The Alcestis Sarcophagus at Saint Aignan: a New Interpretation[1]

Sonia Mucznik

*T*he Alcestis sarcophagus at the Chateau of Saint Aignan, like most Alcestis sarcophagi, is composed of three scenes here framed by two large sleeping funerary Erotes standing at each end of the sarcophagus and holding lowered, burning torches. The left scene consists of five figures, four of whom face the central scene of Alcestis' death. The right scene also comprises five figures, including Herakles who is standing in their centre.

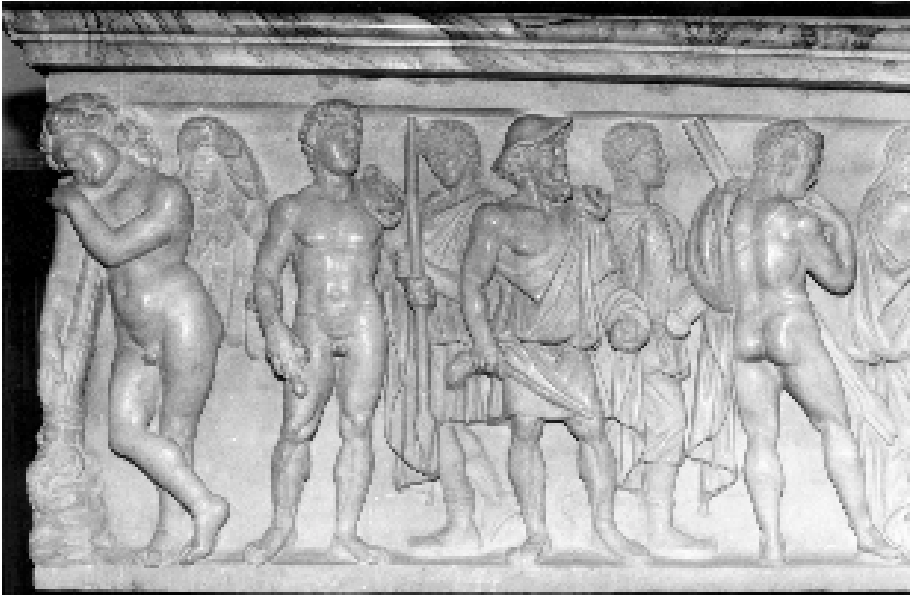Fig. 1: Saint Aignan Sarcophagus. Photo by author.

Fig. 2: Saint Aignan Sarcophagus (left section, front panel). Photo by author.

The scene of Alcestis' death draws the viewer's attention, not only by its central location on the front panel, but also because it appears directly under the *tabula*, with the epitaph (fig. 1). Alcestis lying on her *kline* is surrounded by a male and a female figure to her right, two children at her feet, and a mourning female figure to her left. The importance of the central death scene is even further emphasized in that the figure of Alcestis is depicted larger than all the other figures on this sarcophagus. Its significance is consistent with the central role of Alcestis' death in Euripides' play of that name. Traditional interpretations of all three scenes may be open to question. This article proposes a different translation for the visual imagery of the sarcophagus.

The figure standing in the foreground, on the left next to the Eros, has generally been identified as Admetus returning from hunting, when he learns from a servant that his wife is dying. He is nude, except for a *chlamys* slung over his shoulder, and holds a spear (fig. 2). This interpretation is based on the apparent similarity between this figure and another one standing near the death scene with his back to the viewer, who is regarded as Alcestis' husband Admetus, gazing at his dying wife.[2]

Are these two nude young men, however, really Admetus? This question arises from the bearing of the figure near the death scene. With his back to the

viewer, he is standing somewhat apart, his hand on his chin in an attitude of wonder or sadness as he looks towards the figures who surround the dying Alcestis; but would Admetus stand apart, merely looking on while his wife dies in his stead? Euripides, in his description of Alcestis' last moments, presents a very different Admetus. The tragedian tells how Alcestis' husband held her, begging her not to leave him and their children, and how, just as she is about to expire, he pleaded with her to lift her head and look at their children. After Alcestis has died, Admetus too feels dead, and their son says that their home is now ruined.[3] The figure thus standing apart and looking at the dying Alcestis with relative composure would hardly seem to be the Admetus of Euripides' drama.

The bearded man who is standing in the foreground, among the figures in the scene on the left, has been identified as *Ianitor Orci*,[4] the representative of death come to fetch the queen. This identification is also problematic. The figure is wearing a wide-brimmed hat, the *petasos*, as well as a short garment, which leaves one shoulder and part of his chest bare, and boots (fig. 3). He is holding an object which Robert regarded as a key or some instrument to push back the bolt to the Underworld. Robert's identification, however, is inconsistent with his identification of several other figures as *Ianitor Orci*, on various sarcophagi unrelated to this myth. The iconography of these figures differs significantly from that of the figure on the Alcestis sarcophagus: all hold a double axe with a long handle, which the figure on this sarcophagus does not, and none of them wear a *petasos*.[5] On the other hand, several figures on those other sarcophagi, whom Robert identified as shepherds, peasants and farmers, do wear wide-brimmed hats, as well as short garments belted at the waist and leaving part of the chest exposed.[6] As proposed by Roulez and Dissel, therefore this figure should be more correctly identified as a hunter or a shepherd, possibly one of Admetus' own men.[7]

A different reading can consequently be suggested for this part of the sarcophagus: the figure next to Eros and the four figures to his right could all be members of the chorus – men of Pherae and of Admetus' household – who have come to inquire about Alcestis' health, standing at a deferential distance, as they look upon the dying queen.[8] The man with his back to the viewer would be their leader, who appears hesitant and sad.

The scene on the right section of the panel has generally been interpreted as representing Admetus' and his newly reborn wife taking leave of Herakles (fig. 4).[9] The scene presents four figures converging on the towering figure of a nude, curly bearded Herakles standing in the centre. To Herakles' left, between him and the Eros on the right end of the panel, are two men, one in the
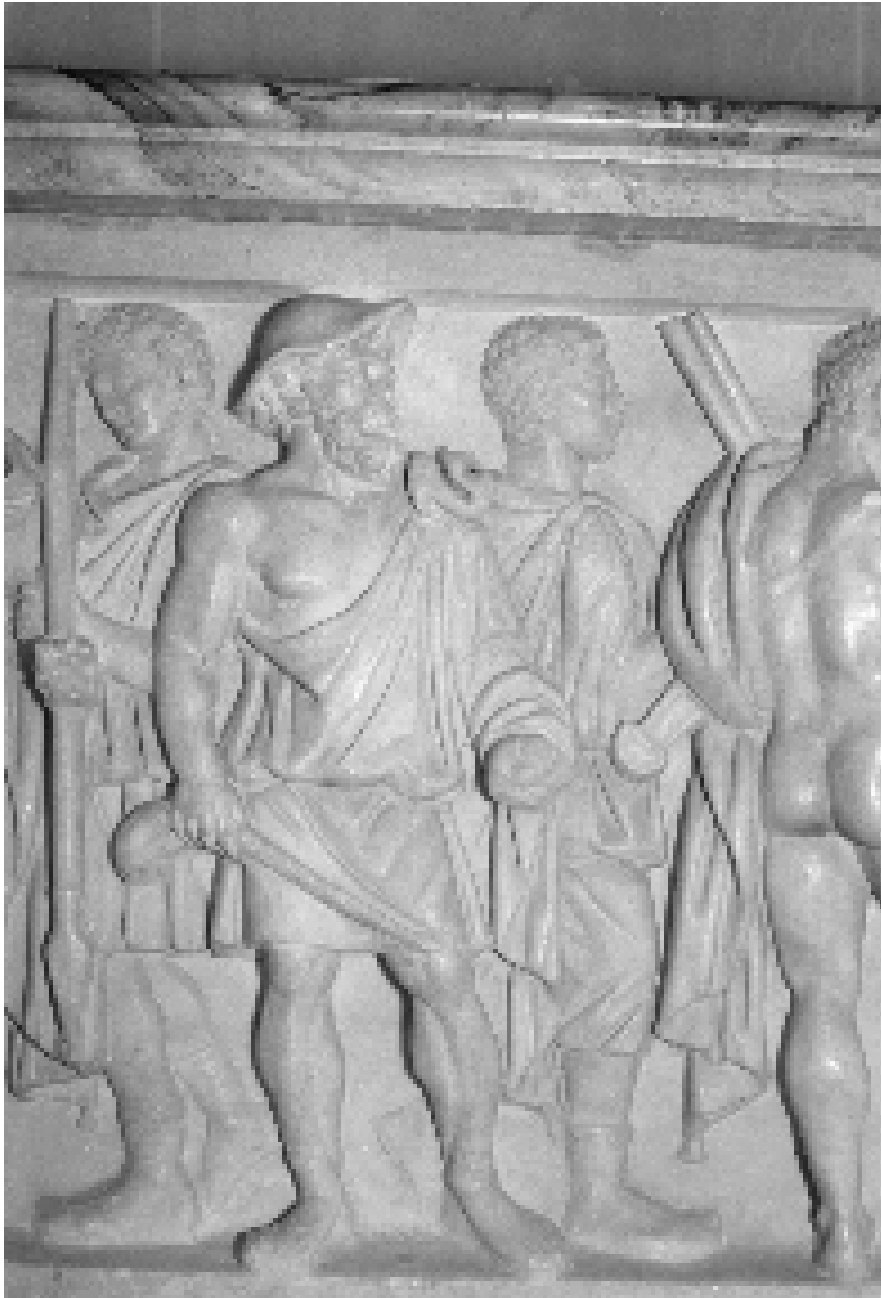
Fig. 3: Saint Aignan Sarcophagus: so-called "*Ianitor Orci*". Photo by author.

foreground, the other in the background. To his right are two figures: a man bent forward and grasping Herakles' hand and a young woman resting her fingers on her chin, who have been identified as the reunited couple, Admetus and Alcestis. The identification of this figure as Admetus is based on the similarity of his appearance to the two other figures who have conventionally been identified as Admetus in the left and central scenes.

The reading of this scene should, however, be reviewed. The figure identified as Alcestis is quite different from the Alcestis appearing in the parallel scene on the Ostia sarcophagus (fig. 5), who is almost entirely enveloped in her garments, with her head and hands covered, and only a small part of her face exposed. In contrast, the figure on this sarcophagus is bare-headed, revealing her hair done up in a chignon, and her hand is held up to her chin in an expression of wonder. This gesture seems to indicate her reaction to the dialogue between Herakles and the so-called Admetus. Euripides mentions that she will only speak three days after her return; in various works of art, including the Ostia sarcophagus, this concept assumes visual form in the figure of Alcestis, who appears enveloped in her garments from head to foot, her face barely seen. In the case of Saint Aignan, she does not follow this iconography, and thus, seems hardly the image of a soul just returned from the dead. Moreover, while the Alcestis on the Ostia sarcophagus is placed at Herakles' side, the figure in this sarcophagus appears beside the man with his hand extended to Herakles. Considering these deviations in the iconography, I would like to suggest that the scene shows the moment dramatized in Euripides' play when a male servant of Admetus' house informs Herakles that Alcestis is dead and that the funeral is taking place,[10] and thus the female figure should be identified simply as another servant.

The death scene itself also entails problems of interpretation (fig. 6). The identity of the small figures at the base of the *kline* as Alcestis' young children is clear enough, as is also that of the distraught young woman at the headrest, who is generally taken to be a friend or servant; but the identity of the couple holding Alcestis' hands is open to question. The elderly woman, looking upon the dead Alcestis, is an image of distress and disarray. Her dishevelled hair flows onto her shoulders, her clothes slide off her shoulder, and her left hand is clutched to her cheek. The man, bearded and fully clothed, is kneeling in front of Alcestis and looking at her intently. These two figures have been variously identified as the Nurse and the *Paedagogus*[11] or as Alcestis' parents.[12] The latter identification is based on the epitaph on the *tabula*:[13]

Fig. 4: Saint. Aignan Sarcophagus (right section, front panel). Photo by author.

To Ulpia Cyrilla
most loving and only daughter,
aged 22 years and 5 months
a most unfortunate mother.

This inscription has led to the conclusion that the elderly woman was Alcestis' "most unfortunate mother" and the man her father. The epitaph in itself, however, provides insufficient evidence for such an identification. Indeed, in Euripides' play, Alcestis' parents are presented as long dead. It should be noted that the "unfortunate mother" in the epitaph who has dedicated it to the memory of the deceased Ulpia Cyrilla, could have bought the sarcophagus in its finished state rather than have had it made to order.[14] If it was bought ready made, the figure would not necessarily represent the mother mentioned in the epitaph.

It could be assumed that the old woman is Alcestis' nurse and that the bald, bearded man of indefinite age is Admetus, kneeling at his wife's *kline* and holding her hand. The engagement and emotion expressed by this figure are much more in accord with Euripides' depiction of Admetus, as well as with what one would expect from a man whose wife has just died or is dying on his

account. A similar figure, identified as Admetus, appears on the sarcophagus of Junius Euhodus and Metilia Acte in the Vatican; he too is bearded and is holding his dying wife's hand. Moreover, the gesture of one of the children, apparently a girl, tugging at the man's robes, would also appear to be more appropriate directed towards a father than a grandfather.

The fact that the epitaph makes no mention of Ulpia Cyrilla's husband or nurse, need not contradict this interpretation. It does not mention her father either, nor does it make any mention of children. These omissions can suggest that the young Ulpia Cyrilla, unlike Alcestis, probably died childless and without a husband. It may be conjectured that she was a widow or a divorcee, for marriage was required by Roman law and the standard age of marriage for Roman girls was between twelve and fifteen. Such early marriages, usually
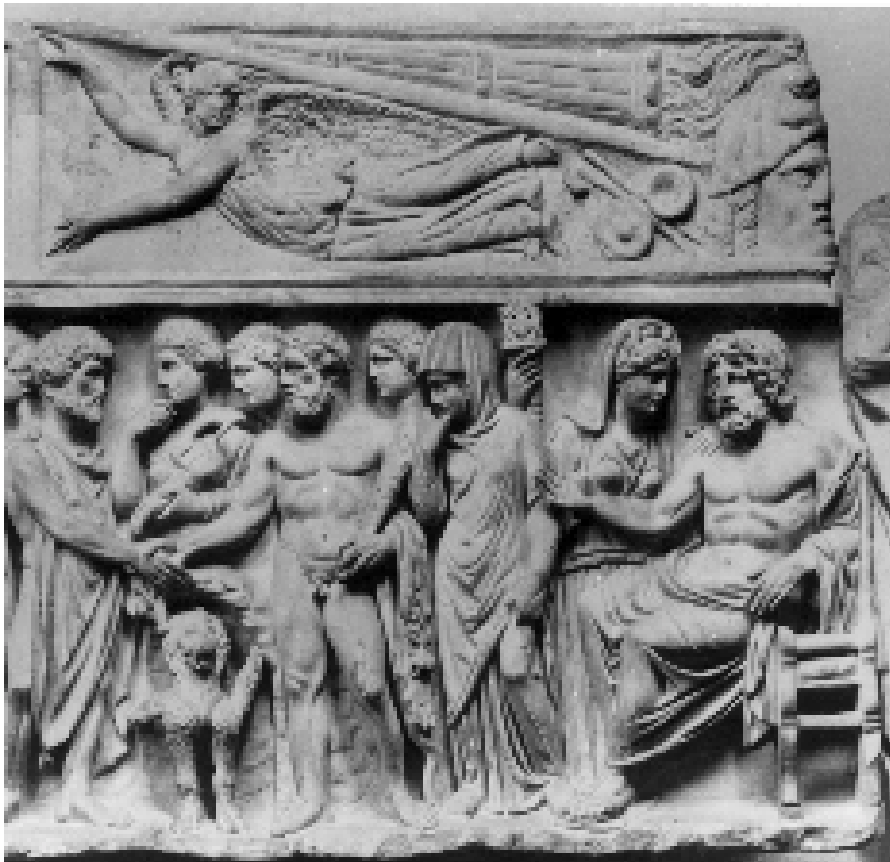
Fig. 5: Ostia, Alcestis sarcophagus (right section, front panel). Vatican Museum, Photo DAIRome 75.593.

Fig. 6: Saint Aignan Sarcophagus (central scene). Photo by author.

with older men, naturally led to widowhood.[15] The lack of any reference to Ulpia Cyrilla's father suggests that her mother was also divorced or widowed. In fact, if this was the case, and in addition she had lost her only daughter, then she would indeed have been a "most unfortunate mother", to be pitied for her loneliness, and also because there would be no one left to carry out her own funeral rites.[16] There is clearly a difference between Ulpia Cyrilla and Alcestis, whose myth was chosen for her sarcophagus. Even though the status of mother and daughter can only be surmised, these hypotheses may help to explain the gap between the epitaph and the representation on the sarcophagus.

In spite of the differences between the identities of the members of the family of the real Ulpia Cyrilla and that of the mythical Alcestis, the choice of this sarcophagus by Ulpia Cyrilla's mother seems intelligible. Alcestis, restored to the world of the living after having sacrificed her life for her husband, serves as an image of both virtue and rebirth.

The theme of immortality manifest in the Alcestis myth is emphasized by several features of the Saint Aignan sarcophagus. The figure of Alcestis on this sarcophagus, with her eyes closed, her upper body uncovered, and her long, curly hair falling on her shoulders, is unusual (fig. 6). In the other known Alcestis sarcophagi, she is depicted fully covered. The Alcestis on the Saint Aignan

sarcophagus may have been inspired by two female figures symbolizing immortality. One is the Hellenistic "sleeping Nymph", probably created originally for the decoration of fountains, and then adopted by the Romans for funerary art.[17] Among the earliest known Roman works of art are the first century CE funerary relief of Ulpia Epigone in the Lateran Museum and the cover of a sarcophagus of the same date in the Vatican.[18] The other figure is the sleeping Ariadne who, like the nymphs, was frequently depicted during the Hellenistic period and was adapted by Roman artists for funerary art.[19] In virtually all the known representations the sleeping nymphs, as well as the sleeping Ariadne, are presented similarly to the Saint Aignan Alcestis, with long hair falling onto their shoulders and their upper bodies nude. Ariadne, given eternal life by Dionysos, is an obvious symbol of immortality. The sleeping nymph also suggests immortality, in view of the legend that young girls who died prematurely were snatched away by the nymphs to live with them eternally; furthermore, the Greek word for nymph also means unmarried woman.[20]

Although it is not clear whether Alcestis is sleeping or dead, her closed eyes and the calm repose of her face are significant. Sleep and death are frequently related in ancient literature and iconography. Perhaps the most pertinent evidence in this respect are the words of the Hellenistic poet Callimachus who wrote that the virtuous do not die, but live in an eternal sleep.[21]

Belief in immortality is further conveyed by the Erotes featured on this sarcophagus: two holding garlands on either side of the epitaph, and two framing the main panel. Funerary Erotes standing cross-legged and leaning on an inverted torch, as symbols of eternal life, frequently appear on other sarcophagi, but among the known Alcestis sarcophagi, the Saint Aignan sarcophagus is the only one to present this feature (fig. 1).[22] Neither are the Erotes-Putti holding garlands, another symbol of immortality, found on other Alcestis sarcophagi, though they also frequently appear on sarcophagi in general.[23]

The myth of Alcestis, and the special form in which it is presented on this sarcophagus, seems to have provided Ulpia's mother with the images which gave visual expression to the belief that her deceased daughter, taken in the flower of her youth, would, like the mythical heroine, overcome death by her virtue and attain immortality. The Roman artist has thus added new levels of significance to the original Greek myth.

1. The sarcophagus, dated c.170-189 CE, came from Rome. The Duke of Saint-Aignan was the ambassador of Louis XV at the Vatican from 1731 to 1741, and then in Naples. When his wife died in 1734 in Italy, he bought the sarcophagus in Rome intending to bury her in the chapel of his Chateau of Saint-Aignan. Though the sarcophagus was sent to France, the duchess was not buried in it, nor was it placed in the chapel. It currently stands in a hall of the ground floor of the Chateau of Saint-Aignan (Loir-et-Cher), owned by the Marquis de la Roche Aymon. See Roulez, 1875, 105. Mr.et Mme.the Marquis de la Roche Aymon, the present owners of the Chateau de St.Aignan, kindly allowed me to examine and photograph the sarcophagus in April 1990. I am most grateful to them for this unique opportunity. No photographs have been published until now, and the sketches in Robert, 1969, 3.1, No.24, and in Roulez, 1875, 110, were the only illustrations available of this sarcophagus. Schmidt, 1981, No.10, mentions this sarcophagus.

2. Robert, 1969, 3.1, 30. But Dissel, 1882, 14, thinks this figure is Admetus returning home from hunting.

3. Eur. *Alc*. 273-79; 385-89; 416.

4. Robert, 1969, 3.1, 30 considers him as *Ianitor Orci*, whereas Blome, 1978, 439, sees this figure as a Death demon.

5. For figures of *Orcus*, see: Robert, 1969, 3.2, nos. 231, 233, 234, 236, etc.

6. Robert, 1969, 3.1, No.5; 3.2, Nos.170.171. This last figure also holds a bag with food for the dogs. Other shepherds hold a bag hanging on the side: Robert, 1969, 3.1, Nos.71a,75 a. Can this be what the figure on the St. Aignan sarcophagus holds in its left hand? Some of these shepherds or farmers hold a *pedum* as well, which could perhaps be what the figure on the St. Aignan sarcophagus is holding.

7. Roulez, 1875, 108; Dissel, 1882, 14, considers him to be a hunting attendant, suggesting that the object held by the figure is a *pedum*, a shepherd's staff.

8. Eur. *Alc*. 231-244.

9. Dissel, 1882, 14; Robert, 1969, 3.1, 30; Blome, 1978, 438, 439.

10. Eur. *Alc*. 821 ff.

11. Dissel, 1882, 14.

12. Robert, 1969, 3.1, 29; Blome, 1975, 438.

13. Robert, 1969, 3.1, 29; Blome, 1978, 438; Roulez, 1875, 108, identifies them as Admetus' parents; but Dissel, 1882, 14, considers them as the Nurse and the *paedagogus*.

14. Roulez, 1875, 110.

15. Crook, 1967, 100, n.9. Dixon, 1988, 17.

16. Dixon,1988, 213.

17. Fileri, 1985, 365-66.

18. Cumont, 1942, 402, Pl.XLII.2 = Altmann, 1975, 58, Fig.50; Cumont, *ibid*., Fig. 80 = Reinach, 1904, 445. For other examples, see: Reinach, 1904, 436 (Landsowne), 445 (Vatican); 1904, 408 (Constantinople); 1913, 218,3; 246,1-4; Fileri, 1985, 365, 6, fig. VIII,4 (Inv.no.121299).

19. Ridgway, 1990, 330-31, Pls.168-69. Rhea Silvia is also presented in an identical form, see Gersht/Mucznik, 1990, 115-133.
20. Cumont, 1942, 402, n.3.
21. *Anth.Pal.* "Sepulchral Epigrams", VIII, 451.
22. Koch/Sichtermann, 1982, Nos.70,110,156,164,292,303; Schmidt, 1981, No.159, sarcophagus New York MMA 24,97.13, but all of these Erotes are turned toward the interior part of the panel. On the St.Aignan sarcophagus they face outward. The source for this funerary Eros may have been Ovid, *Am.* 9, 5-12.
23. The most similar to those on the cover of the*St. Aignan* sarcophagus are those on the cover of a sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino where they are shown in an identical posture, and on another cover of a sarcophagus in the Vatican, where a *patera* and a jug are shown above the garland, as here. See Koch/Sichtermann, 1982, Nos.231, 278.

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Imported Marble Sarcophagi from Caesarea*

Rivka Gersht

T he necropolis of Caesarea Maritima, the city built by Herod, has not yet been systematically explored. According to funerary evidence - inscriptions, sarcophagi and graves - discovered to the east, north and south of Caesarea[1] it would appear that much of the area surrounding the city, with the exception of the western coastal area, was used for burial.

The remains of the imported marble sarcophagi which have been discovered to date, undoubtedly comprise only a part of the Roman sarcophagi used by the Pagan and Christian inhabitants of Caesarea. The fact that many of the sarcophagi are fragmentary makes it difficult to identify the exact scene or to reconstruct the entire composition of which each of the fragments was a part. They can nevertheless be related to the Attic and Asiatic types, based on both shape and decoration, as well as on isotopic analysis of their marble.[2]

Some of the sarcophagi bear close resemblance to other sarcophagi discovered in the region, especially those in the necropolis of Tyre.[3] The comparisons in the course of the following discussion will raise the question of whether the similarities merely indicate common production sources or whether they also suggest common sources of importation and transportation.

The fragmentary strigilis sarcophagus from Caesarea (fig. 1)[4] appears to correspond to a similar type of kline-strigilis sarcophagus from Tyre.[5] On the right hand side of the Caesarean fragment one can recognize the remains of a pilaster, which is divided into three vertical strips, decorated with vine leaves, grapes and birds, all carved in low-relief. The bird on the left strip is shown in right profile, stretching its neck, raising its head backwards and opening its beak as if attempting to reach the leaf above. The strigilis sarcophagus from Tyre has two similar pilasters on both sides of its façade. These pilasters, which become narrower from top to bottom, rest on two schematic paws, probably of
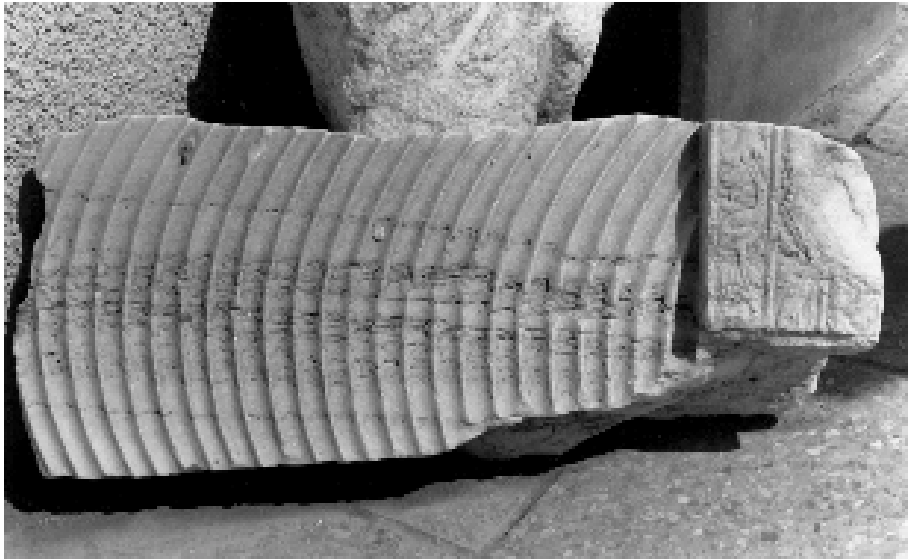
Fig. 1: Caesarea, fragment of a strigilis sarcophagus.

a griffon. Like the Caesarean sarcophagus pilaster, these too are divided into three strips decorated in low-relief with birds, clusters of grapes, vine tendrils and leaves. In the centre of the left strip of each pilaster a bird is depicted in exactly the same posture as the bird carved on the Caesarean fragment. The resemblance between this fragment from Caesarea and the sarcophagus from Tyre suggests that these are both products of the same workshop. According to Koch and Sichtermann the kline-strigilis sarcophagus from Tyre is Attic. As the Caesarean strigilis fragment is similar, it can also be considered an Attic sarcophagus, as verified by the isotopic signature of the marble, which indicates that the Caesarean fragment is of Pentelic marble.

A certain resemblance also exists between the Proconnesian garland sarcophagus from Tel-Mevorakh (figs. 2-3)[6] in the neighbourhood of Caesarea and that from Tyre.[7] The gabled lids of both sarcophagi are carved as tiled roofs with four plain *acroteria* in the corners. The two sarcophagi differ in style and technique, as well as in several decorative details, such as the bases on which the Victories and Erotes stand, and the mask on the Tel-Mevorakh sarcophagus, which replaces the female bust within the central garland of the Tyre sarcophagus. Despite the differences, the basic sculptural scheme of the two sarcophagi remains similar. In both, the Victories and Erotes are shown holding laurel garlands, which contain the busts of the Dioscuri holding oars. A similar sculptural scheme with slight variations is repeated on the other

long side of the Tel-Mevorakh sarcophagus (fig. 3), on which the busts of Mercurius holding the *caduceus* and that of Hercules holding his club are carved instead of the Dioscuri, and an eagle stretching its wings is depicted between them. The ribbons binding the garlands are additional similar element. In both sarcophagi the ribbons roll above the images within the garlands, as well as on both sides of the clusters which hang from each garland. Despite the differences in style and technique, the similarities indicate that the two sarcophagi are products of the same workshop, though carved by different craftsmen. This is supported by the Tel-Mevorakh sarcophagus, in which the two long sides are technically different, as an example of the collaboration of two artisans working on the same sarcophagus.

Fragments of two additional garland sarcophagi were found in Caesarea. These are too small to enable a reconstruction of the whole decoration of the sarcophagi. Above the garland on one of the fragments,[8] the remains of a *tabula ansata* has the Greek inscription:

<div align="center">

ΟΥΔΕΙϹΑ
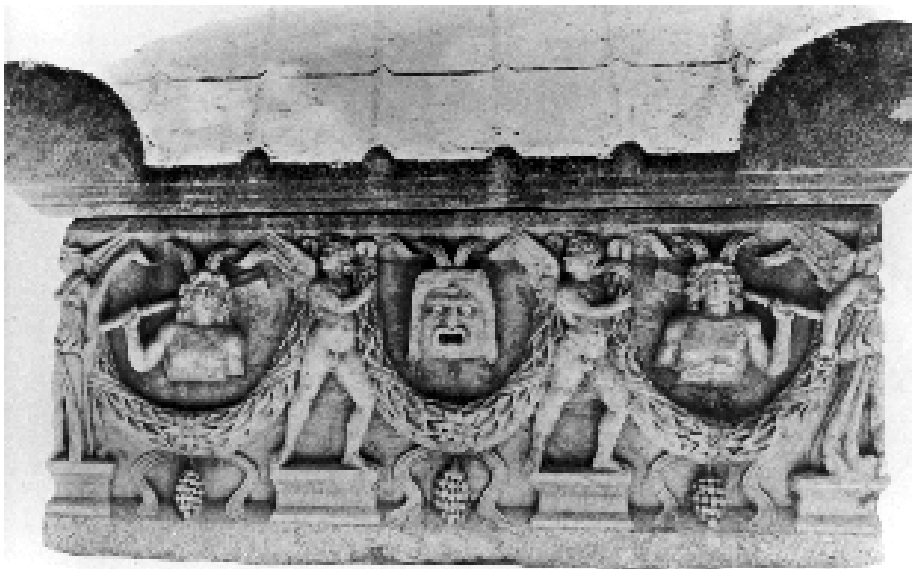
ΘΑΝΑΤΟϹ

No one is immortal

</div>

Fig. 2: Tel-Mevorakh, Proconnesian garland sarcophagus, Jerusalem, Rockefeller museum.
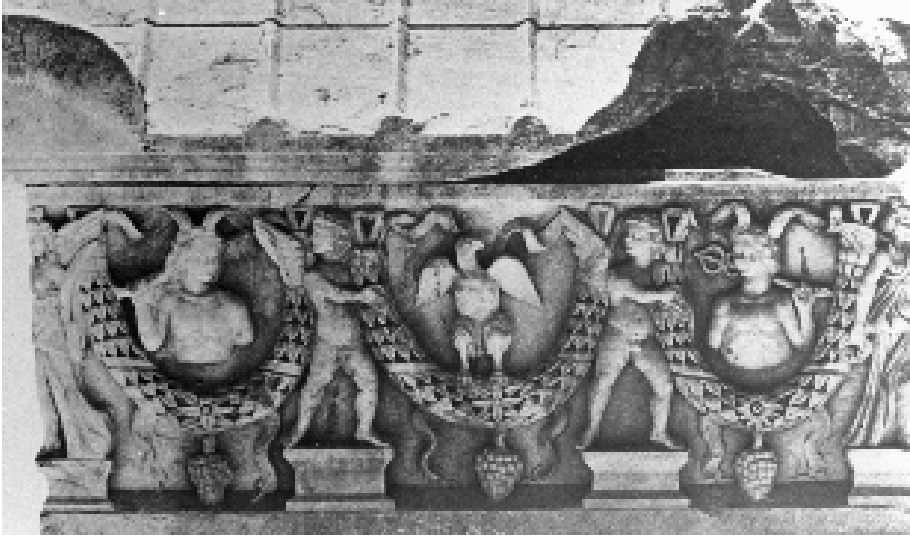
Fig. 3: Tel-Mevorakh, back face of Fig. 2.

The laurel garland carved on the other fragment is rolled up in a ribbon (fig. 4).[9] It seems that a head of an animal was depicted in the corner, as shown on several marble sarcophagi from Tyre.[10] Animal heads decorated the corners of several types of Asiatic garland sarcophagi: the Ionian-Ephesian,[11] the Karian,[12] the Pamphilian[13] and the Proconnesian.[14] The Caesarean fragment could thus have belonged to one of the above mentioned types. However, its isotopic signature indicates Proconnesian origin.

Two other types of Proconnesian sarcophagi uncovered in the necropolis of Tyre are the gabled-plain and the unfinished (in quarry state) garland types. Both types are also represented in Caesarea. Of the first type, a single example is discussed here (fig. 5).[15] This is a large rectangular coffin, totally plain, covered with a gabled lid. The lid, which is also plain, has four *acroteria* in its corners and a rosette within a moulded triangular panel on each of its sides. The sarcophagi of this type found in Tyre are of various sizes;[16] in some even the lateral panels of the gable are devoid of ornament; some bear inscriptions.[17]

Three Caesarean sarcophagi of the second type are examined here. Of these only one is fully preserved (fig. 6).[18] The marble samples taken from this sarcophagus contained both calcite and dolomite, thus making its isotopic signature inconclusive. It can nevertheless definitely be classified with the Proconnesian type as it has all the features of the unfinished Proconnesian garland sarcophagi mentioned by Asgari:[19]

16

Fig. 4: Caesarea, fragment of a Proconnesian garland sarcophagus.

1. Near-rectangular surface areas with concave profiles for the figures holding the garlands: two on each long side, usually for Erotes, and four in the corners, usually for Victories.

2. Eight protruding surfaces (three on each long side, one on each short side) for the garlands and the hanging bunches of grapes.

3. A round disk (for a rosette or a head) above each garland, with the exception of the central garland on the façade, where a *tabula ansata* is carved instead.

The *tabula ansata* was not used on the façade of the Caesarean sarcophagus, and a Greek inscription was engraved on the lid instead. The inscription was composed of three lines of which only two are legible:

<div align="center">

✤   ΘΗΚΗ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ✤

✤ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ✤

The coffin of Prokopius the Deacon

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The Greek inscription indicates that the Roman sarcophagus was either reused or stored for a long period of time until first used by a Christian.

The other two examples of the unfinished garland type are fragmentary. One fragment has a 6 line Latin inscription within a *tabula ansata* (Fig.7).[20] Lifshitz suggested that the inscription originally contained 9 lines:

Fig. 5: Caesarea, gabled-plain sarcophagus of Proconnesian marble.

1. D(is) M(anibus)
2. [Nomen
3. [Leg(ati) Aug(usti) prov(inciae)]
4. [Syriae] Pale(s)-
5. tinae, cons(sulis),
6. Iul(ius) Tiberia-
7. nus (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis)
8. Marti[a]e, Iul(ius) Iul-
9. ianus fil(ius).

In a previous version of my article,[21] though following Lifshitz's general conception of reading the inscription, I noted that the missing part of the inscription could only have been of two lines at the very most; and that the E before Iulius Iulianus is for et. Lifshitz proposed that the first word on line 8 is the second title of Legio X Fretensis, which appears here for the first time. Apparently Lifshitz misread the letters, which are marit and not marti. I thus suggested:

1. [............
2. [............

Fig. 6: Caesarea, garland sarcophagus a back view (quarry state).

3. (Syriae) Pale(s)
4. tinae cons(ulis)
5. Iul(ius) Tiberia-
6. nus (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis)
7. marit(a) e(t) Iul(ius) Iul-
8. ianus fil(ius) [fecerunt?]. (leaf)

Accordingly, the dedicators are Iulius Tiberianus from the Xth legion Fretensis, his wife and their son Iulius Iulianus. The name of the wife is not recorded. This is, of course, an unusual case, and although marita for wife was used in Roman literature it was uncommon in Roman inscriptions.

A more convincing interpretation is suggested by C.M. Lehmann and K.G. Holum.[22] They argue that it is a dedication to Valentina, the outstanding wife of Iulius Tiberianus, by her husband and Iulius Iulianus her son:

[...] Vale[n]-
tinae con(iugi) o(ptimae)
Iul(ius) Tiberia-
nus (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis)
marit(us) e(t) Iul(ius) Iul-

Fig. 7: Caesarea, a fragment of garland sarcophagus (quarry state) of Proconnesian marble.

ianus fil(ius). (leaf)

Though classified with the category of unfinished garland sarcophagi, the possibility that the missing panels of the Caesarean sarcophagus were originally fully carved, should be considered.[23] Isotopic analysis of the marble definitely proves that the fragment is part of a Proconnesian sarcophagus.

The second fragment is larger;[24] about two thirds of one long side and almost half of its short side are preserved. It is therefore possible to relate this sarcophagus to the Proconnesian type not only by isotopic analysis of its marble, but also according to its shape. Several sarcophagi of this type, used in their quarry state, were also found in Tyre.[25]

The comparison of Caesarean sarcophagi to sarcophagi from Tyre is based mainly on technical and stylistic features; and since there are no comparative data of marble analysis of the sarcophagi from Tyre, no final conclusions can be drawn.[26] More complete scientific data on the marble origin of the sarcophagi

of Tyre will hopefully contribute to confirming the ideas proposed here.

Unlike the Caesarean sarcophagi which are all carved in marble, many sarcophagi of Proconnesian types excavated in Tyre were produced from local stones.[27] Most of these are of the gabled-plain type;[28] others imitate garland sarcophagi of which some were left unfinished,[29] while the rest are fully carved.[30] The widespread use of these sarcophagi in the necropolis of Tyre indicates local production by a local workshop or workshops. The craftsmen who imitated the Proconnesian types in local stones (limestone or basalt) could also have been responsible for completing the carving of the marble sarcophagi which were imported to the coast of Lebanon in their quarry state. These artisans were probably familiar not only with the different types of sarcophagi but also with the variety of themes and models for their decoration.

Ward-Perkins' suggestion of the existence of a local-regional agency that supplied marble sarcophagi to the whole area of Syria and Lebanon,[31] seems to apply to the Caesarean sarcophagi as well. Ward-Perkins found a correspondence between the imported sarcophagi of Roman Tyre and those from Syria; I note a similar correspondence between the sarcophagi of Tyre and Caesarea. It is therefore probable that the same agency also served Caesarean clients who wished to acquire marble sarcophagi. This agency was responsible for the importation of the sarcophagi from the various quarries, as well as their transportation to local storage or directly to the client. It is tempting to suggest that such a regional agency existed in Tyre, although Ward-Perkins believed that this was possibly located in Berytus or Tripolis and not at Tyre "where the workmanship is extremely simple and finished garland sarcophagi proportionately uncommon".[32] Wherever the location of the regional agency, in light of the present remains it seems clear that it was not located in Caesarea. In Caesarea itself there could only have been a stock of sarcophagi, held in storage or a marble-yard[33] with other marble items, and supplied directly by the regional agency or indirectly through another storage. If Ward-Perkins is correct about the location of the regional agency, then the great number of marble sarcophagi found in Tyre should indicate the existence there of such a storage or marble-yard; and since the activity of local workshops in Tyre has already been mentioned, one should not rule out the possibility that at least several of the marble sarcophagi were carved by Tyrean craftsmen, who might also have been responsible for the decoration of several Caesarean sarcophagi.

It has been suggested above that the garland sarcophagus from Tel-Mevorakh (figs.2-3) and the one from Tyre are both products of the same workshop, as also suggested for the strigilis sarcophagi (fig.1). Was the workshop located in the quarry, in Berytus, Tripolis or Tyre? Were the sarcophagi

carved in the workshop itself or at their destination? These questions can not be easily answered. As far as one of the Asiatic types is concerned, as in the case of the discussed garland sarcophagi, since they were imported in their quarry state, they could have been carved either in the workshop of the regional agency or by a local workshop at their destination. When no local workshop existed at the site of destination the work may have been done by a craftsman who was invited especially from either the regional agency or from one of the adjacent local workshops. The lack of information prevents exact determination of where the carving of the two garland sarcophagi from Tel-Mevorakh and Tyre was completed. Nevertheless, their resemblance, as well as the relative proximity between the two cities, indicates common focuses of prefabrication, importation and completion.

The question of where the sarcophagi were carved appears even more complicated when an Attic type is considered. Ward-Perkins claimed that not only Asiatic, but also Attic sarcophagi were shaped but only partly carved in the quarry workshops to avoid damage in the course of transportation. The carving of these was later completed in the agencies or at their destination by well-trained artists.[34] Wiegartz suggested the opposite, claiming that importing unfinished Attic sarcophagi was sometimes even more expensive than importing finished products since payment to the craftsmen who accompanied the shipment increased the expense; and as no real damage was expected during transportation, the carving of the Attic sarcophagi was carried out before shipment.[35] However, Wiegartz seemed to ignore the possibility that trained craftsmen were also active outside Attica, in the regional agencies and in some of the local workshops, especially in those regions where Attic sarcophagi were in relatively great demand. This assumption, as well as the fact that in many Attic sarcophagi one or more sides have been left unfinished,[36] may indicate that at least some of the Attic sarcophagi were imported in an unfinished state.

The disagreement between Ward-Perkins and Wiegartz demonstrates the impossibility of determining whether completion of the two strigilis sarcophagi from Caesarea and Tyre was carried out in Athens prior to shipment, or later at the destination point. The resemblance between the two sarcophagi would in any case appear to indicate that both may well be products of the same Attic workshop, and that both could have reached the cities of Caesarea and Tyre in the same shipment through the same regional agency.[37]

From the above discussion it can be seen that even though the existence of a regional agency in Tyre cannot be proved, it is possible to conclude that the Caesareans usually acquired marble sarcophagi (at least the types presented above) from exactly the same sources that the citizens of Tyre acquired theirs,

and through the same agency. Moreover, even if it is not possible to determine where each of the discussed sarcophagi uncovered in Caesarea and Tyre was carved, there appears to be sufficient evidence to justify the suggestion that they were carved by artists trained in the same workshops; and that the carving of at least several of the Caesarean sarcophagi was executed by Tyrean craftsmen.

NOTES

*   This is a revised version of the article "Imported sarcophagi from Caesarea Maritima and Tyre", *Homenaje a José Mª Blazquez* III 1995, 255-77. Based on a paper presented at the 19th. Annual Meeting of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies, University of Haifa, May 16, 1990.

1.   Levine 1975, 46-7 with additional bibliography. The fragments found inside the city must have been removed from their original location in the necropolis to be used as building material. One of the fragments, uncovered by the Combined Caesarea Expedition in 1993, has traces of plaster and part of its surface has been smoothed out; R. Gersht, "Seven new sculptural pieces from Caesarea," *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Recent Archaeological Research* (JRA Supp. series 14, 1995), 118-20.

2.   Gersht & Pearl 1992, 222-43.

3.   It should be mentioned that the marble origin of the sarcophagi discovered in the necropolis of Tyre has not yet been scientifically examined. Therefore, I am limited to the information supplied by Ward-Perkins, Chéhab, and Koch and Sichtermann, in the hope that future isotopic analysis of the marble of these sarcophagi will further confirm their data.

4.   Found in 1972, east of the hippodrome. Pentelic marble, L.71 cm., H.27 cm. Sedot-Yam, Caesarea Museum Inv.CM.72.1; Gersht 1987, 100-1 Cat.110; Gersht & Pearl 1992, No.22.

5.   Koch & Sichtermann 1982, 447 Figs. 477-8; Chéhab 1985, 528 No. 4227/8 Pls.C/b,CII/a-b.

6.   Proconnesian marble, 2.16x0.86x1.40 m., Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum Inv.36.2183; Watzinger 1935, 102-3 Fig. 75; Ringel 1975, 113 Pl. X; Stern 1978, 10-11 Pl. 5; Koch & Sichtermann 1982, 574 Fig. 588; Gersht 1987, 84-5 Cat. 95; Gersht & Pearl 1992, No. 3.

7.   Koch & Sichtermann 1982, 562 Fig. 551; Chéhab 1985, 516-7 No. 3875/6 Pl. XCV/c.

8.   Proconnesian marble, L.35-41 cm., H.29-35 cm., Sedot-Yam, Caesarea Museum; Gersht & Pearl 1992, No. 4.

9.   Proconnesian marble, L.72.5 cm., H.20-33 cm., Sedot-Yam, Caesarea Museum; Gersht & Pearl 1992, No. 5.

10. Chéhab 1984, 86 No. 637/8 Pl.XXX/b, 137-8 No. 715/6 Pl.XXXI, 435-6 No. 2711/2 Pl.LXXVI; Koch & Sichtermann 1982, Pls. 552-3.
11. Asgari 1977, 335-43; Koch & Sichtermann 1982, 520-21 Pl. 508.
12. Asgari 1977, 343-5; Koch & Sichtermann 1982, 525-6 Pl. 515.
13. Asgari 1977, 349-52; Koch & Sichtermann 1982, 541 Pl. 532.
14. Ward-Perkins 1958, 99; Ward-Perkins 1969, 114 Pl.IX; Koch & Sichtermann 1982, 491; Chéhab 1984, 86 No. 637/8 Pl.XXX/b, 137-8 No. 715/16 Pl. XXXI.
15. Proconnesian marble, Coffin: 2.39x1.20x1.17 m. Lid: 2.45x1.35x0.87 m., Caesarea, Archaeological Site; Gersht & Pearl, 1992 No. 8.
16. Ward-Perkins 1969, 116-23 Nos. 1,3-4,8,11,14,17,19,22-6.
17. Ward-Perkins 1969, 117-22 Nos. 3,19,22-3. The Christian inscriptions on Nos. 19,22-3 indicate reuse; Chéhab 1984, 12 No. 162/3 Pl. IV/b, 295 No. 1045/6 Pl. LXII/b.
18. Coffin: 2.24x1.02x0.81 m. Lid: 2.21x1.16x0.57 m., Caesarea, center; Gersht 1987, 83-4 Cat. 94; Gersht & Pearl 1992, No. 1.
19. Asgari 1977, 331.
20. Proconnesian marble, L.58 cm., H.59 cm., Sedot-Yam, Caesarea Museum Inv.CM.74.1; Gersht & Pearl 1992, No. 6. On the inscription see: Lifshitz 1975, 108-9.
21. "Imported sarcophagi from Caesarea Maritima and Tyre" *Homenaje a José Mª Blazquez* III 1995, 259.
22. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (GLICM) No. 149. I thank K.G. Holum and C.M. Lehmann for permission to refer to their forthcoming research in this paper.
23. A Proconnesian sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum has one panel left in its quarry state and the others decorated with Gorgon heads, Victories and Erotes, see: McCann 1978, 30-3.
24. Proconnesian marble, 1.36x0.54x0.97 m., Sedot-Yam, Caesarea Museum; Gersht & Pearl 1992, No. 7.
25. Ward-Perkins 1969, 115,117-21 Nos. 5-7,9-10,13,21; Chéhab 1984, 22 No. 152/3, 43 Nos. 133/4,135/6,137/8, 57 No. 647/8, 120 No. 621/2, 174 No. 771/2, 328 Nos. 943/4, 939/40, 469 No. 3064/5; Chéhab 1985, 495 Nos. 931/2.
26. See above note 3.
27. Especially limestone: Ward-Perkins 1969, 131; see below nn. 28-9. Basalt and granite sarcophagi have also been found in Tyre. Basalt: Chéhab 1984 10 No. 168/9, 11-2 No. 164/5, 43 No. 137/8, 223-4 No. 883/4, 446-7 No. 2732/3, 470 No. 3060/1, 472 No.891/2. Granite: Chéhab 1984, 63 No. 725/6/a, 84 Nos. 635/6,639/40,641/2, 393 No. 1185/6, 394 No. 1187/8.
28. Chéhab 1984, 23-4 No. 154/5, 52 Nos. 119/20, 121/2, 53 No. 110/1, 147 No. 777/8, 249 No. 841/2, 291 No. 1030/1, 292 No. 1032/3, 357 No. 1141/2, 380 No. 1177/8, 393 No. 1183/4, 394 Nos. 1189/90,1191/2, 403 No. 1208/9, 404-5 Nos. 1203/4,1205/6, 414 No. 1195/6.
29. Ward-Perkins 1969, 131 Pl. V2; Chéhab 1984, 360 No. 1145/6 Chéhab 1985, 753 No. 231/2, 757 No.213/4.

30. Ward-Perkins 1969, 131 Pl.XI/2; Chéhab 1984, 474 No. 883/4, 479 No. 900/1.
31. Ward-Perkins 1969, 137; On marble trade organization see Ward-Perkins 1980, 23 ff.
32. Ward-Perkins 1969, 137; see also Ward-Perkins 1980, 44 in which he presumed that the great number of unfinished sarcophagi found at Tyre indicate that no local workshop there was capable of completing their carving. In my opinion these may simply indicate the taste and the means of the Tyrean inhabitants, who also used many limestone sarcophagi (see above nn.27-30).
33. On stocks and marble-yards see Ward-Perkins 1969, 137 and 1980, 32.
34. Ward-Perkins 1956, 13-4.
35. Wiegartz 1974 seems to follow Rodenwaldt's attitude 1933, 183.
36. Ward-Perkins 1956, 11.
37. Certain similarities can also be observed between other Attic sarcophagi found in Caesarea and Tyre. These are decorated with mythical scenes and will be discussed elsewhere. On the pattern of rosettes within rhomboi on Caesarean and Tyrean lids see: Gersht & Pearl 1992, 239.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA: Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
BMB: Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, Paris.
JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies, London.
JRA: Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS: Journal of Roman Studies, London.
PBSR: Papers of the British School at Rome, London.
SCI: Scripta Classica Israelica, Jerusalem.

Family Burial in Late Antique and Early Christian Paintings in Eretz-Israel[1]

Talila Michaeli

Certain elements of family burial facilitate the study of ceremonial and social aspects in ancient cultures. This paper examines concepts of the ruling and the elite classes, focusing mainly on issues of belief in eternity and immortality, and their possible influence on the subordinate and lower classes. The manifestations of these concepts in painted family tombs discovered in Israel are presented and the specific expressions characteristic to the region are defined and analyzed.

Monumental Royal Tombs

As early as the Mycenaean period the desire of rulers to identify themselves with symbols often ascribed to gods has been observed. During the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C.E. these anonymous rulers built monumental *tholos* tombs,[1] each roofed with a dome, long associated with cosmic traditions.[2] A comparison between the form of burial in these *tholoi* and the Egyptian pyramids reveals a correlation in their conical shape as well as meaning, as was already mentioned by Pausanias, the second century C.E. traveller who described at length the sites of Greece.[3] Several burial places were discovered together on the floors of some of the *tholoi*, indicating that the ruler and his family had been buried in the same tomb.

The tradition of constructing monumental tombs, following a long period of neglect, was renewed in the Hellenistic period with the well known *Mausoleum* erected at Halicarnassos in Asia Minor in the mid fourth century B.C.E. The huge construction, whose upper part was designed as a step pyramid

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[1]   This paper is based on a lecture presented at the 17th Congress of History on *The Family* held in Tel Aviv, July 1994, by The Historical Society of Israel and The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History.

was completed after the death of its eponymous originator Mausolus, by his sister and wife, Artemisia.[4] The manner of burial in the Halicarnassos Mausoleum is uncertain, as is the answer to exactly who else may have been buried there. Another example of royal burial is the unique domed tomb at Kazanlakh (Bulgaria) which is decorated with wall paintings, and which was probably constructed for a Thracian prince in approximately 300 B.C.E.[5]

The tradition of monumental *mausolea* was wide-spread throughout the Hellenistic world and served the ruling classes. Many royal graves were discovered in Macedonia, several of which undoubtedly served as family burial places. For example, the very elaborate tomb at Vergina (third quarter of the fourth century B.C.E.), originally mistakenly identified as Phillip II's tomb, is carved in the shape of a Doric temple and decorated with wall paintings.[6] The vaulted main burial chamber is divided into two. Each room contained a golden casket with the bones of the deceased (*larnax*) placed within a stone sarcophagus. In the smaller *larnax*, which was found in the modest-sized ante-room, the bones of a female were identified, while the second and larger *larnax* discovered in the main chamber contained the bones of a male. These latter bones were wrapped in a purple mantle, and an elaborate golden oak leaf and acorn crown, possibly belonging to a king, was also placed inside this *larnax*.

The Hellenistic rulers' aspirations to be compared to their gods is evidenced in the triumphal processions known to have been conducted by Phillip II of Macedonia as early as the fourth century B.C.E. In these ceremonies the golden portrait of the ruler was borne aloft together with the images of the twelve Olympic gods.[7] Such ceremonial processions might have been a source of inspiration as well as constituting a direct link to the grandiose display of the Hellenistic Comagene rulers in their burial places. The forefathers of the Comagene dynasty are also known to have descended from the merge of the Macedonian and the Persian courts. Antioch I of Comagene (floruit 69-31 B.C.E.) built several *mausolea*, including a colossal one for himself. It has a *tumulus*-like conus shape, which actually comprises the upper summit of the Nemrud-Dagh mountain.[8] On the eastern and western facades of this *mausoleum* enormous statues are enthroned (each seated figure is approximately 8.5m high) representing the gods; Antioch I of Comagene appears among them on both terraces, and is represented as their equal. Some of the reliefs placed near the seated figures depict the ruler shaking hands with a god or standing next to him. Antioch also erected a *mausoleum* in Arsameia to commemorate his father, Mitridates I. A relief found in Arsameia, showing Mitridates equal in size and posture to his counterpart –Artagenes-Heracles – and shaking hands with him, indicates a similar approach to that of Nemrud-Dagh.

Myths of the Family and the Burial of the Mythical Heroes

Although the myths featured in the ancient monumental family graves were composed during the eighth or seventh century B.C.E. (Homer to Hesiod), they describe an earlier period, relating in detail the way of life and beliefs of their predecessors. Later Hellenistic builders had the benefit of many previous well written and formulated traditions as well as the actual Mycenaean *mausolea*.

Myths are an integral part of the Greek and Roman daily life and beliefs. From the Greek poets Homer[9] (eighth century B.C.E.) and Hesiod[10] (seventh century B.C.E.) to the Romans Ovid[11] and Virgil[12] (first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E.), all describe a pair of ancient gods and their descendants who were responsible for the whole process of creation, be it Ocean and his mother-spouse Tethis as suggested by Homer[13] or the better known version of the earth - Gaia and her son and husband Uranus[14] (Caelus[15]) with whom creation began. Uranus and Gaia had many children, among them the Titans,[16] who usurped their parents and replaced them as the ruling gods, headed by Cronus (Saturnus) and his sister and wife, Rhea. Cronus and Rhea gave birth to some very distinguished children,[17] who shared the same fate as their parents: their descendants, led by the youngest son Zeus (Jupiter), took over and governed the world.

Zeus had many love affairs, resulting in numerous and very distinguished descendants. He too married several times, and there appears to be a rather clear distinction between matrimonial and other, less formal relationships in the ancient literature. Concerning his first marriage to Metis, Hesiod writes (*Theogony*, lines 886-887): "Now Zeus, king of gods made Metis his wife first ..." and then his second wife is referred to as "Next he married bright Themis ..." (*ibid.*, lines 901 ff.), but "Also he came to the bed of all nourishing Demeter ..." (*ibid.*, line 912), or "And again he loved Mnemosyne with the beautiful hair ..." (*ibid.*, line 915). His last and most important spouse is his sister Hera (Juno) and they both ruled the universe for ever after.[18] All ancient writers refer to this divine couple as husband and wife; Virgil, for example, gives us Juno's explicit words: "Yet I, who move as queen of gods, sister at once and wife of Jove ..." (*Aeneis*, I: 46-47). Zeus' children from his immortal wives and mistresses were all immortal and were either among the Olympic gods or served as secondary celestial beings.

From the vast mythological literature it might be concluded that the formation of the family as a permanent component of life is the basis of ancient concepts and beliefs. Cicero confirmed this supposition saying: "We know what the gods look like and how old they are, their dress and their equipment, and also their genealogies, marriages and relationships and all about them is

distorted into the likeness of human frailty" (*De Natura Deorum*, II, xxvii 70).

Next to the immortal family interrelations, the love affairs of gods and goddesses with mortals are widely dealt with in ancient myths. Some of these affairs produced the mythical heroes, who were all mortal. Several such mixed matches were attributed in ancient poetry to Aphrodite: "...lest laughter-loving Aphrodite should one day softly smile and say mockingly among all the gods that she had joined the gods in love with mortal women who bare sons of death to the deathless gods, and had mated the goddesses with mortal men." (*Homeric Hymns*, "To Aphrodite (V)," lines 50-52). These glorious Greek heroes include Perseus, son of Zeus and Danae, whose long life was spent acting on behalf of humanity and rescuing the Greek people from so many hardship.[19] One of the most famous Graeco-Roman heroes is Aeneas, the outstanding son of Aphrodite (Venus) and Anchises, who founded Rome and died at an old age.[20] There are fewer heroines, but Pasiphae, the daughter of Helios and Perseis,[21] and Helen, the daughter of Zeus and Leda, are very well known. These heroes, as well as many others, are all inhabitants of the netherworld (Hades) where they are granted an ever-lasting afterlife as a consequence of their admirable activities on earth, as described by Homer and also referred to by Virgil.[22]

Not all of the formidable and lauded heroes lived such long lives, and quite often it was their immortal parents who led them toward their final sojourn. Such was the fate of Eos, the dawn goddess, who had to bury her dead son Memnon, king of Ethiopia (killed by Achilles),[23] and Thetis who took an active part in organizing the funerary ceremonies held to commemorate her son Achilles.[24] Zeus, on the other hand, asks his immortal son Apollo to take care of all the necessary funeral preparations for burial of his mortal son, Sarpedon; he also gives Apollo precise instructions on how to conduct the ceremony.[25] Indeed, a proper and dignified burial of the dead was considered a most sacred ritual to the gods, so much so that some gods where known even to bury deceased not belonging to their immediate relatives. Such an explicit deed is attributed to Thetis, Achiles' mother, who collected the bones of the drowned Locrian Ajax and buried them at Mikonos.[26]

Proper interment was so important to the ancient Greeks and Romans that on the point of death one could even ask one's slayer to fulfill a last request, namely – to grant a dignified burial. This is exemplified in Mezentius' plea to Aeneas: "This alone I ask, by whatsoever grace a vanquished foe may claim: suffer my body to be laid in earth..."(*Aeneid*, X: 903-905). It was widely accepted that the souls of the improperly buried would haunt the living, as recounted about Dido, the Carthagean Queen, whose husband Sychaeus was deceitfully

murdered by her brother.[27] The ancient literature also mentions the frequent custom of burying relatives together, as was the case of Thetis who buried her son's bones together with those of his beloved cousin and friend, Patroclos,[28] or Mezentius who asked Aeneas to entomb him together with his son.[29]

The Burial of Rulers

Unlike poetry and prose, the historical writings of such Greek authors as Thucydides, Xenophon or Polybe and the Romans, Salluste, Suetonius, Tacitus or Herodian, deal directly with contemporaneous or historical mortals and not necessarily with gods or mythical monarchs. These writers preferred to praise their patrons – mainly the rulers and their families – sometimes by comparing them to the celestial gods. Such literary sources are highly revealing in regard to the life, deeds, death and burial of those depicted. The ancient monarchs (starting with the rulers of eastern Mesopotamia and Egypt, and continuing and probably influenced by the Graeco-Hellenistic rulers, and then followed by the Roman Emperors[30]) tried to compare themselves to their gods, hoping to gain blessed eternity, as written by Cicero: "But how can we conceive of god save as living for ever?" (*De Natura Deorum*, I, xi: 25).

These concepts found their way to the visual arts, in which the rulers are often portrayed as if they are gods' representatives, almost equal to them. This appears to have been a gradual process in which at the beginning the rulers were accompanied by celestial signs - in direct reference to the gods with whom they wished to identify. Two Achaemenide works serve as an example: one is a relief from the ancient Persepolis showing the god Ahuramazda whose lower part is encircled with a ring – a well known attribute of this god; the second is a round seal with the king depicted on the lower part, encircled with a ring and surrounded on both sides with sphinxes. Above the king appears the god Ahuramazda with his attributes, and both king and god are depicted with the same authoritative gesture.[32]

The manner in which kings were buried quite often emphasized their desire to join the gods and even merge with them. Such a traditional family burial was adopted by the Roman emperors from Augustus onwards, and developed into one of the most important imperial and religious ceremonies. The Roman emperors considered themselves the conquerors and followers of the Greek world, mainly stressing their connection to Phillip and Alexander the Great of Macedonia.[33] They continued to build monumental family tombs and their funerary ceremonies – of political as well as ritual nature – explicitly stated that the emperor and empress would attain *apotheosis* upon their death, namely, their deification – a process usually represened by the actual raising of the

deceased upwards.[34] This can be seen in the stone relief describing the *apotheosis* of Sabina,[35] Hadrian's wife, or in the relief from the base of Antoninus Pius' obelisque,[36] showing his *apotheosis* together with his wife, Faustina. In both reliefs (dated to the second century C.E.) the apotheosized emperors are transferred to the heavens by a winged genius.

The concept of the god-emperor also appears to have extended in the Roman empire towards perpetuation, which is in fact an integral part of the funeral cults. Moreover, in granting a family *apotheosis* (to the emperor and his wife) an uninterrupted continuation beginning in the ancient Greek and Roman myths and leading to the very complex 'historical' connection was thus created.[37] The same employment of depictions of *apotheosis* were adopted by lesser dignitaries and military personnel down to the rank and file, in their burial customs and ceremonies. This tendency to imitate the fashion of the rulers can often be detected in such attributes as clothing or hairstyle.[38]

The Structure of the Tombs

The actual structure of a tomb is rarely explicitly described in ancient literature, whether historical or mythological. These writers focus mainly on the actual need for burial and the way it was performed - inhumation, the gathering of bones, or cremation and preserving the ashes in a suitable container. Zeus' request to Apollo to give Sarpedon a "burial with mound and pillar"[39] is indeed one of the rarest references of a specific attribution to the sepulchre itself. An interesting description of his burial monument is given by Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satiricon*:[40] While hosting a very sumptuous meal, he decides to read his last will to his guests, including very specific instructions dealing with his funerary ceremonies. In this cynical and very wordly speech he explicitly asks for a large tomb constructed within a garden with vines and other fruits.Trimalchio also requests that a statue of his wife be added, as well as, in addition to the commemoration epitaph, sculptures of certain subjects such as sailing boats, his seated figure wearing the formal toga *praetextata* and giving alms to the poor, a banquet (*symposium*) held in a *triclinium* in which all the participants will appear happy and content, and a young boy mourning next to a broken urn. A visual example for Petronius' literary description can be seen at the funerary monument of Agrippa from Palmyra, the cover of which depicts a *symposium* in which the deceased is reclining in the middle while his wife is rendered on the far left side of the scene. The lower part of this monument is carved with four busts, each within a shield (*imago clipeata*) of two males flanked with two women.[41]

Most of the family burial places in the ancient world, and particularly around

the Mediterranean shore, were undoubtedly built by very wealthy people, yet not necessarily of the nobility or the ruling classes. The famous family tomb of Haterii[42] (end of the first century to the beginning of the second century C.E.) in Rome is indeed a very impressive monument whose walls are adorned with reliefs detailing the funerary rites; however, compared to any imperial mausoleum its appearance is nonetheless rather modest. Another example can be seen in the family tomb of Aline, daughter of Herodes, discovered in Fayum (first century C.E.)[43] containing the mummies of herself and her two children, a male portrait, and the mummy of another child.

Family burial frequently takes place within a single sarcophagus, and the dead are sometimes identified with inscriptions. This can be seen, for example, in a husband and wife depicted on the longitudinal side of a "season" sarcophagus[44] (mid fourth century C.E.); on a Gallo-Roman stele[45] with the deceased couple (mid first century C.E.); or the two brothers painted on the same panel discovered in Fayum[46] (first century C.E.). The rendering of the whole family, including parents and children on the same monument, is equally common, like the stele of the Elenia family[47] (first century C.E.) and many other examples.

A large variety of monumental family tombs are also to be found in Israel dating from as early as the Second Temple, such as "The Tombs of the Kings," "The Tomb of the Grapes," or "The Sanhedrin Tombs" in the Kidron Valley at Jerusalem.[48] They all share the same temple-like facade reminiscent of the royal Macedonian burial places.

Family Interment in Israel

Family tombs from late antiquity have been discovered in Israel and could be considered as a group with certain mutual characteristics. They are usually carved and sometimes partially built into the local rock, as part of a necropolis located outside the city; the ground-plan consists of a main hall with (usually) projected burial chambers or *loculi*. The ceiling is either at ground level or slighly above it, built as a barrel vault[49] often strengthened with stones or as a straight ceiling supported by arches of *arcosolia* through pendentives.[50]

Painted tombs in Israel: A large number of painted tombs dated mainly to late antiquity have been discovered throughout the country. These served as the last resting place of the long journey of life, belonging to deceased of different religions (Pagans, Jews and Christians) who lived in Israel and who chose a common manner of burial. All these burial places appeared to have shared more or less similar iconographic programmes on their walls. In these sepulchres subjects dealing with the married couples, their families, heroes

a - Illustration of the upper room. Hachlili, *PEQ* (1985), fig. 2.

b - Detail of the painting on the northern
wall. Hachlili, *Qadmoniot* (1981),
fig. on p. 119.

c - Detail of the painting on the southern
wall. Hachlili, *PEQ* (1985),
fig. 10.

Fig. 1: Goliath Family Tomb, Jericho.

a - Catacomb 33: The *Menorah* and a *Tabula ansata* above it. Feig, *Qadmoniot* (1987), fig. on page 104.

b - Detail: Geometric pattern: a rosette. Feig, *Qadmoniot* (1987), fig. on page 104.

c - Hall A, complex 4, room VII: The vault and the lunette. Mazar, *Beth She'arim* (1957), pl. xxxiii, 1.

d - The Ceiling. Mazar, *Beth She'arim* (1957), pl. xxxiii, 2.

Fig. 2: Beit She'arim.

and their mutual burial and the like can be traced back to ancient myths as well as to actual tombs belonging to earlier periods. The pictorial schemes should thus be examined in the light of the following questions: which specific myths were known to the family and used by it; what can be concluded from that choice; was there an interrelation between the ancient myths and the everyday life of the buried family; and finally, how are hopes for eternity conveyed in these paintings? Other questions deal, of course, with the works of art themselves, using them to try and determine the social rank and conceptions of the patrons of these tombs from the choice of themes, the artists, and the stylistic characteristics, which often constitute the only key to dating the tombs.

Several of painted tombs, whose patrons' religion is undisputable, have been selected in order to try and answer the above questions.

a) In Judaism painted tombs were not a very common feature. The earliest (first century C.E.) known tomb was discovered near Jericho and is called according to its inscriptions the "Goliath family tomb."[51] The paintings cover the upper part of the main hall and incorporate brown-red vine trellises spread in all directions with large open leaves and small black grapes, with unidentified small birds scattered throughout. The remnants of a garland tied with a ribbon and next to it some kind of uncertain stone or brick construction are also depicted [fig. 1 a-b-c]. The artist appear to have intended to convey the general nature of the trellises and other objects, paying only minor attention to other such naturalistic qualities as colours, hues, shades and lights, or plasticity of the objects.

Other later Jewish painted burial catacombs (third to fourth century C.E.) were discovered in Beit She'arim [fig. 2 a-b-c-d]. Their pictorial schemes are of a mainly geometric decorative or stylized vegetal nature, but also include seven (or less) branched candelabras.[52] The above paintings at Beit She'arim are accompanied with identifying inscriptions, graffiti and engraved distinctive Jewish motifs such as "Menorah" and "Lulav", as well as numerous rosettes, so common in Jewish Ossuaries and sometimes sarcophagi. Other motifs of a more general nature, like the shell, a closed (or semi-closed) door, sometimes animals (mainly lions and eagles), human figures (carved or merely scratched), geometric patterns, garlands and wreaths, stylized vegetal decoration, particularly vine twigs and trellises - are all very frequent in Jewish burial monuments, either as wall paintings or on sarcophagi and ossuaries of late antiquity. However, these motifs are scattered and each appears as an individual symbol, and hardly ever constitute a complete iconographic programme. These general motifs as well as others not mentioned here, are also found in funerary

a - The entrance wall and the adjacent wall depicting a cross within a wreath and acanthus scrolls on its bench. Foerster (1986), fig. 1.

b - A lunette with an amphora and vine twigs, the sacrophagus with Daniel in the lion den, crosses and fish hung in the corners. Foerster (1986), fig. 2.

c - A lunette with a pomegranate tree and the sarcophagus with stylized bushes. Foerster (1986), fig. 2.

Fig. 3: Lochamey HaGettaot.

monuments of other religions, but will be accorded their own interpretation.

b) The Christian family tomb discovered near Kibbutz Lohamei HaGhettaot (end of fourth - beginning of fifth century C.E.)[53] is richly decorated all over its four walls [fig. 3 a-b-c] (its flat ceiling remained unpainted). The highly familiar motifs decorating its walls have a distinct Christian meaning. The main motif of its pictorial programme is the Cross, appearing in a variety of forms: with "alpha" and "omega" hung from its lateral bar; upright on a small mound (perhaps the Golgotha); as a ritual cross; and in other less or more elaborate forms. Other motifs that appear here are not necessarily Christian, such as the two large fruit bearing palm trees, a wreath tied up with ribbons, an amphora with vine trellises inhabited by birds such as a peacock, water birds and others, a pomegranate tree with ripe red fruit, an *orant* flanked with lions (identified as Daniel in the lions' den), two groups of three fish tied together and hung from a (painted) nail, acanthus scrolls containing fruit and possibly a lizard, small bushes or trees with red flowers, and two burning candles.

Most of the components of this programme are widely known in early Christian art, and represent a clear and formulated Christian symbolism.[54] For example, the amphora with the growing vine symbolizes the fountain of life, and the vine with grapes - the blood of Christ. The fish could well be interpreted as *ΙΧΘΥΣ* (Jesus Christ Son of God and Saviour), but a multiplication of six fish could also represent His twelve apostles - the fishermen of the souls, and at the same time they could be taken for the Christian faithful who were baptized (in the fountain of life?), whose souls are depicted as the birds inhabiting the Christian Garden of Eden embodied in the peacock, which is also a symbol of eternal life. The pictorial scheme expresses the declaration of the deceased Christians of their belief in redemption, as exemplified in the pomegranate tree, attesting to their having conducted a chaste life in the name of the one being, and therefore their resurrection, or eternal afterlife, where they will dwell with the martyrs who won death, as symbolized by the two palm trees. The burning candles and the red flowers are interpreted here as the joy of the Christian who believes in the eternal light of paradise illuminating the blessed martyrs and saints who bore the flag of faith, and whose blood was shed for the Lord; thus the flowers and the fire are interchangeable, and should be understood as their Christian manifestation of sacrifice - the blood of Christ. They may also relate to the actual funerary ceremonies conducted at the burial site.[55]

c) A Pagan family tomb (fourth century C.E.) was discovered in Ascalon.[56] It comprises a long hall covered with a barrel vault in which four burial places, unequal in size, are located in the floor [fig. 4 a-b-c]. The walls and vault are

a - A lunette with two nymphs in an idyllic landscape. Courtesy of Prof. A. Ronen.

b - Illustration of the vault. Ory (1939), fig. 2.

c - Gorgoneum. Courtesy of Prof. A. Ronen.

Fig. 4: Ascalon.

a - General view towards the entrance. Courtesy of the Authority of Antiquities.

b - Medallions on the eastern wall and a torch. Courtesy of the Authority of Antiquities.

c - A panel with picked stems bound together with wavy ribbons.

d - Imitations of marble incrustation on the southern wall. Courtesy of the Authority of Antiquities.

Fig. 5: Or ha-Ner.

covered with colourful and very high quality paintings. The identification of this tomb as pagan is based mainly on its pictorial programme consisting of a gorgoneum, a bust of a young woman holding pomegranates (Demeter?) and several naked young males. In the lunette facing the entrance two naked nymphs are seated in an idyllic nilotic landscape, each leaning on an inverted jar with water pouring to a brook into which fish swim, and to which animals and birds come to quench their thirst or dwell among the foliage. The flowers are all red. On either side of the door two male figures originally stood, of which only the lower parts now exist. The longitudinal walls consist of lower friezes, each divided into panels imitating marble incrustations, and above which rises the vault. Two vines grow from its corners and its twigs and trellises spread over the entire vault. The leaves are green and the grapes appear large and succulent. Within the vine trellises many small birds are depicted, as well as other animals such as a hound chasing a gazelle, a donkey (or wild ass), and four naked boys, one playing a syrinx and the other three harvesting the grapes.

The motifs of this tomb are of well known pagan funerary symbolism. The *Gorgoneum* has always served as an apotropaic symbol; Demeter (or Persephone) holding the pomegranate indicates death and the promise of a better afterlife. The picking of the grapes alludes to the Dionysaic mysteries, according to which a symbolic death and rebirth are reached through spiritual and physical inebriation. The idyllic landscape with the flowing waters could be interpreted as *Elysium*, a most agreeable place in which to live. It should be mentioned that a nilotic landscape is often depicted in mosaic floors found in Israel.[57] The red flowers reinforce this identification since they are the flowers of *Elysium,* and are directly associated with wine and fire - the most requested sacrifial practices in pagan funerary rites.[58]

d) A unique example of a family tomb decorated with the possible "portraits" of the family was discovered near Kibbutz Or ha-Ner (end of third century C.E.).[59] The tomb is carved and built as an elongated main hall with four large burial chambers attached to it, all five covered with a barrel vault. Neither archaeological artefacts nor any distinct motifs in its paintings indicated the faith of its patrons, which has remained inconclusive and can only be suggested by the iconographic programme. The paintings cover the four walls and vault of the main hall [fig. 5 a-b-c-d] and include fourteen busts of males and females within medallions, all of whom are approximately of the same age; panels with vegetal patterns and cut flowers, some of which are red; four large, burning torches; panels imitating marble incrustations; vine trellises with birds; and many stylized flowers filling the spaces. Above the opening there is a Greek inscription of consolation reading "Enter, no one is immortal."

It would appear that this depiction of an entire family, blessed with many decendants on the walls of this family burial place, could provide the answer to many of the questions raised above; but here too what is not revealed proves greater than what can be seen. The lack of personal details in the portrayal of the portraits and their representation at the same, relatively young age without any identifying inscription, other than that above the door, so frequent in pagan, Jewish and Christian burial monuments, give no clue to the identity of the deceased, to where and how they lived, to the relationship between them, to who were actually buried in the tomb, or to the burial procedure itself. A reading of the pictorial programme suggests that the tomb was most probably ordered by the pair depicted in the first medallions of the series. These figures are distinguished from the rest of the busts and are also marked as husband and wife by the torches of *matrimonium*[60] preceding them. The other busts may depict family members. The depiction appears to indicate the ascent of the souls to heaven, in a process reminiscent of the *apotheosis*, as can be concluded from the depiction of the deceased as *imagines clipeatae*. Accompanied by burning torches, they are transfered to *Elysium*, characterized by red flowers. The vine trellises surrounded with birds constitutes, as already mentioned, a part of the Dionysaic world of images. The numerous motifs conveying pagan concepts, the lack of any distinct Jewish or Christian symbols, and the repeated objections of the Early Church Fathers to the customs of igniting torches and putting flowers on the tomb,[61] all seem to strengthen the supposition that the tomb located near Or ha-Ner was built for pagan patrons. Moreover, the positioning of the portraits, the torches and the flowers detached from any narrative could simply represent the actual rites conducted at the tomb - placing red flowers and offering fire and libations of wine.

Conclusion

Similar motifs appear in the painted tombs of followers of different religions in Late Antiquity: vine trellises inhabited by birds, fish, pomegranates, red flowers, wreaths and garlands, torches or candles in candelabra, as well as animals and human images. All these motifs or programmes appear to express the promise or expectations of the family to reach the afterlife - be it the Jewish Garden of Eden, the Christian *Paradisum* or the pagan *Elysium* - it is always depicted as a beautiful and serene place, pleasant to dwell in, and in which the fortunate live forever. The approach to family burial in Eretz Israel of Late Antiquity was drawn from and influenced by the early myths relating to marriage and the establishment of the family by the immortal gods, and the mortal mythical heroes. Human monarchs aspired to resemble them, and were

in turn copied by the other, lower social classes who adopted the codes of behavior of their rulers. However, whereas the ascent of the emperor was understood as an *apotheosis*, also encompassing deification, and his depiction continued to accumulate additional meanings, the other and lower classes wished merely to commemorate themselves, and ensure their journey to the eternal afterworld of the fortunate. This was achieved through the use of pictorial formulae of *apotheosis*, which related only to the aspect of ascent to another world and omitted the process of deification and life on Olympus.

The funerary ceremonies conducted at the tombs adopted elements from earlier cultures and higher social ranks, based on ancient mythical tradition. Its manifestations are seen in the various pictorial depictions of the artists - the placing of bouquets of flowers near the tomb, the ignition of torches or candles, and the libations of perfumes and wine. Although none of these necessarily allude to the family as an entity or even as a promise of immortality to the mortals inferred within, the actual burial of the family together in the same tomb (and certainly in the case of Or ha-Ner with the depiction of the portraits of the deceased), clearly indicates the aspirations of the family to continue to coexist as such in its afterlife too.

NOTES

1   See, e.g., the *tholos* tombs of Mycenae, incorrectly referred to as "The Treasury of Atreus", "Clytemnestra tomb", "Aegistos Tomb" or "Minyas Treasury" at Orchomenos. See: C. Tsountas and J.I. Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, Chicago 1969; 1897, pp. 115-136 and pls. XIV, XV; R. Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art*, London 1989; 1981, pp. 86-91 and figs.; A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1990; 1983, pp. 77-86 and figs; S.E. Iakovidis, *Mycenae-Epidaurus-Argos-Tiryns-Nauplion* (A Guide), Athens 1982, pp. 46-52, plan on p. 48 and figs.

2   For the meanings of the dome, see for example, K. Lehman, "The Dome of Heaven," *The Art Bulletin*, 27 (1945), pp. 1-27; E. Baldwin-Smith, *The Dome. A Study of the History of Ideas*, Princeton, New Jersey 1960.

3   Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* (trans. B. Radice and R. Baldick, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1971), 'Boiotia' IX: 36.3-4, 38.3 (describing the *tholoi* at Orchomenos), and 'Corinth' II: 16.4 (the *tholoi* of Mycenae).

4   J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin and F. Villard, *Hellenistic Art 330-50 BC*, London 1973; Paris 1970, p. 414; B. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, Rev. J.C. Palmes, London 1975, p. 249, and plans and sections on p. 250; see also Lawrence (1990), pp. 252-253 and a drawing. It should be noted that the "Nereid Monument" of Xanthos (the capital of Lycia) is the oldest tomb known to be built in the form of a rather large temple, probably around 400 B.C.E., although Lycia of the fifth century was still under a very significant Persian influence and might have followed the tradition of Xerxes the Great's monumental tomb. See Lawrence, *ibid.*, p. 245.

5   Charbonneaux *et al.* (1973), pp. 112-114, 388-389, 412 and ills. 109-113.

6   M.B. Hatzopoulos and L.D. Loukopoulos (eds.), *Philip of Macedon*, Athens 1980, pp. 188-231 and plates, esp. pls. 102, 104-106, 114, 121. Compare also to the tomb discovered in Lefkandia (western part of Maceonida) dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. See *ibid.*, pl. 80.

7   For the carrying of the *imago clipeata* of Phillip II, see: O. Weinreich, *I: Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus* Stuttgart 1933, 18. H. S. 24, cf. J. Bolten, *Die Imago Clipeata. Ein Betrag zur Portrait- und Typengeschichte*, Paderborn 1937; New York 1968, p. 17 note 1.

8   R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, London 1991, pp. 226-228, figs. 282-283; J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge-New York-New Rochelle-Melbourne-Sydney 1986, pp. 274-275, fig. 294 a,b. It is uncertain who or if indeed anyone was buried there.

9   Homer, *The Illiad* (trans. A.T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, Mass. 1954; 1924); *idem*, *The Odyssey* (trans. A.T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, Mass. 1960; 1919); *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (trans. H.G. Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1974; rep. 1914).

10   Hesiod, *Theogony*; *Works and Days*; *The Shield of Heracles* (trans. H.G. Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1974; 1914).

11   Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (trans. F.J. Miller, Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, Mass. 1958)

12   Virgil, *Aeneid* (trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1967).

13   Homer, *Illiad*, XIV: 201, 206, 246; see also Ovid, *Metamorpohses*, II: 509-510. Another possibility is suggested in the Orphic songs according to which Tethis was Zeus' sister and wife. See: O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* 15, cf. C. Kerenyi, *The Gods of the Greeks*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1958, p. 15, n. 13.

14   Hesiod, *Theogony*, lines 126-158.

15   For the names of the Roman gods compared to their Greek counterparts and their function, see Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* (trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, Mass. 1961; 1933), II, xxiv: 63-69. In this paper we have chosen to use the Greek names, unless the attribution is specifically to Latin texts.

16   Hesiod, *Theogony*, lines 176-181.

17   *Ibid.*, lines 453-467.

18   And Hesiod also says: "Lastly, he made Hera his blooming wife ..." see *ibid.*, line 921; see also line 929a.

19   The story of Perseus is widely dealt with in ancient Greek and Roman literature, for example, Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles*, lines 216, 219; Pindar, *The Odes* (trans. J. Sandys, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1952), "Pythian Ode" No. 10, "Nemean Ode" No. 10; Apollodorus, *The Library* (trans. J.G. Fraser, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1979), II, iv.2; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV: 710-711.

20   *Homeric Hymns*, "To Aphrodite (V)," lines 54 ff.; see also Virgil, *Aeneid*, I: 228 ff., 385, 617 ff., etc.

21   Apollodorus, *Library*, III, i.2; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* (trans. R.C. Seaton, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1953), III.999. For additional heroines see for example, Homer, *Odyssey*, XI, 225 ff.

22   Homer, *Odyssey*, XI enumerates the inhabitants of the netherworld, and also mentions the very ancient heroes, namely those who lived before the Trojan war (lines 628 ff.); and according to Virgil's *Aeneid* they are permanent inhabitants in Hades, for example Pasiphae, see VI: 447.

23   Her son from Tithonos, see: Hesiod, *Theogony*, 984-985; Apollodorus, *Library*, III, xii: 4-5; and for his death see fifth epitome, 3. The texts describing the death and burial of Memnon are fragmentary, and part of them probably have not survived. See *ibid.*, note 2 on p. 213 (vol. II). A dramatic depiction of Eos carrying the bleeding corps of her dead son can be seen on the central medallion of an Attic *Kylix* (drinking cup) painted by Douris, see: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, the Archaic Period*, London 1975, fig. 292.

24   Homer, *Oddysey*, XXIV: 36-94; see also Apollodorus, *ibid.*, 5th epitome, 5 and note 1 on pp. 216-217 (vol. 2), detailing additional literary sources dealing with the death and burial of Achilles.

25   Homer, *Illiad*, XIV: 666-675. Compare also to Virgil, *Aeneid*, XI: 594.

26   Apollodorus, *Library*, 6th epitome, 6. For additional information see *ibid.*, note 1 on pp. 246-247 (vol. II).

27   "But in her sleep came the very ghost of her unburied husband; raising his face pale in wondrous wise, he laid bare the cruel altars and his breast pierced with steel, unveiling all the secret horror of the house." See Virgil, *Aeneid*, I: 353-356.

28   Homer, *Odyssey*, XXIV: 76-77; Apollodorus, *Library*, 5th epitome, 5.

29   Virgil, *Aeneid*, X: 906.

30   H.P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, New Rochelle, New York 1982; Oslo, 1953 pp. 80-88, 91-97, 103-109, 110-113 and *passim*.

31   H.P. L'Orange, "Expressions of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World," in *idem*, *Likeness and Icon in Classical and Early Medieval Art*, Odense University Press, Denmark 1973, fig. 10.

32   L'Orange, "Expressions," *ibid.*, fig. 11.

33   Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars* (trans. J.C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, Mass. 1964; 1951), II: "The Deified Augustus," XVIII: 1. The same idea is exemplified by the Severan dynasty who, among other activities, minted golden medallions with the images of Olympias and her son Alexander the Great, thus relating them to the Macedonian court. See *The Search for Alexander* (An Exhibition), Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences and New York Graphic Society, Boston, 1980, pl. 5, cat. nos. 10, 11, 33.

34   The *apotheosis* is widely dealt with by scholars. See, for example, E. Strong, *Apotheosis and Afterlife*, London 1915; H.P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, New York 1982; Oslo 1947.

35   D. Strong, *Roman Art*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1980; 1976, fig. 111.

36   *Ibid.*, fig. 127.

37   Compare to Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, xxiv: 62, who connects Romulus to Quirinus.

38   The assumption that women, for example, altered their headdress according to the empress' hair style is widely accepted. See, for example, K. Wessel, "Römische Fraufrisuren von der severischen bis zur konstantinischen Zeit," *Archäologischer Anzeiger Beitlatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (1946-47), pp. 62-76; H.P. L'Orange, "Der Subtile Stil" (1961), in *idem, Likeness and Icon in Classical and Early Medieval Art*, Denmark 1973, pp. 54-71; I. Skupinska-Løvset, *Funerary Portraiture of Roman Palestine: An Analysis of the Production in its Culture-Historical Context* (Gothenburg, 1983), p. 152.

39   Homer, *Illiad*, XVI: 675.

40   Petronius, *Satyricon* (trans. M. Heseltine, rev. E.H Warmington, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.- London), 1969, 71.

41   A. Schmidt-Colinet, *Das Tempelgrab Nr. 36 in Palmyra*, Mainz am Rhein 1992, Band 4: Tafeln, Beilagen und Plane, Taf. 70 a-d.

42   McN.G. Rushforth, "Funeral Lights in Roman Sepulchral Monuments," *Journal of Roman Studies*, V (1915), pp. 149-164 and pls. IX, X.

43   R. Germer, H. Kischkewitz and M. Luning, "Das Grab der Aline und die Untersuchung der darin gefundenen Kindermumien," *Antike Welt*, 24/3 (1993), pp. 186-196, Abb. 13, 8, 10.

44   Strong, *Roman Art* (1980), fig. 234 on p. 299.

45   R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Roma l'arte romana nel centro del potere*, Milano 1969; 1981, ill. 102. For additional stelae representing husband and wife, see: R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Roma la fine dell'arte antica*, Milano 1970; 1980, ills. 298 ,145 ,115, etc.

46   Bianchi-Bandinelli, *La fine, ibid.*, ill. 260. It could be compared to a stele with two women (2nd. century C.E.), *ibid.*, ill. 108.

47   *Ibid.*, ill. 102. For other family stelae see *ibid.*, ills. 101 ,114, 124; *Idem, Centro del potere*, ill. 96.

48   M. Avi-Yonah, Y. Yadin (eds.), *6000 years of Art in the Holy Land*, Tel Aviv-Jerusalem, 1990 (Hebrew), figs. D:21, 22, 23, 24, pp. 202-205. For a very exhaustive discussion of the tombs dated to the Second Temple period, see: A. Kloner, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem during the Second Temple Period*, PhD Dissertation, Jerusalem, 1980. It could also be compared to the facade of the so-called el-Khazne tomb in Petra, see I. Roddis, *Petra*, n.p., 1992 (Arabesque Int.), fig. on p. 17. For a detailed discussion of the architectural aspects of the facades of these tombs see also L.Y. Rahmani, "Ossuaries and *Ossilegium* (Bone Gathering) in the Late Second Temple Period," in H. Geva (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem, 1994 (1978 in Hebrew), pp. 191-205. For the Macedonian tombs see *supra*, note 6.

49   Like the tombs at Ascalon and Or-ha-Ner, see *infra*, notes 56 and 60, respectively. See also A. Ovadiah and T. Michaeli, "Roman Wall-Paintings in Israel," *Aventicum V: Pictores per provincias (Cahiers d'archeologie romande 43)*, Avenches 1987, p. 245, fig. 248 and pl. XIII-3.

50   For example, the "Birds Cave," see A. Kloner, "The Cave of the Birds - A Painted Tomb on the Mount of Olives," in Geva (1994), pp. 306-310 and figs. (= *Idem*, "The Birds Cave on Mount of Olives," *Qadmoniot*, VIII/29 (1975) (Hebrew), pp. 27-30 and figs.); B. Bagatti, "Ritrovamento di una tomba sull Oliveto," *Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani*, 24 (1975), pp. 170-187 and figs; see also Ovadiah and Michaeli (1987), p. 245 and fig. 5. Another tomb was discovered at Beit Jibrin, see W.J. Moulton, "A Painted Christian Tomb at Beit Jibrin," *The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*, 2-3 (1921-1922), pp. 95-102, including figures and plates.

51   The tomb was excavated and published by R. Hachlili. Some of the wall paintings were detached, restored and are presently exhibited at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. For a colour plate see R. Hachlili and A. Killebrew, "The Saga of the Goliath Family as Revealed in their Newly Discovered 2000 Year-Old Tomb," *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 9 (1983), pp. 44-53. For detailed bibliography see Ovadiah and Michaeli (1987), p. 244, note 9 and fig. on p. 247 above; see also R. Hachlili, "A Jewish Funerary Wall-Painting of the First Century A.D.," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 117 (1985), pp. 112-27.

52   B. Mazar, *Beth She'arim. Report on the Excavations during 1935-1940*, vol. I: *Catacombs 1-4*, New Brunswick, N.J., 1973 (Jerusalem, 1957, in Hebrew), Pl. XII,2: Decorated ceiling of room II; Pl. XXXII,1: View of room VII and the passage between it and room I; Pl. XXXIII,1: Arcosolium 5 and its decorations, and 2: painted decoration on the ceiling of the room. For the description and discussion of these catacombs see *ibid.*, pp. 170-190. See also N. Feig, "A New Burial-Cave at Beit-She'arim," *Qadmoniot*, 20 (79-80) (1987) (Hebrew), pp. 102-105 and ills. Compare to a decoration with two engraved five-branch lamps in another Jewish tomb discovered at Beth Guvrin, see U. Dahari, G. Avni, A. Kloner, "The Jewish Necropolis of Beth-Guvrin," *Qadmoniot*, 20 (79-80) (1987) (Hebrew), pp. 97-102 and fig. on p. 99.

53   G. Foerster, "A Christian Painted Tomb near Kibbutz Lochamey ha-Ge'taot," in M. Yedaya (ed.), *Qadmoniot ha-Galil ha-Ma'aravi* (*The Ancient Galilee Antiquities*), Haifa-Tel Aviv, 1986 (Hebrew), pp. 416-431, inc. figs.

54   For interpretation of the motifs see *Ibid.*, pp. 418-420 and notes.

55   Michaeli, *infra*, see note 59, pp. 51-52 and notes (90)-(101), p. 53 and note (107), pp. 67-68 and notes (29)-(35), pp. 73-74 and notes (68)-(71).

56   Y. Ory, "A Painted Tomb near Ascalon," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, 8 (1939), pp. 38-44 with drawing, sections and plates. See also Ovadiah and Michaeli (1987), p. 245 and fig. 6.

57   For example, the mosaic pavement discovered in the large, now restored mansion at Zippori, depicting scenes from the life of Dionysos. One of the marginal friezes features a nilotic scene. See Z. Weiss, E. Netzer, *Sepphoris*, Jerusalem, 1994, figs. on p. 37. In the mosaic pavment found in another villa at Zippori a similar landscape and scenes can be detected. See *ibid.*, figs. on pp. 46-49. For both pavements see also R. Talgam, Z. Weiss, "'The Dionysus Cycle' in Sepphoris Mosaic," *Qadmoniot*, 21 (83-84) (1988) (Hebrew), pp. 93-99 and figs.; Z. Weiss, E. Netzer, "Two Excavation Seasons at Sepphoris," *Qadmoniot*, 24 (95-96) (1991) (Hebrew), pp. 113-121 and figs.

58 Compare to the description of the World of the Dead in Virgils' *Aeneis*: "And lo, Aeneas saw others to his right and to his left about the grass, feasting and singing a joyful hymn of praise in their choir; they were in the midst of a wood of scented bay-treed whence the full-flowing river Eridanus goes rolling through forest-land to the upper world" VI: 658-659. See also the description of the ceremony held by Aeneas in memory of his father: "Then on the ground he poured libation due, Two beakers of good wine, of sweet milk two, Two of victim's blood - and **scattered flowers of saddest purple stain**..." V: 77-79 (trans. T.C. Williams, Boston-New York-Chicago-San Francisco, 1908; 1910); also compare to H. Clarke tr. and ed.: "Two bowls of sparkling wine, of milk two more. And two, from offered bulls, of purple gore. **With roses from the sepulcher he strewd** ..." (University Park and London, 1989).

59 Y. Tsafrir, "A Painted Tomb at Or ha-Ner," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 18 (1968), pp. 170-180 and plates; Y. Tsafrir, "A Painted Tomb from the Fourth Century C.E.," *Qadmoniot*, 2 (6) (1959) (Hebrew), pp. 61-65 and figs.; Ovadiah and Michaeli (1987), p. 245 and fig. 3 on p. 263; T. Michaeli, *The Pictorial Program of the Tomb near Kibbutz Or-ha-Ner* (M.A. thesis, Tel Aviv, 1990, Hebrew), with figures.

60 For the torches of *Matrimonium*, see: Ovid, *Heroides and Amores* (trans. G. Showerman, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1968), XXI, 172; Ovid, *Fasti* (trans. J.G. Frazer, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1967), II, 561-564; Properce, *Elegies* (trad. D. Paganelli, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1964), IV 11, 33-35. They also stress the connection between the torch of *matrimonium* and the torch of death.

61 For example, Clement of Alexandria considers the crown of thorns to be the appropriate model for Christian imitation, and not the wreaths with flowers so commonly used in pagan rituals. See: Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator* (trans. S.P. Wood, Washington DC, 1954), II: 72-73. At the Elvira council (fourth century C.E.) it was decided to condemn utterly the custom of igniting candles in cemeteries, as this was a clearly pagan custom, see: C.J. Hefele, *Histoires des conciles*, Hildesheim-New York, 1973; Paris, 1907, t. I/1, pp. 212-264. For further bibliography see Michaeli (1990), pp. 51-52, 55 and notes on pp. 61-62, pp. 71-72 and notes on p. 79.

Symbolism in Jewish Works of Art in Late Antiquity

Asher Ovadiah

*T*he motifs that are specifically Jewish in character form a distinct assemblage within the ornamental repertoire of the synagogue, strikingly different from other decorative elements. Despite the assessments of some scholars,[1] we believe that data are insufficient in permit of any evaluation of the symbolic significance and/or apotropaic function of the Shield of David (*Magen David*) and Seal of Solomon in Capernaum synagogue. However, the incorporation and integration of those two "Jewish" motifs into general decorative repertoire emphasize their sole function as elements of architectural ornamentation.[2]

Opinions are divided, with that favoured by most scholars holding that the decorative motifs in the synagogue (except for those connected with Jewish subjects) are purely ornamental and have no sort of symbolic or didactic meaning. However, there is also a minority opinion, whose major advocate was E. R. Goodenough,[3] who insisted that these motifs did have a symbolic or apotropaic meaning. Goodenough does not exclude the Jewish motifs from his general view. He argues that any interpretation of the symbolism of the synagogue decorations must take into account the fact that the same or similar motifs appear on many Jewish gravestones and sarcophagi of the third to fifth centuries C.E. Nor can one, in his opinion, ignore the prevailing *zeitgeist* which was permeated by religious symbolism, equally affecting Jews and gentiles. Just as anyone else, the Jews were desirous of apotropaic symbols, a longing achieving expression in their synagogue ornamentation.

The pagan motifs among the synagogue decorations - regardless of their possible symbolic and/or aprotopaic meaning - provide conclusive evidence as to the tolerant attitude of the spiritual leaders of the Galilee and Golan congregations during the third-fifth centuries C.E.

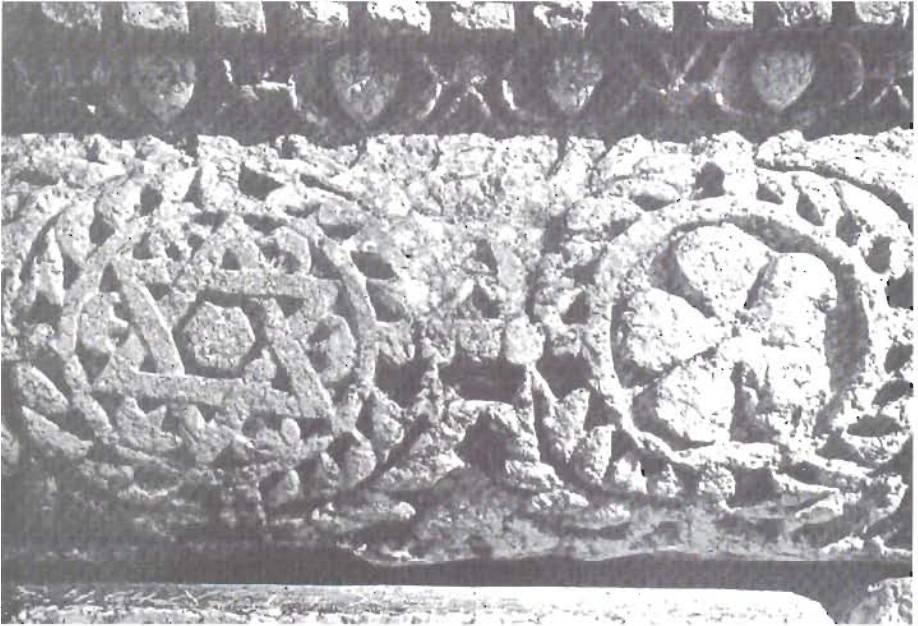We have not found any literary source or archaeological evidence to support

Fig. 1: Capernahum, Ancient Synagogue, relief of Shield of David (*Magen David*).

a tendency to view decorative motifs as fraught with symbolic meaning. Within the synagogue context these motifs, especially the figurative, appear to have an architectural-decorative function only. Conceived and executed according to the aesthetic concepts of the time, these elements formed an integral part of the embellishments of the region's architecture. The repertoire of motifs in the synagogue also included some purely Jewish designs which require special consideration. Given the circumstances and socio-political conditions of the post-Second Temple period in which these synagogues were erected, one perceives in these Jewish motifs a didactic purpose and expression of Jewish identity, a desire both to adorn and remember. Thus the Temple utensils and the "Seven Species" are commemorated and at the same time brought to the forefront of the worshipper's attention.

The biblical scenes depict the Binding of Isaac (Beth Alpha), King David as Orpheus (Gaza Maiumas), Daniel in the Lions' Den (Na'aran and Kh. Susyah), End of Days (Meroth)[1], Noah's Ark (Gerasa in Jordan and Mopsuhestia in Cilicia, Asia Minor), Samson and Samson's foxes (Mopsuhestia in Cilicia, Asia Minor).[ ] Of the biblical scenes mentioned, Daniel in the Lions' Den at Na'aran near Jericho is of special historical interest. Although the scene was defaced, it
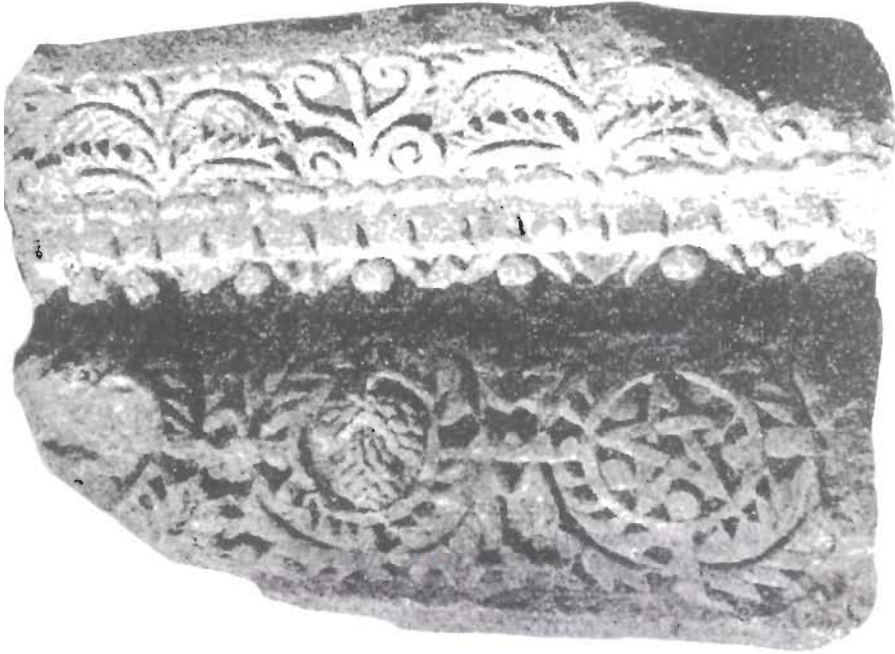
Fig. 2: Capernahum, Ancient Synagogue, relief of the Seal of Solomon.

may be identified on the basis of a clear inscription "Daniel Shalom". The synagogue at Na'aran was apparently built in the middle of the sixth century, during the reign of Justinian I or possibly slightly later, during Justin II's reign. The vicious attitude of the rulers towards the Jews of Eretz-Israel, with its repression and stringent royal edicts, permitted of the erection of only a very limited number of synagogues. Borrowing of the Daniel story for its visual representation in the Na'aran pavement but reflects the troubles of the time, namely the instability and the precarious position of the Jewish community in the Byzantine Empire. The Jews' refusal to submit to royal decrees mirrors Daniel's resistance to the king's will, and thus certain degree of symbolism may be distinguished in the choice of Daniel in the Lions' Den for the Na'aran mosaic.

A purely pagan motif appearing on mosaic floors is the zodiac wheel with Helios in the centre[6] and personifications of the four seasons in the corners[7] (Beth Alpha, Na'aran, Hammath Tiberias, Hosefa or Husifa, Sepphoris (Zippori) and apparently Kh. Susiyah as well). Karl Lehmann sees in some cases the reflection of domed ceilings on mosaic floors.[8] Perhaps this was still perceived as the mirror reflection of the domed ceiling in the synagogues where the zodiac

Fig. 3: Beth Alpha, Ancient Synagogue, *Binding of Isaac.*

wheel appears. The significance of the zodiac wheel as it is depicted on mosaic pavements of ancient synagogues is still obscure in the absence of literary sources or archaeological evidence as to its function. Attempt to view the wheel of the zodiac as calendar (an acceptable explanation)[9] as fraught with cosmic symbolism (somewhat less likely)[10] are still tentative. However, an additional possibility exists, that of an astrological interpretation. The discovery of magic texts inscribed on bits of metals in the apse of the Ma'on synagogue, some of which have lately been opened, read and deciphered, together with additional amulets from Eretz-Israel (and oathing bowls from Babylonia) indicates that the border between orthodox Judaism and magical and astrological practices was somewhat blurred.[11]

It appears that normative-traditional Judaism had no fear of decorative aesthetic representations either overtly expressed or indirectly indicated. By

Fig. 4: Gaza Maiumas, Ancient Synagogue, King David as Orpheus.

way of example, one of the Jewish dirges recited on the eve of the Ninth of Av, includes an allegorical description of the heavenly host weeping over the destruction of Jerusalem and of the First and Second Temples, with additional mention of the zodiac and its twelve signs, most truly of pagan character: "...and the heavenly host lamented... even the constellations shed tears".[12] Then as now the image of the zodiac occupied a place in Jewish tradition. One may conclude that Jewish tradition displays a moderate and tolerant approach to art - be it relief or mosaic. Judaism has always recognised the aesthetic yearnings of mankind and has sought to harness them in the service of God. Only when aesthetic diverge into idolatrous worship are they prohibited. It is quite conceivable that the disputes among the sages resulted additionally in creating different attitudes with regard to the art and artistic values. The attitude taken by the sages towards art differs from generation to generation, fluctuating
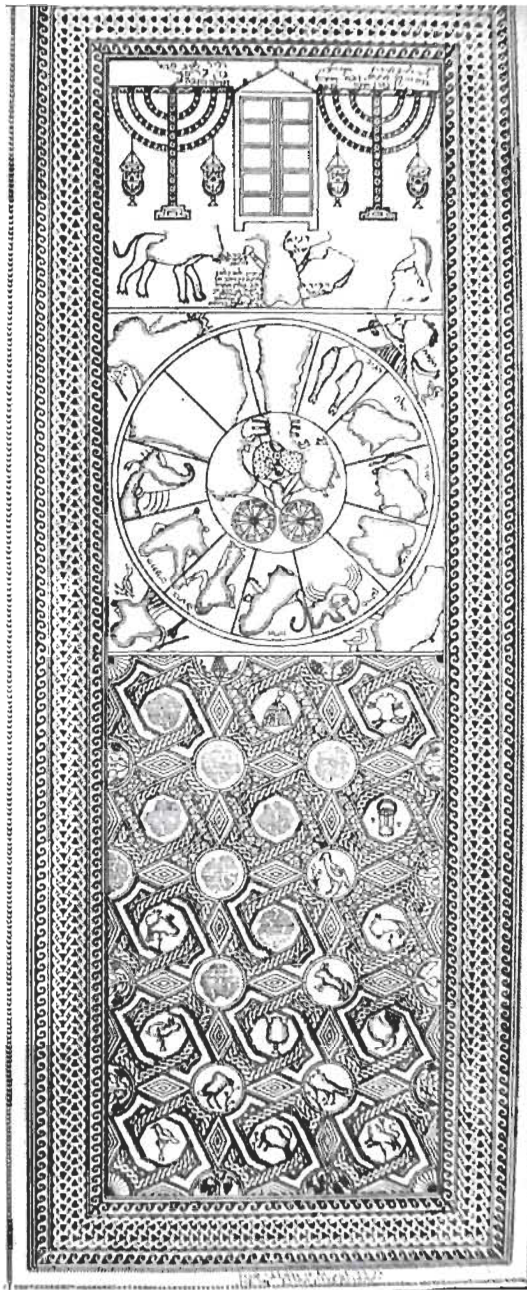
Fig. 5: Na'aran, Ancient Synagogue, *Daniel in the Lions' Den.*

Fig. 6: Meroth Ancient Synagogue, *End of Days*.

according to their Weltanschauung and mode of thought from moderate and tolerant to orthodox and stringent. The approach of teachers of religion and spiritual leaders in the mishnaic and talmudic period to art in general and to the three-dimensional figurative in particular was also subject to variation.[13]

A portion of the figurative representations in synagogues listed above are instructive in intent, a purpose achieved by the visual portrayal of some of the most famous biblical stories. In this graphic form worshippers could be taught selected episodes from the Bible.[14] We feel that to the extent that symbolism is to be found in the biblical scenes or in other motifs decorating synagogue mosaics, this symbolism must equally be distinctly expressed and clearly reflected in Jewish literary sources. Should there be no such correlation between the written material and the visual representation, it is rather the educational aspect of the mosaic representation, with the notion they are meant to convey,

that should be studied. If, however, the symbol can be perceived as expressing an abstract idea, the biblical scene appearing in synagogue may to a certain extent be regarded as symbolising the ways of the Divine Providence - forgiveness and redemption. Like, for example, the *shofar* (ram's horn) that symbolises forgiveness and redemption while recalling the Binding of Isaac.[15] Should this symbolism actually be implied, it must of necessity be viewed within the relevant historical context with all its political and social realities, as well as being interpreted in its historical aspects with their primary task of bringing to mind and permanently recording.[16] It is universally acknowledged that certain circumstances give rise to specific symbolism in an attempt to derive from them strength and encouragement.[17]

NOTES

1. Kohl and Watzinger 1916:184-185, 187ff.; Goodenough VII, 1958:198-200.
2. Scholem 1949:243-251.
3. Goodenough I, 1953:30-31, 178-179; IV, 1954:3-48.
4. Ovadiah, Mucznik and Gomez de Silva, 1996: 286-293.
5. Ovadiah 1978:864-866, Pls. 279 (fig. 18), 280.
6. Cf. Dothan 1966:130-134.
7. The Seasons also appear by themselves in a Villa at Beth Guvrin; they are depicted within round medallions which are arranged in a vertical row.
8. Cf. Lehmann 1945:1-27.
9. Cf. Avi-Yonah 1964:45-57; Avi-Yonah 1965:325-330; Avi-Yonah 1981: 396-397.
10. Guidoni Guidi 1979:131-154; Goodenough VIII, 1958:215-217.
11. See Smith 1982:199-214.
12. While the date and author of this *piyyut* (hymn) are not known, its metre dates it to mediaeval times or perhaps even earlier.
13. Cf. Sukenik 1934:64.
14. The same instructive value is also attributed by the Church to the portrayal of episodes from the sacred writings and is reflected in the response of Nilos of Mt. Sinai to a query broached by Olympiodoros the Eparch in the early fifth century. Olympiodoros asked whether the lives of the saints to whom he sought to dedicate a church might be portrayed in paintings to be further embellished with animals and plants; Nilos replied that themes from the sacred writings should be painted so that individuals untutored in these religious works could learn of the deeds of the Church Fathers from the paintings. See *Patrologia Graeca*, 79, Paris 1865, col. 577.
15. See *Genesis Rabbah* LVI 9.
16. It seems that the seven-branched *menorah* is not to be considered as symbolic, but rather as an instructive element both recalling and perpetuating the past of the Jewish world and emphasising Jewish identity. Philo of Alexandria and Josephus

Flavius attributed symbolic significance to the *menorah*, regarding it as having a cosmic connotation and representing the seven planets. Philo even expands upon this symbolism, stating that the *menorah* represents the heavens which, like itself, bear lights. It must be stressed that reference here is not to the traditional orthodox sources which alone represents the tenets held by the religious establishment. It is to be noted that no hint of cosmic or other symbolism is encountered in the Mishnah and the Talmud. See Philo, *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres*, 216-227 (The Loeb Classical Library, IV, London-New York 1932, 390-397); Jos. *Bell.* V, 217 (The Loeb Classical Library, III, London-New York 1928, 266-267).

17. Cf. Landau 1979:215.

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The Temple in the Iconography of Early Christian Art

Carla Gomez de Silva*

*J*erusalem appears in Early Christian art not only in its complete form, or its walls and gates, but individual buildings of the city are also represented, such as the Temple. The Temple is described in the Old Testament and is also mentioned in the new Testament, but most of its depictions in Christian art refer to events narrated in the Gospels, and only rarely to Old Testament events, and then only those having implications for Christianity. No one model serves to depict the Temple, and differences can be found in both detail and the basic conception of its structure. Even in the Church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, where the Temple is depicted twice, the two depictions show quite different structures - despite the detailed descriptions of the First Temple in the Old Testament and of the Second Temple in historical sources. Indeed some temple representations have no connection to any particular event.

The Temple has been depicted in many artistic forms: wall and floor mosaics in churches, in a fresco on the dome of a burial chapel, on the stone column of a church, on a church door and lintel, in numerous ivories - chiefly book covers, on a box of bone, and in book illustrations. Their geographical distribution is equally wide. The majority of the works of art are from Italy, mainly monumental art, but representations of the Temple have also been found in Jordan, Egypt, England, Spain, and in Eastern art. Chronologically they range from the first half of the fourth to the beginning of the eighth century C.E.

The simplest model adopted to represent the Temple is that of a small

Fig. 1: Rome, Sta. Sabina, wooden door panel.

building with two columns in its façade (distylos), found, with slight variations, in several works of art.

A wooden door panel in the Church of Santa Sabina (432 C.E.) (fig. 1, The Healing of the Blind Man) depicts three of Jesus' miracles. The panel is divided into three horizontal bands of which the upper one, according to Venturi, shows the Healing of the Blind Man[1] in the doorway of a temple and, according to Kondakoff, the Healing of the Sick Man in the gateway of the Jerusalem Temple;[2] but neither writer pays attention to the building itself. Berthier identifies the

scene as Jesus healing the blind man after leaving the Temple (John, 8:59;9:1-7), rejecting Garucci's opinion that this is a depiction of the healing in Jericho[3]. Berthier's interpretation seems the most probable, indicating that the building in the scene is the Jerusalem Temple. It is represented as a small structure, the same height as the figures with a pedimented façade, one lateral wall, and a sloping, tiled roof. The figure of the blind man occupies the whole space of the façade, up to and including the pediment itself.

A similar model for the Temple is used on an ivory book cover preserved in the Milan Cathedral library and dated to the late fifth century. One of a number of scenes is the Healing of the Blind Man. The small building, depicted from the same angle as the previous example, has a column at each corner directly supporting a sloping, tiled roof that is shown in, albeit incorrect, perspective. The detailed structure of the wall is hidden by the figure of the blind man and the opening in the façade is also filled entirely by a second figure. Volbach, Natanson and Hadas have identified the scene as the healing of the Blind Man but Venturi asserts that "...we have here two blind men seeking Jesus' healing".[4] Although the presence of the small temple would suggest that the scene takes place in Jerusalem, the fact that there are two figures makes Venturi's interpretation the more likely.

This model for the Temple is not exclusive to the story of the Healing of the Blind Man but appears also in other contexts. The early sixth century Church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna contains representations of the tormenting of Jesus, including "Judas Iscariot Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver to the High Priest and the Elders" at the entrance to the Temple.[5] The Temple appears as a small rectangular building built of large dressed blocks. At each extreme of the façade is a column with capital and base, all plain; there is a pediment above the columns. The sloping roof appears to be of red tiles. The second panel of the Milan ivory book cover portrays the Presentation of Mary in the Temple, according to Volbach, Hadas and Leclercq. Venturi, however, identifies the scene as the second stage of the Annunciation as narrated in the Proto-Gospel of James, with the first stage appearing alongside it on the same panel. The scene, according to Venturi, shows Mary in front of the Temple in which she lives, receiving the Annunciation from an angel who is pointing at a star above.[6] In fact, the depiction on the book cover is in disagreement with the narration of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple in both the Proto-Gospel[7] and in Pseudo-Matthew[8] as well as the other apocryphal works. These sources describe Mary as a child of only three at the time and the priest receiving her in the gateway to the Temple.

As with many works of art, here too opinions are divided. In addition to

Fig. 2: Rome, Sta. Sabina, wooden door panel.

the two already cited, a third considers the scene to show the Ordeal by the Bitter Water.[9] Venturi's interpretation, mentioned above, appears fallacious, since not one source describes Mary as living in the Temple at the time of the Annunciation. The suggestion of the Ordeal by the Bitter Water is a logical one, given the order of the events on the panel, but the cup that Mary is supposed to drink from is missing. Despite the depicted star (not mentioned in the story) the aim appears to have been to show the Presentation of Mary in the Temple, since the structure, which resembles a small temple, has many rather large steps added to it (albeit not the fifteen that the literary sources describe), as though to emphasize her ascent to the Temple. Apart from depictions of the Raising of Lazarus this motif is not known from elsewhere.

This basic form of a small, temple-like building with two columns in the façade also occurs on another door panel in the Church of Santa Sabina (fig. 2). The building is almost identical to that in the Healing of the Blind Man (fig. 1) but for slight discrepancies of detail and unusual additions. It is also much bigger overall, taking up the whole width of the panel, and larger than the figures standing in front of it, so that additional details are visible. The façade is presented completely frontal, with a pediment of large blocks and an arched window in its center. The same pattern decorates both the top of the pediment and along the cornice. Curtains are drawn to either side of the entrance to the building, where a male figure stands with an angel beside him, in front of the side wall. The depiction also features two uncustomary supplements: the end of the roof bears a large cross, apparently partially set with gemstones; on either side of the cross and behind the main building rises a tall tower with the individual blocks and the decoration of the cornice marked in. The upper part of the towers reproduces the pediment of the main building, including a spherical shape at its highest point. The left-hand tower has two arched windows.

Despite the towers and the cross, the building has generally been considered to be the Temple. The interpretation of the scene as a whole, however, has not been unanimous. Venturi mentions two earlier interpretations: one, sees it as Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, standing in front of the Temple after having received the annunciation from the Angel Gabriel and powerless to speak to the populace gathered outside.[10] Venturi claims that Griezer began by accepting this version but later changed his identification to the *acclamatio* of a Christian emperor under the auspices of an angel. Venturi himself inclines to the explication of the scene as King Solomon blessing his people in front of the Temple after its sanctification (Kings 1,8). He explains the anachronism of placing a cross on Solomon's Temple by the fact that Christianity saw the Temple

as the image of the new church, noting that other panels in Santa Sabina also demonstrate a parallelism between the New Testament and the Old.[11]

The link to an act of *acclamatio* and a Christian emperor has been put forward by a number of scholars. Because of the cross on the roof over the pediment, Lowrie interpreted the scene as a Christian emperor praying before a church, while noting that at the time the panel was made only palaces were built with towers, not churches.[12] Delbrueck concluded that the figure, perhaps an emperor, appears in an attitude of prayer in front of a small oratory outside the city, with the towers intended to represent a palace or the city gates. He considers the cross makes it impossible to refer the scene to the Old Testament; nor does he perceive any connection to the New Testament or to non-canonical books.[13] Brehier, on the other hand, believes that the person presented by the angel may be the Emperor Constantine, and the building behind him the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre with the entire scene symbolizing the Christian Empire.[14] Cecchelli returned to the thesis of an *acclamatio* which the presence of an angel and the Temple connect to the bestowal of divine authority. He considers that within such a context, the only figure that fits is that of King David, who is an ancestor of Jesus (Matthew 1:1; Luke 1:31; 2:4), which would also explain the presence of the cross on the Temple. In depicting the cross frontally, placed between two towers of the façade of a Syrian-type church, the intention of the artist seems to have been, according to Cecchelli, to emphasize that behind the Jewish Temple stands the conquering basilica of the new Christian law.[15]

Berthier proposes yet another interpretation: the scene portrays "the founding of the Church for the sake of all mankind" and shows Peter's return to Jerusalem from Joppa after preaching the new law to the pagans, as narrated in The Acts of the Apostles, 10 and 11. He is standing against the background of the Christian Church and its cross, and the building depicted is a fifth century church.[16]

Leclercq holds that the scene represents Jerusalem in the form of the façade of a church with two towers.[17] Kantorowicz's article concludes that the scene is a literal depiction of the Prophet Malachi's prophesy of the coming of the Messiah (Malachi 3:1-2) - "an eschatological Advent" in front of the Temple. Malachi, the last of the prophets, constitutes the link between the Old and the New Testaments. The scene describes the revelation of the Pantocrator in front of the Temple, with the cross over his head predicting the coming of the New Testament and perhaps the Second Coming itself.[18]

The form of the building and the figures which appear and are in accordance with the Gospel story, suggest that of all the proposed interpretations, the one that considers that it is Zacharias the High Priest before the Temple is the most

acceptable, in spite of the anachronism of the cross on the roof.

A different style of depiction of the Temple can be found in the mosaic of The Sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek in the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna (540-548). The building is shown beside Melchizedek, providing a background to him and a link with his position as "...the priest of the most high God" (Genesis 14:18). The background to Abel is a tabernacle. Scholars have paid little attention to the temple building, labelling it merely "a temple",[19] or "a handsome basilica", and giving their main attention to the scene as a whole. Historically speaking, the building obviously cannot be the Temple, only erected by Solomon many hundreds of years later, but symbolically the link is possible. Of the tall, narrow, basilica-like building, the façade and one side are visible. The structure as a whole is the same height as Melchizedek and perhaps symbolizes both the Temple and Jerusalem, as well as Melchizedek's own temple.

One wall of the oratory of Pope John VII (705-707) was decorated with scenes from the life of Peter. Although it has not survived, an accurate description and drawings are available from the seventeenth century Vatican archivist Grimaldi. Of the events mentioned, the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple is the only one to depict Jerusalem.[20] Thanks to the names inscribed above the figures (Joseph, Symeon[21], Anna) the scene can be identified with certainty (it follows Luke 2:22-38). Symeon is shown under an arch resting on two columns with pedestals and capitals; his name is written on the arch.[22] In another drawing, the columns are very tall, fluted, have Corinthian capitals, and Symeon's name does not appear.[23]

The model for another group of temple depictions has a façade with four columns (*tetrastylos*). This group includes the mosaics in the churches of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, and John the Priest on Mount Nevo, and the mural in the family tomb at El-Bagawat in Egypt. The triumphal arch in the mid-fourth century Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, depicts the story of Jesus' childhood, of which one scene, in the upper right-hand corner, is the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple. The small Temple building (same height as the figures) shows the façade, the right wall, and the roof, with the wall and almost all the roof being shown in full construction detail.[24] The roof and the façade are in gold, as are the colonnade leading to the building and the figure in the pediment. This figure, reaching from the top to the bottom of it, is a seated woman, helmeted and clothed in a garment covering her entire body. She holds a spear in her left hand and what appears to be a globe in her right.

Most scholars agree that the building is the Jerusalem Temple.[25] Matthiae, although identifying the scene as The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple,

nonetheless states that the scene takes place in front of "one or other temple" and that the figure in the pediment is the goddess Roma. He also wonders whether the Temple depicted is the one that stood in the *Via Sacra* in Rome or the one that Hadrian built in Aelia Capitolina.[26] Others have also identified the female figure as Roma.[27] Grabar concludes that the building is the Temple of Venus and Roma erected by Emperor Hadrian and known as *Templum Urbis* (the City Temple). The fact that the mosaic shows the Temple with only four columns instead of the ten it actually had, does not prove that the artist had not seen it: many coins depicting this Temple used the same conventional form. Grabar not only sees no contradiction in the appearance of a goddess on the Temple but even finds it natural, since it was logical to represent the Temple in the form of the *Templum Urbis*, the symbol of Eternal Rome, the Bringer of Peace. And just as the personification of Roma on coins symbolized *concordia* (fraternity), so was she understood by Christians who perceived the unity between the Old and the New Testaments. Grabar identifies the figures welcoming Jesus as the twelve priests of the Temple of Rome, adoring the God become Man and acknowledging the commencement of His reign over the Eternal City. Thus Roma, by the authority of Jesus, rises anew as the center of the universe and becomes interchangeable with Jerusalem.[28]

To some extent Schiller repeats these perceptions, but adds that the chief priest (*pontifex maximus*) of the *Templum Urbis* was the emperor himself, so that in this case the Temple assumes a double significance, with the priests representing both the Jews and Christian Rome ready to accept her new Lord.[29]

Some twenty years later Grabar modified his opinions. He terms the scene "a Purification" - referring apparently to the purification of Mary after giving birth and her entry into the Temple - and now believes that the mosaic tends to show Rome as the heir of Old Testament Jerusalem, as implied by the use of the pagan, Roman façade of the Temple of Roma and Augustus. The figure of Roma in a pagan temple, in place of the Jerusalem Temple, symbolizes *Roma Aeterna* which had in some way changed its religion.[30]

Several less plausible opinions and interpretations have also been offered. Venturi suggested the figure in the pediment to be that of the Saviour (Jesus) and the other figures - his Apostles.[31] Van Berchem and Clouzot perceived the colonnade in the background as that of Solomon's Temple.[32] Leclercq, apparently drawing on Venturi, suggests that the figure is Jesus between the haloed busts of his two chief disciples, Peter and Paul, and also identifies the temple and colonnade as those of King Solomon.[33] Neither proposition is plausible. With respect to the first, the figure depicted appears identical to the figure of the goddess Roma that appears on innumerable temples, statues and coins.

Leclercq claims the various anachronisms were common among Christian artists, concluding that the mosaic under discussion in fact illustrates the design of pediments in Christian basilicas of the first half of the fifth century.[34] His second proposition - that the temple façade and colonnade behind it are those of Solomon's Temple - seems equally baseless. It is hardly imaginable in such an important church - one, moreover, containing depictions of Old Testament scenes - that the artists who made this mosaic did not know that, by the time of Jesus, Solomon's Temple was no longer standing, or that modern researchers who have similarly identified the building do not know that the Temple standing in Jesus' time was the one built by Herod. Moreover, the biblical description of the (first) Temple mentions no colonnade. I Kings 6:3 says, "and the porch before the temple" (several translations translate "porch" as "portico").[35] In theory, a portico should certainly form part of the scene since the event represented took place in the Herodian temple which did indeed have a colonnade.

Another mosaic also depicts the Temple represented in tetrastylic form: this is the scene of The Pharisee and the Publican (Luke, 18:9-14) found on one wall of the nave of the early sixth century Church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Only the broad façade of the building is shown, with a small pediment over the entrance and a tiled roof.

Set into the center of the pediment is a dark-colored triangle that Van Berchem and Clouzot have chosen to identify as an *oculus*.[36] Baumstark believes this representation of the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican to reflect the ornamentation in the Church of the Apostles on Mount Zion in Jerusalem, while Duval is of the opinion that the curtain and its dark background stand for the Holy of Holies.[37]

On one section of the floor of the Church of John the Priest on Mount Nevo is a mosaic partially destroyed by later construction, and possibly not belonging to the original church. The eastern section of the mosaic depicts a tetrastyle building, with four columns supporting a large pediment ornamented with broad plant patterns. Between the two central columns is an inscription in Greek appealing for compassion and mercy, while between the central columns and each outer one is a lit candle on a tall stand. The center of the pediment and part of the right-hand columns have been destroyed.[38] On this panel of the mosaic, to either side of the building is a large peacock and above the building - a tree in blossom. On either side of the tree, as though above each end of the pediment, is a large bird resembling a cock. Traces of branches can be detected on both sides of the point of the pediment. Saller and Bagatti interpret the building as a funerary structure in memory of the persons mentioned in the

inscription.[39] Grabar, in contrast, maintains that the building represents the Temple, or perhaps the Ark of the Covenant, and likens it to the temple of the Church of Dura Europos, above the niche. The lit candles signify the sanctified character of the building.[40] The mosaic can apparently be dated to the late sixth century.

In the El-Bagawat necropolis at the El-Kharga oasis in Egypt there is a small mausoleum with a painted dome called, after the dominant theme in the paintings, the Exodus from Egypt Mausoleum. An additional theme depicts a small palace-like building with a human figure alongside it but positioned below the band illustrating the Exodus. The lower part of the building has four columns; between each pair of columns, towards their top, is a large circle, and above the columns - a triangular pediment. A flight of steps leads diagonally up to the palace from right to left. The illustration is very schematic as are all the illustrations on this dome. To the right of the foot of the steps stands a human figure whom Schwartz identifies as the prophet Jeremiah standing before Jerusalem, symbolized by the façade of the Temple.[41] Some have identified the scene as Jeremiah lamenting the fate of Jerusalem, while Stern even avers that the name 'Jerusalem' is written above the building and the name 'Jeremiah' above the figure, both in Greek, thereby confirming the substance of the illustration. The paintings have been variously dated to the fourth century, to the fifth century,[42] and even to the mid-fifth century.[43]

The same dome, in the Exodus band, features a large building comprising a number of elements. At each end of the building is a small palace, with the left-hand one being almost identical to that in the Jeremiah scene, including the flight of steps leading up to it.

The right-hand one, however, is massively built with a central opening and a small triangular pediment. The two flanking palaces are joined by an arched colonnade to the rather large central structure which has reticulated doors and a dome. Although the paintings have faded over time and details are hard to make out, a drawing made by Fakhy some years ago apparently shows the stoa with a second storey reaching up to the top of the painted dome.

Schwartz is alone in identifying the building as the Temple without presenting an argument for his opinion.[44] Other scholars maintain that the building represents the Holy Sepulchre or Heavenly Jerusalem. It is hard to accept the Temple identification as certain, but the two colonnades do link this depiction to those in the Santa Maria Maggiore mosaic and in one of the illustrations in the Rossano Codex from the first half of the sixth century. These portray two incidents from the Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple,[45] which read from right to left, according to their occurrence: the merchants

Fig. 3: Toledo, St. Salvador Church, stone column.

Fig. 4: Egypt, El Mualka, lintel.

leaving the Temple courtyard and Jesus debating with the elders of the people against the background of the courtyard colonnade, while the Temple itself appears on the extreme left as a small and unimpressive structure.[46] It is depicted from left to right so that one sees the left wall and the left side of the roof. The building has no door or rear wall. Supported by the walls is a golden pediment and a sloping roof of blue tiles, while from the pediment hangs a red curtain or *parochet* colorfully ornamented, apparently by embroidery, and fringed along the bottom. From the roof of the Temple a long stoa extends towards the center, almost half the length of the whole scene, giving the impression that it is not joined to the building but emerges from behind it. The stoa has a sloping roof of red tiles carried on three columns with bases and capitals.

The remaining representations of the Temple with which we shall deal here are uncategorizable, each different from the other.

One of these is the testing of Mary by the Ordeal of the Bitter Water, as narrated in a number of Christian non-canonical works.[47] Only Pseudo-Matthew states specifically that this event took place in the Temple, drawing on God's teaching to Moses as given in Numbers 5:11-31, and especially in verse 24 - the moment when the priest makes the woman suspected of adultery drink the bitter water.

Three ivories - a panel of the Maximianus chair and two book covers from Etchimiadzin and Lopisan - show the same scene in similar form but with
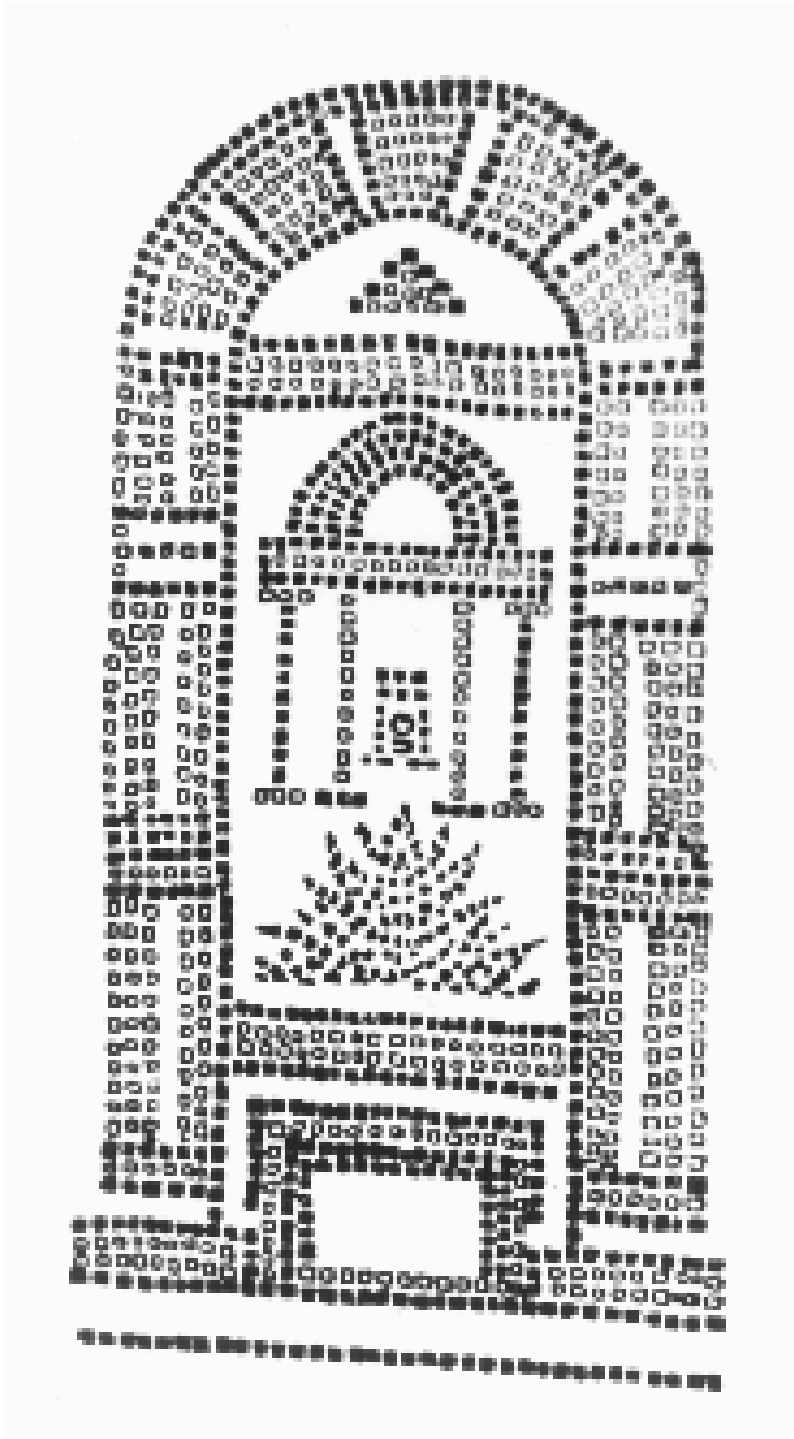
Fig. 5: Jordan, Mount Nebo, Church of Moses, Theodokos Chapel, mosaic.

Fig. 6: Northumbria, Franks Casket, whalebone chest.

differences in the background featuring the Temple. On the chair panel Leclercq identifies in the background the Temple colonnade.[48] Behind the figure on the left, identified as Joseph, there are two spiral columns with capitals, perhaps Corinthian, that support a diagonally-shaped cornice and behind all of this - a brick wall.

On the Etchimiadzin book cover below a scene of the Annunciation, is a representation of the Ordeal of the Bitter Water. With great difficulty one can make out on the left of the scene a spiral column and the beginning of an arch. On another sixth century ivory, preserved in Moscow the arch symbolizing the Temple is complete and resting on two spiral pillars.[49] In all these sixth century works, the configuration of the scene and the betokening of the Temple by arch and pillars is basically the same, with discrepancies of detail only. However, the same architectural elements occur in other scenes that are quite unconnected to the Temple or even to Jerusalem.

The ivory Werden Casket or Pyxis was made in Italy between 425-450 and illustrates various New Testament scenes from the Annunciation to the Visit of the Magi. Some scholars identify the scene after the Annunciation as the Ordeal of the Bitter Water, partly because that is the scene which, in the accepted chronological sequence, follows the Annunciation.[50] Contrasting opinion is that the scene shows the Presentation of Mary in the Temple, as found on the Milan ivory book cover.[51] Whatever the case, the building in the scene must be the Temple. It is represented as a massive structure, standing on a high podium (half the height of the Temple itself) constructed of blocks of dressed stone

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each painstakingly reproduced by the artist. The tall, narrow building is depicted at an angle showing only the façade and one side wall. A flight of steps leads up to the façade, in the center of which is an arched opening. In the side wall are two tall windows below a sloping, tiled roof. The pediment is quite plain and, as in the other Temple representations, very small, smaller indeed than the figures alongside it, as though it were a secondary element whose function is merely to help identify the scene.

An ivory in the British Museum, ascribed to fourth - fifth century Italy,[52] features two scenes - the Baptism of Jesus and Jesus Among the Doctors in the Temple, after Luke 2:46-47. One element in the background of the latter is a precisely reproduced brick wall with two arched and curtained openings, the curtains drawn back and tied to either side. The building is of the same height as the left-hand figure, perhaps to indicate the distance between it and the figures and that the event is happening outside the building. On the right is a stepped structure, similar to one in the Milan ivory in a corresponding scene, except that the latter has no architecture in the background. It is unclear whether the wall with the two apertures is meant to indicate the exterior or interior of the Temple; nor is the Gospel story of assistance since it merely relates that they found Jesus "in the Temple" - an expression used equally to indicate the Temple proper and the Temple enclosure.

One of the stone columns of the early seventh century San Salvador church in Toledo (fig. 3) is sculpted with four of Jesus' miracles, including the Healing of the Man Blind from Birth (according to John 9:1-7;8:59), which takes place after Jesus has just left the Temple. This extremely condensed representation shows the blind man, on a smaller scale than Jesus himself, below an arched opening in the building. A mere three courses of blocks are crudely reproduced above the arch and a vertical line of blocks to one side of it, a manner of depiction, however, not exclusive to the Temple.

The Palermo or Andrews Diptych presents difficulties both of dating and of scene identification. Most scholars have attributed it to the fifth century;[53] others claim that, due to its style, it cannot be earlier than the sixth century or, even more precisely, the Heraclian period (610-641);[54] it has also been dated to before 719[55] and even identified as an ivory of Carolingian or Ottonian workmanship.[56] One particular scene has also proved resistant to an agreed identification. The middle picture of the three on the left-hand panel depicts two figures opposite Jesus, who is touching the eyes of the nearer one. Leclercq and Lawrence are convinced that the scene is the Healing of the Blind Man.[57] If their interpretation is correct and the scene illustrated is Jesus healing the blind man after leaving the Temple (John 9:1-7;8:59), the architectural background

should represent the Temple. However, even if the miracle illustrated is the Jerusalem one, there is nothing in the background architecture characteristic of the Temple or of Jerusalem.

A lintel in El-Mualka (fig. 4) depicts the Entry into Jerusalem in which Grabar identifies an orchard building within the city wall as the Temple.[58] Although the placing of the Temple relative to the gate by which Jesus is entering is accurate, since the scene is apparently depicted taking place within the city, it is not easy to accept the arch as a dome and the dome as standing for the Temple, for this symbolic shape chosen is not historical: neither the First nor the Second Temple had a dome. The lintel dates to 335.

The next two works to be discussed are exceptional, depicting the Temple quite differently from any of the works so far described. These two have their similarities, at least of conception, although they are far apart in time and place: the mosaic floor in the Theotokos Chapel of the Church of Moses on Mount Nevo (laid between 597 and 608) and a whalebone box made in Northumbria about the year 700.

The Temple, according to Saller, is depicted on the Mount Nevo mosaic (fig. 5), in the center of the floor-panel in front of the apse, between two bulls and two does and above them a Greek inscription of verse 19 from Psalm 51: "Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt offering and whole burnt offering, then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar." The Temple is depicted in this instance, says Saller, from the outside looking in through the arched gateway, and includes several of the elements of the Temple complex, among them courtyards, altar, and the Temple building proper. The arched gateway is the gateway to the whole complex, that gives first onto the Court of Women, which is the first rectangle placed in the opening of the gateway itself. After that comes a larger open area with a fire burning on an altar, and beyond that the tetrastyle Temple with cornice surmounted by a barrel arch. Although the mosaic shows only the façade of the building, the entry to the Holy of Holies (set further back) is marked between two columns of the portico by column bases, and the side-posts and lintel of a door.[59]

The overall impression that this depiction on the mosaic gives, the form of the gateway, and particularly the way the columns are represented with vertical lines like fluting and divided into three by horizontal lines, leads one to compare it with the box from Northumbria (fig. 6) known as the Franks Casket and dated to around 700. This box, made of whalebone, is decorated with reliefs of heterogeneous scenes. These include themes from Roman sources: the she-wolf suckling the twins and the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus from Christian sources - the Magi bringing gifts to Jesus; and from Ottoman sources - a range

of mythological tales. The inscriptions above the scenes are also heterogeneous, written mostly in Anglo-Saxon in Roman letters, and in one case in Latin. The relief on the rear panel of the casket is of Titus' conquest of Jerusalem.

The center of the panel features a gateway symbolizing the Temple; within the gateway is the Ark of the Covenant, and to either side a bird symbolizing the cherubim. The gateway occupies the entire height of the casket and the space to either side of it is divided lengthwise to make four scenes linked to the conquest of the city and the expulsion of the Jews. An inscription (Anglo-Saxon written in Roman letters) over the upper left-hand scene of lance-bearing Roman soldiers runs, "Here fought Titus and a few Jews."

Over the upper right-hand scene, showing people leaving a city, the inscription in broken Latin reads, "Here the inhabitants are fleeing Jerusalem." The two scenes in the lower band also relate to Jews being led into captivity and exile.[60]

The inscriptions leave no doubt as to the event illustrated and thus make it reasonable to identify the structure in the center of the panel as the Temple, or at least as the artist's version of it. It is represented by an arched gateway supported on two fluted columns and capitals supporting the arch, forming a sort of tympanum. The space between the columns is divided into a lower and an upper part: the lower part features two animals of uncertain identity (lions?) seated back to back; in the upper part a sort of arched gateway enclosed within a rectangle extends downwards to form a loop between the two animals. It is this device that has been identified as the Ark of the Covenant. On either side of it is a fantastic animal (identified by Vilnay as the cherubim that guarded the Ark) whose legs are lengthened to interlink with the downward extension of the "Ark". Above it, two other fantastic figures occupy all the space within the tympanum-like element. There is a great similarity between the two architectural elements of this depiction of the Temple and those in the Mount Nevo mosaic (fig. 5). The gateway is almost identical, as is the inner structure placed in the same area - far from the church. This, it is true, is not domed, but its inner section does end in an arch.

The scenes on the casket are executed in flat, low relief with figures and objects crowding all available space. This might be justified in the scenes of Roman soldiers in battle or the exodus of tens of thousands of Jewish captives but is neither necessary nor justified in the depiction of the Temple. This scene displays a sharp contrast between the spare, linear, architectural elements and the ornamental accretions, characteristic of the source of the casket, that fill every space. As a depiction of the Temple, it is quite unparalleled.

There is one other mosaic work that is thought to depict the Temple, albeit

by only one scholar. The work in question is the Annunciation on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore. Pietro Toesca notes that this section of the mosaic follows the Proto-Gospel of James and depicts the Virgin Mary sitting by the Temple, in which the angels have fed her since her childhood.[61] All other scholars maintain that she is sitting by her own house, some adding that it has the form of a temple just as Joseph's does in the parallel scene.[62] Leclercq, without referring at all to the building, also states that the scene is taken from the Proto-Gospel of James but identifies it as Mary spinning the purple thread that will be used to weave the curtain screening the Holy of Holies in the Temple.[63] However, nowhere in this Proto-gospel is it said that Mary receives the Annunciation sitting by the Temple, thus making Toesca's attribution inexplicable. It would seem, therefore, that this structure should not be numbered among depictions of the Temple.

Conclusions

Any examination of the depictions of the Temple, as clearly shown in this article, must inevitably lead to the conclusion that no uniform tradition exists for such depiction. In the majority of instances the Temple is merely indicated by means of one or another architectural elements and only the context permits its positive identification. Even when a complete building is depicted, its structure is far from observing the historical facts. The Temple, as presented in Early Christian art, was based, in most instances, on pagan edifices. There were many such examples still standing and they appeared in various works of art. The general form was a square structure built of hewn stone, with a pediment and sloping tiled roof, and a façade with two or four columns. This basic model might be supplemented with other details such as curtains or a lamp hanging at its entrance or a flight of steps leading up to the building. Even when the Temple is depicted more than once in the same work or the same building, each representation is different, such as in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. Furthermore, the architectural elements used to depict the Jerusalem Temple are not exclusive but also figure in other scenes connected to the life of Jesus.

In the majority of the works of art, it is the Temple exterior that is depicted. Only two works also attempt to portray its interior - the mosaic in the Theotokos Chapel on Mount Nevo and the Northumbrian casket. Despite the geographical distance between these two places, the basic conception and even the form of representation is similar. Did a common model serve them both? We have no clear answer to this question.

The earliest work mentioned here is the early fourth century (335 C.E.) wooden lintel from Egypt (fig. 4) but the identification of the dome depicted

on it as the symbol of the Temple is doubtful. Two other works from Egypt of the fourth or early fifth centuries demonstrate that local artists there were among the first to illustrate New and Old Testament themes.

Many more Temple depictions are to be found from the fifth and sixth centuries. Outstanding among those of the fifth century is the number of works from the so-called 'minor' arts - wood carvings and especially ivory carvings. Although ivory carvings are also to be found from the sixth century, a large number of the Temple depictions of that period belong to monumental art - wall and floor mosaics. From the seventh and eighth centuries, only a few examples have come to light.

Artists expressed themselves in a variety of media. The minor arts included ivory, whalebone, and manuscript illuminations. The raw materials used and the rare skills required would have made these works extremely valuable. They would most probably have been private commissions for wealthy individuals rather than for groups of the faithful. The monumental works of arts, especially the mosaics, would have by their nature been open to public view and familiar to many. Mosaics have been found in Italy and Jordan: in Italy (Rome and Verona) on church walls or triumphal arches; in Jordan (Mount Nevo) on church floors, they are among the later works of art and do not depict Gospel scenes. Italy also comes to the fore as a source for most of the ivories, with only two from Armenia.

The Temple is mainly depicted in scenes directly connected to Christianity - events narrated in the New Testament or the Apocryphal gospels - but there are also exceptions. Old Testament contexts feature Melchizedek and Jeremiah; the Temple is also depicted without human figures (fig. 5) and in a historical context. Many of the depictions, including the minor works of art, are part of a cycle of scenes, mostly of the life of Mary or Jesus. With the sole exception of the Northumbrian casket, which presents scenes from a variety of religious and historical contexts and was probably commissioned by a secular noble for non-ceremonial use,[64] it is quite clear that all the works, minor and monumental, were created in Christian religious contexts.

NOTES

1   Berthier, 1910, f.24.
2   Venturi, 1967, 480; Kondakoff, 1877, 369.
3   Berthier, 1910, 165-166; Fig.24.
4   Volbach, 1961, 330, Fig.101; Hadas, 1966, 178, Fig. on 177; Natanson, 1953, no.17; Venturi, 1967, 510, Fig.382.

5   Matthew, 27:3-5; Paolucci, 1976, 65, Fig.8; Van Berchem and Clouzot, 1924, 135, Fig.166; Bovini, 1957, 86.

6   Volbach, 1961, 330, Fig.100; Hadas, 1966, 178; Fig. on 176; *DACL*, I-2, 2557, S.V. "Apocryphes"; Venturi, 1967, 510, Fig.388; James, 1966, 43, 43, quotation from the "Book of James", chap. XI, 1-2: chap. XI, 1: "And she [Mary] took the pitcher and went forth to fill it with water, and lo a voice saying: Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: bless art thou among women. And she looked about her upon the right and upon the left, to see whence this voice should be: and being filled with trembling she went to her house and set down the pitcher, and took the purple and set down upon her seat and drew out the thread." Chap.XI, 2: "And behold an angel of the Lord stood before her saying: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace before the Lord of all things, and thou shall conceive of His word."

7   James, 1966, 41-42, quotation from the "Book of James", chap.VII,2: "And the child became three years old, and Joachin said: Call for the daughters of the Hebrews that are undefiled, and let them take every one a lamp, and let them be burning, that the child turn not backward and her heart be taken captive away from the Temple of the Lord. And they did so until were gone up into the Temple of the Lord. And the priest received her and kissed her and blessed her and said: The Lord hath magnified thy name among all generations: in thee in the latter days shall the Lord make manifest his redemption unto the children of Israel."

8   James, 1966, 73, IV.

9   Beckwith, 1958, 2, 10, mid-6th cent.; Natanson, 1953, 27, no.17; Fig.17, c.460-480 C.E.

10   Luke, 1:5-22; Venturi, 1967, 481; Kondakoff, 1877, 369-370; Volbach, 1961, 331, Fig.105; Ainalov, 1961, 176.

11   Venturi, 1967, 481; Fig.316.

12   Lowrie, 1969, 162; Fig.94b.

13   Delbrueck, 1949, 215-217; *idem*, 1952, 143.

14   Brehier, 1973, 79.

15   Cecchelli, 1927, 135-139.

16   Berthier, 1910, 197-199, Fig.31.

17   *DACL*, II-1, 575, S.V. "Basilique".

18   Kantorowicz, 1944, 222-223.

19   Van Berchem and Clouzot, 1924, 150, Fig.190; Bovini, 1957, 126; Bottari, 1966, 122 with Fig.

20   *DACL*, VII-2, 2197-2207, Fig.6164, S.V. "Jean VII"; Van Berchem and Clouzot, 1924, 209-210, Fig.269.

21   *DACL*, VII-2, 2207, S.V. "Jean VII"; Muntz, 1877, 147-155.

22   *DACL*, VII-2, Fig.6164, S.V. "Jean VII".

23   Waetzoldt, 1964, Fig.482; Wilpert and Schumacher, 1976, 69, Fig.45.

24   Wilpert and Schumacher, 1976, Fig.57.

25   Venturi, 1967, 254; Bréhier, 1928, 100-101; Toesca, 1927, 173, Fig.101; De Bruyne, 1936, 246, 251, Fig.2; Grabar, 1936, 216; Bovini, 1966, 44; Anthony, 1968, 72; Schiller, 1971, 90, Fig.230; Testini, 1972, 334.

26   Matthiae, 1965, 48-49, Fig.34.

27   Anthony, 1968, 73.

28   Grabar, 1936, 216-224; *Idem*, 1972, 168; Krinsky, 1970, 8, reports Grabar's theory.

29   Schiller, 1971, 90-91.

30   Grabar, 1967, 76-77, 81; Mathhiae, 1967, 93; Lazarev, 1969, 50, think that the *Templum Urbis* is represented.

31   Venturi, 1967, 258.

32   Van Berchem and Clouzot, 1924, 49, Fig.52.

33   *DACL*, III-1, 207-208, Fig.2466, S.V. "Chandeleur".

34   *ibid*., 208.

35   Comay, 1975, 48, translates "Ulam" as porch or vestibule, but in the reconstruction of the Temple on p.57, there is no portico.

36   Van Berchem and Clouzot, 1924, 130, Fig.153.

37   Toesca, 1927, 188; note 53; Duval, 1965, 246.

38   Saller, 1949, Fig.4, pl.8:1, 2.

39   Saller, 1949, 39, 49-50, 107, 110-111.

40   Grabar, 1960, 68, Fig.22.

41   Schwartz, 1962, 3.

42   Pijoan, 1938, 56; Wessel, 1964, 167; Schwartz, 1962, 1.

43   Stern, 1960, 119.

44   Schwartz, 1962, 3.

45   Mathew, 21:12-17; Mark, 11:15-17; Luke, 19:45-46; John, 2:14-22.

46   Kondakov, 1886-1891, 116; Ainalov, 1961, 117-118, Fig.59; Morey, 1942, 64; *Idem*, 1958, 112, Fig.118; Schiller, II 1971, 23, Fig.35; Lowrie, 1969, 188, pl.125c; Santoro, 1958, 63, 65, pl.3.

47   James, 1966, 45 / XVI; *DACL*, IV-2, 1690-1692, S.V. "Eaux Améres"; James, 1966, 74 / XII, The Gospel of the Pseudo-Mathew; *Ibid*, 83 / VII, The Armenian Gospel; *DACL*, I, 2561, S.V. "Apocryphes"; Testini, 1972, 301-302.

48   Ainalov, 1961, 163, Fig.79; Smith, 1917, 28; Lowrie, 1969, 156-157, Fig.84.

49   Volbach, 1976, 94, Fig.142 right (Etchmiadzin), 89, Fig.130; Testini, 1972, 306-307, (Moscow ivory).

50   Longhurst, 1927, 31-32, Fig. IX; Natanson, 1953, 27, Fig.15; Beckwith, 1958, 1-2, Fig.1.

52   Smith, 1927, 32; Smith, Delbrueck, Volbach, in Beckwith, 1958, 2, note 5; Beckwith is the only scholar who dates it to the ninth century, *ibid*., 11; *DACL*, I, 2557, Fig. 830, S.V. "Apocryphes".

52   *DACL*, II-1, 365-366, Fig.1297, S.V. "Baptême de Jésus".

53   Longhurst, 1927, 30, pl.VIII; Loos-Diez, 1949, 236; *DACL*, IV-1, 1154, Fig.9447, S.V. "Diptyques"; *DACL*, XIII-1, 740, Fig.9447, S.V. "Palerme"; Beckwith, 1970, 21, pl.38 assigns it to the third quarter of the fifth century; Kessler, 1979, 500, no.450.

54   Rosenbaum, 1954, 254-255, 260, Fig.1.

55   Friend, 1923, 58.

56   Lawrence, 1932, 137-Carolingian; Capps, 1949, 236-Carolingian or Ottonian; Volbach, 1976, 137-ninth century.

57 *DACL*, IV-1, 1154, S.V. "Diptyques"; *DACL*, XIII-1, 740, S.V. "Palerme"; Lawrence, 1932, 137, Fig.38.

58 Grabar, 1970, 17-18.

59 Saller, 1941, 233-238, Figs. (Frontispiece) 27, 30, 31, pl.109.1. (Part II); Saller, 1934, 124-125, pl.X, 2; Bagatti, 1936, 122, Fig.12; Vilnay, 1965, 86, Fig.70; Bagatti, 1968, 219, Fig.147; Crowfoot, 1971, 143, pl.XXIII, 3; Grabar, 1960, 68, Fig.23; Saller, 1949, 131. .

60 Vilnay, 1965, 86, Fig.71; Henderson, 1972, 156-158; Beckwith, 1972, 177, pl.6. Goldschmidt, 1969, 56, Fig.186c dates the casket to about 800 C.E.

61 Toesca, 1927, 173.

62 Van Berchem and Clouzot, 1924, 48, Fig.51; Bovini, 1966, 41-42; Lowrie, 1969, 136.

63 *DACL*, I-2, 2258, S.V. "Annonciation".

64 Henderson, 1972, 158.

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The New Images of Women in Early Christian Art

Nurith Kenaan-Kedar

*A*lthough the emergence of the pictorial language of early Christian art and its signs and symbols has been studied by dominant scholars such as Andre Grabar, Ernst Kitzinger and Kurt Weitzmann,[1] the development of the female image within that visual tradition has been very much neglected. I would like to argue that one of the most significant aspects of the development of Christian art was the formulation of new pictorial schemes for the representation of the female image, and the abrupt elimination of classical images from its vocabulary. Hellenistic and Roman art had created and employed a variety of female images. In addition to individual portraits, there were countless images of goddesses, mythological, and dramatic characters as well as women practicing their professions; Barbarian women were represented as the "other women" expressing extreme emotions as well as sensual women in the eastern parts of the Empire. Allegories in the female image were abundant.[2] Such images were repeatedly described in contemporary written sources.[3] From the third century onward Early Christian art, in contrast, confined itself to a very narrow range of female images, which may be grouped into the following categories. The first, and most prominent was of an expressionless figure clad in mantle and tunic.[4] The image represented at the same the time Virgin Mary, virtuous and saintly women, matrons and allegories of virtues. However, sometimes the same types were also depicted as Byzantine princesses in courtly attire.[5] The second, less frequently employed, category comprised a variety of nameless women expressing extreme emotions such as pain and grief, and depicted with dishevelled hair, staring eyes and violent or vehement gestures of despair.[6]

The exegesis of the Church Fathers of Biblical women was allegorical, and far removed from the actual biblical texts. Thus diverse Old Testament righteous women such as Sarah, Zippora and Deborah were all interpreted as prefiguring the Virgin or as allegories of the virtues, while unrighteous females were

depicted as allegories of the vices. Consequently, all women lost their distinctiveness,[7] a perception that was reflected in the pictorial arts.[8] Early Christian writings were also severely critical of extreme emotions, which were viewed as pagan and detrimental to salvation, and were often identified with the female character. Thus, in one of his sermons, Peter Chrysologus explains why women, who are inferior to men in general and to the disciples in particular, should have been the first to approach the tomb. Chrysologus justifies this by making clear that at that time they were not merely women but, rather, the personification of the Church.[9]

In Boethius' *Consolation*, Philosophy - personified in the visual form of a saintly woman - condemns the Muses: "At the sight of the Muse of Poetry at my bedside dictating words to accompany my tears, she [Philosophy] became angry. 'Who,' she demanded, her piercing eyes alight with fire, 'has allowed these hysterical sluts to approach this sick man's bedside? They have no medicine to ease his pains, only sweetened poisons to make them worse. These are the very women who kill the rich and fruitful harvest of Reason with the barren thorns of Passion. They habituate men to their sickness of mind instead of curing them. If as usual it was only some ordinary man you were carrying off a victim of your blandishments, it would matter little to me - there would be no harm done to my work. But this man has been nourished on the philosophies of Zeno and Plato. Sirens is a better name for you and your deadly enticements: be gone, and leave him for my own Muses to heal and cure."[10] Emotions, are thus identified by Boethius with the sensous and worldly, while Philosophy leads to salvation.

This attitude finds a counterpart in a letter by Asterius of Amaseia describing a painted cycle rendering the martyrdom of Saint Euphemia, which he had seen in Antioch: "The Virgin's appearance shows a mixture of modesty and firmness; for, on the one hand, she bows her head down as if ashamed of being gazed at by men, while on the other, she stands undaunted and fearless in her trial. Up to that time I used to appreciate other painters - for instance when I saw the incident of that woman of Cholchis [i.e., Medea] who, being about to slay her children with the sword, divides her expression between pity and anger; and whereas one of her eyes manifests her wrath, the other denotes the solicitous and frightened mother. Now, however, I have transferred my admiration from that [artistic] concept to this painting; and I greatly prize the artist for his having blended so well the bloom of his colors, combining modesty with courage, two affections that are contradictory by nature."[11] Both these female images, Medea and Saint Euphemia, express more than just one characteristic. Asterius, however, prefers the harmonizing of courage with

Fig. 1: Munich, Bayerisches National Museum,
Leaf of the Ascension Diptych.

modesty, two major Christian virtues, rather than the reconciliation of pity and wrath, one a virtue, the other a vice. Thus, Asterius' words should be taken as an expression of his new aesthetic norms and not only as an expression of his moral attitudes.

The pictorial formulation of the image of Saint Mary Magdalene may demonstrate this process of the Christian new depiction of the female image. The Biblical texts referring to the Magdalene suggest that she could have lent herself to representations of women in despair, ecstasy or love.[12] The Church Fathers, however, in conformance with their exegetical methods, presented the Magdalene and the events in her life mainly allegorically. Her role at the Meal of Simon the Pharisee was interpreted as symbolizing the new church, while in the Bethany scene sitting to Christ feet she was seen as representing the *vita contemplativa*, as opposed to her sister Martha, who stood to serve Christ

Fig. 2: Ravenna, St.' Apollinare Nuovo. Nave Mosaic. *Holy woment at the tomb.*

the *vita activa*. To Saint Augustine the Magdalene exemplified the spiritual life and the new church; in her depiction at the sepulchre of Christ he calls her *Ecclesia ex gentilibus*.[13]

Throughout the early Christian period the pictorial image of the Magdalene continued to reflect these attitudes, so that only the "saintly women formula" was used in her depiction (fig. 1). Certain gestures of the Magdalene and of the other Marys who accompany her, however, betray older pictorial traditions and written sources, which had been subjugated to this predominant image. Her new image - may be demonstrated by reference to an early group of related ivory panels (fourth and fifth centuries).[14] On the Milan ivory panel a women - probably the Magdalene - clad in the saintly habit, is kneeling at Christ's feet and touching them with reverence;[15] on the Munich panel the three Marys, depicted as three saintly women, are facing the sepulchre; and on the British Museum panel the two Marys, in similar habits, sit on either side of the sepulchre. In all three ivories the gestures of the women are stylized and meditative[16] and make use of earlier Hellenistic pictorial traditions.[17] In these depictions of the women, the harmony of gesture and habit enables them to function both as symbols and as New Testament figures.

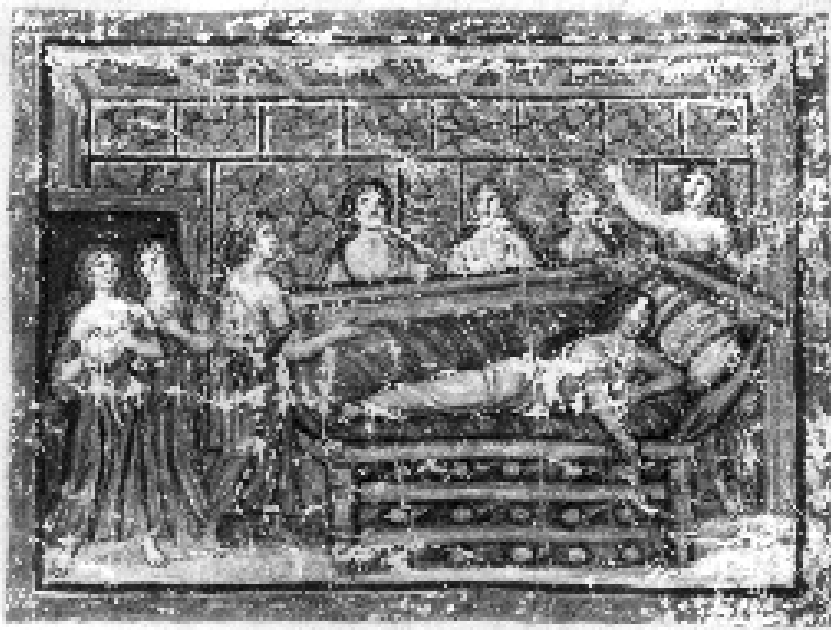The new image of the Magdalene as a saintly woman contrasted by

Fig. 3: *Codex Virgilius Vaticanus. The death of Dido.* Vatican Library.

vehement gestures can be demonstrated by three later works dated to the sixth century: a full-page illustration from the Rabula Codex,[18] a mosaic panel in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (fig. 2), and an icon in the Vatican's Museo Sacro.[19] The works in this group represent an additional pictorial tradition. The illustration from the Rabula codex combines two episodes. The two Marys appear in the lower register, under the scene of the Crucifixion. The leading figure, probably the Magdalene, is addressing the angel, with anemphatic gesture. In the next scene the two Marys are kneeling at the feet of the resurrected Christ in vehement frozen gestures.[20] In the mosaic panel in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo,[21] the two Marys stretch out their arms in a vigorous interrogative manner, pointing toward the sepulchre. Here, as in the Rabula codex, the forceful gestures have become symbolic and lost their spontaneity. Similar iconographical concepts appear on an icon in the Vatican's Museo Sacro,[22] in which the two Marys are urgently approaching the sepulchre from the left. Here too, the Magdalene is the leading figure, and her gestures are the more vehement.

No depictions of the Meal at Simon's House appear to have survived. However, a description by Choricius of Gaza of the mosaic cycle in the Church of Saint Sergius of Gaza conveys the scene: "These [miracles] chasten a woman

Fig. 4: *Vienna genesis, The death and burial of Jacob* (detail).

Fig. 5: *Vienna genesis, The death of Deborah* (detail).

Fig. 6: Rome, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Triumphal arch mosaic,
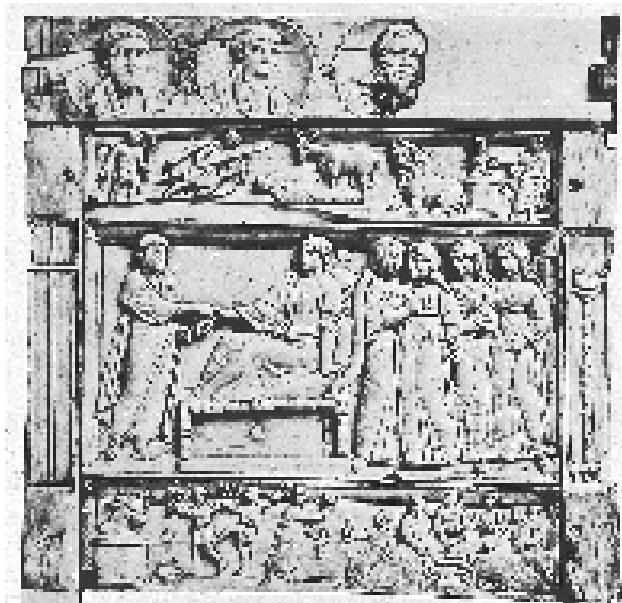*The massacre of the innocents.*

Fig. 7: The Casket of Brescia. *Jairus' daughter.*

of loose life. She renounces the great wickedness of her ways and comes to scorn her soft raiment, her wonted golden ornaments, the fashioning of her hair, since beauty is no longer of importance to her. Instead, she venerates and honors Him with the riches she has, by pouring ointment over His feet."[23] Although Choricius does not identify the sinful woman as the Magdalene, his detailed description of the riches of the world which she has left behind was to reappear in future depictions of the repentant sinner.

The differences between the gestures depicted on the ivories and those rendered in the later group of works suggest divergent pictorial traditions reflecting various literary texts. The meditative formula of the ivories seems dependent on Hellenistic models while at the same time confirming the virtuous women's allegorical interpretation in patristic exegesis. In contrast, the gestures in the Rabula codex, the Ravenna mosaic and the icon in the Vatican's Museo Sacro were probably directly derived from the dramatic biblical narrative and from Syro-Palestinian pictorial sources. These gestures, though vehement, are "frozen", reveal their pagan sources turning them into "frozen" abstraction. As the two pictorial traditions move closer to one another, the ancient dramatic gestures become symbolic, and thus can also be interpreted as meditative. The new saintly image, however, is the predominant factor in the composition while the gestures are subjugated to the image and play a secondary role.

The works mentioned so far differ completely from the representations of anonymous women in distress in contemporaneous Christian and non-Christian art, such as the women mourning the death of Dido in the miniature from the Virgilius Vaticanus[24] (figs. 3, 4, 5); or the women in the scene of "Jairus' Daughter" on the ivory Brescia Casket[25] - with loose hair, wide-open mouths and forceful gestures. These images of women represent emotionalism and its theatrical expression, which were regarded as belonging to mankind's lower faculties, and were associated with women.[26]

While each of the two major pictorial categories of female images thus included several variations, both depicted women either as a meditative and abstract image, or as an emotive character. Whatever the category - woman, as an individual image, ceased to exist.

NOTES

1   A. Grabar, *Byzantium* (London, 1966); K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality; Catalogue of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 1977-Feb. 1978* (NewYork, 1979), 202-203, figs. 26, 217; and E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977).

2   Medea was a popular subject in Hellenistic and Roman art. Depictions of her are

to be found in J. Charbonneaux and F. Villard, *Das hellenistische Griechenland* (Munich, 1971), figs. 206-207, and on a sarcophagus cover in the Musée d'Archéologie Borely, Marseilles; and there is a free standing statue of Medea and her children in the Musée Lapidare Paienne, Arles. For other female subjects in Hellenistic and Roman art see R. B. Bandinelli, *Rome, la fin de l'art antique* (Paris, 1970), pl. 139-140; M. Lawrence, "The Birth of Venus in Roman Art," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to R. Wittkower* (London, 1967), pl. 1-16, figs. 1-7, 11-13, 21; M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (Princeton, 1961), figs. 57 ff.; and Charbonneaux and Villard, *Hellenistisches Griechenland*, pl. 122, 135, 137, 139, 140, 247.

Depictions of barbarian women in distress are on the sarcophagus of one of Marcus Aurelius' generals, and on his column, cf. R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome, the Center of Power* (London, 1970), figs. 345, 346, 347, 367.

In ancient Greece and Rome the upper part of the mantle was pulled over the head in ceremonies: see the women on the Ara Pacis or the Vestals in ibid., fig. 435.

3   J.J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art* (New Haven and London, 1974).

4   Numerous examples are in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome* [London, 1967], pl. 47-74). Another is San Vitale, the figure of Sarah (Testi di Sandro Capeti, *Mosaici di Ravenna* [Ravenna,n.d.], pl. on p. 38). Examples of major monuments of early Christian art are the mosaic panels from Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, and such ivories as the five-part diptych in the cathedral treasury of Milan.

In the church of Santa Sabina the two mosaic allegories of the *Ecclesia ex gentilibus* and the *Ecclesia ex judeorum* are wearing blue mantles, as is the woman, possibly Ecclesia, to the left of the enthroned Christ on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore (Oakeshott, *Mosaics of Rome*, pl. 74).

Further examples of early Christian female figures inthis first category are the is depicted in the same tradition in the San Vitale mosaic (A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography* [Washington, D.C., 1968], 60-87.

5   K. Weitzmann, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography," *Dumbart on Oaks Papers*,14 (1960), 45-68.

6   Examples are to be found in the "Massacre of the Innocents" on the triumphal arch in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore (Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome*, pl. 60); the "Lamenting of the Death of Deborah" and "The Death and Burial of Jacob" in the Vienna Genesis (Grabar, *Byzantium*, figs. 220, 221); and "The Healing of Jairus' Daughter" on the Brescia Casket (F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* [London, 1961], fig. 88).

7   Compare the various images of women in the mosaic cycle of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.

8   See K. Weitzmann, "Eine Darstellung der euripideischen Iphigenie auf einem koptischen Stoff," *Antike Kunst*, VII(1964), 42-47.

9   Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 52, col. 412; H. Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene in Medieval Literature* (Baltimore, 1950), 84.

10   Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. V.E. Watts (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1969), 36.

11   See Asterius of Amaseia, "Description of a Painting of the Martyrdom of St. Euphemia," in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 312-1453, ed. C. Mango (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 38-39.

12   D. Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston, 1975); N.H. Hoffmann, *Die Magdalenenszenen im geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters* (Würzburg, 1933); Sister Mary John Chauvin, *The Role of Mary Magdalene in Medieval Drama* (1941, Diss. Microcard); F.O. Knoll, *Die Rolle der Maria Magdalena im geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1934); Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene*; M. Malvern, *Venus in Sackcloth: The Magdalene's Origins and Metamorphoses* (Carbondale, Ill., 1975); and J. Szoverffy, "'Peccatrix quondam femina': A Survey of the Magdalene Hymns," *Traditio* XIX (1963), 79-146.

   Some earlier works are E.M. Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1865); Bernard Lamy, *Dissertation sur Sainte Madeleine* (Paris, 1699); *Durand, La Magdaliade* (1608). For further literature of the 17th to 19th centuries see L. Réau, *L'iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1958), vol. III, 858 ff.; and V. Saxer, *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1959).

13   H. Hansel, *Die Maria-Magdalena-Legende: Eine Quellen-Untersuchung* (Greifswald, 1937, Diss.). M. Janssen, *Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst* (Ikonographie der Heiligen von den Anfängen bis in das 16. Jh.) (Freiburg in Br., 1961, Diss.); Sonya Ryss, *Maria Magdalena in der toskanischen Malerei des Trecento* (Heidelberg, 1909, Diss.); J. Villette, *La Resurrection du Christ dans l'art chrétien du II au VII siècle* (Paris, 1957); and A. Frotzig, *Christus Resurgensapparet Mariae Magdalenae* (Stockholm, 1973).

14   London, British Museum (Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 452; Milan, Castello Sforzesco (*ibid*., cat. no. 453); Munich, Bavarian National Museum (Grabar, *Byzantium*, fig. 332).

15   K. Weitzmann, "Eine vorikonoklastische Ikone des Sinai mit der Darstellung des Charite in Tortulae," *Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten: Römische Quartalschrift XXX Supplement*, 317-325 (a discussion of the Milan ivory).

16   M. Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976).

17   See Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, 27-28.

18   *Rabula Gospels*, ed. C. Cecchelli (Olton, 1959), f. 13a.

19   Grabar, *Byzantium*, 152, fig. 164.

20   Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 504-505.

21   Grabar, *Byzantium*, fig. 164.

22   *Ibid*, pl. 205.

23   Choricius, *Laudatio Marciani*, I, 17 ff., quoted in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. C. Mango, 66.

24   Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, fig. 88.

25   *Ibid*., fig. 86.

26   Tertulianus, *De spectaculis*, trans. T.R. Glover (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 270-280, 286.

Medieval Images of "Sacred Love": Jewish and Christian Perceptions

Ruth Bartal

Scholars of Jewish art strongly emphasize the distinctness of medieval Jewish iconography,[1] despite the numerous affinities between Jewish and Christian illuminations of the13th and 14th centuries.[2] This holds true in particular for the iconography of the Song of Songs.[3] Although Jewish artists were presumably familiar with Christian presentations of the Song of Songs, Jewish images based on this text reveal, even more than the biblical narrative cycles, the particularity of Jewish iconography. While Jewish and Christian artists alike refer to the poem and its commentaries as the source of their inspiration, each tradition nonetheless attempts to transmit the spiritual sense of its own commentaries. Christian artists present a dynamic image, featuring the passionate relations of the "lover" and his "beloved." Jewish illuminators present a more static and ceremonial picture, in which respect and courtesy take the place of passion and ardency. These differences in approach can be attributed mainly to the different interpretations of the poem as reflected in the respective commentaries, and to the fact that in Jewish art there is a ban on the depiction of God in human form. The present paper examines the nature of Jewish iconography by comparing it to Christian representations of the same subject - the Song of Songs. In Christian art the images appear mainly as an illumination of the initial "O" illustrating the poem or a commentary of the poem. In Jewish art they appear in the *mahzor*, and illuminate a *piyyut*, a prayer which draws its inspiration and several verses from the Song of Songs.[4]

From a very early date, the ardent love expressed in the Song of Songs has been interpreted allegorically by both Jewish and Christian exegetes. In both traditions the intimacy between the lover and his beloved is seen as representing the relations between God and man. For the Christian exegetes, it is the mutual love between Christ the bridegroom and His bride, the Church, or the union of

the Divine Word and the individual soul.[5] In Jewish expositions, this intimacy is understood in terms of God's bond, or the *Schekinah*, with the people of Israel and His commitment to them.[6] In a general sense, although these two interpretations of the Scriptures appear to be similar, they differ both in context and in spirit.

Most of the Christian exegetes who describe the relations of the sacred pair, define those relations in terms of a state of mind.[7] They speak of a nuptial relationship[8] conjuring up a vision of physical intimacy. The embrace and the kiss are emphasized as signs of God's grace and spiritual enlightenment.[9]

The Jewish commentaries in contrast, interpret the Song of Songs in a historical context - as an allegory describing the relations between God and the people of Israel, beginning with the exodus from Egypt and continuing into present times.[10] The historical analogy between the deliverance of Israel from Egypt and the future salvation of the Jewish people from the Diaspora is a source of comfort; it is an assurance that God is keeping His promise to Abraham, and has not forsaken them. Even in the most desperate situations God's commitment is eternal. For the Jewish exegetes "the couple" is conceived merely as a metaphor. The conjugal relationship is not emphasized: "The day of his marriage" (Cant.3:10) is interpreted as the day the Law was given in Sinai.[11] The physical rapports are given allegorical interpretations that avoid implications of actual physical intimacy; e.g. the phrase "kisses of his mouth" is associated with the giving of the Ten Commandments: each Israelite, as he accepts the Law, is kissed on his mouth by an angel.[12]. Similarly, the "breasts" are equated with Moses and Aaron.[13]

The different contexts, and consequently the diverse ways of understanding the poem form the basis for the distinct iconographic interpretations by Jewish and Christian artists, and these may also explain why they choose to illustrate different verses from the Canticles.

Christian iconography - "The desire for God"

Christian art presents two major schemes of the *Sponsus-Sponsa* each relying on different verses of the text [14]. The first scheme, which relies on Canticles 2:6, appears both in manuscripts and in monumental art and illustrates "Let his left hand be under my head, and his right hand support me." Representations of this verse depict Christ as the bridegroom and the Virgin - Ecclesia as the bride enthroned, both in a frontal, dignified pose. Christ is shown with His right arm around the Virgin's shoulder, a representation exemplified in the mosaic in the apse of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome (1140-1143).[15] The scroll held by the Virgin reads: "*Leva eius sub capite meo et dex(t)era illius*

Fig. 1: Cambridge, King's College, ms. 19, fol. 21v.
Christ and the Church.

amplesabit(ur) me." (Canticles 2:6)

The second scheme, which appears mainly in manuscripts, illustrates Canticles 1:2 "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth." The illustrations generally appear in the initial "O" that begins the word *Osculetur*. These depictions, mainly of the 12th century, present the *Sponsus-Sponsa* in a more intimate embrace, sometimes actually kissing one another. Illustrations of this type are to be found in several manuscripts. In a Cambridge manuscript of Bede's commentary on the Song of Songs,[16] (fig. 1) for example, the bridegroom and the bride are enthroned within the initial "O". The Virgin is seated to Christ's left, His right arm is around her shoulder and His left hand holds her right hand. Their bodies are touching and Christ is kissing theVirgin on her mouth.

Another illustration in the letter "O", in the Alardus Bible of Valenciennes,[17] (fig. 2) shows the couple standing in an embrace: the bridegroom, a young and handsome Christ, is holding the Virgin close against his right side. The upper parts of their bodies are touching, as are their heads which appear under a single crucified halo. Although the kiss itself is not depicted, the union appears to be a perfect one.

In the Capucins Bible,[18] (fig. 3) although illuminating the verses of Canticles 1:2 (the couple is portrayed within the initial "O"), the gestures illustrate

Fig. 2: Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. ms. 10 fol. 1132., *Christ and the Church*.

Canticles 2:6: Christ is standing to the right of the crowned Virgin, with His right arm around her shoulder and His left hand under her chin. The Virgin holds a church in her hands as an attribute of her typology as Maria Ecclesia.

These illustrations of Christ and the Church, or the Virgin who personifies the Church, depict the hidden meaning of the scriptures as already perceived by the earliest commentators of the Canticles.[19] Christian exegetes unveiled the hidden meaning of the Scriptures. They unmasked the true images and *personae* behind the allegorical account: Christ is the bridegroom and the Church His bride. While unveiling the allegorical meaning within the Song of Songs [20] divests the poem of its immanent vitality, however, most of the commentaries do re-create the spirit of the poem by describing the passion and intimacy of the mystical marriage and by emphasizing the bride's yearning to be united with her bridegroom. Commenting on the verse "Let him kiss me," Bernard of Clairvaux emphasizes the passionate nature of this "sacred love." He speaks of the endless desire for God, of the kiss as an endless source of joy: "It is a hidden manna, and only he who eats it still hungers for more. It is a sealed fountain, only he who drinks still thirsts for more." [21] The illustrations represent the spiritual sense of the commentaries rather than being derived from the primary

Fig.3: Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. Lat. 16745, fol. 112v., *Christ and the Church*.

text itself - the Song of Songs. Certain verses and words from the poem do figure in the illustrations, however, and through them regain their original vital character: e.g. the scroll held by the Virgin in Santa Maria in Trastevere bears the verse of Canticles 2:6 and the presentation reflects this verse; and the word *osculetur*(Cant.1:2) is presented both as a word and as an image, and thus achieves prominence as a pivotal element. Consequently, although the intimate relations depicted in the illuminations reveal the content of the commentaries, they also faithfully convey the spirit of the Song of Songs, which is preserved in these exegeses. The illustrations encircled as emblems within the letter "O" can be read as signs:[22] the kiss and the embrace are signs of God's grace.

Jewish iconography - a metaphoric dialogue
Jewish illustrations of the verses from the Song of Songs are very different. Most of them illustrate the verse "With me my bride from Lebanon" (Cant. 4:8). Even if some elements may seem to draw their inspiration from Christian art,[23] the Jewish images speak a different language and convey a different message. Jewish illuminators, like their Christian counterparts, illustrate a word drawn from the poem. As in Christian iconography it is a key word, in this

case the word "אִתִּי" (with me), a word that conveys the message that God is *with* His people. Through this word and the emblematic image of a couple the Jewish artist conveys the special relationship between God and the assembly of Israel, without depicting either of them in person.

The most frequent iconography is that of a noble couple, clad in rich garments. The man is in most cases a stereotypic figure, always wearing the pointed hat that indicates his Jewish origin. The woman in contrast is not stereotypical but differs in every illustration. Her beauty and noble status are always highlighted, but the attributes chosen by the artists for emphasis differ. These attributes are metaphors drawn from the poem, which the reader, who is familiar with the poem, can easily identify and for whom, well informed as to their exegetic meaning, they serve as signs. In most cases the couple is seated facing one another, with the man turning towards the lady in a gesture of speech, as if in dialogue. In contrast to the close and intimate relations depicted in Christian iconography, in Jewish presentations there is always a fair distance between the two figures. Sometimes this distance is emphasized by a flower -

Fig.4: Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 1102/1, fol, 46v., Initial word "אתי"

Fig.5: Hamburg, Levi 37, fol. 169v., Initial word ״אתי״

as in the *Mahzor* from Leipzig; sometimes they are separated by the word ״אִתִּי״ (with me)- as in the Laud *Mahzor* and the *Mahzor* from Darmstadt. This is not to imply that Jewish tradition totally forbids the depiction of intimate relations between historical characters - *vide* the illustrations of Jacob and Rachel.[24]

In the *Mahzor* from Leipzig, c.1310 [25] (fig. 4) the couple is depicted in the lush setting of a castle filled with beautiful plants, possibly a reference to the "enclosed garden"(Cant.4:12), or "you who dwell in the garden" (Cant. 8:13).[26] They are seated on a *synthronos*,[27] with a flower, probably a lily (Cant.2:1)[28] separating them. The woman is attired in a long red gown, has a crown on her head and her hands are folded in her lap. She has an air of great dignity. A round buckle like object adorns her breast - a reference to "Thy neck is like a tower of David... a thousand shields are hung upon it, all sorts of bucklers of the Mighty" (Cant.4:5).[29] The man is turned toward her, his hands raised in a gesture of speech, as if to say,"אִתִּי כלה" (with me my bride), or perhaps comparing her to the lily (Cant.2:1) depicted next to her.

In the Laud *Mahzor*, c.1250-1260,[30] both figures are seated on a bench facing one another, in an unframed space. The pose is very formal, with the word

"אִתִּי" separating them. Both are richly attired. The woman is bareheaded and her long tresses fall upon her shoulders in lovely waves, as if to illustrate "Thy hair is like a flock of goats springing down Mount Gilead" (Cant.4:1).[31] The man is holding his right hand to his heart, as if to express his deep devotion.

In the *Mahzor* from Darmstadt, 1348,[32] the man and the woman, framed in a very simple architectural setting, sit facing one another on elaborate chairs in a ceremonial pose. Again the word "אִתִּי" separates the couple. The woman is wearing a coronet, and holds a cup of wine, perhaps as if saying: "How much more pleasing is your love than wine." (Cant. 4:10), or "he has brought me to the house of wine" (Cant. 2:4).[33] The man is holding a round object, it looks more like a fruit than a ring.[34]

In other cases, a closer relationship between the couple is implied, as in the Levi *Mahzor*, c.1350, [35] (fig. 5). This *Mahzor* presents a very atypical iconography. Here too, the woman is portrayed as a noble lady: she wears a crown, is seated on a throne and is richly attired in a beautiful dress. In this case, however, her eyes are veiled in a way reminiscent of the presentations of the *Synagoga* in Christian art.[36] The man, wearing a robe and a green coat, appears to be kneeling, (although his legs are not actually visible); he is holding her hand in a manner indicative of an act of hommage.[37] The setting is paradisical: flowers and plants abound, and two large trees bearing orange coloured fruits are intertwined above the couple, as if to shelter them. A sky dotted with blue and gold stars is depicted above. The contrast between the throne and the open landscape emphasizes remoteness from reality and transforms the picture into a transcendent vision. The intertwined trees seem to illustrate the idyllic secluded nature of the place "Our bower is of cedar arches, our retreat of cypress roof" (Cant. 1:17).[38] Framing and overarching the entire scene are two linked birds - again echoing the joined trees and the couple's union. It is hard to accept the hypothesis that in depicting the female figure as veiled, the Jewish artist intended to portray the assembly of Israel in the image of the *Synagoga*,[39] The woman in the illustration has none of the attributes of the *Synagoga*, which is usually portrayed as a defeated woman, standing unsteadily, her crown fallen from her head, her spear broken and the veil on her eyes symbolizing her blindness.[40] In the Levi *Mahzor*, the veil, even if visually inspired by the veil of the *Synagoga*, must have had a different meaning. It is more likely that the artist was illustrating some verses of the poem that include reference to a veil. For example, at the beginning of chapter 4, preceding the words "with me my bride," two verses include such a reference : "You are beautiful... your eyes are doves behind your veil" (Cant.4:1) and "Like a cut of pomegranate, your temple behind your veil" (Cant.4:3).[41] The veil is only one of many other features drawn

from the poem in this illustration: the trees, the garden, the beautiful fruit, all appear in Canticles chapter 4.

The *Mahzor* from Worms, 1272[42] presents an entirely different iconography: the couple is standing under a *talit*, as if under a *hupah*. As in all the other illustrations, the man is wearing the pointed hat and a very rich fur coat. With one hand he holds the cord of the garment in a majestic gesture reminiscent of presentations of King Solomon [43] and with the other hand he points to the word "אִתִּי" The woman is completely veiled by a large cape, her face invisible, and only her feet can be seen peeping out beneath it. To the right of the couple, a man with a cup of wine in his hand, is looking at the couple, or at the word "אִתִּי" which separates him from them. The *chirik* (a punctuation mark) under the word "אִתִּי" is shaped like two rosettes, and may also be conceived as a metaphoric element.[44] More than any other Jewish representation, this image resembles the wedding ceremony and probably derives from such depictions[45]. Although several details contraindicate this identification: they stand frontally, not facing one another, and there is no physical contact between the couple, such as putting the ring on the bride's finger, as there would be in representations of a real wedding ceremony. Showing the woman completely covered does not conform with the traditional depiction of a bride, who usually wears a *hinouma* on her head. Could the woman, being totally covered, be an allusion to "Lest I become as one who covers herself."(Cant.1:7)[46].

Most of the Jewish presentations do not appear to have drawn their inspiration from nuptial scenes: the woman wears a crown[47] or a headdress rather than a *hinouma*, and she is not being wed with a ring; the couples do not stand under a *hupah* except in the Worms *Mahzor*; they sit on elaborate chairs with a fair distance separating them. The images seem rather to be inspired by the courtly iconography of the period. An artist wishing to portray a noble, or even a royal couple as described in the poem, could rely on depictions of courtly lovers for guidance in all matters, from the clothing and the gestures to the architectural setting and the background of a beautiful garden. This last element was also encouraged by the text of the Song of Songs.

The Jewish artist attempting to transmit the spiritual essence of the *piyyut* which relies on the commentary, could not actually illustrate the allegorical couple - God and the assembly of Israel,[48] because he faced the problem of presenting the image of God in a human form - which was inconceivable.[49] He therefore depicted a noble pair, possibly the "royal pair" of the Song of Songs that figures in the illustrations as a metaphor - as it does in the commentaries and in the *piyyut* that it illustrates. Consequently, the depiction is totally divested of sensual substance - those passionate relations that characterize the poem.
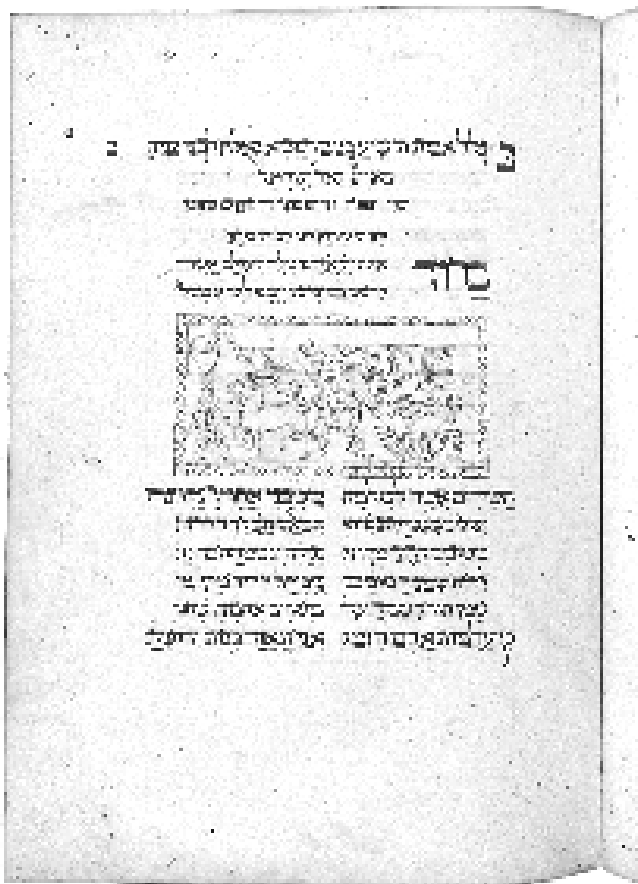
Fig.6: Cambridge University Libr. Add. 1868, fol. 93v., Initial word "שיר"

The couple is depicted in a formal pose that suggests their mutual respect and commitment rather than the passionate love described in the Canticles. Their gestures represent a dialogue. Thus the artist, without concretely depicting the allegorical couple, faithfully conveys the nature of their relationship according to the exegesis. The stereotypic figure of the man and the metaphoric representations of the lady reinforce the symbolic meaning of these images. The artist's use of a metaphoric language is in fact appropriate, since both the poem and the *piyyut* make very extensive use of metaphors.

An excellent illustration of the above point can be found in the *Mahzor* from Cambridge, c.1300-1340 [50] (fig. 6), in which the artist chose to depict literally the metaphors found in Canticles 2:9-16, "My beloved is like a gazelle or a young stag. See, he stands behind our wall, looking through the windows,

peeping through the lattices... My dove in the clefts of the rock, in the recesses of the cliff... Catch us the foxes the little foxes that damage the vineyards..." (the text appears on folio 94r). The illustration illuminates the initial word "שיר" (Song), the beginning of the verse "The Song of Songs by Solomon" (Cant.1:1) The young hind springs lightly over the hills toward a dove depicted to his right. The dove perches in a nest on a high cliff, here depicted as a column. Small foxes, for whom the dove represents possible prey, are portrayed beneath the cliff. Even the words "looking through the windows peeping through lattices" are represented by two human heads peeping through the first letter.

The stag as a metaphor for God can be found again in the *Mahzor* from Darmstadt, (fol. 129v), in which, to illustrate the word "אנוכי" (I am your God), the artist depicted a beautiful stag.

Rashi, in the prologue to his commentary says that the Song of Songs is a dialogue between the Almighty and the assembly of Israel throughout all their exiles.[51] On the verse "With me from Lebanon, O bride with me from Lebanon shall you come" he comments: "And when you will come from the diaspora, I will come back with you, and all the days in exile when you suffer I suffer with you, and this is the reason that he wrote 'with me from Lebanon you will come'." According to most of the Jewish exegetes, this verse is a reminder to the people of Israel of the Lord's commitment and His promise that in the same way that He delivered them from Egypt, He will rescue them and free them from the diaspora. Similarly the metaphoric description of the dove and the stag in Canticles 2:9-17, which are constant metaphors for God and the assembly of Israel,[52] is related, according to Rashi, to the deliverance of the Jewish people from exile: "I thought [the woman says] that I will stay alone for many days, yet he stood and watched me through the windows of heaven, and said to me, come I will rescue you from the sufferings of Egypt". "looking through the windows..." is understood as the permanent guardianship of God over his people.

The images illustrate a *piyyut* for the *Shabbat ha-Gadol* (the"Great Sabbath,") before Passover, and it is well known that the Passover rites were ordained as a permanent reminder of God's deliverance of His people from Egyptian bondage. In all the depictions the visual metaphors drawn from the poem illustrate allusions, found in the commentaries, to God's promise that the Jewish people would be rescued from the diaspora and would return to their Land.[53]

To conclude, in their attempts to transform the allegorical meaning of the Song of Songs into a visual portrait, Jewish and Christian artists alike were faithful to the spiritual sense of their respective commentaries. Christian iconography, by presenting the sacred love between the *Sponsus-Sponsa* as a

couple in an intimate embrace, reveals the content of the exegesis and the spirit of the poem as retained in the Christian commentaries. Jewish artists chose a metaphoric imagery for their portrayals, which though heavily relying on the metaphors of the poem, is far removed from the spirit of the Song of Songs. They do not present ardent lovers, but rather a metaphor of the respectful relationship that characterizes the Jewish exegesis. They use the metaphoric language of the Song of Songs and of the *piyyut*, and leave the interpretation to the reader (in this case the person at prayer), who is familiar with the metaphors and their exegetic meaning. The choice of verse for illustration serves the same purpose: most of the Christian artists selected the word "osculetur" a word that expresses intimacy between the bride and the groom; while the Jewish artists illustrated the word "אתי" (with me) expressing the idea that God is always *with* His people, as guardian and saviour, a highly relevant and important notion under the prevalent condition of the Jewish people in exile.[54]

NOTES

1   Narkiss, 1984, 17,21,30. Sed-Rajna, 1985, 166,193-204.

2   Narkiss, 1982, vol.1, 14-15, considers the close stylistic similarities as the result of similar working methods. On the possible Christian iconographic sources for the Jewish illuminations of the Song of Songs see: Sed-Rajna, 1983, 46-47. Narkiss, 1984, 52-53, Fig. 49. Narkiss-Cohen Mushlin, 83 ns. 26-28.

3   Sed-Rajna, 1983, 21.

4   Fleischer, 1985, 39-40. Sed Rajna, 1983, 19-21.

5   Murphy - Carm, 1990, 11-40. Pope, 1977, 112-132, 183-192. Meek, 1956, 89-148.

6   Ginsburg, 1970, 27-47. Murphy - Carm, 1990, 28-32 ; Pope, 1977, 89-112, 153-179; on the Kabbalistic tradition see: Grad, 1970, 29-42.

7   Leclercq, 1974, 107. Perella 1969, 42-50. Lawson 1957, 58-62, 200-203. Walsh-Edmonds, 1971-1980, 10-11, sermon 21, 9, Astell, 1990, 25-41.

8   Scheper, 1971. Lawson, 1957, 21-22, 58-61. Walsh, 1971, Vol. 1, 39, sermon 7,2, Matter, 1990, 20-48.

9   All Christian exegetes refer to the kiss and to the embrace as a symbol of the spiritual union of Christ and his Church. Perella, 1969, 42-50. Lawson, 1957, 58-59, 200-203. Walsh, 1971, vol.1, 8-24, sermon 2, 3, 4; on the embrace, *ibid*., vol. 3, 44-45, sermon 51.

10   Lowe 1966, 156-196. The *Targum's* view of the Song as an elaborate historical allegory is supported by most of the well known Jewish commentators of the tenth through the twelfth centuries, Rashi (1105) and Rashbam (1155). see also: Pope, 1967, 102-103. On the interpretation of the Canticles Rabba, see: Lachs, 1964-65, 235-255. Lachs, 1965-66, 225-239. On the possible influence of Jewish commentaries on Christian exegesis, see: Urbach, 1971, 247-258.

11 *Canticles Rabbah*: "at Sinai when they were like bridegrooms," according to the *Targum* this refers to the day of the dedication of the Temple, see: Pope, 1977, 450. Rashi: "On the day when the *Torah* was given, and the day of the dedication of the Temple." There are, however scholars who consider that the notion of matrimonial relationship between God and Israel is rooted in the biblical tradition, see: Buzy, 1944, 77-90.

12 *Canticles Rabbah*, Urbach, 1971, 253-257

13 *Canticles Rabbah*, Murphy, 1990, 29-30

14 In Christian art there are several schemes of illustrations of the Song of Songs. In this article I refer only to the scheme that presents the *Sponsus-Sponsa*. For other iconographic schemes see: Wechsler, 1975, 75-93.

15 Wellen, 1966, 148-159. Kitzinger, 1980, 6-19.

16 Cambridge, Kings College, Ms. 19, fol. 21v. Kauffmann, 1975, 34-38, Fig.40.

17 Valenciennes, Bibliotheque Municipal, Ms. 10, fol. 113, see: Cahn, 1982, 112-113, Fig.70.

18 Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 16745, fol. 112v, *Ibid*., 220, Fig 184.

19 St. Ambrose of Milan, *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum*, *PL*. 15, col. 1851-1962; St. Jerome, *Interpretatio Homiliarum Duarum Origenis in Canticum Canticorum*, *PL* 23, col. 1173-1196; Gregory the Great, *Expositio Super Cantica Canticorum, PL* 79, col. 471-547; Bede the Venerable, *Cantica Canticorum Allegorica Expositio*, *PL* 91, col, 471-547; Isidore of Seville, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum Salomonis*, *PL* 83, col. 1119-1132; see also: Bardy, 1954, 32-41. Verdier, 1976, 227-235 esp. 230.

20 All Christian exegetes refer to the hidden meaning of the Song of Songs: Origen discerns the spiritual reality both hidden by and revealed through the mundane images, see: Lawson, 1957, 216-228. According to St. Augustine the Canticle of Canticles is the spiritual joy of saintly souls at the nuptials of the King and Queen of the City, of Christ and his Church. This joy, however, is hidden under a veil of allegory in order to render the desire more ardent and the discovery more delightful at the apparition of the bridegroom... *City of God*, book XVII chapter. 20.

21 Perella, 1969, 44, 48, 56. Walsh, 1971, vol.1, 16, sermon 3

22 On the letter "O" as a sign, see: Hanssens, 1950, 40.

23 Sed Rajna, 1983, 46-47.

24 See: The meeting of Jacob and Rachel in the *Sister Haggadah* fol.5r, Narkiss, 1982, vol. 1 Pl. XLVII, Fig 162.

25 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms.1102/1, fol. 64v., Narkiss - Katz, 1964, 106-107. Sed Rajna, 1983, 16.

26 On the various interpretations of the garden, see: Pope 1977, 488-489 and 695-696. Most commentaries on Canticles 8.13 relate this passage to the assembly of Israel spread among the nations.

27 For the origin of the synthronos see: Kantorowicz, 1953, 65-70. Kantorowitcz, 1947, 73-89. Verdier, 1976, 230, and n. 25.

28 The lily and the rose are metaphors for the Jewish people, see: Pope, 1977, 367-371, quotes the *Targum* " When He removes His Holy Presence from me, I am like the rose that blooms among thorns which pierce and tear her petals, even as I am

pierced and torn by the evil decrees in the exile among the Nations."; Urbach, 1971, 266-267.

29   The verses refer to God as the shield of Israel see: Pope, 1977, 468-469; according to Rashi, the *Torah* is the shield for Israel.

30   Oxford, Bodl., Libr., ms. Laud Or. 321, fol. 61v. Sed Rajna, 1983, 14

31   The *Targum* related this verse to the dedication of the Temple. In the *Canticles Rabba*, her beauty is related to Israel's devotion to the Law, see: Pope, 1977, 460.

32   Darmstadt, Heissische Landes und Hochshulbibliothek, Cod. Or. 13, fol. 65v. Sed Rajna, 1983, 17-18.

33   "He has brought me to the house of wine" according to Rashi: "He has brought me to the Tabernacle." See also, Pope, 1977, 374.

34   At a later stage in the same *Mahzor* fol. 349v, an almost identical image appears, illustrating a different prayer. Here the man also holds a round object, which is quite obviously a fruit.

35   Hamburg, Levi 37, fol. 169v. Narkiss, 1984, 52, Fig 49.

36   Schlauch, 1939, 448-646; Blumenkranz, 1966, 61-66. Seiferth 1970. Verdier, 1976, Verdier, 230, n. 29.

37   Garnier 1982, fig I (168) Besançon, bibl. mun., ms. 677, fol. 93. Kirschbaum, 1968, s.v. *'Brautigam u. Braut'*, Fig. 3.

38   The *Targum* prophesies that the Temple, where the beams will be of Cedars from the Garden of Eden, will be built by the Messaiah, see: Pope, 1977, 362. Rashi also interpreted this verse as referring to the praises of the Temple.

39   Narkiss, 1984, 52-53, Fig. 49; Narkiss, 1985, 83, n. 26. If such an assumption is accepted, we must consider that it was a Christian illuminator who conceieved this image; in this case he translated the words "כנסת ישראל" (Assembly of Israel) as *Synagoga*.

40   Seiferth 1963, 446-464.

41   The word "צמה" (zama) derives from "צמם", "צמצם" - to bind to twine and means a woman's veil, see: Brown - Driver Briggs, 1907, s.v. "צמה" 855. Ibn Janah (11th. century) in his Sefer ha-Shorashim translates the hebrew word "צמה" as a cover or a veil. Rashi and Rashbam accepted this interpretation, Rashi says, it is a veil to hold the hair, Rashbam also explains it as a cover or a veil. RaDaK, Rabi David Kimhi, (1160-1235), although quoting Ibn Janah's explanation, brings his own view which is closer to the modern meaning of the word, and says that it means a fringe of hair, in provencal - crignes. TaMaKH probably followed RaDaK's interpretation in his commentary to the Song of Songs, see: Feldman 1970, 106-107. It is possible that the latter was preferred in Spain and in the southern regions of France, while in the German regions (which are more relevant for our illumination) they considered the word as meaning a veil. The veil is a symbol of female chastity. On other allegorical meanings of the veil see: Pope, 1977, 457-458;

42   Jerusalem, National Library, ms. 781/1 fol. 72v. Narkiss, 1985, 83-84; Roth, 1961, 217-228.

43   See: the Judgment of Solomon, in: London, British Lib., Add. 11639, fol. 114, Narkiss, 1984, 113, pl. 23.

44 On the meaning of the *shoshan* see: Urbach, 1971, 266-267; Pope, 1977, 368-371; see also: Sed Rajna, 1983, 20-21. The *shoshan* also appears as an autonomous ornament in most of the manuscripts in the form of a decorative rosette.

45 A depiction of a wedding ceremony, see: in the Schocken Haggada, Nuremberg II, fol. 12 v. Metzger, 1982, fig. 344. The reason that in the Mahzor from Worms the depiction is more reminiscent of a wedding ceremony, could be in the *piyyut* that it illustrates, which has more references to the "bride and "bridegroom" see: Fleischer, 1985, 39-40, it is worth noting that in this *piyyut* the bridegroom recalls the promise given to Abraham, the "ברית", and the bride asks to be rescued soon from her enemies.

46 The *Targum* related the verse to Moses: Moses said to God that it had been revealed to him that Israel would sin and be carried off into exile, and he asked God how they would survive and live among the Nations, see: Pope, 1977, 330-332. Rashi also reads these verses as anticipating the dangers that await Israel when dispersed among the Nations.

47 Cohen Mushlin, 1987, 213-224.

48 The question of the identity of the illustrated couple has been raised by all scholars; on the basis that the presentation of God in a human form was unthinkable, R. Wischnitzer suggested that in the depictions of a couple illustrating the Song of Songs the bridegroom represents Israel and the bride the *Torah*, Wischnitzer, 1935, 50. Narkiss, however, brings evidence from a fourteenth century commentary on the Ashkenazi *mahzor* and its *piyyutim*, (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Hedenheim 139, fol 2) in which the poet compared the Almighty to the bridegroom and the community of Israel to a bride, Narkiss - Katz, *Lipsiae* 92, n.2; ibid., 1985, 83, n. 28; Sed Rajna, 1983, 21.

49 The presence of God in Jewish art was usually indicated in the symbolic form of the hand of God, which was inappropriate for the iconography of the Song of Songs.

50 Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1868 fol. 93v.

51 Rashi's commentaries are the most relevant for our research, as he was the most influential exegete in the regions where the prayer books studied in this article were illustrated. Rashi's commentaries were also known in Christian circles, see: Kamin, 1985-86, 381-411; Smalley, 1952, 103-104.

52 The *Targum* equated the dove in the clefts of the rock, with Israel's predicament at the Red Sea: "And as the wicked Pharaoh pursued the people of Israel the Assembly of Israel was likened to the dove shut up in the clefts of the rock, with the snake threatening it from within, and the hawk threatening it from above. Thus was the Assembly of Israel shut in on four sides of the world: in front of them was the sea, behind them the enemy pursued, and on two sides the deserts full of serpents which wound and kill men with their sting. Then immediately Israel prayed, and the voice came from heaven, You, O Assembly of Israel resembling the dove, clean and hiding in the covert of the clefts of the rocks," see: Pope, 1977, 401. *Canticles Rabbah* interpreted the foxes as various enemies of Israel, ibid., 403.

53 See, above, nn. 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 36, 44, 49.
54 See: Rashi's prologue to his commentary; see also: Robert, 1944, 192-213.

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On Diderot's Art Criticism

Mira Friedman

*T*he enormous and distinct difference in approach between art critics in past periods and those of the twentieth century is expressed mainly in that critics in the past devoted most of their energies to describing the picture itself in a kind of *ekphrasis*; Explanations of the significance of the work would appear as an appendix. This detailed description of the picture ceased to be an important cornerstone of art criticism with the appearance of photography and reproduction. Interpretations related to the description of the picture and its subject were given little significance as subject and story came to be regarded as inferior in modern art. Criticism of modern art has become marked by a formal analytical approach which all but ignores the iconography of the work and does not dwell on the subject of the picture. Recently, however, critics of modern art have again began turning to iconographic analyses of the kind typical of the approach to older works of art.

An examination of Denis Diderot and his criticism of the various art Salons held in France provides an excellent illustration of the difference in the older and modern approaches to art criticism. The modern reader, too, occasionally senses that the eminent art critic, who considered it his duty to supply the reader with background information, especially for historical and mythological paintings, sometimes saw fit to embellish the facts with figments of his own imagination. This was especially true of painting that were not historicall-based or had no literary source.

In the following we shall discuss Denis Diderot's criticism[1] of Jean Baptist Greuze's painting "La jeune fille qui pleure son oiseau mort" (fig. 1),[2] which was exhibited at the 1765 Salon. The picture, which is oval shaped portrays the upper part of the body of a young girl, holding her head in her hand. She is dressed in white with a scarf around her shoulders. There are flowers on her

Fig. 1: Jean Baptist Greuze, *La jeune fille qui pleure son oiseau mort.*

breast, as if tucked inside her blouse, Her elbow is leaning on a cage on which there is a dead bird. Leafy branches are interwoven on the sides and above the cage.

Modern scholars, including some who have contributed important studies on Diderot, while not doubting his greatness, nevertheless saw in his criticism of the Greuze painting and the tale he embroidered around it, a scene in a novel, a kind of play, that was entirely the fruit of the writer's imagination, for which the picture itself constitutes no more than a pretext, a sort of starting point for his story and no more.

H. Osborn,[3] who discusses the difference between past and modern art criticism, cites Diderot to exemplify the way in which critics used to weave a story. Osborn comments: "Where there was no familiar story, it was proper for

the viewer *to construct one from his own imagination*, and critics often undertook this function performing the job of *imaginative embroidery* on behalf of their readers. *Moral interpretations were read* into the depicted scenes and moral lessons extracted from the pictures... Both in their accounts of the narrative situation and in their interpretations of expressions *imaginative extrapolation* was the rule and *no sharp line was drawn between imaginative construction and what was visibly depicted in the picture*. " (The emphasis here and below, is mine, M.F.). To illustrate these comments Osborn cites Diderot's critique of Greuze's picture. Osborn not only sees the entire story as imaginative embroidery, but also Diderot's moral interpretation as the fruit of his imagination. He concludes by saying: "*Diderot uses the picture as an excuse for imaginative play*. Little or no change would be necessary if he were describing an actual scene which he had observed or a fictitious scene in the course of a novel."[4]

Ian J. Lochhead[5] mentions Greuze as being one of the first of the artists who deliberately did not define exactly the subjects of their painting, and in so doing compelled the viewer to imagine the subject for himself. Lochhead saw the contents and meaning of Greuze's paintings as being provided by the viewer's own imagination and experience, citing as an example the painting "La jeune fille qui pleure son oiseau mort". He claims that Diderot engaged in an imaginary conversation with the girl, in which he not only consoled her for the loss of the bird, but also for the loss of her virginity "this being, *he imagined*, the true cause of her distress."

That the description was the fruit of the critic's imagination Lochhead bases on the fact that Diderot's contemporaries had interpreted the picture differently, adding that even Diderot "implied that every spectator's response to a work of art is unique."[6] This supports Lochhead's opinion on "the extent to which the subject of the painting depended on the *imaginative reaction* of the viewer." The viewer here is, of course, Diderot.

Rémy G. Saisselin[7] also refers to Diderot as an art critic who is first and foremost a man of letters, and who generally prefers those works that can provide him with a starting point for the creation of a novel. In so saying, Saisselin relies on Diderot's comments elsewhere, in which he remarks about Greuze that he is an artist who will be able to depict events "d'après lesquels il serait facile de faire un roman."[8]

Saisselin adds that occasionally, as in the case of his comments on the Greuze painting "...he is not writing art criticism at all, but *literature inspired by paintings*", and that the paintings "give Diderot opportunities for moralizing"; in other words, the moralizing, as well as the story that Diderot tells, are not found in Greuze's painting but are derived from Diderot's own imagination.

Regis Michel,[9] in citing Diderot's comments on this picture as an example, states: "The picture is soon effaced and the critic's personality comes alive. *Criticism culminates in the imaginary Fiction then becomes the maieutic principle* of deep psychology".

Garry Apgar calls Diderot's comments "waxed ekphrastic" and adds that "Anyone seeking a *pretext* for the psychosexual reading of stuff like this need go no further than Diderot's long commentary on it."[10]

Jean Seznec, an important scholar and admirer of Diderot's works, who edited his *Salons*, goes even further and actually refers to Diderot's criticism of this painting with contempt. After quoting Diderot's comments about this picture, he says: "The Diderot who thus holds forth and *babbles on* is, *unfortunately*, the most widely, if not best known. Such, alas, is the effect produced upon him by the false innocence of Greuze's girls, these little hypocrites who have always broken their pitchers, cracked their mirrors, or lost their pets..."[11] And he goes on to discuss the other, serious, Diderot, not the one who comments on Greuze's picture, and to whom he refers as "The naughty Babbler". Furthermore, in the book of Diderot's *Salons* which Seznec edited, when he cites quotations from contemporary critics in various journals, discussing and praising the picture exhibited at the *Salon*, he adds briefly: "Personne ne semble voir les allusion que décèle Diderot."[12]

Edgar Munhall,[13] relying on a letter to him by Andrew Mclaren Young,[14] says that in fact the painting exactly fits the description in a poem by Catullus "Lugete, O Veneris Cupidinesque."[15] The poem is about the shock received by a child on his first encounter with Death. He adds that Greuze could have been familiar with this poem from the 1653 translation by Marolles. While he does not say so in so many words, it can be inferred that he takes this to be the source of Greuze's painting. He presents Diderot's remarks in summary from, just as he does with the comments of others, but does not express an opinion on them. At the same time, immediately after Diderot's comments, he adds emphatically: "Les allusions que saisit Diderot dans le tableau ne sont apparentes pour aucun des autres critiques en 1765", thereby implying that he considers that these comments, which were made only by Diderot, were apparently a figment of his own imagination.

While Else Bukdahl does not reject Diderot's comments, and in fact summarises them,[16] from her remarks it would appear that she regards what he wrote as reflecting his own imagination. She talks about the fact that this picture is "dominés par des symboles érotiques", and she goes on to say: "La méthode narrative que Diderot utilise dans sa traduction poétique concernant le style et la vision du monde de la 'Jeune fille qui pleure son oiseau mort'... est

concue de facon à pouvoir fournir une interprétation du contenu symbolique et sémantique du tableau". She continues telling Diderot's story, stating "Ce 'conte morale' d'une grande tension émotive n'est pas simplement *une combinaison des associations attendrissantes et morales qu'aurait éveillées en Diderot* la rencontre avec la jeune fille en pleurs. Il offre aussi une *interprétation poétique* de la rupture entre le plan réaliste et la plan symbolique, élément particulièrement caractéristique, *selon Diderot,* de ce tableau... *Quant à lui,* il considère la mort de l'oiseau à la fois comme réalité et symbole. Comme réalité dans la mesure où *il pretend* que la jeune fille feint de ne pleurer que la mort de son oiseau... comme symbole, car... l'oiseau mort est aussi *à ses yeaux* l'expression de ce qui déchire la jeune fille - la perte de sa vertu - et de ce qu'elle redoute un avenir misérable. Enfin, la triste conclusion de la narration que Diderot voit dans cette peinture... comporte une intention moralisatrice très nette." While she refers only to Diderot's approach throughout, and repeatedly makes the point that it is his personal opinion, at the same time, she respects his remarks and does not regard them as idle chatter. Her analysis is carried out from Diderot's point of view but she does not attempt to examine whether this was what Greuze had actually meant, or whether Diderot had simply invented everything, including the moral interpretation.

In contrast, Anita Brookner, who does not specifically relate to Diderot's comments, says that the 1765 Salon "saw his (Greuze) first discreet excursion into pornography with the Edinburgh 'Jeune fille qui pleure son oiseau mort'..."[17] She does not try to clarify why there is, as she puts it, an erotic or even pornographic tone to the painting, but, it seems, is satisfied simply to accept Diderot's interpretation without protest.

In view of the above, it would have been appropriate to look more closely at what Diderot had actually said. This judgement of Diderot's criticism perhaps has its source in a contemporary aversion to the sentimentality expressed in Diderot's observations, and to the approach of artists and art critics who, until recently, saw the narrative aspect in the art of the past as mistaken.

An attempt will be made here to determine whether Diderot's interpretation of Greuze's painting was a game played by an author with a vivid imagination, or wether perhaps it was based on iconographic information, which Diderot, in keeping with his generation and as a friend of Greuze, would have been more familiar with than a twentieth century viewer; and also more than other critics of the time, who lacked his deeper knowledge. We present here Diderot's observations on the picture in an attempt to examine in detail the romantic story which he tells against a background of various iconographic traditions.

Diderot wrote his commentars as a sort of dialogue with a friend and with

the girl herself:

"What a charming elegy! What a charming poem! What a lovely idyll Gessner would make of it! It might be a vignette illustrating a piece by this poet... Her grief is profound, she is quite obsessed with her sorrow. What a pretty catafalque the cage makes! What grace there is in that garland of leaves that twines around it!... One could easily catch oneself speaking to the child, consoling her. So true is this that I remember myself talking to her as follows on a number of occasions.

But, little one, your grief is so very deep, so very profound. What is the meaning of this dreamy, melancholic air? What, for a bird! you do not weep. You are distressed and thought is mingled with your distress. Come, little one, open your heart to me, tell me the truth. Is it really the death of this bird which causes you to shut yourself up inside yourself so sadly?... Ah, now I understand. He loved you, he swore it to you and for a long time. He was so unhappy. How could one see a person one loved so unhappy?... Let me continue... That morning your mother was unfortunately absent. He came; you were alone. He was so handsome, so passionate, so tender, so charming! Such love there was in his eyes! Such truth in his features! He spoke the words which go straight to the soul, and while speaking them he was of course kneeling before you. He held one of your hands. From time to time you felt the warmth of the tears which fell from his eyes and flowed down your arms. And still your mother did not return. It was not your fault, it was your mother's fault... And why weep? He promised you and he will fail in nothing that he promised. When one has been fortunate enough to meet a child as charming as you, to grow fond of her and win her affection, it is for the whole of one's life... And the bird? You smile... Ah, yes your bird. When one forgets oneself does one remember a bird? When the time of your mother's return was at hand, your lover left. How happy he was, how beside himself! How hard it was to tear himself from your side! You look at me. I know all that. How many times he got up and sat down once more! How often he said goodbye without going! How often he went and came back! I have just seen him at his father's house. He is full of a captivating gaiety, a gaiety which takes hold of everyone willy-nilly... And your mother? Hardly had he gone when she returned. She told you to do one thing and you did another... Your absent-mindedness tried your mother's patience. She scolded you and that gave you the excuse to weep openly... Well, your good mother blamed herself for making you sad, she took your hands, kissed your forehead and cheeks, and you wept still more freely. Your head dropped and your face, which was coloured by your blushes - as you are now blushing - hid in her bosom. How many tender things your mother spoke to you - and how those

tender words hurt you! In vain your canary sang to attract your attention, called to you, flapped its wings, complained of your neglect; you did not see it, did not hear it, your thoughts were elsewhere. No one renewed its water or its birdseeds; and this morning the bird was no more... Ah, I understand. It was he who gave you the bird. Ah, well he will find another as good. But there is something else, Your eyes fix themselves on me, full of sadness. What is there more? Speak, I cannot guess what is in your mind. Suppose the death of this bird was an omen! What should I do? What would become of me? If he were ungrateful... What silliness! Don't be afraid. That won't happen, it is impossible... I don't like causing grief, and yet I would not mind myself being the cause of her distress.

The subject of this little poem is so subtle that many people have not understood it. They have thought that the little girl was only weeping for her canary. Greuze had already painted the subject once. He painted a grown up girl in white satin in front of a cracked mirror, filled with a profound melancholy. Don't you think it makes as little sense to attribute the tears of the little girl in this exhibition to the loss of her bird as to attribute the grief of the young lady in the earlier picture to her broken mirror? The little girl is weeping for something else, I assure you. You have heard her admission, and the pensiveness of her sorrow tells the rest. Such sorrow at her age! And for a bird?..."[18]

It is worth noting again that not one of the other critics who were contemporaries of Greuze and Diderot, and who wrote about the pictures at the Salon, even so much as hints at a hidden meaning, other than that implied in the primary description of the picture, and its name, "La jeune fille qui pleure son oiseau mort".[19] Diderot himself says: "The subject of this poem is so subtle that many people have not understood it. They have thought that the little girl was only weeping for the canary."

We shall dwell first on the actual depiction of the picture and its primary meaning. The modern viewer, accustomed to the bold style of expressionist art, will perhaps not sense at first glance the girl's deep sorrow which Diderot describes. However, the position of the girl's head, resting on her hand, was the conventional posture of melancholy, common in different periods in the history of art, from that of the melancholic temperament at the end of the Middle Ages[20] to Durer's work, Melancolia I'.[21] Similar portrayals are also prevalent in religious art, in the East, as in the depiction of the grief of St. John the Evangelist, standing at the foot of the Cross, in the Hosios Lukas mosaic near Phocis in Greece,[22] as well as in the West, in the portrayal of the prophet Jeremiah grieving in Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine Chapel. Over a hundred years later, Rembrandt painted "The Prophet Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of

Jerusalem" in a similar posture.[23]

The girl in Greuze's picture is portrayed in keeping with a long and established iconographic tradition, without the artist having to resort to any other kind of dramatic depiction. In contrast to this traditional posture, it is harder to invent the girl's romantic love story and its bitter consequences from other details in the picture. Since Diderot emphasizes the fact that the subject is not explicit and obvious to most viewers, it may be concluded that the picture has another underlying dimension of meaning, a kind of hidden symbolism which must be interpreted from the elements which make up the painting.

The oval shape of the picture determines the frame through which the girl is seen. The cage takes up the entire bottom part of the picture, so that the girl appears to be looking out of a window, with the cage representing a kind of window-sill.

Throughout the ages, and even as far as the Bible, the image of a girl seen through a window has been associated with love. Thus, for example, when David returned the Holy Ark from the Philistines, "Michal, Saul's daughter, looked through a window" (2 Sam. 6:15 - 23.). However, since she mocked him in his dance before God, the chapter ends: "Therefore Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death". She looked through the window - in other words, she expected his love for her, but was not worthy of it because she had mocked him. The meaning is even clearer in the story of Ahab's wife, Jezebel. Jehu, having usurped the throne, was anointed King of Israel. He killed her son, the heir, and came to Jezreel, "Jezebel heard of it, and she painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window." (2 Kings 9:30), and this she did to lure him into marrying her, the previous queen, and in this way establish his kingdom legally.[24] A further allusion is found in the Song of Solomon (2:9) "My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold, he standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, shewing himself through the lattice."

Similar connotations for the image of a woman at the window were also familiar in other countries. In the mythology of the Near East, the image of the window occurs frequently in stories about the goddess of love and her husband, the god of rain and of fertility.[25] In Ugaritic mythology, for instance, Baal forbade windows in his palace so that his wives would not be seduced by his enemy Yamm, god of the sea, but in the end he gave in, because the window was essential for the rains which would ensure fertility.[26]

The image of the woman at the window is also common in seventh and eighth century Phoenician ivory reliefs found is Samaria, Arslan Tash, Nimrud and Khorsabad.[27] These reliefs apparently decorated ritual couches or beds, as

may be seen from the relief of 655 B.C.E. from Kuyunjik, in the British Museum. It depicts Ashurbanipal celebrating the New Year with his queen, and on the foot of his bed there is a similar decoration, although with two women, behind a double window. The image was interpreted as the goddess of love, Astarte, at the window, or perhaps as the temple prostitutes (*hierodules*), looking through the window for lovers, for the purposes of carrying out their religious ritual duties.

Mesopotamian texts also mention the goddess, Kilili sa abati, "The crowned one at the window", or she who "leans out of the window", a kind of Babylonian or Canaanite Astarte from the Ashurbanipal period (669 - 626 B.C.E.). She has the nature of a courtisan, and she can be either beneficial or harmful, the protector of the house or even the seductress.[28] There is also a similar image of Astarte seen through the window in Cyprus. The goddess there has the name or Aphrodite Parakyptousa, "She who is peeping" or "looking sideways with glances of love",[29] a name which hints at prostitution.[30] It follows that the image of the woman at the window is a goddess, a kind of Aphrodite, whose worshippers taking part in her ritual of love were women, whose duty it was to give their love, and who would watch at the window in order to attract men from the street. The motif of the woman at the window is, accordingly, a symbol of the religious sacrifice of virginity, and there is ample evidence of these customs in the rituals of Phoenicia and Cyprus.[31] For the Greeks, a woman at the window was seen as a symbol of seduction, as one who offers herself and as a prostitute, as can be learned from the comedies of Aristophanes. When Aristophanes wants to talk about prostitutes or infidelity in love, he talks about the image of the woman at the window, looking for adventure with passersby.[32]

A similarly perceived image of the girl at the window also made a reappearance in seventeenth century Holland, as can be ascertained from a series of paintings by Gerard Dou, showing young girls looking through the window. While on the surface appearing simply to depict scenes from daily life, there is also a connotation of love, and so the girl may be interpreted as a prostitute beckoning to men passing in the street, as will be further discussed below.

Sigmund Freud in his books *The Interpretation of Dreams* and *On Dreams*, identified the image of the room in dreams as a substitute for the image of the woman, with the entrances to the room symbolizing the female sex organ.[33]

We turn our attention now to the actual images that appear in the Greuze painting. In addition to the dead bird lying on top of cage, the artist adorned the picture with flowers, appearing to emerge from the girl's blouse. Fresh leaves are placed on and interwoven round the cage. Flowers, whose lives are

Fig. 2: Rome, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, *The Prophet Isaiah*.

Fig. 3: Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere, *The Prophet Jeremiah*.

short and which wilt quickly, were one of the distinct symbols of ephemerality and of *Vanitas*, and are common in many still-life *Vanitas* paintings, both in seventeenth century Holland and eighteenth century France.[34] The leaves, although difficult to identify in the painting, are also characteristic of *Vanitas* still-life painting. Ivy, juniper and laurel leaves point to the transience of fame and honor.[35] The leaves, arranged like garlands adorning a sarcophagus, as also mentioned by Diderot, reinforce this connotation. It is appropriate to add here that dead birds are also common in *Vanitas* paintings.[36] The girl's grief over the death of her bird and the image of the dead bird, garlands of leaves twined round the cage and adorning it like a sort of coffin, the bouquet of flowers on the girl's breast, all of these evoke associations of ephemerality. The images of *Vanitas* and ephemerality are not limited to still-life paintings. There are also other images which allude in other ways to transience, such as depictions of men and, especially, women who live for fleeting pleasures, particularly love. Thus, Durer's well-known engraving "Young Couple Threatened by Death",[37] or later on, Hans Baldung Grien's series of pictures, in which he portrays the semi-nude woman of pleasure, engrossed in the vain

pleasures of this world while combing her hair and looking in the mirror at her ephemeral beauty.[38] The depiction of a woman combing her hair in front of a mirror was still associated with forbidden love and *Luxuria* in the Middle Ages, as in the image of the Great Whore of Babylon in the Angers tapestry, who is portrayed looking at the mirror and combing her hair.[39] The image of a young and beautiful girl, with the attributes of *Vanitas* links the image of transience to love and pleasures of the flesh. However, Greuze's painting does not resemble those mentioned. While there are allusions to transience, the allusion to the ephemerality of love is apparently lacking. The flowers on the girl's breast, however, and in the folds of her blouse, could perhaps also suggest something else. According to E. Jones: "Flowers have always been emblematic of women, and particularly of their genital region, as is indicated by the use of the word defloration and by various passages in the Song of Solomon".[40] Unconsciously, or perhaps even consciously, the flowers on the girl's breast may thus be an allusion to defloration. In our quest for allusions of which both Greuze and Diderot were undoubtedly aware, we note here several additional points upon which Diderot's story could have drawn.

The central image in the picture next to the girl is the dead bird on the cage. This could also be a key or symbol for the underlying meaning of the story. The bird has had various connotations since ancient times. In the Bible it had also been interpreted as an image of the soul, as in certain passages in Psalms: "How say ye to my soul, Flee as a bird to your mountain?"(11:1) and "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers..."(124:7). In Ancient Egypt man's soul is depicted as a bird with a man's head.[41] In Roman art, as in the early Christian period, and mainly in the Byzantine mosaics of the sixth century, the image of a bird in a cage is common. It is interpreted in Christianity as the soul trapped in an earthly body, or the spirit trapped in flesh, as if imprisoned and unable to escape.[42] The bird which flies out of the open cage is the human spirit asking to be released from the prison of the body.[43]

In Rome, in the later Middle Ages, the image took on an additional meaning. Thus, for example, in the twelfth century apse mosaic in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, there is a depiction of a bird in a cage on both sides of the triumphal arch: on the left, next to the figure of Isaiah carrying a scroll on which is written "*Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet Filium*" (Isa. 7:14) (fig. 2); and on the right, next to Jeremiah, on whose scroll is written: "*XPC DNS caput est in peccatis nostris*" (Lam. 4:2) (fig. 3). The image of the bird in the cage next to Jeremiah is related to the prophet's words, since the Book of Lamentations is attributed to him, and it alludes to the fact that when Jesus was born he took on the image of a man, was realized in the flesh and imprisoned in it in order

to absolve us of our sins. This also corresponds to the verse in Isaiah's scroll, which alludes to the incarnation. It is thus clear that the image of the bird in the cage alludes directly to the incarnation.[44]

The development of symbolic images and their transfer from religious to secular art, is extremely interesting.[45] The religious Christian origin can occasionally be recognized in various secular symbols and attributes. When the image undergoes secularization, it goes through an extremely strange metamorphosis, as also occurred with the image of the bird in the cage. This image, which in religious art is the image of the incarnation, or, in other words, the impregnation of Mary and the conception of Jesus and His realization as a man of flesh and blood found its way into secular art transformed into images of the act of love itself, as well as of conception and loss of virginity. This metamorphosis appears somewhat strange at first glance, and borders, as it were, on sacrilege. It is nonetheless, quite common in art. Thus the image of a caged bird turned from being an image of incarnation into an image of love-making in secular art.[46] This secular meaning of the image of the bird and the cage becomes clearer in a much later period - with the occurrence of many more secular depictions and accompanying clues to their meaning.

However, even earlier, secular literature and art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance is full of metaphorical analogies between birds and love, both sublime and physical.[47]

According to Cesare Ripa, there is no better way to illustrate immoderate lust and unbirdled lewdness than through the partridge, which, according to common belief, breaks its own eggs in order to be able to mate as frequently as possible.[48] The significance that the partridge had as an image of love even in the daily life in Holland of the seventeenth century may also be learned from a letter of 1635 to the poet P.C. Hooft by Caspar Barlaeus, who was widowed. In the letter Barlaeus thanks him for the surprising gift of a pair of partridges: "Sending partridges to me, a widower is strange any way you look at it. You send me the lewdest of birds, the very symbol and hieroglyph of Venus. This attention of yours can only evoke in me memories of the caresses I miss as a widower. Is this any different then bringing saliva to the mouth of a hungry man deprived of his desired food?"[49].

It should be noted that in various languages, the slang use of the word "bird", has analogies with love-making. In Italian, the word *ucello* is used in slang as a name for the male sexual organ, as is the name of the Bulbul bird in Hebrew. In English, the slang for the male sexual organ is the name of a kind of bird, the cock. In Hebrew, the word *gever*, which means "male", is used as one of the names for the cock. The Dutch word for hen, *kip*, and the French *poule*

both mean "loose girl" or "prostitute", and chicken-coop is a brothel. In both German and Dutch, the word *vogelen* taken from the word *vogel* meaning "bird", is used to indicate love-making, and so, "to copulate" = *vogelen*; *Vogel* = "penis"; *vogelaar* = "procurer or lover".[50]

These names also have their source in the ancient world. The inhabitants of the harem, i.e., the virgins consecrated to the Ishtar cult, are referred to as "birds" (*hu*), a euphemistic expression for prostitutes, or more especially, as "doves" (*tu hu*) and their habitations are "dovecotes".[51]

Psychoanalysis sees the bird as a phallic symbol *par excellence*, often consciously. The bird (the stork) is a symbol of children being brought into the world, and the flight of the bird is related to erection.[52]

In the sixteenth century, the bird in a cage was a common image in paintings illustrating brothel scenes. It is difficult to separate inns from brothels in Holland of the seventeenth century.[53] The waitresses increased their wages by rendering "extra services", and in the inns there were rooms specially set aside for this purpose. In this connection there is even a Dutch proverb which says: "Inn in front, brothel behind",[54] as illustrated in the painting by The Brunswick Monogramist, "A Party in a Public House".[55] The picture depicts a gay band of men and women, drinking and engaging in love play. At the entrance to the house hangs a cage with a bird. There is a similar depiction in the painting by Jan van Hemessen, "Loose Company"[56]. In this picture of a brothel too, a cage is visible hanging in the entrance. In both pictures, the bird in the cage serves as a kind of sign indicating the type of entertainment those who visit the house may expect.[57] The same applies to "The Prodigal Son",[58] by Hieronimus Bosch, which depicts the prodigal son after he is turned out of the courtisans' house, which can be seen in the background, with one of the prostitutes standing at the entrance and being hugged by a man. At the window, another prostitute is trying to solicit a male passerby to enter the house. Here, as in the ivory tablets of early times, the image of a woman through the window is that of the prostitute awaiting her customers. In the doorway of the house, as a sign indicating the quality of the institution, hangs a cage with a bird.

In the seventeenth century as well, the cage with the bird continued to have a similar function. While in the past Dutch genre paintings were simply taken at their face value, with no underlying meanings at all, there is currently a growing trend to find a double meaning in these secular paintings,[59] like the hidden symbolism in the religious paintings of the fifteenth century in Flanders.[60] There was a strong link between art and literature in Holland of the seventeenth century, as also noted at the time by Dutch writers themselves who saw art and literature as "sister arts". Many artists dabbled in literature,
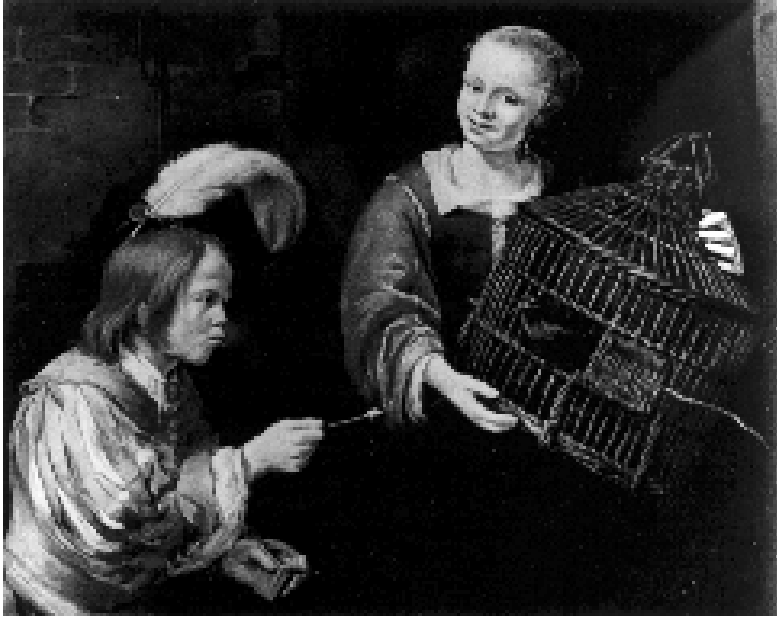
Fig. 4: Pieter van Noort, *The Tame Sparrow.*

and poets tried their hands at painting.[61] Dutch literature too abounds with allegories, in which metaphors and various forms of double entendre are common. This is also expressed in the Dutch love for emblem books.[62] These books, which present visual emblems with accompanying rhymes, were very common and were reprinted in a great number of editions for many years, even after the seventeenth century as well as being translated into many languages. One of the better-known ones was by Jacob Cats, "*Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuvven tijt*" ("Mirror of Old and New Times"),[63] which was published in many editions and translated into various languages, including French.[64] Cats himself in the preface to his book writes about the importance of the use of hidden symbolism: "Proverbs are particularly attractive, thanks to a mysterious something, and while they appear to be one thing, in reality they contain another of which the reader having in due time seized the exact meaning and intention, experiences wondrous pleasure in his soul; not unlike one who after some search finds a beautiful bunch of grapes under thick leaves. Experience teaches us that many things gain by not being completely seen, but somewhat veiled and concealed."[65]

Other authors, contemporaries of Cats, such as Karel van Mander, valued painting with "pleasant adornment and depictions pregnant with meaning";[66] and Samuel van Hoogstraeten said that one should paint "accessories which

covertly explain something."[67]

The hidden meanings in secular genre paintings were discovered mainly through analogy between paintings and popular prints dealing with the same subjects, and popular and well-known rhymes by contemporary poets. Those rhymes or inscriptions that appear occasionally on engravings or next to the prints in various emblem books of the period were especially important.

The image of the bird in the cage is common in prints in emblem books, and within the contexts and inscriptions their meanings are made unequivocally clear, as for example, the depiction of Cupid holding his bow while looking at a bird in a cage, in the engraving in the emblem book by Daniel Heinsius, *Emblemata Amatoria*. In the engraving there is an inscription, a quotation from Petrarch: "Perch'io stesso mi strinsi,"[68] indicating an analogy between love and the bird in the cage. That birds symbolise fertility and, therfore, indirectly, love-making too, may be learned from the entry "Fecondità" in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*.[69] The picture illustrates fertility as a young woman adorned with a wreath of juniper leaves with a nest of baby goldfinches in her lap. Small rabbits and chicks are playing around her. The text explains that birds, rabbits and a hen with her chicks all symbolise fertility. The allusion to goldfinches is apparently related to the legend in the Apocryphal History of James, which relates the birth of Mary. When St. Anne saw a nest of small birds (sparrows or goldfinches) she bemoaned her barrenness. The angel then appeared and brought her the news of Mary's birth.[70] Here, too, the image is linked to the conception of St. Anne.

It is occasionally difficult to uncover the covert meaning in a picture without the help of a print accompanied by an inscription. The seventeenth century Dutch painting by Gabriel Metsu, "The Bird Seller",[71] depicts an old man holding a rooster which he has just taken out of its cage. Next to him stands a woman who wishes to buy the rooster from him. The picture appears to be no more than an ordinary genre painting. Its covert meaning hidden from the modern viewer, becomes clear from a print by Gillis van Breen,[72] which also depicts a similar bird seller. In front of him there is a basket with a live rooster, and above him, a dead duck. Next to him stands a woman, accompanied by a girl carrying different kinds of vegetables bought at the market. The scene is very similar to that by Metsu, but at the bottom of the print there is an inscription which illuminates the underlying meaning of the scene, both in the engraving and also in the Metsu painting. The rhyme explains that the old man refuses to sell the bird to the woman because it has been put aside for another woman whom he "birds" the whole year round.[73] The meaning of the Dutch verb "to bird" - *vogelen*, as already noted is "to copulate".

Fig. 5: Francois Eisen, *Girl with a bird.*   Fig. 6: Francois Eisen, *Boy with a Mousetrap.*

From the above, it is possible to draw conclusions regarding many other paintings as well. In some of them, the erotic significance of the image may be understood from the picture itself. Thus, for example, Jan Steen's "A Romping Pair", depicts a pair of lovers embracing at the foot of a tree, from the top of which hangs a cage with a bird.[74] A birdcage hanging out in the open, for no logical reason, indicates an underlying meaning, which can only be interpreted as an image for the lovemaking of the couple. There are additional images in the picture symbolizing fertility, such as a rabbit, and a yoke, symbolizing marriage.[75] The painting by Pieter van Noort, "The Tame Sparrow" (fig. 4)[76] depicts a young man encouraging a bird to fly away out of the open door of a cage being held by a young girl. The painting attempts in this way to depict the young man enticing the girl to lose her virginity. The cage symbolizes the love that chains men and women, in the same way as the bird is imprisoned in the cage. The cage may also signify the female sexual organ, while the bird itself symbolizes virginity, and thus the flight of the bird from the cage symbolizes loss of virginity.[77] One of Cats's emblems explains unequivocally that a bird that has been released is a metaphor for the loss of virginity.[78] Regarding the significance of the bird as a symbol of lust, it is worth mentioning

the painting by Abraham Janssens, "Lascivia".[79] The painting depicts a woman naked from the waist up, seated by a mirror in which her image is reflected. Her pose is erotic and she appears to be showing off the delights of her body. On her left two birds are depicted copulating. The woman's naked body is partly covered by cloth fastened by a strip on which "Lascivia" is written. The dead bird also symbolizes the sexual act, as can be seen from another picture by Gabriel Metsu, "The Hunter's Gift",[80] in which the interior of a room is depicted, and in it a man offering the woman a dead pheasant as a symbol of seduction. Behind the woman. on top of a cupboard, is a plaster statue of Cupid, emphasizing the significance of the image.

We have already mentioned the images of the girls at the window as depicted by Gerard Dou, whose significance as women calling to their lovers becomes clear from various allusions to love and its attributes. Thus, in the picture called "A Girl with a Candle at the Window",[81] a girl is depicted opening a curtain and looking through the window while holding a candle in her hand. While the illustration appears to resemble a genre scene, the window-sill is decorated with Cupids playing, alluding to the girl's "profession" and to the reason for her looking through the window. She is holding a candle in her hand so that the men passing in the street will see her. Gerard Dou repeated this image of a girl at the window with Cupids on the window-sill in a series of paintings.[82] Some of the paintings contain additional allusions to love-making, and common among them is the hanging cage outside the window, mostly on the jamb, so that passersby will see it and know that it is a brothel. The picture "Girl at the Window"[83] shows a girl pouring water from a broken pitcher, which is also an attribute of love.[84] In the background one can see a typically Dutch bed surrounded by a curtain. Gerard Dou's "A Poulterer Shop"[85] also shows Cupids on the window-sill, as well as a young boy at the window talking to an older woman who is evidently the procureress. She is holding a rabbit, which is a symbol of fertility. There are some dead birds on the window sill and a cage with a bird on the jamb. A second cage with a duck or hen is shown outside the window. At the entrance to the interior of the room a man, apparently a customer, is talking to a young woman, evidently another prostitute. In other Gerard Dou paintings of girls at the window, there are many allusions to love-making, even when the Cupids are missing, as in "Woman with Fowl",[86] in which the young girl is depicted holding a dead fowl in her hand. On the jamb there is a cage with a bird, and on the window sill a pitcher, a frequent uterus symbol, whose opening is directed towards the viewer.[87] Another girl in a painting by Gerard Dou, "Girl with a Mousetrap"[88] is also looking through the window. In her hand there is a mousetrap, which is also a symbol of love.[89] On

the window sill there is a pitcher whose opening is directed towards the viewer, and on the window frame a dead fowl is hanging.[90] These are just a few examples from seventeenth century Holland.

French art of the eighteenth century was greatly influenced by Dutch art. Dutch and Flemish art were the favorite schools in many collections in France, and prints of works by artists of the North were most popular.[91] Greuze too, is known to have bought some Dutch drawings and paintings.[92]

Besides the above-mentioned emblem books, which were also translated into French, similar symbolism can be found in eighteenth century France and in works of art familiar to Greuze, as can be seen from several examples.

In the 1763 Salon, two years before Greuze's picture was shown, a painting by the artist Joseph Marie Vien, "La Marchande d'Amour"[93] was exhibited. The painting portrays a girl, a maidservant, selling a basket of Cupids to a respectable lady. The painting was based on a 1762 engraving by C. Nolli, called "Selling of Cupids", published in the book *L'Antichità di Ercolano*, as a copy of a mural discovered in 1759 near Naples.[94] Vien himself suggested that those visiting the Salon compare his painting with the ancient original. In the engraving, the Cupids about to be sold are not taken out from a basket, but from inside a cage. In Vien's painting, the Cupid offered to the lady is portrayed making an indecent gesture with his arm, about which Diderot remarked: "C'est dommage que cette composition soit un peu déparée par un geste indécent de ce petit Amour papillon que l'esclave tient par les ailes; il a la main droite appuyée au pli de son bras gauch qui en se relevant indique d'une manière très signicative la mesure de plaisir qu'il promet."[95]

The engraving of the Cupid seller was so familiar that many copies were made.[96] One can assume that Greuze was familiar with the Vien painting exhibited in the 1763 Salon in which Greuze himself took part. In Vien's painting, although the cage contains Cupids rather than the symbolic image of a bird, their wings and the whole setting immediately brings to mind birds being released from their cage.

Furthermore, in one of a pair of 1763 pendent paintings by the French artist Francois Eisen, a girl is apparently attempting to grab her bird which has flown away and escaped from the open bird cage (fig. 5), while the second painting depicts a boy next to a mousetrap and a cat (fig. 6).[97] The paintings are not accompanied by any written text, although the analogy between the two images seems to indicate that they both relate to the same referent, as in the seventeenth century in Holland, and that they clearly allude to the loss of virginity.

These are not the only examples. In the eighteenth century, various artists in France regularly portray scenes in which the images of pairs of lovers with

Fig. 7: Francois Boucher, *Le Marchand d'Oiseau.*

a bird, birds in a nest or in a cage, appear again and again. These scenes, in which an erotic tone is dominant, are common, for example, in works by Nicolas Lancret.[98] The same applies to Francois Boucher's paintings,[99] as in "Le pasteur complaisant", done as overdoors for the hôtel de Soubise, in 1737-39. The picture portrays a young man offering a young girl an open cage from which she is taking out a bird.[100]

In order to prove not only how widespread the image of the bird in the cage was, but also how familiar its meaning as the act of love and loss of virginity was in eighteenth century France as well, we may find it helpful once again to

Fig. 8: Jean Baptist Greuze, *The Broken Mirror.*

rely on popular prints done after Boucher. Boucher's work was widely circulated through many prints. They popularized the meaning of the image and bear testimony to the public's familiarity with them. The correlation between the pictures and the text written next to them is also helpful. The image of the bird in the cage, or that of the bird being released from the cage in contexts which allude to love, are very frequent in these prints.[101] The important prints, for the subject under discussion, are mainly those accompanied by inscriptions which make it possible to infer unequivocally to the underlying meaning of the image. As a first example, we shall examine the print called "L'Amour oiseleur".[102] The print depicts three Cupids playing with a bird taken out of the cage and allowed to fly around while tied to a string. The analogy between love and the bird becomes clear from the rhymes below the print:

"L'Amour ne songeoit dans l'enfance
Qu'a la liberté des oiseaux
Nôtre coeur fait l'experience

Qu'il luy faut des plaisirs nouveaux."

In one of the four prints of "Les amours pastorales",[103] a young man is playing the bagpipes to a young girl. Above them, on a tree, there is a cage with a bird. The text below the print reads:

"Ce pasteur amoureux chante sur sa musette
Et cet oiseau captif répond à ses accens;
Aux habitans des airs, la timide Lisette
Tend ainsi qu'aux bergers, des piéges innocens.
Regarde cet oiseau, Tircis, c'est ton image,
Il chante aussi l'amour dont il est agité
Et comme lui si tu n'es pas en cage
En as tu moins perdu ta liberté."

These words express the analogy between the lover imprisoned in his love and the caged bird. Boucher took some of his subjects from the popular theater of the period. Certain of his pictures, and the prints that were made of them, including this one, present scenes that the public was familiar with from the plays of the *Theâtre de la Foire*, which were presented at the annual fairs, and these in turn occasionally drew inspiration from Boucher's work.[104] The texts accompanying Boucher's prints are sometimes taken from rhymes by Charles Simon Favart, a writer who made a major contribution to the fairground theater, and who was also a friend of Boucher.[105] The influence of the popular fairground theater on Boucher, and the reciprocal influence of Boucher on these plays, as well as the meaning of the bird flying out of the cage in both of them, shows clearly that the French public in the eighteenth century was very familiar with these symbolic meanings.[106] The preliminary drawing was apparently done in 1740, and the engraving in 1752, about ten years before Greuze's painting "La jeune fille qui pleure", and it is clear that the meaning was also understood ten years later.

In other prints based on Boucher's work, it is also possible to find Favart's rhymes. Thus, in the pair of prints "Le Marchand d'Oiseau"[107] and "La Marchande d'Ouefs",[108] a pair of lovers pointing at a birdcage is depicted in the first print (fig. 7).[109] The rhymes below the picture point to an analogy between the lover leaving his beloved and the bird flying away:

"Ne laissez point échapper de leur cage,
Ni ce berger vif, inconstant,
Ni cet Oiseau jeune et volage
Vous les perdréz l'un et l'autre à l'instant."

The matching print, which supposedly deals with the same subject, depicts a young man embracing a young girl, and trying to take eggs from her basket.

Fig. 9: Jean Baptist Greuze, *La Cruche Cassée.*

The inscription below the print reads:
"Dans ce panier tout est fragile,
D'un Villageois ces Oeufs sont le trésor
L'Honneur est plus fragile encore
La bien garder n'est pas chose facile"

From the analogy, it is clear that not only the breaking of the eggs alludes to the loss of virginity, but also the bird's flight and escape from the cage.

A similar analogy appears in Boucher in a pair of sanguine and crayon drawings. One, called "Les oeufs cassés",[110] depicts a young woman, almost a girl, crying over the eggs which have fallen out of her basket and broken. The pendant drawing, called "Le Maraudeur",[111] portrays a boy carrying a pair of captured birds on this back. We have already dwelt on the significance of captured birds in Holland of the seventeenth century. From the pair of drawings by Boucher, there is a clear analogy between the broken eggs, which symbolize the loss of virginity and lost honour, and the dead birds, the girls captured in the love trap.[112]

Molière used the bird in the cage as an erotic image in act II, scene III of his play *Melicerte* [1667] and Boucher also painted the scene, which shows a young girl and next to her a cage with a bird; a painting which was also popular in print form.[113]

The universal significance of the analogy between bird hunting and the pursuit of love in the eighteenth century may also be learned from the song by Papageno, the birdhunter, in Mozart's "The Magic Flute" (even though the opera was composed only in 1791):

"Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja...
Ein Nets für mädchen mochte ich
Ich fing sie dutzendweis für mich!
Dann sperrte ich sie bei mir ein,
Und alle Mädchen wären mein".[114]

The subject of the broken eggs appears with the same meaning among Greuze's paintings as well. His picture "Les Oeufs Cassés (1756),[115] was exhibited at the 1757 Salon and described in the Salon catalogue: "A mother scolding a young man for having upset a basket of eggs which the servant girl was carrying to market: a child is trying to mend a broken egg. This little boy who was playing with a bow and arrow and now attempts the impossible repair, is an allusion to the danger of playing with cupid's darts."[116] The same meaning can also be learned from a letter sent by Abbe Barthélemy,[117] in which he describes the picture in detail, and interprets its allegorical significance. The image of the girl in Greuze's picture was painted after an engraving done by Moitte based on the painting called "L'Oeuf cassé"[118] by the seventeenth century Dutch painter Frans van Mieris the elder.[119] Here, too, the meaning of the image may be understood from the rhymes in Moitte's print.[120] Thus, it is clear, both from the description in the catalogue and from Abbe Barthélemy's comments, that the allegorical meaning of the picture was familiar and obvious at the time the

picture was painted and exhibited.[121]

Greuze repeats the same subject, the girl lamenting her dead bird and the broken eggs, in another, different image, which Diderot notes when he writes: "Greuze had already painted the subject once. He painted a grown up girl in white satin in front of a cracked mirror, filled with a profound melancholy."

The picture is apparently the one called "The Broken Mirror" (fig. 8), in the Wallace Collection in London.[122] The significance of the mirror has a long tradition in Christian thought and in the history of art.[123] The pure mirror, unblemished, *speculum sine macula*, served in both literary and artistic tradition, as an attribute of the Virgin, as a symbol of her purity and virginity, and as an image of the incarnation.[124] In three of the altar pictures by Jan van Eyck (in Ghent, Dresden, and Brussels), the painting or its frame is embellished with the words "The Unspotted Mirror", *speculum sine macula*, which refer to the Virgin.[125] The mirror is also an attribute of the Virgin in the altar piece by The Master of Flemalle, painted for Heinrich von Werf in 1438,[126] as well as in the work by Hans Memling in the diptych of Martin van Nieuwenhoven,[127] and in the 1476 triptych of "The Burning Bush" by Nicolas Fromant.[128] This last painting depicts the Virgin seated in the middle of the burning bush, which is also an allegorical image of Mary's virginity, and in her lap is the Child, holding a mirror in his hand.

As a symbol of the purity of the Virgin, the mirror also becomes a symbol of virginity for other women. Thus, in the painting by Petrus Christus, "St. Eloy" (1449) the mirror alludes to the bride's virginity.[129] It would appear that in the painting of the Arnolfini couple by Jan van Eyck, the mirror may again be interpreted not only as a symbol of the Holy Virgin and the salvation of the world through the incarnation and death of Jesus - because of the passion pictures surrounding it - but also as an image of the virginity of the bride on her wedding day.[130]

The mirror, besides being an emblem / symbol of virginity, as in other cases in the Middle Ages, also had an antithetical significance: as a symbol of *Vanitas*,[131] *Luxuria* and the sin of lust, as in the Angers tapestry, in which the mirror is an attribute of the Great Whore of Babylon. The mirror plays the same role in the earlier-mentioned painting of *Lascivia*.

Since the mirror is an attribute of virginity, the broken mirror may also be interpreted as symbol of spoilt virginity. Thus, Greuze's painting does indeed, as pointed out by Diderot, depict the same topic, as in "The Young Girl Mourning her Dead Bird", and also in "The Broken Eggs".

Greuze depicts the same topic in another image, in a painting, "La Cruche Cassée" (fig. 9).[132] The picture depicts a young girl standing, flowers in her hair

and a rose adorning her dress - in a way similar to the flowers adorning the blouse of the girl weeping over her dead bird. Many other flowers are gathered in her apron. On her left arm, a pitcher is hanging, with its broken part clearly visible. At the back there is a well, embellished with rams' heads and laurel garlands, resembling an ancient sarcophagus. There is an artistic and literary tradition to the broken pitcher as a symbol of loss of virginity.[133] The pitcher is related to the well-known proverb: "So long goes the pot to the water till at last it comes home broken" (Tant va pot à riviere qu'il s'y trouve rompu).[134] The proverb originally referred to human life in general and to its vulnerability, but in Holland in the seventeenth century, the image had already taken on an underlying meaning, to the effect that frequent romantic involvements lead to a loss of virginity. This can be ascertained from, among other things, the book by Cats, which, it will be recalled, was published in many forms and many languages, including French, German, English, Italian and Latin.[135] The proverb,[136] is accompanied in Cat's book by a long rhyming text, which tells about a young girl who would frequently draw water from the well, and would play and laugh with the young men from the neighbouring village, until one young man pierced the pitcher with such force again and again that it began to leak, and in the end broke into pieces. The young girl carries on and talks about her worry and shame, and being frightened of her mother and how the neighbours will react to her because of the broken pitcher, and ends with the abovementioned proverb.[137] The accompanying picture does not in fact allude to lovemaking, although next to it there is a text which says that virgins who are reckless (or loose) will lose their honour because of lack of self-restraint.[138] Cats describes the young girl as "A virgin, dishonoured because of her frivolity."

The image and its meaning is very common in various countries, both in art and in literature, and Greuze's painting belongs to this artistic tradition.[139] An anecdote about this painting, possibly from a later source, relates that Greuze told his friend about the young maidservant in his house, who, when she went to the well every evening to fill the pitcher, used the opportunity to take a short stroll in the park, where an engraver worked. When Greuze said that he would like to paint her, his friend remarked that in the painting it would not be possible to see the kisses the young girl got in the park. Greuze replied that he could portray the lovers' kisses through the painting of the broken pitcher.[140] The anecdote shows that the public well understood the meaning of the image.

The proverb became very popular in art and in literature and is described in a rhyming idyll, which was later turned into prose and published in 1756 as "The Broken Pot" by the poet Salomon Gessner.[141]

As will be recalled in his comments about the painting "La jeune fille qui

pleure son oiseau mort", Diderot adds, among other things, "What a lovely idyll Gessner would make of it!". It may be assumed that Diderot was familiar with Gessner's idyll about the broken pot. Although Greuze's painting "The Broken Pot" was done after Diderot had already made his remarks about the girl mourning the dead bird, Diderot knew that it was the same subject that was being discussed - loss of virginity - and accordingly commented that Gessner could also have written about the death of the bird in exactly the same way that he wrote about the broken pot.

In conclusion, it becomes clear that the story Diderot wrote about the painting was in fact a way of interpreting the allegory depicted in it, and was indeed intended to explain the meaning behind it, as Greuze had intended in the painting itself. Diderot embellished his remarks and expanded on them, in the tradition of the rhymes and stories that were woven around the pictures in various emblem books, such as in the lengthy description by Cats of "The Broken Pot". All of Diderot's apparently casual comments, therefore, - for example, the painting depicting the broken mirror, as well as his remarks about Gessner - were in fact made deliberately.

Diderot's remarks about the girl "lamenting her dead bird" are thus not were idle chatter, nor simply the result of a fertile imagination, but rather the literal tanslation of the allegorical story that Greuze had depicted in his picture.

NOTES

1.   Seznec, 1979, ii, 34-35; 145-48.
2.   Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland. No. 110 in the 1765 Salon. Cf. *Ibid*.; Munhall, 1977, 104-105, no. 44. Greuze refers to the subject three times.
3.   Osborn, 1970, 237-38.
4.   *Ibid*, 241.
5.   Lochhead, 1982, 60-61, 101 n. 64.
6.   Seznec, 1979, III, 156-57.
7.   Saisselin, 1961, 152.
8.   Seznec & Adhémar, 1960, II, 144.
9.   Michel, 1985, 38, tr. and repr. from *Diderot*, 1984-85.
10.   Apgar, 1985, 110.
11.   Seznec, 1961/62, 25.
12.   Seznec, 1979, II, 53 & n.
13.   Munhall, 1977, 104-105, no. 44.
14.   Written communication to Munhall, 17th of July, 1967. Cf. *Ibid*.
15.   *Catulle de Vérone*, 1653, 5, 7.
16.   Bukdahl, 1980, 209, 313.
17.   Brookner, 1956, 161.

18. Seznec, 1979, II, 145-147. English translation see Osborn, 1970, 237-38.
19. Muhnhall, 1977, 104; Seznec, 1979, II, 35.
20. Klibansky, Panofsky & Saxl, 1964.
21. Panofsky, 1945, II, 156-171, 210-214, 221, pl. 209.
22. Diez and Demus, 1931, pl. XIII.
23. 1630. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, cf. Haak, n.d., 61, pl. 86.
24. In connection with the pretenders' marriages to the king's wife or even to his concubine see also Sam. 16:22; 1 Kings 2: 13-15.
25. Gottlieb, 1981, 31
26. Pritchard, 1955, 134-135; Gottlieb, 1981, 31.
27. Hall, 1928, 44, pl. XLI/2; Barnett, 1957, 145-151; 172-173; no. C. 12, pl. IV; Gottlieb, 1981, figs. 15, 16. See for example the ivory relief at the British Museum, London, cf. *Ibid*., fig 14, or the Nimrud relief at the Iraqi Museum in Baghdad, cf. Akurgal, 1966, 145 ff. fig. 38. See also: Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, 1970, 13-14 & fig. 1.
28. Zimmer, 1928, cc. 1-3.
29. Gottlieb, 1981, 40 ff.
30. Wyettenbach, 1843, 2, 638. The Greeks regarded the ceremonies of her fertility ritual as prostitution as told by Herodotus. It was condemned later by St. Augustine. Cf. Roscher, 1884-1937, s.v. "Aphrodite", cc. 291-392.
31. Barnett, 1957, 149.
32. Aristophanes, 1950 ff, *Achharnians*, 16; *Peace*, 974-986; *Thesmophoriazusae*, 789-791; Ecclesiaszusae, 877-880, 884, 924-925.
33. Freud, 1962, II, 346, 683; Jones, 1964b, p. 12; *Idem*, 1964d, 132.
34. Veca, 1981, English text 161-221, esp. 203-206; Bergström, 1983, 154-190, esp. 154; Sonnema, 1980; Faré, 1974, 149-174, esp. 155-157; 169; 171-173.
35. Bergström, 1955, 345. All evergreen trees and plants and especially ivy, and juniper were symbols of immortality already in antiquity. Being symbols of immortality they became symbols of ephemerality. Cf. Cumont, 1955, 219, 220, 236 n. 4, 238 n. 1, 239 & n. 1, 482 n. 3.
36. Veca, 1981, 212, 286-89; Faré, 1974, 158, pls. 160, 166, 169.
37. Called also "Der Spaziergang", probabely 1498. Cf. Panofsky, 1955, fig. 99; Bartsch, 1800, VII, 94 (201).
38. Cf. *Baldung Grien*, 1959, cat. no. 13, pl. 3; no. 39, pl. 18; no. 38; no. 146, pl. 48.
39. Souchal, 1969, pl. 36.
40. Jones, 1964e, 324; On Flowers as love symbols see *Idem*, 324 ff, 328. See also Vinken, 1958, 153. See also Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book V (Rape of Proserpine).
41. Desroches Noblecourt 1982, 188-98; *Toutankhamon*, 1967, 158-60, no. 34.
42. Grabar, 1966, 9-16.
43. St. Augustine apparently follows Porphyry. *Sententiae*, 28; *Ad Gaurum* II, 3, XIV, 4, *Soliloquia*, I, 14, 24.
44. Hjort, 1968, 21-23, figs. 1, 2. Similar images with similar connotations may also be seen in the twelfth century mosaics of Sta. Francesca Romana and S. Clemente in Rome.

45. Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, 1964, 303; Friedman, 1978, English abstract, II, 1-71, *passim*; Friedman, 1989, 157-175.

46. Schapiro, 1945, 182-87, repr. in Schapiro, 1979, 1-11. On the meaning of the mousetrap in secular art of seventeenth century Holland, as well as eighteenth century France see: de Jongh, 1976, 284-87, pl. 75, and figs. 75 a-d; *Dutch Genre Painting* 1984, 357, cat. 125, pl. 125 & figs. 1-3. See also the paintings by Francois Eisen below.

47. Hensel, 1909, 639 ff., 642 ff.; also in German medieval poetry, for example Lachmann und von Kraus, 1950, 8, 33; Thomas, 1968, p. 57; de Jongh, 1968-69, 22-72 (English summary: 72-74); Friedman, 1978, 400-402; 418-20; 423-33; 437-88; English summary 44-56; Friedman, 1984, 165 ff; Friedman, 1989, 157-175, and mainly 158-59 & ns. 7-13.

48. Ripa, 1644, 143-44.

49. Barleus, 1667, 627-29. The letter is dated 20.10.1635. Cf. de Jongh, 1968-69, 29 (English 72-73).

50. *Cassel's German Dictionary*, 1964; de Jongh, 1968-69, 25, 27 n. 4, 28.

51. Róheim, 1930, 161, cf. Schnier, 1952, 106.

52. Jones, 1964c, p. 56; *Idem*, 1964e, 326-328.

53. De Jongh, 1976, 252; Naumann, 1981, I, 104 n. 94; Brown, 1984, 182.

54. "Voor herberg, achter bordeel", cf. Naumann, 1981, I, 104, n. 94.

55. "A Party in a Public House", Berlin, Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Cf. Friedländer, 1975, XI, 49, 113, pl. 126, no. 235.

56. "Loose Company", Karlsruhe Kunsthalle. cf. Friedländer, 1935, XII, 46, 112, fig. 218. pls. 40, 42; Friedländer, 1975, XII, pl. 117, no. 218.

57. Naumann, 1981, 104, n. 94.

58. "The Prodigal Son", called also "The House of Ill Repute", Rotterdam, Museum Boymans van Benningen, cf. Linfert, 1959, 78-79; de Tolney, 1966, 283-84.

59. Panofsky, 1934, 117-27; de Jongh, 1976, *passim*; de Jongh, 1968-69, 22-74. Naumann, 1981, 95, and bibliography in n. 40; On the hidden symbolism in religious and secular art in Holland and outside it, see also Bergström, 1955, I, 303-308; II, 342-349; Friedmann, 1946, *passim*; *Idem*, 1947, 65-72.

60. Panofsky, 1953, 131-148;

61. Sutton, 1984, XXII.

62. Praz. 1964; Sutton, 1984, XXII.

63. Cats, 1632.

64. Zick, 1964, 153.

65. Cats, 1712, II, 480, tr. by Praz, 1964, 87. See also Sutton, 1984, XXII, & n. 56; de Jongh, 1976, 20 & n. 18.

66. Van Mander, 1616, cf. de Jongh. 1976, 20 & n. 19; Sutton, 1984, XX.

67. Van Hoogstraeten, 1678, 90, cf. de Jongh, 1976, 20 & n. 19.

68. The writing under the picture says: "Cupido sit vast met verlangen om het vogeltje te vangen". Cf. Heinsius, 1616, 21, no. 46; cf. de Jongh, 1968-69, 48-50, fig. 20.

69. Ripa, 1709, 29, fig. 116.

70. "Book of James, or Protoevangelium", in James, 1975 (1924), 40; H. Friedmann, 1946, 29.

71. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, cf. de Jongh, 1968-69, 22-25, fig. 1.

72. After C. Clock, cf. de Jongh, 1968-69, 24, fig. 2.

73. "Hoe duur dees vogel vogelaer? hy is vercocht 'waer? / aen een waerdinne claer' die ick vogel tgeheels Jaer". *Ibid*.

74. Leiden, Museum de Lakenhal, cf. de Jongh, 1968-69, fig. 19.

75. *Ibid*., 50, n. 62.

76. Zwolle, Overijssels Museum, cf. de Jongh 1968-69, fig. 23; de Jongh, 1976, 200-201, no. 50.

77. Ibid., 201; *idem*, 1968-69, 49-52.

78. The inscription next to the emblem reads: "De doos is opgedaen, de vogel uyt-gevlogen / Ach! maegdom, teer gewas, dat ons so licht ontglijt ..."(The box was opened, the bird flew out, / Oh Virginity, fragile bloom that escapes us so easily...") Cf. Cats, 1700, 42. Cf. de Jongh, 1976, 286 and n. 15. See also Naumann, 1981, 95, 121 for the English translation, and fig 170 (from Cats, 1618). See also Cats, 1622, 102.

79. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, de jongh, 1976, 168, fig. 40 b.

80. C. 1658-60, The city of Amsterdam, on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, cf. de Jongh, 1968-69, 35-36, fig. 9; *Dutch Genre Painting*, 1984, no. 71, pl. 65.

81. 1650-55. Coll. Thyssen-Bornemisza, Castagnola, Villa Favorita. Cf. Martin, 1913, pl. 152. See also Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, 1970, 17, fig. 10.

82. Martin, 1913, pls, 121, 128, 135, 139. 152.

83. C. 1640. Munich, Alte Pinakothek. There are several versions of the picture: cf. Martin, 1913, pl. 121. See also: Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, 1970, 17, fig. 9.

84. On the broken pitcher and its meanings, see below.

85. 1660-65, London, The National Gallery. Cf. Martin, 1913, pl. 128.

86. 1650. Paris, Louvre. Cf. Martin, 1913, pl. 120; de Jongh, 1968-69, 43-44, fig. 15.

87. *Ibid*., 45-47, figs. 15-18. On the symbolism of the pitcher as uterus or organ of birth in psychoanalysis, see Jones, 1964d, 132.

88. 1670-75, Private collection. Cf. Martin, 1913, pl. 113; de Jongh, 1968-69, 43-44, pl. 16.

89. De Jongh, 1976, 284-287, pl. 75 & figs. 75 b,c; *Dutch Genre Painting*, 1984, 184-85 fig. 1; 357-58, cat. no. 125, pl. 125 & figs. 1-3.

90. The dead bird appears a great deal in these paintings as a love symbol. Cf. de Jongh, 1968-69, 35-45, figs. 9-16; *Dutch Genre Painting*, 1984, 184; 250-51, cat. no. 71, pl. 65 & figs 1-2.

91. Snoep-Reitsma, 1973, pp. 158-162; The favourite school of art in France of the early 18th century was that of the north. Cf. Wildenstein, 1956, 113 ff.

92. Hautecoeur, 1913, pp. 23-24.

93. Called also "Marchande à la Toilette", Fontainbleau, Château. Cf. Rosenbloom, 1970, 3-6, fig. 1.

94. *Ercolano*, 1762, III, 41, pl. 7, cf. Rosenblum, 1970, fig. 2.

95. Seznec & Adhémar, 1957, 210.

96. Rosenblum, 1970, 6-8, figs 3-5.

97. De Jongh, 1976, 286, figs, 75 c, d. The paintings are listed in a catalogue of a Sotheby's sale dated 26.6.1963. Their present whereabouts are unknown. Cf. *Sotheby*, 1963, II, no. 86.

98. Wildenstein, 1924, 100-101, nos. 455-468, figs, 111-118, 198.

99. For example: "Le dénicheur d'oiseaux", c. 1733-35, present location unknown, cf. *Boucher*, 1986-87, 69, fig. 103; "Les présents du berger (le nid)", the thirties, Musée du Louvre, cf. *Ibid*. 69, 176, fig. 50. See also the print, cf. Jean-Richard, 1978, nos. 1373-1374; "Putti Playing with Birds (Summer)", Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, cf. *Boucher*, 1986-87, 127-129, no. 15; "The Bird's Nesters", whereabouts unkown, *Ibid*., fig. 103, photograph in Witt Library. On the allusions in Boucher of birds and cages to sexual organs and virginity see *Ibid*., 69.

100. Paris, Archives Nationales (Hôtel de la Soubise). On the erotic allusions of this painting, cf. *Ibid*., 69, no. 31. Also Laing, 1986, fig. 3. See also the print done after it, cf. Jean-Richard, 1978, nos. 1314, 1315.

101. On cupids playing with birds or a birdcage in Boucher's prints see: *Ibid*., nos. 3, 277, 533, 1377. On the depiction of Venus with birds, as in the print called "Venus tenant le symbol de l'amour", *Ibid*., no. 389. See also nos. 816, 865, as well as a nude woman with birds (Venus perhaps?), *ibid*, nos. 866, 867; and young girl with cage and bird, *ibid*., nos. 580, 1011; and couple with cage and bird, *ibid*., nos. 704, 1153.

102. *Ibid*., no. 1377. Engraved after the painting of c. 1733-34 in the Derbais Coll. Another version was sold by Sotheby's, London, 1 Nov. 1978, lot 33, cf. *Boucher*, 1986-87, 127, fig. 98.

103. 1752. *Ibid*, no. 929. See also the preliminary drawing of c. 1740. cf. Laing, 1986, fig. 9.

104. *Ibid*., 55-64; *Boucher*, 1986-87, 67-68, 70-71, 176.

105. Laing regards this work an echo of an episode form the play by Favart, probably *Vendanges de Tempé*. Cf. Laing, 1986, 57.

106. About the bird in the cage as an erotic symbol in eighteenth century France see also Snoep-Reitsma, 1973, 215-216, 226-227.

107. Jean-Richard, 1978, no. 544.

108. *Ibid*., no. 546.

109. In this print as well it is possible to see, next to the cage, branches with leaves, possibly ivy, similar to those interwoven round the cage in Greuze's picture.

110. *Ibid*., no. 702.

111. *Ibid*., no. 703.

112. Munhall already points to the relation between the birdhunter and setting a love trap for the innocent in the eighteenth century in France, while referring to another picture by Greuze, "Un Oiseleur qui, au retour de la chasse, accorde sa guitar", Warsaw, Muzeum Narodow, cf. Munhall, 1977, 46, no. 12.

113. Jean-Richard, 1978, no. 427.

114. Original text by Emanuel Schikaneder, Deutsche Grammophon, no. 2709 017, n.d.

115. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cf. Munhall, 1977, 40-41, no. 9.

116. Sterling, 1955, 174-75.
117. *Voyage en Italie*, 1801, 137 f. Cf, Sterling, 1955, 175.
118. St. Petersburg, Ermitage. Cf. Brookner, 1972, pl. 17. See also Naumann, 1981, fig. c 17.
119. When Greuze returned from Italy in 1756, the Dutch painters were very well-known and in much demand in Paris. As mentioned above, there were also Dutch drawings and paintings in his collection. Till approximately 1760 Greuze's paintings are reminiscent of works by van Mieris and Gerard Dou. Cf. Hautecoeur, 1913, 23-24.
120. The verses are by Moraine: "Soyez plus politique, imprudente Isabelle, / Riez plutôt que de verser de pleurs, / Qui divertiroient les railleurs. / D'ailleurs casser un oeuf n'est pas qu'un bagatelle: / Si c'est un mal, c'est le moindre de tous: / Bien d'autres l'ont fait avant vous". Cf. Snoep-Reitsma, 1973, 185 & n. 45. fig. 27.
121. C. F. Beavarlet, engraving after E. Jeaunrat, "L'eplucheuse de salade". In the engraving, next to the girl peeling vegetables, there is a boy trying to steal an egg from the plate on the table. The rhymes under the engraving read: "Prenez garde a vos oeufs la belle / Cet enfant les dérobera: / Un jour si n'etes pas cruelle, / Bien d'autreschose il vous prendra". Cf. *Ibid.*, 185 & n. 44, fig. 26.
122. London, Wallace Collection. Its name varries in the prints, as "Le miroir cassé" and "Le malheur imprevue". In the 1763 Salon, a painting entitled "Une jeune fille qui a cassé son miroir" was exhibited, to which probably Diderot refers. Cf. *Wallace Collection*, 1928, p. 121, no. 442; Brookner, 1972, pl. 26.
123. On the meanings of the image of the mirror see: Schwarz, 1952, 97-118; Hartlaub, 1951, *passim*.
124. The source of the image is *The Book of Wisdom*, 7. "For she (Wisdom) is the brightness of the everlasting light the unspotted mirror of the power of God and the image of His goodness". On the mirror as an attribute of the Virgin see: Schwarz, 1952, 98-100; Hartlaub, 1951, 147-48. See also Jacopo de Voragine *Mariale*, the last of his Golden Sermons, written after 1255, cf. Richardson, 1935, II, 64 f.
125. Schwarz, 1952, 99.
126. *Ibid.*, 100.
127. Genaille, 1954, 72.
128. The Cathedral of Saint Sauveur, Aix en Provence, cf. Schwarz, 1952, 99.
129. Collection Robert Lehman, New York. Cf. *ibid.*, 103, fig. 2.
130. London, The National Gallery, cf. *ibid.*, 97-99, fig. 1.
131. On the mirror as an attribute of Vanitas see: *ibid.*, 105-109; Hartlaub, 1951, 149-158, figs. 148-49, 151-63, 165-66, 172, 174-75.
132. Paris, Louvre. Cf. Martin, 1908, cat. no. 442; Brookner, 1972, fig. 49.
133. Vinken, 1958, 149-174; Zick, 1969, 149-202.
134. The proverb was originally found in a collection of French proverbs from 1485, written in old French. Today in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, fol. 192. Cf. Frank & Miner, 1937, pl. 37; Frank, 1940, 209-238. See also Zick, 1969, 149-150, pl. 100.
135. *Ibid.*, 153.

136. "De kanne gaet soo lange to water, totse eens breeckt", Cats, 1635, 120-121, no. 40.
137. The condensed text here is according to the German translation of Cats from his collected writings, which were published in Hamburg in eight volumes between 1710 and 1717. Cf. Cats, 1711, 74-75, no. 41, cf. Zick 1969, 153.
138. Cats, 1632, repr. in Cats, 1700, p. 531, cf. Naumann, 1981, 119.
139. On the popularization of the subject in eighteenth century French art and in Boucher's work, see: Zick, 1969, 161.
140. Vinken, 1958, 150; Zick, 1969, 161 & n. 37.
141. Gessner, 1756, 48-52. The book was published only a few years before the 1763 Salon, and Diderot was therefore aware of it when he made his comments.

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The Iconography of the Temple in Northern Renaissance Art

Yona Pinson

Biblical sources describe the Solomonic Temple (950 B.C.) as an oblong structure. The second Temple, constructed under Zerubabel (536 B.C.), although more modest, was based on the same essential pattern which became sacrosanct, as we can also learn from Ezekiel's vision of the Temple (Ezekiel, 40, 41). The Temple restored under Herod (ca. 20 BC), which was the most splendid of all, retained this sacred shape.[1]

Although biblical and post-biblical sources concerning the Temple of Jerusalem were well known in Christianity throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the Temple of Jerusalem, as Krinsky points out, did not appear in its sacred oblong shape until the seventeenth century.[2]

From the very beginning, representations of the Temple in Christian art took on a symbolic shape. Northern Renaissance art features three different Temple types:

1. An oriental-type structure, usually based on a circular plan (occasionally polygonal), characterised by a cupola or bulbous domes, a double dome or a polygonal dome, sometimes with richly decorated columns, spiral or orientalised in style. (This circular, domed, construction may derive from the *ciborium* which designated the Temple (in 13th century western sources.)[3]

2. The Dome of the Rock outline, which may figure in documentary or semi-documentary descriptions, but also in symbolical contexts.

3. The Temple as a Gothic church.

Although the Temple of Jerusalem has been widely discussed by scholars,[4] most of them seem to have been essentially concerned with its formal aspects and less with its symbolical meaning. Durrieu's essay (1924) is a pioneering work in this field. His approach is a descriptive one and he presents a kind of catalogue of Jean Fouquet's depictions of the Temple. Another aspect of his

study focuses on Flemish fifteenth century representations of the Temple, which are based on the Dome of the Rock pattern.

Krinsky's article (1971) is an important review which surveys the Temple's images and its transformations through the ages, from the early Middle Ages to the Renaissance in both Eastern and Western art. Although in some cases Krinsky alludes to the meaning of the Temple's representations, his study is mostly devoted to its visual aspects.[5]

Haussher (1968) focuses on the Solomonic Temple's representations in some thirteenth century French *Bibles Moralisées*, in which the Byzantine *ciborium* is adopted for the Jewish Temple and contrasted with a Gothic construction which stands for the Church. Although Haussher contrasts the *Templum Solomonis* with the *Ecclesia Christi*, his study clings to the descriptive aspect and neglects the ideological background.

Walter Cahan's study (1976) throws new light on the assimilation of the Solomonic Temple and the Church. He shows how sacred Solomonic elements, mainly the "Jachin" and "Boaz" columns, are incorporated into Romanesque Church architecture and merge the idea of the Temple with the Church; an idea to be developed later by Jean Fouquet.

Panofsky,[6] in his study of iconographical issues in early Netherlandish painting suggests, albeit briefly, that the Temple of Jerusalem may symbolise *Synagoga* and/or *Ecclesia*, and also *Synagoga* as opposed to *Ecclesia*, depending on the architectonic type. It is this suggestion that provided the starting point for the following essay, in which the meanings of these different patterns will be examined. The preference for one of these forms or for the confrontation of the Temple as a Gothic church with the Temple as an Oriental-type structure, or as the Dome of the Rock, may be considered on a symbolic level. It will appear, I believe, that these different forms are analogous in meaning to the notion of the opposition between the Old Law and the New; i.e., *Synagoga* versus *Ecclesia*.

We find two principal attitudes towards the Temple in the theological sources. In some biblical commentaries, the Temple symbolises the Old Era, especially the ruined Temple which has been replaced by the Church - the New Temple. In a different approach, deriving especially from the Pauline literature and commentaries, Christ himself, as well as the Christian community of the faithful, is seen as the New or True Temple, which is interpreted as the Church (*Ecclesia*).[7]

The idea of rebuilding the Church out of the ruined Temple is expressed in Jean Pucelle's Calendar in the first volume of the *Belleville Breviary* (Paris, B.N. lat. 10483, vol. 1). In the *bas-de-page* of each of the Calendar folios, the

"concordance between the Old and the New Testament" is depicted, in the shape of a prophet handing a stone from the ruined Temple-*Synagoga* to an apostle. On the December page (fol 6[v]) the prophet Zecharia rips out a stone from the ruined Temple and hands it, wrapped in a piece of cloth like a sacred object, to Saint Matthew, to build the New Temple.[8]

The Church as heir to the Temple after the Destruction is an idea expressed by Saint Augustine. In the *City of God* Augustine says that the New Testament has rebuilt a House to God, more resplendent than the ancient Great Temple of King Solomon. This New House of God is made out of the finer and more precious material of the devout.[9] Further on, Saint Augustine develops the concept of the Church as the New Temple or the Temple restored. When he interprets the prophecy of Aggenus (Aggenus 2, 10) he comes to the conclusion that: "since the restored Temple signifies the Church which Christ was to build, those words [of Aggenus: And I will give peace in that place] can mean only: "I will give peace in that place [the Church] which this place [the rebuilt Temple] forefigures."[10]

Bearing this in mind, let us look at a 15th century French illumination to the *Cité de Dieu*. In a manuscript from the Philip Hofer Collection (Cambridge, Mass. fol. I[v]), an initial shows Saint Augustine holding the Two Cities. In his right hand is the Celestial City in the form of a fortified religious complex, while in his left he holds the earthly City of Jerusalem, as the ruined Temple.[11] Another French manuscript of the *City of God*, (School of Tours, ca., Paris B.N. fr. 18, fol. 3[v]), again depicts the confrontation between the Temple as *Synagoga* and the Temple as the Church. The folio is divided into two parts; the lower shows the City of Sins (the Vices), while the upper is devoted to the Deity: the Trinity, the Enthroned Virgin and All the Saints. This group is flanked by two symbolical buildings. On the right is a Gothic church, facing a round, oriental-looking building on the left, topped with an "onion" dome - the Temple as *Synagoga*.

The Temple as a Gothic Church - Ecclesia as opposed to the Temple as an oriental-type structure

This antithetical meaning of the Temple is clearly expressed in Melchior Broederlam's shutters at the Dijon Museum (ca. 1400) in which the Temple symbolises both Church and *Synagoga*. In the *Annunciation* (fig. 1) the Temple of Jerusalem is a combination of two structures, distinctly different in architectural style. The Annunciate is seated in a transparent Gothic pavilion set against a massive domed oriental-looking structure. The Gothic loggia where the Annunciation is taking place is illuminated by a gold ground and filled

with light, sharply contrasting with the overshadowed orientalizing structure.

Broederlam's Virgin is depicted according to the Apocrypha weaving the new veil for the Temple,[12] holding the true purple wool when the angel approaches. According to this source, she was sitting in a wing of the Temple at the moment of the Annunciation. The *Annunciation* is interpreted by Broederlam as the very beginning of the New Dispensation.[13] He contrasts the New Light (*lux nuova*), with the darkness or blindness of *Synagoga*. This first moment of Redemption is illustrated by the clash between the two distinct architectural styles of the same construction - the Temple. Here, the Temple symbolises both the old and the new - it is *Synagoga* as well as *Ecclesia*.

This idea had already been expressed in a 13th century French *Bible Moralisée* (ca. 1250, London, British Library, Harley Ms. 1527, fol. 5[r]), in which the apocryphal text for the Annunciation is illustrated in the medallion to Luke 1:26-29. The Virgin is weaving the purple veil for the Holy of Holies. she is seated in a Gothic structure, while Joseph, who sometimes represents the Old Dispensation in 12th and 13th century art, is seen in a round structure surmounted by an octagonal dome; the Temple of Solomon as *Synagoga* is thus set against the New or the True Temple - *Ecclesia*.

Later, in 15th century northern art, this idea was expressed more explicitly by Conrad Witz, who placed the Annunciation in the central panel of a triptych, between the allegorical personifications of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, on the respective wings.[14]

The association between the personification of *Synagoga* and the Temple of Jerusalem, especially the ruined Temple, became significant particularly after Jerusalem was occupied by the Crusaders. It is not surprising therefore to find the personification of *Synagoga* depicted as losing her "crown", which takes the form of the *templum Solominis*, as in a Romanesque *Crucifixion* (12th century, the tympanum of the western facade of the church of St. Giles).[15] Here *Synagoga* refers to the defeat of Judaism and the loss of the Temple in contrast to triumphant *Ecclesia*.[16]

In some 13th century illuminated manuscripts, especially in commentaries to the Bible or Apocalypse, *Synagoga* is identified with the Temple of Jerusalem and opposed to *Ecclesia* enthroned in a Gothic church. In a 13th century Anglo-Norman Apocalypse the illuminator refers to this motif in the illustration of Conversion and Rejection, in the commentary to Rev. 5:1 (Gulbenkian Apocalypse, Lisbon, Museum Calouste Gulbenkian, Ms. L.A. 139, fol. 4). In this gloss, Berengaudus (12th century) refers to the Old and New Testaments in his interpretation of "inside" and "outside". Berengaudus' view is quite traditional, but the iconography of the illumination is unusual. The painter is
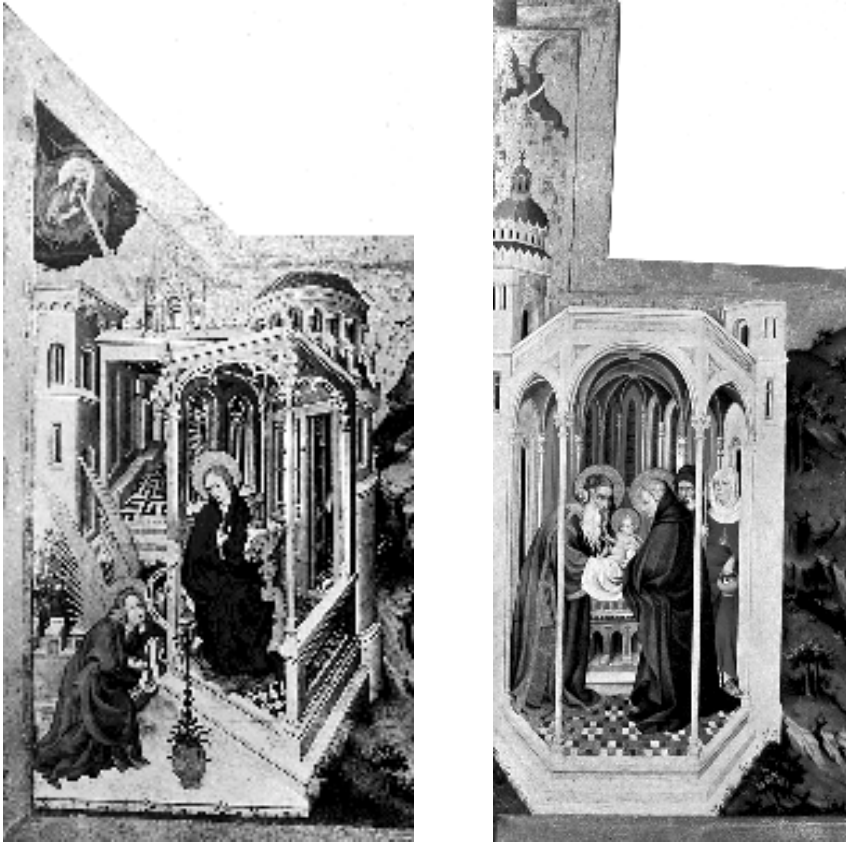
Fig. 1: Melchior Broederlam, *Annunciation; Presentation in the Temple*, Dijon Musée des Beaux Arts.

not content with the traditional contrast between the personifications of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, but depicts them as enclosed in a symbolical structure. A Gothic church is opposed to the Temple of Solomon - here a circular structure topped with a typical double dome.[17]

In a French 13th century *Bible Moralisée,* (Vienna, ONB cod. 2554, fol. 61), *Synagoga* is identified with the Temple in an interesting moralization. According to the commentary to Judges 11:1-2, Jephtah was expelled by the people because he was the son of a whore; he prefigures Christ who was chased out of the Temple by the *mauvez juis* (the bad Jews) who did not recognise him as God and were still attached to "their Synagogue". In the illustrated medallion beside the commentary, we see *Synagoga* enthroned in the Temple while Christ is driven out of it.

This antithesis between the Temple as *Synagoga* and the Temple as *Ecclesia*

or the beginning of the New Dispensation is echoed by Melchior Broederlam in the right wing of the Dijon altarpiece. In the *Presentation in the Temple* (fig. 1), as in the *Annunciation*, the Temple is a combination of two structures distinctly different in style. The Presentation occurs in an hexagonal Gothic construction, one of those baldaquins that were particularly favoured in Siennese Trecento painting. This beautiful invention is set against another edifice, a polyhedron building with a double dome, topped with a crescent - a clear symbol of heresy and idolatry.[18]

A similar idea is expressed by the Master of Rohan in his *Presentation* (*Heures de Rohan* Paris, B.N. lat. 9471, fol. 94ᵛ, ca. -1427). This particular composition is a "pseudo- triptych". In the centre is the Presentation, set in a church choir. The Child is placed on the altar of the Holy of Holies, while the Virgin kneels before him. Joseph and the saintly women are outside the Temple.[19] On the "wings" one can recognise the Dome of the Rock-like shape which was to become the image-type for the Temple in 15th century northern painting. The "central panel" expresses the tenet of Pauline theology which interprets Christ as the Holy of Holies, the Temple itself.[20] According to the Evangelists and their commentators, Christ embodies the Temple itself, while according to the Apostles and the Fathers of the Church, he symbolises the New Temple, the Church itself, which replaces the Destroyed Temple.[22]

In Robert Campin's *Betrothal of the Virgin* (Madrid, Prado, ca. 1420; fig. 2), the idea of the New Temple in opposition to the Old is expressed by the juxtaposition of two different architectural styles in the same building - the Temple of Jerusalem where both the Miracle of the Rod and the Betrothal occur. While the Miracle of the Rod is set within a richly-decorated oriental-looking rotunda, the Betrothal of the Virgin takes place before a Gothic narthex of which no more than the doorway has been built. Since these two episodes are associated with the same place - the Temple of Jerusalem - we should consider the architectural differences between the two parts of the same building on a symbolical level, as in Broederlam. Panofsky points out that the contrast between the Old Dispensation and the New is expressed by the two sections of one and the same structure.[24] The fact that the Gothic narthex is not finished symbolises the dawn of the New Era: the Betrothal is visually interpreted as the very beginning of the Redemption.[25]

The sculptural decorations and stained glass of the two structures illustrate an elaborate symbolic program,[26] which appears to emphasise the opposition between the Jewish Temple as *Synagoga* and the New Temple as *Ecclesia*. The respective decoration of the rotunda and the narthex stresses the contrast between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*, following Saint Augustine's distinction between
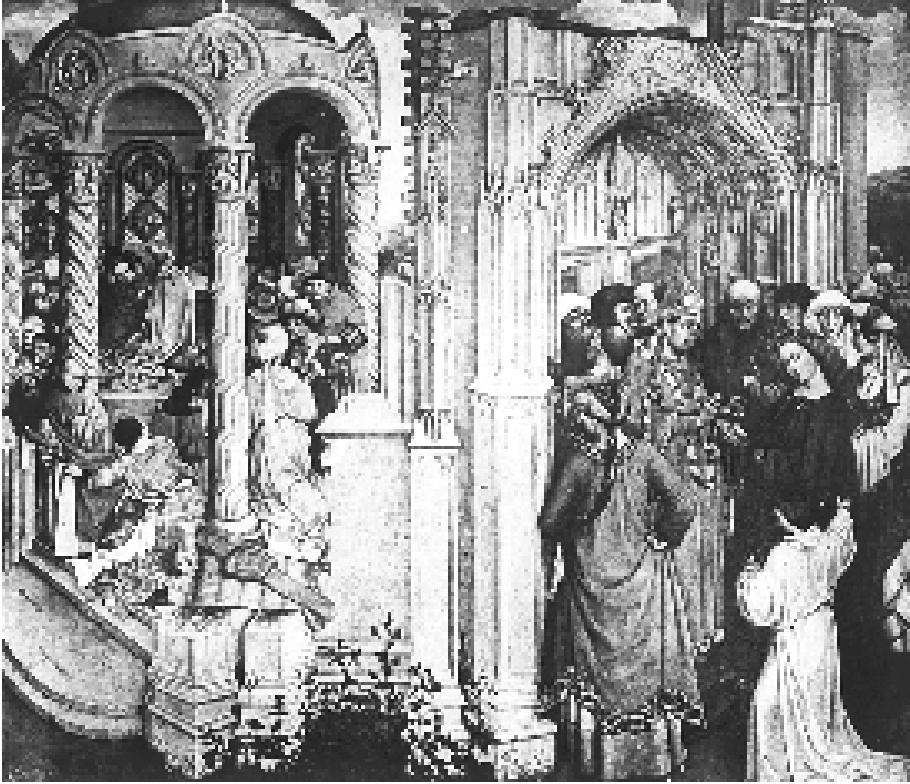
Fig. 2: Robert Campin, *Betrothal of the Virgin*, Madrid, Prado, c. 1427.

the pre-Christian and the New Christian eras.[27]

In the rotunda, the medallions of the stained glass windows illustrate the Fall of Man from the Creation of Eve to the Slaying of Abel.[28] This plan demonstrates the state of sin and evil which characterises the Old Dispensation. The scenes on the capitals illustrate lesser known chapters from Genesis, as noted by Smith: the histories of Abraham and Lot (Gen. 13:7-11) and the Combat between the Four Kings and the Five Kings (Gen. 14)[29] which also stress symbolically the opposition between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*.

The Fight between Lot's servants and Abraham's servants was interpreted in the commentary of a 13th century French *Bible Moralisée* as an analogy to the polemics between Jewish and Christian clerics, (*Bible Moralisée*, Oxford, Bodleian Ms. 270b, fol. 12ʳ). Moreover, the Separation between Abraham and Lot and Lot's Entry into Sodom symbolise the separation of the Jewish and the Christian communities. The illustrated medallions to the commentary in this *Bible*

Moralisée show *Ecclesia* blessed by God in contrast to *Synagoga*, accompanied by a Jew, being expelled from the House of God.

The Fight between the Kings was interpreted as the combat between the Vices and the Virtues (*ibid*. fol. 13). In the medallions this commentary is visualised as a combat between believers and unbelievers; as a conflict between *Ecclesia* and the Christian community and *Synagoga* and the Jews. The Triumph of Abraham over the Kings is compared to the triumph of *Ecclesia*, while the defeated Kings are compared to the defeated *Synagoga* and the Jews expelled from the Temple.[30]

While the rotunda decoration symbolises the state of sin of Judaism and the defeat of *Synagoga*, the sculptural program of the Gothic portal stresses, in contrast, the motif of triumphant *Ecclesia*. The iconographical program of the doorway opens with Samson Rending the Lion, symbolising Christ triumphing over the Devil and the Jews.[31] The second tier illustrates episodes from King David's youth: Samuel anointing David, David overcoming Goliath and the Triumph of David. As Smith[32] has remarked, Samuel's preference for David over his brothers was compared with the Lord's choice of Christ among the Jews. The other two episodes are traditionally related to Christ's triumph over vice and the Devil.

The sculptures of the third tier are related to a tragic moment in King David's life: Absalom caught in the Tree and the Death of Absalom. Although the Death of Absalom generally prefigures the Death of Christ, an interpretation adopted by Smith,[33] this episode could also symbolise the defeat of the Jews. In some 13th and 14th century *Bibles Moralisées*, Absalom caught in the Tree was compared to the Jews trapped in the "wood of this world" by their errors and greed;[34] Absalom pierced by Joab's three lances was compared with sinners transfixed by Pride, Greed and Lasciviousness, the Devil's lances. The Death of Absalom was compared to Judas' death and the defeat of the Jews.[35] The illustrated medallions to the Death of Absalom sometimes show Jews being punished by hanging from trees, like Absalom and Judas.[36] David's mourning for his son Absalom was compared to God weeping for his bad sons - the Jews who are condemned to Hell.[37]

The iconographical plan which emphasises the choice of Christ (David) by God, the Betrayal of the Jews (Absalom) and their punishment, reaches a climax with the sculptures of the last tier, which are devoted to Solomon: The Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon and the Temple of Solomon which now takes the shape of a Gothic structure. The Queen of Sheba is regarded by Smith as a prefiguration of *Ecclesia*.[38] However, the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon may also be referred to the Heavenly Temple since in some

15th century versions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* this episode is interpreted as a prefiguration of the Kingdom of Heaven.[39]

Solomon's Construction of the Temple was interpreted as Christ's triumphal establishment of the Church, as we can learn from some of the commentaries cited in *Bibles Moralisées*. In the famous example from the National Library of Vienna (Vienna, O.N.B. cod. 2554, fol 50ᵛ), we see Solomon praying to God in front of the Temple (here the Temple is depicted in the form of the traditional *ciborium*, topped with a golden dome). On the commentary medallion below, Christ praying to God is depicted in front of a Gothic structure: the Temple as the Church. The commentary says: "Solomon thanked God when he had completed the construction of the Temple. This signifies Christ thanking God, Father of Heaven, for helping him to complete the Holy Church."[40] In a fourteenth century *Bible Moralisée*, Solomon's wisdom symbolises *Ecclesia*, while he himself prefigures Christ; Solomon as the builder of the Temple stands for Christ as founder of the New Dispensation, the establisher of the Church (Paris, B.N. fr. 167, fol. 81ᵛ).

Robert Campin's depiction of the Temple in the form of a Gothic structure on the portal decoration of a church, is not coincidental. In this particular context it clearly expresses the Triumph of the True and New Temple - the Church - over the Old Temple. This very moment symbolises the beginning of the New Era, or in other words, the beginning of the Redemption.

Jean Fouquet has a different approach to the problem. In the Betrothal of the Virgin (*Heures d'Etienne Chevalier*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, ca. 1453-1460),[41] the scene takes place before the Temple portal. The construction is clearly identified by an inscription as the *Templum Solomonis*, as well as by the figure of Moses holding the Tablets of the Law. The building, however, does not take on the traditional oriental-looking form or that of the Dome of the Rock, but was modeled on the original Basilica of St. Peter in Rome. Two monumental spiraling columns flank the portal, clearly associated with the pillars placed by Solomon in front of his Temple, the famous "Jachin" and "Boaz".[42] In Romanesque architecture knotted or twisted columns in front of a church doorway referred to the Temple, as W. Cahan has shown.[43] In using them, Fouquet effectively expresses a concept very different from that found in Melchior Broederlam and Robert Campin.

There is no contradiction here between the Temple as *Synagoga* and the Temple as *Ecclesia*. Fouquet gives visual form to the Pauline interpretation of the Temple as the Church,[44] which makes the latter the only legitimate heir of the former. The Church is thus embodied in the New Temple. The symbolical forms of the original Temple of Jerusalem are incorporated into the Basilica of

the Vatican, which for the Catholic world symbolises the Holy Church. In the *Betrothal*, as well as in other works by Fouquet, the traditional antithesis between the Temple as *Synagoga* and the Temple as Church is replaced by an assimilation of Temple and Church.[45]

In Fouquet's *Antiquités Judaiques*, the Construction of the Temple (Paris, B.N. lat. 247, fol 163[r]) is depicted as if it were the building of a cathedral, and is interpreted in some biblical commentaries as the Establishment of the Church.[46] In Pauline theology the Construction of the Temple is considered as a metaphor for the Construction of the Ideal Temple,[47] or the Spiritual Temple (the Church, or the Heavenly Temple), of which Christ's Body is the cornerstone.[48]

The Destruction of the Temple was generally interpreted as the chastisement of the Jewish people who had refused to recognise Christ. The Church was destined, therefore, to supplant the ruined Temple.[49] Fouquet's illustration of this subject does not adhere to the traditional motif. The Destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar in the *Antiquités Judaiques* (*ibid*. fol. 213[v]), does not show the Temple as the traditional ruined Synagogue but as a Gothic cathedral. According to Deutsch,[50] in giving the ruined Temple this form, Fouquet is referring to the metaphor of the Eternal Temple, the Celestial Temple. In the background of this illustration the prophet Jeremiah laments the Destruction. The Destruction of the Temple may also prefigure the Crucifixion. In a 13th century *Bible Moralisée* (Paris, B.N. lat. 1156, fol. 156[v]), in the illustration to Lamentations 1:1-4, the ruined Temple is depicted as a Gothic church, while the Crucifixion is represented in the commentary medallion.

In another episode from Josephus Flavius, Herod's Triumphal Entry into the Temple (*Guerres des Juifs*, Paris, B.N. n.a. fr. 21013 fol. 1[v]), Fouquet again transforms the Temple into a Gothic cathedral. The Holy of Holies is depicted as a high altar and the High Priest as a bishop. Herod himself is seen outside the Temple Enclosure, in front of the Pool of Purification which, as a sinner and a criminal, he cannot cross.[51] The way to the Temple - the True Faith - is blocked, therefore, by the cruel and lawless king, who sullies the Pool of Purification. Deutsch remarks that the King and the Priest are deliberately represented as turning their backs to one another, to indicate their antagonism.[52] In the Temple we again find the typical torsed columns for the Holy of Holies, but the Menorah, the Ark and the Cherubim which can be seen in the Entry of Pompey into the Temple (Paris, B.N. fr., 247, fol. 293[v]) have been replaced by a triple Gothic niche which transforms the Temple into a Church.

In representing Herod outside the Temple Enclosure, Fouquet is referring to a traditional motif, formulated mainly in the commentary illustrations of French *Bibles Moralisées*, from the 13th century onwards. In a moralization to

Fig. 3: Jan Van Eyck, *Three Maries at the Tomb*, Rotterdam, Boymans Van Beaningen, c. 1425.

Genesis 4:3-5, in the *Heures de Rohan* (Paris, B.N. lat. 9471, fol. 15ʳ), the text refers to Adam's preference for Abel over Cain, which signifies Christ who keeps the Christians with him while driving the Jews out of the "Holy Church". The Master of Rohan bestows a very original form on the "Holy Church". He materialises the metaphor of the Temple as Bethel - "the House of God". The Holy Church - "House of God" - is depicted as a structure that is at the same time a Gothic chapel and a "house".

The distinction between the faithful Christians "inside" God's house, and the Jews as unbelievers "outside" the Temple also figures in moralizations for Zechariah in the Temple (Luke 1:21-22).[53] In the commentary medallion, the Temple is metaphorically depicted as a Gothic church, in which a Baptism is taking place. The new believers are clearly contrasted with the unbelievers, Jews (Pharisees) offering a sacrifice outside the Temple. The lack of faith of those *maistres de l'ancienne loy* is symbolised by their forbidden offering.

In the *Apocalypse du Duc de Savoie* (15th century, Escurial, E. Vitr. D. fol. 15ʳ), in a commentary to Revelations 11:1-2, the Jews are seen outside the Temple.

According to the moralization they were to remain outside the Temple because they were ignorant of the True Faith.

The Temple in the form of the Dome of the Rock

Although the two edifices on Mount Moriah were known to the West before the Crusades, they are mentioned in pilgrims' writings only after the Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem (1091). At that time the Dome of the Rock was identified as *Templum Domini*, while the El Aqsa Mosque was called either *Templum Solomonis*, or Solomon's Palace.

With the conquest of Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was identified as the 'House of God' (Bethel).[54] It was converted into a church and became the symbol for the Holy Church.

On 12th century pilgrims' maps *Templum Domini* (The Dome of the Rock) is shown as a circular structure while *Templum Solomonis* figures as a basilica. Sometimes both monuments appear in basilica shape, always topped with a cross.[55]

The conceptual representation of the Temple that characterises 12th century cartography was later replaced by a more documentary approach. On 15th and 16th century maps the Dome of the Rock no longer figures as Templum Domini. It is called Templum Solomonis and is adorned with a crescent topping a dome or incorporated in the dome itself as a sign of heresy.[55a]

Toward the middle of the 15th century, we find "realistic" or 'documentary' depictions of Jerusalem, mainly in two centres: (1) the Burgundian court, where the "realistic" attitude is related to the dream of a New Crusade cherished by Duke Philippe le Bon, who wished to purify the Holy City of heretics; and (2) the Court of King René le Bon, Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily, who was also titled "King of Jerusalem".[55b]

In the *Three Maries at the Tomb* by Van Eyck (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans Van Beuningen, before 1426; fig. 3), a recognizable Dome of the Rock dominates the view of Jerusalem,[56] which some scholars have considered to be based on direct experience.[57] Although the outline of the shrine is identifiable, the city view itself is a miscellany of Lombard, Gothic and oriental elements.[58]

The so-called "realistic" views of Jerusalem in the background of scenes related to Christ's Passion or Death are, of course, not intended to serve as authentic portraits of the Holy City. Rather, these views, especially when they are dominated by the Temple, have a symbolical meaning. In this particular context, the Dome of the Rock outline for the Temple would represent *Synagoga*, as related to the Jews' betrayal of God.[59]

The Temple in the background of Christ's Passion sometimes confers another

(a)
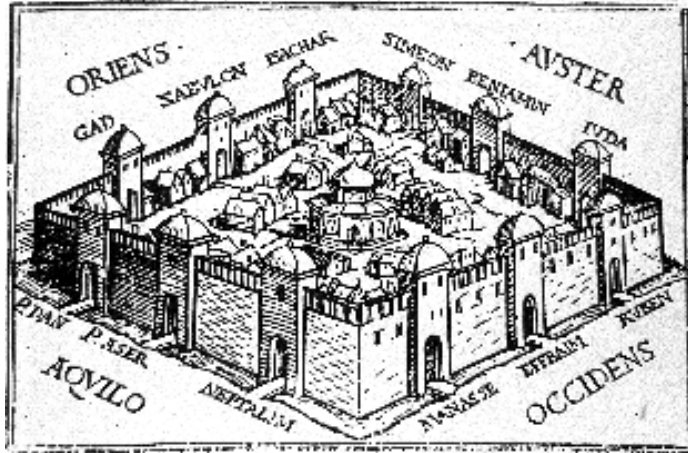
(b)

(c)

Fig. 4: Hans Holbein, (a) *View of Nineveh;* (b) *Ezeleil's Vision*; (c) *Isaiah's Vision*, Historiarum Veteris Testamenti, Icones, Lyon, 1543.
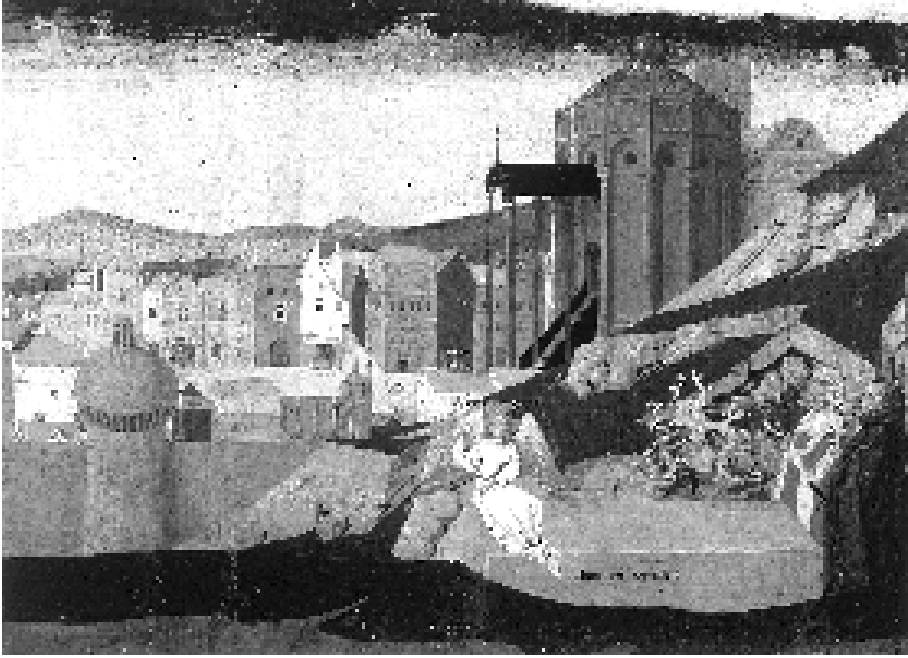
Fig. 5: Engurard Quarton, *Coronation of The Virgin*, Villeneuve-les-Avignon, Musée de l'Hospice, 1453-54, detail.

meaning on the scene. At the very moment of Christ's Death the curtain of the Ark of the Law was rent asunder and the world was darkened (Matthew 27:45-51; Luke 22:45 and Mark 15:38).[60] This precise moment was interpreted as the end of the old Era, and as the Destruction of the Temple.[61]

The Dome of the Rock image for the Temple, therefore, does not really differ in meaning from the oriental-type structure. When this image is placed in a religious context, it represents the negative aspects of the Temple as a symbol for the Old Law. This pejorative meaning is sometimes transposed to another city of evil. In a woodcut in Holbein's illustrations to the Old Testament, *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones*, Lyon, 1543, the Dome of the Rock dominates the *View of Nineveh* (fig. 4a). In the 11th century *Roda Bible* (Paris, B.N. lat., fol. 83ᵛ), the City of Jerusalem as a symbol of evil and sin was already being used for Nineveh.[62]

Holbein does not use the Dome of the Rock image only to express negative meaning. It also dominates the View of Jerusalem in *Ezekiel's Vision* (*Icones*, Ezech. 47; fig. 4b). As in the Van Eyck, this is a 'pseudo-realistic' view: a combination of local urban German and oriental elements. In the illustration for *Isaiah's Vision* (*Icones*, fol. LV; Isaiah 6; fig. 4c), the Dome of the Rock-type

structure has what could be described as a "positive" meaning or "realistic" function. Holbein's interpretation of Isaiah's vision is original. He does not literally depict the Lord Enthroned, filling the Temple with his train. The images are separated. The Lord is Enthroned, surrounded by Cherubim and Seraphim, while the Temple interior, the Holy of Holies, is replaced by an exterior view in the form of the Dome of the Rock, which, as we have seen, is generally associated with a negative meaning.

The Temple depicted as the Dome of the Rock in Northern Renaissance art thus figures in two different contexts: (a) views of Jerusalem in "realistic" or "documentary" depictions, as we have seen in Provencal or Burgundian manuscripts; and (b) in a religious context, generally representing the ruined or the Old Temple. Like *Synagoga*, the Temple symbolises heresy, idolatry, sin and evil. It is so associated with negative meanings it is itself sometimes transfered to another image of evil. Rarely does it appear in a positive religious context, as in Holbein.

In Enguerard Quarton's *Coronation of the Virgin*, Villeneuve- les-Avignon, Musée de l'Hospice, 1453-1454 (fig. 5), the moral antithesis between the "Temple-*Synagoga*" and the Church is clearly stressed. The crucifix in the lower part of the picture is flanked by views of the two Holy Cities, Rome on the right and Jerusalem on the left. The cities are dominated by two emblematic structures: the Basilica of St. Peter symbolises Rome while the Dome of the Rock identifies Jerusalem.

The donor, Jean de Montagnac, an important figure in the local ecclestiastical establishment, had made a pilgrimage to Rome and to the Holy Land some years before commissioning this work (ca. 1450).[63] According to the *prix-fait* signed between the donor and the painter (24 April, 1453), the "world" was to be depicted below the "heaven". The world here is represented by the two cities of Rome and Jerusalem. The text of the contract gives a very detailed description of Rome,[64] to be placed on the west and dominated by the Basilica of Saint-Peter and other churches, but it refers only very briefly to Jerusalem, and this leaves ample room for the painter's own invention.[65] In this particular view of Jerusalem Quarton did not intend merely to commemorate the donor's visit to the Holy City. The depiction has a deeper meaning in the painter's iconographical plan, symbolizing the Old Dispensation as oppposed to the New.

It is no mere coincidence that the two cities Rome and Jerusalem assume the traditional places of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* on either side of the Crucifix. This symmetrical moral opposition is paralleled and echoed by Paradise and Hell, in the lower part of the painting. The association between Jerusalem or

Judaea and *Synagoga* and Damnation had long been an iconographical tradition.

Synagoga and the Jews are damned for their unbelief or their betrayal of God. One of the earliest sources for this motif is a Crucifixion in the famous 12th century manuscript, the *Liber Floridus* by Lambert of St.-Omer (London, B.L. Add. Ms. 50003, fol. 34ʳ). On Christ's left is *Synagoga*; her crown is fallen and Christ is pushing her into Hell's mouth (Leviathan) while bestowing blessings on *Ecclesia*.[66] In 13th and 14th century *Bibles Moralisées* Jews frequently figure as damned and pushed into the mouth of Hell; very often, they are symbolically associated with *Synagoga*.[67] In a 13th century *Bible Moralisée* (Oxford, Bodleian 207b, fol. 119v), the moralisation medallion for Samson's Death, on the left side of the cross, shows a group of Jews fallen into Leviathan's mouth. This group is contrasted with a group of clerics. The moralization text states that like the dying Samson who had condemned the Philistines together with himself, so Christ, when he died on the Cross, had condemned the Jews to destruction. In another contemporary French *Bible Moralisée* (Vienna, O.N.B. cod. 1179, fol. 132r), a group of Jews is led by a devil to hell below the Cross. A woman behind them is identified as *Sinagoga Musi* (Synagogue of Moses).[68]

In 15th century sources,[69] mainly in Living Cross images, *Synagoga* is associated with the Fall of Man (Eve) and damnation. She rides an ass, holding a goat (sometimes black). Below her we see the Bad Tree (*Arbor Mala*), symbolically associated with her. Eve, holding a skull, stands beside the Bad Tree. Beneath *Synagoga* and Eve, Hell gapes. *Synagoga* in the Living Cross is opposed in moral symmetry to *Ecclesia* riding the Evangelic Beast. Below her we see the Good Tree and the door of Paradise opening to the Just.[70]

The red colour of the Temple in Quarton's *Coronation of the Virgin* should also be considered on a symbolic level. Red, like yellow, was associated with evil and Satan,[71] and demonstrates the association between the red Temple and the personification of *Synagoga*.

Synagoga sometimes wears a yellow dress in some medieval and late medieval dramas, as well as visual sources.[72] Occasionally the yellow robe is replaced by a black one which symbolises *Synagoga* turning away from God and tempted by Satan.[73] In a Passion played in Avignon in December 1385, *Synagoga* wore a black dress and held a red banner.[74]

In a late 14th century manuscript, the famous *Bible Moralisée* from Philippe le Hardi's Library (Paris, B.N. fr. 166), *Synagoga* is several times depicted in a brown robe,[75] and her hair is reddish.[76] This red hair is not accidental. It would have the same symbolical meaning as that associated with the dress or banner, which link *Synagoga* to the forces of evil, similar to Cain's or Judas' hair or that of the executioners and betrayers of Christ.[77]

Fig. 6: Netherlandish *Apocalipse*, Paris, B.N. Néil. 3, fol. 12ᶜ.

The red of the Temple may therefore be considered as another symbol of *Synagoga*. Moreover, on one of the bulb-shaped towers of the orientalised city walls, there is a little black devil, symbolizing the powers of evil around the city of Jerusalem - a city of evil.[78]

The Apocalyptic Visions of the Temple
The attitude toward the Temple of Jerusalem expressed in the Apocalypse of St. John, and especially in the commentaries, is ambivalent. On the one hand,

the Temple represents the Church - the Temple of the Celestial City - but on the other, the image of Solomon's Temple is associated with Antichrist.

This duality is clearly expressed in a 15th century Netherlandish illuminated Apocalypse (Paris, B.N. néerl. 3, fol. 12[r]; fig. 6). The miniature illustrates two different episodes. The right upper corner refers to the moment when St. John was ordered to measure the Temple (Rev. 11:1-2). More space is devoted to the illustration of the commentary, which interprets the Beast as Antichrist.

In Rev. 11:1-2, we read that St. John was given the rod to measure the Temple itself and the High Altar; but he was not meant to measure the Enclosure. According to Berengaudus the Temple symbolises the Church, while the Enclosure, exterior to the Temple, symbolises the Jews who remain outside the Temple - as the Church - because of their want of belief. The illuminator of the *Apocalypse du Duc de Savoie* (Escurial Ms. E. Vitr. D. fol. 16[v]) depicts the Apocalyptic Temple as a Gothic church, while the Jews are outside, in the Enclosure. Following Berengaudus, they must remain outside the Temple because they are ignorant of the True Faith.[79]

The illuminator of the Paris Netherlandish Apocalypse gives another interpretation of the same verses. Here St. John is on the left receiving from the Lord the rod to measure the Temple.[80] On the right, St. John is purifying the Temple by throwing out an impure Jew.[81] In the lower part of the miniature, on the right, Antichrist sits enthroned in Solomon's Temple, giving money to those who believe in him. According to Adso,[82] Antichrist will rebuild the ruined Solomonic Temple. Berengaudus says in his commentary that Antichrist will build the *antetemplum* to replace the Temple destroyed by the Romans.[83] The "Anti-Temple" takes the form of a church; Antichrist pretends to be God's Messiah; and his Temple is disguised as Bethel - the House of God. The Fall of Antichrist is followed by the Destruction of the Anti-Temple.

In some 14th century Anglo-Norman Apocalypses the illuminators manifest a different conception. There is an effort to give an oriental look to the Anti-Temple, in order to distinguish clearly between the Anti-Temple and the Celestial Temple.[84]

In illuminated Apocalypses the purified Celestial Temple thus becomes an allegorical image for the Church - the New and purified Temple. On the other hand, the unregenerate Temple is associated with Antichrist, the false Temple and evil.

Sometimes the purified Apocalyptic Temple may also take the form of the Dome of the Rock. In the background of the central panel of the *Mystic Lamb* of the Ghent Altarpiece by Hubert and Jan Van Eyck (ca. 1426-1432), is a view of the Celestial City. This view combines paradisiacal with *Ecclesiastical*

architectonic elements (with a few urban motifs added). It is dominated by a pseudo-Dome of the Rock (on the left), symbolizing the Celestial Temple.

In 1476, Nicolas Froment, an artist of Northern formation,[85] painted the *Burning Bush* altarpiece (Aix-en-Provence, Cathedrale Saint-Sauveur) for King René le Bon (Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily and Jerusalem). The walled city of Jerusalem can be seen in the background of the central panel, on the right.[86] This city view, as in Enguenard Quarton's *Coronation*, is a combination of local urban elements and imaginary ones. It is dominated by the Temple - a domed polygonal structure, surrounded by walls; the enclosure is clearly visible in front.[87]

This view of Jerusalem would appear to have a deeper significance than simple flattery of the donor (a King of Jerusalem). Another interpretation appears more plausible. The Burning Bush is a prefiguration of the Immaculate Conception. As Mother of God, the Virgin was compared to the Temple - as Bethel - the House which encloses the *Shekinah* (Divine Presence). She is the Church herself, the Temple - Queen and Mother.[88]

The Celestial City and the Celestial Temple were interpreted as the Church itself - the New Spiritual Temple.[89] The Celestial City was also associated with the Immaculate Conception, an association clearly expressed by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux[90] in his 79th Sermon: the Spouse, Mother of the Lord - she herself is the Celestial City, Queen of Heaven and the Church of the Elected.

One of the most interesting views of Jerusalem is that painted by Jan van Scoreel two years after his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (central panel of the Lochorst altarpiece, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, ca. 1525-27). This view is considered to be one of the rare authentic views of the Holy City, based on studies *in situ*. Although the Entry to Jerusalem is generally considered as the beginning of Christ's Passion, it seems that Jan van Scoreel did not intend to give a pejorative meaning for the City of Jerusalem and for the Temple. On the contrary, this enchanting view of the Holy City, magically illuminated, transforms the realistic view into an image of the Desired Heavenly Jerusalem.

Appendix: The Temple of Jerusalem - a prefiguration of the Blessed Virgin
The "Closed Gate" which figures in Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple (Ezekiel, 44, 2) is interpreted according to the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humane Salvationis, text critiqué. Traduction inédite de Jean Miélot (1448). Les sources et l'influence iconographique principlement sur l'art alsacien de xvᵉ siécle*, Leipzig, 1907, 2 vols; A. and J.L. Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror, Speculum humanae salvationis*, 1324-1450, New York, 1984) as a prefiguration of the

Immaculate Virgin. Her image is paralleled with the Temple of Solomon itself, which symbolises the Blessed Virgin (*Tempelum Solomonis significan beatem mariam*: "The Temple of Solomon signifies the Blessed Mary").

The *Speculum*'s anonymous author draws an imaginary Temple which fits into his metaphorical image of the Virgin. He insists on the three pinnacles which compose the Temple's facade decoration. These pinnacles symbolise the Triple Crown of the Virgin: Crown of Virginity, Crown of Martyrs and Crown of the preachers, the saints and the church's doctors; for she was also a preacher, an evangelist and an apostle according to the *Speculum's* commentary (Munich, CLM, Ms., fol. 7).

In some other fifteenth century Speculum versions, this bizarre image is replaced by a more coherent one. In some French versions, the three pinnacles are transformed into "iii boys" (three columns) which may echo the traditional two sacred columns: "Jachin" and "Boaz", that flanked the Temple's doorway, but still retain the metaphorical sense of the Virgin's Triple Crown (Paris, B.N. Ms. Fr. 6275, fol. 6ʳ, 1449; Paris, B.N., Rés. 1247, fol. VIII, 1449).

Moreover, the Temple, built with white marble and adorned with gold, also typifies the Virgin's distinguished characteristics: her Chastity and her Charity, while the spiral staircase signifies, according to the *Speculum*'s commentary, the Virgin's Divinity, through which the believer will be elevated to Heaven.

According to this text, not only the Temple itself typifies the Blessed Virgin and her Immaculate Conception. The sacred vessels inside it, the Ark of the Covenant, the Candelabrum (the Menorah) are also related to her metaphorical image. The Ark of the Covenant, which contains both the Ten Commandments and Aaron's rod, elsewhere symbolises the Immaculate Conception, referring to the Virgin's Womb filled by the Divinity, while the Candelabrum, resplendent with light, prefigures the Virgin's Chastity (Saint-Omer, BM, Ms. 184, fol 9ᵛ; Paris, BN fr. 6275, fol. 12ʳ). Sometimes the seven branches of the candelabrum are compared to the Seven Works of Misericorde which are also related to the Virgin (Lutz and Perdrizet, II, 130).

Jan Van Eyck's Ypres Altarpiece (Warwick Castle, ca. 1441, finished after the artist's death) shows some affinities with the *Speculum* tradition. The inner section of the wings contains some mariological metaphors related to the Immaculate Conception: the Burning Bush and the Golden Fleece on the left wing and the Closed Gate and Aaron's Rod, on the right. This image is completed with an inscription that relates the Temple's symbolic meaning to the Virgin's Immaculate Conception: *Conditoris tempelum sancti spiritus sacrium* ("She is the Temple of the builder, the Sanctuary of the Holy Spirit" as Cited in Meiss, 'Light as Form and Symbol in some fifteenth century paintings', *Art*

Bulletin, vol. 27, 1945, p. 180 and n. 43).

The Virgin as the Temple or the Virgin in the Temple is also related to *Ecclesia*. In Herrard of Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum* (1181), we read the following: 'The woman seated within the sacred edifice (the Temple) signifies the Church that is called the Virgin Mother' (Panofsky, p. 145). The Virgin Mary who sits inside the Temple assimilates the idea of the Virgin prefigured by the Temple and typifying the Church (cf. *Bible Moralisée*, ca. 1250, London, BL Harley Ms. 1527, fol. 5ʳ and also Broederlam's *Annunciation*).

NOTES

1. Krinsky, 1970, 1-19, especially 1-2, nn. 1, 2, and 3 and pl.1.
2. Only in the late 16th century does an archaeological approach emerge in the study and description of the Temple of Jerusalem, Krinsky, 1970, 2 and 19. However, the oblong pattern appears in graphic art only in the 17th century.
3. On the *ciborium* type for the Temple in Byzantine art cf. Krinsky,1970, 9-10. This Eastern pattern was later adoped in some Italian Trecento representations of the Temple. In some thirteenth century French illuminated manuscripts, the *ciborium* is adopted as a symbolic representation for the Temple, cf. Haussher, 1968.
4. P. Durrieu, "Le Temple de Jerusalem dans l'art francais et flamand du XVᵉ siècle" in *Mélanges offerts a Gustav Schlumberg*, Paris,1924, I, 506 ff.; Krinsky, 1970; Haussher, 1968; Cahan, 1976.
5. Rosenau, 1979, ch. III: "Aspects of Realism", in a way follows Krinsky's method in pointing out the realistic aspects of depictions of the Temple in Renaissance art which are based on the Dome of the Rock pattern.
6. Panofsky, 1971, 33, 131-132, 135, 136 ff.
7. Cerfaux, 1948: 111-114, 185-186; Congar, 1958, 142-145, 178-179, 181-184.
8. F.G. Godwin, "An illustration to the De Sacramenta of St. Thomas d'Aquinas", *Speculum*, 26, 1951, 609-614; Panofsky, 1971, 1, 33, 2, pl. 11; K. Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, Oxford, 1962, 9-12, 43-45; F. Avril, *L'Enluminure à la Cour de France*, Paris, 1978, 61, and pl. 11.
9. Saint Augustine, The *City of God*, Book XVIII, ch. 45, 160.
10. *Ibid.*, ch. 48, 168.
11. Panofsky, 1971, 1, 47, n. 4, 135, and text ill. 55. Panofsky suggests that this manuscript might have been made for the Duke Jean de Berry.
12. *ibid.*, 1, 131 and n. 1; J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, New York, 1979, 19.
13. Panofsky, 1971, 1, pp. 86-89, 131-132.
14. *ibid.*, 1, 133.
15. Blumenkranz, 1966, 66. *The Entry into Jerusalem* is represented on the lintel of the northern doorway of the same facade of Saint-Gilles Church, the view of Jerusalem

being dominated by the Temple which has exactly the same form as in *Synagoga*'s crown (see *idem*, pls. 71-72).

16. In a 12th century ivory, the so-called Ivory of Bamberg, *Synagoga* is represented as an enthroned Queen, wearing a crown composed of towers (Jerusalem). She is seated before the Temple. (Ch. Cahier and A. Martin, "Cinq ivoires sculptes", *Mélanges d'Archeologie et de Litterature*, Paris, 1851, 2, 56.

17. Lewis, 1986, 546-548, pl. 3.

18. The *Templum Solomonis* is quite often associated in fifteenth century imagery with the Saracen crescent. This association seems to figure for the first time in the 9th century Journey Book of Bernard de Wise, a French monk who describes the temple as an Islamic mosque ('templum Salomonis, sinagogum sarracenorum'; cf. Krinsky, 1970, 4 and n. 15).

19. Joseph is identified with the Temple of Jerusalem as *Synagoga* in a 13th century French *Bible Moralisée*, London, B.L. Harley Ms. 1527, fol. 5ʳ.

20. In the *Testimonia* of Saint Cyprian (ca. 210-258), Christ is compared to the New Temple. Pauline theology makes an analogy between the Temple and Christ's Body (Eph. IV:12, 16; Col. II:19). Cerfaux 1948, 3 and 260-261 emphasises the idea that the Church itself is Christ's Body, which replaces the Old Temple. The Church is the New and Spiritual Temple.

21. Congar, 1958, 182-183, 311, 334; Christ purified the Temple three times, in his Presentation, in his Passion and Death, and by his Resurrection, when the destroyed Temple was rebuilt *ibid*, 169-70, 172.

22. In Roger Van der Weyden's Presentation (*Columba Altarpiece*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek) a different attitude is manifested. Here the Presentation takes place in a semi-central Romanesque construction. According to Panofsky 1970, 1, 135, this signifies a "Jewish ritual performed in the Jewish Temple".

23. Panofsky, 1970, 1, 135.

24. *ibid*., 136.

25. C. Harbison "Realism and Symbol in Early Flemish Painting", *Art Bulletin*, 66, 1984, 594-95, believes that the new Gothic cathedral which is about to be built will replace the old construction. He mentions the contemporary custom of destroying older structures in order to make room for new ones.

26. Smith, 1972.

27. Panofsky, 1970, 1, 136, n. 4; Although G. Smith 1972, 116, agrees with Panofsky that the distinction between the structures expresses the opposition between Christianity and Judaism, he believes that the Master of Flemalle had another metaphor in mind in joining the two buildings. Smith considers that the image expresses the idea of Christianity growing out of the Old Law without destroying it, and attempts to establish this view by showing how the decoration of the stained glass windows and capitals in the rotunda fits into this iconographical program. However, it seems that Smith was constrained by his theory that the scenes of the rotunda decoration are related to the *Bible Moralisée*.

28. The punishment of Cain was compared to the punishment of the Jews, expelled and cursed by God. In the 15th century *Bible Moralisée* in the *Heures de Rohan* (Paris,

B.N. lat. 9471, fol. 18), the moralisation says: "Ce que Dieu maudit Cayn senefie Jehsu Christ qui maudit les Juix et il vont a perdicion et les amennent les deables."

29. Smith, 1972, 119.

30. The omission of the Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek from this cycle is not surprising. This episode, which prefigures the Eucharist, does not fit into an iconographical program which points out the sinful character and the defeat of *Synagoga*.

31. Smith, 1972, 123. The Betrayal of Delilah was compared to the Betrayal of Judas; Samson's victory over his enemies was compared to Christ's triumph over the Jews.

32. *idem*, 123. and n. 49.

33. *idem*, 126-27.

34. *Bible Moralisée*, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian Ms. 270b, fol. 158[r].

35. *ibid*. and *Bible Moralisée*, 13th century, Vienna O.N.B. cod. 2554, fol. 47[r] and *Bible Moralisée*, 14th century, Paris, B.N. fr. 167, fol. 79[r].

36. Vienna, O.N.B. cod. 2554, fol 47[v].

37. Paris, B.N. fr. 167, fol. 79[v].

38. Smith, 1972, 127. Smith does not give any references to this image.

39. In a French version of the *Speculum: Mirroir du Salut Humain* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. 403, Ch. XLIII, ca. 1465, cf. A. Wilson and J.L. Wilson, *A Mediaeval Mirror, Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 1324-1500, Berkely, 1984, 86, 3-29), the Kingdom of Heaven is depicted next to its prefiguration: Queen Sheba's visit to King Solomon. On a late 15th century Netherlandish blockbook version of the *Speculum*, the verse of the caption beneath the illustration to Ch. XLII refers to "Regum celorum erit retribucio beatorum" (The Kingdom of Heaven shall be reward of the blessed), which is prefigured by "Regina Saba rex Solomon" (*idem*, 204).

40. "Ce que Salomon rendu grace au dieu quand il perfit le temple segnefie Jhuscrist qui rendit grace a Pere de ciel de ce qu il ai perfeit Sainte eglise."

41. C. Sterling and C. Schaefer, *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, London, 1972, n. 25; Krinsky, 1970, 13.

42. W. Cahan, 1974, 15; the famous twelve spiral columns of St. Peter at Rome were believed to be the columns of the original Temple brought to Rome from Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple.

43. Cahan, 1974, 51-55: the twisted form is based on the pillar type of the El Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

44. Cerfaux, 11948, 111-15, 185, 260-61; Congar, 1958, 142-45, 178, 181-83, 334.

45. Fouquet approaches Jan van Eyck who replaced the traditional antithesis between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* by an assimilation of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* into one substance, expressing the idea of the Church growing out of the Synagogue (see Panofsky's discussion of the problem of the juxtaposition of Romanesque and Gothic in Jan van Eyck's works, Panofsky, 1970, 1, 134-40, 215 ff.).

46. E.g. a 13th century *Bible Moralisée*, Vienna, O.N.B. cod. 2554, fol. 50[v], and a 14th century *Bible Moralisée*, Paris, B.N. fr. 167, fol. 81[v], discussed on p. 6-7.

47.   C. Schaefer, *Recherches sur l'iconologie et la stylistique de l'art de Jean Fouquet*, Lille, Service de Reproduction des Thèses, 1972, 1, 3, 284-88, remarks that in the French adaptation of Flavius the Temple of Jerusalem is called "l'eglise", (the Church). This transformation of the text reflects, Schaefer believes, certain political attitudes current in the French Court. It is thus not surprising that Fouquet depicts the Temple as an idealised Cathedral.

48.   Cerfaux, 1948, 185-86; 260-67.

49.   In 13th century theological sources and commentaries on the Bible and the Apocalypse, we find an intense interest in the linked themes of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jews' rejection of Christ. The destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple was considered as a punishment for the rejection of Christ and for his death. This issue is a part of a study carried out by the author on the theme of 'Vengeance' in some 13th-15th century *Bible Moralisée*.

50.   G. Deutsch, *Iconographie de l'illustration de Flavius Josephe au temps de Jean Fouquet* (Ph.D. Diss.), Jerusalem, Hebrew University, 1978, 292.

51.   Aristobolus was drowned in a pool near Jericho on Herod's order. This version is mentioned by Josephus Flavius in the *Jewish Wars, Book 1, ch. 22*, as well as in the *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book 15, Ch.3. Later, as is shown in the different illustrations to Josephus, another version was established: the drowning of Aristobolus the High Priest in the Pool of Purification before the Temple, which appears in the foreground of Fouquet's illumination.

52.   Deutsch, 332-33.

53.   In a 14th century *Bible Moralisée*, Paris, B.N. fr. 167, fol. 241[v] and also in a 13th century *Bible Moralisée*, London, B.L., Harley 1527, fol. 5.

54.   According to legend the remains of the Temple were hidden under the Rock.

55.   In the famous French maps of the Cambrai manuscript (Cambrai, B.M. Ms. 437, fol. 1, ca. 1150), the Dome of the Rock is identified as *Templum Domini*. In a contemporary Flemish map of Jerusalem (London, B.L. Ms. Add. 32343, fol. 15[r], ca. 1150), the *Templum Dei* (the Dome of the Rock), figures as a round structure, while the *Templum Solomonis* (El Aqsa), takes the form of a basilica. (This round structure became a convention for the *Templum Domini*; it is repeated on other contemporary maps, in the version of Stuttgart, ca. 1150, or that of Brussels - ca. 1180.) The Dome of the Rock, topped with a cross, figures as *De Templum Christi* on a contemporary Templar seal. Sometimes both structures, *Templum Dei* and *Templum Solomonis* (or Solomon's palace) take the form of a basilica topped with a cross, as for instance in the "Icelandic Map of Jerusalem" (Copenhagen, Arnamagnacanske Institut, Ms. 736).

55a. Erhard Rewich, "View of Jerusalem", an illustration in Bernard Von Breydenbach's *Reise in Hiligeland*, 1486.

55b. *View of Jerusalem*, 1455, Paris, B.N. fr. 9087, fol. 85[v]; Barthelemay Van Eyck, *Heures de Réne d'Anjou*, London, B.L. Egerton 1070, fol. 5[r], ca, 1435-1436.

56.   The Dome of the Rock outline appears here for the first time in the history of panel painting.

57.   C. Sterling, "Jan van Eyck, avant 1432", *Revue de l'Art*, 33, 1976, 52-53, assumes

that this painting was executed after Jan van Eyck's return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; Rosenau, 1979, 65, also believes this view to be a realistic one. Krinsky, 1970, 15, thinks that this panel is a post-Eyckian work (ca. 1455-1460 or even later), perhaps based on Burgundian manuscripts. This hypothesis, however, does not seem plausible. J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer and J. Giltaij, after careful laboratory research, have confirmed the attribution of this work to Hubert or Hubert and Jan van Eyck before 1426 ("Een nader onderzoek van 'De drie Maria's aan het H. Graf" - een schilderij uit de "Groep Van Eyck' in Rotterdam", *Oud Holland*, 101, 1987, 254-76.

58. In fact, the view of Jerusalem painted by Van Eyck is not very different from that made by Jacquemart de Hesdin about forty years earlier for his Three Marys at the Tomb in the *Très Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 11060-11061, fol. 186[v].

59. To give some examples: Roger van der Weyden, *Crucifixion*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisch Museum; Hans Memling, *The Seven Joys of the Virgin*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek: here the Dome of the Rock, decorated with a crescent, stands for Herod's palace; Flemish Anonymous Master, *The Passion of Christ*, late 15th century (present location unknown), in T. Kollek and M. Pearlman, *Jerusalem*, Tel-Aviv, 1969 (Hebrew edition), 121.

60. In the Limbourg *Crucifixion*, in *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, (Chantilly, Musée Condé, fol. 153[v]), the scene is a nocturne, illustrating the moment when the world was plunged into darkness. In the second medallion, on the right, the riven Temple curtain is depicted.

61. Christ's sermon, when he left the Temple for the last time, and went to the Mount of Olives, accompanied by Peter, James, John and Andrew (Matthew 24:1; Luke 21:5 and Mark 13:1) was interpreted as his prophecy of the Destruction of the Temple (Congar, 1958, 168; A. Feuillet, "Le Discours de Jesus sur la ruine du Temple d'apres Marc XIII et Luc XXI", *Revue Biblique, 55, 1948, 82-502 and 56, 1949, 61-92).* The rending of the curtain symbolises the fulfillment of Christ's prophecy (Congar, 1958, 172). On the other hand, the Holy of Holies was thus unveiled for the first time, signifying its opening to all believers, Gentiles and Jews, and all others, with Christ's death (*idem*, 173-74).

62. Krinsky, 1970, 7; This motif recurs in a 15th century German woodcut illustration in *Registrum ab imitas Mundi*, Nuremberg, 1493, fol. XX.

63. C. Sterling, 1983, 46, 67. Sterling remarks (*idem*, 63) that Jean de Montagnac is wearing a grey-black mantle - a travelling dress - to allude to his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

64. *idem*, 201-02, "Document 8", # 12-16.

65. *idem* # 17: "Item, oultre la mer sera une partie de Jherusalem; premierment, le mont olivet ou sera la croix Nostre Seigneur, et au pié d'icelle ou aura ung priant chartreux, et ung poy loing sera la le monument Nostre Seigneur et une ange desus.' In fact, there is no description of Jerusalem but only of its surroundings, the Mount of Olives, Christ's tomb, and, further on (# 18), the Virgin's tomb ("monument") in the Valley of Josaphat. This view of Jerusalem is not very different from the

traditional views of the Holy City represented during the 15th and 16th centuries: a combination of local urban and pseudo-oriental elements. Sterling, 1983, 59 has identified some monuments of the town of Villeneuve-les-Avignon.

66. The Latin inscription states that *Synagoga* denies Christ, the Lord's son; she does not believe in the prophets and turns away from God. Therefore she loses her crown, her banner is broken, and she falls into Hell (Blumenkranz, 1966, 107, 108).

67. On a 12th century silver paten (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 8924), a group of Jews are seen in front of the Doorway of Hell. They are clearly identified as *Synagoga*, inscribed on a scroll (*idem*, pl. 122).

68. In the Last Judgement of Amiens Cathedral, *Synagoga* is seen below the Balance scale held by St. Michael, exactly under the damned soul.

69. In 15th century Mystery Plays, Jews as well as *Synagoga* herself are destined for Hell and Damnation for their betrayal of God. In a 15th century Mystery Play, *Ecclesia* says: "Ceulex qui en la crois l'ont pendu/ ce sont bien au diable rendu/ ---Par tous les bons d'enfer gecter" (in A. Jubinal, Mystère inédit du XVᵉ Siècle, Paris, 1937, 2, 258). This motif also occurs in a contemporary Passion Play, in which we read that for their betrayal the Jews should be thrown into the "Prison infernal", (*idem*, 406). "*C'est la mort d'enfer cele est votre dectes*--", *Ecclesia* says here to *Synagoga*, in a furious dialogue under the Cross.

70. *Living Cross*, a German woodcut, ca. 1460-1470, (in F. Guldam, *Eva und Maria*, Cologne, 1966, pl. 114); initial R. from a late 15th century German manuscript, with a Living Cross (Munich, Staatsbibliothek lat. 23041, fol. 181ᵛ); a Living Cross painting, 1588, Breslau (in G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art, 2: The Passion of Jesus Christ*, London, 1972, pl. 531).

71. R. Mellinkoff has discussed the significance of reddish hair or skin as associated with evil, in her very interesting article "Judas' red hair and the Jews", *Journal of Jewish Art*, 9, 1982, 31-46. Cf. M. Pastoreau, *Couleurs, images, symbols*, Paris, 1989, 50-51.

72. Sometimes she holds a yellow flag decorated with a scorpion or a black skull. On the symbolic meaning of "bad yellow" cf. *idem*, 49-51.

73. C. Singer, "Allegorical representation of the Synagogue in a twelfth century illustrated Ms. of Hildegard of Bingen", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1, 1914-1915, 284.

74. K. Young, *The Drama of the Mediaeval Church*, London, 1933, 2, 226-7.

75. Sometimes grey or brown replace black for *Synagoga*'s dress. In a 15th century Passion Play *Synagoga* is said to be clad in brown while *Ecclesia* is in vermillion: 'Ste Yglise est vermille et Synagogue brun' (Paris, B.N. fr. 7218, fol. 541ᵛ).

76. Paris, B.N. fr. 166. fols. 42, 424, 43 and 46ᵛ; In a *Book of Periscopes* of the Abbess Uta, (11th century, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. lt. 13601), *Synagoga*'s hair is reddish, flame-like. In the Middle Ages, flame-shaped tresses were associated with evil (F. Garnier, *Le Langage de l'Image au Moyen Age, Signification et Symbolique*, Paris, 1982, 137-39). The Synagogue in Abbess Uta's manuscript is clearly associated with death and with the Bad Tree (W. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 10).

77. Mellinkoff, 1982, pls. 2, 4, 15 and 16.

78. Sterling, 1983, 62-3, explains this devil as a reference to the Muslims. In a French manuscript of Saint Augustin *City of God* (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, ca. 1610), the City is depicted as a contemporary town with angels hovering above. This image is juxtaposed to God in Glory. This Heavenly City is sharply contrasted to the City of Sins - Jerusalem, an oriental-type town dominated by the Temple in the form of the Dome of the Rock, with demons hovering above. On the right, Lucifer is falling into Hell's Mouth (in: *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Walter Art Gallery, an Exhibition held by the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1949, catalogue No. 82).

79. C. Gardet, *De La Peinture du Moyen Age a Savoie*, Annecy, 1969, 3, LIV. (According to Gardet the *Apocalypse* was illuminated by Jean Bapteur and Peronet Lamy between 1428-1435 and was later completed by Jean Colombe towards the end of the century.) This idea is also echoed in Friar Berthold of Regensberg's sermon (active ca. 1240-1272). Berthold conceived the magnificent Temple of Solomon as Christendom, while the four courtyards surrounding the Temple symbolise Jews, heretics, heathens and and excommunicated who are not allowed to enter the Temple. (Cf. J. Cohen, The Friars and the Jews,*The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, Ithaca and London, 1982, 235.

80. In a 13th century French copy of *Liber Floridus by Lambet of Saint-Omer* (Paris B.N. fol. 38ᵛ), the angel gives the rod to St. John to measure the Temple. Here the Temple is depicted as a basilica decorated with crosses over the door and the spires. This structure is identified by an inscription as *Templum Dominis*.

81. This miniature contains a sequence of episodes related to the legend of Antichrist. On the left there is the Appearance and Adoration of the Beast - Antichrist; the Coronation of Antichrist as King of Judea; Antichrist enthroned in the Temple; he gives gifts to his disciples - the Jews; the Killing of the Witness; the Fall of Antichrist and the Destruction of the Temple.

82. R.K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, Chicago, 1981, 77. See also E. Walberg, *Deux versions inédits de la legende de l'Antechrist au XIIIᵉ siècle*, Paris, 1928, I-V, no. 8. See also Jacobus de Voraigne, *La Légende Dorée*, (translated by J.B.M. Roze) Paris, 1967, 2, 32.

83. According to Berengaudus, the Destruction of the Temple is punishment and vengeance for the Jews' betrayal of Christ.

84. In the famous Anglo-Norman Apocalypse from the library of Charles V, King of France (Paris B.N. fr. 403, fol 18ʳ), Antichrist is enthroned in a Temple of pseudo-oriental construction characterised by an onion dome. (Pseudo-oriental architecture for the false Temple occurs in another contemporary Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 524, fol. 7ᵛ.) The composition of the Charles V Apocalypse may have served as a model for the Netherlandish illuminator, since the Fall of Antichrist is followed by the Destruction of the Anti-Temple.

85. A. Châtelet and J. Thuillier, *La Peinture Francaise de Fouquet à Poussin*, Geneva, 1964, 72; F. Robin, *La Cour d'Anjou-Provence: la vie artistique sous la règne de René*, Paris, 1985, 211-12.

86. M. Vloberg, *La Vierge et l'Enfant dans l'art francais*, Paris, 1938, 282, here recognises depictions of Beaucaire and Tarascon, while Krinsky, 1970, 16-17, thinks the city must be Jerusalem. He believes that Froment combined the Dome of the Rock and the El Aqsa mosque into the structure of the Temple.

87. The river that separates the Temple enclosure and the City walls may have the same significance as in Jan van Eyck's *Madonna with the Chancellor Rolin* (Paris, Louvre, ca. 1434-5), and Roger van der Weyden's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, c. 1434-35) - that is, the River of Celestial Jerusalem (see Panofsky, 1971, 1, 139, 163, 252-54).

88. Cf. Appendix.

89. The New Celestial temple was related to Christ's Body, or to the Spouse - the Virgin and the Church; Cerfaux, 1948, 26).

90. Saint Bernard, *Oeuvres Mystiques; Sermons sur la Cantique de Cantiques* (ed. A. Beguin), Paris, 1983, 801-8.

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The Observant Believer as Participant Observer:

"Ready-Mades" *avant la lettre* at the Sacro Monte, Varallo, Sesia*

Nevet Dolev

Illusionistic subterfuge, collage, or assemblage, however, we call it, is an old, old thing under a new name ... During the Italian Renaissance [it is manifested in the work of the] versatile Milanese Gaudenzio Ferrari, friend of Raphael and follower of Leonardo" [the most prominent of the early artists who worked at the Sacro Monte of Varallo].[1]

*C*lassical values clearly determined the nature of mainstream art in the Renaissance. Beauty, defined as that to which nothing could be added, was exemplified in "canonical" works which employed orthodox, "neutral" and malleable media imbued with meaning in accordance with the will and skill of the artist. As opposed to collage or assembled art into which identifiable objects were introduced, "normative" works in paint, marble or bronze left the artist unhampered by non-art objects upon which a human or natural agent has previously imposed recognizable form and meaning. Theoretical opprobrium not withstanding, a multitude of Renaissance works of art did incorporate objects - natural and man-made, found by chance or re-cycled - which the author of the work did not make but merely selected.

Heterogeneous by nature due to the intrusion of extrinsic or alien elements, the art in question did not conform to the standards of classicism and was usually relegated to the minor and decorative arts or to peripheral settings and contexts. Needless to say, the differences between the objects used and the new settings into which they were inserted, reflect far-reaching differences of almost every kind. Dismembered antiquities, re-made into something new, graced the grottoes and gardens of the privileged and celebrated the cult of *rinascimento* and sophisticated *otium*. *Curiosa naturalia* - found "freaks" of nature

such as baroque pearls, corals and the like - interpolated into jewellery and luxury items, bespoke the opulence and status of their owners while catering to late Renaissance taste for the irregular, bizarre, unpredictable and precious.

By contrast, the incorporation of homely, commonplace, utilitarian artefacts - baskets, beads, ropes, crutches - into the passionately devotional art, which is the subject of this paper, was deemed expedient for intensifying piety in the hearts of simple folk. For the kind of objects among which Varallo's sculptured simulacra lead their lives, we must turn our backs on the halls of the mighty and on notions of artistic propriety. In the "New Jerusalem", at art's outskirts, contemporary articles of everyday life served the "everyday" of a different species of sculpted humanity than the arrogant ancient nudes which populated private collections, exhuding the perfumed patina of paganism. Here, obedient worship and humble contrition ensued from identification with the familiar and ordinary. The use of "ready-mades", mainly as props and accessories, made a second-hand reality into a second reality.

The grandest monumental embodiment of such hyper-realism is to be found in the "New Jerusalem", the first of several *Sacri Monti* in the north of Italy (fig. 1). Although the art at Varallo reflects a knowledge of contemporary technical innovations and styles, it cannot be judged (at least not positively) in terms of the idealizing classicism which characterizes "Vasari's" Renaissance art. It neither upholds Renaissance values, nor deliberately negates them: its interest simply rests elsewhere.

La Nuova Gerusalemme
The spectacular pilgrimage sanctuaries known as the *Sacri Monti* are one of the extraordinary enterprises in the history of religious art. Situated in the north of Italy where the foothills of the Alps reach down into the plains of Lombardy and Piemonte, the mountains' claim to "sanctity" is due to the chapels with which they are studded. Within these chapels, sacred history was set forth with compelling simplicity and immediacy, speaking to multitudes of pilgrims of Christ, His Mother and His Saints. Each chapel is populated with life-size and naturalistically colored statues which enact, against a back-drop of illusionistic frescoes, a particular religious theme - the Life of Saint Francis at the Holy Mountain of Orta, the Life of the Virgin at Oropa, the Mysteries of the Rosary at Varese, the Life of Christ at Varallo, etc.

Fervently Catholic, thoroughly committed and enlisted to inculcate religious values and arouse the most ardent emotions, all of the plastic arts have united to act in concert with the natural surroundings, suggestive of the "original" holy places in the Holy Land, so as to bring heaven down to earth, to imbue

Fig. 1: Varallo, Sesia (aerial view), the Holy Mountain.

the spiritual with solid form, and to render the there-and-then with the immediacy of the here-and-now, so that for the duration of a brief pilgrimage, an erring and penitent humanity may partake of the sacred.

The first of several places in the area to be designated for this lofty purpose was the mountain peak at Varallo, Sesia. Although the seventeenth century was the heyday of the *Sacri Monti*, which received their impetus from the Counter-Reformation, work first began at Varallo in 1482, but stretched on even into the nineteenth century, at which time the last chapel was completed. It was called *La Nuova Gerusalemme* in 1578 by the Bishop of Milan and future saint, Carlo Borromeo, because the forty-three chapels which crown its summit contain representations of episodes from the life of Christ, most of which occurred in Jerusalem.[2] This narrative representation of the life of Christ at Varallo served as the prototype for the "holy mountains" to come - Crea, Oropa, Orta, Varese, and others, which despite certain iconographical and stylistic differences, closely emulated Varallo.

The originator of the conception of a New Jerusalem was Fra Bernardino Caimi, a Franciscan monk who in 1477 was appointed the administrator of the holy places in Palestine and one of the guardians of the Holy Sepulcher, an office traditionally held by Franciscans. During his stay in Palestine, Fra (subsequently 'Beato') Bernardino became witness to the growing dangers faced by pilgrims at the hands of the Turks. He was undoubtedly also aware of the threats to the solidity of the Catholic establishment by dissident reform sects north of Italy.[3] Thus, riding the wave of popular religious fervour - and not lacking in political acumen - Fra Bernardino decided to place Mt. Zion at the doorstep of the European worshipper, thus making the pilgrimage to an "alternative" Jerusalem accessible and safe for the devout; and the terraced summit of Varallo, far from the infidel infested Orient, a spiritual, political and strategical bastion of Catholicism.

Only three years after his return to Italy, Fra Bernardino already received assurance of financial aid and the Pope's permission in 1481 to embark on his mighty enterprise. In 1493 the Municipality of Varallo granted Fra Caimi the *super parietem* of the mountain upon which the chapels were to be located, and the *subtus selettam* at its feet where the Monastery and Church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie stand. The somewhat naive and anachronistic illusionism employed in the painting of the rood screen of that church resorted to the use of raised details (*pastiglia*) and metallic pigments, and was taken even further when entire, identifiable objects were used in the sanctuary sculpture on the mountain.[4] These unusual means - deplored by Renaissance theoreticians - were to serve the cause of making, as Fra Bernardino explained in a letter of 1495 to Ludovico Il Moro, Duke of Milan, "A reproduction of the Scene of the Passion of Jesus Christ at Jerusalem."[5]

For the purpose of making his own Jerusalem as accurate a copy as possible, Caimi himself made drawings of the holy places or had them commissioned - none of which are extant[6] - and he chose the promontory over Varallo for its similarity, however tenuous, to the "real" Mt. Zion. Moreover, replicas of the original sites were to be constructed and populated by sculpted representations of the original participants in a re-enactment of the sacred events. The local Jerusalem, which offered surrogate places and objects for a vicarious re-living of the holy legend, was so successful in the eyes of the devout pilgrims that about two hundred years later an elated Canon Torrotti exclaimed: "The neighborhood of this, *our* Jerusalem, is the exact counterpart of that which is in the Holy Land, having the Mastallone on the one side for the brook Kedron, and the Sesia for the Jordan, and the Lake of Orta for that of Caesaria."[7]

But where the chapel art bedazzled our seventeenth century Canon into a

comparison with "the works of the Lord, for He hath done wonders upon earth,"[8] more recent critics are ambivalent and find the most apt comparison for it in the somewhat garish creatures which haunt wax museums:

> "At the *Sacro Monte* the various chapels that illustrate the history of Christ are identical in kind and purpose to what waxworks, or the dioramas of a natural history museum, are today."[9]

and

> "It is in the face of the chapel sculpture of the 'Holy Mountains' ... that we are tempted to recall an art form of our own age - Pop Art. Or if you prefer, the figures of the Musée Grévin or Madame Tussaud's Wax-works ..."[10]

On the other hand,

> "Et pourtant, les quarante-trois chapelles du *Sacro Monte* de Varallo n'evoquent à aucun moment le musée Grévin."[11]

The comparison with the dubious creations of the wax museum poses the perennial problem with which the philosophy of aesthetics has been contending since antiquity: namely, at what point does art overstep its boundaries by being exaggeratedly realistic? Situations in which "real" objects (re)presented themselves were condemned by theory from time immemorial as a breach of artistic faith. The use of "ready-made" objects which pushes illusionism over the cliff of fiction into the abyss of the real makes this problem even more acute. It is to be hoped that a greater acquaintance with the ambience which witnessed the creation of "our" Jerusalem" will illuminate the peculiar circumstances which brought its unique kind of art into being.

In an early essay on the *Sacri Monti*, which had previously been neglected by art historians, Rudolf Wittkower relates their origin to both medieval precedent and contemporary practice.[12] "Copies" of sacred sites in general and of the Holy Sepulcher in particular had been well known in the west from at least as early as the fifth century. Fra Caimi could have taken the idea of crowning a mountain top with a church from the Bible and medieval precedents.[13] Likewise, by making the chapel of the Holy Sepulcher (which incorporated a stone from the "real" Sepulcher in Jerusalem) the first to which he immobilized artistic efforts, he was adhering to the medieval tradition of the reliquary and the *mises au tombeau* which, common in northern Italy, probably derived from those in Burgundy. Underlying all, however, are Renaissance technical innovations and especially its mastery of *trompe l'oeil* painting, sculpture and architecture which account for the awesomely veristic surrogates of long gone people and places.

From "conceits intellectual to images sensible":[14] The popularization of belief
Calling to mind narrative cycles otherwise found in frescoes, mosaics and manuscripts, which likewise unfolded the story of salvation in temporal sequence, Varallo was nourished by countless sources, artistic and extra-artistic alike. Among these were the *sacra rappresentazione*, homiletic literature, inflammatory sermons, the relatively recent depictions of the Stations of the Cross - the distance between which *soste* had been measured by Franciscan monks in the Holy Land, etc. However, despite all these ties to earlier and contemporaneous genres, the art in the "New Jerusalem" shocks irreverent hearts and eyes bigoted by an allegiance to the neo-classicism of the Renaissance with its dramatic sentimentality and all-embracing illusionism - not to speak of the unidealized corporality with which it imbues things of the spirit. Not to be lightly dismissed as "folk" or "devotional statuary",[15] although it subsumed both of these forms - as attested to by the "ready-mades" which it was prepared to welcome into its domain - it blurs the boundaries between fiction and reality, image and object, art and life. Originally pilgrims could even enter the chapels and actually mingle in with the biblical protagonists, so that by "taking by the hand" there would be a "taking to the heart". In the seventeenth century, however, grids were placed at the entrance to the chapels, determining the angle of vision in keeping with counter-reformatory values and separating worshippers from actual contact with the sculptures.

A similar obliteration of borderlines characterizes other "enlisted" genres with edificatory aims. Clergymen condone the strewing of hay over church floors at Christmas; the physical immediacy of the Christmas *creche* is found to be efficacious for facilitating the spiritual pilgrimage to Bethlehem, especially for novitiates; pietist literature enjoins readers to "make believe" that real and familiar objects and places are those from biblical Jerusalem.

Not only the birth of the Saviour, but also the burials of His more illustrious devotees involved the use of real objects. Thus, in Sta. Croce and elsewhere, family tombs were decked with all kinds of trophies and personal memorabilia of ancestors. These included clothing, armour and other military apparatus, banners, coats of arms, etc., upon which sculptured heads and hands were mounted.[16]

That nothing was too spiritual to prevent its being translated into matter is manifested in the degree to which people were willing to go in obtaining relics.[17] Even the reliquaries which contained them became objects of veneration and were smothered by *ex-votos*, so that crowded juxtapositions of objects of diverse sizes, colors,, materials, techniques and styles became tangible intermediaries between a belief in something vague and a promise of something even vaguer.

Thus, as early as 1300, the curiosity of the devout as to how the Word became flesh could have been satisfied when, in a polychromed wood statue of the Virgin, a glass panel was placed over the cavity of her stomach, revealing to them the as yet unborn Saviour.

Real mirrors are added to reliquaries to draw believers into the magic sphere of influence of the relics they contain: *Palmesels* drawn in Holy Week processions are fitted with reins made from real leather and Virgin Marys mantled in splendid brocade are carried in procession on feast days. *Imagenes de vestir* revitalise the sacred events for the Spanish devout. In *Presepi*, dozens of fully attired figurines, such as shepherds whose fragile sculpted bodies show through the real cloth of tattered trousers, add charm to the story of redemption. Polychromed, life-size sculptural groups enacting 'Nativities' and 'Lamentations', a specialty of Upper Italian art and of Guido Mazzoni in particular, often involve the use of casts from life and glass for eyes and are placed on the same ground level as the spectator so that every boundary making for aesthetic distance is removed[18] (fig. 2) All these served "to help our small intellect to acquire veneration ... for divine matters," as one clergyman worded it.[19]

Spiritually akin to Varallo's artistic ambience are the *ex-voti* such as the statue of Lorenzo il Magnifico wearing his own clothes, and "his wounded throat bandaged," which he offered in thanksgiving for his miraculous recovery from the certain death which awaited him at the hands of conspirators. This simulacrum, like hundreds of others of its kind in which several artistic aberrations met - casts from life (which are "ready-mades" in the interior), polychromed wax sculpture and real clothing - was placed in Ssa. Annunziata where "kings and powerful lords" were cured by a miracle-working image.[20]

It was in this world of splendidly robed Madonnas, fully apparelled effigies of devotees, sculpted Infants whose "swaddling clothes" churchgoers were entreated to "touch with their own hands," that Varallo's Christ established His reign. And it was the better to convey to His faithful the sensation of His participating in their lives and their partaking of His, that He ate His Last Supper from *their* plates. However, what was a pledge of Catholic faith became a breach of artistic faith.

"For thoughts do not call up the same images as to material things" (Quintillian):[21] The partnership between art and the object

It was the particular conception of holy personages in the late medieval arts - a special kind of Christ who was familiar enough to all to be acted by one of York's townsfolk in a miracle play; Apostles who were human enough to eat

their Last Supper at Varallo's "Jerusalem" from real dishes; a Virgin Mary who was gracious enough to hear the *cantigos* of her faithful incessantly beseeching her to perform miracles (such as that she indicate who among fellow pilgrims to Santiago stole a piece of meat),[22] that made the inclusion of common-place objects seem natural. For in the plays, songs, processions and figurative arts, vague theological conceptions, ethereal truths, profound mysticisms and unchanneled piety were resolved for the naive multitude by giving things holy a tangible and familiar form. Disembodied abstraction of thought and visual form lost the absolute autonomy which it had earlier enjoyed and became enslaved to objects. Now, in an unsophisticated merging of the real and the illusionary, so common in the popular arts, living figures of saints and angels could be installed in the "clouds" (*nuvoli*) of a St. John's procession and live child-angels - thanks to a mechanism invented by Brunelleschi - made to revolve in San Felice in Piazza's "vault of heaven" on the occasion of the Feast of the Annunciation.[24] Now a once formidable Pantocrator is resurrected by simple folk as one of their own kind and the awesome story of Salvation is anchored in the familiar, relying for its effect on an aggregate of homely and naturalistically rendered - or occasionally even "real"-objects.

This is not to say that throughout the Middle Ages entire and identifiable objects were not otherwise incorporated into its art. However, these were anything but enlisted in the service of illusionism. On the contrary - nature having become contaminated by sin, naturalism having become anathema in its association with pagan abomination - the beauty which medieval art extolled had little to do with the fleeting sights which terrestrial existence could provide and which illusionism was called upon to perpetuate. Moreover, the objects which were incorporated into the liturgical art of the Middle Ages were often holy relics and their containers were expected to celebrate the sacred with radiant effulgence, with the gleam and glitter inherent in the use of costly metals and gemstones (all too often reused pagan ones). The Nails, the Thorns, fragments from the Cross, not to mention the *Sacra Sindone*, like the other priceless objects which "really" participated in the holy events became, by virtue of that fact, disqualified for use in a narrative framework such as that at Varallo. Having become venerated as symbols, such relics lost their value as things.

By contrast, the incorporation of lowly, ordinary functional objects of the kind used at Varallo was inconceivable: not only would their abject poverty belittle the sacred and betray the lofty doctrine of the creed, but their literal realism would introduce a dissonant note into the transcendental abstraction of the given work as a whole.

When - among other reasons - a new theological approach exonerated
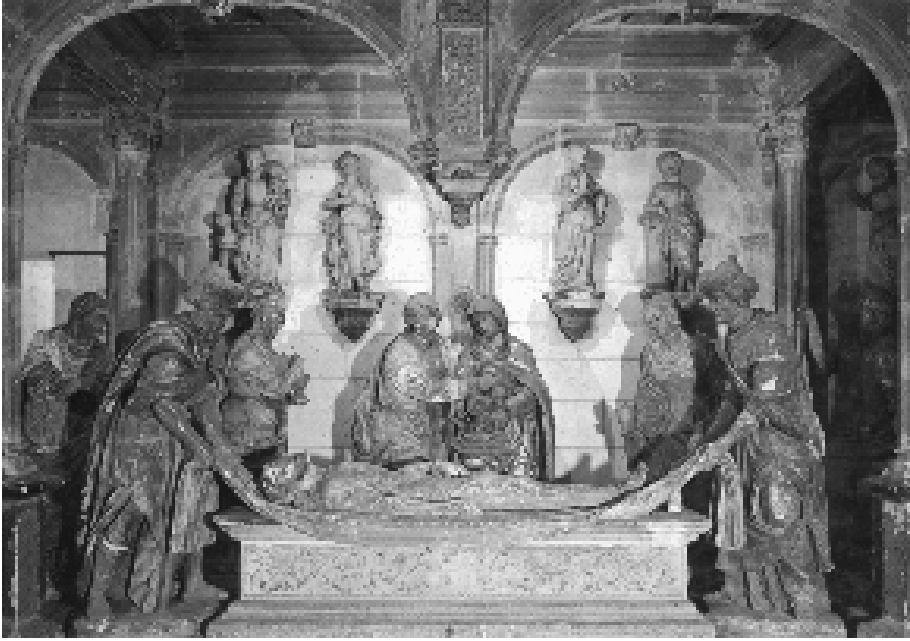
Fig. 2: Bourges, Cathedral of Saint Étienne crypt, *Entombment*.

"things" and lifted the opprobrium in which they had been held by claiming that "things" accord with God's essence,[25] late Gothic soil proved conducive to the taking root of the kind of tree from some of whose branches familiar and prosaic objects could hang as organically as fruit. Henceforth, it was possible to render in concrete form the invisible and eschatological mysteries of the Kingdom of the Lord and to set them up for display in the believer's immediate environment. Late Gothic art understood this as the license to depict an organic, "creaturely" world arrived at by an empirical approach and a "realism of particularls". These "particulars" could conceivably become most "realistic" when, indeed, real objects were brought into play.

As we have seen with relation to other art forms which partook of the popular, at Varallo real, partially real and simulated objects were all interspersed and different levels of reality vied for supremacy. To this end a very peculiar kind of artist-craftsman was needed: one who could make functional objects in an artistic medium (for example, the Good Samaritan's well in terracotta), but with such exactitude that they could act in concert with real objects (e.g. the real pail from which the righteous woman drew water) (fig. 2). This "duet" sung between *trompe l'oeil* sculptures of artefacts and real ones, or, in terms of this paper, between "pseudo" and actual "ready-mades" is rare - certainly with

Fig. 3: Varallo, Sesia. (chapel 14), *The Samaritan Woman.* Both painting and statues are by an anonymous artist.

such consistency and on such a scale, and to the best of my knowledge had neither precedents nor descendants, except in the rather God-less art of such Pop artists as Duane Hanson.

Late medieval art, basically *engagé* and subservient to the greater cause of propagating religious values, frequently offered occasions for artist-craftsmen to decorate or actually make entire functional objects. Even in the Quattrocento, "the spirit of craftsmanship was expressed, above all, in the fact that the artists' studios often take on minor orders of a purely technical nature."[26] From extant workshop records one learns of the vast amount of handicraft goods produced in artists' shops: banners,[27] patterns for tapestries and embroideries,[28] designs for carpets, shop-signs, etc. Such vestiges of late medievalism which were acceptable to Andrea del Castagno, Donatello, Botticelli, Leonardo and Dürer were to become anathema as classical values gained ascendancy. Thus, Vasari "no longer considers the acceptance of mere handicraft work as compatible with the self-respect of an artist."[29] Albeit the young Michelangelo is commissioned to make a snow-statue, but slightly later, when requested to make a dagger-blade with the further stipulation that it be done "in such a way

that it would be a marvellous thing," he refuses, arguing "that it is not my profession." Clearly this is the point when *uomo universale* comes to mean anything but versatile craftsman, and the two part ways, never to meet again in the elitist domain of the "high" arts. The former will be considered a genius even "without hands," while the latter will precisely handle objects - accomodating, compromising, and even restricting his flow of ideas in keeping with the needs and nature of the object.

The arts of the Late Middle Ages: Sermones corporei

The Holy Mountain narratives, like the mystery and morality plays, are corporeal embodiments of a moral message aimed at the edification of their audience. Their message is direct and clear, and moves sequentially to a known end - tragic and triumphant at once. Classical "catharsis" was aimed at a different audience, however, and miraculous healing and spiritual purification were promised to those who made the pilgrimage to the "New Jerusalem."

Like the Passion cycles, the chapels retell history in a drama of direct address. Even though grills on the doors and windows prohibit entrance and obstruct contact with the painted and sculpted "players", the believer sees them at very close proximity, much as he would have when "living" actors performed on pageant wagons or *edifizii*.

As an expedient means of inducing devout sentiments, pietist literature such as the *Zardino de Oratione* which appeared in Venice in the latter part of the fifteenth century, encouraged its readers to *project* biblical persons, places and events on the *real* people, places and things with which they are familiar: "The better to impress the story of the Passion on your mind ... take ... a city (room, etc.) *that is well known to you* and make believe that it is Jerusalem."[30] The visual counterparts of the Zardino's exhortations are the "ready-mades": for example, Mary's wicker basket of the kind which might have been found in any household and was obviously "well known" to all. While the Virgin sews and an angel alleviates Joseph's distress at having discovered his wife's pregnancy, the pilgrim can "make believe" that his basket serves Mary in Jerusalem and, conversely, that Mary is sewing in his house.

And as the *Zardino's* author urges his readers to "move slowly from episode to episode, meditating on each one, dwelling on each single stage and step of the story," so the pilgrim is directed to meditate while moving slowly from one chapel to the next. At the Chapel of the Magi, meditating on the Epiphany, he would be awed by the lavish entourage of the Kings - whose retainers are equipped with real spurs, spears and arrows - who come to kneel before the cold and lowly manger of the Infant Messiah. At the Chapel of The Cure of the

Fig. 4 - Sesia (chapel 10), *The Escape into Egypt*. The four statues are attributed to fermo stella. An earlier painting was replaced in 1888. Varallo.

Paralytic he would witness the strength of faith as a pile of no longer necessary (but real) crutches lies abandoned in a corner.

Wearing real hair,[31] within (spiritual) reach - if not quite within (physical) touch - Varallo's "Franciscan" Christ helped the oftentimes ten thousand pilgrims who daily visited the mountain sanctuaries to follow in the footsteps of the "real" Christ by showing them the way through personal example. In order to give His faithful the sensation of His participating in their lives, and their partaking of His, He began by eating *His* Last Supper from *their* plates.

The spectrum of Varallo's "ready-mades" includes widely diverse objects at different levels of real - or "ready-madeness". So far, attempts to categorize them have proved futile and the only object, a rock, which really came from the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, is in a category of its own. It is somewhat a paradox that whereas anachronistic counterparts of the real - the "new" plates from which Christ and the Apostles eat at the Last Supper - introuduced a dimension of honest factuality and an illusion of historical accuracy, the one "really" real object (the rock), is treated totally symbolically. For here, as with the Nails or Thorns, it was divested of its original (architectural supportive) function, and displaced from its innate surroundings into a new one where it

was metamorphosed from an architectural component into a venerated cult object. Not by chance, the rock was made part of the first chapel built at Varallo (1491) and the most important one from the symbolical point of view. It was placed in a niche outside the entrance door to the "Holy Sepulcher" and balanced by a second niche containing another relic, the skull of the blessed Fra Bernardino[32] - both relics having been dispossessed of any story-telling function and therefore fulfilling a non-narrative role in Varallo's cycle of redemption.

A glance at a single chapel suffices to show the basic artificiality and futilitiy of any attempt at classification (fig. 4). Thus, in the chapel which is dedicated to "The Rest on the Flight into Egypt" (Chapel X), a nineteenth century painted background looms up behind sixteenth century sculpture; trees - painted, sculpted and "real" (i.e. real branches made to simulate entire trees by being covered with counterfeit leaves) - are interspersed among sculpted figures; an angel leads the ass by a real rope; the Infant Christ is adorned with real beads; with one hand Joseph carries a real staff at the end of which hangs a real basket, while in his other hand he holds a real gourd on a string, apparently meant to serve as a water-jug, and a bouquet of flowers fashioned by art.

Although the "ready-mades" are limited to relatively minor and peripheral features, they fit in perfectly with the figures sculpted in *trompe l'oeil*, which are so incredibly life-like that when repairs were going on, Samuel Butler, the noted clergyman and novelist, found that it was virtually impossible to differentiate between fact and fiction. Perhaps - so Butler surmised - because the "real hair and the painting up to nature" made for such total identification between image and object, that one pilgrim, venting his rage on the tormentors of Christ, broke the nose of the dwarf in Tabachetti's "Road to Cavalry".[33]

Conclusion

All the works mentioned in this paper – *prespi*, "clothed effigies", death masks, *ex-voti*, north Italian devotional statuary, etc. – have at least one thing in common: namely, the incorporation (or, in the case of casts, mechanical duplication) of objects. At the *Sacro Monte*, where they were enlisted to epitomize the realism of hyper-realist art, these mundane artefacts inserted into highly dramatized settings proved to be expedient to the fostering of faith in people who - as Samuel Butler put it - "have not had the opportunity ... to cultivate their imaginative faculties,"[34] by affording identification with the real, i.e. the physically present and familiar.

The vernacular tongue which such objects "spoke", perfectly accorded with the popular and direct message intended by the art of which they became a part. Moreover, their having been "imported" from outside the world of art,

accorded with the conception of an "artless" art; that is, an art which was naive in the extent to which it was experienced as if it was indeed the reality it represented. The inordinate degree of verisimilitude inherent in the incorporation of the literally real, untransformed and untranscended, was, we recall, even in less "subversive" cases (e.g. the use of metallic pigments) held in opprobrium in the Renaissance and - until the realist revival of very recent years - has continued to be considered objectionable. Even after Cubist collage lifted the ban on the use of ready-made objects, they were not expected to function in *trompe l'oeil* schemes as merely representative of themselves.

Thus, while Kendall found "jewelled waxes" interesting as "relics of a curious and obsolete fashion," he judged them otherwise as "of no artistic interest."[35] The critics of the Spanish "clothed effigies" deemed them "utterly illegitimate," reviled their "use of velvet, silk, real hair and glass beads to denote tears" and needed to see them through a screen of piety and incense to find them palatable.[36] Although *ex-voti* were described by Seymour as "a remarkable art form,"[37] he could not resist putting "art form" in italics, thus, conveying his ambivalence to his readers. In the "second class" medium of terracotta, north Italian sculptors, to Huttinger's mind, "aimed to create not so much art as a cultic procession."[38]

Although Kenneth Clark found that "waxworks and Madame Tussaud's [are] the harshest words" that may be pronounced about art, it was precisely to "waxworks" that Freedberg and other critics found Varallo's art "identical in kind and purpose."[39]

Even Samuel Butler, who judged the Crucifixion chapel at Varallo to be "more remarkable" than any other work in north Italy, could not conceal his sarcasm when describing the art at the *Sacro Monte* at Varese. The actualization of biblical events was overdone to the point of reducing the sacred to trivia. This was nowhere so true as where the "ready-mades" were concerned. Thus, the Virgin Annunciate,

> "had a *real* washing stand, with a basin and jug, and a piece of real soap ... everything that Messrs. Heal & Co. would send for the furnishing of a lady's bedroom."

Protesting "too much," Butler attempts to justify the Catholic practice of offering "aids" in the way of realistic art in general and "ready-mades" in particular "to help the masses realize the events in Christ's life more vividly." However, the implicit comparison between the art at the mountain sanctuaries and that of "Madame Tussaud" (at Varese "they like it as our own people like Madame Tussaud's") speaks for itself. So does his observation that - in the Death of the Virgin chapel at Montrigone - the Apostles' (real, although not

necessarily human) hair "wants a wash and a brush-up very badly." Nor is it exactly a compliment for the *tableaux* at the *Sacro Monte* to be compared to the dioramas of natural history museums in which the products of taxidermy, replete with glass eyes and encased along with "bits of grass" in veristically painted environs are exhibited "for people who have never seen the actual animals." Even if "a stuffed rabbit or bird is a good thing," one wonders if only "according to Protestant notions," "a stuffed Nativity" is "offensive."[40]

Thus, to whichever variation or the theme of the real we turn - whether to casts from life deemed "frankly illegitimate" in their recording of every "wrinkle, pimple, and pore,"[41] or whether to the real wigs, drapery and other objects (which over the years found heirs in the "Christ of Burgos" or "Petite Danseuse" doomed by criticism to remain "outside the domain of fine art proper") - we encounter works which stretched Art's boundaries to the utmost; which, in fact, took Art beyond the pale of aesthetics by cancelling the difference between entities traditionally assumed to be antithetical: image and object, appearance and reality, seeming and being, fiction and fact; and, ultimately, art and life.

What for the aristocracy was the over-sophistication of imbuing "found" objects with a meaning utterly alien to them, is here the over-simplification of choosing objects from among an available stock to merely represent themselves in a way that necessitates neither making nor interpreting on the part of the artist. The simplicistic and self-evident device of exploiting as medium something which *a priori* contains qualities of the represented object was deemed thoroughly objectionable already by Alberti. The far more extreme incorporation of entire objects was so out of joint with Renaissance expectations of "serious" art that theory turned a deaf ear to its occurrence. Critical condemnation, however, stood in direct contrast to the spiritual succour which many a contrite heart derived from a total immersion in the gripping verisimilitude of this thoroughly committed, all-embracing *gesamtkunstwerk*.

* * * *

The present research hardly does justice to the noble concept which brought the "New Jerusalem" into being, having restricted its scope to one feature in particular: namely, the introduction of the objects of everyday life into its representational schemes. Marvelled at as "a mountain treated as though it had been a book or wall and covered with illustrations," the sprawling splendour of Varallo, paradoxically compact in its impact, should be viewed as a junction at which entities soon to go along separate paths still walk side by side. Partaking of the technical and stylistic innovations of its time, yet apparently indifferent to some of the codes which governed contemporary art and thought, Varallo was a crucible in which the stylistic and other discrepancies

concomitant with the execution of an artistic enterprise which covered a mountainside and was centuries in the making, were melted into a compelling unity. As a striking testimony to the subordination of the individual to the greater cause of religious edification, not only did individual artists (e.g. Pellegrino Tibaldi, whose work usually bears witness to a distinctive artistic personality) adapt themselves to the demands posed by the mighty enterprise, but *l'art haut* compromised with *l'art petit* or *populaire*, sculpture with painting and architecture, regional styles with universal movements, pietism with *genre*, artist with craftsman, and art with utilitarian objects.

The project which, we recall, was launched under a unique configuration of circumstances, was continued till it reached its final enormous dimensions, particularly due to its conduciveness to the consolidation of counter-reformatory fervour. Situated in a peripheral, highly provincial location, a bastion of lingering rearguard religiosity, its very "shortcomings" could be put to advantage by the Counter Reformation. For whereas the "pagan" Renaissance with its philosophical subtleties, its elitism, its collections, its intellectual theorizing and aestheticism only paved the way to Mannerist decadence and papal corruption, the fountain of backwood piety of the Piedmont sanctuaries could be tapped for its sweet water of childlike immediacy and directed into the Catholic river of unquestioning obedience. Precisely because of its naive, *engagé* and *retardataire* insulation, it could become a spearhead of the Counter Reformation from which, in turn, it and its fellow *Sacri Monti* received new impetus.

Iconographically and conceptually rooted in the late Middle Ages, its goal of bringing about pietist identification through gripping realism was made feasible by incorporating the technical discoveries and innovations of the Renaissance which themselves were enriched by a sense of drama which only the new blood of the Catholic Baroque could have injected. The results of this medley of heterogeneity probably made art historians consider it as a puerile betrayal of classical tenets and taste and hardly worthy of their attention.

On the other hand, it brought spiritual solace to the throngs of people who made their way to it throughout the years, serving the simple-minded yearnings of the "flock", if not necessarily those of many a "shepherd", some of whom, like the worldly and convivial Pius IV, would have found the rigours of even a local pilgrimage far less attractive than a congenial conversation with the leading intellectuals of the day in his Villa. Thus, not so long after Pius had been enjoying the topiary in his lavish garden, and contemplating the re-use of antique remains in the facade of his Villa - only returning to the Vatican in time for Vespers[42] - his very own nephew, the saintly Archbishop of Milan, Charles

Borromeo,[43] while praying at the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher at Varallo, received an annunciation from the Lord that soon death would release him from the vanities of mundane existence. There, amidst art which Butler thought could compete with that of the Medici Chapel, and the artefacts of everyday life - so poignantly referred to by Apollinaire as "objects soaked in humanity"[44] - he could transcend an existence weighed down by "the things of the world."

NOTES

*   This paper is dedicated to the memory of Eugenio Battisti. Though his pilgrimages to Jerusalem and to its Alpine counterpart were made "only" for the sake of art history, he was still a true believer.

1.   M.L. d'Otrange Mastai, *Illusionism in Art*, New York 1975, p. 374, n. 2.

2.   Piero Bianconi, "The Holy Mountains of Orta and Varallo," *Du*, vol. 29 (May 1969).

3.   Peter Cannon-Brookes, "Varallo Revisited," *Apollo*, vol. 100 (August 1974), p. 114.

4.   Alberto Bossi, *La Chiesa di Santa Maria delle Grazie e la grande parete Gaudenziana di Varallo*, Torino 1984, p. 50.

5.   Bianconi (1969).

6.   Peter Cannon-Brookes, "The Sacri Monti of Lombardy and Piedmont," *Connoisseur*, vol. 186 (August 1974), p. 287.

7.   Canon Torrotti quoted in Rudolf Wittkower, "Montagnes Sacrees," *L'Oeil*, vol. 59 (November 1959), p. 56.

8.   *Ibid.*, p. 60.

9.   S.J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy: 1500-1600*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1983, p. 393.

10. Bianconi (1969).

11. Eveline Schlumberger, "Un théâtre de la foi: le Sacro Monti d'Orta," *Connaissance des arts*, No. 305 (July 1977), p. 71.

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Tumarkin's Homage to the Pietà Rondanini

Avigdor W. G. Posèq

"**H**omage" is the conventional term for a type of "art about art" - that is inspired by another work rather than by non-artistic reality. Contemporary artists sometimes employ this mode to pay their respects or to acknowledge their indebtedness to a great master, or to show their admiration for a specific work. Unlike a reproduction or copy, which may connote the idea of subservience, homage implies a greater creative liberty, and in suggesting an affinity between the paraphrase and its prototype it also invites a comparison. Though ostensibly a tribute to another artist, the interpretation is often used to express a personal message. The latter is usually the case in the works of Igael Tumarkin, one of the most original Israeli artists, who has produced a surprisingly large number of sculptures honouring famous masterpieces. Like historical novels which sometimes reveal more about their authors than about their protagonists, the sculptural homages offer important psychological insights into Tumarkin's creative personality. One work of this particular genre, an assemblage standing in the Israel Museum Sculpture Garden in Jerusalem (fig. 1) is a tribute to Michelangelo's *Pieà Rondanini* showing the dead Christ being mourned by his Mother (fig. 2)[2]. Tumarkin's wish to honour the Renaissance master is no less significant than his interest in a Christian theme and both require an explanation, but the principal interest of his work is defined by its fusion of the personal and transpersonal meanings.

Tumarkin composed his work around a dark cut-out silhouette of the *Pietà Rondanini*, a strip of red cloth attached to the chest of the male figure, presumably represents the blood that sprang from Christ's body when Longinus pierced it with his lance, but the composition also includes a length of narrow railway track and a small cable car of the type used in mines and on construction sites, carrying a large unhewn rock. The integration of the natural and industrial

Fig. 1: Tumarkin, *Pietà Rondanini.* Assemblage, 1987. Jerusalem, Israel Museum Sculpture Garden.

elements with the figures cut out of 'corten' sheets emphasizes the fact that Tumarkin's *Pietà* is no mere replica of its Renaissance model. The transposition of the Christological motif into another sculptural medium is reflected both in the work's meaning as a modern artists' tribute to Michelangelo, and its own aesthetic significance.

Leaving the discussion of content to a later part of this paper, we shall first address ourselves to the purely sculptural aspects of Tumarkin's translation of Michelangelo's marble statue into essentially two-dimensional shapes and of

the new elements which have been added to it. The shadowy mother figure, somewhat resembling a shooting gallery target, supports the body of her son which looks like an oversize marionette, but in acknowledging the tactile quality of his Renaissance model Tumarkin pushed back the profile which is cut into the mother's silhouette, bent the head of the male figure and moved his limbs. [3] The arrangement of the flat shapes create a suggestion of an ephemeral volumes which may be related to the Constructivist concept of sculptural form as "negative space", while the integration of the "ready made" wagon and the *objet trouvé* stone with figurative components may be seen as a further endeavour to reconcile the contemporary methods with the artistic tradition of the Renaissance.[4]

Tumarkin's juxtaposition of the shadow-like and three-dimensional elements also brings to mind the humanist controversy over the origins of sculpture. Renaissance theorists traced the evolution of the art to the incidental evocativeness of the shapes of natural objects such as tree trunks and clods of earth which, as claimed by Alberti, early artists gradually worked into realistic representations. Classical authors on the other hand, believed that sculpture, like painting, originated in the linear tracing of the human shade.[5] By combining the silhouettes with the unhewn rock Tumarkin claims his work's descendency from both traditions, while the fact that the Israel Museum *Pietà* may be seen both as a flat "pictorial" image and sculptural composition implicitly associates its maker with Michelangelo's multifaceted dexterity. Tumarkin was probably aware that the Renaissance dispute about the relative supremacy of painting over sculpture had been resolved by declaring the *disegno* as "the parent of all arts".[6] By way of a gesture to this theory he left on the cut out figures several sketchy linear marks like a preparatory drawing. In suggesting that the work is not quite finished these marks also evoke the seemingly unfinished appearance of some of Michelangelo's statues.[7] The rough *non-finito* effect is especially characteristic of the *Rondanini Pietà*, which though completed before 1563, was reworked by Michelangelo six days before his death (in 1564) and left in a rudimentary state.[8] The broken fragments of the original composition and the marks of the chisel remaining on the figure counteract their representational purpose, so that the group is perceived as a roughly carved piece of marble.

Michelangelo's search for a new solution to an already finished work has always been understood as a moving testimony of the persistence of the master's creative urge even in old age, and though in fact the *Rondanini Pietà* is not finished, it has been acclaimed as a culmination of Michelangelo's artistic achievement. Tumarkin expressed his particular appreciation of this

Fig. 2: Michaelangelo, *Pietà Rondanini.* Marble, 1564. Milan. Castello Sforzesco.

masterpiece in a short article on "Michelangelo and the End of Marble Statuary", in his very personal survey of landmarks in the history of sculpture.[9] The title of this book, *From Earth to Earth Art*, recalls the Renaissance theory of the development of figural sculpture from natural objects; unlike Alberti, however, Tumarkin conceives the mimetic tendency as an intermediary phase. In discussing Michelangelo's position in this evolution he notes the extent to which the *Pietà Rondanini* diverges from earlier versions of the same subjects and marvels at Michelangelo's almost sensual attitude to the roughly worked Carrara marble. He particularly stresses the parallelism between the *non finito* effect, which he says "seems like an understated reflection of the creative moment in which the mutilated appearance of the figures harmonizes with the tragic theme, and Michelangelo's coming to terms with his lifelong personal problems". He claims that "as an embodiment of the completeness of the incomplete, the marble group fully conveys all that the artist wished to say;

any further touch would have been redundant and even detrimental to its perfection - but the very plenitude of Michelangelo's message also represents the end of carving in marble as an artistic medium". Elsewhere in his book Tumarkin praises primitive artists, especially African sculptors who, free from Western conventions and using divergent techniques, created superb works that breathed new life into modern art.[10] He admires especially the African sculptors' skillful use of simple materials, and says of himself that he too endeavours to create something new by composing everyday functional implements in a new context. This may be exemplified in the real troley and railway track which he added to his *Pietà.* The essentially non-mimetic aspect of this assemblage may thus be seen as its author's deliberate reaction to the concept of sculpture as an imitative art which, he feels, exhausted itself in Michelangelo's last work. This concept of the *Pietà Rondanini*, as final expression of a venerable tradition, only sharpened Tumarkin's attention of the emotional content of this statue.

The special meaning of Michelangelo's configuration has been widely discussed by art historians, with particular emphasis on the departure from the conventional formulas of the "Lamentation of Christ", which show Christ's body either prostrate on the ground or held on Mary's lap, as in the *Bella Pietà* Michelangelo's earliest version of the subject.[11] The innovatory concept of the dead Christ standing vertically and seemingly absorbed into his mother's body has also attracted the attention of psychoanalysts, who have approached the *Pietà Rondanini* against the background of Michelangelo's childhood experiences, stressing the traumatic loss of his mother and lack of warmth in his relations with his father, which in maturity resulted in a subconscious search for surrogate parent figures.[12] Michelangelo's various representations of the Madonna and Child, and also the early *Pietà* have been interpreted as a projection of his neurotic longing for mother love, while the *Pietà Rondanini* has accordingly been understood as a symbolic expression of Michelangelo's wish to be reunited with his mother, coinciding with the conscious awareness that the realization of this wish was possible only in death.[13]

Psychological insights are sometimes compared to artistic intuition and this may be especially true of the creative individual's instinctive comprehension of the latent content of the work of another artist.[14] Tumarkin's spontaneous perception of the special personal meaning of Michelangelo's last work as a token of his coming to terms with his life-long problems, was probably facilitated by certain analogies in his own childhood experiences which, like Michelangelo, he constantly exorcises in his art.[15] He was born in 1933 to a German father and a Jewish mother who, submitting to racial laws, divorced

her husband and fled Germany with her child. She settled in a Tel-Aviv suburb, remarried, and to save her son from social ostracism concealed his paternity from him. Tumarkin's childhood discovery that his mother's husband was not his parent, while his true father belonged to a nation actively engaged in the annihilation of the people whom he had come to regard as his own, was an overwhelming experience. His emotional distress resulted in unruly behaviour which caused him to be sent away from home, increasing his sense of alienation. In his helpless rage he turned against his mother and rejecting her love, blamed her for depriving him of a father.[16]

As he grew up he sought substitute parent figures. Initially he attached himself to the German-born Israeli sculptor Rudi Lehman,[17] but as his artistic horizons widened he also claimed his father's cultural heritage, adopting great German artists as models.[18] He was especially attracted to Dürer and Grünewald and repeatedly expressed his admiration of their work in autobiographical compositions. One of these, featuring a mask cast from Tumarkin's own face, is an assemblage designed to evoke Dürer's remarkable self-portrait as *Salvator Mundi*.[19] Since Tumarkin's implicit self-identification with Christ is also reflected in his several *Crucifixions* inspired by Grünewald's Isenheim altarpiece,[20] one may assume that the same concept persists in his homage to Michelangelo, and that in adopting the Italian master as another paradigm he also followed him in his personal interpretation of the "Pietà" using the Christological subject as vehicle of his own memories. He may have associated the tragic theme with his personal experiences, evoking in the marionette-like figure of the son the traumatic feeling of puppet-like control by his mother. One notes especially that, unlike Michelangelo's mother who seems to participate in Christ's ordeal, in Tumarkin's version the mother turns away from her son, implying a heartless indifference.[21] Assuming that Tumarkin identified with the son, his *Pietà* may be understood not only as a token of respect towards Michelangelo as a surrogate parent figure, but also as an expression of suppressed longing for the parental love of which he had been deprived in his youth. The submerged reference to the trauma is further enhanced by the assemblage's other components which are without counterpart in the Renaissance prototype.

The unhewn rock: this, being part of a work dedicated to Michelangelo, may perhaps be associated with Michelangelo's love of marble, in which psychoanalysts have discerned a subconscious expression of his longing for a nurturing mother.[22] Tumarkin also has a deep respect for stones[23] which in his case too, may reflect a "mother complex". Unlike Michelangelo, however, he seldom uses any carving instruments. The unhewn rock evoking the Biblical concept of the sanctity of natural stones ("for if thou lift up thy tool upon it,
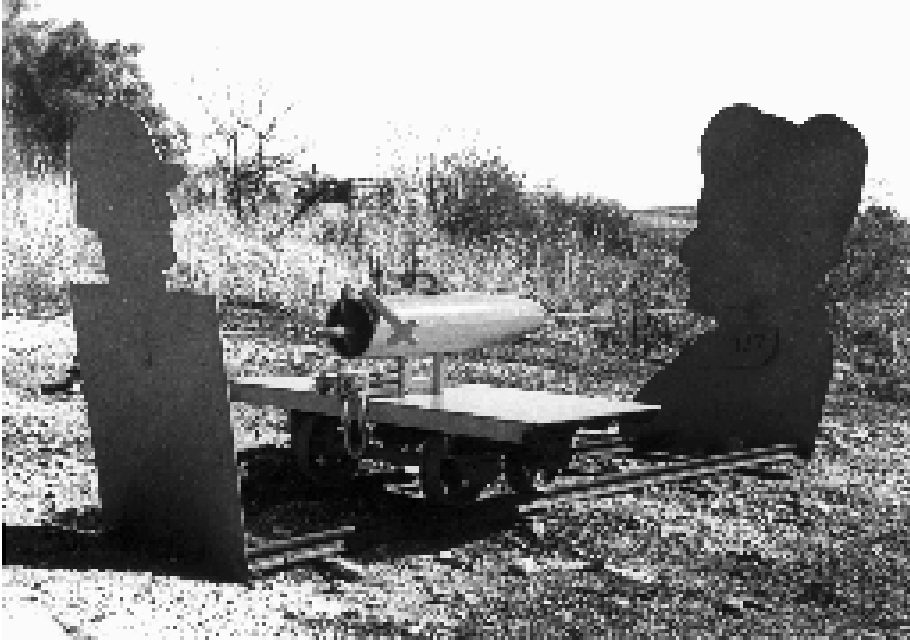
Fig. 3: Tumarkin *Von den 'Dicken Bertha' bis zur 'Roter Rosa'* Assemblage 1985.

thou has polluted it", *Ex*. 20:25)[24] may perhaps imply Tumarkin's latent tendency to cherish an ideal mother image. One notes, however, that in contrast to the stones in the Bible which were left in their natural location, in the Israel Museum *Pietà* the rock is pulled by a steel cord attached to the son's heart and removed from its natural site by a cable car. In Tumarkin's works of the 1980s cable cars and tracks are sometimes used to suggest the causative interrelation of seemingly disparate factors: e.g., in the several versions of a composition bearing the German title *Von den 'Dicken Berta' bis zur 'Roter Rosa'* (From "Big Bertha" to the "Red Rosa")[25] a canon on wheels representing the famous First World War gun linked by rails to a silhouette of Rosa Luxembourg who was murdered in 1919, is a commentary on the evolution of German militarism into political terror. A similar car, also on rails, occurs in another assemblage called *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* ("Germany, a Wintertale") (fig. 3).[26] The title was adopted from Heinrich Heine's cycle of satirical poems in which the Jewish poet declares himself a lover of German culture and denounces Prussian chauvinism.[27] Tumarkin shares these mixed sentiments. In his own Wintertale the cable car throttles a human silhouette whose black and white stripes recall the uniform of concentration camp inmates, and the rails leading to nowhere
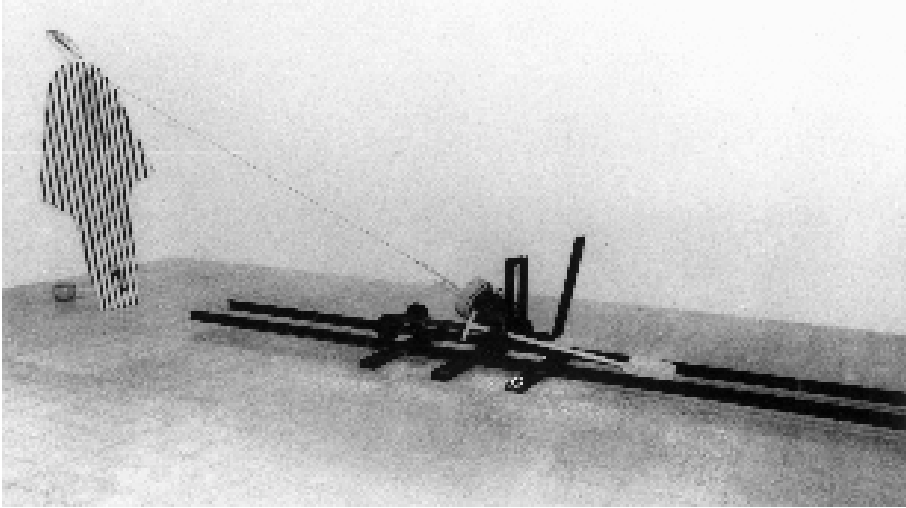
Fig. 4: Tumarkin, *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen.* Assemblage, 1985, destroyed.

allude to the Nazi 'Final Solution. In the Israel Museum *Pietà* the rails and the wagon loaded with the unhewn rock seem to symbolize the traumatic burden of such memories. The rock itself has additional meanings.

In classical antiquity rough stones were venerated as symbols of Mother Earth (Cybele) and were believed to possess magical virtues or to be inhibited by spirits. The idea survived in medieval legends and in the mystic theological concept of the "stone hewn by God" (i.e., natural rock) as the symbol of human consciousness.[28] The archetype significance of Tumarkin's rock is made more explicit by the steel cord which links it to the male figure's heart, seeming to tear him from his mother. The linkage of the stone with the figures is similar to that of the Big Bertha and the Red Rosa but the meaning is antithetical. Rather than being a target, the son painfully drags the rock - the motif reminds one of the legend of Sisyphus.[29] Tumarkin himself commented that "the son pulls and repulses that which cannot be done with nor without, and which forever is incomplete...".[30] If our former identification of the autobiographical significance of the marionette figure is correct, the unhewn stone represents not only the theme of maternity and the burden of Tumarkin's childhood memories but also the lasting memory of the German atrocities which, like Sisyphus, he is doomed perpetually to drag with him. His inner conflict is therefore even more painful than that of Heine. The *Pietà* assemblage alludes to the tragedy of Jews brought up in the reverence of European culture.

In summing, up we may contend that the significance of Tumarkin's

assemblage is essentially different from that of its Renaissance prototype against which he seems to react by using the modern techniques. The contrast is also reflected in the meaning of Tumarkin's work. Moved by the sublime pathos of the *Pietà Rondanini,* Tumarkin associated himself with Michelangelo's life-long quest for parental love; but, as a secular Jew, he is deprived even of the Italian master's hope of finding it in death. Thus, rather than the yearned for other worldly bliss, the Israel Museum assemblage epitomizes the misery of estrangement of its author and his inner need to alleviate his disorientation by relating his art to the sublime artistic tradition. However, his adaptation of the Christological motif has a deeper meaning which goes beyond that of his Renaissance model. While Michelangelo transformed a generic religious theme into a personal allegory, the allusions to the traumatic experiences which Tumarkin shared with the rest of his generation elevate his autobiographical *Pietà* to the level of a transpersonal icon of the collective Jewish remembrance. The assemblage shows also that the Jewish character of a work need not be compromised by the reference to a non-Jewish iconographical motif, and that the work of a modern Israeli artist may be intensely personal and universal at the same time.

NOTES

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1   The installation in 1987 of Tumarkin's work coincided with the Israel Museum publication of an illustrated catalogue of several of his assemblages with commentaries by M. Schneckenburger, art critic and director of the 8th Documenta in Kassel, and Y. Zalmona, the Israel Museum curator for Israeli art, cf. *Rails and Pietà*. A version of the present paper was delivered as a lecture on: "Ambivalent Images of Son and Mother in Michelangelo and Tumarkin", at the 17th Colloquium of the Historical Society of Israel, Tel-Aviv, 1993.

2   Michelangelo produced at least three sculptural versions of this subject. The "Pietà Rondanini" is named after one of the early owners of this statue, which is now in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan; cf. Baldini, 142-147.

3   Zalmona is right about "the tridimensional bodily solidity of the Renaissance sculpture" being replaced by what he calls "a two dimensional stage setting" but his description of the son as "a Karageöz shadow puppet" unnecessarily obscures the issue; *Rails and Pietà*.

4   On Tumarkin's relation to the Parisian avant garde and on his innovative sculptural methods see: Tumarkin, 1970, 7-9. On his pioneering contribution to the new sculptural realism: *Rails and Pietà*.

5   The role of shadows is described in Pliny (*N.H.* 35:151-152), while the Renaissance concept of the priority of evocative natural objects may be found in Alberti's treatise "On Sculpture", Alberti/Grayson, 121-122. Alberti's notion was probably inspired by an imaginary reconstruction of the origins of classical hermae, Posèq, 1989a, 380-384.

6   The definition was coined by Vasari in the "Introduction" to the *Vite*; Vasari/Maclehose, 205. On the Renaissance dispute over the relative merits of the arts see: Blunt, 1940, 50ff., and Barasch, 1975, 163ff. For Michelangelo's position in this debate: Summers, 1981, 269-78 and 457.

7   For an aesthetic evaluation of the *non-finito* effects see: Panofsky, 1968, 116, and Blunt, 1940, 72-73; Summers, 1970, 99-100; Hibbard, 1985, 171ff. On these effects' psychological meaning: Liebert, 1983, 229-234. Curiously enough Michelangelo disapproved of the non-finished works of other sculptors, but this perhaps means that he criticized them not so much for not being polished as for not fully expressing the artistic 'concetto', Summers, 1981, 64.

8   On the special character of this work see: Blunt, 1940, 77; and Hibbard, 1985, 288-290; also De Tolnay, 1960 154-155.

9   Tumarkin, 1989, 162. I would like to thank Mr. Tumarkin for kindly providing me with a copy of his book.

10   Tumarkin, 1989, 210f.

11   Hibbard, 1985, 43-48, 53-54.

12   Michelangelo's mother, Francesca di San Miniato, died when he was six years old, cf. Liebert, 1983, 13ff. On Michelangelo's relation to his father, *ibid*., 29-47, and on his attitude to patrons and surrogate parents, 22-77 and *passim*. On Michelangelo's traumatic childhood memories see also: Handler Spitz, 1985, 76. Freud discusses Michelangelo's personality in: Freud/Strachey, 1953, 211-236.

13   Liebert, 1983, 409-415. See also: Frank, 1966, 287-315. Peto, 1979, 183-199, and Ormland, 1978, 561-591.

14   Schneider, 1950, passim, and Liebert, 1983, 1-9. On the similarities between insight and analysis of the latent content of a work of art: Kreitler & Kreitler, 1972, 287-288 and 327-328.

15   On the impact of childhood experiences, Posèq, 1988, 285-300; Posèq, 1989b, 53-58. On the personal aspect of the assemblages in Posèq, 1987, 320-336, also in Posèq, 1989a, 81-95.

16   For the artist's own description of his childhood experiences and his constant attempts to obtain information about his German father see: Tumarkin, 1983, 13-15 and 46.

17   On Tumarkin's affectionate relationship with Rudi Lehman see: Tumarkin, 1983, 41f.

18   In a chapter titled "Meeting a father and being with Brecht" Tumarkin combines an enthusiastic appreciation of Berthold Brecht with whom he worked for some time in Germany, with a description of his disenchantment with the biological parent whom he met there. Tumarkin, 1983, 46-51.

19   On the special meaning of Tumarkin's work see: Posèq, 1987, 331-336.

20   The altarpiece is included in Tumarkin's survey of the sources of his inspiration, Tumarkin, 1970, 117, also: Tumarkin, 1983, 66-67.

21   In his reminiscences written at the age of forty, Tumarkin continues to reproach his mother, declaring that "her love was nothing more than egoism". In a moving confession he accuses his mother of never having really loved him, and says that "like a pardoned life-prisoner who can never make good for what he missed, the childhood loss of love can never be compensated", and "where once mother love flowered now he feels only coldness". As far as his German father was concerned an incidental anti-Semitic remark caused a rift which never healed, Tumarkin, 1983, 39, 49.

22   In one of his poems Michelangelo identifies stone with a woman whom he attempts to convert into a nurturing mother, cf. Liebert, 1983, 220. On Michelangelo's special appreciation of stone see: Summers, 1981, 572.

23   Tumarkin often uses natural rocks and living trees as components of his assemblages and has even built compositions around such objects. For photographs and Tumarkin's own commentary on these works see: Tumarkin, 1989, passim.

24   The command to use unhewn stones for an altar to God is repeated in Deut. 27: 5.

25   Several versions of this composition are illustrated in *Rails and Pietà*, 1987.

26   Illustrated in *Rails and Pietà*, 1987.

27   Heine/Draper, 1982, 480ff.

28   Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1982, 752.

29   According to Homer (*Odyssey*, II.593) Sisyphus the King of Corinth was tormented in Hades by perpetually rolling up hill a large stone which, when the top was reached, rolled down again, cf. Rose, 1970, 994.

30   Zalmona also quotes the Hebrew; his English version differs somewhat from mine; *Rails and Pietà*, 1987.

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Die 'Heilige Stadt' in der deutschen Monumentalmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts

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Jerusalem erscheint in der traditionellen europäischen Kunst fast ausschließlich als Schauplatz biblischen Geschehens, als Hintergrund der Ereignisse des Alten und Neuen Testaments oder als Vision des 'Himmlischen Jerusalem'.[1] Eigenständige Wiedergaben der Stadt, jedoch zumeist ohne künstlerischen Anspruch, existieren vor allem in topographischen Arbeiten. Herausragende, auch künstlerisch bedeutsame Darstellungen der Stadt Jerusalem finden sich in der Schedel'schen Weltchronik[2] und in der von Erhard Reuwich 1486 in Holz geschnittenen und kolorierten Palästinakarte[3], und sie prägten zweifellos für lange Zeit das Image der Stadt Jerusalem[4]. "Er [Reuwich] vermag einen Eindruck des mittelalterlichen Jerusalem zu vermitteln, der der Wirklichkeit sicher nahe kam".[5] Die einzelnen zur Ikonographie der Stadt Jerusalem gehörenden Elemente, wie der Salomonische Tempel, die Stadtmauer und die Palmen beim Einzug Christi, der Hügel Golgatha mit der Kreuzigungsszene usw. wurden in der Kunst tradiert und jeweils nur an die sich wechselnden künstlerischen Stile oder bestimmte Länder bzw. Landschaften - wie Italien oder die Niederlande - angepaßt. So wirkte die Stadt entweder gotisch oder im Stile der Renaissance erbaut, flämisch oder italienisch[6]. Solange die christliche Tradition für die europäische Malerei bestimmend war, wurde die Stadt Jerusalem immer wieder dargestellt.

Die einschneidenden ideologischen und gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen als Folge der Französischen Revolution wirkten sich auch auf die bildende Kunst aus und führten zu einem erheblichen Rückgang der religiösen Thematik. Folgerichtig hätte auch die Darstellung Jerusalems eine Einschränkung erfahren müssen. Das Gegenteil trat ein. Es mehrten sich Werke europäischer Kunst, die im 19. Jahrhundert die Darstellung Jerusalem zum Inhalt hatten.[7]

Einer der Hauptgründe für diese unerwartete Erscheinung ist in den politischen Vorgängen zu sehen. Der Vordere Orient rückte seit der Landung Napoleons in Ale-xandria im Jahre 1798 in das europäische Blickfeld und erfuhr ein bisher nicht gekanntes politisches, wirtschaftliches und kulturelles Interesse, das zumeist losgelöst von religiösen Beweggründen war.

Auch die wissenschaftliche Eroberung der Welt und das gesteigerte Interesse an bisher kaum erforschten Gebieten förderten die andersartige Haltung zum Thema Jerusalem. Maler und Architekten schlossen sich Kriegszügen und Expeditionen an und so gehörten zum Teil auch künstlerisch wertvolle, Zeichnungen, Skizzen, Stiche und Gemälde, und später auch Photographien, zum festen Bestand wissenschaftlicher Arbeit und zierten zahlreiche Forschungsberichte.[8]

Weiterhin aber wurde die Stadt Jerusalem wie in früheren Zeiten auch in ihrem religiösen Kontext dargestellt und blieb ein Produkt der Phantasie und dies trotz inzwischen zahlreicher und weitverbreiteter authentischer Bildvorlagen.

Gleichzeitig erschien das Thema Jerusalem jedoch in völlig neuartiger Form in historischen, literarischen, kulturellen und allegorischen Zusammenhängen und verselbständigte sich sogar gänzlich im reinen Landschaftsbild. Jerusalem wurde zum Thema unzähliger Zeichnungen, Stiche, Tafelbilder und großformatiger Wandgemälde. Sie alle aber wurden, was die Größe anbelangt, durch die Panoramamalerei, einer sich im 19. Jahrhundert der besonderen Beliebtheit erfreuenden neuartigen Kunstgattung, weit übertroffen.[9] "Das Panorama als Bildform ist eines jener spektakulären künstlerischen Medien, die im 19. Jahrhundert eklatant hervortraten und aufs engste mit der sozialen und kulturellen Geschichte dieser Epche verbunden sind".[10]

Die Photographie, die wohl als eine der wichtigsten Entdeckungen des 19. Jahrhunderts anzusehen ist, trug wesentlich zur Verbreitung eines nicht in religiösem Zusammenhang stehenden Jerusalem-Bildes bei.[11] Die Panoramamalerei stand ihrerseits in engstem Zusammenhang mit der Photographie; die Tatsache, daß der Erfinder der Photographie Louis-Jacques-Mande Daguerre (1789-1851) zuerst als Maler bei Pierre Prévost (1764-1823), dem berühmten Pariser Panoramenmaler, tätig war, bekräftigt dies noch. "Man war unermüdlich, durch technische Kunstgriffe die Panoramen zu Stätten vollkommener Naturnachahmung zu machen....[der französische Maler Jacques-Louis, d.V.] David rät seinen Schülern in den Panoramen nach der Natur zu zeichnen. Indem die Panoramen in der dargestellten Natur täuschend ähnliche Veränderungen hervorzubringen trachten, weisen sie über die Photographie auf Film und Tonfilm voraus".[12]

Es besteht wohl kein Zweifel, daß das von Prévost 1819 geschaffene Panorama von Jerusalem für die weitere Entwicklung des Jerusalem-Images von außerordentlicher Wichtigkeit war, unter anderem wegen seiner vielgepriesenen künstlerischen Qualität und Naturtreue, die sich jedoch nicht mehr überprüfen läßt, da sich weder das Original noch Abbildungen erhalten haben. Dazu kam der finanzielle Erfolg dieser Panoramen, der natürlich ebenfalls ein wichtiger Faktor bei der Übernahme dieses Themas war.

Prévost machte eine fast drei Jahre dauernde Reise in den Nahen Osten, wobei er Studien für zukünftige Panoramen der Städte Jerusalem, Athen und Konstantinopel anfertigte.[13] 1819 wurde das erste Panorama, das der Stadt Jerusalem gewidmet war, in der Großen Rotunde auf dem Boulevard des Capucines dem Pariser Publikum vorgeführt.[14] Der französische Schriftsteller François-René de Chateaubriand trug wahrscheinlich mit seiner detaillierten und positiven Beschreibung wesentlich zur Anerkennung dieses Panoramas bei: "L'illusion était complète. Je reconnus au premier coup d'œil tous ses monuments, tous les lieux et jusqu'a la petite cour où se trouve la chambre où j' y habitais dans le convent du Saint-Sauveur. Jamais voyageur ne fut mis à une si rude épreuve; je ne pouvais m'attendre qu'on transportai Jérusalem et Athènes à Paris pour me convaincre de mensonge ou de vérité".[15]

Auch in New York wurde in den Jahren 1838-42 ein von Frederic Catherwood geschaffenes Jerusalem-Panorama in der eigens dafür gebauten Rotunde gezeigt.[16]

Vor allem die beiden, auch künstlerisch miteinander verwobenen Medien - die Panoramenmalerei und die Photographie - waren es, die unterstützt durch die traditionelle Kunst, ein neues, verändertes Bild von Jerusalem vermittelten. Dieses Jerusalembild wurde durch die neuen Massenmedien auch einem sonst an der Kunst nicht so interessierten, möglichst breitem Publikum bekannt gemacht.

Die künstlerische Darstellung Jerusalems war im 19. Jahrhundert nicht mehr nur ein Produkt der Phantasie, sondern sie basierte mehr und mehr auf eigener, an Ort und Stelle gesammelter Erfahrung, bzw. basierte auf den in großer Zahl verbreiteten Photograpien und Stichen. Die Stadt und ihre Umgebung, sowie die angrenzenden Länder Ägypten und Syrien, wurden durch die sich immer mehr verbessernden Reisemöglichkeiten beliebte Ziele für diejenigen, die ihre "Grand Tour" bis in den Vorderen Orient hin ausweiteten. Diese Reisenden, die ihre Eindrücke zum Teil in Skizzen und Zeichnungen, aber auch mit Hilfe des Photoapparates festhielten, legten Zeugnis von dem tatsächlichen Vorhandenseins der aus den heiligen Schriften bekannten Landschaften und heiligen Stätten ab.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, daß Jerusalem nicht mehr nur von religösen Malern für ein religöses Publikum, sondern allgemein von an Geschichte und Topographie des Vorderen Orients interessierten Künstlern gemalt wurde, wobei auch politische und wirtschaftliche Interessen mit hineinspielten.

Die für die europäische Malerei und Kunst zutreffenden Charakteristika sind auch für die deutsche Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts gültig. Im Folgenden sollen die einzelnen Aspekte dieser Kunst im Zusammenhang mit der Darstellung Jerusalems untersucht werden, wobei allerdings schon wegen der Fülle des vorhandenen Materials, vor allem der Monumentalmalerei besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt werden soll.

Besonders beliebt in der deutschen Malerei und neuartig in der Thematik, wenn auch nicht in der formalen Durchführung, waren Jerusalemdarstellungen mit literarischen und historischen Bezügen.

Zu den bedeutensten durch literarische Vorbilder angeregten Werke zählen die Wandgemälde, die zwischen 1817- 29 von Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869) und Joseph Führich (1800-1876) nach Torquato Tasso's 'Gerusalemme liberata' (1575) geschaffenen Wandgemälde im Casino Massimo in Rom.[17] Diese Fresken gehören zusammen mit weiteren Szenen nach Ariost's 'Orlando furioso' und Dante's 'Divina Comedia' zu den Hauptwerken der deutschen Nazarener.[18] Diese Arbeiten nahmen die damals schon fast vergessene Freskotechnik wieder auf und waren nicht nur in ihrer Malweise, sondern auch in ihrer Thematik und Größe für die europäische, insbesondere deutsche und englische Wandmalerei von großer Bedeutung.

Die vier großformatigen Fresken, die die Wände und die Decke des Tasso-Raumes bedecken, haben, ebenso wie die sie begleitenden kleinformatigen Grisaille-Friese, den Kampf der Kreuzritter gegen die Sarazenen und die Eroberung und Befreiung der Stadt Jerusalem zum Thema. Auf topographische und historische Genauigkeit wurde in keiner der Szenen Wert gelegt, weder bei der Darstellung der Stadtmauer im Hintergrund der Kampfszene, noch bei der Wiedergabe des Inneren der Grabeskirche und des Heiligen Grabes in der Danksagungszene der Kreuzritter unter Führung von Peter von Amiens und Gottfried von Bouilllon (Bild 1).

Der Höhepunkt des Tasso- Raumes ist allerdings das von Overbeck konzipierte und gemalte Mittelbild des Deckenfreskos mit der sinnbildlichen Darstellung des befreiten Jerusalems (Bild 2). In Anlehnung an Pinturicchio's 'eloquentia' in den Borgia-Räumen des Vatikan, ist die Allegorie Jerusalems in der ersten Fassung eine dornengekrönte Jungfrau, in der Linken eine Schriftrolle, das Alte Testament und und in der Rechten das Buch, das Neue

Abb. 1: Joseph von Führich, Die Kreuzfahrer am Heiligen Grabe. Rom, Casino Massimo

Testament haltend. Sie sitzt auf einem gotischen Bischofsthron und wird von zwei Engeln begleitet. In der ausgeführten Fassung sitzt die Jungfrau, mit einem großen Kreuz auf dem Gewand, auf einer rundbogigen Thronarchitektur, wieder das Buch in der Rechten und die Schriftrolle in der Linken haltend. Die Engel mit Schwert und Rosenkranz bringen die von den Sarazenen erbeuteten Waffen. Angedeutet wird damit nicht nur, daß Jerusalem von den moslemischen Sarazenen befreit, sondern auch zum Testament zurückgekehrt und christlich wurde.[19]

Die Thematik der Kreuzritter im Heiligen Land und insbesondere in Jerusalem erfuhr eine Aktualisierung und Parallelisierung durch die griechischen Befreiungskriege (1821-1829), in denen die christlichen Griechen von den türkischen Moslems befreit wurden.[20]

Hinzu kommt das besondere Interesse des preußischen Königs Friedrich Wilhelm IV. für Jerusalem und sein Bemühen, in dieser Stadt ein protestantisches Bistum zu errichten.[21] So wird eine der sechs Rittertugenden in den von Hermann Stilke (1803-1860) gemalten Wandbildern im kleinen Rittersaal des königlichen Schlosses Stolzenfels bei Koblenz durch die Gestalt Gottfried von Bouillons, der die Waffen an der Grabeskirche in Jerusalem niederlegt, verkörpert. Gottfried, den ›Glauben‹ bzw. die ›Beharrlichkeit‹ veranschaulichend, trägt ein leuchtendes Gewand und erscheint hier als ›Erlöser‹ der heiligen Stätten von der Herrschaft der Ungläubigen. Die sechs Wandgemälde wurden in den Jahren 1843-1846 ausgeführt, fast gleichzeitig mit den Bemühungen des Königs um die Errichtung einer protestantischen Kirche in Jerusalem, die später, schon unter Kaiser Wilhelm II., als ›Erlöserkirche‹ zwischen 1893-1898 tatsächlich gebaut worden ist.[22]

Eine weitere Auftragsarbeit des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm IV. sind die großen Wandgemälde im Neuen Museum in Berlin, die neben anderen Szenen die 'Zerstörung Jerusalems' und die 'Eroberung Jerusalems durch die Kreuzritter' zum Inhalt hatten. Der König hatte 1843 mit Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1804-1874) einen Vertrag über die Ausgestaltung des Treppenhauses des von August Stüler 1843-57 erbauten Neuen Museums abgeschlossen. Es handelte sich um den größten Auftrag, den ein deutscher Künstler zur damaligen Zeit bekommen hat und dementsprechend hoch mit 200 000 Talern honoriert wurde.[23] Mit dem zwischen 1847-1866 geschaffenen, durch die Münchener Vorlesungen Joseph von Görres über die Universalgeschichte beeinflußten Berliner Bildprogramms, das von idealistischer Geschichtsauffassung geprägt war, wollte Kaulbach dem Neuen Museum einen geschichtlichen und kulturgeschichtlichen Hintergrund geben. An den beiden Längsseiten des Treppenhauses waren sechs Hauptbilder zu den wichtigsten Momenten und Epochen der Welt- und Kulturgeschichte,

Abb. 2: Friedrich Overbeck, Das befreite Jerusalem. Rom, Casino Massimo.

jedenfalls aus damaliger Sicht, dargestellt. Auf der einen Seite befanden sich der 'Turmbau zu Babel', die 'Blüte Griechenlands' und die 'Zerstörung Jerusalems' und auf der anderen Seite die 'Hunnenschlacht', die 'Kreuzfahrer vor Jerusalem' und das 'Zeitalter der Reformation'. An den Enden der beiden Bildzonen verwies Kaulbach mit allegorischen weiblichen Figuren auf die Quellen seiner Interpretation: Sage und Geschichte, Kunst und Wissenschaft; die Felder zwischen den Hauptbildern waren historischen Persönlichkeiten und Personifikationen vorbehalten. Die Gesetzgeber Solon, Moses, Karl der Große und Friedrich II. von Preußen erschienen als Sitzfiguren, mit über ihnen schwebenden Gestalten, Isis und Venus, Italia und Germania. An den beiden Schmalseiten des Treppenhauses waren die Personifikationen von Bildhauerei

und Malerei, Architektur und Kupferstechkunst zu sehen. Den oberenAbschluß der Hauptbilder bildete einen Grisaillefries mit Putten und Kindern, die etwas Verspieltheit in die sonst so ernsten Themen brachten.

Die 'Hunnenschlacht' und die 'Zerstörung Jerusalems' gingen auf ältere Bildideen Kaulbachs zurück. Die 'Zerstörung Jerusalems' hatte der bayerische König Ludwig I. als monumentales, 5,85 Meter hohes und 7,07 Meter breites Ölgemälde in Auftrag gegeben. Es wurde von Kaulbach in den Jahren 1842-1847 ausgeführt und fand in der 1853 eröffneten Münchener Neuen Pinakothek einen würdigen Platz. Es handelt sich um die Darstellung der Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer unter der Führung Titus' im Jahre 70 n. Chr. Hierzu eine zeitgenössische Beschreibung: "Wir werden in den Vorhof des Tempels von Jerusalem, in welchem einst Christus gelehrt hatte, versetzt. Eine Stätte des Grausens und der Zerstörung steht uns vor Augen. Denn die Römer haben Jerusalem erobert... An der Spitze des siegreichen Heeres dringt, der Kaisersohn Titus in den Tempel.... Zahlreiche Tubenbläser, gleichend den Posaunen des Jüngsten Gerichts, ziehen ihm voraus... An der entgegengesetzten Seite des Hintergrundes, auf den obersten Stufen des brennenden Tempels, sehen wir die Reste der Juden. Einige erheben flehend die Hände zu der von den Flammen noch unversehrten Bundeslade, andere ballen in ohnmächtiger Wut die Fäuste gegen das hereinbrechende Verderben, die meisten aber erwarten in dumpfer Verzweiflung den Untergang..... Vor der siegreichen heidnischen Römermacht findet das theokratische Judentum seinen Untergang. Welch eine ergreifende herrliche klassisch-orientalische Gestalt, dieser Hohepriester!... Noch steht er aufrecht, wie auch die Bundeslade noch steht und der Opferaltar.... er wird fallen und mit ihm... sein Volk. Mit ihm bricht der Jehovahglaube des alten Testamentes und seine Kultur zusammen.... Diejenigen Propheten, die den Fall Jerusalems vorausgesagt hatten, nämlich Jesaias, Jeremias, Hesekiel und Daniel, erscheinen in den Wolken, mahnend auf ihre Schriften zeigend. Im rechten Vordergrund des Bildes entdeckt der Betrachter eine Christenfamilie: Von drei lichten Engeln, die das Symbol der Kirche, den Kelch und das Kreuz....vor allen Gefahren behütet, zieht eine Christenfalmilie in die Welt hinaus. Fast alle tragen Palmenzweige, die Zeichen des Friedens... Es sind liebe Gestalten, voll Herzenseinfalt, Frömmigkeit und gläubigen Vertrauens..."[24] Es folgt eine zeitgenössische Interpretation: "Der durch die gewaltig ausgedehnte Römermacht zum Abschluß gebrachte Untergang der jüdischen Kultur gibt einer neuen Kulturstufe, dem Christentum, Raum! so könnte kurz der Gedanke der Komposition zusammengefaʻt werden."[25]

Kaulbach verwandte in seinem Bild Anregungen, die er zweifellos durch das 1834/35 von Eduard Julius Friedrich Bendemann (1811-1889) geschaffene

Gemälde 'Jeremias auf den Trümmern von Jerusalem' erhielt. Dieses seinerzeit viel beachtete Bild des zum Christentum übergetretenen Sohnes eines jüdischen Bankiers, war ebenfalls im Auftrage des späteren Königs Friedrich Wilhelm IV. gemalt worden. Zu diesem Gemälde, das heute zerstört und nur noch als Kupferstich erhalten ist, heißt es: "In diesem Bild macht Bendemann eine Sicht auf Jerusalem deutlich, die für den Protestantismus eigentümlich ist. Bekanntlich ist eine bloße Fortsetzung der altkirchlichen und mittelalterlichen Jerusalemtraditionen' für den Protestantismus nicht akzeptabel. Der historisch-geographische Ort mit seinem zum Teil recht späten und deshalb fragwürdigen Lokaltraditionen' ist für ihn so gut wie bedeutungslos. Mit einer Ausnahme allerdings: Auch der Protestantismus sieht Jerusalem als civitas perfida, 'die zerstört wurde, weil sie das Heil nicht angenommen hatte'."[26]

Dieser Szene wurde das Bild 'Die Kreuzzüge oder die Befreiung Jerusalems durch das Heer Gottfried von Bouillons' gegenübergestellt und wie folgt beschrieben: "Der Maler versetzt uns in den Frühlingstag des Jahres 1099, an welchem die Kreuzfahrer nach vielen Drangsalen vor Jerusalem anlangten und im Anblicke der heiligen Stadt neuen Mut und neue Kraft für kommende Mühseligkeiten gewannen... Jerusalem, freilich noch in weiter Ferne.... Die Spitze der Kreuzfahrer ist bereits vorbeigerauscht... Ihnen folgt im Mittelpunkt des Bildes ein weithin leuchtender Reliquienschrein mit der Monstranz... eine Erinnerung an die Bundeslade, die einst den Juden bei der Eroberung des gelobten Landes vorauszog. Und dahinter reitet auf weißem Rosse der Hauptführer des ganzen Unternehmens, Gottfried von Bouillon".[27]

Diese Gegenüberstellung beider Jerusalemszenen bedeutet u.a. die Ablösung der Herrschaft des Judentums durch das Christentum. Dadurch wurde hier sozusagen in öffentlicher, bildlicher Form ein Vorgang wiedergegeben, der sich in der Berliner Gesellschaft im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts vollzogen hatte. Ein Großteil der zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts in Berlin angesiedelten jüdischen Familien hatte sich bis zur Jahrhundertmitte zum Christentum, zumeist in seiner protestantischen Form bekehrt, wie zum Beispiel die berühmten Familien Mendelsohn, Itzig-Hitzig und Bendix-Bendemann.[28]

Kaulbach selbst interpretierte sein Monumentalwerk, das durch viele, reich illustrierte Veröffentlichungen weite Verbreitung fand, wie folgt: "Der Geist Gottes in der Geschichte ist es, den ich malen wollte, einerlei, ob er zu uns aus den religiösen Anschauungen der Griechen oder der Juden spricht: Der Allgegenwart des unsagbaren Etwas, das über den Wassern der Genesis schwebte, das aus den Bildwerken der Hellenen uns so deutlich redet, das die Hunnen Attilas aus ihren fernen asiatischen Steppen bis an die Küsten des
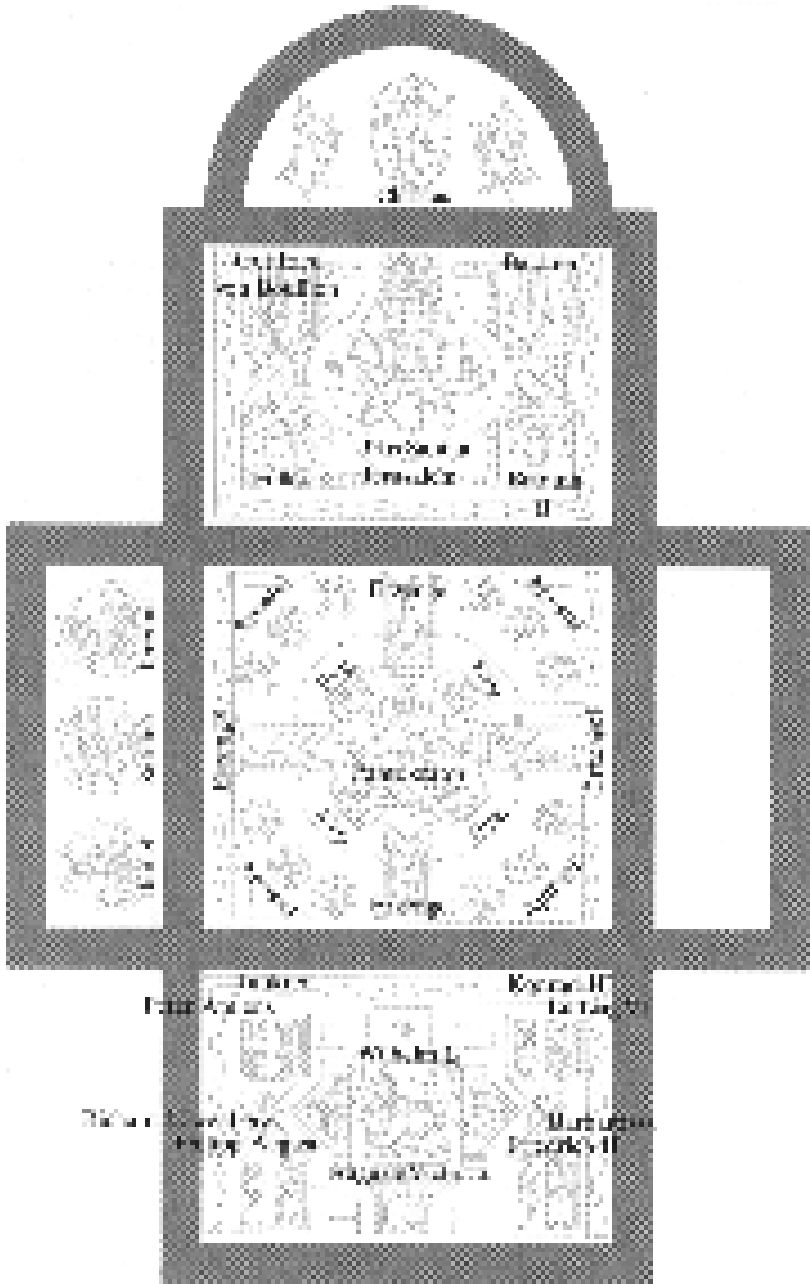
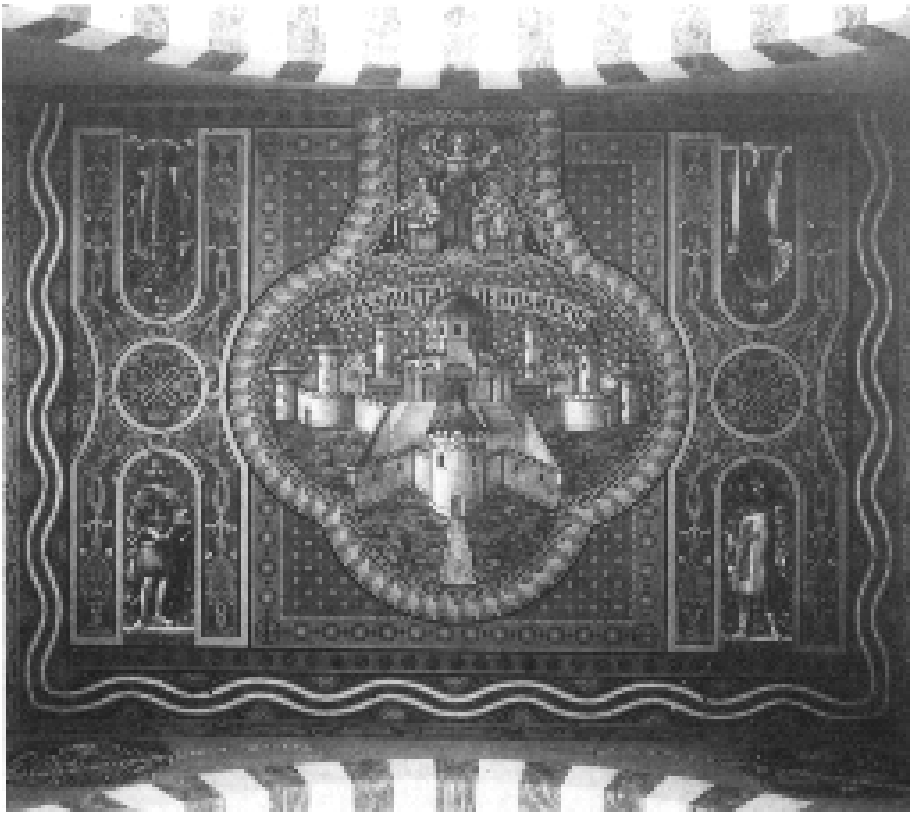Abb. 3: Jerusalem, Himmelfahrtskirche der Auguste-Viktoria-Stiftung. Deckengemälde nach Otto Vittali d.J.

Abb. 4: *'Urbs Sancta Jerusalem'*, Detail aus dem Decken gemälde
der Himmelfahrskirsche, Jerusalem.

Mittelländischen Meeres trieb, wie die Kreuzfahrer in die glühenden Wüsten Palästinas".[29]

Der vom preußischen König Friedrich Wilhelm IV. geträumte Traum von der Vollendung der Kreuzzüge fand seine Weiterführung. Der preußische Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm, der spätere Kaiser Friedrich III. zog ebenfalls auf einem wei›en Roße in Jerusalem ein und zwar 1869, als er, auf dem Wege zur feierlichen Eröffnung des Suez-Kanals, in Jerusalem das Grundstück für die zu erbauende protestantische Kirche, die schon erwähnte Erlöserkirche, in Empfang nahm.[30] Diese historisch bedeutende Szene wurde von Wilhelm Gentz (1822-90) in ein großformatiges Gemälde 'Einzug des Kronprinzen in Jerusalem (1869)' umgesetzt. "Die prächtige Gestalt des Kronprinzen in lichtblauer Dragoneruniform, um die ein weißer Burnus flattert, hoch zu Roß an der Spitze eines glänzenden Gefolges, in welchem die bunte europäische Uniform mit

den malerischen Trachten der Beduinen wechselt, bildet den Mittelpunkt des von Licht förmlich überflutheten Gemäldes. Der Zug bewegt sich... nach der Stadt, deren Thore, Mauern und Thürme im Hintergrund sichtbar werden."[31] Wieweit Kunst und Politik hier miteinander verknüpft waren, zeigt uns die folgende zeitgenössische Beurteilung: "Es ist die erste bildliche Darstellung der sieghaften Macht, die das neu erstarkte Deutschland über Orient und Occident damals zu gewinnen anfing."[32]

Die Kreuzritter und Jerusalem tauchten immer wieder im Zusammenhang mit preußisch-königlichen bzw. deutsch-kaiserlichen Bauten, sei es Neubauten oder Rekonstruktionen, auf und verweisen damit auf die enge Verknüpfung politisch-historischer und religiöser Thematik.

Als Kaiser Wilhelm II. anläßlich der Einweihung der Erlöserkirche am 31. 10. 1898 nach Jerusalem kam, ritt auch er auf einem Schimmel und wurde in der Presse als Kreuzritter der Neuzeit bezeichnet. Auf dieses Ereignis wird in dem großformatigen, figurenreichen Mosaiken auf der Wartburg bei Eisenach, dem Ort der deutschen Bibelübersetzung durch den Reformator Martin Luther, hingewiesen und zwar im Zusammenhang mit der Einschiffung des Kaisers Friedrich I. Barbarossa in Brindisi auf dem Wege ins Heilige Land. Auf die heilige Stadt wird in dem Mosaik durch das Jerusalem-Kreuz hingewiesen, das zusammen mit dem Datum der Einweihung der Erlöserkirche erscheint. Diesen Gedanken weiterführend kann man sagen, daß Kaiser Wilhelm II. und seine Gemahlin Auguste-Viktoria zusammen mit den Kreuzrittern wieder in Jerusalem einzogen. In den Deckenmalereien in der Himmelfahrtskirche neben der Kaiserin-Auguste-Viktoria-Stiftung auf dem Ölberg thronen die beiden kaiserlichen Majestäten mit dem Modell der Kirche über der Orgelempore als Stifterfiguren, umgeben von kreuzritterlichen Herrschern (Bild 3). Neben dem deutsch-staufischen König Konrad III., den Kaisern Friedrich I. Barbarossa und Friedrich II., erscheinen Richard Löwenherz von England und die französischen Könige Ludwig VII. und Philipp II. August. Wilhelm II. und Auguste-Viktoria sitzen in einer Achse mit dem Pantokrator in der Kirchenschiffsmitte und der symbolischen Darstellung Jerusalems über dem Chorjoch und Christus in der Apsis. Die 'Urbs Sancta Jerusalem' ist durch eine zinnengekrönte, turmbewehrte Mauer und einem Zentralbau in idealen Renaissanceformen charakterisiert (Bild 4). Vier weitere Kreuzritter-Könige, Gottfried von Bouillon, Balduin I. und II. und Fulko flankieren diese Szene. Diese Deckenmalereien wurden 1910 / 11 von dem in Jerusalem lebenden Maler Schmidt nach Entwürfen Otto Vittali d. J. (1872-1959) ausgeführt (Bild 3). Die Stadt Jerusalem erscheint zusätzlich noch als Hintergrund der Kreuzigungsszene in der westlichen Lünette des Chorraumes. Hier handelt es sich um eine Mosaikarbeit, die nach dem Entwurf

von Ernst Pfannschmidt (1868-1941) nach 1910 durch die Berliner Firma Puhl & Wagner ausgeführt worden ist.[33]

Die für Jerusalem tätigen Künstler waren seinerzeit in Deutschland hochgeschätzt und ein Teil der Szenen und Motive in der Himmelfahrtskirche finden sich als Zitat bzw. Wiederholung in wichtigen deutschen, mit dem Kaiserhaus verbundenen Kirchen, wie z.B. in der Berliner Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche, dem Aachener Münster und in der Bad Homburger Erlöserkirche. Es wurde also auch in diesen Kirchen die Erinnerung an Jerusalem und die Beziehung zwischen dem Herrscherhaus und dem Heiligen Land im allgemeinen, öffentlichen Bewußtsein aufrechterhalten; so schmücken z.B. Landschaftsszenen aus dem Heiligen Land die Wände des Treppenhauses im Berliner Dom.[34]

Die oben aufgeführten Monumentalwerke, die wegen ihrer berühmten Auftraggeber, den wichtigen Standorten und der künstlerischen Qualität in der öffentlichen Beurteilung eine herausragende und vielbeachtete Stelle innerhalb der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts einnahmen, prägten weiterhin das idealistische, sich in keiner Weise an realen Gegebenheiten orientierende Jerusalembild.

Parallel zu diesen von historischen und literarischen Quellen inspirierten Jerusalemdarstellungen entwickelte sich ein weiteres Gebiet, das nämlich Jerusalem als Landschaft und Panorama-Landschaft wiedergab. Die Stadt wurde im Rahmen der Landschaftsmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts zumeist als Ergebnis direkter Naturbeobachtung, in Zeichnungen, Aquarellen, Skizzen und, dies nicht zu übersehen, in Photographien, festgehalten.

Einer der ersten nachweisbaren deutschen Künstler, der das Heilige Land besuchte und seine dort gewonnenen Eindrücke in ein Rundgemälde umsetzte, war der vor allem in München tätige Ulrich Halbreiter (1812-1877).[35] Es heißt über ihn: "... Ende December 1843 ging H[albreiter] über Smyrna nach Constantinopel, von da nach Alexandria und Kairo, überall die unmittelbaren Eindrücke durch den Zeichenstift festhaltend, dann eilte er mit einem Wüstenritt über Gaza, Jaffa und Ramlah nach Jerusalem. Überrascht durch die Ungenauigkeit und Willkür der von dieser Stadt existierenden Abbildungen, ging H[albreiter] vier Wochen lang täglich auf den Ölberg, um vom Thurme der Auffahrtskapelle die vor ihm liegende Stadt mit der rings sich bietenden Fern-und Rundsicht zu zeichnen.... Nach viermonatlichen Studien kehrte er in die Heimath zurück, wo er die eingeheimsten Studien zunächst zu einem 100 Fuß im Umfang haltenden, 18 Fuß hohen Rundgemälde, mit der vom Ölberg aus gezeichneten Ansicht von Jerusalem und der weitesten Umgebung verwerthete, wozu ihm A[ugust] Löffler als Landschaftsmaler half, während

Ferdinand Piloty und Theoder Horschelt die Staffagen übernahmen."[36]

Dank einer zeitgenössischen Beschreibung können wir die Art und die Wirkung dieses Panoramas nachvollziehen. Dort heißt es u.a.: "...Unter den vielen Werken der Kunst, die seit langer Zeit an unseren Blick vorüber wanderten, fanden wir kaum Eines, das so unsere innige Theilnahme in Anspruch genommen, wie dieses seit kurzen hier in Cöln aufgestellte Panorama. Auch bei minderer Vollendung würde dasselbe seines hehren Gegenstandes wegen unser wärmstes Interesse erregen, während dagegen die meisterhafte Ausführung des Ganzen wie die Einzelheiten uns mit einem Male inmitten jener heiligen Orte versetzt, an welche kein Christenherz ohne Sehnsucht denken kann."[37] Typisch für die Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, insbesondere die deutsche Kunst, war die Unfähigkeit zur Kritik angesichts eines erhabenen Themas. Und weiter heißt es: " Der Künstler hat seinen Standpunkt auf dem Thurme der Himmelfahrtskirche auf dem Ölberge genommen, von wo aus er in weiten Umkreise außer Jerusalem uns mit den Theilen des heiligen Landes bekannt macht, die durch das Leben und Wirken unseres Heilandes die größte Bedeutung für uns haben." Obwohl Halbreiter keinerlei religiöse Motive in seine reine Landschaftsvedute hineinmalt, ist es natürlich für den gläubigen Betrachter dieses Rundgemäldes selbstverständlich, daß dies sozusagen das Bühnenbild, der Hintergrund, für die ihm bekannten biblischen Geschehnisse ist. Die Beschreibung wird fortgeführt: "Die Stadt selbst liegt offen vor unseren Blicken da und während sie ganz den Eindruck ihres traurigen Verhängnisses auf uns macht, erhebt sich die Kuppel der heiligen Grabeskirche triumphierend über die Ruinen ihres ehemaligen Glanzes." Der Verfall der Stadt, der ja auch von vielen Reisenden der damaligen Zeit beschrieben wurde, wird hier religiös interpretiert, die Stadt Jerusalem ist sozusagen in Trauer über die Kreuzigung Christi, während die Kuppel der Grabeskirche, die 'ecclesia triumphans' symbolisiert. Die Einzelheiten des Gemäldes erscheinen dem Zuschauer sehr realistisch und dienen als Beweis, daß der Künstler an Ort und Stelle gewesen ist - ein Wahrheitsanspruch, den der Künstler selbst noch zu verstärken sucht, indem er das positive Urteil berühmter Orientreisender mit dazu verwendet, seine nach diesem Rundgemälde geschaffenen Kupferstiche anzupreisen.[38] Es heißt in der Beschreibung des Panoramas weiter: "Jedes Gebäude ist mit gewissenhafter Treue wiedergegeben und selbst in den weiten Gefilden der Umgebung herrscht eine Naturwahrheit, die uns fühlen läßt, daß wir auf einem ganz fremden Boden, in anderen klimatischen Verhältnissen stehen"; und dies, obwohl Häuser, Bäume und Pflanzen, geschweige Atmosphäre, ganz schmematisch wiedergegeben sind, wie es aus den Nachstichen ersichtlich ist.[39] Nicht genug

mit der Naturnähe, es werden auch gleichzeitig historische bzw. religionshistorische Bezüge hergestellt, die natürlich fast jedem Besucher des Panoramas bekannt waren: "Und mitten aus dieser fremdartigen Gestaltung tritt uns der wichtigste Abschnitt der Geschichte des Menschengeschlechtes entgegen. Von jener Bergesspitze jenseits des todten Meeres (Nebo) an, auf welcher Moses das Gelobte Land schaute, bis hin zur Moschee des Chalifen Omar, an der Stelle des Salomonischen Tempels!" Dem Betrachter wird suggeriert, selbst an einem historisch wichtigem Platz zu stehen. Gleichzeitig werden aber noch weitere positive Argumente für das Rundgemälde erwähnt, so daß auch ein Betrachter, der den religösen Problemen ferner stand, entweder ein künstlerisches oder wie schon gesagt, historisches Interesse an ihm haben konnte: " Wir fühlen uns gedrungen, dem trefflichen Werke unsere Anerkennung hiermit auszusprechen und sind überzeugt, daß dasselbe Jeden in hohen Grade befriedigen wird, den künstlerische, geschichtliches oder religiöses Interesse hinführt....".[40]

Über den Werdegang und Verbleib des Rundgemäldes heißt es: "Nach einer langen Rundfahrt über Wien, Berlin und Köln gelangte es schließlich als ein Geschenk frommer Katholiken [König Max II. von Bayern] an den Papst [Pius IX.] nach Rom, wo es im zweiten Stockwerk des Lateran eine beinahe vergessene und möglichst ungünstige Aufstellung an der Wand eines langen Corridors fand."[41]

Es ist eindeutig, daß Halbreiters Werk seinerzeit künstlerisch erheblich überschätzt worden ist. Es handelt sich um eine rein schematische Vedutenmalerei, die ihre Besonderheit nur aus der noch nicht ausgeschöpften "Exotik" und der Erhabenheit der heiligen Stätten zog.

Von wesentlich bedeutenderer künstlerischer Qualität sind die Landschafts- und insbesondere Jerusalemdarstellungen des Münchener Malers und Radirers August Löffler (1822-1866).[42] Als junger Maler hatte Löffler an der Ausführung des Halbreiter'schen Panoramas mitgearbeitet, ohne allerdings damals selbst im Heiligen Land gewesen zu sein. Erst das durch diese Arbeit erworbene Honorar ermöglichte eine Reise in den Orient. Im September 1849 begab sich Löffler zuerst nach Kairo, verweilte dort ein halbes Jahr und lernte drei deutsche Künstler kennen, mit denen er das Heilige Land bereiste. 1850 kehrte er nach München zurück und brachte als Ergebnis dieser Reise Studienhefte mit Skizzen und Ansichten mit, die ihm später als Grundlage für die Gemälde und die Wandgemälde dienten.[43] Löffler machte sich zuerst einen Namen mit seinem thematisch und formal völlig aus dem Rahmen fallenden, querformatigen Blattes mit der Unterschrift 'Der See Genezareth in Palästina', als Beitrag zum König-Ludwig-Album, einem in rotes Leder gebundenen 'dickleibigen' Album,

das dem bayerischen König Ludwig I. 1850 von deutschen Künstlern als Dank für großzügiges Mäzenatentum überreicht wurde.[44] Der Text zu Löfflers Blatt in dem Album lautet: "Dieser See, auch das Galiläische Meer genannt, ist von Bergen und Hügeln in nur gegen Mittag [Süden] und Mitternacht [Norden] ebenem Lande umgeben. Es prangten an seinen Ufern blühende Städte wie Tarichäa, Hippos, Chorazim, Kapernaum und Tiberias, von letzter Stadt, die allein noch an seinem Westufer übrig geblieben ist, hat er jetzt den Namen Bahr-Tabaria (See bei Tiberias). Er wird eine zeitlang vom Jordan durchstömt, welcher dann nach seinem Austritte aus demselben in rascherem Strome dem Todten Meere zueilt." Zu sehen ist eine reine Landschaftsdarstellung, deren Vordergrund aus einem mit Sträuchern und Bäumen bewachsenen Hochplateau und einer auf der rechten Seite hochaufragenden, fast die ganze Höhe des Blattes einnehmenden Palme besteht. Der See, das eigentliche Thema des Bildes, befindet sich im Mittelgrund, während der Hintergrund durch eine Hügelkette bzw. einen schneebedeckten Berg, dem Hermon, gebildet wird. Die Darstellung der Landschaft ist auf einige wenige Elemente reduziert, wobei es die Aufgabe der Palme ist, den ,Orient' anzudeuten, da weder Menschen, noch Tiere das Bild beleben und auch keinerlei Andeutungen von Gebäuden oder Ortschaften, durch die das Blatt hätte lokalisiert werden können, vorhanden sind.

Offenbar wurde Löffler durch den Beitrag im König-Ludwig-Album auch außerhalb Münchens bekannt. 1851 hielt er sich in Berlin auf und erhielt von dem am Heiligen Lande und besonders an Jerusalem stark interessierten preußischen König Friedrich Wilhelm IV., der schon vier Palästina-Ansichten (1855) von Eduard Hildebrandt in seinem Potsdamer Orangerie-Schloß zu hängen hatte[45], den Auftrag für zwei Gemälde: 'Jerusalem' und die 'Quelle-Ursprung des Nahr-el-Kelb' [im Libanon], die er 1852 auf der Berliner Kunstausstellung zeigte.[46] Ein Kritiker schrieb hierzu: "Ebenso erinnert August Löfflers ,Jerusalem', sowohl in der Farbe, wie in der Behandlung, an jene obenerwähnten kreidigen, sehr fein colorierten Bilder Geier's [in dessen Gesellschaft Löffler Palästina bereist hat, d.V.]. Doch ist in demselben noch ein gewisses Etwas, wodurch dennoch vor demselben mehr den heißen, von Dünsten erfüllten Himmel auf uns lasten; hineingezogen in die Sache empfinden wir aus ihr heraus, ohne dabei durch die Malerei selbst wesentlich gestört zu werden...."[47]

Diesem preußischen folgte ein weiterer königlicher Auftrag, nämlich der des Königs von Württemberg Wilhelm I., der seinerseits ebenfalls Interesse an der neuen Orientmode hatte. Hierzu: "Se[ine] Maj[estät] der König hat dem Maler August Löffler aus München, welcher seine Skizzen und Aquarelle aus

dem gelobten Lande und Griechenland vorzulegen die Ehre hatte, sechs Bilder davon in der Größe von 5 Fuß Länge, auszuführen aufgetragen. Die gewählten Ansichten sind Damaskus in heller Sonnenbeleuchtung, das todte Meer, Jaffa, mit einer beladenen Karavane als Staffage, St. Saba mit dem Kloster, Bethlehem, mit wundervoller Vegetation (Oliven, blühender Oleander und Palmen) lag dieses Bild als fertig ausgeführtes Aquarelle vor: endlich Jerusalem. Die Löfflerschen Skizzen erfreuen durch die künstlerische Abrundung, die er der Vedute, mit aller Schonung ihrer historischen Eigenthümlichkeit zu geben weiß. Mythologisch denkwürdige Punkte sind entsprechend staffagiert... Von den orientalischen Scenerien heben wir hervor..... Nazareth vom Berge Tabor überragt.... Jericho, endlich das sonnige Jerusalem mit dem Platz des salomonischen Tempels im Vordergrunde."[48]

Löffler gehörte zu dem engsten Kreise des auf Italien und Griechenland spezialisierten Landschafters Karl Rottmann (1797-1850) und kopierte ihn sogar, so daß seine Bilder oft für die Rottmanns gehalten wurden. Ähnlich wie Rottmann benutzte Löffler das betonte Querformat mit panoramaartigem Weitblick, wobei die Gegenstände sehr verallgemeinert wurden.

Löffler versuchte sich auch in der zur damaligen Zeit anstelle des Freskos geübten stereochromatischen Technik mit Hilfe von Wasserglas. Um deren Wetterbeständigkeit zu erproben, schuf Löffler 1859 zwei Palästinalandschaften auf der Nordfront des sogenannten Liebig'schen Laboratoriums, dem alten chemischen Laboratorium der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung des berühmten Chemikers Justus von Liebig. Das einzige Photo, das diese nicht mehr erhaltenen Landschaften zeigt, ermöglicht leider keine eindeutige Bestimmung der gemalten Orte.[49]

Für seinen Schwager [von Dessauer] malte Löffler 1863/64 in Kochel am See, im Gesellschaftssaal des Schlößchen Aspenstein, auch Dessauer Schlößchen genannt und der später der Speisesaal des Kurhauses wurde, vier große Wandgemälde mit Darstellungen von Rom, Athen, Jerusalem und Memphis mit den Pyramiden. Diese Gemälde wurden durch einen Brand beschädigt und existieren heute nicht mehr, nur die von einem unbekannten Münchener Maler geschaffene Kopie der Stadt Jerusalem, heute im St. Annaheim in Kochel, vermag einen Eindruck der ursprünglichen Werke vermitteln.[50] Die von Süden gezeigte Stadt, in großer Entfernung von oben gesehen, ist in der für Löffler typischen Weise gemalt: im Vordergrund eine Dunkelzone bestehend aus Bäumen, Sträuchern, im Mittelgrund die in helleren Tönen gemalte und nur ganz klein angedeutete Stadt. Der Felsendom und die Al-Aqsa-Moschee lassen sich nur anhand ihrer Kuppeln identifizieren. Darüber, fast ein Drittel des Bildes einnehmend, Himmel und Wolken, das Atmosphärische betonend. Die

Abhängigkeit von Rottmann ist eindeutig. "So sehr nämlich auch Löffler nach Naturwahrheit strebt, und in diesem Streben durch die auf seinen Reisen gewonnene eigene Anschauung unterstützt wird, vergißt er doch nie, daß in der Kunst nur diejenige Naturwahrheit von Werth ist, welche sich mit den Gesetzen der Schönheit irgendwie im Einklang befindet."[51] Eine weite Verbreitung fanden die Arbeiten Löfflers als Stahlstiche durch die Herausgabe von 32 Orientansichten durch den Österreichischen Lloyd in Triest unter dem Titel 'Der malerische Orient' (1864) mit dem Text von Moritz Busch.[52]

Die Panoramamalerei, die sich zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts in dem Pariser Jerusalem-Panorama mit der einfachen, vedutenhaften Wiedergabe der Stadt Jerusalem begnügte, bediente sich zum Ende des Jahrhunderts sämtlicher als erfolgreich erwiesener Erfahrungen. Die Initiatoren der größtenteils kommerziell konzipierten Panoramen mußten einem Publikum, das inzwischen an große Formate und theatralisch inszenierte Kompositionen gewöhnt war, schon mehr bieten. Da es sich nicht, obwohl angestrebt, um in erster Linie künstlerische Ansprüche handelte, wurden sämtliche Hebel gezogen: Monumentalmalerei und Historie, Exotik und religiöses Empfinden, Naturerlebnis und archäologisches Wissen.Bühnen- und Beleuchtungseffekte wurden angewandt um ein Publikum anzulocken, in Zahlen, wie sie bis dahin kein Museum verzeichnen konnte. So ist es auch nicht verwunderlich, daß die Jerusalem-Panoramen immer wieder die traditionelle Kreuzigung zum Thema haben, unter Verwendung inzwischen gewonnener Erfahrungen, wie z.B. Photographien von Orten des Geschehens und historischer, archäologischer Forschungsergebnisse. Die meisten dieser Panoramen sind außerhalb und unabhängig vom kirchlichen Rahmen entstanden, wenn auch zumeist unter Beihilfe theologischer Beratung.

War schon das Prévost'sche Jerusalem-Panorama ein künstlerischer, wie auch finanzieller Erfolg, so wurde das 'Panorama der Kreuzigung Christi', 1886 von Bruno Piglheim (1848-1894) gemalt, eines der Höhepunkte dieser Gattung überhaupt.[53] Es hat seinerseits seinem künstlerischen Schöpfer große Ehre und den Titel eines Professors an der Münchener Akademie eingebracht, andererseits auch den Auftragebern, die nicht nur die Vorbereitungen und die Herstellung des Gemäldes finanzierten, sondern noch dazu einen eigenen Bau hierfür errichteten, voll auf ihre Kosten kommen lassen. Auch das Publikum, für das es ja geschaffen wurde, war begeistert, nicht ohne die Mithilfe von Theologen, Journalisten und Kunstkritikern. "Das Rundbild wurde ein Meisterwerk, von aller Welt bewundert,"[54] hieß es an einer Stelle und an einer anderen: "Wo die Kritiker lobten, mochte das Publikum nicht zurückstehen und machte die Investition der F[irm]a Halder Co. zu einer der lukrativsten in

der Geschichte der Panoramamalerei im letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts."[55] In München war dieses Riesenpanorama von 120 Meter Länge und 15 Meter Höhe fast drei Jahre lang, zwischen 1886 und 1889, zu sehen; dann folgte eine fast zwei Jahre dauernde Ausstellung in Berlin, danach kam es nach Wien und sollte auch für einige Jahre in London gezeigt werden, wozu es jedoch nicht kam, da es in Wien kurz nach der Eröffnung im April 1892 verbrannte.[56]

Das Piglhein'sche Jerusalempanorama mit der Darstellung der Kreuzigung ist in vieler Hinsicht ein typisches Erzeugnis des 19. Jahrhunderts, und der Einblick in seine Entstehungsgeschichte gibt Auskunft über Arbeitsweise und künstlerische Auffassungen zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Es zeigt einerseits die Problematik des in der Kunst angewandten extremen Naturalismus in der Naturbeobachtung in Verbindung mit einer thematischen Idealisierung, die an die erhabensten religiösen Gefühle der Menschheit appelierte. Die bildende Kunst befand sich im Wettstreit mit dem Gesamtkunstwerk auf der Bühne, und man erkennt den Einfluß des Theaters auf die Malerei, so z.B. der berühmten Passionspiele in Oberammergau/Bayern. Es zeigt außerdem die Kunst auch von ihrer kommerziellen Seite, als Unterhaltungsform für die Massen, die den Film des 20. Jahrhunderts vorwegnimmt.[57]

Der Maler Bruno Piglhein wurde von der 1885 gegründeten Münchener Panoramagesellschaft beauftragt, für eine Pauschalsumme von 145 000 Mark, abzüglich der Entlohnung der Mitarbeiter, ein Kreuzigungs-Panorama zu schaffen.[58] Zur thematischen Vorbereitung wurde der Professor Maximillian Vincenz Sattler herangezogen, der auch den Führer zum Panorama verfassen sollte. Piglhein fuhr in Begleitung seiner Frau, dem Architekturmaler Karl Hubert Frosch und dem Landschafter Josef Krieger zu einem dreimonatigen Studienaufenthalt nach Palästina, wobei Jerusalem sein Ausgangspunkt war. Von Februar bis April 1885 wurden Skizzen und Photographien (Platten) von Menschen und der Landschaft hergestellt. "Schnell füllt sich das Skizzenbuch mit allerlei Gestalten in bunter und fragwürdiger Tracht; denn das Panorama soll ein figurenreiches Bild werden."[59] Und was die Landschaft anbelangt: "..sie machen Terrainaufnahmen... Steingeröll und Höhlen, Baumschlag und Thalsenkung und das Wichtigste für die Umgebung des weit umfassenden Panoramas: die niedere und eigenartige Architektur der Dörfer und Weiler in der Nähe von Jerusalem".[60] Als Ausgangspunkt der Aufnahmen wurde, ähnlich wie bei Halbreiter, das Dach der Grabeskirche gewählt. "...Aber auch die Umgebung muß erforscht werden, wer es wagt, die heilige Handlung in Szene zu setzen, muß die ganze Bühne kennen, genau kennen...".[61] In Jerusalem wurde außerdem fachmännischer Rat bei dem dort lebenden deutschen Baurat Conrad Schick (1822-1901), dessen Rekonstruktion des Tempels weithin Berühmtheit
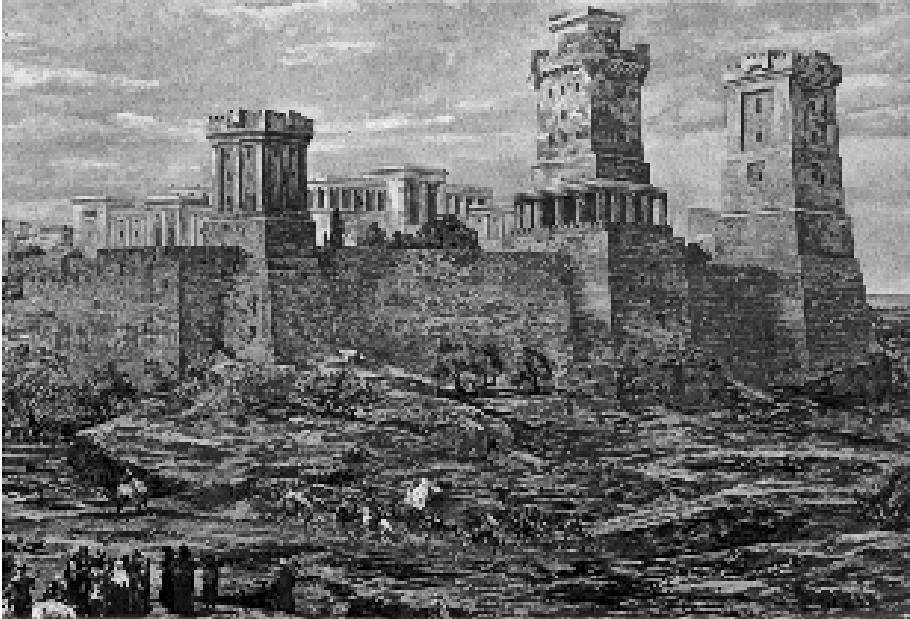
Abb. 5: Ausschritt aus dem Panorama *"Kreuzigung Christi"*, Einsiedeln.

erlangt hatte, eingeholt.[62] Während die Künstler in Jerusalem weilten, wurde in der Münchener Goethestr. Nr. 45 der Rohbau des Panoramagebäudes errichtet.[63]

Nach der Rückkehr legte Piglhein in seinem Atelier zehn, im Maßstab 1:10, 155 x 120 cm große, Ölskizzen an. Die gesamte Szene wurde auf eine Riesenleinwand von 15 Metern Höhe und 120 Metern Länge mit einer Fläche von 1700 Quadratmetern übertragen.[64] Die Übertragung fand wie folgt statt: "Durch einen zu diesem besonderen Zwecke eingerichteten Apparat, nicht unähnlich der magischen Laterne, wird nun die Skizze auf die Leinwand vergrößert. Die Konturen werden auf der Leinwand nachgezogen und die Grundlinien des künftigen Bildes sind da. Freilich erst schattenhaft: wie es sich dereinst ausnehmen wird, läßt sich noch so wenig sagen,.... Das Bild wird jetzt angetuscht, die Leinwand in Lokaltönen dünn gedeckt. Die Ausführung beginnt.."[65] Die Arbeit am Panorama begann am 25. August und wurde, unter strengster Geheimhaltung, bis zur Eröffnung am 30. Mai 1886 weitergeführt. Nach der Fertigstellung des Panoramagemäldes wurden photographische Aufnahmen von ihm gemacht um Reproduktionen herstellen zu können.[66] Sie wurden z.T. im Panorama selbst verkauft und natürlich in den verschiedenen

Zeitschriften veröffentlicht.[67] "Auf diese Weise wurde denn auch das ganze Panorama der Kreuzigung Christi von der Zuschauertribüne aus in zehn Blättern mit einer Expositionszeit von je fünf Minuten im Monat Dezember 1886 aufgenommen und nach diesen Photographien konnten die Holzschnitte für uns hergestellt werden."[68]

Eine zeitgenössische Beschreibung des Panoramas gibt nicht nur den Inhalt, sondern auch die Atmosphäre wieder, wie sie zur Zeit der Ausstellung erlebt wurde: "Auf einer Leinwandfläche von 1700 Quadratmetern führt er [Piglhein] uns den 7. April des Jahres 34 unserer Zeitrechnung vor... Der Beschauer steht auf einer Plattform, die als eine Anhöhe neben dem Golgathahügel gedacht ist, und sieht vor sich eine unfruchtbare Gegend mit dürrer, sonnenversengter Vegetation, mit nackten, zerstückelten Felsen. Die Sonnenfinsternis ist bereits eingetreten und daher in die Landschaft jene eigentümlich fahle Stimmung gekommen, wie sie das Auge an grellen Sommertagen wahrnimmt, wenn sich die Sonne plötzlich hinter Gewitterwolken verbirgt.... Aller Augen sind nach dem Gipfel des Berges gerichtet, wo Christus inmitten der Schächer am Kreuze hängt und seine letzten Worte spricht... Und darüber endlich zieht sich die majestätische Ruhe der Stadt Jerusalem hin, aus deren Häusermeer die Burg Antonia, der Tempel, der Palast der Hasmonäer und die Heriodianische Königsburg hervorragen..."[69] Und hier die Beurteilung dieses gleichen, für das

Abb. 6: Gebhard Fugel, Panorama *"Kreuzigung"Altötting*.

19. Jahrhundert typischen, Betrachters: "Man sieht, das Bild bezeichnet einen Triumph der modernen realistischen Kunst. Erst das Jahrhundert der exakten Wissenschaft, der Photographie und der Eisenbahnen ermöglichte die umfassenden Studien, welche die wissenschaftliche Grundlage des großen Werkes bilden." Ohne Zweifel war es der ausführliche, von Sattler verfaßte, z.T. dreisprachige Führer zum Panorama, der beim Betrachter das Vertrauen in die Genauigkeit und Wissenschaftlichkeit unterstützte. Der Führer gibt genaue Ortsbeschreibungen und Anweisungen, in welcher Form sich der Besucher das Panorama ansehen soll. Mit vielen lateinischen Begriffen und deren populärwissenschaftlichen Erklärung, so z.B. "Golgotha oder Golgatha, lateinisch mons Calvariä, deutsch Klavarienberg oder Schädelberg... weil diese Anhöhe... so abfiel, daß sie von Süden aus gesehen einem menschlichen Schädel annähernd gleichsah"... machte der Verfasser natürlich Eindruck auf den Panoramabesucher.[70] Die einzelnen Ortsbezeichnungen, oft in mehreren Sprachen - hebräisch, lateinisch, deutsch und arabisch, werden durch die Nennung der entsprechenden Stellen in der Bibel oder den Schriften des Flavius Josephus belegt und ermöglichten damit ein Nachlesen in den Quellen. Der Besucher hatte nach dem Verlassen des Panoramas und dem Vertiefen in diese Erklärungen das Gefühl, nicht nur an einem großartigen religiösen und künstlerischen Ereignis teilgenommen zu haben, sondern auch auf vielen Gebieten, wie Bibelforschung, Archäologie oder Geographie, dazugelernt zu haben. "Die Wahrheit ist es denn auch, welche dem Piglhein'schen Panorama die Weihe verleiht."[71]

Piglhein verwandte Figuren, deren Gesten die Dramatik des Geschehens verdeutlichten und sie bewegten sich theatralisch, wie auf einer Bühne, was ja das Panorama auch zum Teil ist. Jede der zumeist anonymen Gestalten veranschaulichte Gefühle und Reaktion auf das sich im Bilde vollziehende Geschehen. Hierzu eine zeitgenössische Beurteilung: "Nur ein Künstler, der an Ort und Stelle die gründlichsten landschaftlichen, volkstypischen und archäologischen Forschungen gemacht hatte, vermochte den unzählige Male dargestellten Gegenstand in so durchaus neuer Weise behandeln. Aber dieses gründliche Wissen ist überall mit einem eminenten Können, einer groß veranlagten Phantasie und feinstem künstlerischen Empfinden gepaart."[72]

Dies wird allerdings gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhundert wesentlich kritischer gesehen: "Die schon von Luther mit detaillierten Ratschlägen behandelte Frage nach dem richtigen biblischen Kostüm hat im so positivistisch gesonnenen 19. Jahrhundert, im Zeichen einer ausgedehnten Leben-Jesu-Forschung, zu einer besonderen biblischen Orientmalerei geführt. Ihre gemäßigten Vertreter in München waren Pigelhein und Fugel. Doch auch diese Richtung entging nicht

der Kritik. Je richtiger diese Bilder nach ihrem biblischen archäologischen Gesichtspunkt waren, desto exotischer und befremdlicher sahen sie aus."[73]

Das Piglhein-Panorama diente seinerzeit als Anregung bzw. Vorbild für weitere Kreuzigungs-Panormanen, die zum Teil durch Pigelheins eigene Mitarbeiter ausgeführt wurden. "Obwohl dieser [Piglhein] vertraglich die Verpflichtung eingegangen war, davon keine konkurrierenden Wiederholungen anzufertigen, erlebte das Werk noch über ein Dutzend Plagiate, die sein Gehilfe Frosch an wechselnden Orten produzierte."[74]

Hierzu gehört das 1892 für den Schweizer Wallfahrtsort Einsiedeln in Auftrag gegebene Panorama mit dem Motiv der Kreuzigung Christi, das von K. H. Frosch, J. Krieger und W. Leigh ausgeführt wurde. 1960 fielen das Panorama und die es beherbergende Rotunde bei Renovierungsarbeiten einem Brand zum Opfer, wurde aber sofort wiederhergestellt. Das Panorama wurde in der alten Komposition nach Farbphotographien neu gemalt und 1962 eingeweiht (Bild 5). Heute wird wie folgt für das Werk geworben: "Das Panorama macht mit seinen 2000 Quadratmetern bemalter Fläche schon räumlich einen imposanten und unvergeßlichen Eindruck. Überwältigend aber ist die künstlerische Schönheit der Riesenszenerie, seelenerschütternd die große Kreuzigungsgruppe auf dem Berge Golgatha."[75] Seinerzeit war das Panorama bestellt worden, um den Fremdenverkehr in dem Wallfahrtsort anzuheben.

Die Mitarbeiter Piglheins, Frosch und Krieger waren außerdem an einem weiteren Münchener Panorama, dem 'Einzug Christi in Jerusalem' beteiligt, das 1902 eröffnet und von der Kritik positiv beurteilt wurde. Die figürliche Komposition stammte von Sylvester Reisacher, während Krieger für die Landschaft und Frosch für die Architektur zuständig war. "Den Einzug Christi zeigten die Künstler nicht wie üblich in der Stadt Jerusalem, sondern verlegten ihn auf eine Landstraße an den Fuß des Ölbergs, wohin die Einwohner der Stadt strömten. Tausende von Figuren in orientalischen Gewändern belebten die Landschaft".[76]

Das einzige *in situ* erhaltene originale Riesenrundgemälde ist die von Gerhard Fugel (1863-1939) in den Jahren 1902/03 geschaffene 'Kreuzigung Christi' in dem bayerischen Wallfahrtsort Altötting.[77] (Bild 6) Das inzwischen unter Denkmalschutz stehende und gut recherchierte Werk ist mit 11,60 Metern Leinwandhöhe und 95 Metern Länge kleiner als das Piglheinsche Panorama, von dem es aber inhaltlich und in der Komposition stark beeinflußt ist. Trotz dieser Abhängigkeit stellt das Werk Fugels doch eine Wende dar. Fugel war ein religiöser Maler, der in Altötting versucht hat eine neue Form des Andachtsbildes zu schaffen. Diese religiöse Tendenz wird besonders deutlich durch ein Rundschreiben an die Pfarrämter, das kurz nach der Eröffnung des,

übrigens durch kirchliche Zeremonie eingeweihten, Panoramas verschickt wurde: "Es stellt unter engster Anlehnung an die Schilderung der hl. Schrift in historischer und topographischer Treue das erhabenste Ereignis der Weltgeschichte dar, den Kreuzestod unseres Herrn und Heilandes auf Golgatha. Unmittelbar vor den Augen des Beschauers im Angesicht der ragenden Mauern, Türme und Paläste Jerusalems spielt sich das erschütternde Drama der Menschheitserlösung ab. Die für die Darstellung verwendete Form des Rundbildes mit plastischem Vordergrund steigert die Illusion bis zur Empfindung unmittelbaren Miterlebens. Der Beschauer fühlt sich mitten hineingestellt in die Vorgänge der weltgeschichtlichen Begebenheit."

Mit dem Höhepunkt der illusionistischen Panoramamalerei und der inhaltlichen Rückkehr zur religiösen Thematik ist die Darstellung Jerusalems in der universalen Kunst auch an ihr Ende gelangt. Während sich die Künstler der Welt im 20. Jahrhundert nicht mehr mit Religion, Historie und Topographie, sondern mit Fragen der Abstraktion, Komposition und Konstruktion beschäftigen, sind es vor allem die lokalen Künstler in Eretz-Israel, die weiterhin nach der künstlerischen Darstellungsform dieser 'ewigen Stadt' suchen.

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Picasso's Guitar, 1912: The Transition from Analytical to Synthetic Cubism

Ruth Markus

*C*ontroversy continues as to the dating of Picasso's first cardboard *Guitar* (fig. 1) and its role in his artistic development. The two questions are interconnected, since the exact date could indicate whether *Guitar* resulted from Picasso's two-dimensional synthetic works[1] or was created after his first *papier collé*[2]. The problem was still considered unresolved even after Picasso himself claimed that *Guitar* had preceded his two-dimensional works.[3]

The debate was resumed by William Rubin, in his introduction to the catalogue of the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) exhibition *Picasso and Braque*.[4] Although Rubin changed the dating of *Guitar* from *early* 1912 to *October* 1912, he still supported Picasso's own claim.[5] However, Rubin's revised dating was based on Edward Fry's conclusions, rather than on any new evidence.[6]

I believe that it is possible to understand the role of *Guitar* and its place in Picasso's artistic development, even in the absence of its exact date, by determining whether it belongs to the analytical or to the synthetic phase. I consider *Guitar* to have been Picasso's most significant work in the phase of his transition from analytical to synthetic cubism, and that it includes characteristics of both. It was an artistic experiment that turned out to be a solution to the dead end reached by analytical cubism in 1912. If, indeed, *Guitar* was Picasso's first attempt to find a new way to represent the object, It can be assumed that it was created before the *papiers collés* and the collages.

By 1912 cubism had clearly reached a cul-de-sac. Between 1910 and 1911, with the development of analytical cubism, forms had become increasingly fragmented and transparent, contours had opened up and dissolved into space. This development finally prevented the spectator from placing the parts of the object in a specific location. While it might still have been possible to reconstruct a single object by "assembling" its parts, it was no longer possible to do so
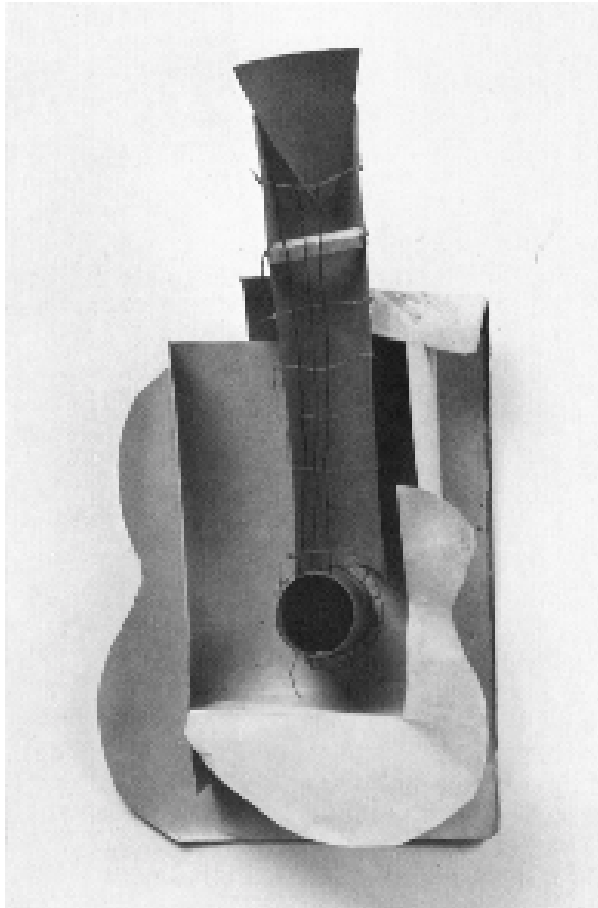
Fig. 1: Picasso, *Guitar* (maquette), 1912, Cardboard and
string, 66 x 33.7 x 19.3 cm, MOMA, New York.

when fragments of several objects were scattered about the painting. And once
the objects could no longer be identified, the painting became practically
abstract – a result that completely negated the aim of the cubists, since the
object was the subject matter of their art.

This development appears to have been a direct result of the way the
analytical cubists represented the object. Assuming that the senses, although
essential, were insufficient in themselves to clarify the essence of the object,
they employed the following three aspects of simultaneity:

a. *Comprehensive simultaneity*, expressing the need to present the spectator
with the most obvious visual characteristics of the object, seen from several

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points of view. This was achieved by fragmenting the object and rearranging the parts in the pictorial space.

b. *Simultaneity of interior and exterior*, expressing the awareness that the object's external aspects do not clarify its essence. The need to expose the inner structure of the object demanded the use of transparent facets.

c. *Simultaneity of object and space*, expressing the modern concept of substance, in which mass, as a function of time and space, is equal to energy and therefore not necessarily solid.[7] The result was a reversal of characteristics as between solid and void, and the penetration of space into substance. These were achieved, as before, through the use of transparent facets and also by the opening up of contours.

Paradoxically, this process – whose original aim was to clarify the essence of the object – was also the reason for the dead end reached by analytical cubism. The breaking of the object into too many parts, the opening up of contours, and the excessive use of transparent facets led to the disappearance of the object itself, as noted earlier. The main difficulty of analytical cubism seems to have resulted from a dependence on the perceptual aspects of reality, by which the identification of the object essentially involved its visual characteristics. When the eye was no longer able to locate familiar forms, it could not identify the object. Hence a new way to represent the object was needed – one that would not depend on a reconstruction of its appearance.

Those were the circumstances in which *Guitar* was created. Picasso was often known to solve pictorial problems by sculptural means. Since his main problem was the dissolution of the object's parts into the pictorial space, it is reasonable to suppose that he tried to solve it by examining the interrelationship among sections of the three-dimensional object in real space. That being the case, some aspects of the analytical concept should reveal themselves in *Guitar* – as this was the reason for Picasso's search for a solution – as well as some clues to the synthetic concept, to which it would eventually lead. If both approaches appear together in *Guitar* we can assume that it represents a transitional stage, a first step in the changeover from analytical to synthetic cubism.

All the aspects of simultaneity that characterize analytical cubism can indeed be found in *Guitar*:

a. *Comprehensive simultaneity*: The *Guitar* is represented simultaneously from several angles. Although the observer is limited to one perspective he can see sections of both the front and the rear: the sections of the front contain the neck, the strings and the hole of the sounding board; the sections of the rear are the part protruding beyond the side contour (this part could at the same

time represent the silhouette or profile) and also the part reflected through the negative void – the opening of the front plane.

b. *Simultaneity of interior and exterior*: In analytical painting simultaneity of interior and exterior is achieved by using transparent facets. No comparable solution had been found thus far in sculpture, however, because of the traditional concept of sculpture as mass surrounded by space and because of the use of the traditional solid materials, stone or bronze.[8] By using a new kind of material in the front plane of *Guitar*, that of void representing solid (negative void), Picasso also succeeded in overcoming the problem of transparency.

c. *Simultaneity of object and space*: Use of the negative void enabled both the interaction of object and space and the reversal of characteristics between the two. Here Picasso was using not only negative forms, such as void instead of substance, but also positive forms, such as the hole in the sounding board represented by a cylinder. The solid material of the cylinder thus supplies the concept of a nonsolid form in the visual reality. At the same time it assists the viewer in penetrating the interior of the guitar, serving as a point of reference by providing an idea of the depth of the various planes and their relationship to one another.

Some aspects of the analytical phase, however, are missing in *Guitar*, the most obvious being the facets. Picasso, instead of using facets, breaks up the object into planes, each indicating a different level of depth, and each appearing to have a different color because of a different intensity of shadow. None of the planes gives the complete shape of any part of the guitar; but by using the most characteristic features and by defining each plane with clear contours, the artist gives us enough clues to complete the form in our mind.

The existence of all aspects of simultaneity in *Guitar* shows that while creating it Picasso was still involved in his earlier concept of reality – one belonging to the analytical phase. However, the missing facets and the breaking up of the object into planes already indicate a change. This technique was later to be applied by Picasso in his two-dimensional works of the synthetic phase, by using a different color to denote each plane.

Guitar contains not only the technique but also the conceptual approach of synthetic cubism. This approach can be clarified by examining its connection to the development of European epistemology, which indicated a shift from one concept of reality to another. Christopher Grey, for example, sees a similarity between the perception of the object by analytical cubism and its perception by Kant – a synthesis of *a priori* knowledge and of information perceived through the senses.[9] However, in the synthetic phase the artist no longer wishes to analyze the sense stimuli; he prefers instead to convert the work of art into

an independent reality that exists according to its own autonomous rules. The emphasis therefore shifts from the senses to intuition, and the artist leaves out such visual aspects as depth and volume. According to Grey, this approach is close to the ideas of Hegel.[10]

Edward F. Fry regards the transition from analytical to synthetic cubism as a shift from the Bergsonian concept of duration to Husserl's phenomenalism.[11] In analytical cubism the object was perceived by a continuous accumulation of impressions.[12] In the synthetic phase the object is conceived through a synthesis of one's impressions and the meanings (*intentions*)[13] one gives them. This synthesis does not require the accumulation of all the visual aspects; it can be created by reducing the object's characteristics to certain essential clues (*reduction*).[14]

Were the various phases of cubism inspired by Kant or Hegel, Bergson or Husserl? It is difficult to ascribe such a direct philosophical influence to either analytical or synthetic cubism, but the transition mentioned above indicates that the perception of reality had changed and the emphasis had shifted from the visual to the conceptual.[15] This transition was an answer to the difficulties of the cubists – a way to break away from their dependence on the visual aspects of the object.

Picasso achieved that break through during the creation of his first cardboard *Guitar* by using only the few characteristics that were essential to transmit its concept. A guitar can be perceived through a set of associations, formed by assembling such signs as strings and pegs, a silhouette of the profile, the contour of the neck, a piece of wood and some musical notes. By synthesizing these signs a new guitar is created – one that does not imitate any existing guitar. The spectator can therefore identify it without depending on its visual aspects. The artist, thus, presents a concrete object – one that does not represent another object but is an object in itself. This concept brought about the cubist term "tableau-objet,"[16] or, in this case, "sculpture-objet." Picasso's 1912 *Guitar* is, indeed, such a new object.

Nonetheless, *Guitar* is not a complete synthetic construction. To be that, it would have had to integrate two dimensional aspects into the three-dimensional construction, so as to create an ambiguity in the mind of the viewer. For if *simultaneity* is the key word in analytical cubism, it is *ambiguity* that characterizes synthetic cubism. Instead of creating comprehensive and descriptive simultaneity, synthetic cubism creates a more complex reality, that of contrasting and simultaneously existing situations. Ambiguity was in fact already present in the analytical phase, in the exchange of roles between solid and void, as well as in the unrealistic use of color, light, and shadow. All these cause the

spectator to experience a contradiction between the visual reality and the reality of the work of art. In synthetic cubism, however, the use of ambiguity is more complex. Since the painted or sculpted object no longer represents an existing object but is instead an object in itself, a contradiction arises between the two realities: that of the "conventional" object, which exists in one's mind, and that of the new one, created by the artist, which exists both as the subject of the creation and as the creation itself.

That contradiction is intensified when "non-artistic" materials borrowed from the world of visual reality are introduced – as in the case of pasted paper, collage or assemblage. The contradiction between reality and illusion is further intensified in three-dimensional works when real volume, partly disguised by color, appears two-dimensional and is placed side by side with illusionary volume, and it is no longer clear what is painted and what is real. According to Penrose, Picasso willfully disturbs us by combining various degrees of deception, which together set up a play of complementary meaning, a metaphysical pun.[17] Thus Picasso himself used the term *trompe l'esprit* rather than of the traditional *trompe l'oeil*.[18]

By using ambiguity, synthetic cubism offers an enigma and not a solution.[19] It offers a statement that contradicts all the traditional techniques based on illusionism, because illusion is a lie. According to Gombrich, if illusion is created by an interrelationship of clues and a lack of contradictory facts, then in order to abolish it one must cause the clues to contradict one another.[20] Any attempt to follow the clues will lead to a dead end; on the other hand, the presence of the clues invites the viewer to reconstruct the object, and the failure to do so serves only as an incentive to try anew. Thus the spectator becomes involved in the creative act; both spectator and artist alike are stimulated into repeatedly examining the essence of the object as well as the meaning each gives to it. Every work of art presents aconcept of an object that is right for a given moment only but that serves also as one more step toward the absolute object. This process can also be described as dialectical. In fact, it is possible to regard the synthetic work of art as composed of a thesis and an antithesis. Their simultaneous existence creates ambiguity and forces one to reach a synthesis.

The need to use means as complex as possible to create ambiguity led Picasso to combine paint and other materials (ashe did in his *papiers collés* and collages) or two and three dimensions (as he did in his later constructions). Since such acombination does not exist in the first cardboard *Guitar* of 1912, it cannot be considered an actual synthetic work. It is a sculpture, but not in the traditional sense; it is rather an object, and as such it does not need a pedestal or a frame or any sort of background, because these would only isolate it from the world
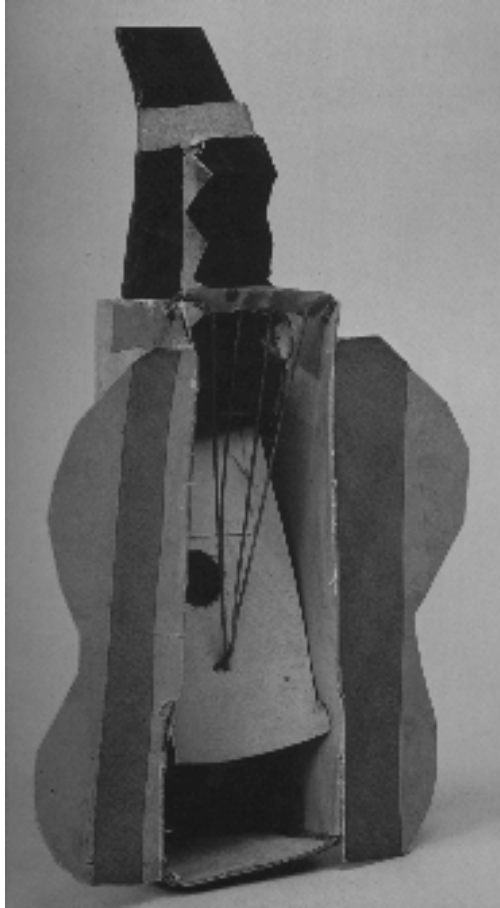
Fig. 2: Picasso, *Guitar*, 1912, Cardboard, pasted
paper, canvas, pencil and string, 22.8 x 14.5 x 07
cm, Musée Picasso, Paris.

of other objects. It can, therefore, be suspended in the air or placed directly on
a table.

In the same year, 1912, Picasso already used color in his two other *Guitar*s
(fig. 2)[21] and thus combined real and illusory depth and space. He also created
two-dimensional works (pasted papers and collages) in which he translated
into color the differing shadows caused by the different depths of planes. (sig.
3, 4)[22] This technique could not have been applied to his two dimensional works
before the creation of *Guitar*.

It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the 1912 cardboard *Guitar*
was indeed created in the transitional phase between analytical and synthetic
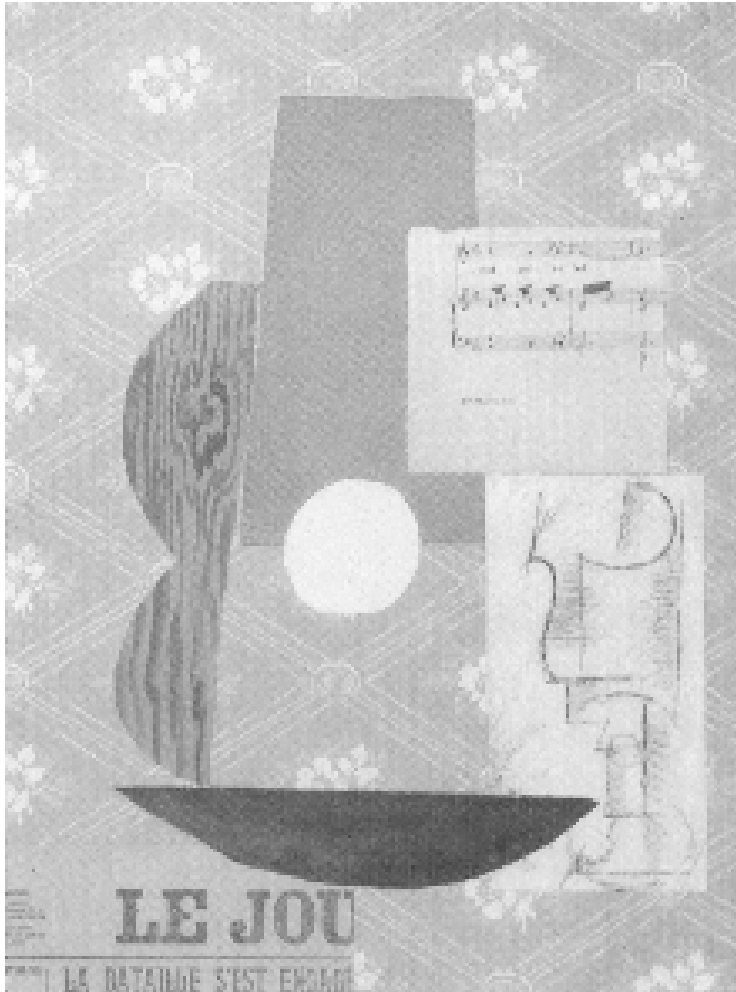
Fig. 3: Picasso, *Guitar, Sheet Music and Wine Glass*, 1912, Charcoal, gouache and pasted paper, 62.5 x 47 cm, The McNay Art Institute, San Antonio, Texas.

cubism, since it contains both approaches – that which creates the object anew by using its external characteristics, and that which creates a new object by means of conceptual associations. I believe that *Guitar* was the "laboratory specimen" through which Picasso analyzed the problems he had encountered in the analytical paintings. There he reached his novel concept of the object and created a new visual language, one that he later applied to his synthetic constructions and paintings. The *papiers collés* could not have been created before *Guitar*, since they already express Picasso's renouncement of the analytical
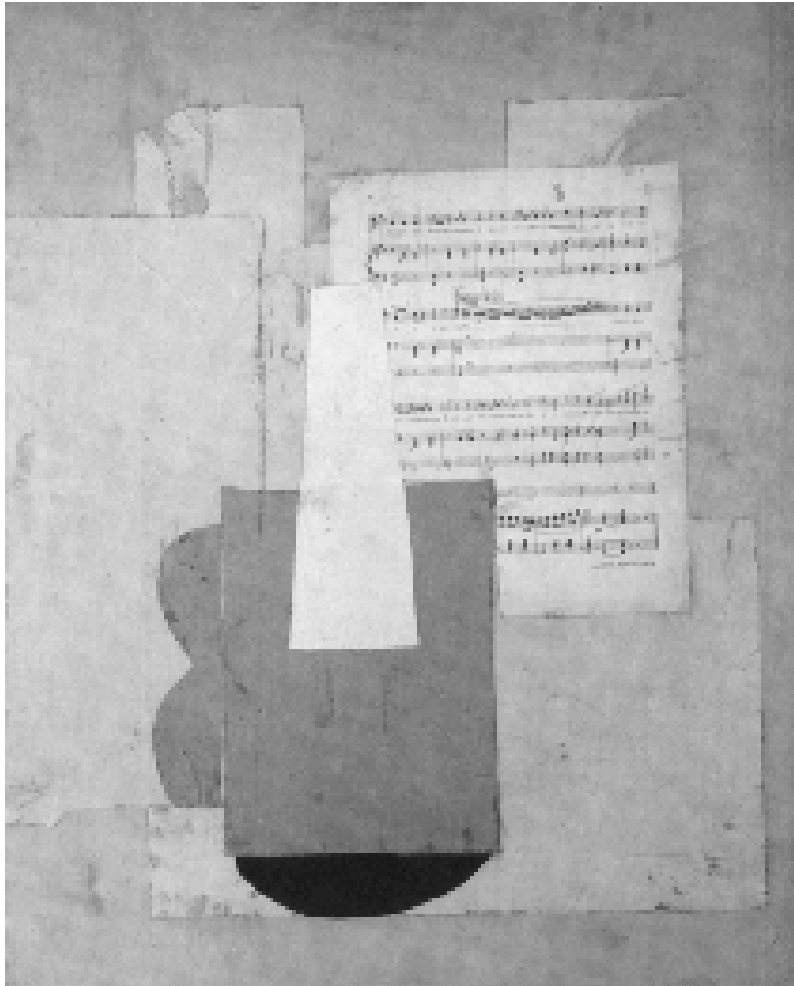
Fig. 4: Picasso, *Violin and Sheet Music*, 1912, Pasted paper on cardboard, 78 x 65 cm, Musée Picasso, Paris.

perception of the object, a solution that he had found during the creation of *Guitar*.

Guitar was not only a significant factor in the transition from analytical to synthetic cubism, it was also a major contribution to the development of modern sculpture. Prior to its creation the cubist sculptors had struggled with the application of analytical concepts to three dimensions: Comprehensive simultaneity could not be reached in sculpture because of the density of the traditional material, which prevented any comprehensive view without a

change of perspective.[23] The nature of the material also prevented a simultaneous viewing of interior and exterior, as well as the possibility of penetration by the void into the solid, or an interchange of roles between the two. In *Guitar*, Picasso introduced a new kind of material, the negative void, which increased the range of sculptural means. He also revolutionized sculpture by using such two-dimensional materials as paper, cardboard and sheet metal – which were not considered as "noble" as the traditional stone or bronze. Viewed in profile, these flat materials looked like lines; Picasso thus imparted a new role to the line, turning it into a sculptural element that both defined form and contained the negative void.

These innovations, which appeared for the first time in *Guitar*, provided a momentum to cubist sculpture, which from 1912 began to flower. However, the most important development derived from the synthetic concept of reality, by which the cubists were free from dependence on the visual aspects of the object and were, therefore, able to abandon the use of descriptive simultaneity. This new concept, together with the use of new materials, enabled the cubist sculptor to employ a new sculptural language. This new language was introduced into modern sculpture and was to be used by the artists of a variety of movements, among them futurism and constructivism.

NOTES

1   This was the commonly accepted position. Rubin believes that it was first put forward by C. Greenberg in his essay "The Pasted Paper Revolution" (1958), reprinted as "Collage" in *Art and Culture*, Boston, 1961 (see Rubin, 1989, 57, n. 51). I would like to stress that Picasso himself made the following comment to Julio Gonzales: "It would have sufficed to cut them up – the colors, after all, being no more than indications of differences in perspective, of planes inclined one way or the other – and then assemble them according to the indications given by the color, in order to be confronted with a 'sculpture'" – a description that proceeds from a two-dimensional to a three-dimensional state (Penrose, 1967, 19).

2   H. Kahnweiler, in *Le Sculpture de Picasso*, 1949, was the first to claim that Picasso's synthetic paintings were a two-dimensional translation of his constructions (see Daix, 1979, 118). This approach was also supported by Daix himself (*Ibid*.) and was especially insisted upon by Johnson (Johnson, 1976, 115). Cooper also described the 1912 constructions as the "forerunners" of *papiers collés* (Cooper, 1976, 234). He claimed that Picasso and Braque had both created constructions during the same period but that those of Braque were lost. (*Ibid.*, 58). The accepted belief today is that Braque was the first to work in pasted papers and paper sculptures (Rubin, 1989, 30). However, that is a matter that lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

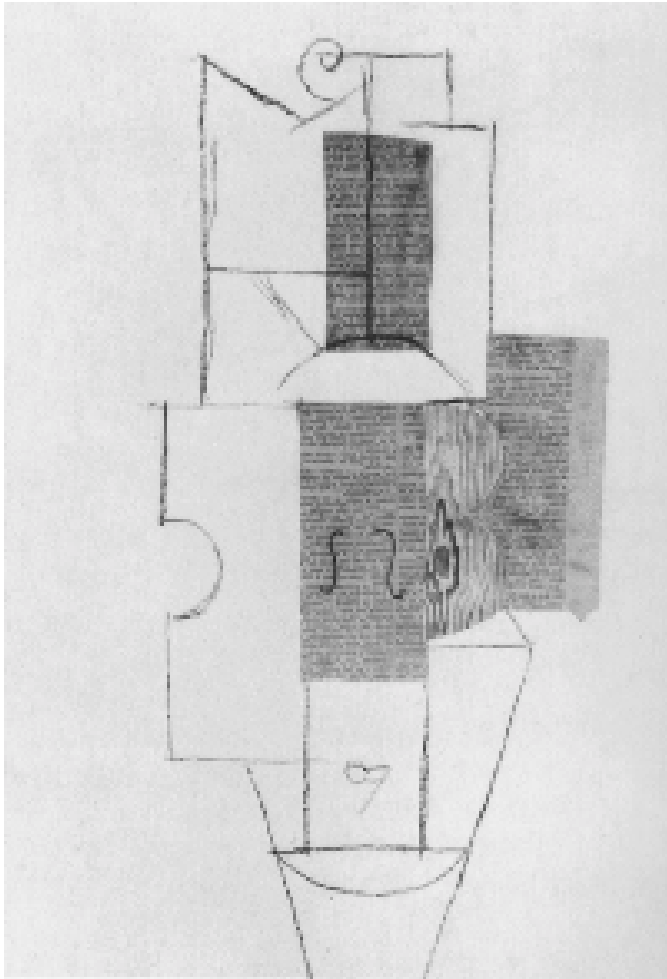3   *Ibid.*, 31. Rubin explains that he cannot recall whether the term Picasso used was

Fig. 5: Picasso, *Violin*, 1912, Pasted paper, charcoal and watercolor, 62.5 x 48 cm, Alsdorf Foundation, Chicago.

collage or *papier collé*. Because in the past Rubin had believed the word to be *collage*, he had dated the work as early 1912, before *Still Life with Chair Caning* (May 1912, Collage of oil, oil cloth, and paper on canvas surrounded with rope, 27 x 35 cm, Musée Picasso, Paris). Now, however, he has become convinced that Picasso meant *papier collé*. Whatever Picasso meant, we have to remember that it was said in 1971, many years after the work's creation, and that he himself never indicated an exact date for the work.

4   *Ibid*.
5   *Ibid*. The date "early 1912" was given by Rubin ,1980, 156: "*Guitar*, maquette, early 1912, Cardboard and string, 66.3 x 33.7 x 19.3 cm, Museum of Modern Art, New
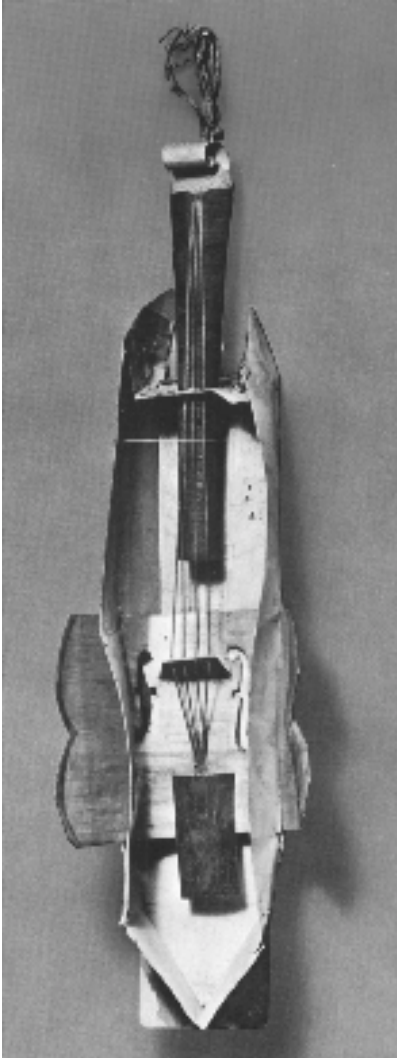
Fig. 6: Picasso, *Violin*, 1913,
Cardboard and string, 58.5 X 21
X 7.5 cm (Spies no. 35).

York." This work is a reconstruction of the original cardboard *Guitar*, which was later used by Picasso for his 1914 assemblage *Guitar and Bottle* (Spies, 1972, cat. no. 48).

6   Rubin, 1989, 31-32. Rubin's argument is based on a letter written by Picasso on 9 October 1912 and also involves stylistic reasoning that is derived from Fry, 1988, 296-310. See also Rosenblum, 1982, 6 and n.1; and Fry ,1981, 93-95. In that review Fry concluded that the MOMA *Guitar* must be related to a period no earlier than Sorgues in the summer of 1912, or more likely to Paris, Boulevard Raspail, in the fall of 1912, and that the cardboard version served as a maquette and preceded the final, metal version. I would like to point out that Rubin omitted the very convincing

evidence, although circumstantial, to be found in the words of André Salmon, published in the *Paris Journal* of 11 January 1912: "The painter Picasso... is undoubtedly going to execute some important sculptural works... Until now Picasso has only made known some busts" (quoted in Johnson, 1976, 115). We know that Picasso had not worked in sculpture since 1909-10, so it is possible that Salmon is referring here to the first constructions. Any discussion on the date of *Guitar* must therefore take his words into account.

7   Comprehensive simultaneity and simultaneity of object and space are connected also to the idea of the fourth dimension. It is impossible to expand on that concept within the limits of the present context, but it should be pointed out that the cubists accepted the term in its simplified meaning of time, although the term is used only as a symbol in mathematical equations and has neither an illustrative nor a perceptual significance. See also Fry's comment on Gleizes and Metzinger (Fry, 1966, 105-112).

8   Picasso's experiment with *Head of a Woman* (Fernande, Autumn 1909, Bronze, 41.3 cm, Museum of Modern Art, New York) was unsuccessful. He later told Penrose that he had originally intended to penetrate into the interior with wire strings but gave up the idea as it seemed too intellectual (Penrose, 1967, 19). A more successful solution may be found in Gabo's constructed heads of 1915; but Gabo would probably not have reached his solution had it not been for the use of the negative void in Picasso's *Guitar*.

9   Grey, 1967, chap. 10.

10 *Ibid*., 129, 135. We draw this conclusion from Grey's comment on Gris' claim that he works with the elements of the intellect and the imagination while trying to illustrate that which is abstract.

11 Fry ,1966, 38-39.

12 *Ibid*.

13 *Ibid*. Regarding my use of Husserl's terms in the text, see Hintikka, 1974, 144. (This article in Hebrew is based on the Hebrew translation of a lecture given by Hintikka during his visit to Israel in 1974; an English summary of the article is provided on pp. 238-240.) Hintikka also observed a similarity between cubism and Husserl's phenomenalism although, as he pointed out, there could have been no possible connection between the two at the time. Unlike Fry, however, Hintikka believed that the similarity was there from the start, even in the analytical phase.

14 *Ibid*.

15 This problem was explored in greater detail in Markus, 1984, 33-38.

16 Cooper, 1976, 234-235. Cooper claims that the constructions gave reality to the idea of the "tableau-objet".

17 Penrose, 1962, 172.

18 Johnson, 1976, 122.

19 This idea is also discussed in Krausse, 1977, 51.

20 Gombrich, 1972, 281.

21 *Guitar*, December 1912, Cardboard, pasted paper, canvas, pencil and string,

22.8 x 14.5 x 07 cm, Musee Picasso, Paris; *Guitar*, December 1912, Cardboard, pasted paper, canvas, oil and pencil, string, 33 x 18 x 0.95 cm, Musée Picasso, Paris.

22 For example: *Guitar, Sheet Music and Wine Glass*, Autumn 1912, Charcoal, gouache, and pasted paper, 62.5 x 47 cm, The McNay Art Institute, San Antonio, Texas. This work is also accepted by Rubin as "one of the first *papiers collés* - if not the very first" (Rubin, 1989, 28). There are other examples illustrating the direct connection between the two-dimensional works and the constructions, one being *Violin and Sheet Music*, Autumn 1912, Pasted paper on cardboard, 78 x 65 cm, Musée Picasso, Paris. Another interesting example that seems to illustrate a reverse process is *Violin*, 1913, Cardboard and string, 58.5 x 21 x 7.5 cm. (fig. 6. Spies, cat. no. 35). This three-dimensional violin looks as if it might have been preceded by a two-dimensional version – *Violin*, Autumn 1912, Pasted paper, charcoal and watercolor, 62.5 x 48 cm, Alsdorf Foundation, Chicago (fig. 5). A sketch that might have been a "plan" for the 1913 work appears in a photograph of a wall of Picasso's studio in the Boulevard Raspail (see Rubin, 1989, 34-35).

23 This problem was solved at a later stage by the linear sculpture, where the creation of a transparent grid made it possible to view several sides of the object simultaneously.

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