of the Akathist Hymn chapel's south wall the two spaces are linked by a small opening into the sanctuary of John Lampadistis, where the tomb is believed to have been located.²⁹ The pilgrims would enter through the west or north door of the Akathist Hymn chapel, visit the saint's tomb, and then leave the site through the shared narthex. Initially, the pilgrims would enter through the west door of the Akathist Hymn chapel, and when this door was not in use, because of the erection of the small auxiliary room, the window at the north wall was transformed into an entrance (Eliades 175). Therefore, a visit to the tomb could only take place through the Akathist Hymn chapel and its north door, as this opening communicates directly with the outside world, without it being necessary to go through the other churches and the courtyard of the complex. Furthermore, the absence of a semicircular apse to the east would strengthen the hypothesis that the Akathist Hymn chapel was added to facilitate access to the chapel, in a manner that would not disrupt rites taking place in the *katholikon*. It might also have facilitated access by female pilgrims, again without disturbing the monks, if indeed the complex functioned as a monastery at that time (cf. Marinis and Ousterhout 160ff.).³⁰ However, the presence of the tomb of St John inside the bema of his chapel raises questions about the veneration of the tomb and what happened in the case of female pilgrims, given that women were not allowed into the sanctuaries of Orthodox churches. In the absence of written and/or archaeological evidence and given that the building had collapsed and been rebuilt, one can only make conjectures. It is therefore possible that the saint's relics were moved from his tomb and placed just to the north of the sanctuary, right outside the bema.³¹ Perhaps a reliquary or a pseudo-sarcophagus was kept outside the bema and offered for public veneration, as is the case today: since 1641 a piece of Lampadistis' skull has been housed in a pyramidal gilt reliquary dedicated by Archbishop Nikephoros, which is offered for veneration in an arched niche in the southeast wall of the chapel (Fig. 16).³² In general, primary burials inside churches were often liable to be relocated.³³

Moreover, as Stella Frigerio-Zeniou has pointed out, the iconography of the Akathist Hymn chapel can be compared with that of a narthex, and it is in any case difficult to determine its exact



Fig. 16: Reliquary of St John Lampadistis, 1641 Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, chapel of St John Lampadistis, arched niche in the southeast wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.

34. See Irakleous and Bakirtzis 400. Kakkouras 258. Stylianos and Stylianos, *Painted Churches* 306; *idem*, “Η Βυζαντινή τέχνη” 1322.

35. Regarding incubation practices, see Efthymiadis, “L’incubation”; see also Ehrenheim; Graf.

36. It is interesting to note here that in the shrine of St Artemios in Constantinople the practice of incubation is well attested. Specifically, the supplicants stayed fenced off during the night by metal barriers, which denied them access to the rest of the church (Marinis 104–05).

37. I would like to thank Dr Marina Toumbouri for this information. See also Damianou 72–73.

38. The miracles chosen for illustration are the healing of the paralytic at Bethesda, of the man with dropsy, of the blind man in the pool of Siloam, the marriage at Cana, and the draught of fishes. They are preserved on part of the east and north walls. Cf. Triantaphyllopoulos 385; Gkioles 185–86; Papageorgiou, *Η μόνή* 37–42. For the iconography of the Miracle Cycle and for healing miracles generally, see Rossi; Ševčenko, “Healing Miracles”.

use (202–03). It should be stressed that the iconographic themes chosen to illustrate the Akathist Hymn chapel are not repeated in the iconography of the shared narthex of the complex. Thus, it is very possible that the Akathist Hymn chapel served as a sort of narthex or auxiliary room to meet the needs of the pilgrims (as noted above).

Furthermore, the narthex and the Akathist Hymn chapel may have provided a space where pilgrims could spend the night within the church, as part of healing rituals.³⁴ These practices could have included all-night vigils (*agrypniai*) and incubations (*enkoimesis*); during the latter the saint performed miracles for patient–devotees, who received messages or healing through the medium of dreams while they slept in a shrine.³⁵ It should be noted that none of the accounts of the saint mention incubation practices in the complex,³⁶ but still today people from Kalopanagiotis and the neighbouring villages bring mattresses into the church in order to spend the night of the saint’s feast (4 October) there, hoping to receive protection and healing.³⁷ Most probably, this practice had its origins in the Middle Ages.

As his *vita* informs us, soon after his death two men suffering from madness were cured after touching his tomb (Kakkouras 230–31), and as the saint was well known for healing mental illnesses, there was probably an independent space to perform exorcism rituals and read prayers for the afflicted. Thus, a hall to the west of the Akathist Hymn chapel, with an independent entrance from the west and outside the complex but also accessible from the chapel by a small door, may have served as a location for the various ritual practices which took place at the shrine. In this context, in addition to the Last Judgement, the common narthex was decorated with fifteenth-century frescoes of the miracles of Christ, emphasizing their therapeutic character, which may have been associated with the healing and miracles performed by the saint.³⁸ Here, the depicted miracles emphasize miraculous healing through water. In general, the narthex was used, among other things (funeral processions, memorials services, burials), for rites associated with water (e.g., baptisms), and perhaps this could also explain the choice of the represented miracles. One should note the proximity to the complex of the river Setrachos, where St Herakleidios had been baptized; the two painted healing miracles involving water have

a strong redemptive content associated with the cleansing of sin. In any case, the iconography in the narthex is intended to provide psychosomatic assistance to the patients by means of pictures which stimulate faith in the miraculous healing powers of the saint.

Based on the above, the Lampadistis chapel was the most important part of the complex, since it contained the tomb of the miracle-working saint. Unsurprisingly, the saint's fame began to surpass even that of St Herakleidios, a well-known bishop of the Apostolic Age. Thus, the different reconstructions in the complex reflect efforts to facilitate access to the miraculous relics and integrate the remains of the original structure.

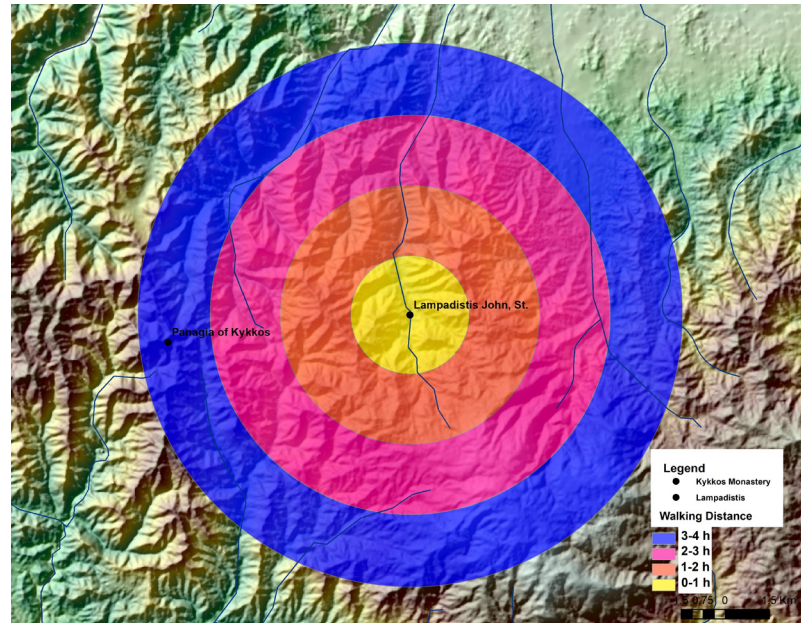
Unfortunately, we do not know the therapeutic, miraculous properties of the saint's relics. The only surviving evidence comes from the saint's *vita* and refers to the two miracles performed above the saint's tomb and before the translation of his relics; the first refers to the great light that emanated from his tomb over several nights soon after his burial, and the other concerns the cure of two mad people, which has already been mentioned (Kakkouras 139–47, 230–31). Except for these miracles and the information given by Makhairas for the fifteenth century, there is no evidence of individual healing miracles being performed and/or depicted in the saint's chapel.

The Pilgrim's Paths

It is difficult to reconstruct the cultural networks that brought waves of pilgrims through the Lampadistis pilgrimage site and the Marathasa valley. As they left no reports about the monastery, we know nothing about the medieval pilgrims who might have visited the site. The only reference that has been preserved is from the noted traveller Vasili Grigorovish-Barsky, in 1736 (43–45). Barsky left a valuable description of the site in his written account, giving details about the architectural complex and the *katholikon* church, and mentioning that ten monks were in residence. Barsky was travelling through Kalopanagiotis on his way to the Kykkos Monastery when he lost his way, so he may not have been following an established path. According to Barsky's description,

I again walked through giant and tortuous mountains and forests and arrived at another monastery, great and famous, which lies four hours walk from the previous monastery [i.e. St John Lampadistis]. I, however, once again lost the path and paused along the way and barely managed to arrive there before evening. (Fig. 17; Grigorovich-Barsky 46)

Fig. 17: Walking distance around St John Lampadistis Monastery, Kalopanagiotis. Map: ©Niki Kyriakou.



What do we know about the paths that might have brought pilgrims to Lampadistis' shrine? In my opinion, the silence of the written sources does not necessarily mean that the pilgrimage was a local one, serving only the village and surrounding area. The different constructions and reconstructions at the complex, the development of a remarkable iconographic programme, as well as the spread of the saint's cult throughout Cyprus (mainly from the fifteenth century onwards, as the surviving mural portraits show): all these elements suggest something more than a small, local pilgrimage.

Very little is known about the likely paths of travel through the Troodos in the Middle Ages, but as Tassos Papacostas has argued, paths used during the Ottoman period were almost certainly the same as those used during the Middle Ages (Papacostas; Bekker-Nielsen). Thus, information about travel in the Troodos furnished by records of pilgrimage to the Kykkos Monastery in the Ottoman centuries give us an insight into earlier centuries. Based on the available evidence, it is possible to reconstruct the pre-modern

pilgrimage paths followed mainly by pilgrims from Asia Minor (Karamanlides) who visited the Kykkos Monastery during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Irakleous and Bakirtzis 385–89). As the Kykkos Monastery was an indispensable part of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land during these centuries, the possible itineraries followed by pilgrims may have included the valley of Marathasa and the Monastery of St John Lampadistis. There can be no doubt that the growing number of pilgrims visiting Lampadistis during the nineteenth century is also reflected in the expansion of the monastery complex for accommodation purposes (Papageorgiou, *H μovή* 15–17). Indeed, the numerous inscriptions and graffiti around the saint's reliquary niche are evidence of the arrival of pilgrims from the monastery (Fig. 16; Irakleous and Bakirtzis 389–92). Pilgrims arriving from the northern (Kyrenia) and eastern (Larnaca and Famagusta) Cypriot ports chiefly followed itineraries through the villages of the Marathasa and Solea valleys in order to reach the Kykkos Monastery (cf. Irakleous and Bakirtzis 386–87). These mountainous routes were described as difficult and dangerous, but the path to the Lampadistis shrine was not particularly arduous; as it followed a river, it must have been relatively easy. It should also be emphasized that not every pilgrim group followed the same routes, as these depended on practical, social, economic, religious, and seasonal factors. Roads and paths are resistant to change and have generally remained unaltered from antiquity to the present day.

Who Promoted the Pilgrimage?

It is worth considering who hosted, managed, and promoted the pilgrimage during the medieval period, though it has proved difficult to determine with any certainty who managed this *hierotopos*.

During the second half of the thirteenth century, as demonstrated above, there was an attempt to consolidate and promote the cult of St John Lampadistis. This effort was probably in response to the changed sociocultural context and addressed perhaps a different, no longer homogeneous, local population (including Christians of various denominations). In my view, this promotion of a new local saint was possibly linked with the Latin court and reflected the interaction of the local population with the Latins (cf. Carr,

39. Plastering evidence indicates that the iconostasis structure was in position when the thirteenth-century scheme was painted and is probably contemporary with it (Woolley, Nadolny, and Shekede).

40. The templon of St Herakleidios has been discussed by Fernandez-Meyer, *Commanditaires*.

41. Stylianou and Stylianou, “Donors” 109.

42. The Monastery of Makhairas became a place of retreat and recreation for the royal court (Tsiknopoulos 72–73; Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §624).

43. For hunting in Lusignan Cyprus, see Coureas, “Hunting”; Minasidis.

44. The word ‘Gerakiotis’ derives from the Greek word ‘geraki’ (γεράκι), which means ‘falcon’. Additionally, the name ‘Moutoullas’ comes from the Latin word *muta*, meaning ‘moulting of birds’, especially ‘mew for falcons’, and the name ‘Moutoullas’ may refer to a keeper and trainer of falcons.

“Orthodox Monasteries”). As already mentioned, the motif of a rampant silver lion on a red field that adorned the shield of Longinus in the Crucifixion scene (thirteenth century) and on the wooden painted iconostasis (late thirteenth century) of the *katholikon* was the heraldic crest of the Lusignans.³⁹ The Lusignan lion is accompanied by the crest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as the arms of the Montfort, Dampierre, and Ibelin houses and the double-headed eagle, the political symbol of the Byzantines.⁴⁰ The presence of these motifs in an Orthodox setting has intrigued scholars, as it is difficult to interpret. It is thus suggested that the Latins may have controlled the monastery during this period.⁴¹ This hypothesis is difficult to confirm, as to our knowledge the Latins did not appropriate Greek Orthodox institutions, with the exception of the Stavrovouni Monastery (Coureas, *Latin Church* 225; Carr, “Orthodox Monasteries”). However, it has been observed that the monasteries elected the king as their trustee, as happened with the Makhairas Monastery around the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴² Seen in this way, it is possible that the Monastery of St John Lampadistis received court patronage because of the presence of the tomb of the local saint in the adjoining chapel (Carr, “Orthodox Monasteries” 117–20; eadem, “Art” 302). Moreover, the Marathasa valley, and probably the area near the Setrachos valley where the monastery was located, was a favoured area for hunting and frequented by the court (Carr, “Orthodox Monasteries” 117–18).⁴³ Medieval sources record that the Lusignans had royal residences in the Cypriot countryside, some of which were used as hunting lodges; the sources also give details about their hunting activities (Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §61, §261, §597, §618). It should be noted that at the nearby village of Moutoullas, the founder of the Church of the Virgin (1280), Ioannis Moutoullas, was probably involved with falcons; he is included in the dedicatory inscriptions with the surnames ‘Gerakiotis’ and ‘Moutoullas’, which are associated with falconry (Perdikis and Myriantefs 49–51).⁴⁴ Furthermore, the structure of the Lampadistis’ *vita*-icons with an emphasis on posthumous episodes reflects an Occidental influence. In general, *vita*-icons of new saints promoting worship at their tombs was a common practice in a Franciscan context (e.g. the *vita*-icon of St Francis of Assisi preserved in the Church of San Francesco, Pescia, Italy and painted in 1235; Ševčenko, “*Vita* Icon” 154–56; Andronikou 182ff.). Returning to the possibility of court patronage at the monastery at Kalopanagiotis, or of the court playing some

role in the promotion of the pilgrimage, no evidence exists, and only a hypothesis can be made. Nevertheless, the rich iconographic programme (thirteenth century) developed in the Church of St Herakleidios is one of the earliest of those preserved in the region. The artistic evidence points to a prosperous Greek rural population that provided patrons and supported the church and therefore the pilgrimage cult.

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, there is no historical evidence for the existence of a monastery at the site until the seventeenth century. However, it would be interesting to know whether a parish church could have supported a pilgrimage; in any case, whether it belonged to a monastery or to a parish church, it was clearly a strong foundation. In my opinion, it was more usual for active and dynamic monastic communities to oversee the relics of a saint.

The existence of the medieval settlement of Marathasa in the area of the Lampadistis complex is an interesting possibility, which does not exclude either the presence of a monastic community there or a parish church. The village of Marathasa is referred to by Louis de Mas Latrie in his catalogue of villages of Cyprus (Mas Latrie 505). Moreover, the medieval chronicler Makhairas and the historian Étienne de Lusignan identify the village where Lampadistis lived as Marathasa (Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §36; Lusignan, *Description* 58v). However, in the map of Leonidas Attar, dated to 1542, the names of the villages Troullino and Marathos are shown in this area (Romanelli and Grivaud 92, 141). Marathos can possibly be identified with the village of Marathasa (Papageorgiou, *Η μωνή* 10). The name Maratho appears in sources in 1521 and again in 1747 but not thereafter (Grivaud 211–17, 301–14).

Moreover, the votive inscription in the Last Judgement mural in the narthex informs us that among the donors were the ‘weekly’ priests of ‘this village church’ (ἐβδομαδαρίον τῆς αὐτοῦ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας), showing that the building must have been a village church at least towards the end of the fifteenth century (Papageorgiou, *Η μωνή* 9; Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches* 306–07). Furthermore, the term *evdomadarios* refers to the fact that a priest served in the parish church on a weekly basis. Nevertheless, the presence of the Last Judgement in the narthex was, after all, an

essential part of monastic *askesis* and spirituality. It is notable that while Étienne de Lusignan (1580) mentions John Lampadistis among the Cypriot saints, he does not mention the Monastery of St John Lampadistis among the monastic foundations existing during the sixteenth century. However, he reports that there were eighteen small monasteries in the Troodos area (Lusignan, *Description* 84v). Is it therefore possible that the shrine of St John Lampadistis was a small monastic settlement during the sixteenth century?

Spread of the Cult through the Island

Taking the surviving portraits of John Lampadistis as a reference, I will here attempt to trace the spread of the saint's cult around the island of Cyprus.⁴⁵ The cult of John Lampadistis seems to have spread at least into the wider area by the second half of the thirteenth century, as shown by a portrait of the saint in the neighbouring Monastery of St Nicholas *tis Stegis* at Kakopetria (Fig. 4; Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 380–98). St John Lampadistis is depicted as a tonsured young man wearing a red garment, with his palms at the level of his chest and turning towards the spectator.

The growing influence of the cult of John Lampadistis is also reflected in the fifteenth-century chronicle of Makhairas, where the saint is referred to as 'Great' (Μέγας; Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §36). Following the Makhairas description, and as his iconography testifies, the saint is depicted as a deacon with a white tunic and an orarion mainly from the sixteenth century onwards, when he is usually depicted in the sanctuary, often next to St Stephen the Protomartyr, who was similarly a deacon.⁴⁶

It is also worth mentioning two depictions of the saint shown opposite the figure of St Panteleimon, at the Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati at Platanistasa (1494) and at the Church of the Holy Cross at Kyperounda (1521), where he appears with Cosmas and Damian (Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 382–83). John's healing, miracle-working quality is emphasized: he cures mental illnesses, while Panteleimon and Cosmas and Damian heal bodily diseases. In addition, the saint at Agiasmati wears a red garment without an orarion, swinging a censer and holding a closed book while at Kyperounda John is depicted as a deacon wearing a white tunic and an orarion and holding a censer and an incense-box.

45. This subject is examined in detail at Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 380–98.

46. Portraits of the saint are preserved at the churches of the Transfiguration at Palechori (16th century), Panagia at Kaminaria (16th century), St John the Baptist at Askas (1560–70), the Dormition of the Virgin at Kourdali (16th century), Archangel Michael at Choli (16th century), St Marina at Psematismenos (16th century), St Nicholas at Klonari (16th century). Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 382–83. However, it is noted that John Lampadistis is depicted on the west wall of the Church of the Panagia tou Potamou in Kazafani (16th century), *ibid.* 351 and fig. 21.

47. It is interesting to note here that in a *vita*-icon of John Lampadistis dated to the sixteenth century and preserved at the Patriarchate in Constantinople he is shown with a red tunic and an orarion, holding a cross and a censer (Hadjichristodoulou, “Φορητή”).

48. The icon was lost after the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974 (Hadjichristodoulou, *Ο ναός* 45). Recently, the icon was found in the museum of the Church of St Andrew the Cretan near St Petersburg in Russia.

49. My thanks are due to Dr Theodora Konstantellou and Prof. Maria Parani for their helpful suggestions about the costume of the saint.

50. Notably, the deacon St Stephan at Mar Tadros (13th century) at Lebanon wears red and an orarion. In our example, John does not have an orarion; cf. Dodd 64.

51. The colour red is suggestive of power, according to Byzantine historiographic sources; see Panou.

Consequently, in his first portraits, John Lampadistis is presented with a red tunic (in some cases still shown in the sixteenth century), and he either holds a censer and a cross or has his palms open towards the spectator.⁴⁷ However, the saint is holding a book and a cross, though still wearing a red robe without an orarion, in his portrait at Agiasmata and in the sixteenth-century icon from Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou.⁴⁸ What is interesting here is the change in the colour of John’s clothing, together with his attribute.⁴⁹ Taking into consideration the text of his *vita*, John appeared to the painter as a notary. However, we do not know what the garments and attributes of notaries were. In any case, if the painter of the *vita*-icon (Icon B) wanted to portray the saint as a notary, he would have depicted him holding an inkwell or a quill (the essential tools of a notary) and not with a censer. Anna Derbes has noted that deacons were dressed in red according to Latin examples, while Carr has proposed that John’s red robe may reflect a *mélange* of practices belonging to the Holy Land (Derbes and Sandona 213; Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 489).⁵⁰ But how easy was it for medieval people, especially the Greek Orthodox, to identify a holy person as a deacon without their distinguishing vestment, i.e. the orarion? Nevertheless, the preference for red fabric probably indicates expensive clothes, worn by people of a certain social standing (Kalamara 152–57).⁵¹ It is also possible that the luxury of John’s garment, indicated by the colour and the embroidery, may reflect the wish to glorify this new local saint. The red colour was used to make the new saint stand out and to attract the attention of the pilgrims (cf. Konstantellou 48–49).

Conclusion

In the sanctification of a local person and the resulting dissemination and consolidation of their cult, three main elements play a decisive role: the exudation of a miraculous holy oil from the saint’s tomb or relics (μυροβλυσία); miraculous properties attributed to the saint’s relics, and depictions of the saint. In the case of John Lampadistis, we can trace the process of his sanctification and the subsequent consolidation of his cult above all through his artistic depictions. He lived a virtuous life, died at an early age, and miracles were attributed to him posthumously. Immediately after his death, a chapel was erected above his tomb, which became an important pilgrimage site that attracted many pilgrims.

The erection of the saint's chapel above the tomb in the twelfth century, its decoration in the thirteenth century, the two contemporary *vita*-icons asserting his holiness, the opulent sixteenth-century repainting of the larger of the two icons, the eighteenth-century reconstruction of the chapel, the installation of the relic of the head of the saint in the 1670s, the gilded revetment of the *proskynetarion* icon in 1776, and the centuries-long accretion of votive inscriptions at the site make clear the long duration of the saint's veneration.

The complex architectural space and the physical presence of the tomb, relics, and *vita*-icons of John Lampadistis were the focal point of the pilgrims' unique religious experiences. The saint performed miracles, healing the sick and expelling demons. The pilgrims were inspired to partake in the rituals of the cult and its healing practices and to spend a considerable amount of time within the complex for the salvation of their souls.

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Postmortem Proxy Pilgrimages from Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages:

The Examples of Vienna and Pressburg (Bratislava)

Abstract

The surviving Viennese town-books of around 1400 contain more than 2,000 entries that are last wills, which often mention the bequest of postmortem proxy pilgrimages to be undertaken for the deceased. This article analyzes postmortem Viennese proxy pilgrimages in a quantitative and qualitative way, considering chronological, financial, and gendered aspects and patterns. It also compares these pilgrimages with those from another, neighbouring city, Pressburg (today Bratislava) which took place from the 1420s onwards. As is shown, the rich collections of last wills from Pressburg exhibit both similarities with and differences from the Viennese proxy pilgrimages.

Keywords

proxy pilgrimage; postmortem; Vienna; Pressburg; late Middle Ages

In Western and Central Europe, “by the fifteenth century, the idea that a person could take a pilgrimage on another’s behalf had become perfectly normal” (Craig 222; see also Labande). Sending a proxy on a pilgrimage to support the salvation of the deceased’s soul had also developed into a fairly common item in last wills (Schmugge 275–76; Webb 133–47). A certain sum of money was made available for vicarious pilgrims, who were supposed to be relatives, heirs of the testator, other persons named in the last will, or people appointed by the parties responsible for carrying out the terms of the will. The destinations could be local or regional shrines, or even important distant places of pilgrimage.

The study by Leigh Ann Craig on women as pilgrims in the late Middle Ages, working mainly with English, French, and Italian material, showed that “rare, but not entirely absent, among the profusion of charitable bequests in later medieval wills were donations intended to fund a proxy pilgrimage” (Craig 226). However, she found a larger number of these bequests in German-speaking areas, where surviving urban town-books or records of testaments contain both substantial numbers of last wills and numerous donations towards pilgrimages for the salvation of the testator’s soul.

This study concentrates on such donations in the sources from two neighbouring Central European cities about fifty kilometres from each other: the town-books of Vienna (Brauneder and Jaritz; Brauneder, Jaritz, and Neschwara; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 4; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 5; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 6; Wien, Stadt- und Landesarchiv, ms. 3.4.A.285) and the *Protocollum testamentorum* from Pressburg, today Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia (Majorossy and Szende). In the fifteenth century, Vienna, with about 20,000 inhabitants, was closely connected to Pressburg, part of the kingdom of Hungary, which had around 5,000 inhabitants, many of German descent (Opll). The contents of the last wills of these closely connected German-speaking populations can be analyzed and compared to discover the concerns of people contemplating their (eventual) deaths.

Viennese town-books, sometimes also called testament-books, survive from the years 1395 to 1430 and contain more than 4,500 entries that concentrate particularly on inheritance issues, mainly last wills, proofs of blood relationship, and inheritance disputes. They also contain craft regulations and lists of members of the town council. Approximately 3,000 last wills of men and women of different social statuses, mainly but not all inhabitants of Vienna, became one case for this study. The Pressburg *Protocollum testamentorum* consists of 844 last wills from 1410 to 1529. They have already been studied to some extent as regards pilgrimages (Majorossy, “Gender” 6; Csukovits; Csukovits and Majorossy; Majorossy, *Piety*). For this analysis, the 586 last wills up to the year 1500 were consulted. Despite the differing numbers and varying dates of origin, a comparative approach to the evidence on

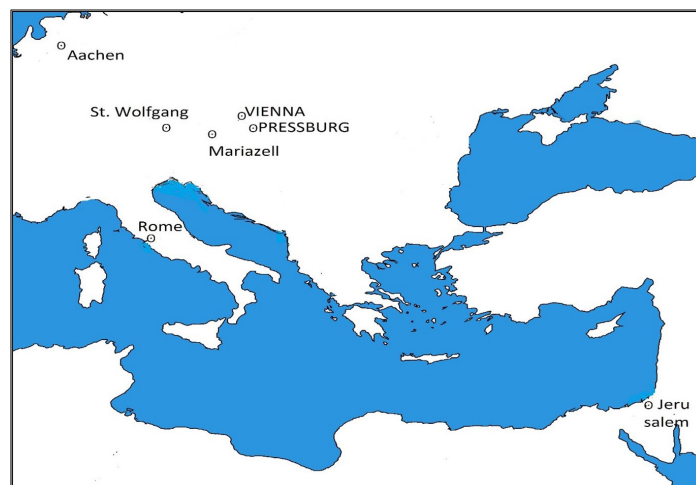
pilgrimage in the last wills of both cities is certainly worthwhile, because they show similar patterns.

Pilgrimage bequests do not occur regularly, but they were not rare, either. Around ten per cent of the surviving last wills from Vienna (332) mention funding proxy pilgrimages, a sufficient number for combining quantitative and qualitative analysis. Ninety of the 586 Pressburg last wills up until 1500 mention pilgrimages. These are good source corpora to show the recognizable patterns and specific rituals in the common occurrence of proxy pilgrimages in the last wills of people in urban space.

The number of proxy pilgrimages requested by testators differed from one last will to another. In Vienna, many testators donated more than one pilgrimage, either to the same or to different places. While 332 testators bequeathed pilgrimages, they donated 793 individual pilgrimages, meaning that many of their last wills sponsored two or more pilgrimages. In Pressburg, the situation is similar, but not as pronounced: 90 testators bequeathed 142 individual proxy pilgrimages. In both cities, more men than women donated pilgrimages. In Vienna, men bequeathed 481 individual pilgrimages and women 312; in Pressburg, men funded 99 individual pilgrimages and women 43.

Comparing the destinations of donated pilgrimages, Vienna and Pressburg show similar patterns, but a clearly different order. In both cities, the same two regional pilgrimage sites and two distant ones played particularly significant roles (Fig. 1), together with a considerable variety of other less important regional and local places.

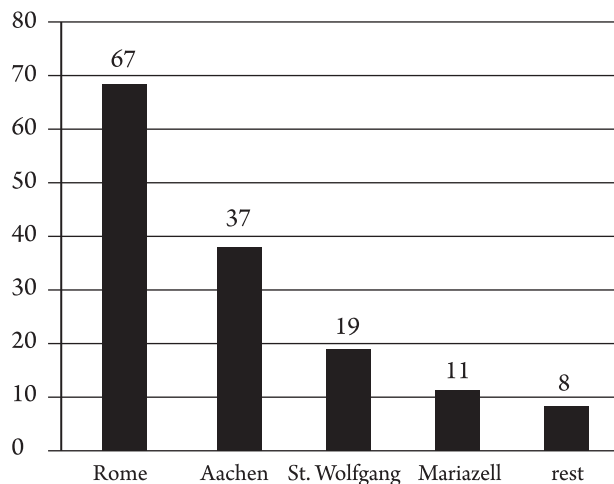
Fig. 1: The most important places of pilgrimage from Vienna and Pressburg



Rome and Aachen were the two most relevant distant places of funded pilgrimage in both the Vienna and Pressburg last wills, and also in other Central European towns. Aachen had four important textile relics: St Mary's cloak, Christ's loincloth from the Crucifixion, Christ's swaddling clothes, and St John the Baptist's beheading cloth (Wynands). Now and then, the sponsorship of a pilgrimage to Rome was connected to sponsoring another one to Aachen.

Rome was by far the most frequent pilgrimage bequeathed in the Pressburg last wills (Fig. 2), with nearly half of all donations, followed by Aachen. The well-known nearer pilgrimage sites of Mariazell in Styria (Born) and Sankt Wolfgang in Upper Austria (Zinnhobler) attracted fewer pilgrimages. The rest were mainly local and regional pilgrimages in smaller numbers, and are not included in this study.

Fig. 2: Numbers of the most frequently funded pilgrimages from Pressburg



The Viennese last wills show the same four most frequently funded pilgrimage sites, but in a different order (Fig. 3). There, the most relevant place of funded pilgrimage became a regional one, Mariazell. As early as the late Middle Ages and under Habsburg influence, a late Romanesque miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary and Child, the Mother of Mercy of Mariazell, had developed from a rather local object of veneration into the most important one for the Austrian lands. Under Habsburg influence it also became relevant for the Catholic world of Hungary (Brunner; Pickl) and the Slavs, which can also be seen to some extent in the Pressburg wills, supported by miraculous legends about the Virgin of Mariazell

healing a Moravian margrave and his wife or helping King Louis I of Hungary win against the Turks. This became more pronounced later, in the Baroque period, with more Habsburg support, and even until to this day, as seen in a cloak used for the Romanesque miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary (Fig. 4). The coats of arms of Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland, Austria (in the middle), Hungary, Croatia, Czechia, and Bosnia on the cloak show the Virgin as *Magna Mater Austriae*, *Magna Domina Hungarorum*, and *Alma Mater gentium Slavorum*.

Fig. 3: Numbers of the most important funded pilgrimages from Vienna

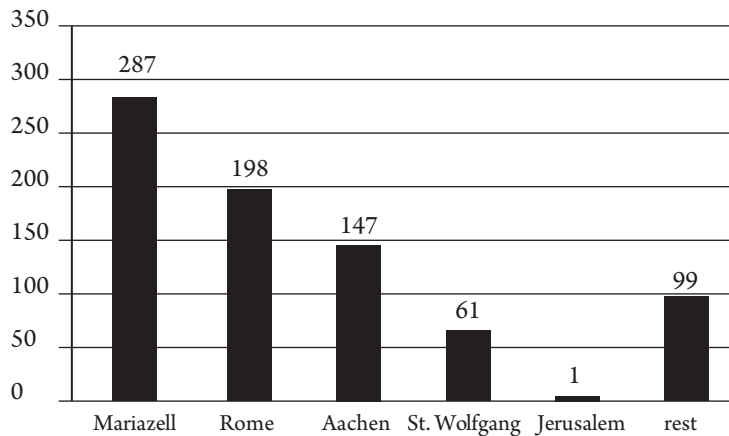


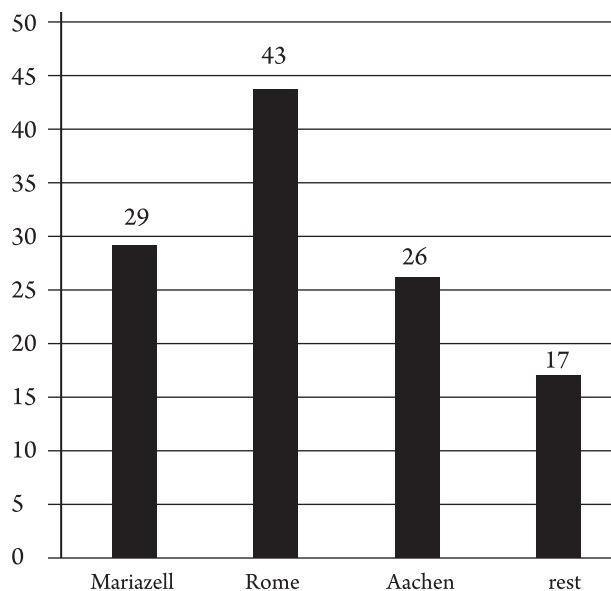
Fig. 4: One of the present-day cloaks of the Mariazell Virgin, showing her as *Magna Mater Austriae*, *Magna Domina Hungarorum*, and *Alma Mater gentium Slavorum*



Comparing the number of proxy pilgrimages bequeathed in the Viennese last wills with those from Pressburg shows that the pilgrimage to Mariazell also had some importance for Pressburg in Hungary, although Rome and Aachen held the dominant positions there. The Viennese last wills show Rome and Aachen as the second most frequent pilgrimage sites after Mariazell, followed by Sankt Wolfgang in Upper Austria. In Vienna, other places of pilgrimage to which donations were bequeathed played less important roles and will not be considered here. The Holy Blood pilgrimage to Pulkau in Lower Austria (Merback, *passim*) and the pilgrimage to Sankt Erhard (in either Regensburg or Styria) occur the most often. And there is one, just one, pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a sea trip (*meruart*), to the grave of Christ (*zu dem Heiligen Grab*) in 1411 (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 362 n. 1761).

The question arises whether these similar patterns in pilgrimage donations can also be seen to follow the same trend over the whole period under examination. The year 1400 and those leading up to it were an exception among the Viennese cases. Although Pope Boniface IX (Esch) had not officially declared 1400 a jubilee year, so many people came to Rome that he granted an indulgence for the visit. This also led to an increase in donated postmortem proxy pilgrimages to Rome among the Viennese last wills (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5: Donated pilgrimages from Vienna, 1397–1400



Examining the wills from 1397 to 1400, it becomes clear that in these years the pilgrimages to Rome were more important than the regional ones to Mariazell. The testators hoped that going to Rome in this year would increase their chances for salvation of the soul. The Holy Year of 1500 did not have such an effect on the last wills of Pressburg, probably because Rome already played the most important role in the pilgrimage donations there.

Although most of the relevant wills sponsored one or two pilgrimages, sometimes three, some testators bequeathed exceptional numbers. In 1411, a Viennese cleric donated fifteen proxy pilgrimages to Mariazell in his last will (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 357 n. 1749), always to be on a feast day of the Virgin. The most extraordinary donation was made in 1410, when a woman donated one pilgrimage to Rome, one to Aachen, five to Mariazell, five to each of four local sites, and ten to another local pilgrimage site, that is, 37 proxy pilgrimages altogether (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 320 n. 1672).

Many of the last wills offer rather general information, just naming the place of the pilgrimages' destination and the sum to be spent for the vicarious pilgrim. Some, however, offer more details. This supplies answers to one of the most important questions: who were these vicarious pilgrims? Many of the last wills do not mention any specific person who was supposed to go on a donated pilgrimage. In the case of Vienna, a few of them name close relatives, that is, the deceased's husband (e.g., Brauner and Jaritz 193 n. 297: 1398; Brauner, Jaritz, and Neschwara 211 n. 943: 1404; *ibid.* 244 n. 994: 1404; *ibid.* 278 n. 1055: 1404; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 4, 84–85 n. 1985: 1413; etc.), a brother (e.g., Brauner and Jaritz 320 n. 515: 1400; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 5 n. 2598: 1418; etc.), a son (Brauner, Jaritz, and Neschwara 367 n. 1214: 1405; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 4, 38 n. 1901: 1412), a brother-in-law (Brauner and Jaritz 206 n. 322: 1398), a cousin (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 4, 290 n. 2325: 1416; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 5, 373 n. 3022: 1420), or a son-in-law (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 152 n. 1405: 1407). Some mention proxy pilgrims by name (Brauner and Jaritz 327 n. 527: 1400; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 5, 403 n. 2510: 1417; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 6 n. 4001: 1427), or just as a pious man (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 5, 190 n. 2759) or a poor man

(Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 6 n. 3306: 1423). Women are rarely mentioned: as the deceased's wife (Brauneder and Jaritz 267 n. 429: 1399; Brauneder, Jaritz, and Neschwara 223 n. 955: 1404), or as the wife together with a son (Brauneder, Jaritz, and Neschwara 367 n. 1214: 1405; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 4, 38 n. 1901: 1412). Twice, a female servant is mentioned (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 5, 418 n. 3113: 1421; Wien, Stadt- und Landesarchiv, ms. 3.4.A.285, f. 301r: 1428). In one case, six unnamed women are to make the pilgrimage to Mariazell (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 44 n. 1282: 1406). For most of the pilgrimages that do not mention a specific person it seems probable that they were to be carried out by professional hired pilgrims. The Pressburg wills follow the same pattern (Csukovits and Majorossy; Majorossy, "Gender"), mainly listing relatives. In one case, it is specified that a learned man should be the pilgrim (Majorossy and Szende 1, 432 n. 357: 1478), another time a poor woman (Majorossy and Szende 1, 370 n. 295: 1471).

Other details sometimes refer to the appropriate time or period when the pilgrimage should be undertaken: within one year (e.g., Brauneder, Jaritz, and Neschwara 328 n. 1150: 1405; *ibid.* 376 n. 1231: 1405; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 394 n. 1813: 1411; Majorossy and Szende 1, 324 n. 249: 1467; *ibid.* 385 n. 307: 1472/73), two years (Brauneder and Jaritz 375 n. 613: 1391), three or four years (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 4, 220, n. 2203: 1415; Majorossy and Szende 1, 349 n. 268: 1467), in one case, within the next ten years after the testator's death (Majorossy and Szende 1, 321 n. 245: 1462–67), or – referring to a pilgrimage to Rome – in the year of mercy (*in dem genadenreichen jar*), that is, 1400 (Brauneder and Jaritz 331 n. 534: 1400). Some Pressburg last wills state "soonest" or "as soon as possible" (Majorossy and Szende 2, 88 n. 512: 1494; *ibid.* 149 n. 553: 1497), "next Christmas" (Majorossy and Szende 1, 119 n. 79: 1441), or "next Pentecost" (*ibid.*). A few more leave instructions that the pilgrimage should be made yearly (Brauneder, Jaritz, and Neschwara 275 n. 1049: 1404), or, for Mariazell, as already mentioned, on feast days of the Virgin (Brauneder, Jaritz, and Neschwara 66 n. 870: 1403; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 357 n. 1749).

Still other detailed instructions refer to a certain requirement for the pilgrimage; one going to Aachen, for instance, should be made

on foot (*ain Achfart zu fuessen*; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 5, 374 n. 3022: 1422), and two others require that the pilgrimages sponsored in the last will should be done in sequence, one following the other (*zwo vert zu Unser Frawn gen Zell, ain vart gen Sand Erhart und gen Sand Wolfgang miteinander ze gen*; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 4, 69 n. 1962: 1413; *ain vart gen Zell und gen Sand Wolfgang miteinander*; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 6, n. 4031: 1427). Also, a few last wills connect a sponsored pilgrimage with a material donation to the site of pilgrimage, such as a glass window or a monstrance to Sankt Wolfgang (Brauneder and Jaritz 320 n. 515: 1400; Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 298 n. 1642: 1410) or a silk veil to Mariazell (Jaritz and Neschwara, *Stadtbücher* 3, 268 n. 1583: 1409).

A number of sponsorships deal with the sums to be spent for undertaking the postmortem pilgrimages. This does not occur regularly, but the amounts of money mentioned show certain patterns. The most expensive of these travels was, besides the only pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the one to Rome, for which approximately eight pounds were allotted in Vienna and ten guilders in Pressburg, that is, about the price of a carriage horse. This is followed by the one to Aachen, with five to six pounds; the one to Sankt Wolfgang, with two pounds; and the one to Mariazell, with less than one pound, often just sixty pfennigs, which was equivalent to the amount spent for ten donated Masses in the last wills from Vienna. Thus, the most popular funded pilgrimage from Vienna was at the same time the cheapest.

Such detailed instructions referring to sponsored postmortem pilgrimages in the last wills of Vienna and Pressburg are rather rare and to be seen as exceptions. Many of the last wills containing the donation of pilgrimages just offer information about the destination(s), meaning that sponsoring a pilgrimage often seems to have been something common and clearly settled, not necessarily to be explained and defined in more detail. Everything else that appears in the more in-depth cases seems to have been an exception. Often the last wills did not concentrate on circumstantial descriptions of the patterns and rituals of the pilgrimages' transaction and performance, which were already clear for most of the testators as well as the proxy pilgrims.

Nevertheless, this material from the fifteenth-century last wills of two Central European cities offers some general results concerning the collective and individual structures of late medieval proxy pilgrimages. Comparing the practices described for Vienna and Pressburg with those in other European urban communities shows a number of clear differences. While “pèlerinages vicaires” for the salvation of the soul were not nearly as common in other parts of Europe, particularly in French communities (Schmugge 275), about ten per cent of the analyzed last wills from Vienna and nearly twenty per cent of those from Pressburg mention pilgrimages. This corresponds to Craig’s investigation comparing English, French, and Italian source material with that from German-speaking areas.

About three quarters of the Pressburg pilgrimages were to go to distant sanctuaries, that is, Rome and Aachen, and about one quarter to nearer ones, meaning Mariazell and Sankt Wolfgang. The Viennese material, however, refers to the distant places of Rome and Aachen in 44 per cent of the cases, and in up to 56 per cent to regional and local sites. The reason for this difference may be the strong Habsburg support for Mariazell, which alone attracted 36 per cent of all the funded pilgrimages in the Viennese last wills. The role that Mariazell and Sankt Wolfgang also played for Hungary can be explained with miracles of the Virgin of Mariazell and the missionary function of St Wolfgang in Hungary and as the educator of Gisela, daughter of a Bavarian duke and later wife of the Hungarian King Stephen (Meller 304–05). The other *peregrinationes maiores* of Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela, with one and no mentions, respectively, do not play any role in the Central European urban last wills analyzed here.

Differences in the numbers of funded pilgrimages can be recognized for the Holy Year of 1400 and its indulgences in particular. The donations of pilgrimages to Rome in the Viennese last will material increased as the year 1400 approached, and became more important than those to Mariazell, which was otherwise dominant.

While one may assume that a large number of vicarious pilgrims who are not mentioned by name or status in the last wills were professionals, pilgrims for hire, sometimes noted as pious or poor people, one can also recognize that relatives or other close acquaintances played a special role. Men as proxy pilgrims are

clearly more important than women; in a similar but much more pronounced way, males are more frequent testators of pilgrimages than females.

Also of interest is that specific dates by which the pilgrimage should take place are mentioned in a number of donations of proxy pilgrimages. They could be connected to the anniversary of the death of the testator, to the place of pilgrimage and feast days of its saints (like the Virgin or St Wolfgang), or to other specific days of the church year, like Easter, Pentecost, or Christmas. Altogether, it has to be emphasized once again that the donation of proxy pilgrimages in the last wills of Central European urban space followed a number of well-known practices that did not need detailed explanations. When some wills nonetheless offer more elaborate instructions and descriptions, they provide more information about one of the most interesting performances and rituals of late medieval religious life.

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W. A. Mozart's Litaniae lauretanae Compositions and the Loreto Pilgrimage

Abstract

The *Litaniae lauretanae* (the *Litany of Loreto*), a Marian litany with medieval roots, has been set numerous times in polyphony, as well as in grand settings with soloists and orchestra, to be performed all over Catholic Europe. Famous musicians who composed settings of the *Litany of Loreto* include Orlando di Lasso, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Claudio Monteverdi, Heinrich Biber, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. This article discusses Mozart's two settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae* that were composed in May 1771 and in 1774. The analysis of parts of Mozart's settings in the light of the historical background of Loreto pilgrimages and the litany's ritual and musical uses highlights some of their remarkable musical features. It is argued that Mozart's settings, more than any other major contemporary ones, constitute musical reenactments of ritual experience.

Keywords

litaniae lauretanae, Mozart, Loreto pilgrimage; ritual experience

Introduction

In this article, I propose to discuss the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's (1756–91) two settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae* (the *Litany of Loreto*), composed in May 1771 and in 1774. The first of these was composed less than a year after the fourteen-year-old Wolfgang and his father Leopold visited the shrine in Loreto in July 1770 on their way home from Rome. My analysis of parts of these settings aims to highlight some remarkable musical features, especially in the first setting, which will be interpreted in the light of the historical background of Loreto pilgrimages and the litany's ritual and musical uses up to Mozart's time. I shall argue that Mozart's settings, more than other major contemporary ones, constitute



musical reenactments of ritual experience. In Mozart's settings, one finds what I call "ritual markers", involving musical means whereby the musical flow is slowed down in order to draw attention to particular parts of the text. Along the way, the discussion will draw on contemporary as well as later understandings of the notions of the sacred and the sublime.

W. A. Mozart's *Litaniae lauretanae* KV 109 (1771) and KV 195 (1774)

W. A. Mozart's first setting, in B flat major, has an approximate duration of little more than ten minutes. It is composed for soloists, chorus, and a small group of instruments, including three trombones, two violins, and continuo. His second setting, in D major, with an approximate duration of half an hour, is set with a somewhat larger instrumentation, also including oboes, horns, and violas (Konrad 24–25).

Litany texts consist of series of invocations. The Loreto litany is similar to numerous other traditional litanies in the Catholic Church (see further below). Being a Marian litany, it addresses the Virgin Mary through a large number of invocations with varying, mostly extra-biblical but traditional titles expressing Catholic notions of Mary in three main groups: (1) The saintly Mary, e.g. "sancta dei genitrix" ("Holy Mother of God"); (2) Mary taking part in human salvation, e.g. "salus infirmorum" ("salvation of the frail") and "refugium peccatorum" ("refuge of sinners"); and, finally, (3) Mary as queen, e.g. "regina angelorum" ("queen of angels") and "regina virginum" ("queen of virgins"). Each of the Marian invocations, forty-four altogether, ends with the formula "ora pro nobis" ("pray for us").

The three groups of Marian invocations are placed between an introductory "Kyrie eleison" part and a concluding "Agnus Dei"; the latter differs only slightly in its wording from the "Agnus Dei" of the Roman Mass. The *Agnus Dei* focuses solely on Christ carrying the sins of the world. Thus, the litany as a whole, while emphasizing the Virgin Mary, from the outset stresses a traditional Christian belief in the triune God: God the Creator, Christ the redeemer, and the vivifying Holy Spirit, and, towards the end, concludes with a Christological focus. The *Litaniae lauretanae* thus stands as a symbol

1. For detailed discussions of the litany and its theological contents, see Kammer and Dürig.

for the general Catholic faith, with a focus on the Virgin Mary.¹ For the full text and an English translation of the *Litaniae lauretanae*, see the appendix at the end of this article.

One may be surprised or impressed not only by the young Wolfgang Mozart's inventiveness at establishing a musical flow in setting these repetitive grammatical structures, but certainly also by his older colleagues. The larger *Litaniae lauretanae* compositions, including those by Michael Haydn (1737–1806) and Leopold Mozart (1719–87), show a great capacity for varying and representing the formulas in a musical flow, to a great extent determined by shorter musical forms and harmonic progressions. Tensions are built up, not least in sections of invocations that imply believers praying in need, such as in the “*Salus infirmorum*” section, which, for both Leopold Mozart and Wolfgang, constitutes a movement of its own (a common structure for settings of Loreto litanies in Salzburg; see Zybina 395). This section also includes invocations to Mary as “*refugium peccatorum*” (“refuge of sinners”), “*consolatrix afflictorum*” (“comforter of the afflicted”), and “*auxilium Christianorum*” (“supporter of Christians”).²

2. For a general discussion of Salzburg settings of the clauses *ora pro nobis* and *miserere nobis*, see Zybina 131–69. Zybina concludes that most Salzburg composers “and above all the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart” (“und vor allem der junge Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart”) took advantage of the rare possibility of directly approaching God in a musical setting. “By prolonging pleading sections in their works, they created a kind of grandiose emotional musical prayer, as if they could enter into a conversation with God” (“Indem sie die flehenden Abschnitte in ihren Werken verlängerten, schufen sie eine Art grandioser emotionaler musikalischer Bitte, als ob sie ins Gespräch mit Gott kommen könnten”; Zybina 169).

In the following, I shall focus on the last part of the *Litany of Loreto*, the *Agnus Dei* with its three invocations: “*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis Domine*” (“Lamb of God who carries the sins of the world, spare us, Lord”). “*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos Domine*” (“Lamb of God, who carries the sins of the world, hear us, Lord”). “*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*” (“Lamb of God, who carries the sins of the world, have mercy upon us”). I am particularly interested in moments where the musical flow comes to a halt. Among the Loreto litanies I have studied in this context (see below, n. 10), such moments only appear in Wolfgang's two Loreto settings.

They appear at points where the composer apparently felt it important to call special attention to certain words of the prayer. This happens mainly towards the end of the *Agnus Dei*, during the last invocation, the “*miserere nobis*”, which in all the works studied carries great musical weight. For Wolfgang it must have seemed necessary to call attention to this part of the prayer by letting the setting stand out in a radical manner from the general course of the music until that point. As we shall see further below, in the

discussion of his very early musical drama *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* (1767), written when Wolfgang was eleven years old, such a musical framing can be achieved by a change of tempo as well as through general pauses. Furthermore, the setting of a few words may, in a manner of speaking, be taken out of the musical context in which they belong, by changing the dynamics. Suddenly lowering the voice may bring about a hushed atmosphere of near silence in the setting. Leaving out instruments, modulating, i.e. changing the tonal stability, are other ways of drawing attention to, or marking out a section from the context. Let us now look at Wolfgang's first setting of the *Agnus Dei*, in his *Litaniae lauretanae* KV 109 of 1771.

At the end of the last invocation, the "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis", the supplication intensifies the tonality from B flat major to E flat minor just at the setting of the *miserere* (bar 31, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 21). In the following bars, up to bar 55, always repeating the *miserere nobis*, the tonality moves ambiguously between E flat minor, B flat minor (clearly so in bar 37), and (only in bars 52 and 53) B flat major, the opening key of the movement. The movement (and thus the whole composition) has an ambiguous cadence, ending on a B flat major chord after an E flat minor chord. This may be understood either as a plagal cadence in B flat major (as *tonica*) or as a cadence in E flat minor, but then on its dominant, B flat major (bar 54 features an E flat minor chord before the final B flat major chord of bar 55; Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 21).

In other words, the final chord of the cadence *may* be read, with a view to the overall B flat major tonality of the movement, clearly established during the first "Agnus Dei" invocation, so that the music only at the very last moment modulates back to B flat major with the aforementioned plagal cadence: minor subdominant – *tonica*. But the cadence *may also* be understood, and maybe more naturally, as a cadence in E flat minor, because of the long period of E flat minor and B flat minor (twenty bars out of the movement's total fifty-five bars). If so, as mentioned, it is as a cadence on the dominant. In the latter interpretation, the cadence provides only a preliminary ending, which, in contemporary tradition, would make it clear that something must follow. In the first interpretation, on the other hand, we have an unusual, so-called plagal, not entirely satisfactory ending for a piece, again according to contemporary expectations.

What can be heard by anyone who is even slightly accustomed to listening to classical music, is that the piece ends without making an entirely convincing tonal conclusion. Even without knowledge of the traditional harmonic system of classical music at the time, the ambiguity of the ending makes it apparent that the prayer still lingers in the air. In the liturgical context in which the litany would have been performed, there would, of course, have followed (spoken) prayers and most likely also other music, something which would have lessened the impact of the ending of the litany, or, rather, would have connected it to what followed.³

3. In his discussion, Hartmut Schick comments on the ending of the *Agnus Dei* (interpreting the cadence as a plagal cadence in B flat major, option one in my discussion). He states that it is original and almost constitutes a style breach, and that the plagal cadence because of the twenty-five bar long plaintive atmosphere is unable to get away from the sphere of the minor mode. "Originell und fast wie ein Stilbruch aber wirkt der breit ausgeführte Schluss des Agnus Dei: Zu 'miserere nobis' verdunkelt sich die Grundtonart überraschend zu B-Moll, und der Ton wird in den letzten 25 Takten so ernst und klagend, dass sich selbst die plagale Schlusskadenz nicht mehr ganz von der Mollsphäre lösen kann" (Schick 214). Zybina, in her discussion of the *Agnus Dei* movement of KV 109, does not go into detail with the setting of the *miserere nobis*, pointing only to a final cadence in the tonica, B flat major, in table 94, giving an overall structure of the movement (Zybina 275). Further, in a brief note on the remarkable darkening of tonality at the end of the movement ("tonartliche Verdunklung"), she refers to Schick (Zybina 286). See also the brief reference to the plagal cadence at the end and the surprisingly dark harmonic setting in Marx-Weber 204–5, noting that this has been noticed in all older literature.

4. I am indebted to Stephen Jaeger and his use of the notion of 'arrested moment' in a literary context, as presented in a keynote lecture at the conference "The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage" (1–2 December 2022), arranged by the international network NetMAR.

Furthermore, at the outset of this final section of the *Agnus Dei*, in bar 31, the full scoring (for trombones, strings, and chorus) is thinned out, so that the "miserere nobis" is sung only by a tenor solo, accompanied by the bass, and even without the organ, which otherwise has been part of the so-called continuo group. When the solo soprano takes over and repeats the "miserere nobis", she also sings alone, only accompanied by the first and second violin. Between these two solos, a brief abrupt figure (in quavers) in the first and second violin, played forte, also call attention to the setting in these bars as a break with the previous musical flow.

Altogether, the conclusion to Wolfgang's first setting presents a strong example of what may be called 'arrested time' towards the end of the composition.⁴ But already the second invocation of the movement, where the "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi" is followed by "exaudi nos Domine" (sung twice by the solo soprano, here in g minor) represents a similar thinning out of the scoring. The "Agnus Dei" sentence is sung by the full chorus with all instruments (including the trombones), whereas the solo soprano is accompanied by only violins and continuo. The second iteration of the "exaudi nos" is stretched out, so that the syllable 'au' is sung over three bars, with one sustained tone in each. This short section (of six bars altogether) is prepared by a chromatic setting of the (second iteration of the) "Agnus Dei" sentence. Here the soprano voice carries out a lament figure (see further below), a descending musical figure in halftone steps, not only over an interval of a fourth as required for a traditional lament figure, but over an interval of a small sixth, i.e. from F down to A in halftone steps (bars 13 to 17, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 20).

Altogether, the two invocations are lifted out of the musical flow of the movement, which was established by the first iteration of the “Agnus Dei” invocation and its *parce nobis* in B flat major. The two indicated passages, bars 19–24 and 31–55, exemplify an idea of ‘arrested time’, which appears to emphasize the importance that Wolfgang at the time attached to these invocations. Especially the ambiguous tonality of the ending begs such an interpretation of the music.

In Wolfgang’s second setting (KV 195) of the Loreto litany, too, one finds similar instances of arrested time, none, however, as remarkable as the ending of KV 109. In this much larger, more demanding and sophisticated setting, there are some few more or less similar short instances of arrested time. A setting of the words “Kyrie eleison” (“Lord, have mercy upon us”) in the opening “Kyrie” movement is marked out from the general musical flow by longer note values to be performed in a sudden piano (bars 10–11, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 138). But although there are several such instances where the musical flow is broken up and the listener is alerted for a moment, it is again the ending of the “Agnus Dei” movement that stands out in particular from the previous musical course. It concludes, again, in a plagal cadence (subdominant G major to tonica D major). Here, however, there is no doubt that the work does end in D major, which is firmly consolidated in the previous bars although it ends in a subdued conclusion, leaving the prayer without a firm end. In bar 41, the “miserere” invocation of the third “Agnus Dei” begins in a sudden piano, with the soprano voice (of the chorus) performing a lament figure (from C down to F sharp, i.e. over an augmented fourth, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 249). A forceful choral “miserere” follows, which is then repeated calmly and in piano, with the soprano voice, now doubled by the first violin, carrying out another lament figure over an interval of a fourth (this time from A down to E; bar 45, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 250).

The Loreto Pilgrimage and the *Litany of Loreto*

According to late medieval/early modern narratives, the Virgin Mary’s house in Nazareth miraculously arrived in Loreto (in North-Eastern Italy) in 1295 after a short stop-over of three years in Dalmatia, today’s Croatia. The House of Loreto became a major (Roman Catholic) pilgrimage site, at least from the sixteenth

century onwards. Printed stories of the miraculous event began to appear in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Pietro di Giorgio Tolomei, one of the first governors of the sanctuary, wrote the first history of its origins in Latin, publishing it in 1472. His book was translated into several languages, its text also providing explanatory displays for visitors at the shrine. Half a century later, another history, Girolamo Angelitta's *Lauretanae Virginis historia*, published around 1531, reached a large readership with several republications at the end of the sixteenth century in Italian and French translations (Vélez 51–52).

Karin Vélez has understood the myth of the House of Loreto and its early modern dissemination over the entire Catholic world with replicas or architectural quotations of the Loreto house as a parable of Catholic expansion at this time:

[The parable] turns out to be a strikingly accurate one for rendering a lesson about how Catholics moved. Numerous Catholic devotees of Loreto literally charted miraculous escape routes out of desperate situations of fear, violence, forced coexistence, and death, somehow reintegrating themselves into new, faith-filled communities. Trailing the footsteps of such refugees was an odd and uncomfortable road for Catholic expansion to take, and an even stranger one to glorify. But the historical record shows that whenever and wherever these experiences of flight and landing repeated, the Loreto devotion could find new roots (Vélez 244).

In the seventeenth century, going on a pilgrimage to Loreto was “a ritual of spiritual cleansing” (Vélez 77). Vélez points to a spiritual guide for Loreto pilgrims written by the French Jesuit Louis Richeôme. His *Le Pelerin de Lorete* (1604) “reads like a paean to interiority” (Vélez 77):

In the conclusion to his book, Richeôme advises the reader on exactly what to ponder on one's journey home from Loreto: not the material remnants of the miraculous flying Holy House at Loreto, but the life of Christ. The Jesuit's generalized afterthoughts for pilgrimage are not tied to the physical shrine center of Loreto but could apply to *any* holy site, imagined or real. Richeôme's book is thus frequently interpreted as representing a turning point for European pilgrimages, a moment when literal visits to specific shrines were being replaced by purely interior journeys. (Vélez 77–78)

Some of the agents behind the rise of Loreto's widespread popularity belonged to the powerful elite. Some were influenced by the episcopal reforms of the Council of Trent; many were members of the Jesuit Order, but among the agents there were also more ordinary Catholics. Among these were numerous Slavic pilgrims who arrived in the middle of the sixteenth century (Vélez 49–50 and 75). The interiority of Richeôme's guide was part of a general trend during the long seventeenth century for austere interior spirituality, possibly influenced also by exterior circumstances, and not necessarily excluding (sometimes even pompous) exterior ritual events. Not least what has been referred to as the Little Ice Age had among other factors providing a general atmosphere of crisis since the end of the sixteenth century (Lehmann, esp. 209–12).⁵

s. Lehmann points out similarities in Catholic and Protestant responses to an overall feeling of crisis.

Among the consequences of this general atmosphere of crisis was a widespread emphasis on interior religious piety, part of a long, ascetic religious tradition, rejecting the value of all worldly aspirations and goods, and indeed in some cases the created world altogether. This was clearly manifested for instance in Emilio de' Cavalieri's musical drama *Rappresentazione di anima et di corpo* (*The Play of Soul and Body*, Rome 1600), to a text by Padre Agostino Manni professing the renunciation of the world. The musical and theatrical means employed to convey its austere message, however, seem, at least to modern sensibilities, to contradict the message itself. Apparently, at the time the religious message was seen to justify the extravagance involved in the actual performance (Petersen, "Musical", esp. 245–47). The same would be true for the performative aspects connected to pilgrimage practices, which would often include musical and visual splendour, although the intended aim would be purely spiritual.

6. Blazey 18: "For Loreto itself, we have little information concerning the performance practices associated with the litany: apart from the fact that the text was universally associated with the Santa Casa, and that the litany was frequently described on title pages as 'the litanies which are sung at the Holy House of Loreto', there is no direct evidence concerning its role there beyond the existence of several litany collections and isolated settings (all for two or three choirs) by several *maestri di cappella* employed at the Santa Casa."

The *Litaniae lauretanae* (the *Litany of Loreto*), associated with the House of Loreto,⁶ and with Loreto devotions all over the Catholic world, does not mention Loreto or the myth of the Virgin's travelling house. Like the Loreto myth, the litany in its aforementioned structure, beginning with a "Kyrie" section and ending with an "Agnus Dei", stands as a parable of Catholic faith (with an emphasis on the Virgin Mary) and its expansion. Also, the Loreto litany had spread to all Catholic parts of the world since its first appearance in the sixteenth century. Physical representations of the house of Loreto were built in many places all over the Catholic world, not

7. Original German text: “Letania Loretana. Ordnung der Letaney von unser lieben frawen, wie sy zu Loreto alle Samstag gehalten, sampt etlichen gebetten, mit eüsserlicher stimme und innerlichen gedanken, welche von den Theologis vocales und mentales orationes genent werden . . .” English translations, here and elsewhere, are mine, unless otherwise indicated. See also Kammer 11–13 and Dürig 9–15, discussing various more or less similar Marian litanies going back several centuries. Blazey mentions that its origins have been traced to the Byzantine Akathistos hymn (Blazey 4). Cf. also Vélez 206.

8. Original German text: “Erstlich singt die Clerisey die Letaney wie folgt.”

9. Blazey 17–18: “In spite of its being as standard a text as, for example, the Marian antiphons with which it is often associated, the positioning of the Litany of Loreto in liturgical books rarely gives any clue as to where or when it was to be performed. [...] While [...] the only known ‘official’ liturgy to include the text, may seem unequivocally to indicate the allocation of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin to a particular association with Marian feasts, it is in the statutes and similar documents concerning the activities of particular institutions, rather than in manuals intended for the Church as a whole, that the most informative references are made to the recitation or singing of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin.” For Mozart’s early *Litaniae lauretanae* (KV 109), it seems likely that it was performed in the chapel of the Mirabell Palace in Salzburg, where the court would spend the summer and where, during the first week after the move, devotions were held daily, concluding with a litany (Zybina 69–71). See also Kammer 11–13; Vélez 206.

least during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Vélez 117–52). During the same period, frequent performances of Marian ceremonies with the *Litany of Loreto* (in various musical settings) in such symbolic Loreto houses, as well as pious individual recitations of the litany, constituted a popular tradition of Marian invocation and spiritual, symbolic “Loreto” pilgrimages all over early modern Catholicism (Vélez 203–208).

The earliest known printed edition of the litany, published in 1558, introduces it as:

Letania Loretana. Order of the litany of our beloved Lady, as it is held in Loreto each Saturday with exterior voices and heartfelt thoughts, together with some prayers.⁷ The Theologians describe the ceremony as vocal and mental prayers. (Paulus 576)

The order points out that the ceremony begins with the clergy singing the litany, whereafter the Latin text of the litany is given (Paulus 576).⁸ The text given only deviates slightly from later common versions of the *Litany of Loreto*.

The *Litaniae lauretanae* was officially approved by Pope Sixtus V in 1587, who also granted an indulgence of two hundred days for its recitation (Vélez 206). Despite its official position in the Catholic Church from this time onwards, it is not easy to find precise descriptions of its uses in liturgical books.⁹ The *Litany of Loreto* was sometimes sung on Saturdays after Compline in the Office for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and maybe for all Marian feasts. Also, it seems that it was sung in public worship and confraternity meetings during Lent. The litany was sung during the Devotion of the Forty Hours as a preface to the spiritual exercises of the Oratorians. In some churches, the litany was sung in procession; at San Marco in Venice, the litany was sung before an icon of the Virgin. Also, it was used to invoke the intercession of the Virgin during the 1630 plague (Blazey 27).

As already stated, the text does not mention Loreto. Only the title and its use for Loreto devotions bring about associations to the House of Loreto. In this way, it parallels Richeôme’s understanding of the Loreto pilgrimage. The focus, in the end, is Christ and his salvific life and death. This is evident from the textual invocations and the overall form of the litany.

Musical Settings of the *Litany of Loreto*

The *Litany of Loreto* has been set in polyphony numerous times since the sixteenth century, as well as in grand settings with soloists and orchestra in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all over Catholic Europe. Roth lists forty settings in polyphony from the late sixteenth century, e.g. by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–94), Orlande de Lassus (1532–94), Giovanni Gabrieli (1557–1612), Felice Anerio (1560–1614), and Hans Leo Haßler (1564–1612), to mention some of the most well-known composers of the time (Roth 11–21). In the seventeenth century, it was set e.g. by Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), Alessandro Grandi (1590–1630), Giovanni Rovetta (1595/97–1668; for all three composers' settings, see Blazey 24), Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704; see Hitchcock), and Heinrich Biber (1644–1704; see Dann and Sehna), again to mention only a few particularly famous composers. In the eighteenth century, such settings were still in great demand at the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg, in whose service Biber had worked.

W. A. Mozart's two settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae* in May 1771 and in 1774 belong in the context of a local Salzburg tradition. During Wolfgang's first twenty-five years, until he left Salzburg for good, his father Leopold had set the *Litany of Loreto* three times, his older friend and colleague Michael Haydn had made six settings, and another older colleague, Anton Cajetan Adlgasser (1729–77), had set the litany five times (Zybina 66, 68). Altogether, numerous Salzburg composers from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century set the *Litany of Loreto* (Fellerer 109–10). Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702–62) made twenty-two settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae* (Hintermaier, "Vorwort", in Mozart, Leopold xii).

Prominent settings in eighteenth-century Salzburg emphasized the Christological frame of the litany as much as the Marian parts. In performances of four Loreto litanies by Leopold Mozart and Michael Haydn, as well as the two by the young Wolfgang, made available on the website *YouTube*, the "Agnus Dei" takes up about a quarter of the whole litany, although its text constitutes three out of the total fifty-six lines of the litany.¹⁰

10. (1) Leopold Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* (c. 1760), conducted by Howard Arman, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6H0kMHFYV0&t=122s> (last accessed November 2021). This setting (in E flat major) of the *Litany of Loreto* is published in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (Mozart, Leopold), since Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, probably in the same year in which he composed his own second setting of the Loreto litany (1774), made a new version of the instrumental solo in the last part of the litany for oboe. It was originally composed for the alto trombone, but later for the viola by Leopold (see Hintermaier, "Vorwort", Mozart, Leopold ix).

(2) Michael Haydn, *Litaniae beatae Mariae virginis*, conducted by Martin Gester, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esNgkZsSWuE> (last accessed November 2021).

(3) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* KV 109, conducted by Nikolaus Harnoncourt, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMt1eBc3wRs> (last accessed November 2021).

(4) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* KV 195, conducted by Nikolaus Harnoncourt, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oE8aGRFkQWk> (last accessed November 2021).

Wolfgang and His Father at Loreto

During their Italian travels, the young W. A. Mozart and his father Leopold stopped over at Loreto on more than one occasion. On one of these occasions, we know of their participation in a Marian devotion at Loreto (on 16 July 1770). In a letter dated 21 July 1770 written to his wife from Bologna during an Italian journey with the 14-year-old Wolfgang (on their way back from Rome), Leopold Mozart writes:

It just happened to be the 16th when we made our devotions in *Loretto*. I bought 6 little bells and various other things. *N.B.* besides relics, I am also bringing a piece of the Holy Cross from Rome with me. (*Digitale Mozart Edition*, BD 199, including English translation)¹¹

11. Original German text: “Es traf eben auf den 16^{ten}, daß wir unsere Andacht in Loretto machten. Ich habe 6 Glöckl. und verschiedene andere Sachen gekauft. *NB* nebst Reliquien bringe ich auch einen heil: Kreuz *Particul* von Rom mit.”

Wolfgang added a postscript for both his mother and his older sister:

I congratulate Mama on her name-day and wish that Mama may live many 100 years yet and always enjoy good health, for which I always ask God, and I pray every day and will pray every day for both of you. When I get back, I cannot possibly regale you with anything, such as any little bells from Loreto and candles and little bonnets and fleas. In the meantime, may Mama keep well, I kiss Mama's hands 1000 times and remain unto death, your faithful son Wolfgang Mozart. (*Digitale Mozart Edition*, BD 199, including English translation with a minor amendment)¹²

12. Original German text: “Ich gratuliere der mama zu dero namensfest, und wünsche das die mama noch möge viel 100 Jahr leben, und imer gesund bleiben, welches ich imer bey gott verlange, und bette alle tag und werde alle tag fleissig für ihnen beyde betten. Ich kann ohnmöglich mit etwas aufwarten, als mit etlichen loreto glökeln und kerzen und häubeln, und flöhe, wenn ich zurückkome, inzwischen lebe die mama wohl, ich küsse der mama 1000 mahl die hände und verbleibe bis in doth ihr getreuer sohn Wolfgang Mozart manu propria.”

Whereas Leopold's letter simply gives us the information that he and Wolfgang participated in a devotion in Loreto, Wolfgang's lively, affectionate, but also slightly ironic letter is difficult to assess. The pious, loving well wishes may in the first place seem to stand in opposition to the possibly condescending tone when he mentions the pious items from Loreto, including fleas. In one particular respect, however, his German text is ambiguous. In German, he writes “Ich kann ohnmöglich mit etwas aufwarten, als mit etlichen loreto glökeln und kerzen und häubeln, und flöhe, wenn ich zurückkome.” In the quoted translation, the German “als” has been (correctly) translated as “such as”. However, it may *also* mean “other than” and thus point to the small items Wolfgang (and his father) were indeed bringing home. I believe this to be a likely rendering of the meaning of the passage, since the fleas mentioned would likely be actual fleas that he was bringing with him.

In any case, the passage primarily seems to speak of his playfulness, jokingly juxtaposing the pious merchandise with the fleas that were probably unavoidable on a long road trip in those days (cf. Gutman 281). Clearly, the pious wishes are in no way ironically meant. Based on the letter, nothing can be said about Wolfgang's experience and thoughts about the Loreto devotion, and most likely, the boy would have taken it as something that simply belonged to the ecclesiastical culture, with which he – in general – must have been very familiar. At least since 1767, he had composed music for the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg, where his father was deputy *Kapellmeister*. In the fall of 1769, he was appointed (honorary) *Konzertmeister* at the court (i.e. without payment), participating frequently both as a composer and performer whenever he was present in Salzburg. In 1772, he was given formal employment with regular pay in this position (Eisen, "Leopold Mozart" 298; idem, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart" 307 and 309). Indeed, he must have been very accustomed to being around priests and other clergy in the Cathedral of Salzburg.

Another Example of Arrested Time in the Work of the Young Mozart

Before discussing the further implications of what I have called 'arrested time' in Wolfgang's *Litaniae lauretanae* compositions, I will point to one extremely clear example of such 'arrested time' in an even earlier composition of Wolfgang's, made when he was only 11 years old. It was his very first musical drama, *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* (*The Obligation of the First Commandment*, KV 35, to a libretto by Ignaz Anton Weiser), probably staged at the archbishop's residence in Salzburg on 12 March 1767. It was the first part of a trilogy, Michael Haydn and Anton Adlgasser setting the two other (now lost) parts, which were performed the following weeks (Konrad 26; Gutman 224). The commandment of the title refers to Matt. 22:37–38: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind." *Die Schuldigkeit* is an allegorical drama; it focuses on a 'lukewarm' Christian, Christ ('the Christian'), who is warned in his sleep by the figure of Justice, who reminds him of the upcoming Day of Judgement. He awakens terrified, and is calmed by the figure of Weltgeist ('Worldly Spirit'), but recalls the terrifying voice announcing the divine judgement.

The course of the devotional drama is altogether completely unsurprising; what stands out, however, is the way the young Mozart shaped the warning and the protagonist's recalling this warning. *Justice* sings an aria in A major, "Erwache, fauler Knecht" ("Awaken, lazy servant"; no. 3; Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit* 39–49, of 215 bars altogether in 2/4). The tempo is *andante* (calmly moving) in the first part. At bar 94, the tempo changes abruptly to *allegro* (fast) when *Justice* announces "Es rufet Höll' und Tod" ("Hell and Death call out") in a fanfare-like figure followed by fast string figures in semiquavers, ending abruptly with a general pause (bar 104). In bar 105, the tempo becomes *adagio* (slow) while *Justice* sings the actual warning in F sharp minor (accompanied by constant semiquaver triplets in the strings): "Du wirst von deinem Leben genaue Rechnung geben dem Richter, deinem Gott!" ("You will account in detail for your life to the Judge, your God!") (Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit* 44).

The subdued character of the calm soprano melody, sung (and accompanied) in *pianissimo*, is followed by a general pause (bar 116), after which the similar fast string figures (in *allegro*) as before the warning lead into a recapitulation of the first part of the aria ("Erwache, fauler Knecht"). The effect is not least that the flow of the aria is abruptly interrupted with the announcement of the Day of Judgement, whereas the actual cited warning receives its weight especially through its musical understatement.¹³ It seems to me to be a particularly impressive example of a consciously shaped 'arrested time' to emphasize what essentially is a ritual moment of impressing the fear of the ultimate judgement on the sleeping Christian. This becomes even more evident as the Worldly Spirit attempts to calm the awakening lukewarm, but now frightened, Christian (after the end of the aria) in a following recitative (Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit* 50–56). The Christian (Christ), however, cannot forget what he heard in his sleep, and briefly recalls the judgement warning, singing the first half of that sentence in exactly the same way (introduced also by the same string figure as before *Justice's* warning; Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit* 55, bars 48–51). It is sung in the same tempo with the same melody and accompaniment, to which, however, is now added a subdued solo trombone in *pianissimo* ('the last trumpet' or 'letzte Posaune', in German Bible translations is always rendered as a trombone; Petersen, "Music" col. 314). Here, again, the flow of the recitative is interrupted, with very much the same basic contents.

13. As pointed out in Petersen, "Mozart und das Jüngste Gericht" 191–92, the biblically based scene of the Final Judgement conjured up here is the same as described in the *Dies irae* sequence in the stanzas beginning with the *Tuba mirum*. This was set as a separate movement in Mozart's Requiem: "The probably eleven-year-old Mozart seems to have had the same overall musical approach to the last judgment as the thirty-five-year-old mature Mozart, notwithstanding the technical and compositional superiority of the grown-up Mozart" (Petersen, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus" col. 46).

The 'arrested time' of these passages serves to underline the urgency of the ritual confrontation with the imminent judgement, and the effect is heightened by the addition of the trombone the second time.

W. A. Mozart and the Notions of the Sacred and the Sublime

The notion of the sublime was important in literary and philosophical aesthetics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the notion only gradually came to be applied to music during the late eighteenth century, not least in appreciations of George Frideric Handel's music. Mozart does not seem to have been occupied with the idea of the sublime. In his youth in Salzburg he was to a large extent concerned with sacred music as a church musician and composer. This is clearly manifested in the large output of liturgical music from this period of his life. But also in his later life in Vienna, no longer employed by the church, his interest in church music continued, as is made clear in a letter to his father 12 April 1783, where, in passing, wanting his father to find and send him some of his (the father's) church music, he writes:

the *gusto* changes constantly – but – the changes in the *gusto* have unfortunately even extended to church music; but that should not happen – which is then also the reason why one finds the true church music – up under the roof – and almost eaten away by worms. (*Digitale Mozart Edition*, BD 739, including English translation)¹⁴

14. Original German text: "daß sich der gusto immer ändert – und aber – daß sich die verränderung des gusto leider so gar bis auf die kirchen Music erstreckt hat; welches aber nicht seyn sollte – woher es dann auch kömmt, daß man die wahre kirchen Music – unter dem dache – und fast von würmern gefressen – findet."

His late Mass compositions, not least including his famous, already mentioned (unfinished) Requiem of 1791, attest to this interest. Much in Mozart's church music can be understood by reference to contemporary notions of the sublime (Petersen, "Sacred Space" 185–95; idem, "Time and Space", esp. 298–302; idem, "Notion" 343–47). Such interpretations, however, can only be made as an afterthought, based on the realization that the sacred and the sublime have much in common, as famously pointed out by Rudolf Otto in his *Das Heilige* (*The Idea of the Holy*, 1917, with numerous later revisions/editions).

There is indeed no evidence that Mozart was acquainted with the

philosophical, aesthetic discourses in which the sublime played an ever-increasing role in the eighteenth century, although he did use the German word “erhaben” (corresponding to the English “sublime”) in passing in a letter to his father, written 28 December 1782. Here he characterizes an ode (by the poet Johann Nepomuk Michael Denis) as “erhaben, schön, alles was sie wollen – allein – zu übertrieben schwülstig für meine feine Ohren” (“sublime, beautiful, everything you could wish – only – too exaggeratedly turgid for my fine ears”; *Digitale Mozart Edition*, BD 715, including English translation). He thus clearly understood “erhaben” (“sublime”) as a word to characterize the lofty style of the poem, but not as a general notion for a goal that art or music should strive to achieve.

The most impressive examples of grandeur and power in his music, which may be associated with a sublime musical style, include the element of terror, which in literary and philosophical aesthetics had been incorporated as an essential element in the notion of the sublime by Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant (in each their way). This is especially so in his opera *Don Giovanni* (1787 to a libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte) in the supernatural scenes in which Giovanni is confronted with the figure of the dead *commendatore* (Petersen, “Sacred Space” 191–92; idem, “Time and Space” 301). More or less similarly, such ‘sublime’ passages are found in the confrontations with numinous forces and figures in *Idomeneo* (1780–81; see Petersen, “Mozart und das Jüngste” 199–202 and Hammerstein 151–78).¹⁵ Such passages are also found in *Crucifixus* movements in the Credo of (especially some of) his Mass compositions, and in his Requiem Mass as well as in some other liturgical compositions, notably including the latest of his two sacramental litanies (KV 243, composed in 1776; see Petersen, “Sacred Space” 198–202 and 208–209).

15. Hammerstein gives clear descriptions of the features of this numinous style in Mozart's operas, also drawing up the historical background for such musical representations of the numinous in earlier operas by e.g. Monteverdi and Gluck. In my (here cited) contributions, I point out how these features in Mozart's works draw on his liturgical works and experiences.

One of the features to underline the spiritual weight of liturgical music was the so-called lament figure (used by Mozart in both of his settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae*), a chromatic descending line over an interval of a fourth (or more). Another traditional feature in German-speaking areas was the use of the trombone, ‘die letzte Posaune’, the trump of God (Hammerstein, esp. 156–70 and 173–78; Petersen, “Mozart und das Jüngste Gericht” 200–02; cf. also Petersen, “Music” col. 314).

The *Litaniae lauretanae* compositions are liturgical; *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* is a religious drama, a devotional but not liturgical work. In both cases, the music and the texts treat sacred matters. Although they belong in different discourses, the religious and the aesthetic, the notions of ‘the holy’ and ‘the sublime’ are closely related, as already mentioned. In *Das Heilige*, Rudolf Otto characterized the holy as a harmony of contrasts, the *mysterium tremendum* and *fascinatum*, further discussing the sublime as a “pale reflexion” of the holy:

No attempt of ours to describe this harmony of contrasts in the import of the *mysterium* can really succeed; but it may perhaps be adumbrated, as it were from a distance, by taking an analogy from a region belonging not to religion, but to aesthetics. In the category and feeling of the *sublime* we have a counterpart to it, though it is true it is but a pale reflexion, and moreover involves difficulties of analysis all its own. The analogies between the consciousness of the sublime and of the numinous may easily be grasped. [Note: We are often prone to resort to this familiar feeling-content to fill out the negative concept ‘transcendent’, explaining frankly God’s ‘transcendence’ by His ‘sublimity’. As a figurative analogical description this is perfectly allowable, but it would be an error if we meant it literally and in earnest. Religious feelings are not the same as aesthetic feelings, and ‘the sublime’ is as definitely an aesthetic term as ‘the beautiful’, however widely different may be the facts denoted by the words.] (Otto 41)

Recently, Stephen Jaeger, in his *The Sense of the Sublime in the Middle Ages* (2022), has suggested “turn[ing] the relationship around and argu[ing] that the aesthetic is prior to the religious” (Jaeger 15). Jaeger asserts:

the religious is named, circumscribed, and often depicted, while the object of the sublime is open to an infinity of forms and ideas producing an infinity of manifestations. [...] An argument can be made that awe, amazement, wonder, and fascination – as aesthetic responses – are the ground in which religious sentiments awaken, and that the powerful, the terrifying and the beautiful have equal shares in the creation of a conception of God. (Jaeger 15)

Inevitably, human religious experience will ultimately be based on interpretations of sensory experiences, including what one

might sometimes sense intuitively without understanding it. Thus, religion inevitably includes sensory experience, taken seriously as a basis for phenomenological interpretation and with a continuous dichotomy between sensory experience and intellectual, as well as emotional, subjective interpretation. Indeed, even revelations have to be experienced. In this sense, the aesthetic, the sensory, has a primary, prioritized position in religious understanding and expression. When music attempts to respond to the holy, it does so through the composer's experience of holiness.

This also comes to the fore in a statement, purportedly made by Mozart, referring to his childhood religious experiences.¹⁶ According to Friedrich Rochlitz, the author of this anecdote (as well as several other anecdotes) about Mozart, in a conversation in Leipzig in 1789 at the house of the then Thomas Cantor, Johann Friedrich Doles, Mozart used the composition of the *Agnus Dei* of the Roman Mass as an example, pointing to his childhood religious experience, which

admittedly tends to get lost as one goes through life on this earth; but – at least in my case – if one looks once again at those words heard a thousand times over with the intent of setting them to music, all of this revives and stands before you, and moves your soul. (Solomon 39; Petersen, “Sacred Space” 194; English translation by Solomon)

Much of Mozart's church music and much of his other music may be characterized by the notion of ‘the sublime’, and his Requiem, finished by his younger friend, the composer Franz Xaver Süssmayr (1766–1803), was called sublime only a few years after Mozart's death (Petersen, “Notions” 340; cf. Keefe 11–34). However, it seems more relevant to claim that this sublime church music represents or re-represents experiences, or memories of experiences, of the holy.

Mozart and ‘Arrested Time’

The feature of ‘arrested time’ that I have pointed to in Mozart's *Litaniae lauretanae* and in *Die Schuldigkeit* is by no means only found in these works, although at present I do not know of any systematic investigation of this feature in Mozart's work. A striking example is found in his *Don Giovanni* in the so-called churchyard scene, when the *commendatore* in the shape of a statue speaks to Giovanni from the realm of the dead in liturgical recitatives accompanied by

16. It has been debated whether the statement, which I quote and discuss in the following, may be trusted as a statement by Mozart. It was transmitted by Friedrich Rochlitz among other anecdotes about Mozart, the present one published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitschrift* in 1801 from a conversation at which Rochlitz claimed to have been present. See the discussion in Solomon, esp. 38–41 and 48–49. As pointed out in Petersen, “Sacred Space” 193–95, Solomon's critical attitude to Rochlitz's general trustworthiness should be taken *ad notam*. However, as Solomon also points out, there may indeed be cores of truth in the Rochlitz anecdotes. In view of Solomon's critical discussion, however, the text should not be taken as a true verbatim record of Mozart's words, but as a later paraphrase. Especially in the passage quoted here, the text rings true in the context of Mozart's biography and, not least, his liturgical compositions. Nothing concrete points to the statement being false in its general meaning. Indeed, Rochlitz himself, in his account, pointed out that he rendered Mozart's statement according to its meaning, not the exact words (Solomon 39).

wind instruments including trombones in a chorale-like setting completely upsetting the pace of the surrounding recitatives (cf. Petersen, “Mozart und das Jüngste Gericht” 199–202). It does not occur in the *Agnus Dei* movements in the two sacramental litanies (*Litaniae de venerabili altaris Sacramento*, KV 125 of March 1772 and KV 243 of 1776). Nor is it generally found in the *Agnus Dei* movements of his early Masses (no *Agnus Dei* movement was composed during his time in Vienna, both the Mass in c minor KV 437 and the Requiem remaining unfinished). However, at the second “*Agnus Dei*” invocation in the *Agnus Dei* of his early *Waisenhaus Mass* KV 139 in c minor (1768) an instance of this feature stands out: the last iteration of the “*miserere nobis*” is preceded by a general pause (second half of bar 39). Then the *miserere* is sung (by the chorus) in long sustained chords, each lasting a full bar (bars 40–43; Mozart, “*Waisenhaus Mass*” 113–14).

‘Arrested Time’ and ‘Ritual Markers’ in Mozart’s Musical Loreto Pilgrimage

In the following, I am using the anthropological notion of ritual heuristically, in part since there is no general consensus about how to define ritual in general. In the context of medieval church ceremonies, however, the understanding of Clifford Geertz, brought into medieval liturgical studies by C. Clifford Flanigan in the 1980s, characterizes rituals as events through which general beliefs of participants are reinforced or confirmed. This is expressed in Geertz’s famous dictum, “in a ritual, the world as lived and the world as imagined [...] turn out to be the same world”, corresponding in substance to a long-standing traditional (medieval) theological understanding that the general Christian doctrine must agree with what is experienced in a liturgical ceremony: “*lex credendi, lex orandi*” (Petersen, “Ritual” 191–96). In the Middle Ages (and by extension also in the early modern ‘Tridentine’ liturgy that prevailed in the Catholic Church up to the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s), this basic understanding of medieval liturgical ceremonies is corroborated by theoretical considerations by medieval theologians and commentators of the liturgy itself, albeit in a sacramental terminology, which during the crucial centuries from the Carolingians to the High Middle Ages was not entirely stable. (Petersen, “Ritual” 195)

Looking at liturgical ceremonies in the Western Roman tradition (up to and including Lutheran liturgies after the Lutheran reformations of the sixteenth century), one may note that they tend to oscillate between narrative or linear time representation and moments of direct communication with the divine (Petersen, “Representation” 340–41). In a Mass, for instance, narrative readings and songs (for instance representing biblical episodes) are constantly alternating with prayers to God and (other) moments of particular sacramental intensity, such as baptism, communion, blessings, divine messages, and congregational responses to such messages. This may for instance be an announcement of Christ’s resurrection during the Easter Mass and the hallelujah responses of the congregation to this message; sometimes such moments are musically represented, and at other times they are shaped in different media. In medieval Latin services, what has – problematically – been subsumed under the notion of ‘liturgical drama’ shows this mechanism in a particularly obvious way. Narration (in music and enactment) of a biblical story comes to a standstill, while a sacramental, liturgical, direct (*hic et nunc*) communication between the divine and the congregation present at the ceremony takes place. Among many obvious examples, the twelfth-century *Danielis ludus* from Beauvais exemplifies this in sudden moments of lamentation or celebration that interrupt the narrative flow of the enacted story (Petersen, “*Danielis ludus*” 203–06).

Seen in this perspective, the ‘arrested time’ in Mozart’s *Litaniae lauretanae* and other compositions mentioned here seems to represent a ‘ritual marker’. It seems to point to moments in a (musical) ritual, or in a (musical) representation of a ritual or ritual encounter (as in *Die Schuldigkeit* and *Don Giovanni*) where the experience of the numinous is intensified. Such moments point to a particular here and now, *hic et nunc*, standing out from what altogether may already be sacred, but as a moment where the experience of the ritual “revives and stands before you, and moves your soul”, as Mozart himself might have explained it.

In the early *Litaniae lauretanae*, the experience as it comes to the fore towards the end of the *Agnus Dei* as described in the analysis of the piece may be read to correspond to Richeôme’s aforementioned idea that the Loreto pilgrimage (and all pilgrimages) should continue in the minds of people, focusing on Christ. While there

is absolutely no reason to believe that Wolfgang would have known about Richeôme and his understanding of pilgrimage, such an understanding would likely have been integrated into the minds of many Catholics. Thus, it could well have been part of the ritual experience of a sensitive teenage boy like Wolfgang. Such an understanding of the meaning of the pilgrimage could give rise to what appears as a ritual afterthought in his response to what he had recently experienced in Loreto: a sacred moment of praying to Christ for mercy that would linger in his musical mind and could not end with the closure of a perfect cadence (dominant to tonica).¹⁷

17. I thank Fran Hopenwasser for helpful language polishing.

Appendix

Litaniae lauretanae, The *Litany of Loreto*, Latin–English, as used and divided according to the movements in Mozart's two *Litaniae lauretanae*:

Kyrie:

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison. Christe audi nos. Christe exaudi nos. Pater de coelis Deus, miserere nobis. Fili redemptor mundi Deus, miserere nobis. Spiritus Sancte Deus, miserere nobis. Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, miserere nobis.

[Lord, have mercy. Christ, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Christ, hear us, Christ, hear us. Father in heaven, God, have mercy. Son, Saviour of the world, have mercy. Holy Spirit, God, have mercy. Holy Trinity, one God, have mercy.]

Sancta Maria:

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Sancta Dei genitrix, ora pro nobis. Sancta Virgo virginum, ora pro nobis. Mater Christi, o.p.n. Mater divinae gratiae, o.p.n. Mater purissima, o.p.n. Mater castissima, o.p.n. Mater inviolata, o.p.n. Mater intemerata, o.p.n. Mater amabilis, o.p.n. Mater admirabilis, o.p.n. Mater Creatoris, o.p.n. Mater Salvatoris, o.p.n. Virgo prudentissima, o.p.n. Virgo veneranda, o.p.n. Virgo praedicanda, o.p.n. Virgo potens, o.p.n. Virgo clemens, o.p.n. Virgo fidelis, o.p.n. Speculum justitiae, o.p.n. Sedes sapientiae, o.p.n. Causa nostrae laetitiae, o.p.n. Vas spirituale, o.p.n. Vas honorabile, o.p.n. Vas insigne devotionis, o.p.n. Rosa mystica, o.p.n. Turris Davidica, o.p.n. Turris eburnea, o.p.n. Domus aurea, o.p.n. Foederis arca, o.p.n. Janua coeli, o.p.n. Stella matutina, ora pro nobis.

[Holy Mary, pray for us. Holy mother of God, pray for us. Holy virgin of virgins, pray for us. Mother of Christ, p.f.u. Mother of divine grace, p.f.u. Mother most pure, p.f.u. Mother most chaste,

p.f.u. Mother inviolate, p.f.u. Mother undefiled, p.f.u. Mother most amiable, p.f.u. Mother most admirable, p.f.u. Mother of our Creator, p.f.u. Mother of our Saviour, p.f.u. Virgin most prudent, p.f.u. Virgin most venerable, p.f.u. Virgin most renowned, p.f.u. Virgin most powerful, p.f.u. Virgin most merciful, p.f.u. Virgin most faithful, p.f.u. Mirror of justice, p.f.u. Seat of wisdom, p.f.u. Cause of our joy, p.f.u. Spiritual vessel, p.f.u. Vessel of honour, p.f.u. Distinguished vessel of devotion, p.f.u. Mystical rose, p.f.u. Tower of David, p.f.u. Tower of ivory, p.f.u. House of gold, p.f.u. Ark of the covenant, p.f.u. Gate of heaven, p.f.u. Morning star, pray for us.]

Salus infirmorum:

Salus infirmorum, ora pro nobis. Refugium peccatorum, o.p.n. Consolatrix afflictorum, o.p.n. Auxilium Christianorum, ora pro nobis.

[Salvation of the frail, pray for us. Refuge of sinners, p.f.u. Comforter of the afflicted, p.f.u. Supporter of Christians, pray for us.]

Regina Angelorum:

Regina Angelorum, ora pro nobis. Regina Patriarcharum, o.p.n. Regina Prophetarum, o.p.n. Regina Apostolorum, o.p.n. Regina Martyrum, o.p.n. Regina Confessorum, o.p.n. Regina Virginum, o.p.n. Regina Sanctorum omnium, ora pro nobis.

[Queen of angels, pray for us. Queen of patriarchs, p.f.u. Queen of prophets, p.f.u. Queen of apostles, p.f.u. Queen of martyrs, p.f.u. Queen of confessors, p.f.u. Queen of virgins, p.f.u. Queen of all saints, pray for us.]

Agnus Dei:

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis Domine. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos Domine. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

[Lamb of God who carries the sins of the world, spare us, Lord. Lamb of God, who carries the sins of the world, hear us, Lord. Lamb of God, who carries the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.]

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Sacred Saliences?

Afterlives of Archaeology in the Restoration of Medieval Shrines

Abstract

Focusing on the restoration of material culture associated with pilgrimages, the authors examine how a temporally distant period might be reanimated in the present – or, by contrast, retains potential to be animated but remains dormant. They compare two pilgrimage sites, both characterized by disruptive historical caesuras that define salient periods of destruction of valued eras from the past. In Walsingham (England), the key break is represented by the northern European Reformation. At this site, the medieval remains prominent in the present, where it is repeatedly re-enacted, though in the context of loss. In the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas (Cyprus), the significant caesura is more recent, referring to the de facto partition of Cyprus in 1974. Here, the fifteenth-century chapel contained within the site has not been translated into substantial signs of medieval presence or performance. Despite their differences, both cases studied in this paper demonstrate how a caesura designates the period to be recalled and given an ‘afterlife’.

Keywords

Pilgrimage sites; Walsingham; Reformation; Apostolos Andreas; partition of Cyprus

This article is concerned with pilgrimage and the medieval, but we are not attempting to take readers directly back to the arts or the rituals of a long-past period. Rather, we focus on a more modern set of medievalisms, and the ways in which a temporally distant period might be objectified, activated, reanimated in the present – or, by

way of contrast, ways in which that period retains the potential to be so animated but instead remains dormant, unrevived for the time being. In offering an analysis that is mostly ethnographic in intent we examine the ‘afterlives’ of pilgrimage rituals and arts rather literally, for we are interested in the conceptualization and experience of the ‘after’ among the people and the pilgrimages that we focus on. For our purposes, it is important that ‘after’ is an inherently relative temporal term, implying not only a ‘before’ against which it might be measured, but also an identifiable and significant dividing line between pre- and post-states. The most common implication of afterlife is perhaps that of life after death, or at least a repurposing following a point of apparent destruction. In one of the sites we examine, the Anglican and Roman Catholic pilgrimage site of Walsingham in Norfolk, England, the medieval does indeed provide the key period of ‘beforeness’ prior to its being divided from subsequent history by the disruptive caesura created by the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Northern European Reformation. We shall show how the caesura points to a state of affairs that is depicted as highly salient and desired in a present defined as a complex and conflictual aftermath to events long ago. Indeed, Walsingham is a site of pilgrimage constituted, to a large degree, by highlighting multiple signs of medieval presence within a landscape densely populated by numerous materializations of memory: connections with the past are invoked by ritual performances, archaeological ruins, and architectural restorations where links with the pre-Reformation history of the site are repeatedly asserted and re-enacted. Even the carrying out of archaeological investigation into the medieval period has at times been given a theological dimension, almost sacralizing the practice of unearthing the past. Often, however, such links do not entail a simple reinvocation of former times: rather, as we shall see, they draw on material reminders or even bundles of a before recombined with an after, a pre with a post, wholeness with fragmentation.

In the other site, history is also represented as containing a key caesura, but it is one of much more recent grounding, referring to the de facto partition of Cyprus in 1974 into the government-controlled area, which is mainly inhabited by Greek Cypriots, and the area that is de facto controlled by the Turkish Cypriots.¹ The Orthodox Monastery of Apostolos Andreas in Turkish-occupied Karpasia contains a church from 1867 situated just above the wall

1. The ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (TRNC) was illegally declared unilaterally in 1983 in the Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus and is not internationally recognized apart from by Turkey. See United Nations Security Council Resolutions 541/83 and 550/84.

of a medieval chapel most probably constructed, along with its surrounding additions, during the Frankish rule in the fifteenth century. The chapel was excavated during the monastery's restoration, but while it forms a significant archaeological background to the contemporary monastery, it has not yet been translated into substantial signs of medieval presence or performance in the present. Rather, the past that is more readily invoked by the pilgrimage site is the modern history of Cyprus' division, involving the loss of both homes and sovereignty as experienced within the memory of still living citizens.

In contextualizing such attitudes to the past, we do not attempt a comprehensive review of religious views of time. We do note, however, that ethically inflected perspectives on 'breaks' in temporal trajectories are discernible in numerous historical and ethnographic materials relating to Christianity. Quite apart from the apocalyptic and eschatological perspectives evident in both Old and New Testaments, evangelical traditions of dispensationalism have emphasized the possibility of seeing human history in terms of distinct 'phases' of relationship to divine will. Furthermore, within the anthropology of Christianity, much discussion has also revolved around whether conversion to the faith – particularly in its missionary, Pentecostal forms – entails acceptance of complete 'rupture' with the non-Christian past (e.g. Robbins). However, while dispensationalism tends to perceive time in terms of linear stages, and the Pentecostal notion of rupture looks forward to the possibility of salvation, our interlocutors at both sites look more positively towards the past – not in comfortably nostalgic terms, but with a powerful sense of urgency. The caesuras that they identify entail a 'cutting' into history – with all its literal and metaphorical violence – highlighting the unwanted interruption of a still valued state of affairs.² Their hope remains that the consequences of such disruption need not be permanent, and that some degree of restoration, even redemption, is possible.

2. 'Caesura' is not a term used by our informants, but it does cover what is meant when they deploy such words as 'break', 'destruction', and even 'Reformation'.

As ethnographers, we are not attempting a straightforwardly archaeological or historical reconstruction of what 'really' happened in the periods highlighted by our interlocutors – exploring whether the cuts in history were as radical as they surmise. What interests us are the perceptions of disruption centring around material reminders of loss that may also function as harbingers of restoration. Our juxtaposition of two

sites prompts us to ask about the afterlives and affordances of archaeology in relation to pilgrimage shrines, and more specifically, whether and how the medieval becomes an active medium for contemporary sacred performances and aspirations towards restoration, or simply constitutes background signs of a venerable though unremarked past. We therefore anatomize not only the notion of the ‘after’, but also the notion of ‘life’. If Walsingham, rather than Apostolos Andreas, presents a living medievalism, how does archaeology (and associated antiquarianism) contribute to the process of revival in one case, but not, so far, in the other?

In posing this question, we are inspired less by writings on new animisms (e.g. Durrant) than by work carried out in a seemingly very different analytical realm involving the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai’s ongoing engagement with the notion of the “social life of things” (*Social Life*; “Thing”), and in particular his concern with the ways in which, as he puts it, “all things are congealed moments in a longer social trajectory” (“Thing” 15; see also Kopytoff). Appadurai emphasizes that we can trace how a given object shifts identities and social lives over time – for instance from art object to junk, from commodity to singularity. In his words (“Thing” 15): “The corrosion of history only supports and intensifies the inherent tendency of things to move on to some new state in their social lives.” We choose to apply Appadurai’s argument about object circulation and the transformation of values to the products and processes of archaeology itself, as it provides the raw materials to highlight a given period of the pilgrimage past and to afford the possibility of (re-)constructing the social saliencies of ancient objects in the present.

In adopting this approach, we acknowledge Cornelius Holtorf’s (170) critique of a “hermeneutics of recovery”, which he sees as characteristic of the archaeological obsession with origins and reconstruction of meanings from the past. Rather than focusing only on the initial creation of monuments, Holtorf calls for an understanding of their transformations of material form and meaning over time (168). For this reason, he regards the word ‘afterlife’ as an inappropriate description of the inherently ongoing existence of sites such as megaliths, which may well have been designed to outlive their builders. In practice, Holtorf’s stance

does not quite apply to the cases we describe. We are specifically interested in how our interlocutors conceptualize what they themselves see as a fixed point in time – one commemorating not so much the creation of material culture but the moment in history at which such culture was destroyed or rendered inaccessible. That said, we do concur with Holtorf’s observation (171) that any given landscape must be understood to be multi-temporal, constantly mixing old and new in ways salient to any given period. For those whom we study, what matters is how the present and potentially the future can be made no longer distant from, but rather proximate to and interacting with, a given era from the past.³

3. Holtorf (170) draws on Michel Serres’ reference to the parable of the handkerchief to describe similar objections to linear ways of ordering time: “If you take a handkerchief and spread it out in order to iron it, you can see in it certain fixed distances and proximities. If you sketch a circle in one area, you can mark out nearby points and measure far-off distances. Then take the same handkerchief and crumple it, by putting it in your pocket. Two distant points suddenly are close, even superimposed. If, further, you tear it in certain places, two points that were close can become very distant. [...] As we experience time [...] it resembles this crumpled version much more than the flat, overly simplified one” (Serres and Latour 60). Charles Stewart also writes about the idea of “linear histories”, which he juxtaposes with “topological histories” (Stewart, “Uncanny History” 132) or “topological and affectively driven forms of historicizing” (“Uncanny History” 140). “[T]opology allows consideration of shapes that have been bent and not merely stretched” (“Uncanny History” 141 n. 1); “temporal topologies” in this sense are “cases where the past, present, and future may be bent around one another rather than ordered linearly” (ibid., abstract). See also Argenti.

Of course, just as objects can have many forms of existence over time, so sites can undergo different types of restoration – can indeed turn into different kinds of object. For instance, in writing of various strategies applied to previously abandoned medieval monasteries in Cyprus, Maria Philokyprou and Eleni Petropoulou (108) refer to the dilemmas that frequently emerge under such circumstances: whether to preserve monasteries “in their ruinous condition as found or restore them completely”. Nowadays, in their view, the museum-like, “passive” maintenance of existing building complexes is rarely favoured and gives way to a “dynamic maintenance” approach according to which “any intervention should aim at returning monuments to society, as living complexes” (ibid., 109). Philokyprou and Petropoulou promote a sense of restoration as reuse, as catalyzing a form of life that returns us to Appadurai’s social life of things where the values put on such objects can rise, fall, and rise again. Their argument also recalls a point made by Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas in their book *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, that archaeologists not merely uncover, but also actively constitute things in the present, conceptually as well as materially. According to such a view, archaeology might come close to a kind of art or performance, or at least “a creative materializing intervention” with its own redemptive and therapeutic powers and the potential to help communities express dilemmas and contradictions “that otherwise would remain unarticulated” (17). Yet, as we shall see in the cases we examine, such reuse, such social life, such redemption, may also depend on the specific social salience provided by the period of history that the ruins represent.

Walsingham: On Absences, Presences, and Absent Presences

Walsingham is a picturesque village in North Norfolk, situated in the eastern bulge of England. It serves as both a religious site and a popular spot for local holidaymakers. The permanent population of the village is under 1,000, but in a good year perhaps as many as 300,000 visitors pass through, some staying for a few hours, others joining regular parish groups who might come for up to a week. While the antiquity of the village is evident in its medieval houses and archaeological ruins, the precise historical details of its origins as a shrine are less clear. According to a fifteenth-century text called “The Pynson Ballad”, a vision of the Virgin Mary was granted to a local noblewoman, Richeldis, in 1061. The vision instructed Richeldis to build a replica in Norfolk of the house in Nazareth where Mary had received the visitation from the Angel Gabriel, telling her that she would conceive a son. Richeldis duly assembled a ‘Holy House’ in which a statue of Mary and Child came to be placed. As the fame of Walsingham and its miracle-working spread during the medieval period, this relatively modest edifice was accompanied in the village by other, grander buildings, including two monastic houses. However, the shrine’s sixteenth-century supporter-turned-nemesis Henry VIII ordered its destruction during the Dissolution of the Monasteries, so that little remained in the post-Reformation period other than the East window of a priory and the ruins of a friary.

Michael Rear reports that interest in Walsingham’s religious history reawakened in the nineteenth century (169). In 1835 the writer Agnes Strickland even penned a three-volume novel *The Pilgrims of Walsingham: or Tales of the Middle Ages*, and in 1853–54 test excavations of the presumed site of the pre-Reformation pilgrimage were conducted by Reverend Canon James Lee Warner, local vicar and regular contributor of pieces to archaeological societies, whose own family had been linked to the village since the sixteenth century. In the late 1890s a model of the Holy House, based on a version located in Loreto, Italy, was constructed at one side of the new Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation in King’s Lynn, a nearby town in Norfolk. At Walsingham itself, at about the same time, a wealthy benefactress and eventual convert to Roman Catholicism, Charlotte Boyd, negotiated the purchase of

4. The term 'Slipper' may refer to a pilgrimage practice of taking off shoes on the pilgrims' final leg of their journey to the shrine, or it may refer to the old English word 'slype', meaning a place or passageway in between.

a fourteenth-century chapel that had served as the final stopping-place for medieval pilgrims before entering the village, and which constituted the only complete building left from the medieval pilgrimage. The so-called Slipper Chapel,⁴ at one point nearly derelict and being used as a barn, was eventually restored and declared a National Shrine in 1934, embodying the slow emergence of English Roman Catholicism from its position as isolated, fortress church into a more mainstream presence in the country. Since then, building around the Slipper Chapel has continued, creating a shrine complex that includes a larger chapel built to resemble local vernacular architecture, stations of the cross, offices, a cafe, and shop. While the Slipper Chapel therefore shares its location with a number of buildings, owing to its proximity to the road it is still the first that the pilgrim is likely to encounter as they proceed from the village.

5. Anglo-Catholicism is a branch of Anglicanism that emphasizes the Catholic heritage and ritual forms of the church. It is particularly associated with the Oxford Movement of the nineteenth century in England but retains varieties of supporters to the present day.

The Anglican part of the story of revival of pilgrimage to Walsingham had rather different theological and cultural resonances as well as material consequences. It owed much to the controversial vision of one man, Father Hope Patten, who in 1922 announced the re-establishment of devotion to Our Lady of Walsingham at the village to which he had come as vicar just a year earlier (Yelton). For Patten, a deeply committed Anglo-Catholic,⁵ revival meant a controversial return to a medieval model of the church, albeit one that for the time being remained distinct from rival Roman Catholic practices. He found himself reconstructing a pilgrimage tradition in response to a period marked by intense debates over the status and legitimacy of so-called 'ritualist' practices within the Church of England that had sometimes resulted in physical attacks by Protestant raiders who delighted in smashing up material sites of Anglo-Catholic revival (Yates 139). A sense of being ritually beleaguered has remained among some Anglican pilgrims to Walsingham, reinforced by the occasional presence even today of hostile evangelicals shouting insults at processions that they regard as sheer idolatry.

This is a brief summary of a long history, but the observation we emphasize is that of the constant reminder of that historical caesura associated with the Reformation in much of the revival of Walsingham, as carried out by both varieties of Catholicism. It is embedded in the contemporary village as dual pilgrimage

destination, as host of revived sites of ruination, as catalyst for enactments of a medievalized processional culture regularly enveloped by the verbal violence of those evangelicals who see themselves as true representatives of Protestant reform. What is notable about this caesura from the perspective of pilgrimage practices is the clean break it appears to assert within English history: it lays out a direct juxtaposition of medieval and modern, with relatively little emphasis on what happened in between. The contemporary period becomes defined as the time of a revived consciousness combined with an aspiration that the damage done by the Reformation can be reversed. Indeed, a sense of the close adjacency of modern to medieval has become part of the refoundation myth of Walsingham. In 1934, when Roman Catholics met at Walsingham to re-establish their presence at the village, the priest Father Vernon heralded “the first national pilgrimage to the Walsingham neighborhood since the Reformation” while proclaiming his sense that Roman Catholic repossession of the Slipper Chapel meant precisely that “the mind [could be taken] back immediately 400 years to those last days when other Catholic crowds of pilgrims thronged this place, gazed on the same walls that we have looked upon, and passed the very door that we passed”.⁶ Father Vernon’s account of these conjoined visions that constituted Roman Catholic presence entailed an erasure of centuries of English history from his perspective of the 1930s, but it received a curious echo some sixty years later when Simon interviewed the then administrator of the Anglo-Catholic shrine,⁷ and heard the latter’s reference to Walsingham as “a place where pilgrimage has been happening ever since 1061 with a short gap of 400 years which we’ve now got over”.

6. See Eastern Daily Press, 20 August 1934, quoted in McDonald 45.

7. Interview with Father Martin Warner, 11 September 1995.

In these accounts the link to the past defined by the caesura of the Reformation is made immediate; but these assertions of temporal proximity to medieval worship are both invoked and complicated by the materiality and archaeology of the village. What Father Vernon did not mention were some spatial dynamics that still rankle to this day among Roman Catholic pilgrims, nearly a century after his announcement: the fact that to reach the Slipper Chapel pilgrims must process *away* from the medieval centre of the village. The only fully restored piece of authentic medieval architecture is ironically displaced from Walsingham itself, made into a slightly skewed Roman Catholic recapitulation of history as it is incorporated into

a new social life as part of a redesignated ritual centre.

Admittedly, at the time when Father Vernon was addressing his Roman Catholic flock in the mid-1930s, nobody was quite sure where the original medieval Holy House had been placed. The location was finally confirmed in the early 1960s by a secular office holder, Charles Green, archaeological consultant to the Ministry of Works. Green managed to identify traces of the Holy House in the centre of the village, close to the remains of the ruined Priory. Yet, when Simon first came to Walsingham in the 1990s and informed people that he was an anthropologist, he was regularly told by Roman and Anglo-Catholics that his chief task should be to pick up trowel and shovel and find the ‘true’ location of the House. Gradually, it became clear that definitive discovery was not necessarily what was desired: for some interlocutors at least, irresolution kept the narrative of destruction and disappearance alive, maintaining the sense that there was still much to be discerned under the surface of the ground.

A rather different stance had been articulated by yet another exploratory venture under the Walsingham turf, and one that had been attempted at a historical juncture situated in between the efforts of Lee Warner and Green. Indeed, this ‘dig’ had been commissioned in the 1930s, at about the same time as Father Vernon was claiming the ability to see the landscape through medieval Roman Catholic eyes. Workers hired by the Anglo-Catholic Father Patten came across an ancient well at yet another site, a little further away from the Priory, while preparing to erect a building that would soon come to contain an impressive but new replica of Richeldis’ Holy House. Few people seem to have given the idea much credulity, but Patten appeared for a time to be convinced that the presence of the well signalled the very close proximity of the medieval shrine to the location that he had chosen for its restoration in the modern day. Elsewhere, Simon has termed Patten’s stance a form of “archaeo-theology” (Coleman), and the point is that Patten’s Anglo-Catholic sensibilities clearly encouraged attempts to reach beyond a secular archaeological hermeneutics. Digging underground was not just a practical matter; it was also a means of engaging with what lay below outward reality, as well as laying oneself open to a seeming serendipity that could take on further meaning – encountering a find that was divinely intended to be unearthed for spiritual as well

as scholarly purposes, just as the legend of finding lost relics has fuelled the restoration of other European pilgrimage sites in the post-Reformation period.

8. *Furta sacra* is a phrase referring to the appropriation of relics by medieval shrines, often given theological justification through the reasoning that a powerful relic would not permit itself to be moved unless its appropriation were morally justified.

What is still more significant for us here, however, is what Patten did with his site and more particularly his model of the medieval Holy House. The latter was quite obviously a modern construction, in contrast to the legend of the building that was said physically to have flown from the Holy Land and eventually landed in Loreto; but Patten added to the outside walls of his replica many stones taken from monasteries and other buildings destroyed at the Reformation. There was perhaps a hint of *furta sacra* here,⁸ as little information exists on how he obtained some of his finds. More generally, the original function of any given architectural or archaeological fragment mattered little: what was significant was that it came from an authentically old building. The nature of assimilation into the Holy House was also noteworthy: Patten's stones are not kept behind glass cases, but are incorporated into the body of the replica, and many of them remain within touching height. Their material locations and affordances grant them a new social life, a new set of ritual relationalities within a shrine that attempts to re-form the medieval *after* the Reformation, but also of course conjoins medieval *spolia* with a modern building. In doing so, they also, fascinatingly, conflate Philokyprou and Petropoulou's two forms of restoration (108): ruin is not separated from rebuild, but made part of it. Any close viewer of the stones can perceive that they are part of a complete structure but also commemorate the dissolution of multiple other buildings. Pre and post are bundled together, both revealing the effects of a destructive historical caesura and suggesting that the gap that it created can indeed be bridged.

In a book on temporality and art that contains reflections on Walsingham's Holy House, Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood contrast two basic models of understanding a work of art's relationship to both time and material creation. What they call a "substitutional model of production" is one that implies a given object or work can be replaced wholly or altered gradually yet continue to garner the same attention and appreciation from audiences (16). Indeed, they state, "the work that manage[d] to retain its identity despite alteration, repair, renovation, and even outright replacement was a sustaining myth of art in premodern

Europe” (8). By contrast, an “authorial” or “performative” model emphasizes the necessity of preserving the original artefact and, by implication, its connection with a specific creator: the object is valued as something unique that did not exist before the definitive point of its production. Its creation cuts into time in a way that the ongoing, continually renewing logic of substitution does not (15). While it is tempting to see authorial models as embodying a Renaissance attitude that superseded a substitutional sensibility, in practice the two have often coexisted and co-competed in artistic and ritual contexts. Nagel and Wood see pilgrimage sites as providing especially privileged “theatres” for the “artifact’s crisis of legitimacy” in the sense that shrines have tended to dramatize the *non*-substitutability of such objects. Indeed, when Erasmus chose to satirize the pilgrimage to Walsingham he did so by penning a satirical dialogue suggesting that its relics, whatever their provenance, had been replaced and repaired out of their original existence (12–13). Much later, when Patten came to produce his own replica of the Holy House, he copied a physical building that expressed the tensions between substitutionary and authorial narratives of creation. The medieval story of Loreto – of the house that literally flew from the Holy Land to its new location in Europe – could be seen as “an emblem of the increasing vulnerability of the substitution model if there ever was one. For if a replica were just as good as an original, there is no need to send in the original by airlift” (195).

Here we focus on how the tensions between these two models might be explored further in the light of Patten’s remaking of the Holy House. *Contra* Loreto, he made no pretence that his edifice was anything other than a new construction, though the fact that it followed the Loreto dimensions relatively closely meant that the building could offer broadly the same experience to the pilgrim – a sense of being enclosed in a womb-like vessel. As we have seen, Patten also came to believe that his Holy House occupied the original location of the medieval original, lending weight to his conviction that he was a human agent of divine will, much as Richeldis had been in the eleventh century. Admittedly, the ancient stones embedded in modern bricks did not come from Walsingham itself, but the fact that they came from a wide variety of ruins emphasized the importance of contemporary Walsingham as the place where they could be gathered together. More significant for our purposes,

however, was the temporal work performed by Patten's stones. They may have been derived from disparate locations, but they all converged on a single point in time – the moment not of their original creation but of their destruction, the caesura in English religious life that Patten wanted both to recall and, effectively, to erase. Their very bundling together with modern masonry – with all its ambivalence and awkwardness as a form of restoration – still suggests that there is much still to do in reconciling past with present. After all, the Holy House is not a place only to view: it is a place of prayer, of individual contemplation, of collective ritual. While the Roman Catholic shrine does not contain any counterpart to the Holy House, it does maintain an intriguing material presence in the village's High Street: the Museum of the Blessed Virgin Mary, containing not stones but multiple original statues, postage stamps, postcards, and other artefacts related to the Virgin. These items were collected not by a priest but by a pious layman, Peter Sibley, who had kept the collection in his own home in another part of England before it was gifted to the shrine at his death. While maintaining its identity as a museum, the collection keeps some of its statues out of cases and again within touching reach, blurring the boundaries between touristic observation and a more tactile, devotional engagement. Even as it displays Marian materials from around the world, the museum's building contains a further message, expressed in material form: its back wall directly abuts the grounds containing the original Holy House.

Although the point is not generally made explicit at Walsingham, the sense of an ongoing trauma to be addressed, of a destruction to be redressed again and again through devotional efforts and accumulations, is also expressed in the ritual processions that both Anglo- and Roman Catholics arrange through Walsingham, whether flanked by roaring evangelicals or not. On certain days such processions do end up at the spot identified by Green as the location of the original Holy House, perhaps marking the blank space in the turf with the replica of a statue or an outdoor mass. What such occasions share with the stones on the wall of the modern replica (and perhaps also with the statues of the Virgin, removed from their original churches) is not only a play between the material affordances of archaeology and the ritual affordances of contemporary worship, but also what Ewa Domanska (345–46) has suggestively called “a past that is non-absent”, in other

9. For a balanced discussion of this issue, see Rear appendix 3.

words one whose absence is made manifest. The medieval is recalled to life within the same object or action that is recalling its destruction. It is in this friction, this continued paradox of discovery and loss, that ritual and history seem both to propagate each other and come to life. Fascinatingly, also, in recent years amateur Roman Catholic historians have suggested that what appears to be complete destruction may be secular misunderstanding.⁹ They argue that Richeldis' Holy House may be gone but that its medieval statue was not in fact burnt at the time of the Dissolution; rather, it can be found – in plain sight but unrecognized, unacknowledged, rendered untouchable by secular scholars – in a glass case in the Victoria and Albert Museum. For such supporters of Walsingham, it remains a matter of frustration that the museum does not currently countenance any further historical investigation into claims that may represent contemporary forms of the 'archaeo-theological'. Even now, the hope remains that scientific methods of testing will demonstrate how the multiple replicas of a medieval statue might finally be complemented by a further, dramatic challenge to the violence of the Dissolution: the suggestion that destruction of the original object never actually took place.

The Monastery of Apostolos Andreas

The Monastery of Apostolos Andreas in the Mediterranean island of Cyprus is a site marked by a different caesura than Walsingham: one recalling events within living memory. Following the Turkish invasion in 1974 and the subsequent occupation of almost one third of the island, Cyprus has been divided along ethnic and geographical lines, with its two main communities, the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot, mainly residing in the southern and northern parts respectively. The Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is located near the Cape of Apostolos Andreas, on the north-eastern end of the island, in the Turkish-occupied peninsula of Karpasia. The area is associated by tradition with Apostolos Andreas (Kokkinoftas 14), and its nearest village is approximately 20 km away. Unlike Walsingham, the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is not built in the middle of a village but on a remote and rather isolated location, the journey to which was long and difficult, something that is

recalled by the Greek Cypriots who visited it from different parts of Cyprus before the war.

A Pancyprian pilgrimage site before 1974, which was also visited by Muslim Turkish Cypriots, the monastery was rendered largely inaccessible to most Greek Cypriots living in the south up until 2003, when the opening of the checkpoints allowed Cypriots to cross the dividing line. During the period of its inaccessibility to the south,¹⁰ the monastery – one of the very few Christian religious sites in the north to remain functional (Hatay 83–84) – acquired a central position in Greek Cypriot collective memory and imagination, becoming emblematic of the occupied areas and of Cyprus more generally. Its gradual ruination owing to the erosion of the sea, the passing of time, and accumulated neglect only added to its powerful symbolic value – a value that shaped both the pilgrimage revival after the opening of the checkpoints and attempts to restore the monastery. Owing to the context of unresolved conflict in which revived pilgrimages to Apostolos Andreas take place, the site cannot become a venue for local holiday-making, not for Greek Cypriots at least, who today spend around 30–45 minutes there, performing their devotions, taking *ayiasma* (water from the holy spring) and pictures at the site.

The monastery comprises a building complex that contains a medieval chapel most probably constructed, “along with its surrounding additions”, “during the Frankish rule in the fifteenth century”. “The old church”, as the chapel is often referred to, is complemented by “the new church” from 1867, which is situated just above its wall.¹¹ This latter construction is linked with Father Ioannis Diakos¹² (Kokkinoftas 21; Myriantefs 120), who in order “to fulfill an older vow [*tama*] and build a church dedicated to the Apostle” returned to his native Karpasia after some time spent at the Monastery of Kykkos.¹³ Father Ioannis settled in the area where the “old church” was located (Kokkinoftas 23), and despite having failed to secure permission,¹⁴ began to construct a fresh one.

According to Kokkinoftas (27), Father Ioannis envisioned the monastery as a pilgrimage site for the ministering and spiritual renewal of the faithful and therefore “did not give it the characteristics of a Monastery, in which a monastic fraternity would live”. The endeavour was successful, and the place did become an important

10. Greek Cypriots were only allowed to travel to it from the south on limited occasions before the opening of the checkpoints (i.e. on pilgrimages that were agreed upon by the government and the Turkish Cypriot authorities).

11. UNDP Cyprus, *Restoration*. For extensive descriptions of the monastery complex, see Myriantefs; Kokkinoftas 33–43; Tsiknopoullos 8–9, 16–17.

12. This is the monastery’s founder (*ktetor/κτήτορας*) and treasurer (*oikonomos/οικονόμος*).

13. Located in the Greek-Cypriot western part of the island.

14. There is a distant parallel here to Father Patten, who defied the opposition of his local bishop in constructing a shrine church and Holy House.

destination, with several physical expansions and additions being made to it soon after the construction of the new church (see for example Myrianthefts 126) and all the way up to the 1960s (141–44). In the 1940s the medieval chapel had also undergone renovation (Kokkinoftas 35; Tsiknopoulos 16; Foulías 80). Three wells were unified, and underground pipelines were created “for the drainage of the water of the source-*ayiasma*” (Myrianthefts 114) which end up at “a [...] concrete fountain with three taps” (Kokkinoftas 35; Tsiknopoulos 17) still in existence today.

Works such as the ones described here, as well as published pictures of the chapel’s interior,¹⁵ point to the fact that the building was still in use after the “new church” was built. Never having been (intentionally at least) destroyed, unlike much of Walsingham, the fifteenth-century chapel at Apostolos Andreas appears to have been integrated into the pilgrimage. In fact, it was still being visited by travellers to Apostolos Andreas as part of their journeys in 2015, when the chapel became inaccessible owing to excavation and restoration works that commenced in 2014.¹⁶ The restitution of the monastery had been announced by the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage¹⁷ two years before,¹⁸ and it included the restoration of both the 1867 church and the ancient chapel.¹⁹

According to the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) document on the specifications for the chapel’s restoration, works on it include reconstructions, reproductions, and new constructions such as the “reconstruction of cornice”, the construction of “a new [simple] Altar” and a new icon screen, and the manufacturing of a wooden copy of the existing door.²⁰ The envisioned reconstructive restoration therefore mixes original and copy, construction and reconstruction. It remains to be seen if and how the restored chapel will have an active “social life” through extensive reuse. For now, however, it does not hold a central position in the imagination of contemporary pilgrims – not as a medieval site, at least. The past that is relevant and invoked by the pilgrimage is the history of Cyprus’ division. This is visible, for example, in the ways in which the restoration of the monastery as a whole, as “the first heritage conservation project in Cyprus to be fully funded by both communities”,²¹ explicitly addresses the trauma of the war by being linked by the UNDP to processes of reconciliation and peacebuilding in Cyprus.²² In this manner, the wider project of

15. See for example photographs republished from Wideson in Foulías 82 and Myrianthefts 110.

16. Evgenia would like to thank Doria Nicolaou for this information.

17. This is a bi-communal committee, and it was established in 2008 with the mandate of preserving Cyprus’ cultural heritage. For more information on the committee and its work, see UNDP, CY. The restoration of the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is co-funded by the Church of Cyprus and the EVKAF Administration, with a small contribution by the US Agency for International Development via the United Nations Development Programme-Partnership for the Future. For more information on the restoration project see UNDP, *Restoration*.

18. Announcement of the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (22 February 2012).

19. Restoration of the Holy Monastery of Apostolos Andreas – Project Document UNDP, *Restoration*. See also Kokkinoftas 23, 26, 29, 37.

20. UNDP, *Procurement Documents*.

21. UNDP, CY 46.

22. UNDP, *Restoration*.

restoration alludes both to the recent history of Cyprus' division and also to an aspirational future, transforming the monastery into a symbol of intercommunal collaboration and, as the former UNDP Cyprus Senior Program Manager Tiziana Zennaro said in a speech she gave upon the completion of phase 1 of the restoration, of "perseverance, unity and peace" (2016).

The temporal period being invoked by journeys to the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas also becomes visible in the ways in which such travels are partly motivated by the memory of the 'living' past that they help evoke, preserve, and transmit. For people who were born before the division of Cyprus, especially those who had travelled to the monastery before the war, pilgrimages become means to remember, re-enact, and reconnect with a past that is not nearly as distant as that of the medieval chapel. What is most salient is a proximate, personal, as well as collective and reclaimable past. For people born after 1974, meanwhile, "[t]he past gains further weight", as Lowenthal notes, because places are conceived "not only as we ourselves see them but also as we have heard and read about them" (6). These later generations maintain their own connections with the occupied areas or, rather, what Sant Cassia calls "imagined memories" (76). Such memories do not emerge from direct experience but have been formed through familial narrations, education, and visual representations of "I Do Not Forget". In these terms, pilgrimages to Apostolos Andreas become an opportunity to learn about the occupied part of Cyprus, which for many years people based in the south could only hear and read about or see in pictures (Mesaritou): occasions of viewing the landscape not through imagined medieval eyes, as in Father Vernon's case, but through the eyes of their parents, schoolteachers, and younger selves. For both generations, then, the past that becomes relevant is that constituted by the 'before' and 'after' of the de facto partition of Cyprus in 1974. It is this history that memories of the site both store and restore.

The pre-division past and the aspiration for a future re-unification therefore mix in ways that produce a multi-temporal pilgrimage experience. As Nicolas Argenti notes, when the past is "ongoing" and still urgently relevant in the present, "past, present, and future become mutually juxtaposed and intertwined" (9). This point is reflected in the route that Greek Cypriots travelling to the

Monastery of Apostolos Andreas usually follow. With its images of unkept plains and fields, of sites ruined or eroded by time, of new settlements, universities, hotel units, and merged and/or enlarged villages, the landscape traversed gives rise to contrasting experiences of time, which is sometimes felt as having stood still, and at other times as having moved forward in the absence of those who had previously inhabited it. Images recalling the Cyprus of the 1970s, along with representations of “development” that make the present palpable, give rise to thoughts about the future; areas that have been thus transformed after the war cause people to think that they will most likely not be returned to the Greek Cypriots in case of a future solution to the “Cyprus Problem”. Recent past, present, and future therefore merge in forming a pilgrimage experience that is inevitably framed by unresolved tension.

The Cyprus conflict also lends importance to claims over ‘precedence’ and ‘ownership’ of the site (see Harmansah 482). Noting two scholars’ claims that the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas had been built over an Islamic tomb, Rabia Harmansah talks of an “attempt to prove the ‘original’ Islamic character of the site” (481), linking this development with claims over precedence which, as she notes, are important “in a nation’s linear conception of historical time” (482).²³ As we have shown in this article, however, time is not necessarily experienced as linear by people for whom the past remains very much present for at least as long as the caesuras that have marked their lives remain unredeemed. Paradoxically, it is the break in what is thought to be linear time where past, present, and future are seen as distinct that brings their actual blurring into stark relief.

As Victor Roudometof and Miranda Christou (2016) point out in discussing 1974 as a “cultural trauma” (164), “1974 did not simply deprive people from homes, fields, and orange groves; it also unsettled deep-seated cultural constructions of time and continuity” (167). The ways in which Greek Cypriots born before 1974 nostalgically recount their pre-war pilgrimages as part of a lifestyle that is long gone reveals the experience of 1974 as a caesura: the time when many lost their homes and became refugees, the time when they lost access to their grandparents’ villages, their beloved places of worship, and the holiday places of their childhood and youth, places to which they could not

23. The reactions to both the claims and the resulting demands to build a mosque near the monastery were mixed (Harmansah 481). According to Foulías (93–102), who cites various pieces of evidence disputing these claims, not only did the excavation works performed during the monastery’s restoration “not locate a Muslim tomb [...] but archaeological evidence [...] reinforce[d] the likelihood that the worship of the First-Called [Apostolos Andreas] existed there since the paleo-Christian period (4th–7th century)” (Foulías 100). The claim of an Islamic tomb existing at the site may be seen as disputing the very existence of the caesura by appearing to ‘restore’ the site’s original character in ways that also legitimize “Turkish control over the land” (Harmansah 482). This assertion can be linked to the different ways in which Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots perceive and narrate history. While Greek Cypriots begin the island’s history with “the arrival of ancient Greeks in Cyprus”, Turkish Cypriots begin “with the arrival of the Ottomans in 1571 ACE” (Bryant and Papadakis 10).

‘return’ for almost thirty years. When they finally did, places were no longer the same, or had remained exactly the same, both states becoming evocative of the caesura. But the caesura is not only experienced through the transformed landscape that is traversed. It is also enacted as something open and still in need of a resolution. The nostalgia expressed in relation to the pre-war past “leads to a nearly messianic expectation of restoring the lost grace of that era as part of the future” (Roudometof and Christou 167). It is this expectation that transforms the caesura into an unfinished state in which temporalities merge, making the past as well as the future urgent in the present.

Concluding Remarks

This article has presented histories of two shrines, two trajectories of archaeological research and restoration, broadly defined. Our aim has been to suggest some of the key components of two models of material and ritual afterlife, and to suggest how the medieval is placed strategically close to the modern in one model, yet remains latent, as if cryogenically frozen, in the other. The focus of our analysis has not been on the logistical details of archaeological excavation by professionals, but rather on archaeology as a practice that may or may not be deployed to intervene in certain concerns of the present.

Of course, history can be defined in numerous ways, through chronological progression, the reigns of monarchs, spiritual dispensations, and so on. Here, we have emphasized the analytical figure of the caesura – a potentially violent cut in time, commemorating significant and consequential events but also, in the cases we examine, rendering the ‘prior’ time distant yet desired. Seen in this way, the caesura resists the assumption that time, or in Stewart’s words “lived temporality” (“Uncanny History” 2017, 139), is inevitably linear, or at least suggests the possibility of direct juxtaposition between salient past and the present, with the suggestion that the latter may be able to redeem elements of the former.²⁴ At both Walsingham and Apostolos Andreas, a living history is created out of emphasizing the importance of a historical caesura whose nagging presence requires continued action – ultimately resulting in its own erasure. As a result, a “short gap” of

24. Stewart notes how “[e]xperientially [...] events can be felt as compacted into one present swirl [...]. Each phase is co-present, embedded into the others, giving a multi-temporal emotional resonance to [...] present moment[s]” (“Uncanny History” 138–39).

400 years at Walsingham takes on a striking parallel to what is a relatively brief historical gap in the biographies of still living Greek Cypriots. In neither place is history allowed to settle, so that the caesura embodies a cut whose traumas are still being felt. Indeed, what matters in forming the social lives of objects and sites in these two cases are not the physical ages of the archaeology or ruins or history in play, but their sacred saliences in relation to liturgical and political work that is oriented not merely to the past or even the present, but also to urgent projects of the future.

The notion of ‘afterlife’ therefore takes on particular meaning in our analysis. It acknowledges but goes beyond the assumption of the ongoing existence of objects, even ones that are ruined and/or underground. It lays more emphasis on the labour that goes into ensuring the commemoration of a particular point after which history was changed, not necessarily for the better. It goes on to assert the possibility of a form of revival. Animation in our terms therefore implies a form of unsettlement as well as displacement, whose continued trauma is expressed through material affordances ranging from ruined or neglected sites to patrolled sites of crossing. The caesuras we refer to are reminiscent of Stewart’s (“Dreams” 285) characterization of “[i]nvasions, occupations, and ethnic cleansings” as “punctuation marks in the past that give rise to the sequences and time frames of subsequent historicizations”. They are not, however, only contained in historical narratives, but are also embodied in the material culture of pilgrimages that are both about returning to, and being kept away from, one’s true ‘home’. Their power lies in their ability directly to juxtapose the present with a desired yet lost past, which may nonetheless be retrievable.

While we have emphasized the similarities between Walsingham and Apostolos Andreas in terms of the overall thrust of our analysis, we have also learned from the many differences between the two cases. Both are Christian in identity, yet the specifically spiritual character of redemption is stressed more at the English site than the Cypriot one. Walsingham as pilgrimage site is about the reversal of a Reformation history that may ultimately have been about the assertion of regal sovereignty but had the consequence of creating a division between two forms of Christian devotion. Apostolos Andreas encourages pious practices to be sure, and it takes on significance as a Christian focus of worship within Muslim-controlled space, but it also adopts a more diffuse role in marking

out a territory where abandoned homes are at least as important as lost places of worship. This is also one reason why Apostolos Andreas, unlike Walsingham, cannot readily become a holiday destination for ‘returnees’; the sheer recentness of the caesura for Greek Cypriots affords different modes of engagements with the site.

Exercise of memory also differs in key respects between the two cases, reflecting the length of times that stretches back to their respective caesuras. More ritual and ideological work must be done at Walsingham to convince potential visitors of the continued relevance of what are perceived to be past outrages; across Cyprus the memories of separation and exile are retained within still living persons, whose everyday lives contain numerous reminders to the next generation of experiences of painful displacement. In both cases, however, “material memory”, as “the result of an engagement with and the affordance” of things (Pétursdóttir and Olsen 8), becomes important. While in Walsingham such memory revolves around medieval ruins and stones from medieval European buildings and monasteries, in Apostolos Andreas it revolves *not* around the medieval chapel as such but around the pilgrimage complex as a whole. Just as certain pasts become more valuable than others in the present (see Stewart, “Dreams” 283; Argenti 16), so do some materialities become more affective and resonant, especially if they can arouse afterlives that challenge the seemingly definitive character of previous, violent, cuts into history.

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