Memories and Identities in Architecture and Sculpture: An Analysis of Memory Theatres in Ancient Athens and Jerusalem

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The research for this dissertation focuses on how social, selective, and community memories are depicted in Memory Theatres in acts of dominance and resistance. The aim of this research is to define how Memory Theatres functioned as spaces used to recreate or erase memories in the reconstruction or removal of a society and its identity. To explore how Memory Theatres functioned, this research focuses on fifth century BC Athens, ancient Jerusalem, and the synagogues: Sepphoris, Beth Alpha, and Na'aran. By exploring these three different case studies, it will enable this research to analyse how Memory Theatres worked in different spaces, examining its similarities and differences. It will also explore how the recreation of identity of individuals and a state was achieved as part of the function of the Memory Theatre through the representation of selective social and community memories. It is hoped that this study will help to define Memory Theatres and the role they played in the reconstruction and destruction of a society and its identity.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Social memory and collective memory are often preserved in monuments, sculptures, and constructions of memorabilia. This is done through the use of state-imposed memories which are used to determine what memories are preserved and stored under the title of social memory to deliver specific ideologies to the viewers. The monuments depict selected memories in spaces open to the public, organised in a specific rhythm that guides the viewer through a series of memories connecting them to their citizen role, gender role, and duties to their religion or state. These spaces are Memory Theatres. They are used to illustrate certain beliefs and ideologies that benefit the people that created them. Memory Theatres are spaces that can be found in many places around the world, particularly in areas where there is clear evidence of dominance and resistance due to opposing social groups or conflicting beliefs. For this research, I have selected three case studies: the Acropolis in Athens, the Temple and The Temple Mount in Jerusalem and a selection of synagogues: Sepphoris, Na'aran and Beth Alpha. These three different types of Memory Theatres were chosen to help form a better understanding of their use and function. To aid me in my research, I have chosen the following questions:

To what extent do Memory Theatres alter a person's perception of a nation or state?

How did people use and interact with Memory Theatres?

What memories are experienced by different religious pilgrims when they come into contact with sacred architectural structures and features?

How are power struggles retained in these archaeological features?

These questions will help to unravel how these spaces work and why they were created. To achieve this, I will first review how Memory Theatres preserved memories to recreate identities. Chapter 2 will discuss memory and social memory, and how the alteration of the memories we remember, and the absence of forgotten memories, can lead to the creation of new identities and ideologies. The three case studies used for this research will then be divided into separate parts. Part 1 will explore Athens and the Acropolis, Part 2 will explore Memory Theatres in Jerusalem, and Part 3 will evaluate the use of synagogues as Memory Theatres.

In chapter 3, we will explore how identity in 5th century BC Athens was defined by the memories that were generated by Memory Theatres and how this altered the way the spectator viewed themselves and the state in these constructions. By looking at these areas, it will aid in the evaluation of how these spaces pushed forward the concept of group identity and what that meant to the citizens living there. I will then investigate in chapters 4 and 5 the destruction and reconstruction of Memory Theatres and how they reflect power struggles in Jerusalem from the 1st century AD to 500 AD. During these periods, Jerusalem and the Temple underwent much destruction due to conflict that led to certain aspects of the Memory Theatre being changed or destroyed. These chapters explore how that change altered how people within the city identified, and what memories continued to be preserved there.

Following this, chapter 5 reviews the act of pilgrimage to the Memory Theatres and the impacts this had on the Temple. I will be evaluating the Temple as a Memory Theatre and how the procession and pilgrimage altered pilgrims' interpretation of the memories and ideologies presented there. As this chapter will be relying heavily on Christian pilgrims' accounts, I will be evaluating the changes that took place primarily from the 4th century to the 15th century AD. This chapter will also evaluate their different experiences based on gender, and how this affected their interpretation of the memories and ideologies displayed in these constructions.

Chapter 6 discusses synagogues dating between the 3rd and 6th century AD and how they represented the loss of the Temple by creating a space that carries on its memories and physical experiences. This will be done by drawing on evidence from Sepphoris, Na'aran and Beth Alpha, to determine how these spaces became the new Memory Theatres after the destruction of the Temple.

In chapter 7, I will evaluate how effective these three case studies were at defining the purpose of Memory Theatres in these locations. By drawing on evidence from all chapters, this will allow for an evaluation on how Memory Theatres preserve or destroy memories, and their role in recreating or destroying a society and its identity.

This wide range of chronological dates and locations will help to create a better understanding of how Memory Theatres functioned within these spaces and how they influenced the spectators. This research will examine their function and how acts of dominance and resistance helped to shape the

Memory Theatre and portray certain types of community memories and ideologies. This research is intended to bring forward a new way of understanding pilgrimage experiences from both the journey and the monuments they were visiting. It will help to identify how Memory Theatres were necessary for enforcing duties and gendered roles within a state or religion by depicting imageries and memories where the viewer can envisage themselves and the people before them.

Chapter 2 Memory Theatres and the Recreation of Identity

"The paradox of memory relates not only to the history of the individual, but to the history of whole civilisations" (Passerini, 2003:239)

In this chapter, we review scholarly approaches to memory and identity and the roles they play in the construction and use of Memory Theatres. Memory Theatres work by looking at how monuments, memorials, and other forms of memorabilia, can cause the viewer to experience emotional, physical, and mental recollections of events they may or may not have experienced first-hand. By explaining how a Memory Theatre functions within its own space, depicting and using selective and collective memories to alter a person or a state's identity, this can help us understand how Memory Theatres can influence the creation and recreation of a state and its people, and alter the way they are perceived.

Memory and Identity in Memory Theatres

Throughout this research I use the term 'Memory Theatre' to describe open and public everyday spaces that hold collective and selective memories in architecture, sculpture, and artistic designs. The term 'Memory Theatre' was first used by Susan Alcock where she describes them as "spaces which conjured up specific and controlled memories of the past through the use of monuments, images, and symbols" when talking about monuments in Rome (2001:335). I expanded this definition to adapt it to my research to allow for the exploration of Memory Theatres in various conditions and locations as a tool ancient communities were consciously creating. For the purpose of this thesis, I define Memory Theatres as interactive spaces with architectural designs used to remind communities at large of who they were by drawing on who they had been. By following this definition, they were spaces used to create or recreate identities of individuals, communities, and societies through their depiction in monuments in public spaces. Memory Theatres can also be defined as spaces that hold selected social memories to present new identities on an interactive level for the spectators in these spaces. The importance of the Memory Theatre is also reflected in its height and size to accentuate its influence in the landscape. Viewing Memory Theatres as interactive spaces that influence how individuals view themselves and their society is an effective method in analysing monuments and spaces, which I explore throughout my case studies.

Archaeology as a discipline seeks to construct the notion of social memory by engaging with material objects and places (Van Dyke, 2019:209). For some scholars, materials and objects are considered to store cultural memories for future generations (Van Dyke, 2019:210). Memory Theatres create spaces where these material objects are arranged in a specific sequence to create an interactive experience for the spectators to engage with.

> "While it would be simplistic to see memory as a process of recording, storing, and retrieving, the sensory stimulations and effects activated by practices such as eating are sedimented into the body, generating bodily memory." (Hamilakis, 2013:90)

Memory Theatres play on the spectator's physical experiences in the delivery of the selective and collective memories. The word 'theatre' works well to describe these spaces as interactive places where the spectators are a part of the performance, led to experience the memories physically through bodily sensations on a processional journey that carries them around the monuments and sculptures. In this research, I define Memory Theatres as places that display controlled and selective social memories in a sequence that is experienced on a processional route used to guide the spectator through state-controlled depictions of these memories. Memory Theatres create spaces where memory and identity can be altered, reconstructed, and created anew for the benefit of the state, which we will explore further in our case studies.

There has always been a conscious effort from communities to record and capture memories of their ancestors by creating monuments such as temples, tombs, and palaces (Boardman, 2002:17). This was done with the intention of preserving the past for the future, and, more so, for the present.

> "It is not difficult to understand why the memory of the past was important, and why it might need to be re-created not only in story and literature, but in image and object" (Boardman, 2002:18)

Creating visible imagery to commemorate the actions and events that people of the past were involved in, leaves space for the memories to be recreated in their construction. Memory and the art of remembering are vital to the survival of a state or community, as they can portray the interests of elitist intentions (Schwartz, 1996a:277). These memories then hold new meanings as they reflect the needs of the present through the preservation of the past. Schwartz argues that memory is an object of distrust, and that the interests are class-based (1996a:278). This interpretation of material objects being used for elite legitimisation is something that Van Dyke claims most archaeologists are susceptible to making when regarding monuments that reference to previous eras (2019:211). This is

true to an extent as Memory Theatres are used to portray selective memories and ideologies, however, these selective memories are often based on the collective memory of a community or state, and represent an event that involved the people's families. In this sense, it is not the memory itself that can be considered an object of distrust but the types of memories and events that are shown in Memory Theatres.

Memory Theatres often hold a series of selected memories that follow a sequence used to present new ideologies and identities to the viewers. The combination of selective events and the sequence in which the viewer experiences them is something that I discuss further in Chapter 3. By creating depictions of memory that are inclusive or exclusive of groups of people this leads to the recreation of memories and ethnic identities of the people in the state and of the state itself (Papalexandrou, 2013:27). Memory Theatres effectively transmit specific memories with the intention of creating these new identities, identities that help to enforce ideologies of the state. The notion of recreating identity is further discussed by Marion Stone, where she argues the uses of ruins and memories from World War II in Oradour, France, further influenced by the memorial museums, meant that "France [was] supporting these high-tech memorial museums as a means of affirming its identity as 'a nation of memory'" (Stone, 2004:135). This would suggest that by commemorating specific memories, a state, in this way, is using these memories to recreate its own identities and not necessarily change or alter the memories of themselves that are being displayed.

Memory Theatres generate spaces where identities can be recreated through the presentation of selective social memories in a specific sequence. Memory Theatres become in themselves *des lieux de mémoires*, which translates to 'spaces of memories' (Nora, 1989:8). Nora expands on this by defining memory as a bond of identity that connects the modern world to that of the ancient (1989:8). By making this connection between the events of the past and the memories of the present, the viewers re-evaluate their own identities, and the identity of the community or state (Papalexandrou, 2013:27). Nora takes this further by defining *lieux de mémoires* as spaces that provoke memories that would otherwise be forgotten. He states that "*lieux de mémoires* originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory" (Nora, 1989:12). Memory Theatres create these spaces that ensure the viewer becomes involved in the memories they view. This is done effectively as Memory Theatres interact with the viewers, linking their present selves to their ancestors and the ancient world. I would argue that, although Memory Theatres are similar to *lieux de mémoires*, they are meant to be interactive spaces that encourage the viewer to engage with the memories, identities and ideologies that are

presented to them. It is therefore possible that this engagement with the viewers may begin to encourage the recollection of selected memories as they are actively participating in a space of living memory.

Identity plays an important role in the functionality of Memory Theatres. As Memory Theatres alter and transform collective memories with the intention of reconstructing ideologies, beliefs, and identities of the people, this allows for new identities to surface when old memories are modified or forgotten and ancient bonds to the past are broken (Nora, 1989:8). Through the alteration of memories, people adjust to the given redefinition of their own identities, provoked by the memories in Memory Theatres, although this is often contested through acts of resistance which is further discussed in chapters 4 and 6. Memory Theatres function as spaces where people interact with memories through a series of bodily, sensory experiences, as well as emotional experiences (Charland, 2014:36). The sheer monumentality of Memory Theatres helps to highlight the authoritative power over the constructions and the memories portrayed, as well as the changes in identities that this causes (Charland, 2014:31). Memory Theatres can also be defined as a type of communicative memory, as it is a series of construction, monuments, and other forms of imagery, exclusively based in everyday communal locations (Assman & Czaplicka, 1995:126). Memory Theatres are used to communicate selective and collective memories to the viewers that engage with it, and in turn, communicate new ideologies and identities to the public.

Memory Theatres and the Art of Forgetting

When discussing identity and memory, it is important not to leave out the art of forgetting. It is the forgetting of events and memories that make Memory Theatres so effective in creating new identities. This is because Memory Theatres promote certain kinds of controlled selective memories and leave out or ignore unappealing and cynical versions of events (Papadakis, 1993:152). Often, forgetting is key to creating new identities as it allows for states and communities to erase memories that do not fulfil their intentions, permitting them to construct new narratives by replacing past memories with more functional versions (Carsten, 1995:318). By encouraging the forgetting of certain events, memories can be made and remade with the objective of serving the ever-changing needs and interests of society (Schwartz, 1996b:909).

Although memories can be easily manipulated and are subject to being purposely forgotten, it is the fear of forgetting that often drives the creation of new Memory Theatres. The fear of events not being remembered and voices going unheard is what inspires the continuous recording of new memories in an attempt to preserve the past (Boardman, 2002:18). The act of forgetting, in itself, enforces the very memories it is trying to erase; "any operation aiming to cancel memory cannot help being also an effort to produce another set of memories" (Passerini, 2003:239). Forced forgetting can be used to create new identities, by cancelling out unwanted memories of a community or state, but it does not necessarily achieve this as the fear of not remembering plays a big role in how Memory Theatres are constructed. In some cases, the destruction of material items of collective memory can inflict cultural amnesia (Van Dyke, 2019:2017). Memory Theatres can emerge in spaces sparked by the very notion that identities and memories must be preserved, which is something I discuss further in chapter 6.

Sentimentalising the Past and Memory Building

As has been discussed, Memory Theatres and the memories they depict are necessary instruments in the construction and preservation of identity. The specific arrangement of selective memories portrayed in these spaces is what allows Memory Theatres to create new narratives; compelling the viewer to experience memories they do not necessarily remember or events they may not have lived through. This often leads to idealisation of the past sustained by the notion that "ancestors were always better, bigger and stronger" (Boardman, 2002:18), and that the past must be preserved as it is believed to be "golden and worth recapturing" (Boardman, 2002:18). The obsession with looking into the past for guidance in the present is the reason memories work so well to push forward ideologies and identities that benefit the state or a community. A romantic outlook on the past is key to creating a past that the people of the present can relate to as "we cannot be oriented by a past in which we fail to see ourselves" (Schwartz, 1996b:910). The spectators would need to visualise themselves in the past events in order to experience the memories portrayed there.

Memory Theatres project collective memories that are key to the creation of new memories and narratives in a community or state. Schwartz states that "collective memory conceives the past as a social construction that reflects the problems and concerns of the present" (1996b:909). Collective memory is also considered to be a group of memories that facilitate not only the correction of disapproved behaviour but also contain morals and lessons (Namer, 1999:224). This furthers the argument that collective memories are altered or fabricated memories, intended to design a more politically appealing version of the past by pushing forward the beliefs and ideologies of the present.

Memory Theatres work with collective memories to produce either state or community-controlled ideologies and identities. By making memories more relatable to the circumstances of the present, Memory Theatres designed by the state create the impression of addressing individual needs to successfully deliver new ideologies and identity to its people.

> "Collective memory does not solely rely on professional historical scholarship, but it also takes into account the various individuals and institutions that affect and influence the versions of histories that have become part of the collective memory." (Shackel, 2003:3)

Here, Shackel defines collective memory as institutional influence over a group of people. This is because collective memories are so easily shaped and transformed. By designing monuments to exhibit memories that suit the needs of the present, the viewer can experience the memories on an individual and personal level (Papalexandrou 2013:33). This is often achieved with the inclusion of objects of the past in the construction of new monuments. Memory Theatres build on the emotional and sentimental connections that already exist within these objects in order to create an environment that remains inclusive (Papalexandrou 2013:42). The art of reusing original foundations and constructions in the creation of Memory Theatres is something that I discuss further in chapters 5 and 6.

The act of incorporating architectural elements and sculptures or the physical remains of the past in its preservation is how Memory Theatres and collective memory work so effectively to create new narratives and memories. Selectively using existing memories to create new ones becomes an efficient way of gradually introducing new narratives. Objects of the past can be very influential when incorporated into new memories. The reuse of objects of the past in the construction of Memory Theatres changes the meaning of the objects and makes the viewer reidentify with its new narrative (Starzmann, 2014:222). This is because "the true force of memory lay in recollection or memoria" (Carruthers, 2010:16) which helps to explain how artefacts and objects of memoria can hold ideologies that support changes made in the present. These objects represent surviving memories and continue their sentimental significance for viewers. In this way, these objects are in themselves a living memory, which contributes to the argument of Memory Theatres existing as spaces of living memories (Carruthers, 2010:17). This is supported by the idea that in preparation for constructing these monuments, the materials used would have been chosen based on their flexibility, security and ease of combining the old memories with the new (Carruthers, 2010:20).

Conclusion

Memory Theatres are key to altering the identity of individuals and a state or community. They incorporate bodily, sensory as well as emotional and physical experiences, to create spaces where viewers can actively engage with monuments and memories. Memory Theatres therefore exist as interactive spaces where the viewers can immerse themselves in memories and ideologies and, as a result, become subject to altering their identities. Memory Theatres can also be considered spaces of living memory, as the memories alternate between individual and state needs. As the state uses these spaces to romanticise the past, the viewer engages with the memories and ideologies that change the way they may view themselves or their state. I develop these key features of Memory Theatres further in my three case studies in order to help identify the link between Memory Theatres and identity to truly develop an understanding of how they function. Through investigating the function of Memory Theatres, this dissertation intends to link the construction, destruction and overall use of memory, identity and ideologies to the life cycles and designs of Memory Theatres.

Methodology

To achieve this analysis of Memory Theatres and how they contain memories used to recreate identities in Athens, Jerusalem, and the Sepphoris, Na'aran, and Beth Alpha synagogues, I will be undertaking desk-based research, including analysis of maps and photographs. I will be using the photographs I took on my research trip to Greece in 2018 to further investigate how these spaces were connected. This will help me to identify how Memory Theatres worked based on my own experience walking through them.

I conducted a site visit to Athens in 2018 where I kept a journal of everything I visited as well as photographs and have based much of my research on this. As part of my research, I was due to undergo a trip to Jerusalem to visit and photograph sites there and get in touch with local archaeologists to gather more information and details that I was unable to collect elsewhere. Unfortunately, due to COVID-19 these trips were cancelled, leading me to approach this research topic from a completely different angle than I originally intended. Without this trip, I was unable to pursue certain key aspects that I would have liked. My chapter on Jerusalem is entirely based on primary sources, online articles, accounts from pilgrims, and journals.

Along with these journals, I found virtual tours online and, with the help of maps, I was able to decipher how these Memory Theatres were accessible and how people would have viewed them. The analysis of maps was particularly effective for both Athens and Jerusalem. Viewing maps from different time periods helped to accentuate the fluidity of the Memory Theatre and how its focus point could change location. These maps provided an aerial view of how the procession that would have taken place down the Panathenaic Way, in Athens, following the path skirting round the Acropolis, and the pilgrimage to the Temple, in Jerusalem, where the pathway made it possible for pilgrims to continue religious practices on their journey. The map analysis helped to highlight different viewpoints of the same places.

By investigating these experiences in this way, I open a path to understanding just how effective Memory Theatres were in changing a society and place – by recreating their identities. It will also help to define what areas can be considered Memory Theatres and how this term can lead to a new analysis of dominance and resistance in these locations through the preservation and destruction of certain memories within a Memory Theatre. It will also examine the development of the Memory Theatre in these different locations and time periods and their role in the destruction and preservation of a society and its identity.

Part 1 - Athens, Greece.

Chapter 3 From the Parthenon to the Grave Stelae: How Memory Theatres Created New Athenian Identity

"The focus on identity highlights the political and psychological use-value of collective memories."
(Kansteiner, 2002:84)

Identity plays a prominent role in the construction of Memory Theatres. Memory Theatres were spaces where people could interact with sculptures and other constructions that depicted memories of their *polis* and its people. They are spaces where people could view the artistic reflection of historical events of the *polis* and the possible events their families were involved in. The layout of these Memory Theatres formed spaces that were able to hold selected and controlled memories of historical events of the *polis*, and its citizens, and present them in a positive light. These memories would then cease to portray personal experiences of individuals and instead present new collective memories of the citizen body for the spectators to interact and engage with.

Due to the layout of the Memory Theatre in Athens, and the collective memories they portrayed, these locations would have a processional route that would guide the viewer through the Memory Theatres in a pattern not dissimilar to that of some museums. The Panathenaic processional route in Athens ensured the viewer fully experienced the memories depicted through the art and sculpture, passing a specific sequence of sculpture and monuments so they could thoroughly interact with them. Here and elsewhere, Memory Theatres became spaces that activated each bodily sense as the viewers travelled through the theatrical presentation of the artistically designed memories. As Memory Theatres required the spectator to be more physically entangled in the art and architecture, this meant that the viewer would become more involved in the story it was depicting and the ideologies it was supporting as they walked along the processional route. By creating these displays of collective memories, this meant that Memory Theatres could create new individual identities enforced by the ideologies that were presented by the state. The state's control over the design and depiction of the memories presented to citizens and foreign travellers in these Memory Theatres was used to create new identities and redefine what it meant to be a citizen of the state.

By exploring the Memory Theatre in Athens, this chapter intends to further discuss how Memory Theatres were used to recreate Athenian identity through state control. It will also discuss how the spectators engaged in those spaces and how the Athenian Memory Theatre was designed to be experienced through a full body sensory participation. By evaluating these areas, this can help identify how people in fifth century Athens used and interacted with Memory Theatres and how these spaces could alter a person's perception of a state.

To achieve this, I will firstly discuss space and identity in Athens and what it meant to be Athenian in the fifth century BC. Following this, I will briefly review Athenian politics in the fifth century and the condition of its military to explain some of the political ideologies behind the design of the Memory Theatre in Athens. From here, I will analyse and interpret the Panathenaic procession that guides the viewer through the Memory Theatre from the grave stelae to the Parthenon. I will discuss the spectators' sensory experience of the memories based on the layout and design of the Memory Theatre and how these were used to alter the spectator's perception of the Athenian *polis* and the Athenian identity it created. We will be working through the Panathenaic from the Acropolis down to the *Kerameikos*, to fully explore political imagery in this areas and link common themes in the architecture. By doing so, this will allow me to evaluate how Memory Theatres could be used to alter a person's perception of the state through the depiction of state-controlled memories and ideologies. It will evaluate how the Memory Theatres worked to alter Athenian identity as it recreated what it meant to be Athenian in the fifth century BC.

Identity and Spaces in Athens

Identity in fifth century Athens was largely dependent on gender, race, ethnicity, politics, citizenship, and language. This system was as restrictive as it was overlapping. It bound people together by the very qualities that also separated them. Cole describes the Athenian identity as:

> "a colorfully painted Russian *matriuschka* doll containing a whole series of dolls, inside the other, each person is defined by a combination of relationships" (2004:1)

Since many people fell into more than one category, they were often able to hold a variety of different identities that connected people together as well as restricted their interaction with people in different spaces. Memory Theatres were able to form a space that could blur the lines between different identities (Vlassopoulos, 2007:36). These spaces brought many kinds of people together including citizens, *metics*, slaves and women, and created a place where they could have common

experiences, and shape new forms of identity. They can also be referred to as 'free spaces' and included locations such as the workplace, the tavern, the house, and the Agora and the cemetery which can all be considered part of the Memory Theatre (Vlassopoulos, 2007:38). I use this idea of 'free spaces' to include Memory Theatres as they create an inclusive space for people of all identities. The Agora, the Acropolis and the cemeteries were also features in the layout and design of the Memory Theatre in Athens. They provided spaces where all people were able to interact with each other and the monuments, which contributed to the effectiveness of the Memory Theatre in Athens as it had the power to contain large numbers of people and create new forms of Athenian identity.

In these free spaces, Memory Theatres were able to present the state's ideologies of true Athenian identity and citizenship, as it reflected their duty and responsibilities to the state. As the Memory Theatre in Athens focus entirely on their distant history and identity, this develops the idea of committing to the polis as their ancestors once did before them (Carabott, 2003:31). How a nation was perceived by its people and neighbouring cities was vital to its image (Carabott, 2003:25). The Memory Theatres offered the opportunity for politicians in the Athenian state, as we will see with Pericles later in this chapter, to remove any unappealing versions of its past and create alternative versions that portrayed the *polis* in a more attractive and powerful view. It was advantageous that within these spaces the state could also alter the Athenian identity and determine perceptions of the citizen's duties to the state which would vary depending on their gender, ethnicity, and citizenship.

In many cases, identity in Athens was confusing and unexplained. Fifth century Athens is often referred to as the "mother-city", or *metropolis*, implying that it had daughter cities made up of its colonies that would have special ties to their birth (Cole, 2004:2). The cities then related to each other by stories and myths of their foundations, and ancestors that were born from Athens and connected them to one another (Cole, 2004:2). They were creating fabricated ties of blood with their allies which impacted how they defined their own identity. This large number of citizens, and the overall population of Attica, meant that these fabricated ties relating each daughter-city to Athens meant that there was consistent blurring of identities (Vlassopoulos, 2007:36). Athens contained a variety of groups of people where, in these free spaces, they were able to blur their identities into one collective group and identify with the imagery depicted in the Memory Theatres. These spaces had the capacity to recreate a new Athenian identity that the large population could relate to in different ways depending on their citizenship, gender and whether they were slaves or travellers.

Political Imagery in Memory Theatres

In a time when Pericles was redefining Athenian identity and placing restrictions on citizenship, fifth century Athens saw many wars and suffered many military defeats as a result of the Peloponnesian wars. Rhodes praises Pericles' work during the second and third quarters of fifth century Athens by saying:

> "Pericles was one of the most prominent politicians in Athens, at a time when Athens was one of the most powerful politically and military, and one of the most flourishing and influential culturally, of a thousand or so *poleis* in the Greek world" (2018:1)

Although this statement can be considered to be true to a certain extent, and Athens was truly a remarkably efficient state by ancient standards, it is also necessary to acknowledge that the Athenian army was only average, and from the middle of the fifth century onwards the army was overtaken by the Boeotians (Jones, 1957:99). The Athenian army suffered many losses throughout the Peloponnesian wars resulting in the Athenians having no pride in their land army as they did with their navy. It is likely that as a result from this, the Periclean war strategies of the fifth century were lowering Athenian military morale, particularly so after their defeats at Lebadeia and Delium (Jones, 1957:99).

Pericles' reconstruction of the Acropolis included a large number of cavalry sculptures and images of the Athenian army on the Parthenon frieze (figures 3.1 and 3.2). The cavalry were not the main forces of the Athenian army and they are described in ancient sources as being disobedient. This is both true for real life accounts and mythological stories where they were named as partly responsible for Poseidon's defeat at the hands of Athena in Athens' early foundation stories (Osborne, 2010b:312). By depicting young cavalrymen in the reconstruction of the frieze on the Parthenon, Pericles was attempting to boost the Athenian appreciation of their army. The cavalrymen were portrayed as strong, heroic, young men. The fact the cavalry are not in their uniform dress helps us to deduce that they are not on their way to war, but they are rather being celebrated for their strength and achievements. They are perhaps celebrated in this way as part of the Panathenaic procession of which the cavalry, hoplites and higher officers all played an important role (Gerding, 2006:392). They are sculpted as young men, used to depict their eternal youth as a reward for their sacrifice to the *polis* (Osborne, 2010a:260). By adding these features of the Parthenon, Pericles was creating a space where these unfortunate defeats could be viewed as positive achievements. He was using the Memory Theatre to manipulate the population's emotional response to his military strategies and instead lead

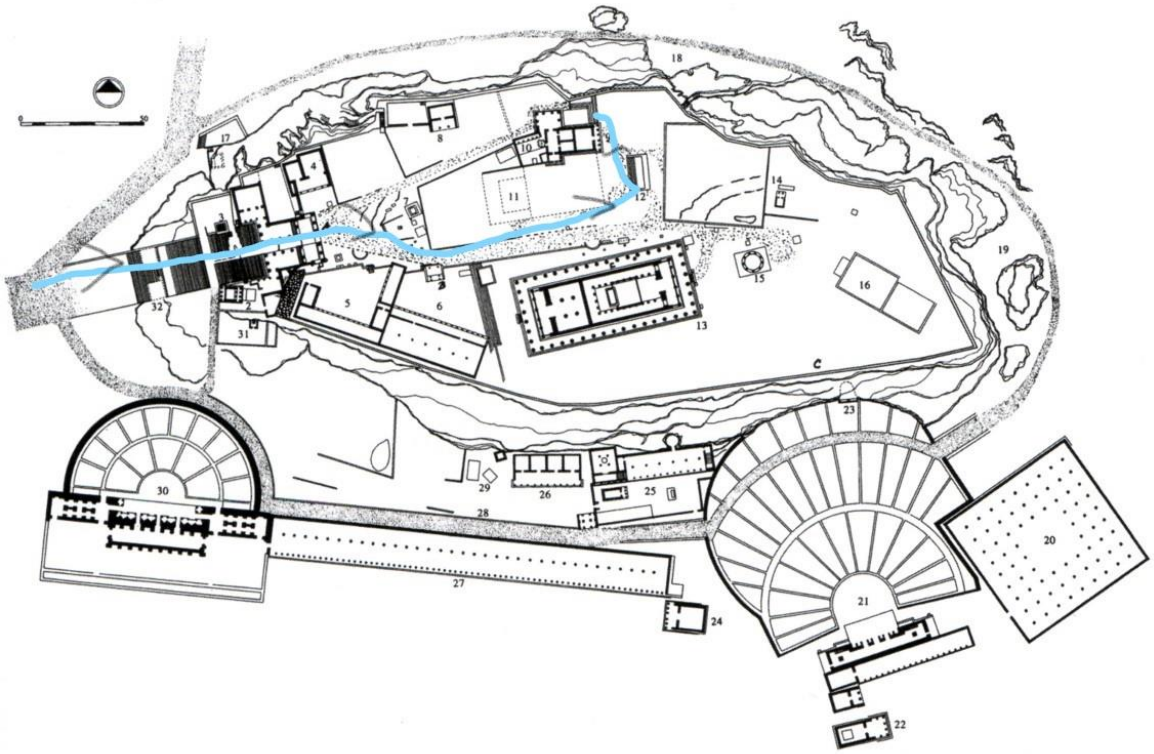
the viewers to interpret a far more preferred image of Athens during his time of authority. Not only would altering the memory of the army's achievements benefit Athens' image, but it would have also changed the way the population thought of their army and raise their morale which would have led to preferable behaviour towards the military and Pericles.

Figure 3.1 Parthenon frieze with cavalrymen not wearing the usual military outfit. They are instead wearing their cloaks whilst mounted on a horse. Both the men and horses have a similar pose which shows the repetitive design of the frieze. Photo:Author.

Figure 3.2 Parthenon frieze depicting the continuation of the repetitive design and lack of individuality. Photo: Author

The extravagant design of the Acropolis, and further modifications in Athens, was in itself a statement of Pericles' political power not only over Athens, but across the Athenian allies also. Pericles was conscious of glorifying Athens by exercising his power over the ally. One of the ways in which this was done was during the Great Dionysia festival in Athens. This procession of performances and processions was really a way for the city to demonstrate its political power to the many spectators from the rest of the Greek world (Goldhill, 1987:61). The festival was an opportunity to glorify the state and enforce Athens' role in the Greek world.

After the Delian League Treasury was moved to Athens in 452 BC, Pericles was using the funds to create a rich and beautiful state (Morgan, 1963:105). Whether or not the sculptures on the Parthenon depicted any imagery that reflected their relationship with the allies, Athens' dominance and control of the other states could be seen in the sculpture and design of the buildings, as well as in the materials they used and the amount of labour. It was a way for the Athenians to show off their artistic and cultural advances during the fifth century, using the layout and design of the Acropolis as a Memory Theatre to display these achievements to the viewers. The Panathenaic procession was one of the most effective ways to achieve this as it placed the spectators in the centre of the Acropolis, guiding them through the Memory Theatre and exposing them to the state-approved memories displayed there (figure 3.3). Although the Panathenaic Procession guided the spectator to the Erechtheion, where the sacred olive wood statue of Athena was held, it brought them to the Acropolis and passed the Parthenon. Not only did this procession guide the spectator on a journey of admiration of the glorification of Athens, it also helped define its strength to its neighbouring cities and allies. Pericles kept the blackened columns from when the Persians burnt Athens as a marker of Athenian courage, reinventing their identity not only to the people living within Athens but to external spectators also (Gerding, 2006:390). This would then help to recreate Athenian identity in the fifth century by celebrating their progression as a state of artistic and philosophically advanced people funded by the allies. The Memory Theatre of Athens found in the Acropolis, with the help of the Panathenaic route, reflected the control, power and strength of the *polis* over its people and allies in a visually pleasing display.



3. Plan of the Classical Acropolis. Drawing: I. Gelbrich (after Travlos 1971, fig. 91, and Korres 1996), with revisions by the author.

A. Entrance Court
B. Point of "first good view of Parthenon" (see Fig. 6)
C. Approximate location of Attalid Group

1. Propylaia
2. Sanctuary of Athena Nike
5. Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia
6. Chalkotheke
7. Bronze Athena
9. Erechtheion
10. Pandroseion
11. Opisthodomos?
12. Altar of Athena
13. Parthenon
14. Sanctuary of Zeus Polieus
15. Temple of Roma and Augustus
16. Building IV (Heroon of Pandion?)

Figure 3.3 Plan of 5th century BC Athenian Acropolis the blue line and arrows mark the Panathenaic route to the Erechtheion. As the spectator passes through the Acropolis they pass the Parthenon frieze where the figurines follow a similar route to the Panathenaic route. The spectator is then following the procession taking place on the Parthenon also. Although the sculpture and design would have been at a great height, the visual difficulty would have attracted the spectator's attention even more as they identify the features. Image taken from (Hurwit, 2005).

Viewing the Dead

The vast expansion of the Memory Theatre in Athens was not exclusively contained within the city walls but extended to the North, into the cemeteries. In fifth century Athens, the cemetery became a space that was equally susceptible to conforming to state ideologies and memories. As they were spaces where many people would gather for personal and public visits, cemeteries can be viewed as

an extension, or even the starting place, of the Athenian Memory Theatre. The cemetery in fifth century Athens, found in the *Kerameikos*, the starting point of the Panathenaic procession, where Pericles gave his funeral oration in 431 BC, was placed along the Sacred road to Eleusis (figure 3.4) (Arrington, 2010:511). This cemetery not only offered visual pieces for the viewer to engage with but also emotional experiences as people gathered to mourn over loved ones. As cemeteries are generally considered to be spaces where people can lament over the deceased, it is in some way extraordinary how this space was manipulated to depict ideologies of the state. As the spectator approaches the entrance to the city from Eleusis, they would find themselves face-to-face with the tombstones scattered along the entrance road into Athens. Avoiding these tombstones would have proven difficult and so the spectator would be welcomed into the city of Athens by the tombstones of the deceased Athenian soldiers (figure 3.5).

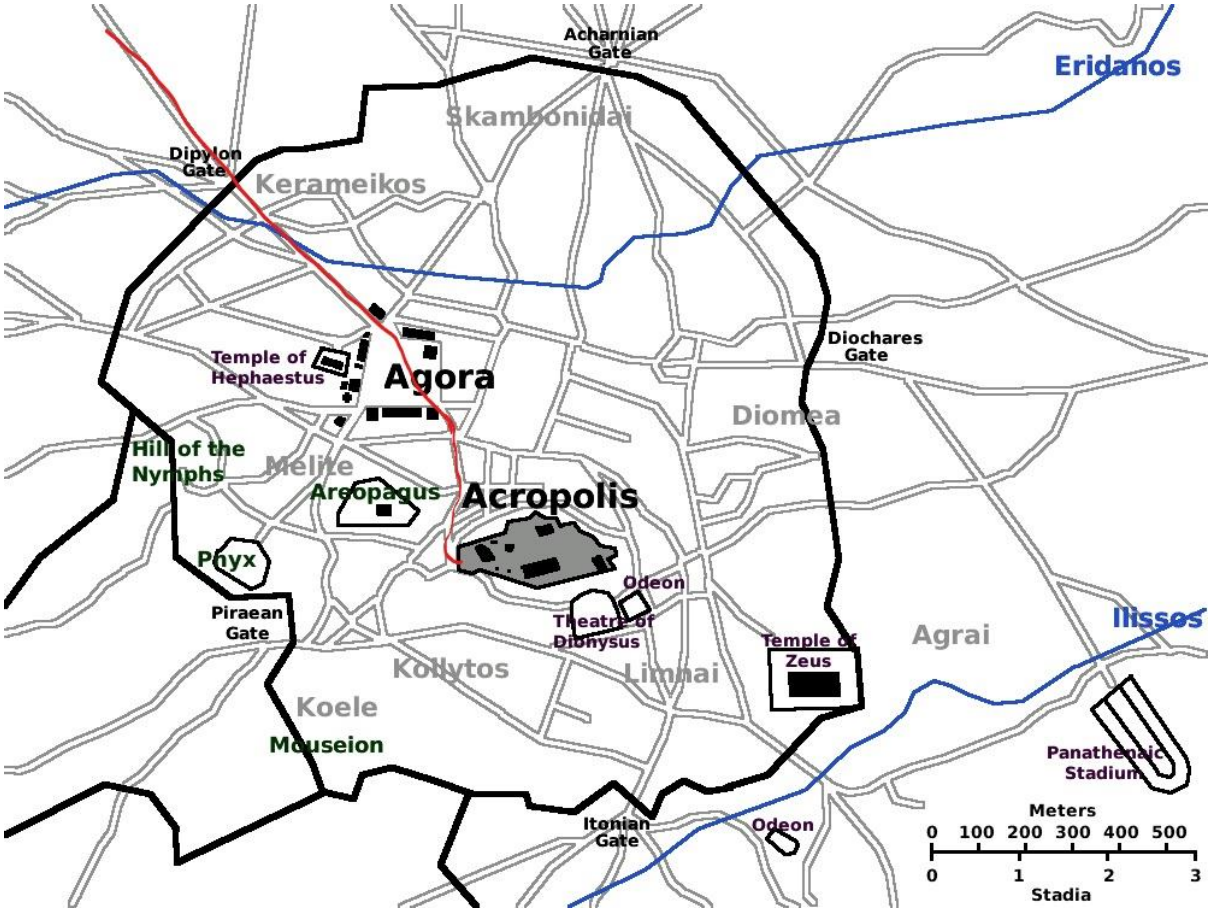


Figure 3.4 This map shows the cemetery in Kerameikos by the Dipylon Gate and beyond, and its proximity to the Acropolis, close to 1500 metres apart. The red line indicates the road that would be taken in the journey to the Acropolis from Kerameikos (Morison, 2015).

Figure 3.5 Plan of Kerameikos and Dipylon Gate. The red dots on this plan indicate stelae that were excavated in 2010. The POL refers to polyandria stelae, AK are for sites related to shrines of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, EPI is for sites related to gardens of Epikouros, and CL is for casualty list. Spectators and travellers would have to travel past these stelae on their journey into Athens from the North-West (Arrington, 2010).

In the late fifth century, there was a sharp increase in the number of war stelae. The high number of war stelae can be explained by the many defeats the Athenian army suffered during the Peloponnesian wars. On each of the war stelae there would be a person dressed in soldier's uniform. When observing the stelae, the soldiers all carry the same face style and do not depict any individual person (Osborne, 2010a:260). These soldiers do not appear to be preparing for combat; instead they stand as generic soldiers in uniform (Osborne, 2010a:253). The soldiers on the stelae lack any kind of individualism or stylistic designs that would connect their features to that of an individual person. This is true to the fact that the Athenian state buried their war dead in one monumental tomb in Kerameikos, a dedicated space for those that fell in the wars, and done as a single celebration (Patterson, 2006:54; Thucydides, *History of The Peloponnesian War* 2.34). Single stelae depicting soldiers holding military equipment like the Stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas (figure 3.6) were not to celebrate individual soldiers but instead remind the male Athenian citizens of their duty to the city

(Leader, 1997:690). This can also be seen on the Stele of Dexelios (figure 3.7). Although this soldier is positioned in combat the sculpture shows no signs of individual features, and a facial structure that matches closely to that of the Stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas.

Figure 3.6 Stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas dated to 400 BC depicting two young soldiers, one clothed and the other nude. Although this sculpture is dedicated to two individuals their features remain indistinguishable (Leader, 1997).

Figure 3.7 Grave Stele of Dexileos dated to the fourth century BC depicting the soldier triumphing in battle against the Corinthians in 394 BC (University of Cambridge, n.d.).

The design strategy of the stelae match that of the cavalrymen found on the Parthenon frieze who also do not carry any specific features linking them to individual people (Osborne, 2010a:260). The soldiers on the stelae, like the cavalrymen on the Parthenon, do not appear to be going off to battle but stand dressed in their uniform. By not including any individual features that could link these sculptures to individual people, the state moves the focus from the single citizens and presents them as a single citizen body in their influence over the burial of the dead. Avoiding any identifiable facial features allows the viewer to disassociate the sculpture on the stele from the person buried beneath it. These stelae were then perhaps not created to celebrate an individual's life but rather their sacrifice to the *poleis* as a single bodied army.

The design strategy used on the stelae, similarly to that of the Parthenon, helps to stress the focus on formulating a collective citizen body and army. As the identical people found on the stelae follow a similar design to the Parthenon, it is clear to see a connection between the two spaces which support their existence as a single Memory Theatre. As the spectator travels along the road, they would notice the faces on each of the stelae are identical and do not represent any individual's features. This is due to Pericles' desires to create the illusion of a collective citizen body that he confirms in the funerary oration he made in 431 BC, where he refrained from any celebration of the individuals (Osborne, 2010a:258). Osborne argued that:

> "The prime way of emphasising the solidarity of the citizen soldiers who have died is to treat them as but a single body and not to mention any differences or pick out any individual for special treatment." (2010a:259)

These soldiers were praised for their commitment and service to the state as a single group, which ignored whether any of the individuals had the desired qualities they were being celebrated for. The stelae then become active parts of the Memory Theatre in creating memories of people that may not have been true. By creating these stelae to celebrate a single army, they presented a type of unity of the Athenian citizens, one that continued in death. The spectator would then be viewing a series of what would have appeared to be stone soldiers protecting the outer walls of Athens. The same soldiers that died defending their *polis* were continuing to offer protection from their graves.

As well as being greeted by an army of stone soldiers, this would have been accompanied by other bodily sensors guiding the spectator through the Memory Theatre and enhancing their experience of the site. A great variable in the spectator's journey through the stelae would have been the weather. As they travelled through the display of stone soldiers, the weather could have affected the way they experienced the site. The stone soldiers could have appeared different in the rain, and under dark clouds, compared to viewing them in the brightness of the sun where the spectator would have better been able to view the anonymous faces. The weather and the position of the sun could have greatly affected the appearance of these stelae as the shadows may have enhanced parts of one sculpture and different parts of another placed in another location; creating an army of individual soldiers with changing features. The heat could have also had an effect on the odours in the cemetery caused by the libations prepared for the dead (Cole, 2004:34). The viewing, accompanied by the smell, could have created a different experience as these factors made for a living Memory Theatre that changed

depending on the weather and the time of day, and year, the spectator decided to visit. Travelling on ones own or in company would have also created a different sensory experience of the graves as this would have added noises, smells, and touch to the experience.

Body senses, time, and weather were not the sole variable factors that could have changed the way the spectator would have experienced the cemetery. If the spectator was Athenian, they would have had a different experience of the cemetery compared to someone traveling from outside of Athens. The people of Athens had their own set of rules on how to behave in their cemeteries. Women often tended to the funerals and the caring of the deceased bodies. Deceased bodies were considered to be polluted and so it was not desirable for men take on these responsibilities; instead, women, who were already considered to be polluted due to life events such as childbirth, took on the responsibilities of dealing with the dead (Cole, 2004:36). The fact that Athenian men and women interacted so differently with the dead could have consequences on how they viewed the stelae and whether they were able to identify the citizens buried beneath them, as they travelled through the Memory Theatre. The ideas of pollution and purity among men, women and the dead, meant they would experience the Memory Theatre differently; women would perhaps lament more as they see and work with the dead bodies so regularly as they prepared them for their tombs. Men and women in this case would experience different emotions and memories walking through the Memory Theatre, as one would perhaps be thinking about the war and Athenian army, and the other reflecting perhaps more on the individual they helped prepare for burial. These memories would be guiding the citizens towards their own gender roles and civic duties to the state with the men giving up their lives in battle for the prosperity of the state and the women waiting on and caring for the men.

From *Kerameikos* to the Acropolis

The straight, long road through the Dipylon Gate connects the cemetery to the Acropolis, expanding the size and location of the Memory Theatre. The easy distance of 1.6 kilometre between these two locations, and the direct route linking them together, forms a fantastic processional route for the spectator to engage with all of the monuments. The Panathenaic procession guides the spectator to each monument and enhances their experience of the Memory Theatre as it draws on all of their bodily senses. As the Acropolis is on a large hill, the climb from the cemetery to the Acropolis, on such an incline, would have been quite exhausting work for the spectator (figure 3.8). The strain this would put on the mortal body as they are directed towards a sacred and divine space can add to the effect of the Memory Theatre.

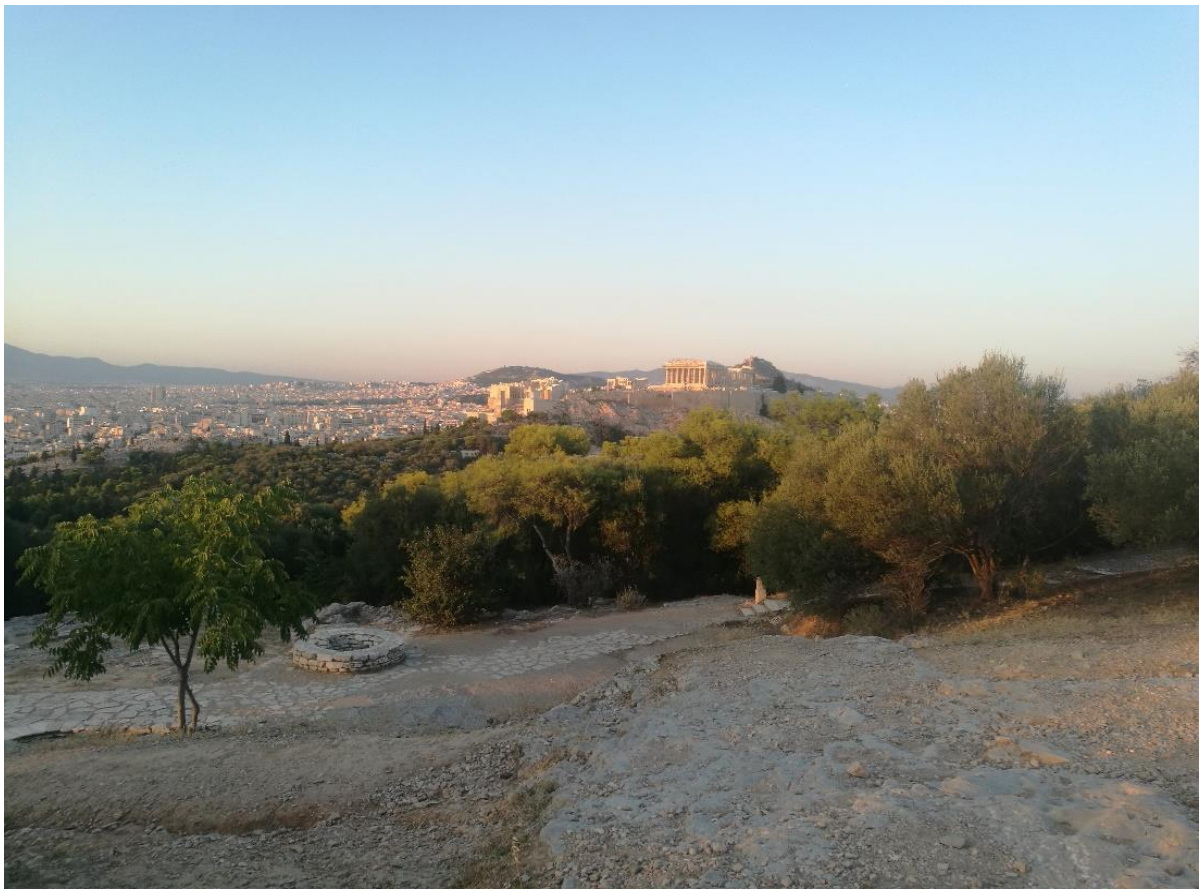


Figure 3.8 Acropolis taken South-East from the Monument of Philopappos. This photo helps to highlight the distance and height the spectator would have to have travelled, although it is hard to tell what condition the streets would have been in and how hard it may have been to travel on them. Photo:Author.

One of the most interesting ways of experiencing the Memory Theatre was by travelling along the Panathenaic procession. The Great Panathenaic procession was a highly inclusive celebration that accumulated people from allies, colonies, magistrates, and even freed slaves and women, as well as herdsmen that carried sacrificial animals to the festival (Gerding 2006:392). The spectator would be guided around the Agora and Acropolis and exposed to the ideologies of the Athenian state in the Memory Theatre. The spectator would be subject to a high level of noise and smell as they walk through a busy space full of Athenian citizens, women and slaves; making the actions of the people in this space part of a living Memory Theatre.

As the spectator approaches the entrance to the Acropolis, they arrive at the *Peisistratus Portico*. This entrance gate acts as the doorway to the heart of Athens. These types of boundaries work as "Division of the community's territory [that] recognized the god's claim to space within the human realm" (Cole, 2004:36). These divisions of territory served as reminders that negotiations or interactions with the

gods required ritual purification (Cole, 2004:36). Usually, these spaces would hold the boundary stones *horoi*, fenced enclosures *periboloi*, and basins of water *perirrhanteria*, at the entrance to a sacred location as visible indicators of the presence of divinity (Cole, 2004:36). The scaredness, reinforced through the Memory Theatre, dominated a space that already held significant divine properties allowing it to form a tie between the motives of the *polis* with those of the gods. These barriers would have also created the illusion of entering a seclusive and restrictive space as the barriers limit the movements of the masses of people entering and exiting the site (figures 3.9, 3.10 & 3.11). The *Peisistratus Portico* would have worked as a crowd control for people entering the Acropolis, forcing them to slow down and enter a few at a time. The *Peisistratus Portica* was very beautifully designed, and its relatively small entrance would have restricted access, working to control the crowd movement, would have given the spectators time to appreciate the scale and beauty of the Acropolis as well as appreciate the artistic skill and labour that went into creating it (figures 3.12, 3.13 & 3.14).

Figure 3.9 Boundary Stone found in excavation at the Agora in Athens (Meritt, 1966).

Figure 3.10 Boundary stone for the "sacred way to Delphi" as part of the Panathenaic Procession route (Meritt, 1966).

Figure 3.11 Boundary stone for the sanctuary of Demeter Azesia, marking the boundary of the sacred space (Meritt, 1966).

Figure 3.12 The Peisistratus Portico. This photo shows the scale of the entrance to the Acropolis only to be magnified by the large blocks used to build it. The people in this photograph help to emphasise this height. Photo:Author.

Figure 3.13 View from beneath the Peisistratus Portico. This photograph shows the height of the entrance way and the level of artistic detail that went into the planning and building in the fifth century. Photo:Autor.

Figure 3.14 Ceiling of the Peisistratus Portico. This intricate design on the ceiling helps to demonstrate Pericles' beautifying and glorifying of Athens. These panels, found on the ceiling of the Peisistratus Portico, almost too high for the viewer to engage with or notice properly, shows the extent of richness spent on remodelling Athens and the Memory Theatre. Photo:Author.

The boundaries around the Acropolis also helped to fence off the ritual space, which brings with it great ritual connotations to the site. The intermingling of the Memory Theatre, portraying the ideologies of the state, and the sacred ritual spaces, suggesting the approval of the gods, helps to make this connection between the *polis* and the gods. Cole explains how vital it is to have this link between the *polis* and the divine:

> "the *polis* could be anchored anywhere; on the *acropolis*, in the *agora*, or in the surrounding *chora*. The decree assumes the priority of the gods and recognizes that the land belonged to its divine residents long before the time of any human occupation." (2004:39)

By constructing the Memory Theatre within the sacred spaces, the *polis* justifies its ideologies as though they were agreed by the gods. It marries the ideologies in the Memory Theatre with the portrayal of the will of the divine. In this way the memories are approved by the gods, particularly as many of the memories are of the gods also, as they granted the *polis* to use the space accordingly (Cole, 2004:37). However, the walls around the sacred space were perhaps used to divide the ritual space from the political life in order to create a space that would remain untouched by the democratic debates that took place in the Agora (Vlassopoulos, 2007:42). This could explain why the Memory Theatre functioned so well in this space as it allowed for the *polis* to carry through their ideologies, memories, and identity, in a space that was intended to be separated from Athenian politics.

One of the ways in which the Athenian state was able to overlap memories, ideologies, and the gods was through the scenes of combat on the Parthenon. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the cavalrymen were drawn on the frieze at a time when they were known not to be Athens' best defence (Osborne, 2010a:246). However, the designs of the cavalry complemented the story of Poseidon's defeat, and links the mortals to the divine. This connection between the mortal and the divine encourages the idea that the mortal depictions of memory and Athenian identity are of great importance as they coexist with the stories of divinity. It is possible that Pericles was linking Poseidon's defeat on the pediment to the Athenian's own defeat during the Peloponnesian wars and against the Persians, and comparing these common events. By including the cavalrymen, the Parthenon is able to recognise the deaths of Athenian citizen soldiers as a single body, transforming the Parthenon into a large grave stele (Osborne, 2010a:258).

Soldiers were not the only people presented on the Parthenon. The procession that travels along the frieze includes men, women, boys, and horses. This procession does not take place in any particular

year nor does it represent any individuals, the faces remain the same for each person, the only thing that changes are their clothes (Osborne, 2010b:298). The undefined faces allow the spectator to visualise themselves as the people on the frieze and metopes, whether man, woman or child, and take part in the procession as they continue in the existing procession of the Memory Theatre. Following in the procession, as the people do on the Parthenon, helps to recreate Athenian identity as the spectator is able to view themselves in this grouping of men, women and children of Athens, and see themselves as a solid unit of citizens instead of focusing on their individuality. The act of revisiting the Parthenon creates a new memory of a shared identity among the spectators. These scenes not only guide the spectator through the Memory Theatre and around the Parthenon, but they show the spectator that true Athenian identity is found in the unity of its people.

Individuality and Identity in the Memory Theatre

Pericles' desire to dispose of the concept of individuality and instead unite Athens as a single body of citizens is a theme that is strongly prevalent in the designs of both the Acropolis and the cemetery. The processional route from the cemetery to the Acropolis adds to this affect as it directs the spectator through the Memory Theatre and around Athens' busiest quarters, aiding in the reconstruction of Athenian identity. By celebrating the collective identity of Athens, Pericles was binding together people of many identities that originally depended on their gender, race, ethnicity, political affiliation, citizenship and language (Cole, 2004:1). Diminishing the factors that make these people individuals also helps the *polis* to determine their roles within Athens and the duties they owed to the state. A good example of this can be found in the depictions of women in the Acropolis in the sixth century BC where they are shown performing their duties to the *polis* and completing their expectations as women weaving in free-standing statues (Osborne, 1998:158). These free-standing sculptures of women did not explore them as individuals, they only portrayed them as daughters or wives (Osborne, 1998:84). The sculptures only explore women in a context of social exchange, where they owe a duty to the state, such as to perform rituals, making offerings to the gods, and marriage (Osborne, 1998:84). Women were considered as the appropriate practitioners of many rituals, due to their association with fertility (Goff, 2004:3). This meant that women's activity in the sphere of ritual was determined by the models of female identity in Athens (Goff, 2004:4). Upon viewing these sculptures, women are reminded of their civic duty to the state, in performing rituals that were considered unfit for men, much like preparing the dead for burial in the cemetery.

Sacrificing one's self for the survival of the state is also a common theme found in the representations in the Memory Theatre. It allows the state to have the full security of its people as they readily perform their duties to the state. By recreating the Athenian identity, the state could ensure that the people had full faith in the state's performance and that they would commit themselves to the duties necessary for it to survive (Carabott, 2003:25). This was successfully achieved by creating images of men, women, and children that contain no individual features, ensuring that in spite of the spectator's gender they would be able to visualise themselves in the place of these unidentifiable people. Osborne explains that the spectator would see themselves through an "improving mirror which takes away not only any beard or bodily deformity but his very individuality" (1998:180). The spectator can easily place him or herself in the place of the people on the frieze and wish to perform these duties for the *polis*. This experience very likely draws on any emotions as the same repetitive drawings are carved onto the stelae in the cemetery, and thus perhaps creates a sense of obligation to the state.

By using the Memory Theatres to recreate Athenian identity, Pericles was recreating the events that were taking place in the fifth century and altering the way they would be remembered by the citizens of his time and thereafter. Pericles appeared to be celebrating the army of soldiers that were unsuccessful in the Peloponnesians wars and lost battles against the Persians, caused by Pericles' battle strategies, to boost Athenian morale and behaviour towards Athens' land armies (Osborne, 2010a:246). He was also able to achieve this by using the tributes paid by their weaker allies in the glorification of Athens, celebrating the lavish richness they had already gained from the states, previously dominated by Athens, in the construction of their Memory Theatre for spectators to admire (Osborne, 2010b:291). Recreating how people viewed the *polis* through the Memory Theatre changed how Athenians identified with the state. By forming these spaces where people could identify with the people in the frieze, and in the stelae, Pericles was successfully recreating the new Athenian identity with the help of the Memory Theatre.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we covered fifth century Athens' state of politics, democracy, military, the different people that lived in Athens, and how they interacted in free spaces. Free spaces were open to people of all categories and identities and gave them a place where they could regroup as a single body. Memory Theatres also fall under the label of free spaces as they are areas that are open to all kinds of people and unite them as a single body of citizens. Although they can be considered as free spaces, the Memory Theatre in Athens is used to suppress individuality and agency, raising questions on

whether these spaces can truly be considered as free. This fluidity, combined with the presentation of monuments and sculptures, helped the Memory Theatre to portray the new Athenian identity to its spectators, whether they were citizens, women, children, or *metics*.

The processional route of the Memory Theatre carried the spectators through all parts of the Memory Theatre in a specific order similar to that of a modern museum. As the spectator would be exposed to all aspects of the Memory Theatre from the cemetery to the Acropolis, the spectator is able to link similarities and themes across the linear route of the Memory Theatre. By working in this way, the Memory Theatre is able to pull on any emotions and bodily senses that the spectator experienced in one location to their experience of the next location. The procession through the Memory Theatre, together with the bodily experience, is what truly affected how the spectator would perceive the monuments and memories. This is because it became more than viewing images as it also focused on fully immersing the body and mind of the spectator in their interaction with the monuments and memories. These interactions made the Memory Theatre come to life, making it easier for the spectator to view themselves as one of the people in the frieze, joining in on the procession, and becoming part of a single body of citizens. As the Athenian Memory Theatre had an interactive aspect, it recreated a new Athenian identity that the spectators could engage with and incorporate into their daily life, all whilst altering their perception of the state itself.

Part 2 -Jerusalem

Chapter 4 Destruction and Construction of Memory Theatres on The Temple Mount

Introduction

In the last chapter we discussed Memory Theatres as "free spaces" in Athens. They were designed to be open and inclusive to successfully create or recreate new identities for the state and its citizens. Where Pericles was using Memory Theatres to erase the notion of individuality and create a single body of citizens in Athens, we can find Memory Theatres in Jerusalem being used to achieve the exact opposite. The creation and recreation of identity comes with the literal construction and deconstruction of Memory Theatres. The construction and destruction of the Temple on The Temple Mount helps to indicate how Memory Theatres were used to protect identity rather than birthing new ones. Investigating the events that took place on The Temple Mount and the people involved in the construction and destruction of the Temple can help in the analysis of how Memory Theatres reflect power struggles and alter people's perception of themselves and their religious heritage. By evaluating these circumstances and the role the Temple and The Temple Mount played in the destruction and protection of identities and memories, this will help to evaluate three of my research questions mentioned in my introduction: To what extent do Memory Theatres alter a person's perception of a nation or state? How did people use and interact with Memory Theatres? And how are power struggles retained in these archaeological features?

Memory Theatres can be described as inclusive spaces created to portray specific and targeted memories used to alter a person's identity and perception of their state. Although this description is useful when discussing Memory Theatres in Athens, it also begs the question of who is creating these spaces and what their intentions are. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the case of Athens the person creating the Memory Theatre was Pericles, however, this is less obvious in Jerusalem. Jerusalem's Memory Theatres are excellent examples of a continuous power struggle from the people that created them. The reconstruction and destruction of the Temple is an effective example of Memory Theatres functioning as active tools in dominance and resistance in a community. It is especially worth noting the changes it underwent when people from outside the community became involved in its creation. The Temple in Jerusalem has a complex history of its uses in the preservation and destruction of identity and memories, which can be seen in the remaining archaeological features we see today. It has been destroyed and transformed through aggressive acts of dominance and

resistance that reflect the community's engagement with each other and with intrusive civilisations. This use of the Temple helps to determine the role of Memory Theatres as instruments in the power struggle over a people and place where the state and external influences compete over memories and identities.

In this chapter, we will be analysing public and community memories and engagement in the creation and preservation of memories and identities in Memory Theatres. Evaluating how a community engages with the Memory Theatre can help to identify how involved communities are in the construction and alteration of their own memories. I have suggested that Memory Theatres are key to the creation of new identities and memories. Exploring the destruction and construction of the Temple on The Temple Mount will offer a new perspective of Memory Theatres and their uses in preserving community identities and community memories which preserves their way of life as well as its destruction being used to erase these same memories and identities. The preservation or destruction of both identity and memory can be used as an act of dominance or resistance, easily manipulated by conflicting leaders and states, much like Herod and the Roman state do in Jerusalem.

To achieve this, I will first discuss how Romans, and other states, changed, altered, and added to the Memory Theatres in Jerusalem and what impact this had on their community. We will also discuss the relationship between Jerusalem and surrounding civilisations to determine how this could be considered a plausible motif behind the construction and destruction of these Memory Theatres. Following this, we will then explore The Temple Mount as a Memory Theatre and how it was used to define Jewish identity and nationalism in Jerusalem. From here, there will be an in-depth discussion of Herod's techniques and methods in the reconstruction of the Temple, and how this would have impacted the community and their relationship to Herod and Rome.

By discussing these points, this will help to determine how Memory Theatres functioned and how the people that created them, or modified these spaces, could gain control over them, and change how spectators would experience them. Exploring these key features of Memory Theatres through the construction and destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem will bring to light the functionality of Memory Theatres and their role in imposing dominance over a community of people. It will also work to highlight the struggles in power over memory and identity, as well as dominance and resistance, in the harmful destruction of community memories and the construction of new ones.

A Background Study of the City of Memory Theatres

I argued in chapter 3 that the Memory Theatre in Athens was not the individual buildings that stood alone but instead made up of surrounding spaces throughout the city like the grave stalae, the Panathenaic procession, monuments, and spaces of remembering. They are not restricted to single geographical locations, which is something that is very visually prominent with Memory Theatres in Jerusalem. Due to the vast spaces Memory Theatres encompass, it is easy for small or large parts of these places to be altered, resulting in the memories of these areas to be reshaped, or changed completely, which affects the entire Memory Theatre within the city. From early on in Jerusalem, there has been evidence of acts of dominance and resistance in the modifications that were made to these spaces. When carrying out excavations on the Western Wall in 2017, archaeologists found that the wall continued approximately 6 metres below the surface level of the current plaza (Weksler-Bdolah & Onn, 2017:14). This increase in the full known extent of the Western Wall, built on by Roman city planning, suggests that one of Herod's main intentions in rebuilding the city in the early 1st century AD was to remove, hide, or disguise, certain aspects of Jewish memory and culture by making alterations to their Memory Theatres.

By changing the layout of the city this altered the way people would navigate through it, which equally created new ways for people to travel through the Memory Theatres and alter their experience of them. Roman street planning was so efficient that in the late fourth century, Byzantine Jerusalem based its own street plan on the existing Roman streets built for *Aelia Capitolina* (Weksler-Bdolah, 2014:49). In excavations on The Temple Mount, Weksler-Bdolah and Onn found evidence that suggested that the cliffs of The Temple Mount were not natural formations; they were cut by the Romans in the period of the First Temple, though the authors do not give a specific date for this (Weksler-Bdolah & Onn, 2017:15). These dates help to push the idea that Roman architecture in Jerusalem amplified aspects of the city that affected the experience of the Memory Theatre, as well as altering the very ground it was built on. The changes made to The Temple Mount made way for the later alterations to be made to the Memory Theatre, affecting the experience of the city. By changing how people, citizens, and pilgrims would travel to and use the Memory Theatre, the Romans and Herod were already inflicting a sense of control and superiority across the city.

There are two common factors that make for a good location for the construction of a Memory Theatre in this particular location; these are: the height of the land it is on, and its size. Much like the Acropolis in Athens, The Temple Mount gains its power and dominance from its height and size,

making it an excellent location for a Memory Theatre to be a visible and dominant feature in the landscape, or cityscape. In the case of Jerusalem, the location of the Memory Theatre has such primary importance in the foundation of the city that, from what we can decipher from maps, the rest of the town or city is built around it (figure 4.1). The Memory Theatre exists in its own dedicated space, encompassed within the city walls, which adds to the spectator's experience.

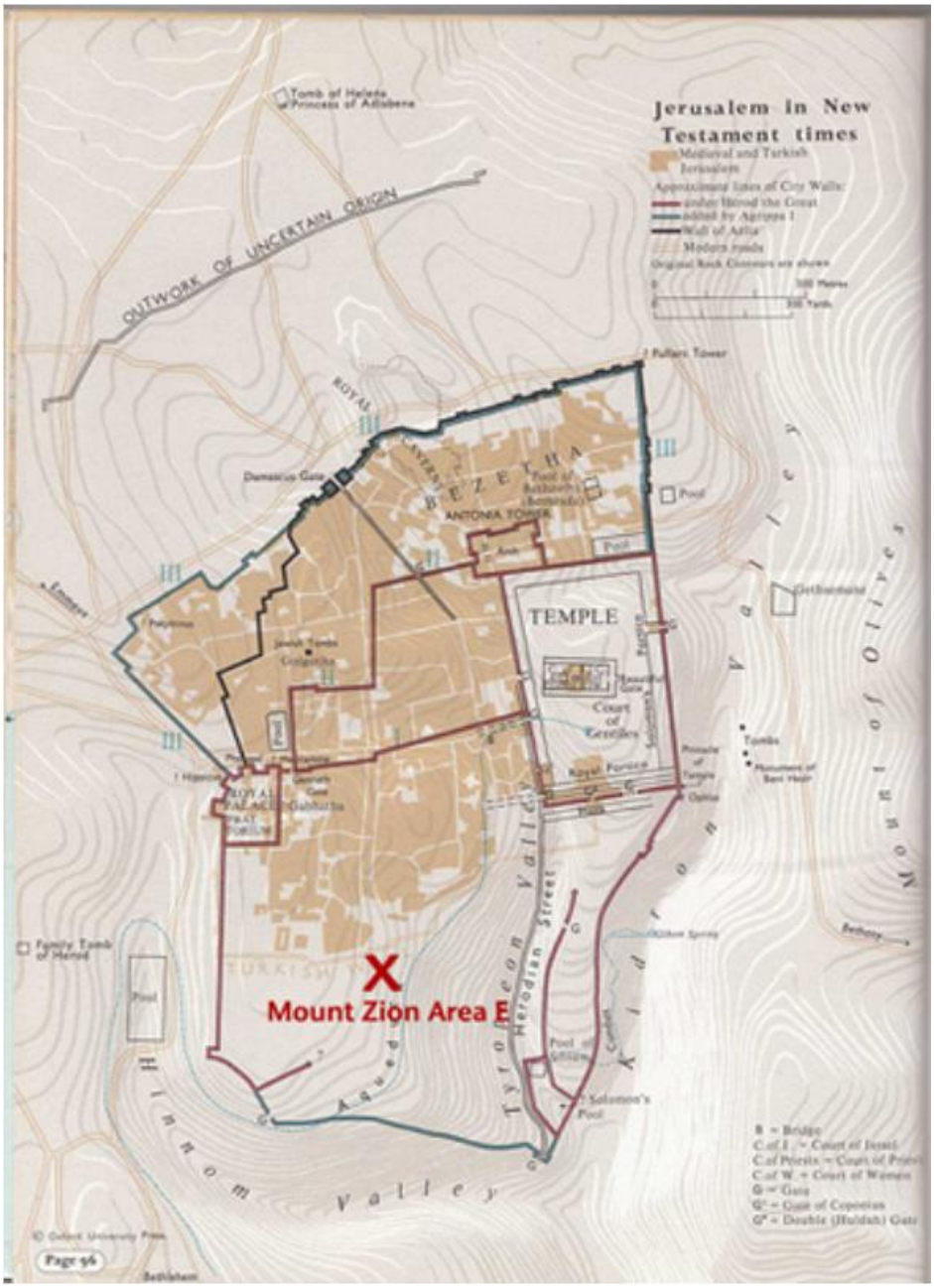


Figure 4.1 Map of Jerusalem in New Testament Times with the city boundaries from Herod the Great marked out in red. This map shows the level of priority that is given to the Memory Theatre. Herod's Temple and the Temple Mount take up a significantly larger space in comparison to the rest of the city (Weaver, 2013).

This was the case from the first construction of this Memory Theatre, and its later destruction, which led to the Second Temple to be built in its place. Flavius Josephus states, after the destruction of the First Temple and exile of the Jewish people in the 6th century BC, that upon hearing Isaiah's prophecy King Cyrus allowed the "[Judeans in Babylon] to travel to their ancestral home and to raise up both the city of Hierosolyma and the sanctuary of God" in its place (Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*. 11.6). Under these orders, the people chose to construct the Second Temple where Solomon's Temple once stood on The Temple Mount, a decision that was widely supported:

> "And after they arrived, all the friends of the king began giving assistance and contributing to the construction of the temple: some [giving] gold and some silver and others cattle along with horses. And they were returning prayers to God and completing the customary sacrifices according to the ancient [practice], even as their city was being re-founded and the ancient customs of their worship had come back to life." (Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*. 11.9)

Not only does this passage help to highlight the support for this reconstruction but it also justifies the location of this Memory Theatre. As this Memory Theatre is a temple built to honour God, much like the Parthenon in Athens, it is natural for it to be built on the highest point of land. What the passage describes is a joint effort of "all the friends of the king" (Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*. 11.9) in the construction of Hierosolyma and the Second Temple, weaving the very memories of Solomon's Temple into the construction of the new Memory Theatre they were creating.

The impressive height and land they managed to acquire to build their city reflected the strength of the citizens and the support they received. The power and dominance that comes from building the Temple on The Temple Mount is something that is very clearly stated in the following passage:

> "Then, [Nehemiah] summoned all the people to Hierosolyma and, standing in the midst of the temple, delivered this speech to them,
>
> […] And so [God] helped me to receive authority from the king that I might raise up your wall and complete what remains to be done on the temple. And I want you - even though you know clearly the enmity of the nations surrounding us, and that they will oppose the building if they learn of our ambitions concerning it, and devise many obstacles to put in our way to hinder it - above all to have confidence in God that you will withstand their hatred, and that you will not slacken the pace of building either by day or by night, but will apply all diligence

> to continue to work, since the time is favorable." (Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*. 11.5.168 – 71)

Although the main priority was to build the Temple in honour of God, this passage openly addresses the concerns of the nations surrounding Hierosolyma and the possibility of them reacting negatively to its construction. This passage openly acknowledges the necessity and speed in creating a new Memory Theatre to support their heritage of the lost land as they returned from exile in the late sixth century.

When reading Josephus' account of these events it is also necessary to reflect on the significance of his works. Josephus was living in Rome from 70 AD to the end of the first century and gathered his sources from Romans citizens (Feldman, 1998:133). He was creating an apologetic history of these events and sought after non-Jewish sources to praise Jewish people in light of this (Feldman, 1998:132). His intention was to rewrite these events in a positive light which may have affected how we interpret our understanding of the construction of the Memory Theatre. The memories and ideologies the Second Temple was built to preserve were perhaps lost not only in its later destruction but also in the writings of its history and memories as it may have varied differently. Claiming the land anew meant creating a civilisation from the new immediate memories they were forming in the foundation of Hierosolyma. New memories were made from the old to continue their way of life and preserve their identity.

Herodian Jerusalem and the Restoration of a Memory Theatre

With Herodian Jerusalem came the restoration of the Temple, a space for religious practices, which doubled as a Memory Theatre celebrating Herod's legacy in Jerusalem and the sacrifices he made for the city. In 20 AD, the eighteenth year of his reign, Herod decided to build the Temple, and make it larger, and more glorious than before in honour of himself:

> "to build of himself the temple of God, and make it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection; and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him" (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 15.11.1)

Similarly to the discussion in chapter 3, where Pericles rebuilt the ruined Acropolis to celebrate his achievements and glorify Athens, Herod was building a Memory Theatre that would celebrate an

identity, a culture, and a Jerusalem he had created for the citizens that lived there. It would celebrate his work in uniting Jerusalem and Rome and intertwining their cultures and identities as he helped to manage Jerusalem during a time when it was the seat of all major national institutions; political, social, and religious (Levine, 2008:30).

Josephus is very clear in his writings that Herod made this Temple far bigger and far more glorious than before to suitably glorify himself and his memory there (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 15.11.1). Although it can be deduced that Herod was creating a Memory Theatre that would glorify his achievements, Josephus was following this idea forward in his works for the benefit of Titus and to celebrate his own military skills at the side of Titus later in his accounts of the siege in Jerusalem (Rappaport, 2007:72). These secondary connotations in Josephus' works emphasize Rome's role in Jerusalem and creates a narrative that focuses more on Josephus himself (Rappaport, 2007:75). Although useful to an extent, to rely solely on Josephus in the interpretation of the intentions, ideologies, and memories projected in the construction and destruction of the Memory Theatres would be unrealistic in developing our understanding of how these spaces functioned.

Herod was so keen to alter the way people would perceive his work in Jerusalem that he went to exceptional lengths to create a new Memory Theatre in the ruins of the old Temple. To achieve this, it was necessary for Herod to restore the Temple without disrupting Jewish culture and religious practice that continued around the Temple grounds. Herod gave the impression that building the Temple to a greater height and size was part of his intentions of glorifying the rest of Jerusalem, as well as undertake these building projects as part of his duty to God and to honour his achievements (Levine, 2008:30). Levine discusses this idea that Herod, and other rulers following Augustus, undertook a building project that would represent the achievements they had carried out during their rule. This allowed them to reconstruct and shape their respective societies "while creating impressive monuments to perpetuate their reign" (Levine, 2008:35). The construction of this temple was allowing Herod to transform and dictate the behaviour of society through the creation of this Memory Theatre, as well as perform his duty to restore Solomon's Temple.

The Memory Theatre proved not only to be of great significance to the people of Jerusalem but to Rome as well. It represented Rome's relationship to Jerusalem and stood as an ornament to the empire (Patrich, 2010:70). In this case, the Memory Theatre was not solely for the citizens of

Jerusalem, it was also used to represent the Roman empire outside of Rome. It was connecting Roman and Jewish memories in one Memory Theatre for citizens, pilgrims, and spectators to experience and marvel at its design and impressive size. In the ambitious expansion of the Temple, Herod also expanded and enlarged The Temple Mount to add to the impressive scale of his building project (Galor & Bloedhorn, 2013:77).

To ensure the incorporation of Roman memory and identity, in a time of conflict between Rome and the Jewish people living in Jerusalem, in 40 AD, Caligula ordered that the Temple be converted into a shrine for the imperial cult and a statue would be erected inside it (Bilde, 1978:67). These plans were stopped due to protests and rioting, as the Jewish citizens opposed Caligula's claim to divinity (Bilde, 1978:70). As a result, Caligula forced a statue of himself to be erected in the Temple with the intention of forcing the Jewish inhabitants to take part in ritual performances that expressed their loyalty to Rome as they were obliged to worship Caligula under the name of Zeus (Bilde, 1978:75). These acts of dominance were often met with resistance, however, in these circumstances, the statue was an attempt to alter Jewish ritual performances, changing the meaning of the Memory Theatre and how they identified within it. Acts of dominance and resistance in Memory Theatres and their impact on the spectators will be further discussed in chapter 6.

Not only was the expansion of the Memory Theatre necessary to contain Herod's reconstruction of the Temple and magnify its glory, he went as far as to decorate the Temple Mount's inner esplanade with enlarged pilasters (Galor & Bloedhorn, 2013:79). These additional decorations show the richness Herod brought to Jerusalem which can still be seen in a short section of the western wall (Galor & Bloedhorn, 2013:70). This helps to illustrate the intricate detail Herod added to this construction, although these decorations would not have been particularly visible to the spectator. Similar to the design of the frieze on the Parthenon, discussed in chapter 3, the decorations become a part of the Memory Theatre and reminds the viewers of the richness in its design and Herod' success in Jerusalem, in spite of its compromised viewpoint.

Reconstructing the Temple as a Memory Theatre was an impressive way to ensure that his reign would be remembered and the memories there would be viewed and experienced by the spectators as the Temple "dominated and dictated the life of the city and of the entire nation" (Patrich, 2010:67). Using a space that already held great importance to the society that used it was a practical way of displaying

memories and creating the notion of a Roman Jerusalem. Herod was beautifying Jerusalem like Pericles beautified Athens, to celebrate their reigns, but also, to show the strength of the city and its richness to its neighbouring states. This was particularly effective as pilgrimage offered new ways for the Memory Theatre to be experienced for both travellers and the people in the city.

As Jewish people were expected to travel to Jerusalem and visit the Temple at least three times a year, pilgrimage brought with it an opportunity to expand the economic prospects of Jerusalem (Goodman, 2007:60). During the time of the Second Temple period, pilgrims would often travel with their family and pay for facilities, foods, luxuries and souvenirs, that would help the growth of Jerusalem's financial strength (Goodman, 2007:60). Not only did these annual pilgrims provide the opportunity to better the city's financial position, it provided Herod with the opportunity to display his new Memory Theatre to a vast number of pilgrims and portray a new vision of the city, of a strong and powerful Jerusalem.

Furthermore, Herod was building a new Memory Theatre in the ruins of another. He chose to honour the old Memory Theatre in its reconstruction by hiring priests to work with stone cutters to avoid entering spaces that were forbidden to him (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 15.11.5). This respect led to the people having faith in his abilities to rebuild the Temple without trespassing any societal or religious boundaries in the process (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 15.11.3). In building this Temple, under the pretence of preserving their society, memories and identity, Herod was creating a new identity, one that combined Jewish identity with Roman.

By changing the Memory Theatre, Herod was influencing their collective memory of the Temple and their identities and culture as he continued to change the way they would experience their Memory Theatre by adding new memories in its construction (Shackel, 2003:3). Herod was constructing an artificial Roman Imperial space on the grounds of the most important space in Jerusalem (Grabar, 2005:200). Herod's Memory Theatre "contained a rich trove of holy memories associated with the real and the mythical history of Jews and the first Christians" combining common themes of both Judaism and Christianity, and in turn, Roman and Jewish in this new space (Grabar, 2005:200). Through the adaptation of the old Memory Theatre, Herod was building off of the collective memories and connections that already existed in this location, making it easier for him to integrate them into a Memory Theatre that celebrated his success and that of the Roman Empire. By appearing respectful of the religious laws, Herod was able to gain the permission of the citizens in his quest to create a new

Memory Theatre and create new memories and identities by establishing a connection with the ones that already existed in this space.

The Temple Mount and Experiencing Memory Theatres in Jerusalem

The Temple, and Jerusalem itself, created a Memory Theatre full of bodily sensory experiences and spiritual experiences for pilgrims, citizens, and travellers. The Temple and The Temple Mount work well as a Memory Theatre as they reach across the city, drawing pilgrims and other spectators into its very heart. The Temple was considered a public space and meeting point for various sects as well as an objective of pilgrimage for Jewish people from Judea, Galilee, and the Diaspora, and even more so from the Herodian period onwards (Patrich, 2010:67). Herod made many changes to Jerusalem during his time that added to these experiences (Levine, 2008:30). The sensory experience of entering the city, passing through the high city walls, would deliver a very real experience of passing from one area, through the entrance in the wall, and into a sacred and holy land. The act of travelling from light, through the darkness in the walls, and returning to light would affect the spectator's visual perception of travelling to a sacred space. This experience plays on the spectator's sight by restricting what they can see before they are admitted into the city. Once through, the spectator would be exposed to the city of Jerusalem where they see the full city unravelling before them, with the temple dominating the space (figure 4.2). The city walls help to deliver the full experience of the Memory Theatre as they also play on the spectator's sight and perception of size and scale from the moment they approach the walls of Jerusalem.

Figure 4.2 Model of Herodian Jerusalem created in 1966 and moved to the Israel Museum in 2006. This photograph depicts the layout of the city, showing off the great height of the city walls, the Temple and the streets inside the city that lead to the Temple (Jenkins, 2008).

After entering the city from the southeast entrance, passing through the Siloam Pool, the spectator would head North towards the Temple and through the old City of David (figure 4.3). This journey into the city first focuses on the religious practices of passing through the Siloam Pool as part of the process of purification, and secondly carries the spectator along the grounds that held memories of when the First Temple stood. The journey to the Herodian Temple incorporated the memories of a time the spectators would not have experienced first-hand but experience again in this procession. This along with the well paved streets provided pilgrims with convenient access and easy circulation to the Temple (Patrich, 2010:68). Herod made sure the path the Temple was clear, wide, and well-paved, to guide the spectators in a journey through time and memories, where the city had changed but the practices continue.

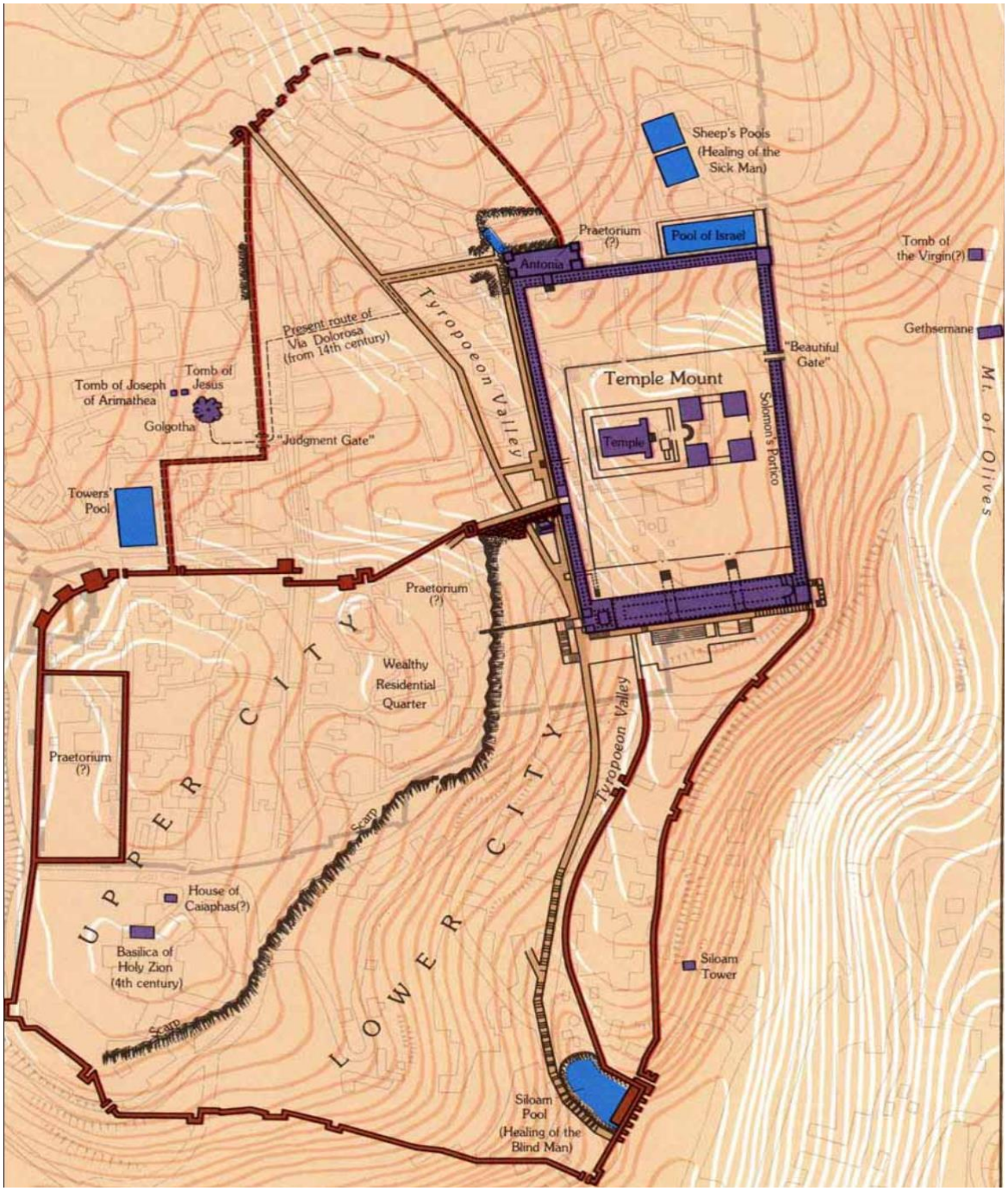


Figure 4.3 Plan of Jerusalem during the Herodian period. This map shows a distinct connection designed to guide the spectators from the Siloam Pool to the Temple (jewishhistory.huji.ac.il, n.d.).

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem led to many new activities taking place, such as sale of sacrificial animals, currency exchange, and many other events such as preachers giving sermons, and individuals or groups decrying the regime, whilst others gathered to study the Torah (Eliav, 2008:54). These new events and actions would have brought with them a new soundscape that would add to the spectator's experience as they travel through the Memory Theatre and explore the identity of Jewish people living in Jerusalem. A great example of the sounds in the soundscape would come from the Trumpeting

place on the southern wall of the Temple Mount. This location was marked with an inscription (figure 4.4) where the priest would sound the trumpet to mark the beginning and the end of the Shabbat during the period of the Second Temple (Ben-Dov, 1982:94). The sounds of the trumpeting and other additions to the soundscape creates a very active and lively expression of the Memory Theatre as they travel through it. As the spectators travelled through the streets to the Memory Theatre, they followed a similar path people before them travelled on. The soundscape allowed them to create a connection not only to the people in their immediate presence but to the people of the past.

Figure 4.4 Trumpeting Stone with the inscription "To the trumpet-call building to pro[claim]" (Ben-Dov, 1985).

As Herod attempted to glorify and beautify the Temple he maximised its size to more than double what it was before, which Eliav has described as: “converting it into the largest temple complex in the eastern part of the Roman Empire at the time” (2008:57). Increasing the size of the Temple, makes it stand out far more and act as a more prominent figure in the cityscape (figure 4.5). By making these changes Herod was adding to the Memory Theatre and the experience this would have on the spectator. As the Temple was developing and retaining the memories of the Roman soldiers and Herod, who built it, it was altering the way people would experience the Memory Theatre, as a more dominant and pervasive monument in the city. These changes would also change the way the

spectators would identify with the Memory Theatre, much like with the Acropolis in Athens, as it would depend on whether they were Jewish or Roman, and how they would interpret these different experiences. How these individual groups of people interpreted the Memory Theatre is one of the reasons Titus was at first reluctant to destroy the Temple in 70 AD (Patrich, 2010:70). This is because when Herod reconstructed the Temple, it retained Roman cultural memories in its creation and became a Memory Theatre not just of Jerusalem but of Rome also.

Figure 4.5 Model of Herodian Jerusalem indicating how the streets in Jerusalem lead to the Temple, a dominant feature in the model due to its great height and size (Mevorah, n.d.).

How Memory Theatres are experienced has a big effect on their success in providing spaces of memory and preservation or creation of identity. Herod's temple "radically transformed the physical reality in which they lived and worked" and effected the very experience of the Memory Theatre (Eliav, 2008:57). In spite of its large size and spacious design Herod's Temple had small doors to restrict flow of access (figure 4.6). This restrictive access would have delivered a sense of exclusivity and allowed the spectator to go from feeling connected to others around them, to feeling a religious connection with the Temple and the memories that lie there. Much like in Athens, one of the most effective ways of pushing memories and protecting, or creating, identities is by creating these Memory Theatres that

play on spectator's bodily, emotional, and spiritual senses to enhance and heighten their reception of the ideologies, whether Jewish or Roman.

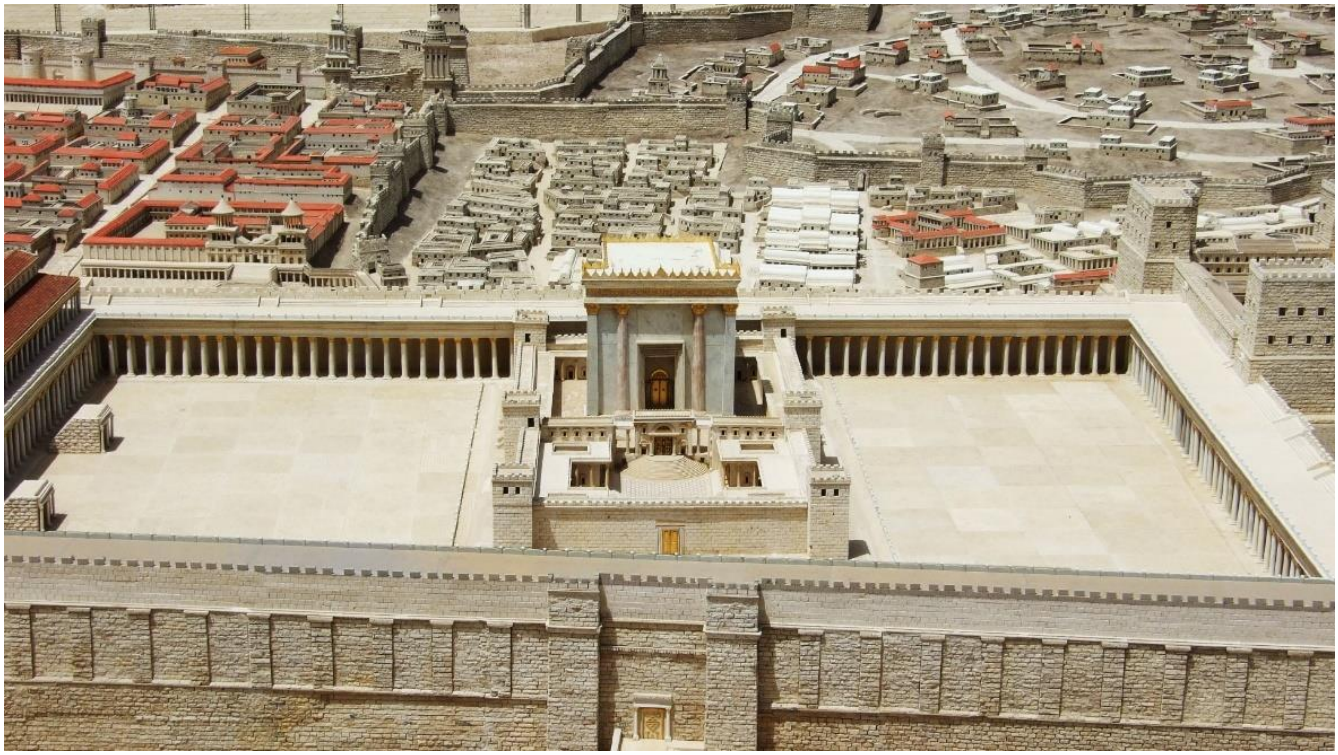


Figure 4.6 In this model of Herod's Temple the walls of the Temple are greatly larger than the doors. This helps to give a perspective on the type of restrictive access that was put in place for the spectators to fully experience the Memory Theatre. This restrictive access would help the spectator have a more personal sensory experience with the Memory Theatre (Mevorah, n.d.).

The Fall of the Second Temple and its Memory Theatre

In 70 AD, Jerusalem had already experienced detrimental damage to its city and the total destruction of its Temple that was inflicted by Titus and commemorated in the Arch of Titus built in Rome (figure 4.7). These actions were in response to the Jewish revolt against Rome in 66 AD that sparked off when governor Florus stole seventeen talents from the Temple treasury, which lead to many other acts of disrespect to the citizens of Jerusalem, and to many deaths (Patrich, 2010:69). Dating back to 70 AD, the Romans already knew how affective removing objects from a Memory Theatre and then destroying it was as a method of eliminating a society (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 6.2.1). This was not an easy feat and not without the active retaliation of the Jewish citizens.

Figure 4.7 Looting of the menorah and other items from the Temple of Jerusalem, built into the Arch of Titus in Rome (Massiot, 1910).

When the Romans sacked the city, the Jewish resistance fell back to the Temple, to protect their Memory Theatre (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 6.2.3). The need to protect the memories and the Memory Theatre show just how vital it is to the survival of a society and their identity. The Memory Theatre could be considered the heart of the city, or society, as it preserved identities and memories while maintaining the power to create new ones. In *The War of the Jews*, Josephus makes it seem like continuing the battle within the Memory Theatre helped the Jewish citizens survive as he describes this scene from the Roman perspective:

> "Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead." (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 6.3.1)

What followed this passage was the citizens' continuous resistance against the Romans which led to the great famine and hardship for the people in Jerusalem. It is possible that this level of resistance from the Jews in Jerusalem led to the eventual dominance of the Roman soldiers and the destruction of the Memory Theatre they were keen to preserve:

> "But when Titus perceived that his endeavors to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and then be killed, he gave order to set the gates on fire." (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 6.4.1)

Much of the resistance revolved around the Temple once the city was susceptible to attack. This level of priority suggests that Memory Theatres play an important role in a society. By fighting to protect the Temple, and planning their resistance there too, this implies that Memory Theatres are carriers of memories and identity, and their existence ensures the survival of a society or culture especially during a war.

Memory Theatres are critical to the reconstruction of a society or survival of a culture and the events that take place in these spaces are often then incorporated in its memories and the creation of new identities. This is something that is still seen today. After the resistance against Rome ended in Jerusalem, the families of the revolt found refuge in the Masada fortress. Here they stayed until they were besieged by Roman forces, which led to a mass suicide and burning of the palace as a final act of rebellion against becoming slaves to the Roman Empire (Magness, 2019:2). Since these events, after Israel was established in 1948, they coined the slogan "Masada shall not fall again" which has since become symbolic of the modern state (Magness, 2019:3). Josephus' account is the only source, and whether these events are believed to be true or fictional, as many scholars debate, this remains of no consequence. Masada continues to serve its purpose as a Memory Theatre by creating a new identity from the memories of these events which have been incorporated in the foundation of a new society.

Aelia Capitolina

When emperor Constantine began the journey to a partially Christianised Jerusalem in 324 AD, this paved the way for many amendments to be made to the topographic arrangement of the city (Weksler-Bdolah, 2019:131). As mentioned earlier, making these changes to the city layout can equally affect the experience of the Memory Theatre for the spectator. Not only did the transformation change the streets to further disguise and change Jewish architecture, but it altered the extent to which the Memory Theatre was connected throughout the city (Weksler-Bdolah, 2014:14). Changing

the way people travel around their city is another act of dominance over the citizens of Jerusalem. Further to this, as Roman monuments celebrating Christianity began occupying spaces in the city, they were used to create a new Roman-Jewish identity by respectfully inhabitting these spaces alongside others used to commemorate Jewish practice:

> "Whatever may have been the case, the important point is that none of these buildings was in honor of anything that heretofore had been holy in Jerusalem and, thus, memories were released from the spaces they had occupied." (Grabar, 2005:195)

Altering how they use their city can lead to erasing old memories as they disconnect the citizens from the streets their ancestors would have walked, thus affecting their culture and identity (Withers, 1996:326). This was a particular form of dominance that focused around erasing memories of Hierosolyma, and eventually Hierosolyma itself, as memories are often what gives meaning to places.

As Jerusalem was transformed into a more Christian city, Constantine was distancing the citizens from their ancestors who built the city and Temple. They were erasing the memories of a city of people that worked relentlessly to build a place for themselves, their people, and their children, that God would protect from surrounding nations (Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*. 11.5.7). One of the more effective ways of doing this was accomplished by Hadrian in 135 AD, where he originally changed the name of the city. Hadrian was well known for changing the names of cities as a method of domination over a society. It was common for Hadrian to make these changes to various Greek cities, one of which was Athens. He built a new entrance to Athens, known as the Arch of Hadrian, where on the West side there is an inscription that reads "This is Athens, the former city of Theseus" (Camp, 2001:201). The text on the East side reads "This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus" (Camp, 2001:201). The arch serves as a boundary stone that stands between Hadrian's Athens and old Athens (figure 4.8). Excavations reveal that the arch did not stand in line with any city walls or barriers and suggests that it instead served more as a gate (Adams, 1989:12). The statement on the arch and the suggestion that it did not serve a particular purpose other than as a gate leaves room for the assumption that it worked as a statement of dominance of the city and a claim to ownership of Athens. The inscription from the East informs the people entering Athens, whereas the inscription on the West side serves as a reminder to the people living there. The arch is an item in the Memory Theatre that spreads the memories of Hadrian and Romans across Athens.

Figure 4.8 East side of the Arch of Hadrian with the Acropolis visible in the background. Above the centre of the archway is the inscription "This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus" just barely visible. Photo:Author.

In the case of Jerusalem, changing the name of the city erased the memory of the ancestors that had built it. It is also one of the most forceful methods in removing the identity of the people that lived there by disconnecting them from people lost to the past (Basso, 1996:10). Replacing Hierosolyma with a Latin name, *Aelia Capitolina*, meant they were removing the last connection the citizens had to the people who founded the city. They were changing how the citizens would identify in a city slowly becoming foreign to their culture (Basso, 1996:12).

With the help of new roads and a new name, *Aelia Capitolina* soon replaced old Jerusalem. As the city expanded, the Romans then built a new wide-perimeter city wall to manage this growth and changes that occurred between 400 – 450 AD, (figure 4.9) (Weksler-Bdolah, 2019:131). In spite of all the changes that were taking place, The Temple Mount was still required to hold the new Temple of Jupiter also referred to as the *Capitolium* (Tsafrir, 2010:75). Since the *Capitolium* took its place on the Temple Mount, this shows that the area continued to hold great importance even during the period of *Aelia Capitolina* (Tsafrir, 2010:80).

> "The ruined enclosure of the Temple Mount attracted the Romans who installed there monumental sculptures of the emperors and other monuments" (Tsafrir, 2010:83)

Evidence of this is not widely found in archaeological excavations, due to the restrictions put in place to protect the top of The Temple Mount. Tsafrir makes his assumption based on the accounts from The Bordeaux Pilgrim, cross examined with finds recovered from around this location (Tsafrir, 2010:79). This draws on evidence from the pilgrimage the Bordeaux Pilgrim made around the year 333 AD (Tsafrir, 2010:80). On the journey, the pilgrim noticed a Roman temple and altar where the Jewish Temple once stood, with two statues of Hadrian that stood on either side of it. The Bordeaux Pilgrim distinctly mentions a statue of Hadrian placed on the site of the Holy of Holies, a place that was only open to the highest priest.

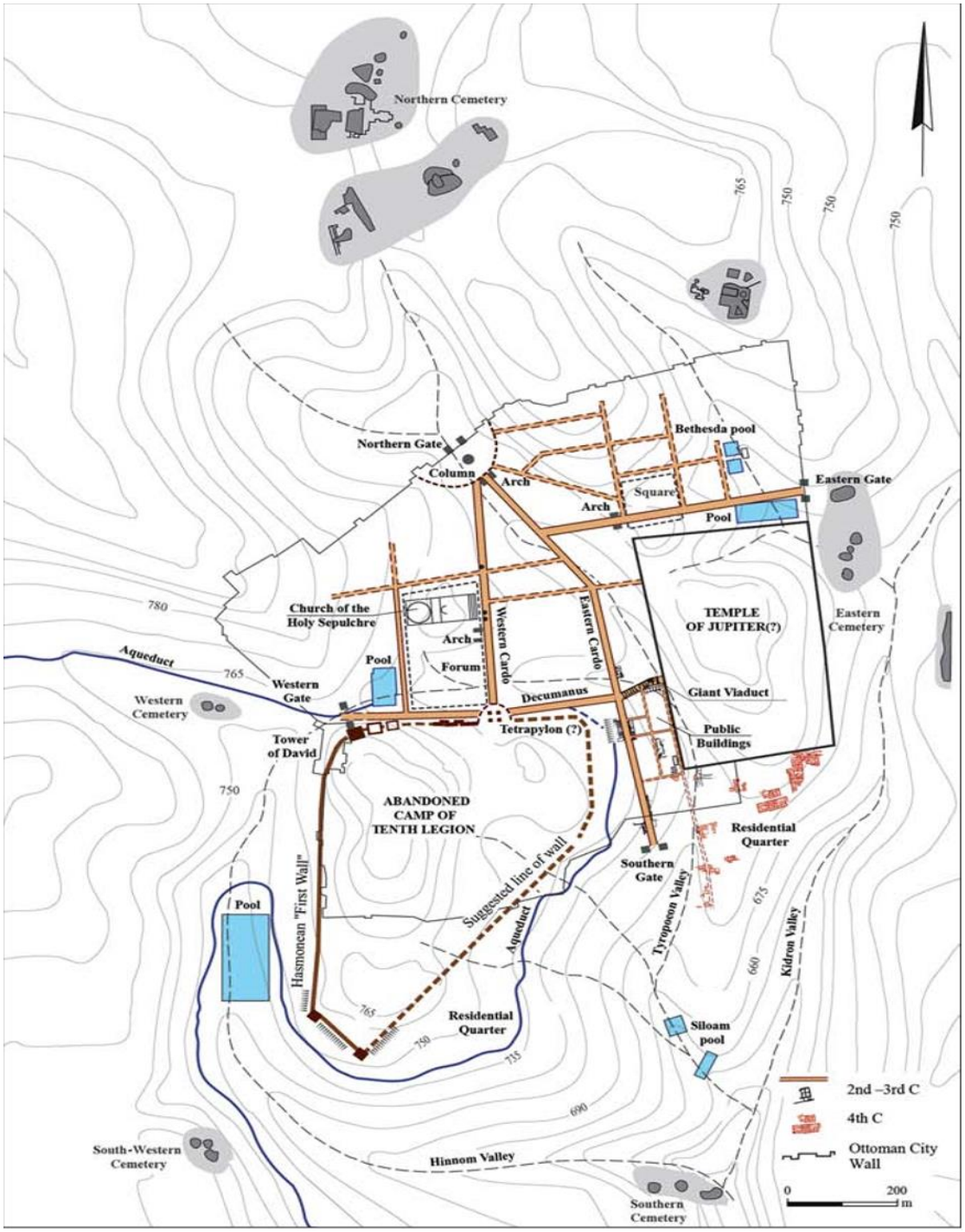


Figure 4.9 This map of mid fourth century Aelia Capitolina shows how the Romans repurposed The Temple Mount to create their own Memory Theatre that would represent Roman culture and identity. (Weksler-Bdolah, 2019:132).

Although so far there is no archaeological evidence for these accounts, a Latin inscription embedded in the southern wall of the Temple Mount near the Double Gate forms part of a monument that stood in honour of Emperor Antoninus Pius (figure 4.10) (Tsafrir, 2010:80). These sculptures and inscriptions were used to add Roman memories and ideologies in spaces that had previously been dedicated to preserving Jewish identity and culture. The appropriation of the temple-less Temple Mount is a

powerful act of dominance that would have removed one of the most important places in the Jewish religious culture, and along with it their identity. Romanizing the space that previously held the Second Temple not only acknowledges that The Temple Mount was an effective place for Memory Theatres but also highlights the necessity of destroying the Memory Theatre and claiming its lands in the dominance of a society and the destruction of their identity.

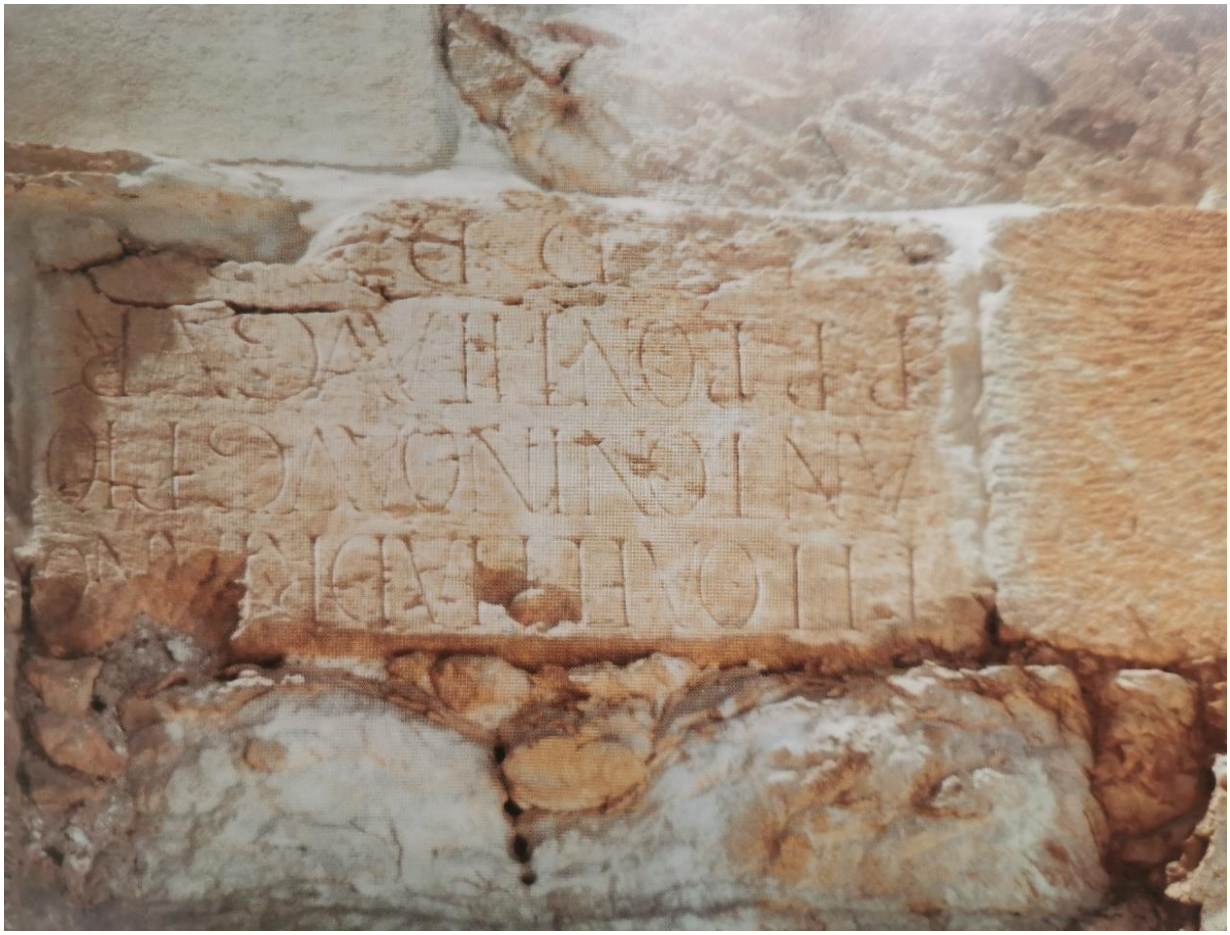


Figure 4.10 Latin inscription found upside down as it was reused as part of the southern wall of the Temple Mount. This inscription was part of a larger monument that was built in honour of Emperor Antonius Pius (138 - 61 CE) (Tsafrir, 2010).

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed how external states sought control of Jerusalem by dominating its Memory Theatres. It reviewed how the changes made within the city affected the spectators' experience of the Memory Theatre, which could lead to a change in the memories being presented and the identity and ideology they were built to portray. When Herod restored the Temple, he was creating a Memory Theatre that would hold a joint identity of a Roman Jerusalem that existed as an ornament of the

Roman Empire. The continuous destruction and reconstruction of the Memory Theatre helps to determine the dominance of The Temple Mount as a Memory Theatre, and the importance of the Memory Theatre itself in a society as a necessary tool in its continuation and survival, as well as the survival of its identity.

When the Jewish citizens fell back to the Temple in their resistance against Titus, this presented the key role Memory Theatres play in war, as a point of power, dominance, and resistance, and its durability reflects the strength of the society fighting to protect it and themselves. Memory Theatres are key in the longevity of a society as, in the case of the Temple, it reflects the struggles, resistance, and power of the society and preserves their memory and identity in its monuments and construction. When Titus, against his own initial instincts, burns the Memory Theatre, this is done as an act of authority and punishment, by removing an item that held so much cultural and societal value to the Jewish resistance.

The Memory Theatre in Jerusalem reached across the city and affected the way spectators would experience it as it guided them into its core. The way the spectators experienced the Memory Theatre through bodily, spiritual, and religious sensors would affect how receptive the spectator would be of the memories and designs of the Memory Theatre itself. Memory Theatres are key to the survival of a society and their identity from one generation to the next. The Memory Theatre in Jerusalem was subject to destruction and construction which led to the preservation or removal of the societies, cultures, and identities they protected.

Chapter 5 Memory Theatres and Pilgrimage to The Temple Mount

"Pilgrimages are journeys to the sacred, but the sacred is not something which stands beyond the domain of the cultural; it is imagined, defined, and articulated within cultural practice." (Bowman, 2000:120)

In previous chapters, we discussed the journey through the Memory Theatres and how this affected the spectators' experience and understanding of memories and ideologies. With the journey to the Acropolis in Athens, the spectator's experience of the Memory Theatre in Jerusalem is amplified by the bodily senses, which is further intensified in the pilgrimage. The journey to the Memory Theatre is equally as important in the delivery of the memories and identities since it joins religious experiences, travel, accommodation, and liturgies to the full experience of the Memory Theatre. Pilgrimage creates new memories through their journey and participation in the rituals that carry the repetition of old memories. This chapter will focus on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, concentrating on relevant issues stemming from gender and religion that would have altered their experience of these spaces. This chapter aims to examine how pilgrimage not only amplified the experience of the Memory Theatres in Jerusalem but also helped to create, recreate, and alter memories and identities.

In the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the spectator temporarily becomes a part of the Memory Theatre. The road to Jerusalem creates an environment where the viewer experiences a variety of bodily sensations and emotions based on past events or mythology that connects them to the Memory Theatres. These locations guide the viewer to spaces, both physical and chronological, and recall memories they may not have lived through. In this way, Memory Theatres can be seen as living spaces, where memories are being created, making it increasingly easier for the spectator to envisage a time they did not experience.

In this chapter, we will be evaluating how pilgrims would have experienced the Memory Theatres. Focusing on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem will help to clarify how the vast spaces that a Memory Theatre encompasses are not contained within its own walls. Memory Theatres continue to portray memories and alter identities through bodily sensations even before the pilgrim has viewed it; enhancing their experience once they do. By discussing these key points, this chapter develops a better understanding of how people experienced and interacted with Memory Theatres.

To achieve this, I will first give a brief description of Herod's Temple and how he incorporated pilgrimage and identity into its creation. Following this, I will discuss the experience of a Memory Theatre on the road to Jerusalem: this will include reviewing Christian pilgrimage from the 4th to the 15th centuries AD, as well as some accounts of pilgrimage during the Herodian period. These accounts will be followed by an investigation into the archaeological evidence left behind from these experiences. From here, there will be a discussion on female pilgrimage from the Herodian period to the 15th century AD to discuss evidence of division and segregation between men and women and how this affected their journeys to Jerusalem. This will help in the discussion on how pilgrimage changed the Memory Theatre and allowed it to grow beyond the restrictions of the city walls, shaping the identities of pilgrims and the people living in Jerusalem. By discussing these key points, this will highlight the key role of body senses in the delivery of ideologies, memories, and identities within the Memory Theatre. It will also bring to light the geographical fluidity, adaptability, and flexibility of a Memory Theatre and its use in the construction and reconstruction of identities.

Herod's Memory Theatre

Pilgrimage to Memory Theatres can often create new ways for ideologies and memories to be experienced. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem allows the Memory Theatres to reach out beyond the city walls and lure the spectators to it; with increasing numbers of Jewish pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem after the construction of the Herodian Temple in 19/20 BC. The act of travelling to the Memory Theatre in Jerusalem meant that the influence it had over individuals was exceptional and beyond the physical restraints of the buildings themselves (Janin, 2002:21; Janin, 2002:50). There is clear evidence that pilgrimage was well thought of in the construction of Herod's Temple thanks to Josephus' description of the size of Herod's temple, claiming "to raise it to a most magnificent altitude" as "an everlasting memorial of him" that would have been able to accommodate large numbers of worshippers in the space (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*. 15.11.1). Herod dramatically increased the temple's size to ensure that it would hold large numbers of worshippers to view his achievements and glory.

When Solomon built the First Temple, the outer dimensions are said to have been 100 by 50 cubits (45.72 x 22.86 metres), with the Second Temple comparable with that size, and both of them out done by Herod's Temple, which was said to be even larger (Patrich, 2009:514). Herod did not alter the

dimensions of the Sanctuary or the Holy of Holies which remained at 40 by 20 cubits (18.28 x 9.14 metres) and 20 by 20 cubits (9.14 x 9.14 metres) respectively (Patrich, 2009:514). By not altering these sacred spaces, religious practices were able to continue to take place in spite of the ongoing construction, allowing it to adopt the name of its predecessor as the "Second Temple" (Janin, 2002:51). Herod was thus disguising his construction of a Memory Theatre as a refurbishment of the Second Temple (Janin, 2002:21). Herod was able to ensure the legitimacy of his Memory Theatre as it generated a sense of continuity from the Second Temple. In Herod's obsession to create a space that would cater to larger audiences, he was creating a Memory Theatre that would suitably accommodate large numbers of pilgrims to influence their experience of memories and their understanding of their own identities.

As Herod rebuilt the Memory Theatre, he was initiating numerous complex financial schemes to bring Jerusalem forward in the Roman world (Goodman, 1999:73). Herod's building project was the start of an increase in Jerusalem's economy. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was something that distinguished it from other religions which caused unease in Roman authorities as it began to accommodate large crowds in times of religious festivals (Goodman, 1999:71). It is argued that Herod set out to encourage pilgrims as a means of economic growth in Jerusalem as the natural resources they derived their wealth from was limited (Goodman, 1999:72). To achieve this, Herod went as far as to appoint high priests from the principal Diaspora communities in an effort to make Diaspora Jews consider pilgrimage to be worthwhile (Goodman, 1999:73). These changes not only effected the economic value of Jerusalem in the Roman world, but it changed how the city functioned, as it began to accommodate mass pilgrimage to the Temple. Herod's reconstruction of the Temple founded the economic power of Jerusalem and changed the identity of the city. It created a new identity for the city and its position in the Roman Empire, as well as the identity of Diaspora and local Jews celebrating religious festivals.

Female Pilgrimage

The experience of the Memory Theatre was maximised by the journey the pilgrims underwent in their pilgrimage. These experiences varied depending on both the gender and religion of the pilgrim. Understanding how gender and religion effected a person's experience of the Memory Theatre is necessary to fully appreciate how people interacted in them. It will help to evaluate how these differences led to different experiences of the same memories and monuments and how women combated restrictive measures inhibiting their full experience of the Memory Theatre.

To fully understand female pilgrims' journeys to Jerusalem it is firstly important to understand their experience of the Temple in Jerusalem. A Jewish woman's experience of the Temple during Herod's reign was less than welcoming. During the time of the First Temple women were able to hold sacred offices, which all changed at the beginning of the Second Temple when they were fully excluded from all Jewish cultic practices (Ilan, 2009). In Herod's Temple, he included a Women's Court on the East side of the Temple, near the Men's Court but far from the actual temple and altar, similar to that of the First Temple (figure 5.1). This completely separate section, although more inclusive than in the period of the Second Temple, would have effectively created a different experience of the Memory Theatre for the women as the restrictions prohibited them from reaching the goal of the male pilgrim, to reach the inner temple, altar and sacrifices. There is later evidence of Synagogues being more inclusive to women where they played a more critical role, which will be discussed further in chapter 6 (Ilan, 2009).

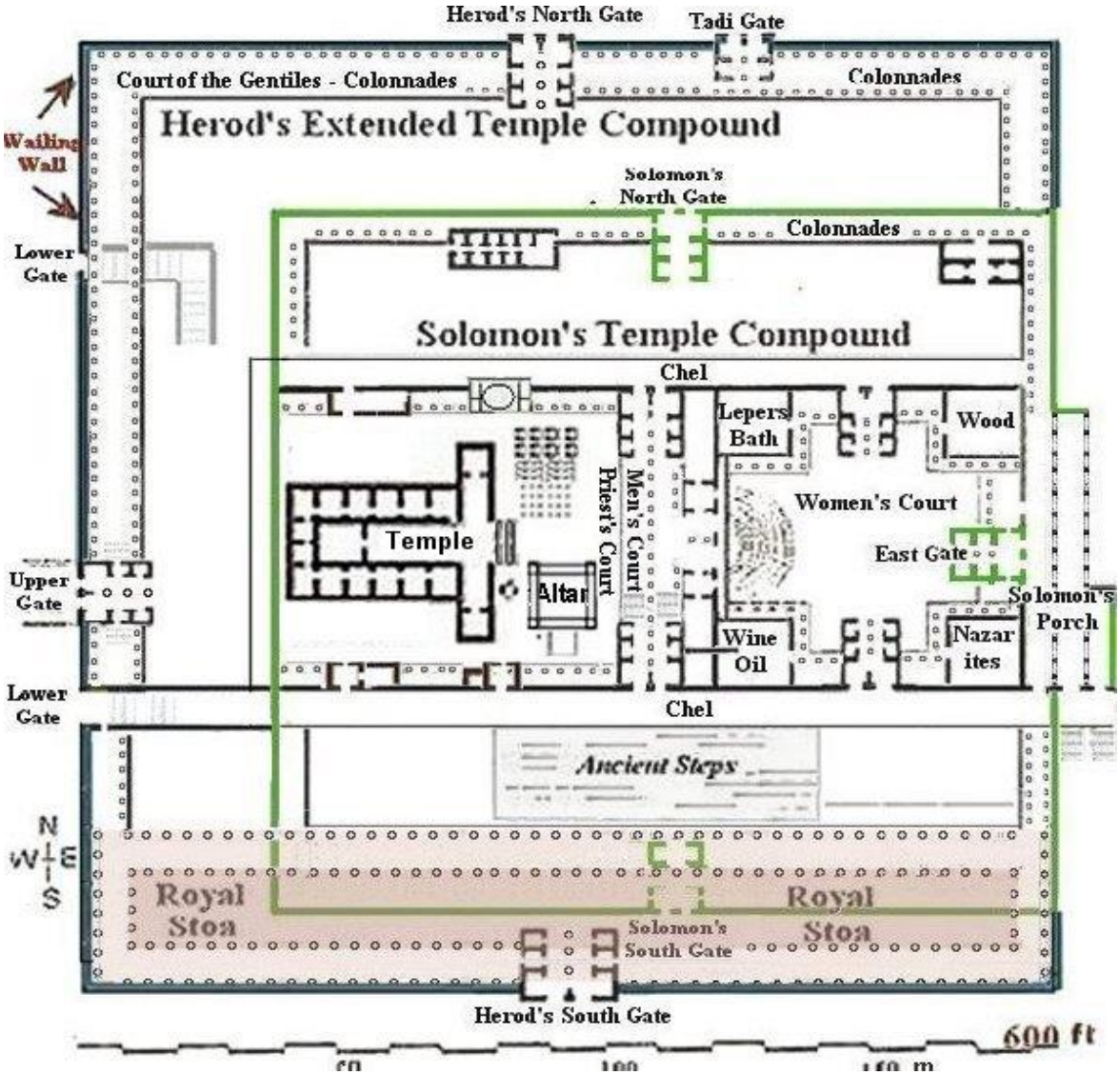


Figure 5.1 Floor plan of Herod's Temple. This plan shows the changes Herod made to Solomon's Temple and the difference in size. In this image we can see the layout of the Women's Court to the right of the Men's Court, furthest away from the Priest's Court and the altar where the sacrifices would have taken place (Robertson, n.d.).

Although Herod made an effort to be inclusive to women in his organizational scheme, women would have a very different experience of the Memory Theatre than men. The model of the Women's Court suggests that there were high walls that not only separated the women from the rest of the temple but it also inhibited their view of the men and priests on the other side (figure 5.2). The very visible division between men and women that was not only caused by the separate courts but the high walls obstructing their view of the rest of the pilgrims, the actions, and the temple itself. Reverting back to the time of the First Temple was another way for Herod to build a connection between his temple and the First Temple, building memories and pushing ideologies through the connection of those memories in his new Memory Theatre.

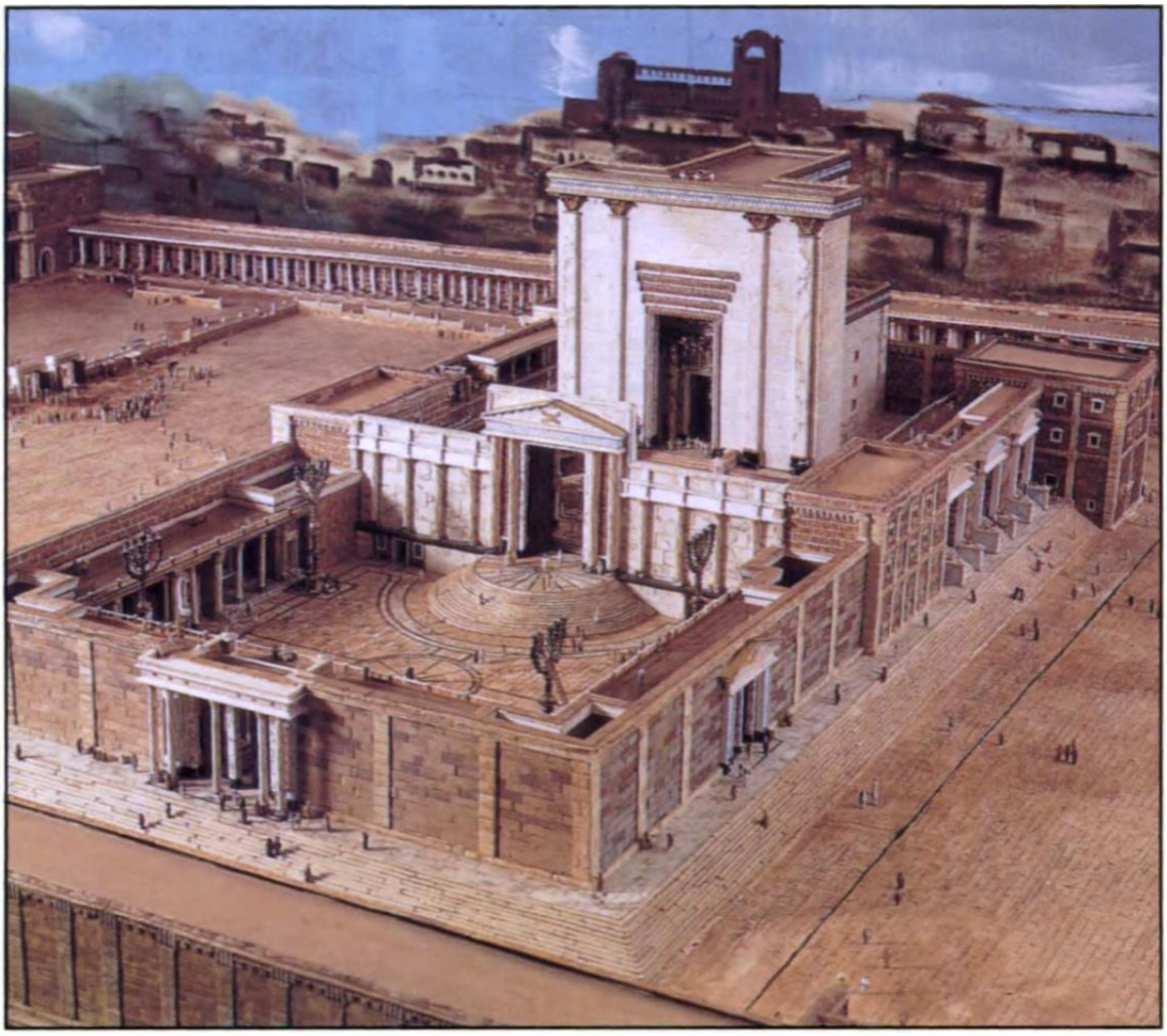


Figure 5.2 Drawing of Herod's Temple showing the large open space of the Women's Court. The high walls surrounding the court creates a big sense of restriction, stopping the women from accessing the men's court. These restrictions did not apply to the men as they could travel between the two spaces. The restrictive access meant that women did not experience the Memory Theatre in the same way as the men. The high walls would have also limited their sensory experience of the Memory Theatre as it limited what they could see and hear on the other side of the walls (David, 2003).

As there are more accounts of Christian pilgrims than Jewish pilgrims in the years after Herod's Temple, this next section will mainly focus on Christian female and male experiences from 334 to 1413. During this time, there was a distinct lack of pilgrim accounts from women. This is due to the educational difference between men and women, and that women would have to overcome certain barriers before being able to begin their journey (Craig, 2003:154). Women Christian pilgrims in the medieval period would have to overcome the challenge of requesting permission to go on a pilgrimage from the men in their life as they were not considered to be fulfilling their gender assigned roles (Craig, 2003:162). In many cases, their participation was not appreciated by other male pilgrims who felt they

were intruding on their own experience of the journey and finding their behaviour irritating and not conforming to the usual “silent and invisible” woman role of their society (Craig, 2003:164). This led to many forms of segregation in male and female experience, changing their personal experiences of the journey based on their individual restrictions on the sites, thus creating two very different accounts of the pilgrimage.

Female pilgrims such as Bridget of Sweden, Margery Kempe, and many others, experienced the pilgrimage to Memory Theatres differently to their male counterparts. Although there were decades that separated the accounts of Bridget of Sweden, who travelled in 1372, and Margery Kempe, who travelled in 1413, they were met with very similar restrictions in their ability to participate in these practices. From the fifth century on, the experience of monasteries on the path to Jerusalem was less than welcoming for most as monasteries put in place restrictions to stop women from accessing them or refusing them entrance all together (Schein, 1999:46). A good example of the kinds of restrictions that were put in place against women can be found in the San Clemente Basilica in Rome (figure 5.3). This Basilica was constructed in the twelfth century and organised two separate aisles (figure 5.4). It is said that the men would go down the right side of the basilica and women down the other. In the communion they would first tend to the men followed by the women, and during the liturgy the priests would first speak to the side of the men and then again to the women (Doig, 2008:94). These types of actions led to the separation between men and women in their pilgrimage, constructing a different narrative and experience of the memories and ideologies by creating two entirely separate ways of experiencing the same Memory Theatres.

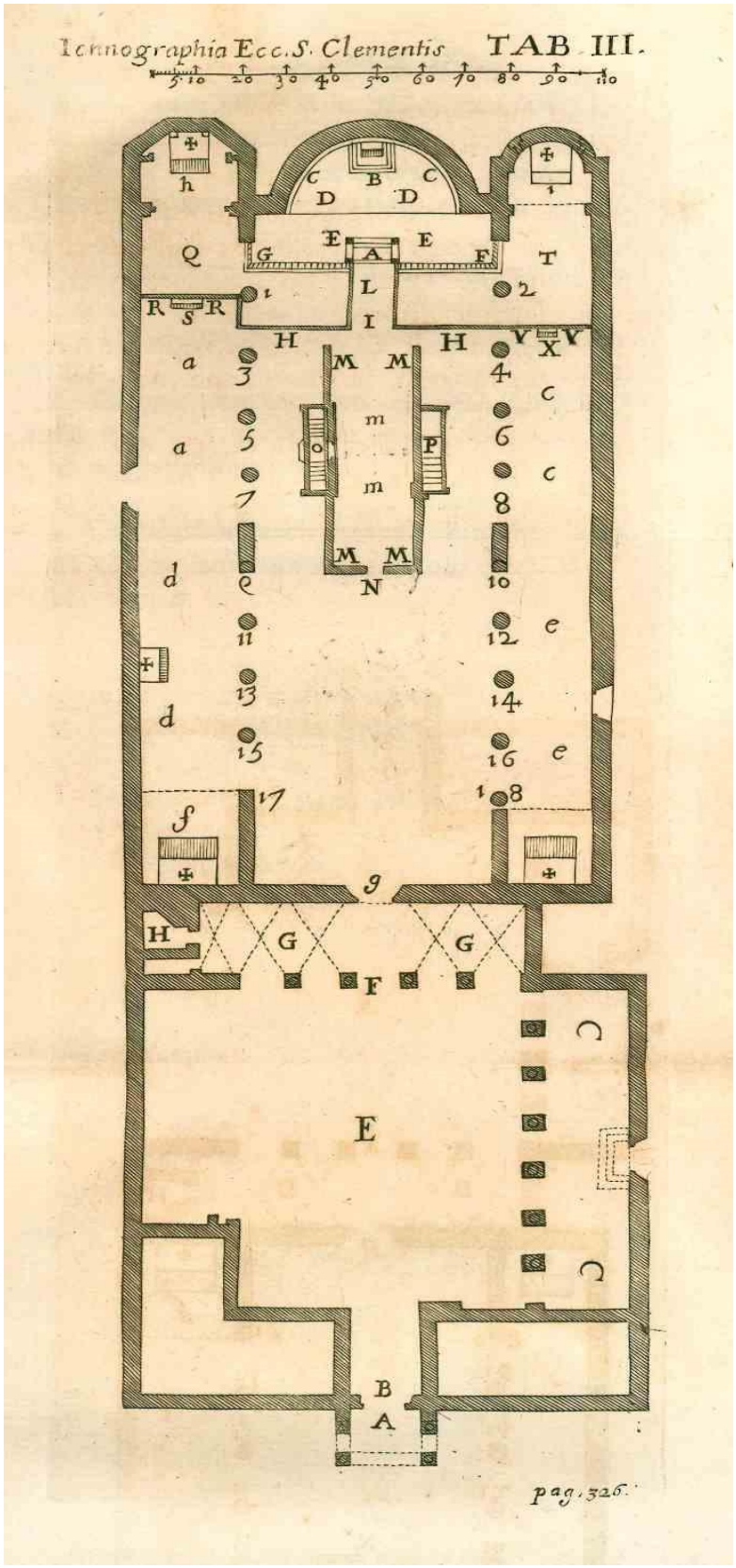


Figure 5.3 Plan of St Clemente Basilica. In the design of the Basilica there are three entrances/exists to the nave, two on either side of the Schola Cantorum. In this design it is easy to imagine the division between the left and the right, with the columns and exits dictating the movement in the basilica, making it possible to keep the liturgy for men and women entirely separate (De S. Clemente Papa et Martyre Ejusque Basilica in Urbe Roma. Libri Duo by Filippo Rondinini on Bernett Penka Rare Books LLC, 1706).

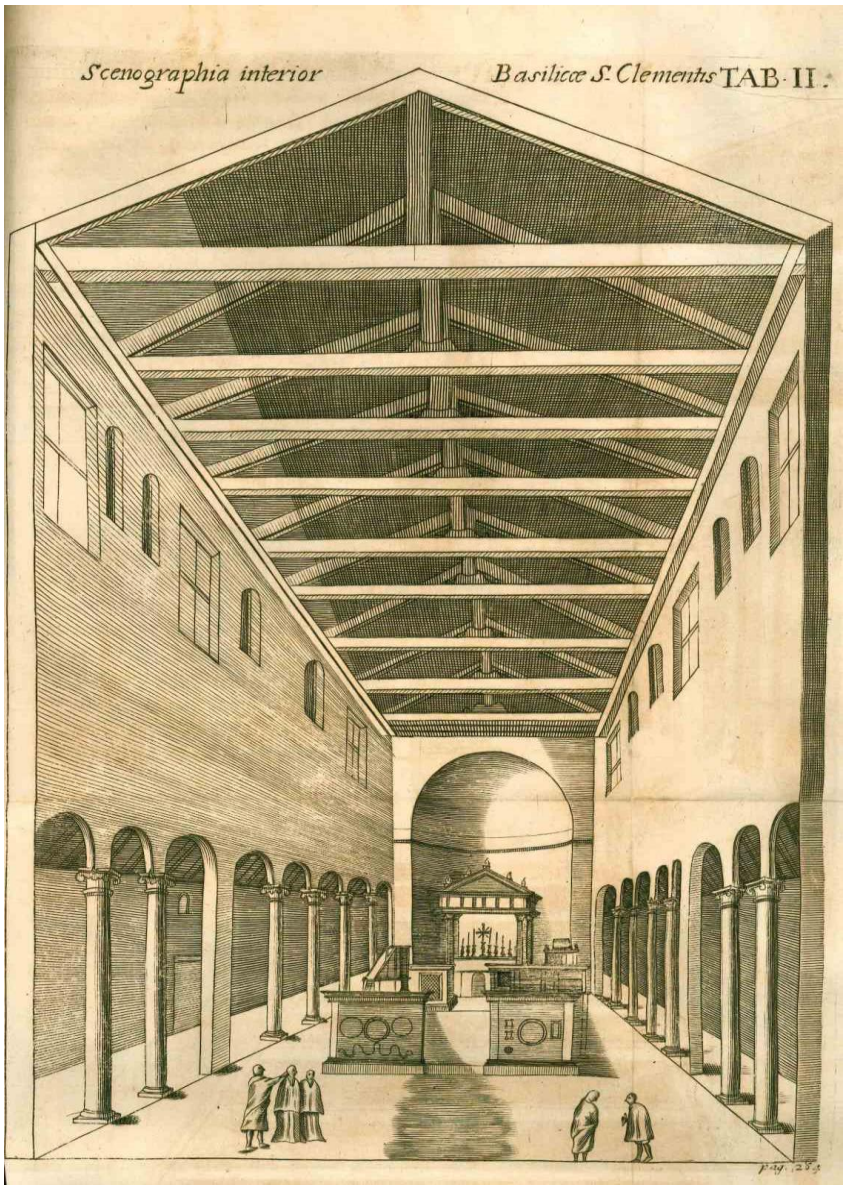


Figure 5.4 Drawing of the St Clemente Basilica. The symmetry of the building made it easy to create a divided space for men and women (De S. Clemente Papa et Martyre Ejusque Basilica in Urbe Roma. Libri Duo by Filippo Rondinini on Bernett Penka Rare Books LLC, 1706).

Basilicas and other holy places were not the only places women would have experienced a disconnection from their fellow male pilgrims. The hostels the pilgrims would have stayed in would have offered separate entrances and areas for both male and female pilgrims. St Jerome and Paula opened a hostel in Bethlehem in the year 385 where they offered separate accommodation for men and women as well as a monastery for the men and a convent for the women (Janin, 2002:63). These separate constructions built for men and women meant that their experience of their pilgrimage offered two very different views and understandings of the journey through a Memory Theatre. Excavations of pilgrim accommodations in Abu Mina, Egypt, have showed that one of the buildings

had two peristyles separated by porticoes that are believed to have been used to shelter pilgrims that could not afford accommodation (figure 5.5) (Stafford, 2019:263). These two peristyles did not have any direct communication with each other and are believed to have offered separate accommodations for men and women (Stafford, 2019:263). It is possible that not all pilgrims would have resided at these places and many hostels built for pilgrims were not permanent buildings and so leave behind no archaeological evidence for this to be investigated further (Stafford, 2019:266). These changes do imply that women, Christian women, did play a big role in pilgrimage and made these journeys commonly enough for Basilicas to create alternative methods of giving a liturgy and for accommodations to take into account the need to offer separate living spaces. In as much as the Christian pilgrimage creates this idea of separation between the genders, it marks the inclusivity of women in the religious practices by offering them dedicated spaces to stay. The isolated spaces offered very different experiences of the journey to Jerusalem, generating gendered versions of the memories and ideologies found in the Memory Theatres they visit.

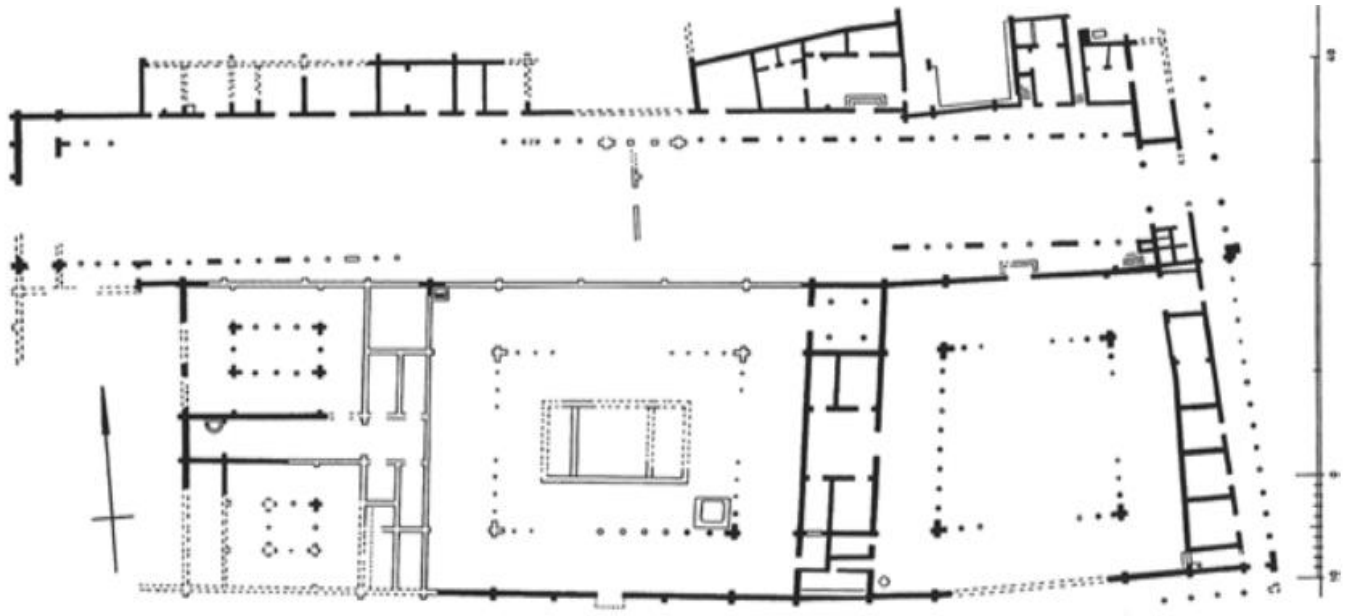


Figure 5.5 Plan of the peristyle at Abu Mina, Egypt. The layout of the building highlights the large spaces that were used to separate the male pilgrims from the female pilgrims, offering privacy and space. (Stafford, 2019).

The Journey to a Memory Theatre and Water Pools

Herod's Memory Theatre helped to evolve the premise of pilgrimage as a means of portraying his ideologies and identity in Jerusalem. He encouraged pilgrimage by creating an area large enough to hold the worshippers as well as enforcing safer travel routes. To many Jewish pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem, the celebration of the festivals was seen as a foreshadowing of a future where all Jewish people would return to Jerusalem (Trotter, 2019:89). Pilgrimage was seen as uniting the Jewish people living in Jerusalem with those that had travelled from afar to celebrate their common interests and memories. Pilgrimage became so common that it dictated the very structure of the city of Jerusalem to meet the needs of the pilgrims. These modifications would ensure that the pilgrim's experience would not be compromised, although these simple changes meant the Memory Theatres were open to adaptation.

As Herod built his Memory Theatre, he was redesigning the city to accommodate large numbers of pilgrims. The excessive number of worshippers visiting the Memory Theatre led to new constructions within the city that altered the life of the citizens living there. To meet the demands, and to ensure that all spectators could participate in the celebrations held in the Memory Theatre, it was necessary for equipment like the water pools to be enlarged or placed more commonly to allow the pilgrims to participate in the religious activities such as the sacrifices and feasts (figure 5.6) (Gurevich, 2017:123). The water pools were vital to Jewish practice as the laws around purification would prevent the worshipper from taking part in religious celebrations or even entering the Temple.

> "Nevertheless a fountain or pit, wherein there is plenty of water, shall be clean" (Leviticus 11:35 - 36)

Leviticus brings the worshippers attention to the purity of water and its role in ritual purification. Water appears to be of importance in purification in the Old Testament as Leviticus states:

> "And he that toucheth the flesh of him that hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even.
>
> And if he that hath the issue spit upon him that is clean; then he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even." (Leviticus 15:7-8).

Although this statement is specific to ill health, the act of using water in the purification highlights the religious connotation to health and recovery based around its many uses in cleanness.

Ritual purification was an important part of Jewish practice as it would otherwise prohibit people from taking part in daily religious activities and worship. A similar experience was delivered to women who had given birth, making it a necessity for them to cleanse themselves before entering places of worship:

> "If a woman have conceived seed, and born a man child: then she shall be unclean seven days; according to the days of the separation for her infirmity shall she be unclean.
> […] she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be fulfilled.
> […] And when the days of her purifying are fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter,
> she shall bring a lamb of the first year for a burnt offering, and a young pigeon, or a turtledove, for a sin offering, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest:
> Who shall offer it before the LORD, and make an atonement for her;
> and she shall be cleansed from the issue of her blood.
> This is the law for her that hath born a male or a female." (Leviticus 12:2 - 7)

Judaism followed a series of practices to express their faith in God through these bodily experiences mentioned above which involved the submersion of one's body in fresh water and the practice of cleanness after the already enduring experience of childbirth. These practices are what guided the Memory Theatre in its design, to allow room for them to take place in Jerusalem and at the Temple.

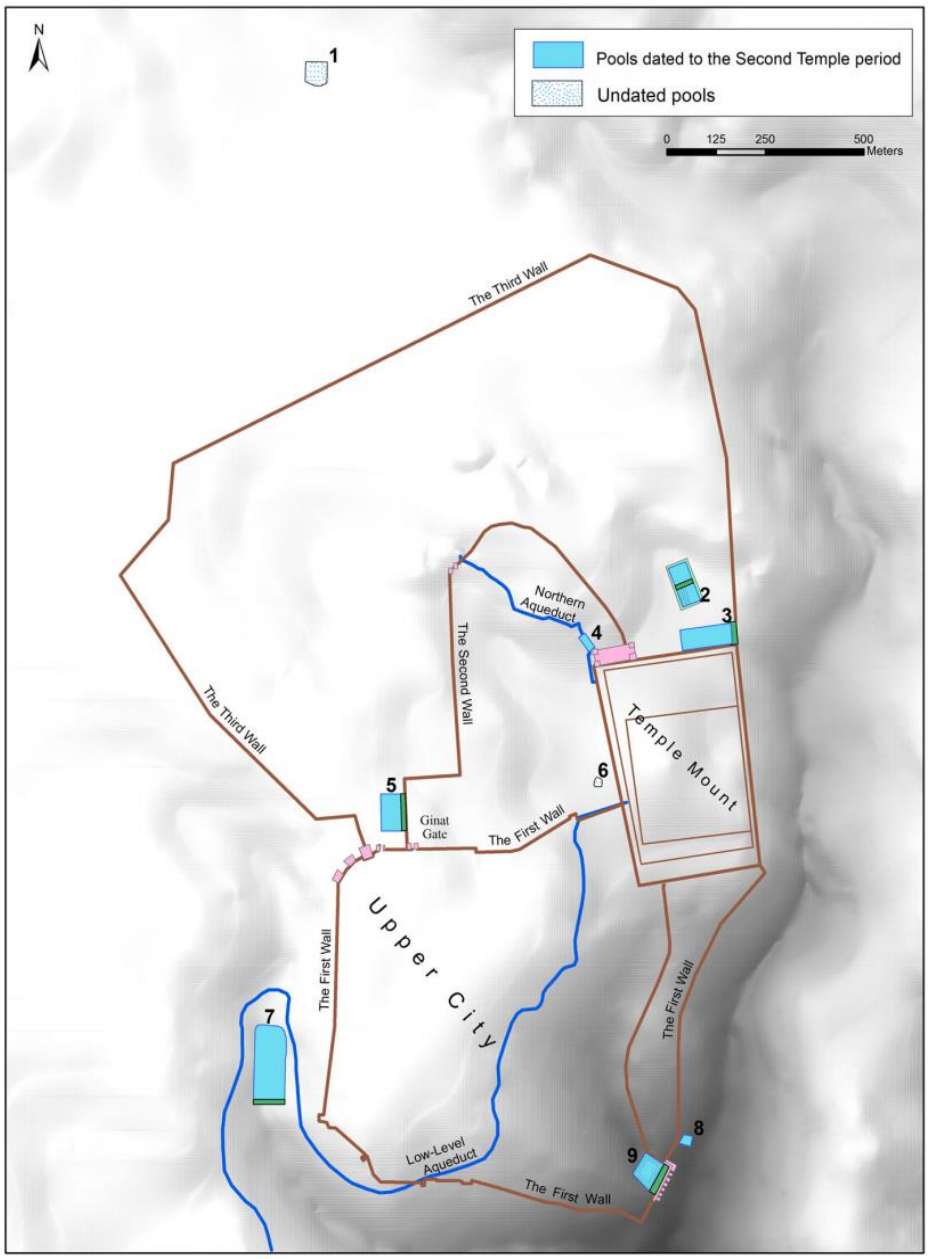


Figure 5.6 Map of the unroofed water pools in Jerusalem 70 AD. The water pools are all placed in strategic locations to meet the pilgrims as they journey into Jerusalem, and before they reach the Temple. The pool of St. Anne's Church is found at location number 2 along with Bethesda at number 3, just north of the Temple, and the Pool of Siloam is found at location number 9, just south of the Temple Mount and at the beginning of one of the paths (Gurevich, 2017).

There are seven water pools in Jerusalem that have been dated to the Second Temple Period with the Pool of Siloam dated to the first century AD (Gurevich, 2017:107). It has been suggested that the Pool of Siloam (figure 5.7) and the St Anne's Church Compound (figure 5.8) were built to meet the needs of the high amount of pilgrims travelling into the city, as it was requested that all pilgrims should enter the city in a state of ritual purity (Gurevich, 2017:128). The pilgrimage into the city helped to make these changes that affected the spectator's experience and understanding of the Memory Theatre as a place of communal rituals.

Figure 5.7 Pool of Siloam. Pilgrims would pass through the pool on their way to the Temple. The steps make it easier to enter the pool for ritual purification (Gurevich, 2017).

Figure 5.8 St. Anne's Church Compound. Much like the Pool of Siloam, this pool has steps making it easier to identify as a pool used for ritual purification upon entering the city (Gurevich, 2017).

One of the most prominent ways for the spectators to truly experience the Memory Theatre is through their bodily senses. The act of entering these ritual pools, and feeling the cold and fresh running water, after what would have been a long and tiring journey for most, would have not only created an interesting physical sensation but it would have been something that all pilgrims would have felt, sharing rituals and activities that pilgrims before them would have participated in . These actions would have created a connection between the past and the present, as they relived experiences familiar to past pilgrims. Skousen explains these responses to body senses and movements that pilgrims experienced as a group:

> "Because the senses are always intertwined with movements, things, and places and produce affects, all parts of a pilgrimage (the journey, shrines, rituals, and so on) make pilgrims feel, think, and act in ways that are different from regular experience." (Skousen, 2018:265)

The participation in these actions and celebrations is what united a group of individuals from different

countries and cultural backgrounds under one identity, connecting them to each other, in sensory experiences found in Memory Theatres such as the water pools. Water pools were vital in the procession that began far outside the city walls leading them in towards the Temple.

After extensive archaeological excavations took place on the foundations of the Western Wall archaeologists found an old road and fountain that led to the temple and formed part of a processional way (figure 5.9) (Onn & Weksler-Bdolah, 2016). In early first century AD, as part of Herod's building project he built a fountain and water reservoir that archaeologists believe to be part of a Herodian triclinium complex (figures 5.10 and 5.11) (Onn & Weksler-Bdolah, 2016). Herod was incorporating themes of running water and ritual purification in popular Roman architecture in the construction of his Temple as he married together the different religions and culture in this one room. It is also interesting that during the renovation of the temple, Herod was dedicating spaces close to the Temple that would have been necessary for the pilgrims and local worshippers to gain access as part of their practice. Herod's placement of water pools meant that he was able to control how the citizens and pilgrims would interact and experience with the Memory Theatre, by controlling their movement around the temple. As Herod built water pools further away from the Temple as well, due to the masses of pilgrims, this expansion of space dedicated to religious practice also made it clear that the Memory Theatre spread further than the Temple itself.

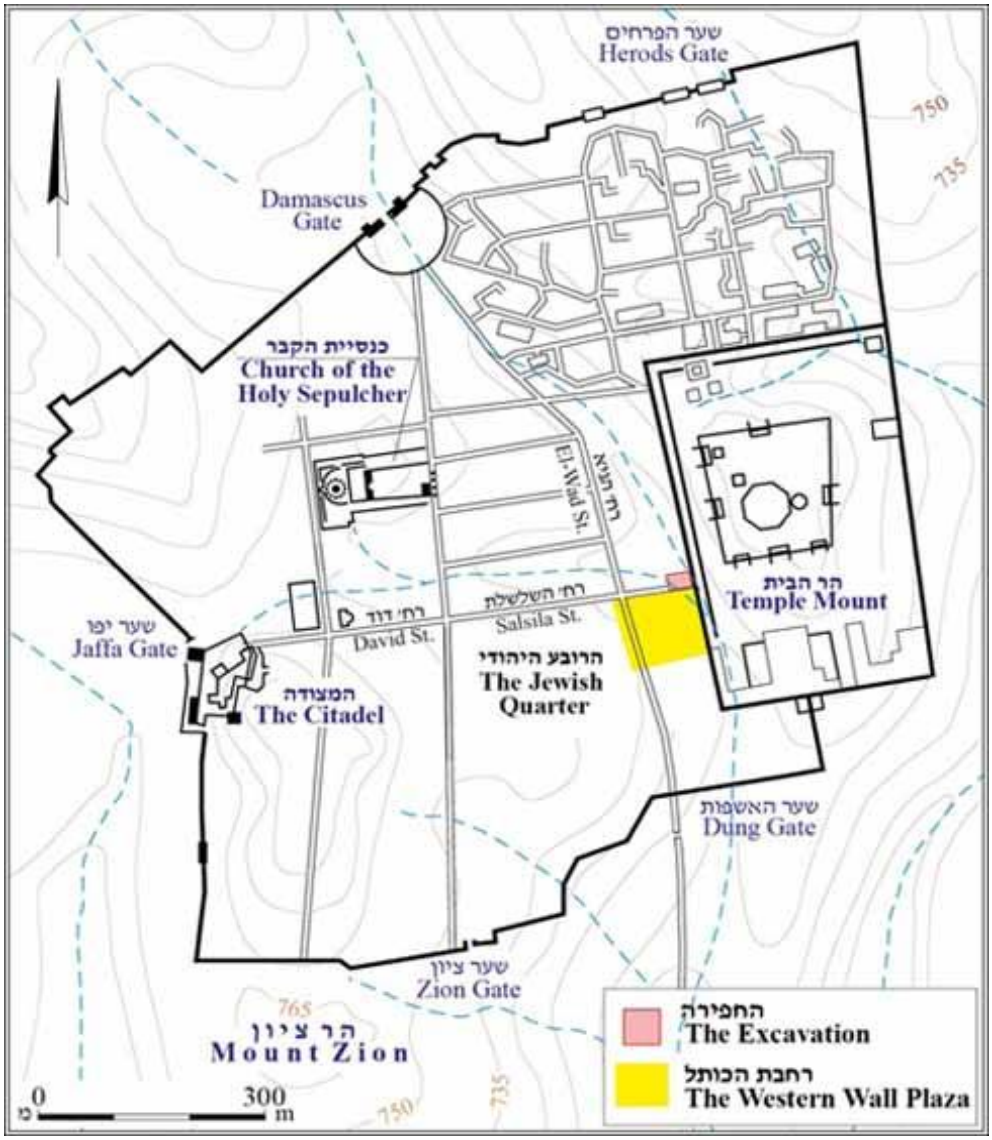


Figure 5.9 Map of Jerusalem. The pink square highlights the place of excavation of the Western Wall. The fountain and water reservoir are found at the end of Salsila St. which leads directly to the Temple Mount. It is possible that this water fountain was an important aspect of the procession to the Temple Mount (Onn & Weksler-Bdolah, 2016).

Figure 5.10 Photo of the excavations where an opening was breached in the eastern part of the fountain's wall, believed to be part of a complex Herodian triclinium with a fountain in its centre, although how it functioned exactly is still being studied (Onn & Weksler-Bdolah, 2016).

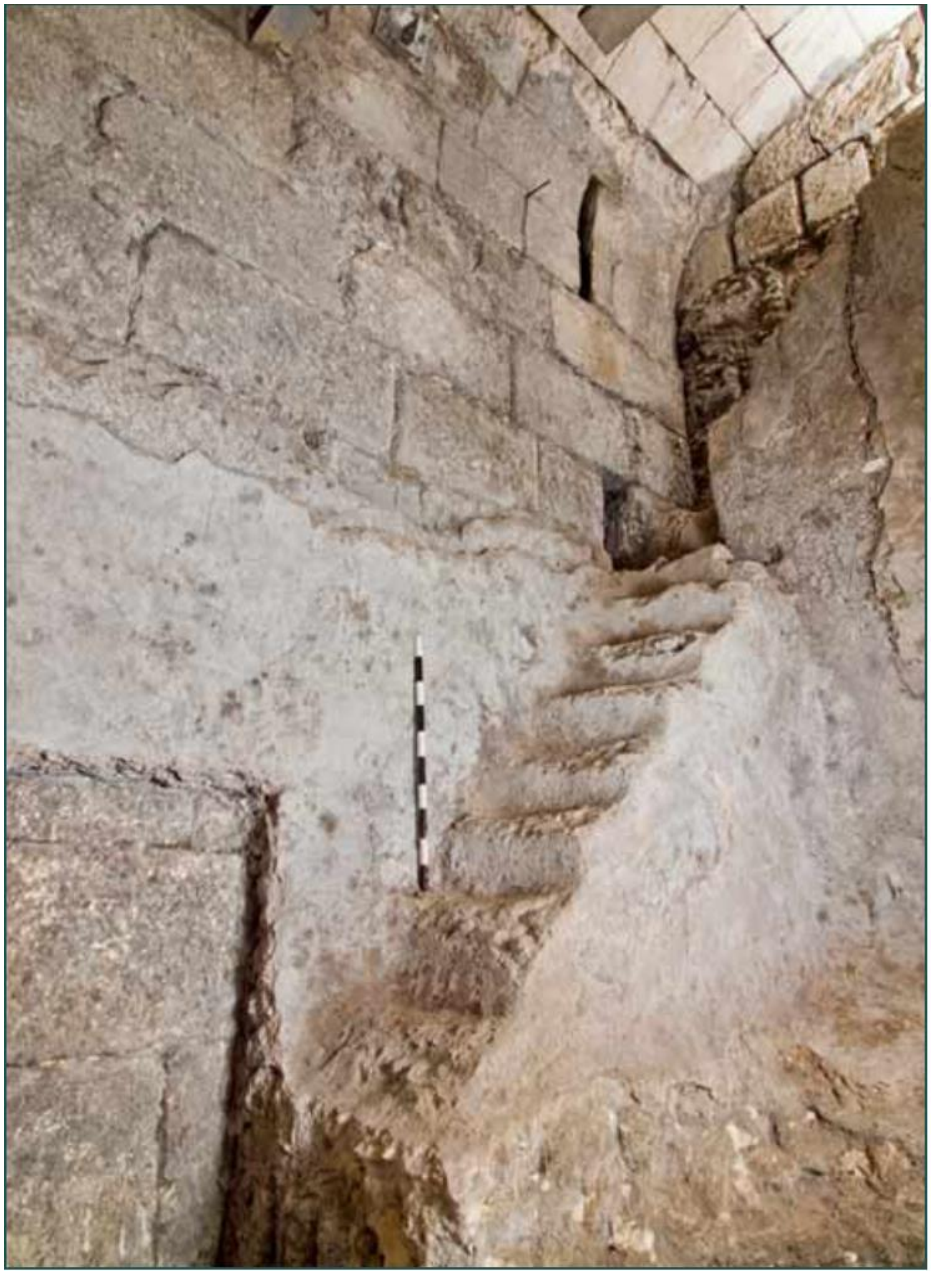


Figure 5.11 Photo of the excavations taking place on the water reservoir, found in the same building as the fountain. The reservoir was installed north of the fountain wall. The staircase runs from the southeast corner of the room. The reservoir itself is believed to be from the Second Temple period, when the building was still in use (Onn & Weksler-Bdolah, 2016).

The City Dump, An Addition to the Memory Theatre

Pilgrimage was so successful from the period of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, that it transformed the very practice of travelling the processional route to Jerusalem for many years after. Pilgrimage became so popular in Jerusalem that it was unable to provide the pilgrims with sufficient accommodation, resulting in campsites being set up on the outskirts of the city to shelter a larger number of pilgrims than there were citizens (Gurevich, 2017: 125). A large trench was excavated, where the archaeologists were careful to sift through the soil and floated sediments to retrieve

maximum amounts of faunal and floral remains. The location of this excavation was 100 meters south-east of the Temple Mount and on the western slope of the Kidron Valley (figure 5.12). On this site, they found large amounts of pottery dating between the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD and coins dating back to 70 AD, as well as large amounts of animal bones and stone vessels (Bar-Oz et al., 2007:4).

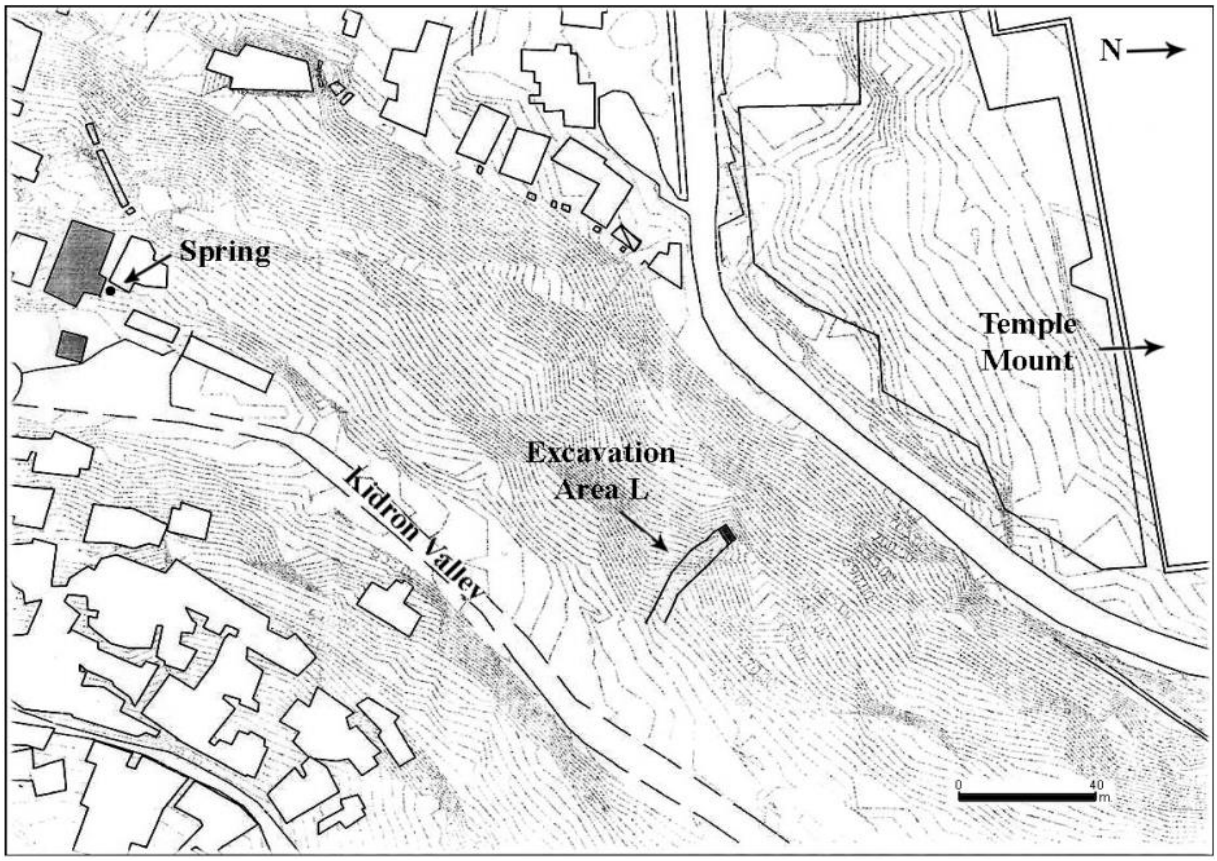


Figure 5.12 Map of the excavation that took place at the waste dump 100 meters South-East of the Temple Mount, between the Gihon Spring and the Temple (Bar-Oz et al., 2007).

The size of the dump is said to be at least 400 meters long and 50 to 70 meters wide with copious amounts of pottery that used to be jars, amphorae, oil lamps, juglets, bottles, flasks, bowls and dishes, and ladles (Bar-Oz et al., 2007:7). These finds indicate that this large dump site was created by pilgrims, bringing in their own meats and sacrifices, and discarding utensils that would no longer be necessary to carry back with them on their journey homewards. Pilgrimage was creating these changes to the city to meet their demands. With the waste dump on the South-East side of the Temple Mount it is

possible that this location was chosen for two reasons; the first being that it would be near one of the areas where the pilgrims were camping or staying in hostels, and the second would be that the convenience of the location offered a great space to dispose of unwanted utensils after participating in sacrifices and other festival and sacred activities at the Temple. In this way, not only were the pilgrims able to experience and appreciate the Memory Theatre but they were redesigning and creating new ways of experiencing it. Creating these new adaptations to the experience of the Memory Theatre would not only have altered the experience of the pilgrims but of the local people that lived there also.

The act of discarding their materials, waste, and other objects they may have purchased or brought with them might have felt like it was part of the rituals, and a part of the sensory experience of the pilgrimage. The sounds of discarded pottery across a huge space, a continuation of what other pilgrims had done, would perhaps leave behind physical fragments of their own memories and experiences in their journey to the Memory Theatre. It is possible that this large waste carried on more of an experience than simply discarding waste as it becomes a notion of leaving Jerusalem, and leaving behind a physical belonging in the city, marking the end of their religious journey to be lost in the sounds of the shards of pottery breaking. These discarded pots would have been purchased in Jerusalem, designed specifically to last the duration of the festival after which the pilgrims would finish by discarding it, leaving them behind in the holy city (Bar-Oz et al., 2007:10).

This sensory experience was an addition to the Memory Theatre and created by the visiting pilgrims. They added to the sensory effects of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, creating new rituals and changes to the landscape that the local people would adapt to. These additional rituals to the Memory Theatre, although created by the pilgrims, created permanent changes to the lifestyles of the citizens. By adapting parts of the city to suit the demand of the pilgrims, much like this waste dump, new cultural memories were being formed and along with it new identity that collectively included the community of pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem. Herod's objective to form a new and inclusive identity came to life through the adaptations made by the pilgrims traveling to visit his Temple. The changes that were subsequently made to the uses of certain spaces around the city contributed to the development of new community memories born out of the actions of the pilgrims journeying to the Memory Theatre.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed the action of undertaking a pilgrimage to a Memory Theatre and how this created new cultural memories and defined religious identities. Accommodating large numbers of pilgrims led to the alteration of the city design, changing the way people and pilgrims travelled within it, and their daily activities. The construction of Herod's Temple created a Memory Theatre that was a direct continuation of the memories of the Second Temple, and perhaps even the First Temple, which helped to portray Herod's ideologies and memories of a city he saved and rebuilt during his reign. Pilgrimage maximised the effects of the Memory Theatre as the pilgrims created new additions to the Memory Theatres such as creating external spaces where they would stay and add to the city dump.

The road to the Memory Theatre impacted how the spectators would experience it as it would play on their emotional and physical senses and connect them to pilgrims that had visited these locations before, carrying out the same ritual performances. The bodily senses and experiences they would endure on their journeys, and the dangers and difficulties that both Christian men and women would have experienced during this time, would alter their perspective of the memories and how they identified with the Memory Theatre. Men and women would have both had very different experiences of the Memory Theatres and their journey to it as there would have been a strong division between them, creating two very different understandings of the same experiences.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem paves the way to a better understanding of how Memory Theatres work and how people interacted with them. Analysing the pilgrimage to Jerusalem developed an insight into how the Memory Theatre affected the individual and group pilgrims as well as how the spectators helped to modify and add to the design and layout of the Memory Theatre. In many ways, much like with the Acropolis, one of the most effective ways of portraying ideologies, memory, and reconstructing identities, was through bodily senses. The experience of the body in the journey to and through a Memory Theatre helps to connect the present people with people from the past who had participated in similar activities, allowing them to take on a new identity made through these connections.

Part 3 – Synagogues

Chapter 6 Fluidity of Memory Theatres: Temple and Synagogues

So far in the evaluation of Memory Theatres in Jerusalem, we have discussed the influence of pilgrims in the experience of the Temple, The Temple Mount, and Jerusalem. Chapter 5 addressed how both Christian and Jewish pilgrimage brought about changes to the overall bodily experience of the Memory Theatres and how this created new cultural memories that added to these spaces. These changes led to the notion of a fluid Memory Theatre, unbound to its geographical location, allowing it to be created and recreated from the memories and ideologies of the people viewing it.

This chapter will further analyse the notion of a 'fluid' Memory Theatre and how this change was caused by the community that lived in it and the spectators viewing it. It will also address evidence of resistance within these communities and how that led to the development of new Memory Theatres to commemorate the old ones. By evaluating how these changes impacted the design of a Memory Theatre and how it was experienced, it allows us to develop a better understanding of how Memory Theatres altered a person's perception of the state and religion, and vice versa, by analysing how people interacted in the spaces.

This analysis will help to determine what memories were reinforced in part of the worshipper's experience. To do this I will be assessing how these memories can be viewed in the archaeology left behind through the evaluation of what memories continued to be celebrated after the destruction of the Temple. This will help create a better understanding of how the art of resistance influenced many changes and developments in the reconstruction of new Memory Theatres by religious figures or even political figures, which, in turn, further exposes power struggles within the community.

This chapter brings to light how these changes counteracted the acts of dominance with the intention of replicating the original Memory Theatres in other places situated outside Jerusalem, far from the original place of the Memory Theatre. To do so, this chapter will be discussing new Memory Theatres in Jerusalem and synagogues dating between the 3rd and 6th century AD as these time periods help to accentuate significant development in spaces that were transformed into new theatres of memory. I will first review the change of the focus point of the Memory Theatre from the Temple, and The

Temple Mount, to Roman Christian architectural spaces and the significance of this through map analysis.

This chapter will investigate how synagogues, drawing on evidence from Sepphoris, Na'aran and Beth Alpha, became new Memory Theatres and how they continued to portray old and new Jewish community memories. This will be followed by an evaluation of the mosaics and foundations of the synagogues to discuss the changes that were made to accommodate the functions of the Memory Theatre. From this, I will define the fluidity of Memory Theatres and how their adaptation and geographical locations are key to acts of resistance. Moving the Memory Theatre allows it to be replicated and used in different locations to portray the same ideologies, and memories, in spaces they did not exist in before.

Mapping Jerusalem

After the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD and the construction of *Aelia Capitolina*, major refurbishments of not only the city but the Memory Theatre also. With the new city came new streets, new public spaces, and new cultural memories that would help to create a Roman Christian Jerusalem. Maps are an interesting tool for evaluating the movement of the Memory Theatre within a city through its architectural expansion. Often the focus of a map would celebrate these spaces of collective and community memories as it would represent how the inhabitants of Jerusalem would identify themselves and identify with the city. The maps of Jerusalem that were created after the destruction of the Temple, along with the new functions of synagogues, helps to give an idea of the key focus points in a Roman, Christianised Jerusalem without a Temple. While the Jews made up for the loss of the Temple with synagogues, maps of Jerusalem became tools to push forward the new features that highlighted Christianity.

The maps of Jerusalem following the destruction of the Temple focused on depicting a Christian Jerusalem. The Romans' destruction of the Temple was not just the removal of a religious building, but of a place that served as a communal place that held meaning for the Jewish citizens and worshippers (Autenrieth & van Boekel, 2019:157). In 70 AD, Titus intentionally sought to destroy the ideologies and values of the Jewish community by removing the monument that encapsulated their history, memories, beliefs, and values (Autenrieth & van Boekel, 2019:161). The maps that were created thereafter were celebrating the destruction of the Temple as a demonstration of their power.

The Madaba mosaic map, found in the city of Madaba, helps to indicate how the focus of the Memory Theatre was relocated from its original space on The Temple Mount (figure 6.1). The map depicts a more Christian Jerusalem which highlights the lack of influence the Temple Mount had over the people living there at the time (Grabar & Kedar, 2010:96). The Madaba mosaic map, dedicated in 542 AD, depicts the Cardo, Damascus Gate, the Sepulchre and David's Tower, with the Roman *cardo* running through the centre of the city, all important landmarks to a Roman Christian citizen and to Christian pilgrims (Stiebel & Avni, 2017:41). The addition of the Roman *cardo* tied together the Christianised Jerusalem of the 6th century to the memories of a Roman Christian Jerusalem, creating a new Memory Theatre in the city.

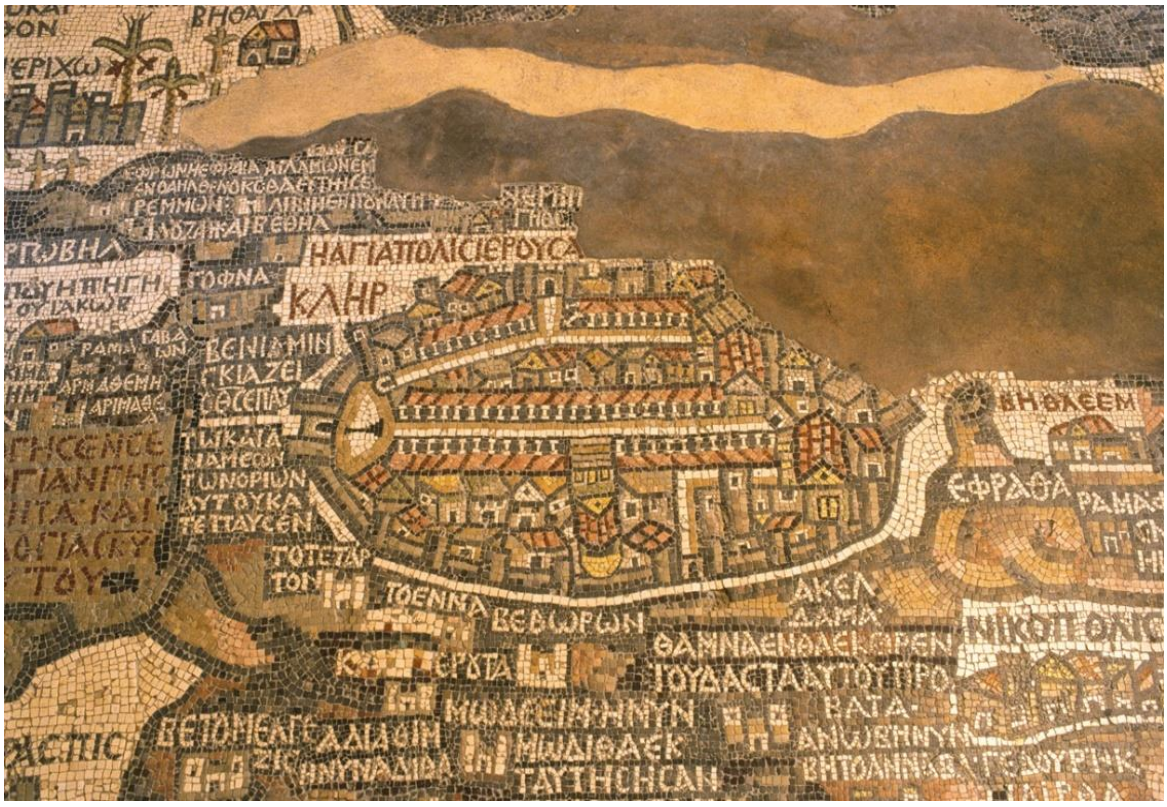


Figure 6.1 Madaba Mosaic map of Jerusalem, dedicated in 542 AD. This map highlights key landmarks in Jerusalem. This allows for the assumption that the focus of the Memory Theatre has moved away from the Temple Mount and replaced by Roman Christian features (Madainproject.com, n.d.).

The depiction of the city through the mosaic map helps to distinguish the change in the geographical location of the Memory Theatre in Jerusalem. From this map, it is clear to see that the focus had shifted from the Temple Mount to landmarks such as the Sepulchre for the Christian citizens and

pilgrims. As the map itself is not found in Jerusalem it depicts this altered image of the Holy City to the people outside of it, showing how the focus was taken from the Temple Mount. This new Memory Theatre would be portraying new collective and selective memories based on the ones that existed already, fashioned to uphold a new Roman Christian identity. The focus on the monuments in the map that depict a Christian Jerusalem are key tools in the construction of a new identity. New constructions and monuments are often created to interpret a new type of identity in an area (Mogetta, 2019:244). This new identity dominated the space of the Memory Theatre with the intention of depicting new collective memories that would alter how citizens and spectators would view their own city by changing how they would identify within these Christianised spaces. For people outside the city, they would view the monuments in the Madaba mosaic map as the key features of Jerusalem, celebrating the city's identity. This creates an imagined Memory Theatre through this mosaic and one that celebrates a different identity.

Synagogues as New Memory Theatres

The destruction of key features that the spectators identify with within Memory Theatre in Jerusalem led to its relocation. One of the most effective ways that Jewish people were able to counteract these methods of dominance brought on by Roman Christians from the late 4th century through to the 6th century AD was by creating new spaces that would remind them of not only the communal memories but of the Temple, and therefore elements of its Memory Theatre. This was achieved by repurposing synagogues to depict key features that would hold memories of the Temple, reminding the spectator of a time before its destruction in the hope of a future where it would be rebuilt (Trotter, 2019:97).

Prior to the destruction of the Temple, synagogues were generally used as community centres, libraries, markets, banks, and a place for studying and learning (Levine, 2005:135). After the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD, Jewish people were obliged to find new ways to worship that did not involve the use of the Temple (Hachlili, 1998:13). Synagogues eventually became spaces of practising cult worship in the absence of the Temple but not in the absence of its memory.

Many synagogues began introducing new important features that would allow for religious practices to continue, which included modifying the interior of the synagogues to orientate them in the direction of the Temple in Jerusalem. The synagogues also had the additional benches and aisles, decorations, and mosaics to help the worshipper participate in liturgies (Weiss & Netzer, 1996:12).

The changes made to these synagogues were intended to remind the worshippers of the Temple by using decorations that refered to specific memories of it. These alterations made to the synagogue would have helped with the performance of certain practices in a space dedicated to preserving the memories of the Temple.

Synagogues between the 4th and 6th centuries refer to key features that would remind the worshipper of the destruction of the Temple. There are many aspects of the synagogues that are used to compensate for the absence of the Temple, one of which the *miqvaot*. As was previously discussed in chapter 5, the ritual baths, or *miqvaot*, in Jerusalem is a necessary part of the religious practice when entering the city of Jerusalem and visiting the Temple. This practice was continued in the synagogues with the addition of water installations. These water installations were commonly found in the synagogue atria, and although they were located outside the synagogue, they were a part of the religious and ritual ceremonies that would continue internally (Levine, 2005:331). As I touched on in chapter 5, performing ritual practices are a big part of all religious practice and these bodily experiences add to the worshipper's experience of the Memory Theatre. These rituals were all connected and adapted to be performed in and around the synagogues.

The water pools were so vital to the religious practice that even Herod's fortress, known as *Herodium*, built in the Judean desert just 12 kilometres South of Jerusalem, was later converted into a synagogue in the 1st century AD with the installation of three water pools, identified as *miqvaot* (Matassa, 2018:165). The water installation was placed next to the kiln, near the entrance (figure 6.2). Due to the *miqvaot* being placed so near to the entrance, this highlights the necessity of these installations in recreating the memories and experience of not only visiting the Temple but entering Jerusalem; as it was important for pilgrims to purify themselves beforehand which was discussed in the section on the Journey to a Memory Theatre and Water Pools.

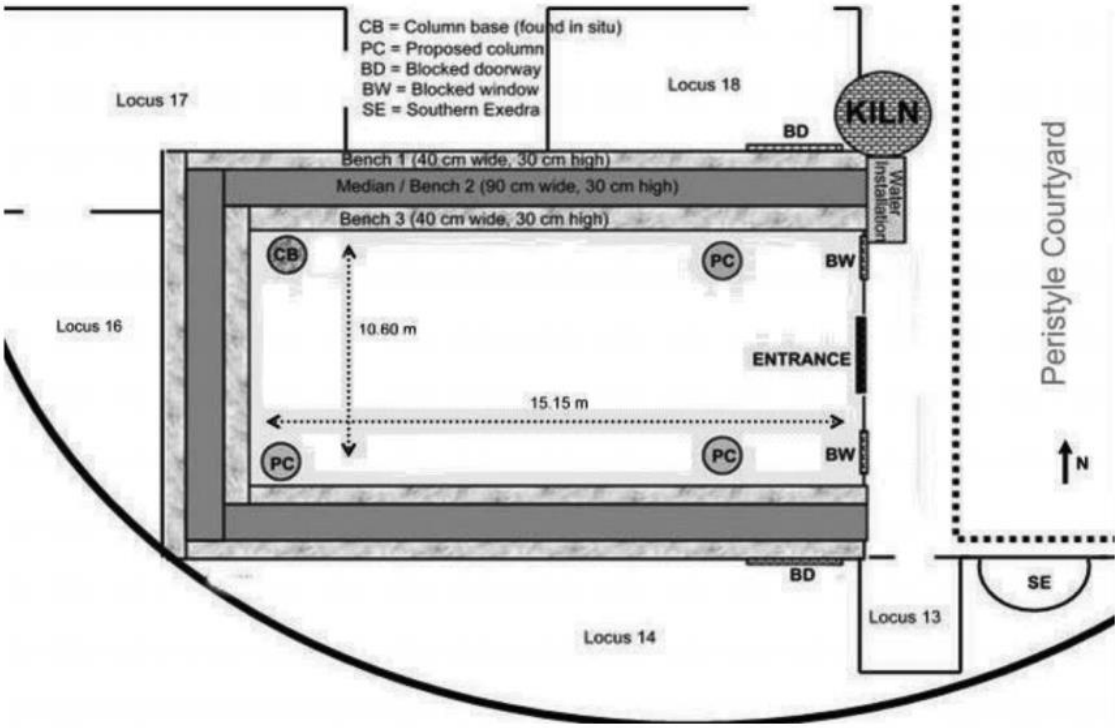


Figure 6.2 Plan of the triclinium at Herodium. This diagram shows how the synagogue was created in this space and the adaptation of the water installations near the entrance and benches on the interior for the worshippers to participate in the liturgy (Matassa, 2018).

Just as the *miqvaot* were a necessary addition to make this synagogue function as a Memory Theatre, the entrances needed to be adapted also. The Beth Alpha synagogue, located at the bottom of the northern slopes of the Gilboa mountains near Beit She'an, Israel, and the Na'aran synagogue, discovered in the ruins of the modern village *Nu'eimah* approximately 5 kilometres north of Jericho, both had atria attached either to the front or side of the synagogues. These atria were generally located outside the hall and used for gathering as well as to direct the worshippers into the synagogue (Levine, 2005:330). They would create a similar experience to the one discussed in chapter 4, where the spectator is made to exit the outside world as they enter into the Temple, playing on the spectator's sense of space as they leave the external world behind to enter a sacred location.

The transition from the world outside to entering the Memory Theatre plays on the community memory of a similar experience with the Temple, a memory that the individual would not have experienced first-hand but lived again through the synagogue and heard of in the reading of the scriptures. Entering into the courtyard before entering into the hall would have created a similar experience to entering into the men and women courts in Herod's Temple. Much likes Herod's Temple, the atria would have had a lot of natural light coming into this outdoor space. The hall would

create a progressive division between the mortal world and a sacred one much like the high walls in the Temple would have been used to create the illusion of a new space. The reconstruction drawing of Beth Alpha helps to give an idea of how the lighting inside the synagogue would have worked (figure 6.3). It is presumed that the windows would be on the upper level with arches helping the light pass through. This design would direct the light to the nave with additional lighting from the entrance and the two seven-branched menorahs found on either side of the Torah shrine (Fine, 2005:187). The controlled lighting would be very focused around the nave and the Torah shrine bringing the attention of the worshipper to the religious teachings which reflected on the Temple.

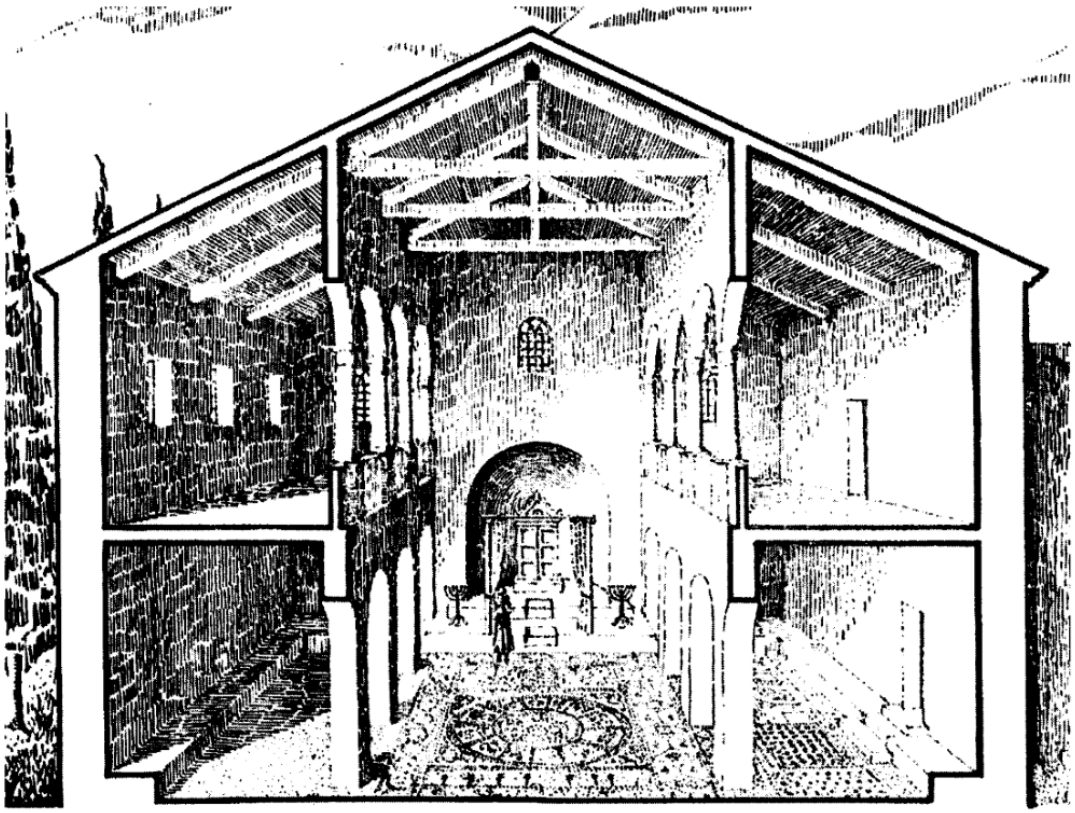


Figure 6.3 Reconstruction drawing of Beth Alpha synagogue. This diagram gives an idea of the lighting in the synagogue and how this would have affected the spectator's experience during the liturgy (Fine, 2005).

The lighting is assumed to work by guiding the spectator's eye towards the Torah shrine, orienting them to face Jerusalem (Levine, 2005:313; Fine, 2005:192). The lighting in the Beth Alpha synagogue is used to guide the worshippers across the hall and focus their attention on the Torah shrine, in the direction of where the Temple once stood. This would remind the worshipper of the importance of

the Temple in their practice and to retain their focus on the necessity of practising their religious activities in spite of its absence. In this way, Beth Alpha works as an effective Memory Theatre as it physically directs the attention to the memory of the Temple by offering spaces to worship without mimicking its layout. The synagogue does not try to replace the Temple; in fact, the memories are used to remind the spectators of a time before its destruction, a time they would not have remembered but relive through the presentation of these images and memories within the Memory Theatre.

The Synagogue Mosaic

One of the most astounding ways that these synagogues were able to carry on memories of the Temple without attempting to replace it was by creating floor mosaics. The floor mosaic at Sepphoris, generally believed to be from the 5th century, has survived with little damage (figure 6.4) (Weiss & Netzer, 1996:13). The nave mosaic was 13.5 by 4.5 metres and it would lead the spectator towards the Torah shrine, in the direction of Jerusalem (Weiss & Netzer, 1996:14). This floor mosaic can be divided into seven sections, each referring to various Christian parallels, with only the images of the Torah shrine, the menorah, and the vessels of the Temple cult that can be considered distinctively Jewish (Fine, 2005:189). The mosaic was not only created to help with the liturgy, but it served as an active reminder of the loss of the Temple, an expression of hope and redemption, as well as a constant reminder of practicing religious rituals (Weiss & Netzer, 1996:15).

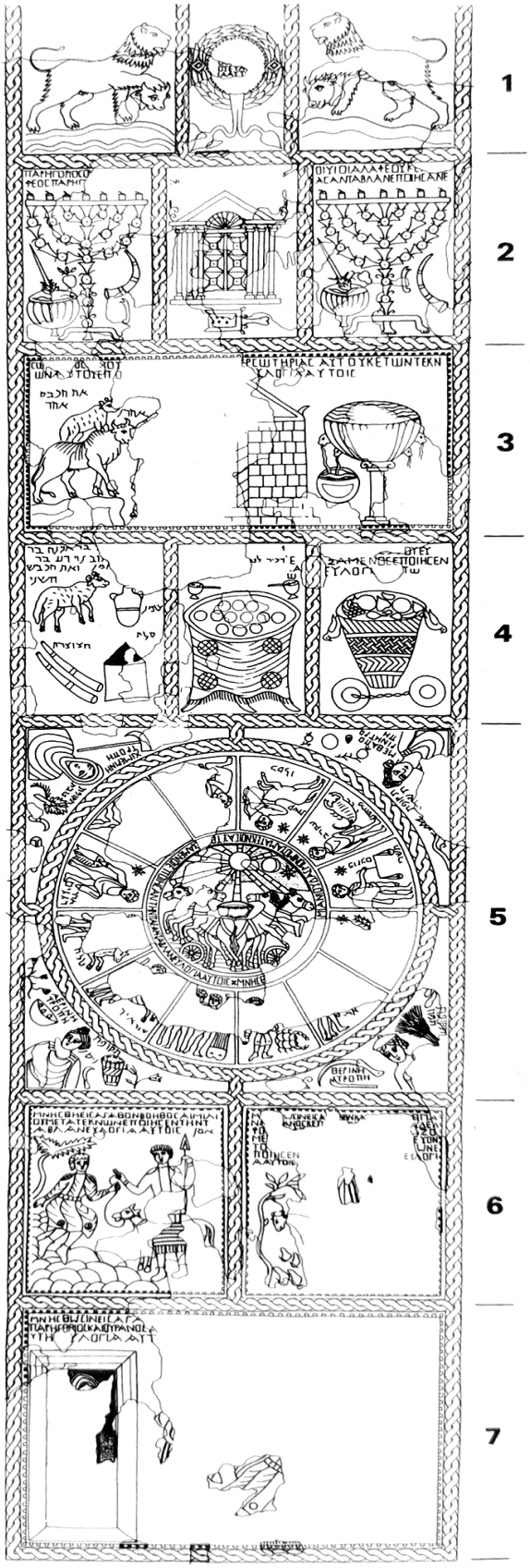


Figure 6.4 Drawing of the mosaic in Sepphoris synagogue based on the excavations. This drawing shows each individual section of the mosaic in direction of the Torah shrine (Weiss & Netzer, 1996).

The mosaic begins with the story of the angel visiting Abraham, quickly followed by the binding of Isaac. In this section, we follow Abraham and his son as they leave their animal tied to a tree and removed their shoes (figure 6.5). This action is an important reminder for the spectator to remove their shoes before entering the sacred space, as an act of purity, much like how they would enter the Temple (Weiss & Netzer, 1996:31). The removing of shoes reminds the spectator of the importance of the practice that is carried out as part of the worship, and is an indication of these same requirements that were necessary during the time of the Temple.

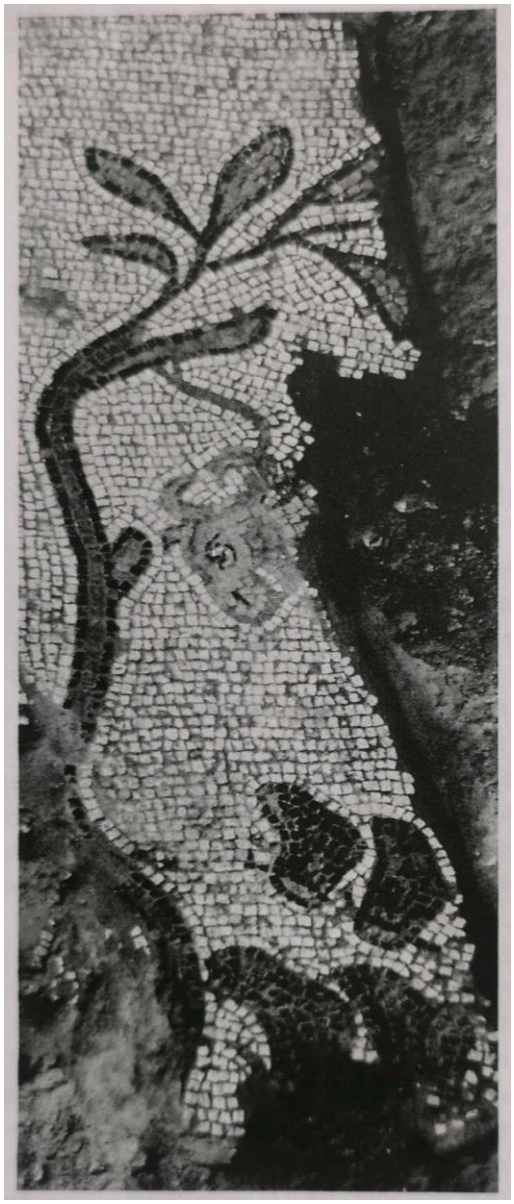


Figure 6.5 Photo of the panel showing Isaac and Abraham had removed their shoes before continuing any further (Weiss & Netzer, 1996).

Not only is the removal of the shoes an important part of the practice of worshipping but it also adds to the spectator's bodily experience of the Memory Theatre. As the spectator is reminded to remove their shoes, they are walking across a lit nave that would guide the spectator to the menorah, a strong source of light, and towards Jerusalem (Fine, 2005:192). Walking along the mosaic without shoes meant the spectator would feel the pattern of the mosaic on their feet, and perhaps the cold of the tiles also. The cold of the tiles as they follow the seven step mosaic leading the spectator to Jerusalem would have added to the sensation of leaving one part of the world and entering into this new space, a space that was designed to hold memories of practising in the Temple, in Jerusalem.

The zodiac at the centre of the mosaic offers more to the experience of the Memory Theatre. The zodiac calendar is an important marker of Jewish identity as it works as a reminder of Jewish festivals and essential communal tasks that were critical in the worship (see figure 6.6) (Fine, 2005:202). Zodiac mosaics were very common in synagogues, although the design can vary depending on the location of the synagogue, the local artists, and when they were constructed (Hachlili, 2001:116). The zodiac plays a vital role in the liturgy of the synagogue, so much so that numerous Hebrew and Aramaic synagogue poems were written about it (Fine, 2005:204). When viewing the zodiac in sequence with the rest of the floor mosaic, the spectator travels on a journey as they are guided through a sequence of memories that vary from past to future. With the addition of the zodiac the spectator is guided through the memories of the destruction of the Temple towards the vision of a new future that begins with the construction of a new Temple which is represented in the final panel of the mosaic.

Figure 6.6 Zodiac Mosaic at Sepphoris synagogue. In centre of the Zodiac Mosaic there is the changing of the day represented by the sun and moon. The months are represented by the zodiac signs and the seasons in the four corners represent the year. The strict focus on time acts as a reminder of important days of worship and cult festivals (Weiss & Netzer, 1996).

The two panels found above the zodiac calendar also offer an interesting insight into the important aspects of Jewish worship. After the calendar, which works as a reminder of times of worship, the panels numbered 3 and 4 (figure 6.7) refer to the offerings and the sacrifices that would take place at the Temple. The bull in panel 3 is considered to be the first sacrifice during the consecration ceremony, standing next to Aaron (Weiss & Netzer, 1996:22).

> "And thou shalt cause a bullock to be brought before the tabernacle of the congregation:
>
> and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the bullock.
> And thou shalt kill the bullock before the LORD,
> by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." (Exodus, 29:10-11)

This panel creates a strong tie between the worshippers in the synagogue and the pilgrims that would carry offerings with them to sacrifice at the Temple and take part in ritual sacrifices. Panel 4 specifically refers to the practice of offering first fruits and grains and the importance of this in abiding by God's word.

> "And one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread,
> and one wafer out of the basket of the unleavened bread that is before the LORD:
> And thou shalt put all in the hands of Aaron, and in the hands of his sons;
> and shalt wave them for a wave offering before the LORD." (Exodus, 29:23-24)

These two panels are particularly interesting in that they carry the continuity of these actions, where these practices are preserved in a state of continuous offering and sacrifices. These two panels in the mosaic are complementary and carry on the memories of the practices that were an important part of worship in the Temple. Although these actions were not taking place in the synagogue, the fluidity of the Memory Theatre carried through this mosaic has created the impression of an endless participation of offering and sacrifice, that celebrate the importance of the Lord and his Temple.

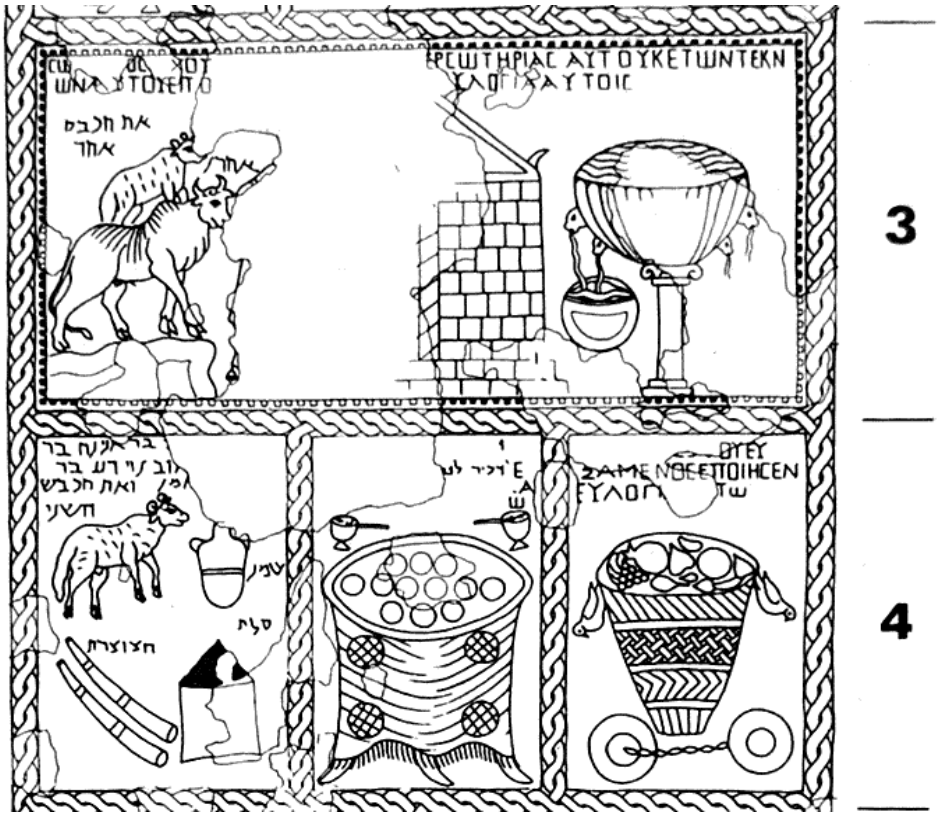


Figure 6.7 Drawing of panel 3 and 4 of the mosaic at Sepphoris synagogue. These panels refer to the offerings and sacrifices that would take place at the Temple, with the image of the altar that has only partly survived (Weiss & Netzer, 1996).

As the last panel of the mosaic depicts the doors to the Temple and the menorahs on either side, below the Torah shrine and two menorahs (figure 6.8), this would create a connection between the synagogue and the Temple as they share an experience and a memory that is carried on (Fine, 2005:192). This panel may create the sensation of traveling to the Temple but not traveling into the Temple itself, which is represented by the Torah shrine. The depiction of the Temple doors in the last panel of the mosaic was not only used to reflect a memory of the Temple but also to represent the notion of a Temple that would be rebuilt (Weiss & Netzer, 1996:18). Although the Memory Theatre is used to portray memories of the Temple and practices for the spectator to explore, it is also sharing new ideologies that symbolise the construction of a new Temple. The fluidity of the Memory Theatre in this section of the mosaic carries meaning from a past event whilst focusing on a future goal, the creation of a new Memory Theatre that will again hold these same memories. This continuity of the Temple carried on through the Memory Theatre after its destruction can be seen as an act of defiance against the Romans and resistance to the erasure of their cultural, and religious, identity and community memories.

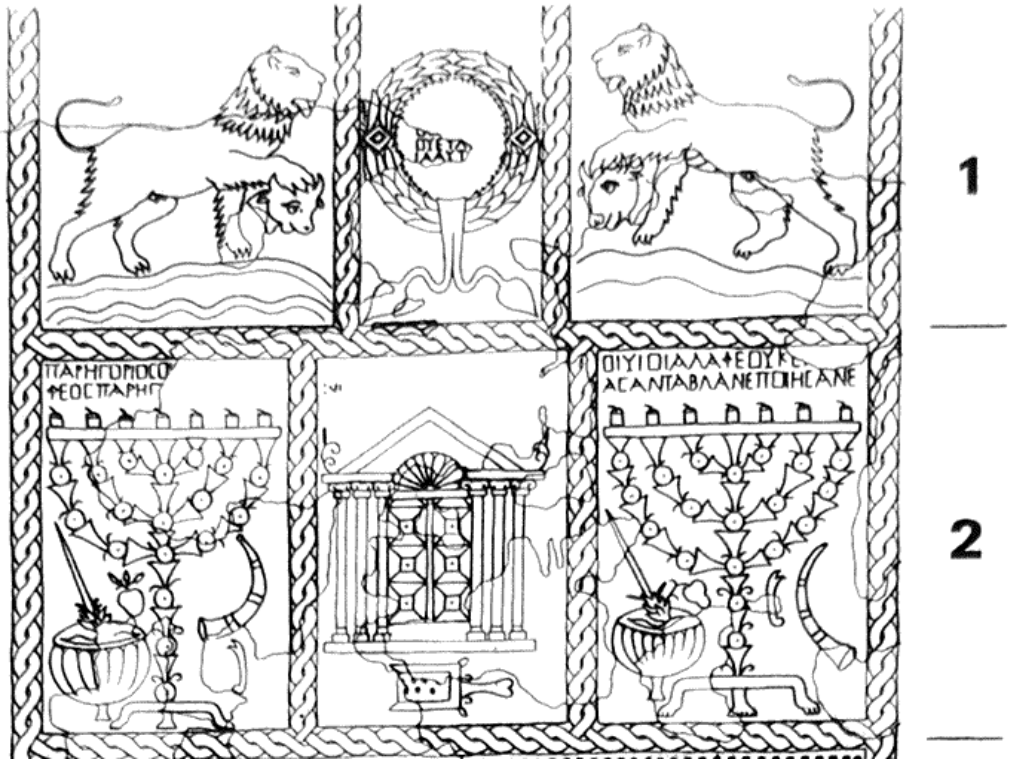


Figure 6.8 Drawing of panels 1 and 2 in the mosaic at Sepphoris synagogue. This panel is not only intended to carry the memories of the Temple but look forward towards a future where it will be rebuilt. It carries the memories of the past in the hope of a new future (Weiss & Netzer, 1996).

Conclusion

After the destruction of the Temple, the Memory Theatres in Jerusalem were left open to modification by the Roman Christians. This led them to create new Memory Theatres within Jerusalem to portray their own memories and ideologies that celebrated the city as a predominantly Christian city. Acts of dominance and resistance cause many different changes to take place in Memory Theatres so as to portray and support ideologies and memories of a particular identity of society. The fluidity of the Memory Theatre is addressed in the movement and adaptation of the focus of the monuments and memories that are transported and recreated in new spaces with the intention of preserving an ideology, a society, and an identity.

In resistance to the destruction of the Temple and a Christian Jerusalem, Jewish people adapted synagogues to support these same religious ideologies that were found in the Temple. They became new Memory Theatres that not only helped to preserve the memories and ideologies of the old Memory Theatre, but their designs helped to recreate a similar bodily experience that the spectator would have supposedly felt in the original. In spite of the Memory Theatre being uprooted, the memories that were being recreated in these synagogues worked to transport the worshipper to the time of the Temple with the use of artistic developments that depicted practices such as sacrifices that were only done at the Temple. Synagogues were monuments that carried the new memories of the Temple, using its designs to replace and recreate bodily senses and experiences, forming memories that connect the worshippers' ritual practice in the synagogues to the memories of these same experiences at the Temple.

These new Memory Theatres allowed for people to continue to practice their religious activities far from Jerusalem by building a space that contained the same memories and ideologies. Recreating these spaces helped to transport the Memory Theatre not only to one new location but to all synagogues that sought to make these adaptations in absence of the Temple. Moving the ideologies and memories of the Memory Theatre means that these spaces are not grounded by their physical location or monuments, instead they are carried by the depiction of the same memories and ideologies in a variety of different spaces. Dominance and resistance contributed to the change in the role of the Memory Theatre and led to its destruction or reconstruction. In this way, Memory Theatres become active tools in the preservation or destruction of a society and identity. It is unbound to its geographical location or its original spaces, and its fluidity can make it all the more affective in preserving memories, a society, and an identity.

Chapter 7 Discussion

The research that has been carried out on Memory Theatres so far, and their role in preserving and altering memories, has helped to define their purpose in recreating a society and its identity. This study has been greatly developed in the analysis of the case studies on fifth century BC Athens through to fifteenth century AD Jerusalem and the Herodian Temple, and the Sepphoris, Na'aran and Beth Alpha synagogues. These case studies gathered a variety of results that highlighted similarities as well as differences. These differences brought forward the need to take alternative approaches to each case study in order to examine them correctly and determine their attributes as Memory Theatres. In this chapter, we are going to investigate how well these case studies answered the following research questions:

To what extent do Memory Theatres alter a person's perception of a state?

How did people use and interact with Memory Theatres?

What memories are experienced by different religious pilgrims when they come into contact with holy architectural structures and archaeological features?

How are power struggles expressed in these archaeological features?

Analysing how well these questions were addressed as part of this research will help to explore how our understanding of Memory Theatres has developed. This chapter will be evaluating how Memory Theatres were used to alter a person's perception of a state and their identities. Memory Theatres were used to reinforce new identities of individuals or a group as part of certain acts of dominance and resistance. These power struggles are visible in the archaeology left behind in these case studies which will be further discussed in this chapter. Engaging with the material from these case studies can help to highlight how the relationship between the state and society is reflected in the materials they left behind. Exploring these key features in the Memory Theatres can lead to a better understanding of how they functioned and the role they played in recreating societies and identities in a city or state.

Memory Theatres: Power Struggles and Recreating Identities

Memory Theatres are spaces that uphold specific and controlled collective memories that benefit a state or group of people. In all of the case studies used for this research, Memory Theatres served as tools in the acquisition of power. They were used to create, destroy, or alter memories, identities and ideologies of a state or people. In chapter 3, Pericles' used his Memory Theatres to recreate a new Athenian identity that supported the Athens he was trying to create. Through the selected depiction of memories, Pericles was able to rewrite and reconstruct Athenian memories of events that spectators may or may not have experienced. The changes made to the Memory Theatre made changes across the state and the people's lives through how they used the cities.

Recreating identity was vital to achieve the full compliance of the people in the state or city. This is something that was also discussed in chapter 4, where Herod is argued to have allowed the continuation of religious worship during the reconstruction of the Temple in order to portray his new ideologies and identities in light of the memories that already existed in that location. Memory Theatres are able to maintain memories from past cultures in the establishment of new memories that are being founded in its walls, art, sculpture, and memorabilia (Charland, 2014:33). It was particularly necessary to maintain a continuity between old memories and new memories in the reconstruction of a society and identity as it helped to create a sense of progression and preservation, highlighting the importance of representing memories in images and literature (Boardman, 2002:18). These buildings carry memories of the past in order to depict ideologies in support of their present events. Memory Theatres portray memories from earlier cultures to evoke the past in the spectator's interpretation of their present.

Through the preservation of memory, Memory Theatres were recreating, preserving, or destroying identities. This is true in all three of the case studies used in this research, where the Memory Theatres portray selective memories or altered memories that worked in alliance with the ideologies of the state. They were tools in the acts of dominance for or against a state or group of people as they were used to preserve or destroy the memories and identity of a society. Chapter 6 strongly argued the use of synagogues as a means of preserving Jewish identity by retaining memories of the Temple. The decorations in the synagogues held memories and reminders of important elements of Jewish identity. This was done through the zodiac calendar, biblical scenes, and representations of the Temple placed in the mosaic flooring. After the destruction of the Temple, there were concerns with correct calculation of the years and the dates of the festivals (Fine, 2005:202). The lunar-solar calendar

became an important marker of Jewish identity, as it helped to establish Jewish dates and festivals in regard to their religious worships and practices (Fine 2005:202). The transformation of the synagogue into Memory Theatres made it possible to continue worship and practices without replacing the Temple.

The lunar-solar calendar was such an important part of Jewish identity, that in the Jericho synagogue, built in the eight century AD, archaeologists found an Aramaic inscription that translates:

> "Remembered for good, may their memory be for good, all of the holy community, the elders and the youths, whom the eternal King helped and who donated and made the mosaic. He who knows their names and the names of their sons and the people of their households will inscribe them in the book of life with the righteous. All of lsrael are interconnected (baverim). Peace [Amen]." (Fine, 2005:187).

A similar inscription was found in *Qaddish* in Aleppo dated 1410 (Fine, 2005:187). These inscriptions of prayers and liturgies illustrate the importance of memory and remembering. Memory and remembering are two key themes that are not only a part of the religious practice but as a part of the Memory Theatre which helps to retain the identity of the group of people. As they mention the mosaic, this indicates that the memories and remembrance placed in the synagogue serve as a reminder of the practices, Jerusalem, and the Temple, all which carry Jewish identity.

It is not only the memories held in the Memory Theatres that help to enforce the idea of power but also its height and size. The large scale of Memory Theatres help to give the impression of power, and express authority and control over the state of people (Charland, 2014:31). Both Herod's Temple and the Acropolis in Athens have acquired the grand size and height, where they are visible from almost all areas of the city. In the city plans of fifth century Athens (chapter 3) and Herod's Temple (chapter 4), the Memory Theatres accommodate a large portion of the city, and at a great height above the rest of the buildings. The locations of these Memory Theatres amplify the experience for the spectators and worshippers that travel to view them, creating a strong sense of power and dominance that radiates from its walls and sculptures.

How Memory Theatres Alter a Person's Perception of a Place

Memory Theatres are spaces used to instill selective and collective memories to create or recreate the identity of a population or state. This is true for the case study on Athens in chapter 3, where Pericles attempts to recreate Athenian identity with the hope of suppressing individualism to create a single body of citizens ready to put down their lives for the success of the state. To achieve this, the connections between the Acropolis and the *Kerameikos* was made to advance the notion of Pericles' collective body of citizens, removing any concept of individuality. The spectator would have been made aware of this from the grave stelae on the Acropolis, creating a sense of unity that would have appeared powerful to foreign spectators, and created a sense of guilt to Athenian spectators if they were not behaving as part of a united body. The stelae are very effective in creating this illusion of a collective body of citizens, even more so soon after the lost battles that took place during Pericles' times. How the spectator viewed themselves and the people of Athens was changed by the monuments and memories depicted in these spaces. They altered Athenian identity and how the city was perceived, regardless of whether these depictions were accurate or not.

With the Christianisation of Jerusalem came an active destruction of memories of Judaism in the city (chapter 4). This destruction also brought on changes in how the city was viewed, particularly when looking at maps of the city that were dedicated to Christian features in the city. Based on the city plan of Jerusalem from 324 AD onwards (chapter 4) and fifth century BC Athens (chapter 3), the Memory Theatres were visibly very dominant spaces within the city. Christianising Jerusalem not only morphed the Memory Theatre into something new, but it created alternate memories that suited the ideologies of a Christian Jerusalem. Altering the layout of the city and moving the focal point of the Memory Theatre to preserve and protect Christian themes, much like the Madaba Mosaic map discussed in Chapter 6, meant these spaces were also recreating the city's identity. It was formulating a new narrative of the events that took place in Jerusalem, creating new ways for the spectator to interpret them (Schwartz, 1996b:922). Removing the memories of a place can only be achieved by producing a new set of memories to replace them (Passerini, 2003:241). Christianity was replacing the memories of Judaism by dominating the Memory Theatre, which in turn would change how people would view their own city and how spectators would experience the memories and monuments found there.

Memory Theatres can be altered to depict these changes, with the intention of submerging the spectator in a series of collective memories. Collective memories of an area affect the individual's memories of the depicted events, regardless of whether they experienced them first-hand or not.

Collective memory often focuses on the various competing interests of groups; however, it does take into account the individuals and institutions that affect and influence specific versions of memories that become a part of the collective memory (Shackel, 2003:3). As with the Christianisation of Jerusalem, the collective memory of a place focuses on the memories that serve an interest of a particular community of people and causes for people to experience each Memory Theatre differently.

Memory Theatres are stage sets used to create new memories and identities used to enforce specific ideologies over a set of people. These spaces make it easy for the state, or a group of people, to alter their memories in order to create a more positive depiction of past events. These methods rely on the art of forgetting. The fear of not being remembered in the correct way surpasses the fear of not being remembered at all (Nora, 1989:16). This is what led both Pericles and Herod to create large Memory Theatres that honoured their contributions to the richness of the cities. This worked similarly with the artistic inclusion of the memory of the destruction of the Temple in the synagogues as it carried on in its memory. With the art of forgetting, the memories of the events they display can be transformed to depict them in a different light, often a more positive lighting. Therefore, the objects inspiring the memories in the Memory Theatre serve to remind the spectators of a particular version of the events that had taken place. They work to remind the spectator of the memories as "we cannot look for something we have lost unless we remember it at least in part" (Passerini, 2003:239).

A Theatrical Performance

Memory Theatres create spaces where the spectators become physically involved in the memories depicted in the monuments and sculptures. These spaces encouraged the viewers or worshippers to imagine themselves in place of the sculptures. This is something that is particularly noticeable in the Acropolis in Athens and the grave stelae in the *Kerameikos*. These spaces were making the viewers imagine themselves in the place of their ancestors, fitting into their societal role, and associating themselves with memories they would not have experienced outside of the monuments. The Memory Theatre in Jerusalem behaved similarly as it created a space for worshippers to perform religious practices where the worshipper would be travelling through spaces that would connect them to the period of the First Temple, creating the physical bodily experiences that would enhance the performance, and again linking them to people before them. Much like the synagogues, it created a space that gave the impression of leaving the outside world and entering a sacred realm within (Papalexandrou, 2013:43).

Bodily experiences were an important aspect in the way Memory Theatres functioned. Physically experiencing the Memory Theatre and the monuments helps to produce memories the spectator would not have experienced first-hand, allowing them to be experienced through the scenes depicted in the Memory Theatre. Playing on the spectators' physical sensations whilst viewing a space or monument containing key memories that portray a more favourable depiction of a civilisation or ideology that supports the intentions of the state or person, such as Herod and Pericles, creates the sensation of reliving an experience that would otherwise be lost forever. These spaces use selective and collective memories of the past to reflect on the issues of their present to guide the viewer and propel forward the ideologies of the state (Schwartz, 1996b:909). Memory Theatres not only preserve selected memories for people to view and experience, but they become a living space that engages the spectator through more than just its visual content. The bodily experiences create a new way for the viewers to become a part of these spaces. These spaces alter the spectator's perceptions by exposing them to physical experience of these memories, making them a part of the memories and pushing this idea of a living Memory Theatre where the spectator becomes a part of the performance.

A good example of spectators participating in the performance of the Memory Theatre would be during the festival of Dionysus. The festival functioned as a means to portray Athenian ideologies during the theatrical performances and processions that would take place. The Dionysus festival required participation from spectators, where the tribute of the cities of the Athenian empire was brought into the theatrical performances (Goldhill, 1987:60). As these performances were particularly inclusive of the ally cities, it can be considered as a demonstration of Athenian power used to remind the rest of the Greek cities of the glory of Athens (Goldhill, 1987:61). The performance was a public display of the success of the military and political power of the city (Goldhill, 1987:61). The participation in the performance, followed by the procession through the Acropolis, not only required the spectator's participation but it also actively served to enforce and instate ideologies that benefitted the leading state of Athens.

Gender and Religion

Memory Theatres were experienced differently depending on citizenship, gender, religion, and nationality. It was necessary to cater to these different categories of people as it is difficult to be influenced by a past in which the spectator does not see themselves (Schwartz, 1996b:910). Gender in particular is very clearly defined in both Athens and Jerusalem. Both of these Memory Theatres reflect gender roles within a society. Pericles represented women in the Acropolis sculptures and

influenced their role in preparing the dead for burial, discussed in chapter 3, to define their position, not as citizens, but as an obligation to fulfil their debt to society. However, it is possible that women were able to resist Pericles' attempt to destroy any notion of individuality as they looked past the idealised representation of soldiers on the stele and saw the individuals man, father, son, and husband they prepared for burial. In Jerusalem, based on Josephus' description of Herod's Temple, the female and male courts were divided, but they mainly worked to hold the women back whilst the men continued closer to the altar (chapter 5). This division between the sexes was just as prominent in some basilicas and in Christian pilgrimage, creating two versions of the same journey which was addressed in chapter 5 (Doig, 2008:94). This all changed in the synagogues, as women were more actively involved in these spaces (Ilan, 2009). The different experiences expose women to a narrative in which they are forced to play their role, although they view the same memories in the monuments and sculptures as the men do. The different gender roles found in the Memory Theatres is a very clear sign of domination and power over a group of people, and how it was used to enforce it.

By including people of the present in the depictions of the past, this changes how the spectators view their own duties and responsibilities to the state. Just as the spectator in Athens could view themselves in the depiction of people in battle on the Acropolis, the pilgrims would walk through streets and touch water pools where people before them had been (Skousen, 2018:265). This creates a type of solidarity and duty that the spectators are keen to carry out for their ancestors. This follows on from the idea of the past being golden and worth recapturing, formed off the basis that the ancestors were better and stronger than the people of the present, which helps the state build new memories from the old ones (Boardman, 2002:18). This is particularly noticeable in the chapter on the synagogues where we discuss the many artistic designs and decorations dedicated to the future Temple and looking forward to the coming of the Messiah which are held in the memories referring to the old Temple and Holy City (chapter 6). There is a continuous notion that what the ancestors did must be preserved. Memory Theatres help to preserve these memories and depict them in a light that indicates to the spectator they have a debt to their ancestors and the state.

Memory Theatres are often community areas where other daily interactions take place. This is particularly the case in Athens, where the Memory Theatre encompasses the entirety of the Acropolis, the Agora and the *Kerameikos*. These spaces served as other functions that made up part of a citizen's normal day. This was also the case with the synagogues. These buildings initially served as community halls but in the absence of the Temple they were transformed to preserve its memory and become

the new Memory Theatres (chapter 6). In all three case studies, the Memory Theatres were also built in spaces of divinity. Just as Pericles took the opportunity to reconstruct the Acropolis in his favour to push his perception of a new Athens and new Athenian identities, Herod made the same performance when he was reconstructing the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Herod was using religious grounds to validate his new Jerusalem, a Jerusalem that lived within the Roman Empire. Building Memory Theatres in religious spaces worked effectively to carry on political concepts of gender roles, identities, and religions, in locations that would be considered outside of political areas.

Conclusion

To conclude, Memory Theatres were useful instruments to preserve memories, push forward ideologies and guide a group of people within a state or religion. The name 'Memory Theatre' suits these spaces as they create physical experiences used to encourage the spectators to become participating players in the theatrical performance of memories they may not have lived through in their time. The spectators and worshippers become active performers as they travel through a living space of memories used to push forward ideologies and influence the identities of the viewers and the state or city.

The act of forgetting is particularly useful in pushing forward new ideologies and identities to groups of people. Old memories are replaced with new memories that then depict the state or people in a more appealing light than before. Replacing memories removes any issue of other outcomes of these same events and memories. Collective memory is effectively essential in recreating these narratives as they preserve community memories dedicated to preserving the memories of a particular group of people. The act of forgetting makes acts of dominance in these spaces possible, as they help to erase any notion of other events that may have taken place.

Memory Theatres are potentially necessary for the preservation or destruction of a group of people. Where Memory Theatres are used as a form of dominance they are also used as tools of resistance. Synagogues are very effective examples of these spaces. They help to highlight how Memory Theatres are not locked to their geographical area. They are preserved and transported by the creation of new monuments, sculptures and designs that continue to push forward these same experiences. Synagogues are Memory Theatres that preserve the memory of a time that was destroyed, in hope of

the old Memory Theatre to be rebuilt. In this sense, the synagogues are depicting memories of a Memory Theatre.

Memory Theatres were useful in the preservation and destruction of memories of a society or people, that helped to push forward ideologies to recreate or create a new society and identities. This was successfully achieved by manipulating community and religious spaces that citizens and travellers were already accustomed to using. These spaces spread out further than the Memory Theatre itself. They were designed to guide the spectators from the outskirts of a city, through water pools or cemeteries, to its core. The different narratives of the experiences of these Memory Theatres were dependent on gender, citizenship, and religion. The fact that Memory Theatres were designed to adapt to these different groups of people helps to amplify how effective their designs were in recreating the identities of the city, state, and people viewing it, by creating spaces of memories were the spectators were active participants.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

Memory Theatres were key tools in the creation and recreation of a society. They were used to recreate identities in order to change the spectators' perception of the state and their civic roles. How effective these spaces were in creating this kind of change was dependent on how people used and interacted with them. Comparing how the Acropolis, Herod's Temple and the Sepphoris, Na'aran and Beth Alpha synagogues were able to manage these changes through the depiction of their selected social and community memories has led to the understanding that these spaces were designed to determine the spectators' societal role based on their gender, citizenship, and religion. The different interpretations of the memories presented in these areas meant that these locations produced many different narratives.

Understanding what spaces can be defined as Memory Theatres, how they function, and how people interacted within them, could help archaeologists understand certain building projects that took place and how they benefitted or changed the citizens of a state, and the state itself. It can also help to shed light on certain acts of dominance and resistance within these spaces by exploring what the people in these time periods understood about the working of social memory. The removal of memories from the Memory Theatres changed the identity of the people living there and of the generations that followed.

Studying these spaces as 'Memory Theatres' could help to explain how they functioned within a town or city. Understanding why certain types of memories were supported as opposed to other kinds can help archaeologists today to formulate more accurate insights into how memory, and the art of remembering and forgetting, impacted the societies at the time. It could also develop a better understanding of the relationship between the state and society by evaluating what memories they were preserving and presenting to the public. It would be helpful in determining how the designs of the Memory Theatres catered to suit the acts of pilgrimage. These alterations help to explain the relationship between pilgrims and the state, and the memories they would create and add to in these spaces.

With the help of the different locations and time periods chosen for this research, I was able to gather details on how Memory Theatres affected contrasting aspects of citizen, or non-citizen, life in these

places. I was able to evaluate how the depiction of selected social and community memories in the Memory Theatres not only changed how the viewer experienced the city but also their roles and how they identified in these spaces. This research has revealed that Memory Theatres were potentially able to change how the viewers saw the state and their own identities through the selected depiction of memories. This is not only true in the case of Athens but in the Temple and the synagogues also. These spaces share memories of an idealised past that would suit their present ideologies, creating memories where the viewer can see themselves depicted in the art and sculptures.

How people interacted in these spaces was important for understanding the influence of the Memory Theatre. People viewing the monuments were not only led to see themselves in the footsteps of the people before them, but the experience was amplified by their bodily senses. The Memory Theatres were designed to play on the viewers' perception of the events they were viewing, or participating in, by creating a very real physical sensory experience of it, as was discussed at length in Chapter 5 on pilgrimage. The alterations that were made to accommodate these kinds of sensory experiences can be noticed in the architectural development of Jerusalem and Herod's reconstruction of the Temple, discussed in Chapter 4. This can also be observed in the changes made to synagogues after the destruction of the Temple, discussed in chapter 6, where these constructions were holding memories and recreating experiences that were lost in the absence of the Temple.

The aim of this research was to explore how Memory Theatres functioned. The questions that guided this research were:

To what extent do Memory Theatres alter a person's perception of a state?

How did people use and interact with Memory Theatres?

What memories are experienced by different religious pilgrims when they come into contact with sacred architectural structures and archaeological features?

And, how are power struggles retained in these archaeological features?

These questions enabled me to explore the similarities in my case studies as well as the differences. Having such a diverse selection of case studies has allowed this research to truly explore the significance of a Memory Theatre in these cities and states, and the control it had over the preservation or destruction of memories. Although the broadness of the questions was helpful in guiding me through my research, I found many new and interesting points that I wanted to include but was constrained by time and unable to develop these points further. Due to COVID-19 I

experienced great difficulty collecting print sources and collecting data for this research. This greatly limited the development in some of my arguments as I was unable to retrieve the sources I required. I intended to undergo a research trip to Jerusalem which was later cancelled due to these same circumstances. I had to seek alternative ways of collecting the data, sources, and photos to formulate my own understand of the place that were necessary to complete this research.

To take this research further, I believe that investigating the different gendered experiences would help to evaluating how multiple narratives would create different interpretations of the Memory Theatres. It would help to define how these differences create two narratives for gendered roles and portraying identities. As I have demonstrated in this research, Memory Theatres are the tools for conveying specific and controlled memories and ideologies to viewers, with the intention of defining their role in society and how they identify. Exploring this further can help to determine how effective they were at achieving this and who had the authority to alter and change Memory Theatres. Whether it was left to the state, in the case of Athens and Herod's Temple, or the people, in the case of the synagogues, Memory Theatres played a prominent role in the recreation of a society and its identity.

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