Classical Heritage and Anti-Classical Trends in the Mosaic Pavement of Lydda (Lod)*

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*T*he polychrome mosaic pavement of Lod discovered in April 1996, measuring approximately 17 m long by 9 m wide, was excavated by the Israel Antiquities Authority.[1] The mosaic pavement, comprising seven panels, is symmetrically divided into two large carpets by a long rectangular horizontal panel and the entire work is surrounded by white mosaic. The coloured mosaic is composed of stone *tesserae* and glass cubes of various colours, including black, a reddish tone, brown, white, yellow, ochre, tones of gray, and blue. According to the archaeological findings, such as imported *amphorae* of the 3rd or 4th century CE (and no later than the 4th century), the mosaic pavement appears to have been laid at the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century CE (Fig.1).[2]

The Northern Carpet (Figs. 1-4)
The northern carpet is framed by a black stripe (A1=AIEMA: Nos.137-138=Décor 1985: Pl. 1[a])[3] and within it a wide white border decorated with diamond patterns (D1,D4 = AIEMA: Nos. 106,106' = Décor 1985: Pl.108[d-g]).[4] The wide area between the black stripe and the panels is decorated with florets (stylized flowers). Each of the three panels in this carpet is surrounded by decorative frames of geometric patterns, such as two-strand guilloche (B2=AIEMA: Nos.194= Décor 1985: Pl. 70 (c-j), Pl. 71 [a-e]),[5] crowstep (A5-6=AIEMA: No.162),[6] composite guilloche (B12=AIEMA: No.200-201= Décor 1985:Pl. 74 [b,c,e,f,h]) ,[7] and waves (B7-8=AIEMA: No.190= Décor 1985: Pl. 101 [a,b,d,e]).[8]

The Northern Panel (Fig. 2)
The northern panel of this large carpet consists of nine hexagons and two trapezoid forms, all framed by two-strand guilloche (B2). Various animals and

Fig. 1: The mosaic of Lydda (Lod), general view (after Avissar 1996).

one large basket filled with fish are depicted within the hexagonal decorative frames, in a very conservative and rigid style, individualistic but lacking artistic freedom. An interesting feature in this panel is the opposing directions of the figures within the hexagons.[9]

The hexagons in the upper row of the panel comprise from right to left the following representations: a naturalistic round basket with two handles, placed vertically and filled with various kinds of fish;[10] a lioness attacking and preying upon a stag in a *symplegmatic* composition;[11] a hen surrounded by five chicks, similar to the representation in the mosaic of the ancient synagogue at Beth Alpha,[12] as well as on the mosaic pavement from the early Byzantine church of St.Christophe in Qabr Hiram, near Tyre, in Lebanon.[13] Next follows a lion depicted with its head *en face* and its body in a three-quarter pose, resting next
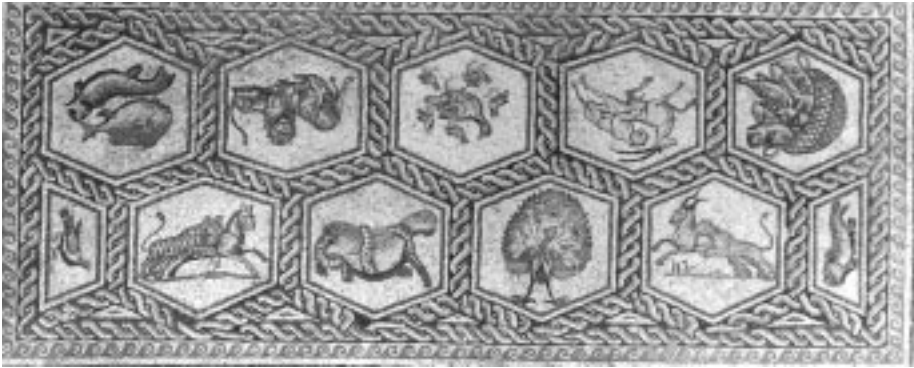
Fig. 2: The northern carpet (after Avissar 1996).

to its prey, probably an ox, bull, or cow; and finally two different fish facing opposite directions.

In the lower row it is possible to observe, from right to left, a leopard attacking a stag in way similar to that shown in the upper row;[14] a peacock with its tail fanned out in a frontal view;[15] a water-snake attacking a large fish; a tiger attacking a horse. The figural groups within the extreme hexagons containing the attacking animals, face towards the centre, with the exception of the group of the water-snake wound around the fish,[16] and the peacock depicted frontally. An open-mouthed fish and a bird are discernible within each of the trapezoid forms.

It is interesting to note that four of the nine figures are preying animals, while three have a marine character, and two are fowl. Some of the depictions express a genre character, as seen in the life-like representation of the basket, the hen, the chicks, and the peacock, while the other animals appear to reflect the struggle for survival in nature.

The Central Panel (Fig. 3)
The central panel of the large carpet is a square form containing a polygon, with an octagon in its centre, surrounded by triangular and square forms. All these are framed by two-strand guilloche (B2). A pair of dolphins flanking a trident is featured in each of the four corners of this panel. A similar iconographical scheme appears in an Hellenistic polychrome mosaic in the *House of the Dolphins* in Delos from the second century BCE.[17] This comparison enhances the conceptual links between this mosaic and those of the Hellenistic world, indicating the Hellenistic tradition and concept of this Late Antique

Fig. 3: The central panel of the northern carpet (after Avissar 1996).

polychrome mosaic. It is highly plausible that the artist or artisan of the Lydda mosaic used patternbooks when creating this floor.

In each group of three triangular panels, placed in each corner of the square, a fish is set between two fowl. The fish, as well as the fowl, are of different types. Within two of the square forms appear animals of prey in *symplegmatic* groups: a leopard with a deer and a lion with a stag. A genre scene is formed by a rabbit nibbling grapes, with a dog placed nearby within the third square. A vase with two female leopards leaping symmetrically onto its brim, one on each side, appears in the fourth square.[18]

The artist seems to have emphasized the representations within the squares over those in the triangles, as reflected by the size of the area, and the richer polychrome of the figures, as well as by presenting these in groups, while those

Fig. 4: The southern panel of the northern carpet (after Avissar 1996).

in the triangles are single. The themes of the figural groups are more stimulating and lively, and their more dramatic and active character derives from the wild nature of the animals, in contrast with the individual animals in the triangles.

The central octagon is organized in a freer manner than the triangular and square forms, by presenting the animals on three levels, and thus achieving a sense of space and depth with a certain, albeit innacurate perspective.[19] A tiger and a bull appear in the foreground, while an elephant, its body covered by network,[20] a giraffe, and a rhinoceros are placed in the middle ground. A lion and lioness appear in the background, seated on two rocky mounds in an antithetic presentation, providing a dramatic and heroic impression.[21] The vis-à-vis position of the two animals creates a compositional connection between them, strengthened by the marine monster in the middle. The monster, with its head rearing towards the lioness on the left and its long twisted tail, raised towards the lion on the right, appears to be in a lake or sea.[22] The artist here has succeeded in presenting the theme in graduation from foreground to background, achieving a three-dimensional impression. There is a different artistic approach to the animals on each level. Those in the foreground are represented in a pastoral ambience, emphasized in the passive attitude of the tiger toward the bull, which is bellowing. In contrast to the groups in the centre and the foreground, the group in the background, especially the lion and lioness, is arranged in a more Classical manner, resembling the lion and other animals depicted in the Roman mosaic pavement in the Villa Hadriana,[23] dated to the first half of the second century CE. Two artistic trends, Classical and anti-Classical (or Oriental), are apparent in this octagonal medallion, creating a certain artistic and conceptual antagonism.
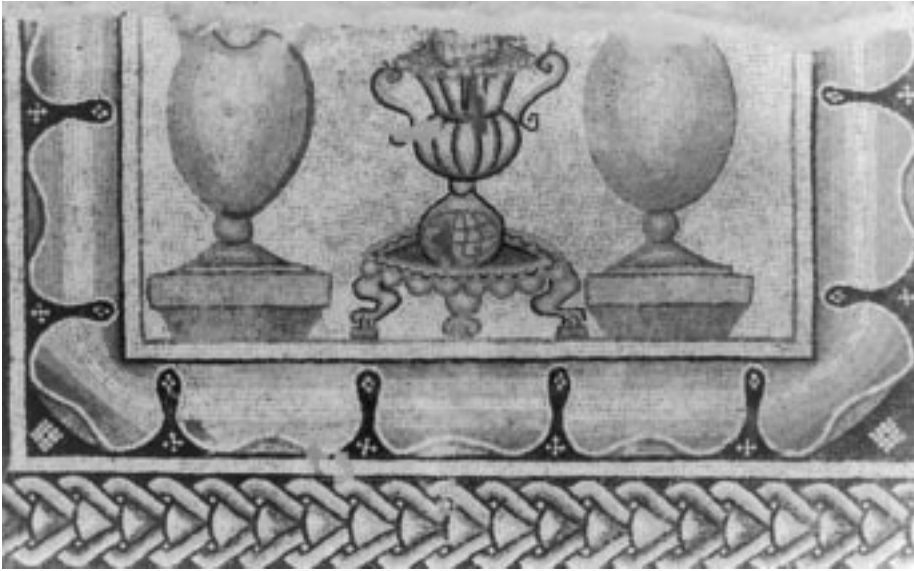
Fig. 5: The attached panel (after Avissar 1996).

North African influence is clear in the animals depicted in the middle level and the background, typical of the gallery of African wild animals.[24] For comparison, some of these wild animals can be found in other examples of mosaics, such as those in the 4th century CE mosaics of Piazza Armerina.[25] In addition, some of the wild animals appearing in the Lydda (Lod) mosaic, such as the elephant, giraffe and lioness, are depicted in the 6th century CE mosaic floor of the Gaza-Maioumas synagogue.[26]

The Southern Panel (Fig. 4)

The decorative border of this panel consists of a plain line (A1) and stepped triangles which are both of a reddish colour. This panel features two sailing boats and a variety of fish of all sizes, such as swordfish and a dolphin, seashells, and other marine creatures (a globular one with soft shell). The upper right corner offers a large fish with an open mouth and a spiral tail; it occupies approximately 1/6 of the whole panel. In the lower part of the panel another large fish is swallowing a smaller one. This is a free composition, with the fish moving in different directions, leading the eye of the viewer from fish to fish.

The white ground signifying the sea, without any indication of waves, emphasizes the fish and the boats in the foreground, depicted in various colours. Although the composition lacks three-dimensionality, the gradation of tones within the fishes gives them a certain impression of volume and naturalism.

Fig. 6: The horizontal rectangular panel (after Avissar 1996).

The general appearance is somewhat artificial and crowded. The two sailboats (the upper one is partially destroyed) are identical in their shape and steering oars, as well as the duck or bird decorating the stern, and the prow with its square emblem. These boats, which are probably merchant boats,[27] resemble those appearing in the Roman mosaic pavements in Tunisia; a similar boat is depicted in a painting discovered under the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem.[28] It should be noted that the preserved boat is represented with a tall mast and open sails, as if wind-blown, giving the impression of movement. Similar marine scenes with a variety of fishes appear in the Tunisian and the Piazza Armerina repertoire of mosaics.[29]

The Attached Panel (Fig. 5)
A fragmentary panel is attached on the east side of the northern carpet. Its decorated border consists of a guilloche (B12), a plain line (A1) and an open-petal motif (cf. Décor 1985: Pl.137[c]), depicted with a certain plasticity created by gradations of tones. Some geometric patterns such as crosslets or diamonds (D1,D4 = AIEMA : Nos. 106,106' = Décor 1985: Pl.108[d-g])[30] and chequerboards (G1= AIEMA No.502 = Décor 1985: Pl.111[a,b,d])[31] are inserted between the leaves.

The *emblematic* depiction consists of a ribbed *krater* with a globular base and spiral handles, placed on a low stand with three animal feet. Another

Fig. 7: The horizontal rectangular panel (after Avissar 1996).

globular element has been placed on the mouth of the *krater*. The *krater* is flanked by two elongated, long-necked *amphorae*, with their upper part destroyed; the bases of the *amphorae* have a small globular element and they stand on a Doric-like capital (with *abacus* and *echinus*). The entire depiction, and especially the over-decorated stand, is baroque-like. This symmetrical composition with the light ground can also be found on a wall-painting in the necropolis of Marissa, dated to the second century BCE,[32] and may have been inspired by a Hellenistic model.

The Horizontal Rectangular Panel (Figs. 1, 6-7)
This panel separates the north and south carpets and is framed by a plain line (A1). The background is formed by light-coloured stone *tesserae* with blue glass cubes used for the peacocks, the *krater* and the bunches of grapes. A ribbed *krater* with two spiral handles is depicted in its centre, flanked by two stylized peacocks with their heads turned backwards. Stems grow from the *krater* in vine-trellises, with small leaves and bunches of grapes, which various birds are pecking. A basket filled with fruit is depicted in the upper right corner of the panel. The composition of this panel is symmetrical and tends to schematization and stylization.

The Southern Carpet (Figs. 1, 8-9)
Only the northern and the southern panels of this carpet are preserved. The

Fig. 8: The northern panel of the southern carpet (after Avissar 1996).

carpet is framed by a thin blue stripe (A1) creating an external border. Within this simple frame, other decorative frames of geometric patterns surround the central figurative fields.

The Northern Panel (Fig. 8)
This *emblematic* panel is surrounded by several decorative frames, such as A1, denticulated lozenges (Décor 1985: Pl. 5[a,b,d]; Pl. 113[f]; Pl. 114[c]), a guilloche (B3=AIEMA No.196= Décor 1985: Pl. 72 [a-f]),[33] and again A1.

The panel forms a free composition comprising various birds scattered across the field in several directions to create a naturalistic effect. All the birds are perched on twigs, which end in a globular stylized form, possibly a flower. The panel features three birds (probably doves), a swan, a hen, a cock, a quail, a duck, and another bird which is partially destroyed. The abstract light background emphasizes the figural motifs.

From a compositional point of view two wavy lines can be seen to cross one another diagonally. The meeting point of these two lines is to the left of the *emblema*, and it is emphasized by the fourth bird from the right which is turned to the left and downwards. In the upper level the two birds on the ends of the panel turn to the right, while the two central ones turn to the left. By this compositional device the artist has created a depiction lacking symmetry, with a certain freedom of arrangement. In contrast, the lower level forms an antithetical representation with two groups of two birds facing each other and
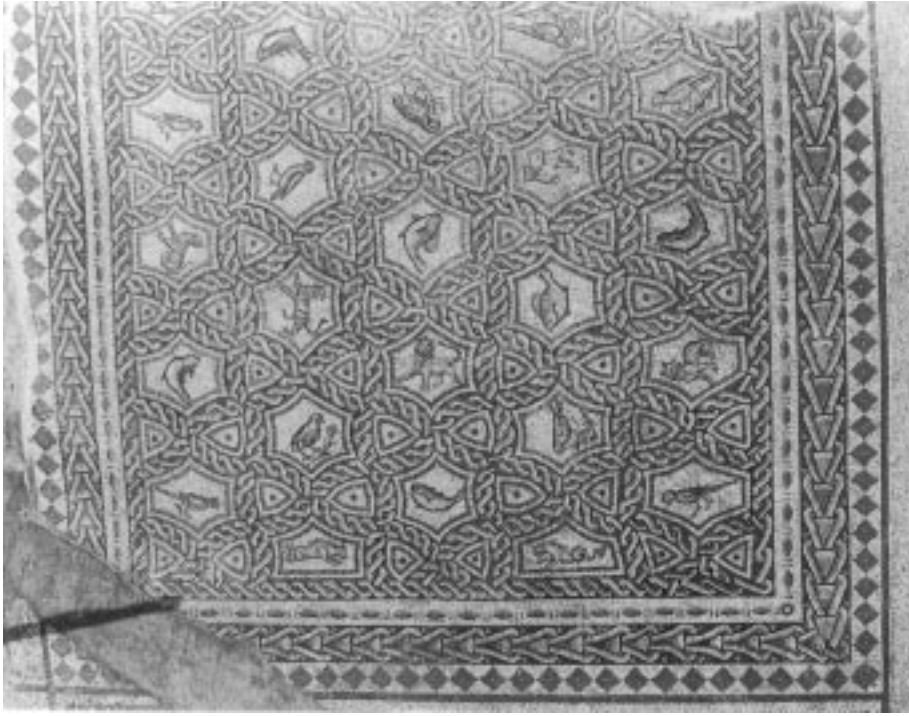
Fig. 9: The southern panel of the southern carpet (after Avissar 1996).

flanking a vertical stalk. The composition of this panel somewhat resembles the Nilotic scenes of El-Jem (now in the local museum)[34] and of the mid-5th century church at Et-Tabgha ('Ein-Hashivah),[35] despite the divergent dates.[36]

This panel presents a rich and naturalistic scene, and a composition notable for its anti-illusionism. The birds, as mentioned above, are scattered thoughout, perched on twigs. The balance in the composition, the repetition of the stance of bird on plant, gives unity of form; the somewhat artificial representation of the iconography, emphasized by the scattered birds, gives the composition a restrained character.

The artists seem to have deliberately chosen to scatter the elements more or less over the entire surface, with intervals dictated by abstract principles, independent of the contents of the picture. As a whole, the composition excels in lightness, delicacy and absence of over-detailing. The wide distribution of motifs creates a lacey effect while avoiding concentration of the picture and focusing the eye on any one point. The absence of human figures imparts a feeling of serenity to the work. The representation as a whole appears without any illusion of depth. The birds and plants are depicted as completely divorced

from the ground; the twigs, without shadow, appear to be hovering in the air. The light ground representing space is undefined, and there is no overlapping of one plant or bird by another. In contrast to the realistic appearance of the various birds, the overall impression is anti-realistic. There are some indicators of the Late Antique style: a nullification of the third dimension, the absence of illusionism, the use of a number of isolated elements, the ambivalent character of the white ground, the treatment of the isolated figures, and the composition dictated by a somewhat stereotyped character and abstract principles. This approach is in essence well-suited to the stylistic development that took place in Late Antiquity and throughout the early period of Byzantine art.

Close inspection of the mosaic in Room 1 of the House of the Worcester Hunt, from Antioch,[37] the 'Faithful Shepherd' mosaic at Jenah, in Lebanon,[38] and the mosaics of the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors at Constantinople,[39] reveals artistic processes similar to those in the panel under discussion and in the Et-Tabgha ('Ein-Hashivah) pavement.[40]

The character of the composition suggests that for this panel the artist adopted themes from a patternbook. Despite the mixed artistic concepts displayed here, the heritage of Classical approaches or trends is still visible.

The Southern Panel (Fig. 9)
This conservative composition features three decorative frames of reel-and-beads (B20=AIEMA: No.300 = Décor 1985: Pl. 23 [f, i-m]),[41] a composite guilloche (B12= AIEMA: No.200-201 = Décor 1985: Pl. 74 [b,c,e,f,h]; Pl. 75 [a,b])[42] and denticulated lozenges (Décor 1985: Pl. 5 [a,b,d]). These are surrounded by a thin black stripe (A1). A similar conservative composition is found in the northern panel of the mosaic pavement of the ancient synagogue of Na'aran, even though the Na'aran mosaic is dated to the mid-6th century CE.[43] A two-strand guilloche (B2 = AIEMA: Nos.194,196)[44] frames the hexagonal forms[45] and continues around the panel to compose a decorative frame. The isolated figural motifs, each appearing within the geometric form, emphasize the anti-Classical character, expressed by the lack of freedom and rigid design.

This partially preserved panel in contrast with the northern panel gives an overall impression of a field pattern. It presents a different conceptual approach from the artistic point of view in the *horror vacui* and the endless design, that emphasize its anti-Classical trend. The inner field of the panel consists of concave hexagonal forms, each containing a fish, a bird or another animal, including a lion, a tiger, a leopard, a fish-tailed bull, an hippocampus, a lioness, a fox or hyena, and a sparrow.

* * *

The antagonism between the Classical and anti-Classical concepts is evident in the mosaic. The mixture of artistic concepts and approaches apparent on the whole mosaic[46] raises many questions and leaves some of them unanswered. Conservatism versus free composition, Classical heritage contrasting with anti-Classical trends, illusionism and abstraction, all contribute to characterize this mosaic pavement. These contrasts bestow a special interest and importance upon this mosaic within the repertoire of the mosaic pavements of the late Roman period, especially in the Land of Israel.

It is difficult to know whether both carpets were created by the same artist or artisan, who may have copied them from models or patternbooks, or by two or more different craftsmen working independently. The differences in composition and style within the panels suggest the possibility that more than one pair of hands could have produced this mosaic. Several motifs appearing on the Lod mosaic resemble depictions on other mosaic pavements. Among these can be observed the scene of the hen with chicks in Beth Alpha and Qabr Hiram, the composition of geometric forms containing animals in the mosaic of Na'aran, and the variety of fish and birds on the mosaics of Tunisia. Moreover, the lions have a pose similar to those in funerary and commemorative statues, and the other animals resemble those on the Praeneste mosaic. All these strengthen the hypothesis that patternbooks and/or models may have been used for the Lod mosaic.

The rich and luxurious character of the mosaic carpets indicates the status of the owner of this edifice and his financial possibilities. It bears witness to his personal artistic taste, with its mixed attitude to aesthetics, expressed in the Classical and anti-Classical trends or concepts of the mosaic. The mosaic carpets appear to have decorated the central areas of a large hall in a late Roman villa. Various objects, including *klinai,* may have been placed on the white mosaic surrounding the polychrome carpets. The mosaic might well have belonged to the main hall, perhaps a *triclinium,* or living room, of this domestic architectural complex,[47] because of its unusual size and the variety and richness of the patterns. Upon entering this hall from the south, the inhabitants of the villa, or the visitors, could directly view the various depictions on the mosaics, when gradually advancing from one to the other. The horizontal rectangular panel may have been designed to give the impression of a threshold-like form between the two carpets, thus separating the large space of the hall, and giving the feeling of a passage between rooms. The attached panel [48] was possibly intended to constitute another threshold-like form connecting the northern carpet with

a neighbouring room, although this was not uncovered in the archaeological excavations.

The questions that remain to be determined are whether this mosaic has a pagan or a Christian character; and whether the rich repertoire of the various animals depicted in the mosaic[49] may have in some, or all cases, a symbolic and allegorical significance, or whether these have a "genre"- decorative purpose. In any event it should be noted that certain animals, such as the peacock and the cock, which appear in an important location in the representation, might have a symbolical significance in the mosaic.[50] The inclusion of the leaping leopards in the northern carpet may suggest Dionysiac connotations with a Neoplatonic trend. The description and comparative analysis provided in this study undoubtedly indicate that the mosaic pavement of Lydda (Lod) comprises two conceptual and visual trends, having a polar and antithetical character, that is, Classical and anti-Classical.

NOTES

* It should be mentioned that the Roman name of Lydda was Diospolis. A large Jewish settlement existed there until the fourth century CE and it was for a long time a Jewish spiritual and religious centre. See Schwartz 1986: *passim*.

1 Avissar 1996: 157-160.

2 *Ibid*.: 157-158.

3 Ovadiah 1980: 89.

4 *Ibid*.: 127, 129.

5 *Ibid*.: 110-113.

6 *Ibid*.: 92-93.

7 *Ibid*.: 114-116.

8 *Ibid*.: 114 - 116.

9 Similar conservative compositions depicting animals, fish, still-life, and human figures within square decorative frames, appear on mosaic floors from El-Jem, dated to the end of the second and third centuries CE (now in the Bardo Museum), see Yacoub 1995: Figs. 42 (a - f), 43(a).

10 For a similar basket filled with fish, see Yacoub 1995: Fig. 123.

11 This theme is a typical Hellenistic one, see the Pella mosaics. The same theme was adopted in a mosaic pavement of an early Byzantine church at Kissufim, Israel, thus showing the Classical heritage in an early ecclesiastical building, see Ovadiah and Mucznik 1983.

12 Sukenik 1932: Pl. XX (1).

13 See Baratte 1978: 132-137 (esp. Fig. 143 on 136).

14 See above, n. 9.

15 For similar iconographic presentations of the peacock, see House of Dionysos in Paphos (Room 3) – Kondoleon 1995: 110-111 (Figs. 64-65); *ibid*.: Pl. 3 (Room1);

Daszewski and Michaelides 1988: Figs.16, 26; mosaic from Carthage – Kondoleon 1995: Fig. 69; Yacoub 1995: Fig. 166; House of the Peacock in El-Jem – Kondoleon 1995: Fig. 68; a similar peacock appears in the early Byzantine octagonal church at Capernaum, see Orfali 1922: Pl. XI; Corbo 1975: 44 (photo 17), 45 (photo 18), Pl. IV.

16 A snake wound around an elephant appears in a similar way on a Tunisian mosaic from Carthage, see Yacoub 1995: Figs. 134 (a), 134 (b).

17 Zaphiropoulou 1993: Pl. on 43.

18 The iconographical scheme of leaping leopards heraldically with a *krater* in the centre, appears often in Roman art in various artistic media: mosaics – in a villa at Ptolemais (Cyrenaica), in Nîmes, Sardinia, Sousse, Sparta, Narbonnaise (Lavagne 1979:109-111, Pl.XLII), Rudston Villa (House II) in England, and Complutum; on sarcophagi – Dionysiac sarcophagi in Munich, Verona (Matz 1968: No.83), Cambridge, Athens (Matz 1968: No.5), Palazzo Doria Pamphili in Rome (Matz 1968: No.145), and Museo delle Terme, Rome. An interesting example of one leopard leaping onto a vase is depicted in the mosaic pavement of Sheikh Zouéde, see Ovadiah, Gomez de Silva and Mucznik 1991: Pl. 23 (d).

19 Similar depictions of animals on rocky formations appear in the Praeneste mosaic, see Charbonneaux 1973: Ills.181-185.

20 Representations of similar elephants are found on a statue in the Archaeological Museum of Carthage (personal inspection during a visit in June 1997), and on mosaics: Yacoub 1995: Figs. 134 (a),134 (b); see also below, n. 25 (for the elephant in Piazza Armerina).

21 Similar lions in sculpture exist in: Amphipolis – Ginouvès 1994: Fig. 94 (on 104); Touratsoglou 1995: Fig. 436 (this Lion clearly recalls the Lion of Chaironea. It may be a funerary monument for one of the Companions of Alexander); Chaironea –- Boardman 1970: Pl. 132; Moschato (a funerary lion exibited in the Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus, Inv.no. 2677; it is similar to the lion from Peiraeus, now in Venice). The type of the over-lifesized lion seated on its hind legs is the customary monument for a *polyandreion* of the fourth century BCE. An additional example, probably from Attica, is exhibited in the Basel Antikenmuseum (Inv.no.S.212). All these statues are dated to the fourth century BCE. Their form and posture recall the Archaic statues of lions on the island of Delos (sixth century BCE), see Zaphiropoulou 1993: Pl. on 26.

22 A similar marine monster appears on the mosaic in the Basilica of Theodore in Aquillia, see Dorigo 1971: Pl. 15.

23 Bandinelli 1981: Pl. 304; cf. also the pose of a rhinoceros, standing on a rock, in a Nilotic landscape depicted in the Praeneste mosaic, Toynbee 1973: Ill. 51.

24 See, for example, the Tunisian mosaics, Dunbabin 1978: *passim;* Yacoub 1993: *passim;* Yacoub 1995: *passim*.

25 Nigrelli and Vullo 1978: 87 (bottom photo), 90-91 (esp. the elephant covered by the net design), 92,109.

26 Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: Pls. LIX, CLXXVIII.

27 For Roman merchant ships, see: Torr 1964: Pls.B,C (top), DD; Casson 1971: Ills. 143-145, 147, 149, 151, 156; Daremberg and Saglio 1963: Fig.5261 on 18.

28 Tzaferis 1976: 29-30 (photo on cover).

29 Tunisia –Yacoub 1995: *passim*; Piazza Armerina – Nigrelli and Vullo 1978: 88.

30 See above, n. 4.

31 Ovadiah 1980: 129-132.

32 Peter and Thiersch 1905: frontispiece, Pl.V.

33 Ovadiah 1980: 113, 114.

34 Yacoub 1995: Fig. 4.

35 Schneider 1937; Avi-Yonah, 1933: No.72; Avi-Yonah, 1934: No. 344; Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: 173-175.

36 For other Nilotic scenes, see Yacoub 1995: Figs. 1 (a,b), 2 (a), 3 (a).

37 Levi 1971: Pls. XC(a), CLXX- CLXXII (a,b), CLXXIII (b); Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: 174, n. 136.

38 Chéhab 1959: Pl. XXXI; Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: 174, n.137.

39 Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: 174, n. 138.

40 Schneider 1937; Avi-Yonah (ed.) 1996: 500-501.

41 Ovadiah 1980: 122-123.

42 See above, n. 7.

43 Ovadiah 1996: 54 (Fig. 5).

44 See above, n. 5.

45 A similar composition, consisting of hexagonal forms and circles, appears on a mosaic pavement of the end of the second century CE from Sousse, Tunisia, see Yacoub 1995: Fig. 71(a). In addition, a composition of octagonal forms and circles is found on a mosaic pavement from Thuburbo Majus dated to the second half of the third century CE (now in the Bardo Museum), see Yacoub 1995: Fig. 145.

46 For a similar mixture of artistic concepts and approaches, see the mosaic of the ancient synagogue of Na'aran –Ovadiah 1996: 54 (Fig. 5)

47 Such as Bulla Reggia and Althiburos – Ward-Perkins 1985: Ills. 270(A), 271(A); Zippori – Netzer and Weiss 1994: 29 (top plan), 31, 33, 39 (bottom photo); Paphos – Kondoleon 1995: Fig. 119.

48 See above, p. 7.

49 The following gallery of animals appears in the mosaic under discussion: bird, bull, cow or ox, cock, dog, dolphin, dove, duck, elephant, fish of various sorts, fox or hyena, giraffe, hen and chicks, horse, leopard, lion, lioness, peacock, quail, rabbit, rhinoceros, sea-monster, sparrow, stag or deer, swan, tiger,water-snake, and others. For a general discussion of animals in Roman art, see Toynbee 1973.

50 Many of the above-mentioned animals (above, n. 47) had an important symbolic significance in Antiquity and Late Antiquity (from the Classical period through the early Christian era). Among these, the peacock has great interest, for it played a symbolical role from the Classical period through the early Christian era. See for example, Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* XV. 385; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, X.xxii; St.Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XXI.iv;   Steier 1956: cols. 1414-1421; Goodenough 1959: 53-58, Fig. 16; Miguel 1992: 205; Cooper 1992: 179-180; Ferguson 1971: 23; Leclercq 1937: cols. 1075-1097; Leclercq 1938: cols. 1578-1594.

For the cock, see Diogenes Laertius, VIII.34; Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon*, I; Cooper 1992: 53-55; Cumont 1949: 409-410; Goodenough 1953: 72; Goodenough 1959: 60-67, Figs. 30, 31, 34-36, 40; Leclercq 1948: cols. 2886-2903; Gray 1951: 695-697; Ferguson

1971:14. Some of these animals appear also on the reliefs of the early Byzantine church of Deir - el 'Adra in Middle Egypt, see Ovadiah, Gomez de Silva and Mucznik 1992: 454-456 (with references and discussion of their symbolic significance).

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Imported Patterns and their Acclimatization in Eretz Israel - the Anthemion

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*T*he period from the mid-2nd to the early 3rd century CE was characterized by expanding construction throughout the Roman Empire, including northern Eretz Israel. Elements from classical architecture became an integral part of the local repertory, closely linked to trends in Syria, Phoenicia and Arabia. Construction was executed mainly in local stone, which also functioned as raw material for architectural decoration. Concurrently, marble for construction was imported from Asia Minor to Eretz Israel, utilized mainly in the Caesarea and Beth Shean theaters, in the Ashkelon Basilica, and possibly in some of the buildings uncovered recently in Beth Shean (the "monument").

A close examination of the entablatures preserved from this period in northern Eretz Israel reveals an identical decorative scheme in those carved in local-stone and in those made of imported marble.[1] Although variations in the decorative patterns can be detected, the differences would appear to result from the skill and ability of the artisans, and should not be regarded as different types of ornaments. One exception to this rule is that of the anthemion pattern carved on the sima,[2] in which the use of two principal types is evident (Ill. 1):

Ill. 1: Type A anthemion and Type B anthemion, drawing.

Type A: Alternating acanthus leaves and palmettes carved side by side.

Type B: Carved alternating and reversed acanthus leaves and palmettes.

Type A: "Local" Version

Fig. 1: Entablature blocks from the Roman Temple at Kedesh, type A anthemion (courtesy of the excavators).

Type A is found in entablatures made of local-stone (limestone and basalt, Figs. 1-4), while Type B is carved exclusively in the imported marble entablatures (Fig. 7). A third type[3] (C, Fig. 8) appears in several marble entablature blocks uncovered in the Theater at Caesarea Maritima.

The current discussion focuses on the anthemion pattern as it appears in northern Eretz Israel, both in marble and in local-stone, with the intention of exploring the sources of the various types, their preservation, and their variations in later structures. In addition, it attempts to determine whether and to what extent the imported type of the ornament influenced the local architectural decoration during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods.

The ornament or architectural decoration comprised an integral part of Greek and Roman architecture (Classical architecture). In Greek architecture, the ornament was integrated into the building, with its location and shape being dictated by the Classical canon and the various orders. The link was so close that at times the same term designated both the moulding and the ornament carved on it.[4]

An exception to this rule is the anthemion. In the Corinthian entablature, this pattern usually decorates the sima terminating the entablature and the architrave crowning, where the molding is designed as *cyma recta*. At times, the anthemion decorates friezes and other architectural elements, such as the column neck or base, carved in straight or convex molding.

The anthemion is a floral pattern composed of two (or more) types of stylized alternating leaves; the types of leaves are difficult to define. According to

Fig. 2: Entablature block from the Capernaum Synagogue.

Robertson, these are the leaves and flowers of the lotus plant alternating with palmette;[5] others believe they are the leaves and flowers of the honeysuckle[6] or palmette.[7] Even though the ornament appears in different media, such as painted pottery, it is highly prevalent in architectural decoration and is common in many variations throughout the Greek and Roman world.

In Greek "*anthemion*" means "dotted" or "strewn" with flowers.[8] Riegl depicts the ornament as consisting of a spread out palmette, denticulated acanthus leaves portrayed in profile, and a twisting tendril, with the acanthus leaves and palmettes emerging from the same base. He considers the acanthus motif in this design to be an abstract variation on the palmette and to have nothing to do with the acanthus plant found in nature,[9] although the initial idea of decorating the sima with a floral pattern may have developed from the custom of ornamenting the top of a wall with live vegetation.[10] The pattern had been prevalent in Greek art since the earliest periods. Riegl locates its sources in the Egyptian lotus flowers and the spiral tendrils of Mycenaean art, with Classical art having added an acanthus leaf; or, more precisely, the lotus leaves and the spiral tendrils underwent "acanthisation". In this form, the composition creates a floral and organic impression, which in fact is utterly artificial, for no such plant exists in nature. The ornament, which is based on the twisting and scrolled tendrils,[11] common in the Classical and Hellenistic

Fig. 3: Entablature block from the Chorazim Synagogue.

periods as a sima decoration, such as in the *tholos* in Epidaurus,[12] was widespread in the Roman period as a frieze decoration.[13] The acanthus leaf, which entered the decorative repertory at the end of the 5th century BCE as a component of the Corinthian capital, contributed two elements to the pattern: the denticulated leaf which spreads sideways and slants outward, interlaced with tendons and veins, and the grooved (gnarled) stalk with flutes. These two elements rely on the naturalistic shape of the acanthus, yet their incorporation in winding scrolls deviates from true naturalism, forming a totally unnatural compound; even though it appears floral, it is far from realistic and serves a merely decorative purpose. This ornament became dominant in Classical and Hellenistic decoration, from which it moved into the Roman decorative repertory.

In all probability, Classical ornaments, the anthemion among them, arrived in Eretz Israel following Alexander the Great's conquests, and became part of the local architecture under the influence of Hellenistic art, as part of the Greek architectural repertory. Although few relics have survived from this period, certain findings are associated with Herodian construction in Jerusalem in the Second Temple period, as evidenced by the reliefs decorating tombs from that period.[14]

It would be safe to assume that the buildings erected by King Herod in Caesarea and other pagan cities were constructed and decorated in Greek and

Fig. 4: Fragment from the "arcuated" lintel of the Roman *thermae* in Hammath Gader.

Roman styles, perhaps even by artisans from Rome[15] and other artistic centers. Amongst the Jewish population, Classical ornamentation was modified to suit local needs; it was probably executed by local craftsmen and became part of the local repertory.

From among the few relics from the Herodian period there are some anthemion examples which can be dated to the 1st century. These fragments were mostly found in a funerary context, but one may assume they reflect, albeit simplified, the common scheme in architectural decoration. A fragment of the anthemion pattern has been preserved on the sima of the entablature from the façade of the Tombs of the Kings in Jerusalem.[16] It displays a stylized acanthus (?) leaf whose leaflets spread outward, and next to it a palmette whose leaflets are carved inwards. Each leaf is depicted separately in a flat and wide design; the composition is sparse and the leaves are carved side by side, without any contact or connection between them. These two elements have been preserved from the Classical pattern, but appear to have undergone a process of simplification, disintegration and reduction. A further simplification can be seen in the arch decoration of the mausoleum in Rosh Ha'ayin, dated to the late 1st or early 2nd century, where the sima decoration is comprised exclusively of stylized acanthus leaves,[17] carved next to one another. In all likelihood, a single type of leaf also decorated the sima on the façade of the "Frieze tomb" in Jerusalem.[18]

Fig. 5: The entablature of the Temple of Venus in Baalbek after Wiegand (ed.),
Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905, II,
Berlin und Leipzig 1923] fig. 154.

Due to historical and political circumstances (the revolts, the Roman conquest, the destruction and subsequent economic crisis, and finally the Bar Kokhba Revolt) very few architectural relics have been uncovered from the period between the destruction of the Temple (70 CE) to the end of the 2nd century. In the late 2nd and early 3rd century, however, a surge in construction took place in the wake of the economic recovery occurring in the area and throughout the Roman Empire in general. During this period Classical ornamentation was conspicuous as an integral part of the local decorative repertory, and was closely linked to construction and decoration in Syria, Phoenicia and Arabia. Moreover, the increased building activity was characterized by the export of large amounts of marble from Asia Minor, and its distribution throughout the Empire for construction and architectural decoration.

The use of imported marble, common throughout the Roman Empire, was typified by construction and architectural decoration of a uniform character (the "marble style") in different centers. Ward-Perkins (1980) explored and depicted the methods of marble distribution (sarcophagi and construction), in

Fig. 6: Fragment from the entablature of the Beth She'arim Synagogue (courtesy of the Department of Antiquities).

an attempt to account for the distribution of Classical ornamentation.[19] In a comparative study he analyzed the architectural decoration in Pamphylia on the southern coast of Asia Minor, Tripolitania in North Africa and the cities of the western Black Sea coast within the province of Lower Moesia. He concludes that the patterns carved in the imported marble blocks were adopted in the decoration of local stone.

In Eretz Israel the picture was somewhat different. The decorative repertory reflects the traditional local patterns, including the type A anthemion, rather than those of Asia Minor,[20] except for the anthemion carved in the marble entablatures of the theaters at Beth Shean[21] and Caesarea (Types B and C).

Types B and C anthemion patterns are associated, to a certain extent, with the repertory prevalent in Rome,[22] yet they differ from type A - the basic type (and its variations) common in entablature decorations made of Eretz Israeli local stone, both in pagan buildings[23] and in synagogues.[24] The "local" ornament consists of a spread out acanthus leaf alternating with a stylized palmette(Ill.1: Type A). The leaves are generally symmetrical in structure, and are depicted in a frontal view as growing from the base, side by side, without any contact between them.

The "Eretz Israeli" or local type appears on the sima of the Temple of Baalshamin in Kedesh (Fig. 1),[25] where the single motif comprises a fan-shaped bunch of leaves, with the acanthus flower open and rolled outward, and next

Fig. 7: Marble fragment from the entablature of the *scaenae frons* of the Roman Theater at Beth Shean: the architrave crowning is decorated with type B anthemion.

to it a palmette whose leaflets are rolled inward. The acanthus "flowers", like the palmettes, are devoid of a "cup" and a stalk, comprising only a central vein from which the leaf components branch out symmetrically. The acanthus fan has four to six wide and denticulated leaves spreading sideways and downwards. The palmette is usually made of six units, the two lower ones curl outward, and the others inward, toward the center (Ill.1: Type A). The ornament covers the surface entirely, and reveals a flat and rhythmic alternating pattern: narrow-wide, closed-open, denticulated – smooth.

This ornament appears in Tel Aphek-Antipatris,[26] in entablature blocks uncovered in recent years in Beth Shean, Banyas, Samaria-Sebaste, and on the fragments from the *scaenae frons* of the theaters at Shechem-Nablus[27] and at Sepphoris,[28] all carved in limestone. This pattern also decorates the sima in the cornices of the synagogues of Capernaum (Fig. 2),[29] Chorazin (Fig. 3),[30] Horvat Sumaqa[31] and in a very simplistic version in Rehob.[32]

A symmetrical, schematic and stylized version of this ornament appears on the basalt "arcuated lintel" of the Roman *thermae* in Hammath Gader (Fig. 4).[33] Here the palmettes are rolled outward and are equal in size to the acanthus leaves, so that the composition has lost the wide-narrow, open-closed rhythm, and received a more homogenous, flattened and dense nature. A similar

Fig. 8: Marble entablature block from the *scaenae frons* of the Roman Theater at
Caesarea Maritima, type C anthemion.

variation of this design is found in the sima decorating the Holy Sepulcher
facade in Jerusalem, perhaps in secondary use.[34]

The "Eretz Israeli" local type (A), with its variations, is also familiar from
the repertory of Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, where it appears on various temples,
primarily Baalbek[35] (Fig. 5). In northern Syria, the Eretz Israeli type is found in
Benabil[36] and in Isriye.[37] Furthermore, it appears in entablatures of temples,
theaters, nymphae, and other monuments in Gerasa, Amman, Bosra, Damascus,
Tyre, etc.[38] These structures are for the most part constructed of local stone.

A notable and extraordinary decoration is carved on the sima of a local
stone entablature block from the Beth She'arim Synagogue (Fig. 6, dating to
the second half of the 3rd or early 4th century).[39] This decoration is reminiscent
of the scroll patterns used to decorate the sima in buildings from the Classical
and Hellenistic periods in Greece and Asia Minor.[40] This type is not common
in our region in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, nor in other places in the Roman
world. It is possible that the version in the Beth She'arim Synagogue preserves
something of the pattern decorating the tomb pediments in Jerusalem during
the Second Temple period, and can be regarded as indirectly influenced by
Classical and Hellenistic ornamentation.[41]

An entirely different pattern (Ill.1: Type B) is carved on the sima and

Fig. 9: Fragment from the Chorazin Synagogue pediment.

architrave crowning at the theater at Beth Shean (Fig. 7)[42] and in most of the blocks from the theater at Caesarea Maritima.[43] It consists of an alternating and reversed acanthus leaf and palmette; the acanthus leaf was usually depicted reversed. The leaves have no "cup" or stem, but each is tied at its base with a ribbon, parallel to the ornament frame. Another branch, dividing the sima diagonally, emerges from the base of the palmette, and connects to the acanthus leaf in its lower part, forming an S-shape, and enriching the composition by providing it with a twisting, curling movement. The leaves-flowers themselves are symmetrical in design, with a main vein in the center of each leaf from which the leaflets grow. The palmette usually has six leaflets and the acanthus has four denticulated, cloven, and spreading outward leaflets. At the bottom part of the palmette, next to the ribbon, the leaflets are rolled outward, whereas the upper ones are rolled inward, toward the center.

Another type of anthemion is found on several entablature blocks from the theater at Caesarea Maritima (Type C, Fig. 8).[44] This pattern consists of a series of closed fan palmettes alternating with "open" palmettes or spread acanthus(?) leaves.[45] This type is not found elsewhere in Eretz Israel nor in the region, but is common in Asia Minor.[46]

These patterns (Types B and C) display the widespread types in Asia Minor. They are found in Miletus, Aspendus, Didyma, Aphrodisias, Side, Ephesus, Perge, Aizanoi, etc.[47] In Eretz Israel they appear almost exclusively on the imported marble entablatures, and are not to be found in decorations in local

Fig. 10: Fragment from the entablature of the mausoleum near catacomb 11 at Beth She'arim (courtesy of the Department of Antiquities).

stone, except for some isolated and random examples. In a limestone lintel and doorjamb, from the main entrance of the Temple of *Baalshamin* in Kedesh there is an anthemion which can be defined as sub-type B (Fig. 11).[48] A stylized variation of this type appears on a single fragment from Banias and on a number of basalt blocks from the *Chorazin* Synagogue pediment (Fig. 9).[49]

One may detect the traces or influence of the second type from the theater in Caesarea Maritima (Type C) on the sima of one of the entablature blocks of the mausoleum(?) near catacomb 11 at Beth She'arim (made of limestone, Fig. 10). The pattern also comprises palmettes(?), whose "leaves" are intermittently rolled inward and outward. Characterized by a somewhat negligent carving and design, the decoration may be a distortion of the Caesarea pattern, or else it may be regarded as a degenerated version of the Eretz Israeli anthemion pattern (alternating acanthus and palmette). It is possible, of course, that the ornament was influenced by an architectural decoration such as the one in the theater at Caesarea Maritima, but it could also have been known to the Beth She'arim artisans from sarcophagi decoration imported from Asia Minor (which were not preserved).[50] A sarcophagus pediment decorated with a similar pattern was found in Hierapolis,[51] as well as a splendid sarcophagus from Side.[52]

Fig. 11: Fragment of the lintel, from the main entrance of the Temple of *Baalshamin* in Kedesh. Sub‑type B anthemion (courtesy of the excavators).

Conclusions

An analysis of the findings attests to the existence of a local artistic trend, as well as marginal influences of the decoration carved in the marble blocks imported from Asia Minor. The wide prevalence of the local type and its almost exclusive appearance in architectural decoration of construction in local stone attest to the intensity of the local (regional) tradition and to the temporary and insubstantial influence of the imported ornaments on the architectural decoration carved in the region.[53] This phenomenon is also manifested in the consistent use of the "Syrian sequence" in decorating both marble and limestone entablatures in Eretz Israel and throughout the entire region. On the other hand, the decoration of local stone sarcophagi reveals a greater influence of the imported sarcophagi, mainly the Proconnesian ones which were decorated with garlands.[54] Although the Proconnesian sarcophagi were imported in quarry state, some local stone sarcophagi were found in Eretz Israel, exhibiting the carved garlands intact,[55] as well as stone sarcophagi with partial carving displaying variations on the basic form of quarry state, on which the garland details are not carved (Beth She'arim, Kedesh, Sebaste, Shechem-Nablus-'Askar and Sepphoris - where it is in secondary use).[56]

It would appear that the local type found in the architectural decoration in northern Eretz Israel during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE was also based on Hellenistic decoration, imported subsequent to the conquest of Alexander the Great. This decorative repertory was common in the Eastern Mediterranean basin following the foundation of the Hellenistic cities (the Decapolis and others). For lack of a well-established local tradition of architectural decoration in Eretz Israel in the period preceding the penetration of Hellenistic influence, the imported patterns crystallized, including the anthemion type, which became established and acclimatized within the decorative repertory of the region as a local type. When the "new" anthemion patterns carved in the marble entablatures were imported from Asia Minor in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, they encountered an already strongly rooted tradition which withstood the influence of the imported patterns.

Notes

1 Turnheim 1996: 127-130.
2 At times the anthemion was also carved on the architrave crowning as in a number of blocks from the Roman Theater at Beth Shean (Ovadiah and Turnheim 1994: 30, pls. 119, 120, 123, 125, 127).
3 This type consists of alternating "open" and "closed" palmettes (see below) and was defined by Schede (1909: 94-100, 102-103) and Leon (1971: 279, I. Palmettenreihen) as the Asia Minor type. These entablature blocks display a different composition of patterns from that decorating most entablatures found in northern Eretz Israel (Turnheim and Ovadiah 1996: 288-290, type C II fig. 2). Another exceptional type of anthemion is preserved on the sima of a fragment from the Beth She'arim synagogue (see below).
4 The term *ovolo* implies eggs, describing not only the ornament, but also the moulding; the term *astragal* denotes "knuckle bones" (Robertson 1969: 38), describing the pattern and subsequently the decorated moulding; the term *cyma reversa* or *lesbian cyma* denotes the moulding and subsequently the ornament decorating it. The term dentils refers to both the moulding and the decoration.
5 Robertson 1969: 380.
6 J. Fleming *et alii* (ed.) 1966: 13, ill. 3.
7 Avi-Yonah and Yeivin 1956: 221 and ill. 89.
8 This term appears in an inscription referring to the neck decoration of the Erechtheum columns, in Athens (Schede 1909: 3 and n. 4; Riegl 1893: 215, fig. 113).
9 Riegl 1893: 218, 240.
10 Schede 1909: 16.
11 Pfrommer (1990: 69) depicts a local pattern of anthemion appearing in the Magnesia region (perhaps under the influence of Hermogenes). This pattern consists of a lotus flower growing from an acanthus "cup", alternating with palmettes, with a vertical spiral growing in-between. The tendril customarily decorating the sima (*ibid.*, p. 71

and n. 14) was not used here; perhaps it was taken apart and then resurfaced in the vertical spiral motif. Pfrommer includes this ornament in the Ionic scheme common in the Bosphorus area and in regions of Ptolemaic influence, but rare in Greece and in the West. It is possible that the anthemion pattern, as it appears in Eretz Israel in the Herodian period, results from the Ionic anthemion. An ornament of alternating acanthus and palmette appears on the sima of the theater temple in Pergamon from the Hellenistic period (Schwandner 1990: 101, ill. 18).

12 Schede 1909: 36; Weigand 1914: 55; Lyttelton 1974: pls. 33-34.

13 Turnheim 1987: 69. Perhaps the Type B anthemion (alternating and reversed acanthus and palmette), entitled by Leon *Intermittierende Wellenranken* (Leon 1971: 130), should be regarded as an incarnation or a result of the Hellenistic scroll pattern, although Schede (1909: 110) maintains that there is no connection between the ornament decorating the sima of the Roman buildings and the sima decoration in Greek architecture.

14 Avigad (1980: 151) notes the affinity between the Corinthian capital from the Upper City and the capitals found in the Tombs of the Kings in Jerusalem, but stresses the difference in the quality of execution and carving. Moreover, he notes the similarity in the design of the Ionic capital from the Upper City and the capitals from the Tomb of Zachariah on one hand, and those from Hellenistic temples in Asia Minor, such as Sardis, Didyma etc. on the other (Avigad 1980: 161). One should also note the similarity between the Ionic capitals from Jerusalem and the *anta* capital from the Palace in Pella, Macedonia (Ginouvès 1994: ill. 76; see also Turnheim 1998: 148-149)

15 There is evidence for the use of Roman construction techniques, such as construction in concrete and *opus reticulatum* coating in Jerusalem and in the third palace in Jericho (Turnheim 1998: 152 and n. 114).

16 Kon 1947: 83 and ill. 28.

17 Eitan (1951: 116, pl. 19) distinguishes between two types of leaves, carved according to two different models or moulds.

18 Macalister 1902: 118-120, ill. p. 119. According to Macalister's reconstruction, there is no telling whether the leaves carved in the frieze were acanthus or palmette. Their design resembles that of the sima decoration from the facade of catacomb no. 20 at Beth She'arim (Avigad 1971: plate XXXII (1)) created some hundred and fifty years after the "Frieze tomb".

19 According to Ward-Perkins, the marble cargoes which were initially roughed out in quarries, were accompanied by artisans expert in marble carving, who executed the work at the construction site. This, he believes, is the reason for the similarity between the decorated architectural elements preserved in the various sites and the wide prevalence of the Classical patterns also in decorations of local-stone: "the imported marble pieces...established the practices adopted by local workshops." (Ward-Perkins 1980: 44)."The normal medium for the transmission of architectural or sculptural types was the practical working experience of individual master craftsmen". (*ibid.*: 63).

20 For characteristics of the entablature typical of Asia Minor, see Ovadiah and Turnheim 1994: ch. VII n. 17; Turnheim 1996: n. 25.

21 Though the anthemion appearing on one fragment of the entablature from the theater at Beth Shean (Ovadiah and Turnheim 1994: ill. 230) is of the Asia Minor type (alternating and reversed lotus and palmette), the design of its components however is similar to those of the anthemion of the great court of the Jupiter Temple at Baalbek, (*Baalbek* I: pl. 80), carved according to the local tradition in local stone.

22 In Rome there are numerous ornaments, richer and much more intricate than those found in the provinces, but it is still possible to identify in them the basic Type B (Leon 1971: 130). pls. 101 [1-2], 134 [1-4], 135 [1-3]; Neu 1972: pls. 1b, 4b, 12a-b, 13b); according to Leon, type C is typical of Asia Minor (Leon 1971: 279, pls. 100 [2], 137 [1]). See also n. 3, above.

23 Unfortunately, in most cases the entablature blocks are broken and damaged, and it is hard to reconstruct the ornament in its entirety. However, we are clearly dealing with a type having a common basic structure.

24 Turnheim 1987: 70-72.

25 Kedesh 1984: pls. 33(1), 34(1-3). According to the excavators (Kedesh 1984: 160), the acanthus leaves decorating the temple's sima are of the "split" type. Nevertheless, I myself could not see this. On the other hand, a fragment on which a half-palmette is preserved has been found there (Turnheim 1987: pl. 8 (1)). The excavators mention four different components of the anthemion appearing intermittently, albeit indicating that the fragmentary preservation of the sima does not allow the reconstruction of the full ornament.

26 Kochavi 1989: ill. 92-93,

27 Magen 1984: figs. p. 274.

28 Waterman 1937: pl. XIX (1).

29 Turnheim 1996: 128-131, pls. 12b, 18a; Turnheim 1987: 70-71, pls. 24(2), 26(1).

30 *Ibid.*: pls. 35(3), 47(2), 48(1) Turnheim 1996: pl. 14b.

31 *Ibid.*: pl. 13b.

32 Hachlili 1988: fig. 13 on 325. This design is combined with the stylization and reduction tendencies undergone by entablatures in general in late antiquity (Turnheim 1996: 128-131 and tables 1-3). In addition, differences in design and execution of the ornaments are also conspicuous in synagogues, based on the skill and ability of the carving craftsmen.

33 Turnheim 1996: 131 and table 3; Turnheim 1987: 71, pl. 71 [1-3].

34 Schiller (1985: 124, n. 4) mentions that Ovadiah thinks that the entablature, dated to the second half of the second or early third century, was combined in secondary use. Vincent maintained it is a Crusader imitation of Classical style.

35 *Baalbek* I: pls. 33, 34, 37, 38, 57, 83, 87, 102-103. Baalbek II: ills. 142, 146, 159; pls. Weigand 1914 pl. I (1). Schede (1909: 109) notes the existence of a local type in Baalbek. Ward-Perkins argues that the ornamentation of the Jupiter Temple at Baalbek displays a mixture of Roman elements typical of the mid-first century, but a number of details, such as the floral pattern decorating the sima and the meander below it, are Hellenistic in origin (Ward-Perkins1981: 317).

36 Butler 1903: 75; Gogräfe 1993: pls. 13b, 16a,

37 Butler 1903: 76; Gogräfe 1993: ill. 3, pls. 11a-c, 13d, 17a.

38 Gogräfe 1993: pls. 12a, 16c, 17b, d; Weigand 1914: pls. IV2, V2; Lyttelton 1974: pls. 141, 143; Freyberger 1989 (Damascus) pls. 21d, 22b-d; etc.

39 Turnheim 1996: pl. 15B; Turnheim 1987: 75, Type C.

40 E.g., the tholos in Epidaurus (Lyttelton 1974: pls. 33-34), the Temple of Apollo in Delphi, the Temple of Artemis in Epidaurus, Pergamon, and others (Schede 1909: pls. 32-33 v; 52 ix), all from the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

41 See above, Ns. 11 and 14; Turnheim 1987: 85 and n. 75; Turnheim 1994: 118-119 and n. 7.

42 Ovadiah and Turnheim 1994: pls. 215-218, 220-226

43 Turnheim and Ovadiah 1996: pls. 31-32; Turnheim 1996: pl. 11a.

44 Turnheim and Ovadiah 1996: pl. 33-34.

45 Turnheim and Ovadiah 1996: 288-290 & Ns. 49, 52-60; Strong 1953: pl. XXXVI b, e, 136 & n. 76. According to Strong's definition (open and closed "fan palmettes"), it is possible that this pattern results from a variation or a different development of the Hellenistic anthemion pattern from which the Eretz Israeli pattern also originated.

46 The entablatures where this type of anthemion appears do not display the "Syrian sequence" (local-Eretz Israeli), but rather the one known from Asia Minor (Turnheim 1987: 84 and n. 66; Turnheim and Ovadiah 1996: [type cII], and pp. 288-290, and comparisons *ibid.*; Turnheim 1996: table 1). See also above, n.3.

47 Type B: Ward-Perkins 1980: XXc, XXIb; Leon 1971: pl. 141(4); Lyttelton pl. 185; Strocka 1981: pls. 56, 62; see also Turnheim 1987: 72-74 and n. 66. Type C: Pülz 1989: pls. 32 [7-8], 34 [6], 35 [2, 4, 6]. Both types: Mansel 1963: ill. 89.

48 Alternating and reversed acanthus and palmette: Turnheim 1996: n. 25; Turnheim 1987: 74. It should be noted that next to the block where the "imported" pattern appeared, other blocks decorated with the Eretz-Israeli anthemion were found. This is also true for Kedesh and Banias. A relic of an anthemion decoration can be seen on a small marble pediment, probably from the Basilica in Ascalon (Ashkelon), but it is impossible to tell its type.

50 Sarcophagi with floral decoration were not found in Beth She'arim, yet on the "Leda and the Swan" Sarcophagus from Caesarea (Gersht and Pearl 1992: fig. 11) there is a carving of a floral pattern of acanthus leaves, and a similar pattern appears on the lid of the amazon sarcophagus from Tel Mevorach (*ibid.*: fig. 12). Both sarcophagi are made of Pentelic marble (*ibid.*: 240, no. 11, 12).

51 Pülz 1989: pl. 36 [4]. Pülz rejects the common dating for this sarcophagus, which according to the relief and decoration style was dated to the Tiberian-Claudian period (*ibid.*:100 & n. 701), and dates it to the Hedrianic period (*ibid.*:102).

52 Atvur & Atvur: 53, 58.

53 Turnheim 1987: 72-75; Turnheim 1996: 131-132.

54 Several sarcophagi made of Proconnesian marble were found in Casearea (Gersht and Pearl: 1992: 243), some of which are decorated with garlands whose carving had been completed (*ibid.*: ills. 3a, 3b, 4-5) while others still remained in quarry-state (*ibid.*: ills. 1-2, 6-7).

55 The floral carving of the garlands is especially conspicuous in the acanthus sarcophagi A and B from Beth She'arim (Avigad 1971: XLVIIa, XLVII, XLVIII). Floral decoration can also be found in the "mask" sarcophagus (*ibid.*: pl. XLV), the bulls sarcophagus (*ibid.*: pl. XLII), sarcophagi A and B from Sebaste, (Hamilton 1939: pls. 4-5 XXXIX) and others. Furthermore, "Samaritan" sarcophagi from local stone with garland decoration, whose carving was completed were also found (Magen 1993: pls. IV, 3, 10).

56 Local-stone sarcophagi, carved with garlands in "quarry-state" were found in Beth She'arim, Avigad 1971: pl. LI (1, 3, 4); sarcophagus C of Sebaste, Hamilton 1939: pl. 2 XXXIX; in Shechem-Nablus-'Askar, Magen 1993: pls. 1, 4, 5; some of the sarcophagi in "quarry-state and Proconnesian style" were completed in an original and outstanding carving (*ibid.*: pls. 8, 9).

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The Pictorial Program of the Tomb near Kibbutz Or-ha-Ner in Israel*

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A painted tomb was discovered in Israel near Kibbutz Or ha-Ner (Ill. 1) in the '20s, cleaned by Jacob Ori in the '40s, and published by Yoram Tsafrir in 1968.[1]

Introduction

The tomb comprises a long main vaulted hall with four adjacent rectangular vaulted burial chambers accessible through four rectangular openings, two on either side of the long walls. The tomb appears to have been robbed in ancient times, and the southern parts of its vaults are broken.[2] Consequently, there are no archaeological findings to indicate the burial customs, the identity and number of deceased, or the date of the tomb.

Only the main hall of the tomb was painted, while no traces of paint have been found on the still-existing plaster of the four burial chambers. The paintings were executed in the *secco* technique with diluted lime, which was either applied over them or mixed with the colours before the actual painting.[3] As a result, the paintings can hardly be seen, unless sprinkled with water - a practice which might eventually damage them.

Their state of preservation is rather poor. The paintings on the southern parts (where the ceiling was broken) are in worse condition than the northern ones. Several paintings no longer exist, although I shall suggest a (tentative) iconographic reconstruction.

The pictorial program of this tomb is unique. I would like to contend that it conveys the wish of the patrons of the tomb - a husband and wife - depicted within medallions, to dwell in the nether world together with their family, and gain "personal" *apotheosis*. This desire is conveyed through various well-rooted traditional motifs which allude to the ascension of the deceased. However, the

Ill.1: Map (from Tsafrir 1968: Fig. 1).

use made of these motifs in this case is rather unusual, and they could therefore also be interpreted as representing the actual rites held at the tomb.

Although the paintings have been dated to the fourth century CE, through stylistic analysis I intend to show that they were in fact executed earlier, at the end of the 3rd century CE. I base my contention on a comparison with the late Roman works of art existing in the eastern regions of the Empire.

The Pictorial Program (Ill. 2)

The paintings cover all four walls of the central hall, as well as the barrel vault. The northern entrance wall contains a two-line Greek inscription above the door, reading: "Enter, no one is immortal". The door and inscription are flanked by two long and isolated painted burning torches (about 1 m high), which constitute the only decoration on this wall. The southern wall consisted of a central niche of which only the lower part still exists. Below it, two panels imitate multi-coloured incrustated marble. The eastern and western (long) walls are divided into three parallel horizontal bands, above which the uppermost part of the vault connects the two walls, thus forming an additional horizontal band. These bands are separated from each other by relatively wide (5-7 cm) dark red stripes. The lower bands are each divided into four panels featuring flowers and vegetal patterns; above them the remnants of a decorative geometrical narrow band can be detected. The third band, placed at eye-level,
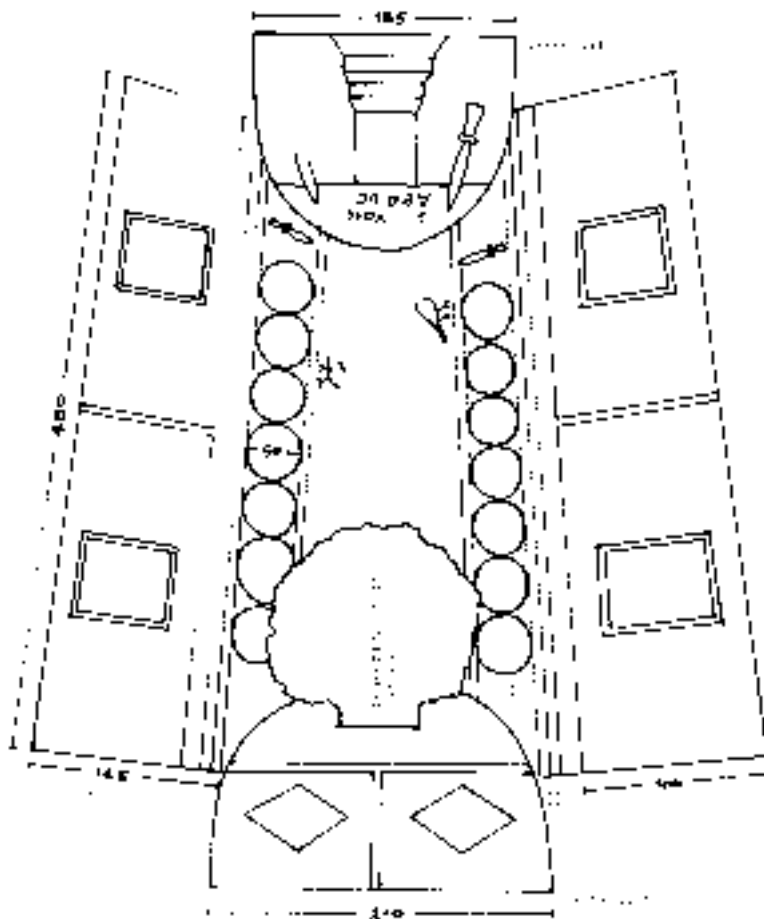
Ill.2: A general diagram of the location of the paintings (drawn by Doron Luria).
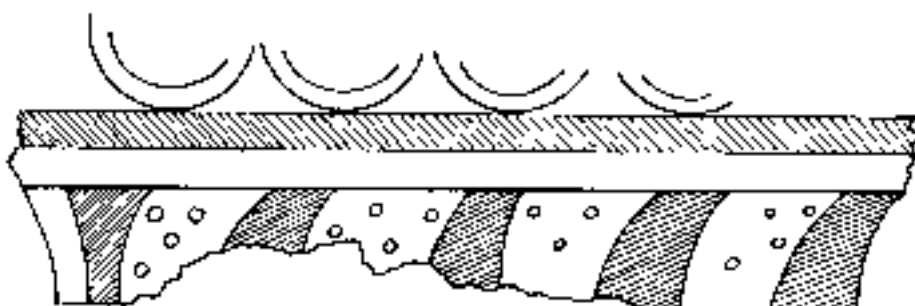
Ill.3: A suggested reconstruction of the middle horizontal band (drawn by Doron Luria).

Fig. 1: The northern wall (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

contains the most important part of the program: a row of fourteen busts depicting eleven males and three females, seven on each side, set within round medallions, preceded by one torch on the northern side of these walls, and ending in a relatively large and stylized flower on the southern side. Similar, though much smaller, flowers appear on the spandrels above and below the tangent medallions. Although the vault is in a very poor state of preservation, the vegetal scrolls and standing birds can still be discerned.

The Northern Wall (Fig. 1)
The two torches flanking the central door and the inscription painted above the door are composed of a green base surmounted by a *torus*-like disc

Fig. 2: The southern wall (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

accentuated with a white highlight in its center; above the disc rests a dark brown-red elongated conic body. Light-red undulating wavy flames are depicted on the upper part of the torches. The torches are rendered against a neutral light-coloured background, as if floating in the air.

The Southern Wall (Fig. 2)
The lower part of this wall features two separate and identical rectangles,[4] each containing an orange-red rhombus framed by thin straight black stripes, which create four light-coloured triangles. The surface of each geometrical shape is spotted with dark splashes, probably meant to create an illusion of marble slabs. The remnants of the plaster found on the floor of the tomb suggest that

a - The Western Wall: Panel 1.   b - The Eastern Wall: Panel I.

Fig. 3: The lowermost frieze (photograph by the author).

the central niche (of which only the lower part has survived) was surrounded by the same kind of multi-coloured marble imitation.

The Western and Eastern Walls
Both walls are parallel and identical in design and subject matter. They are divided into three horizontal bands, painted on the same level, and thus they could be read continuously, as if forming one frieze. The vault should be regarded as the fourth horizontal band.

The lowermost horizontal band on each of the two walls is divided into four rectangular panels[5] (one on each end of the walls and two between the openings leading into the burial chambers) each framed by a wide dark-red stripe.

The northern panels (panels nos. 1, I) (Fig. 3 a,b) display the same motif, which I suggest was a bouquet of flowers bound with a bunch of curling ribbons into a large knot. The flowers themselves no longer exist, but the green straight stalks are still clear, and indicate a diagonal upward direction. These two panels are painted in free-hand, with shades of red for the ribbons and of green for the vegetal parts (either stalks or leaves), without any contours.
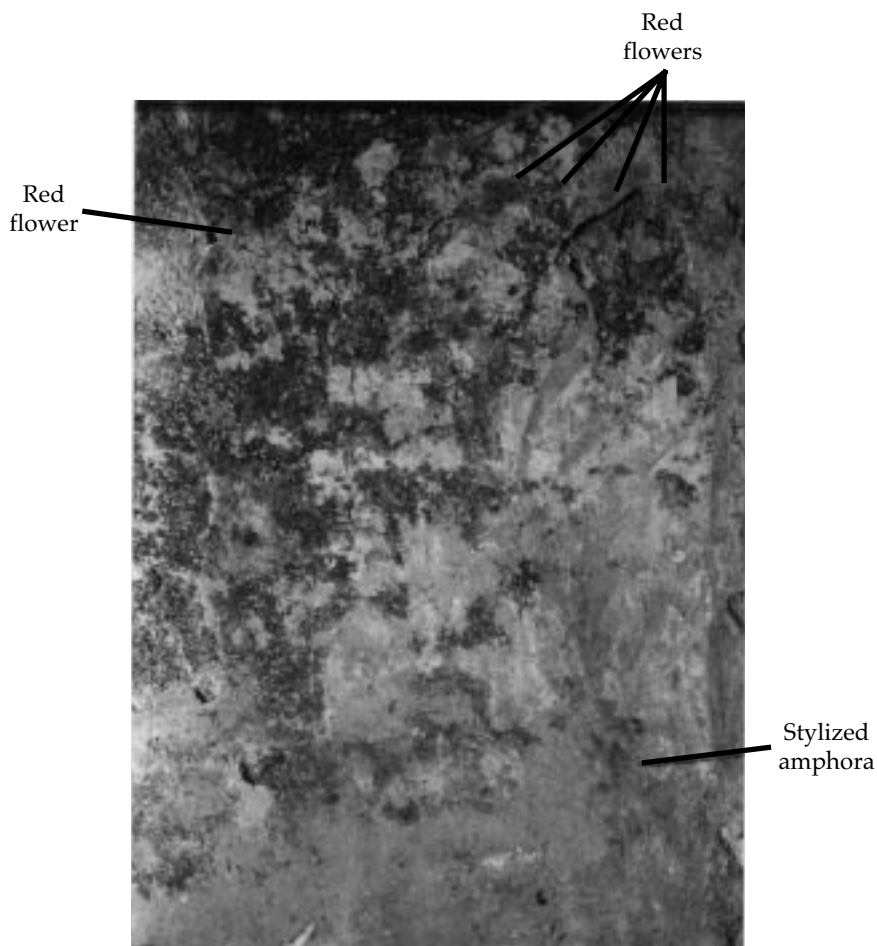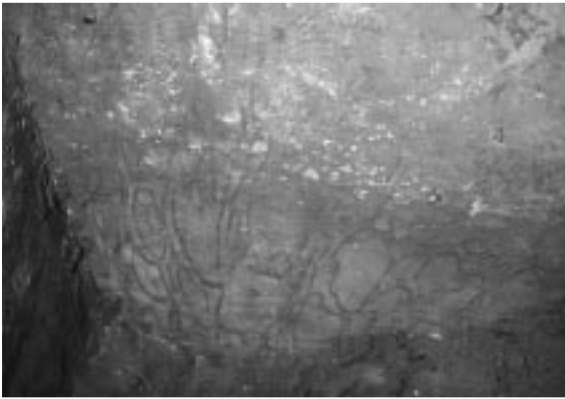
Fig. 4: The lowermost frieze: *t*he western wall: Panel 2
(photograph by the author).

The second panel (panel no. 2) on the west wall is in such a poor state of preservation (Fig. 4), that it was disregarded by Ory and Tsafrir.[6] Nevertheless, its general composition made it possible to clearly identify five long green leaves stemming from a diagonal central stalk, to the right, while traces of at least two additional and similar leaves seem to have been painted on the left upper side. Above these leaves, on the uppermost part of this panel, five strong bright-red small flowers can still be observed: two on the right side, two relatively clear in the center, and traces of another one on the left. A dark object, possibly a stylized amphora, from which the plant stems diagonally leftward

a - The western wall: The upper part of panel 4 with a green leaf on the right hand side.

b - The western wall: The lower part of panel 4.

c - The eastern wall: Panel IV.

Fig. 5: The lowermost frieze (photograph by the author).

a - Beneath medallions 4, 5 and 6.

b - Beneath medallion 7.

Fig. 6: Fragments of the middle frieze on the western wall (photograph by the author).

appears on the lower part to the right. Its counterpart on the east wall (Panel no. II), no longer exists. Panels nos. 3 and III have also disappeared.

The southern panels (panels nos. 4, IV) are also in a poor state of preservation. A similar pattern can be detected on both of them: red rounded forms painted freely with short broken lines scattered between them (Fig. 5 a,b,c). The lower part of panel 4 features these same shapes but in darker colouring, which might be the result of damage caused over the course of time. In several places of the composition, large splashes of green colour which look like "wash" can still be discerned. On the right side of panel 4, a very clear green vineleaf-like shape is painted, and thus these panels appear to depict some kind of vegetal or floral pattern, possibly even vine twigs, though very stylized.[7]

The Middle Horizontal Band (Ill. 3)

This band[8] is in a very bad state of preservation and only a few fragments still exist, mainly on the upper part of the western wall. The frieze is framed between two wide red stripes. The remaining pattern seems to have been bordered between two fine green lines which parallel the red bordering stripes, of which only the upper one remains. The pattern consists of a sequence of green, relatively large truncated triangles (or trapezes),[9] freely interspersed with red uneven dots (Fig. 6 a, b). The original exact number of these dots cannot be determined. From the surviving fragments along the walls it appears to be a continuous geometrical pattern of a decorative nature, separating the upper and lower friezes.

The Upper Horizontal Band[10] ((Figs. 7 a, b, c; 8 a, b, c)

The series of fourteen busts within medallions, seven on each wall, is painted at eye-level.[11] As mentioned above, the northern medallions on both walls are in a much better state of preservation than those on the southern side, which suffer from the large broken parts of the vault. The medallions painted on the western wall are also better preserved than those on the eastern one. However, the general state of preservation of the paintings is so poor that it is impossible to determine whether one of the walls was originally executed in a higher quality than the other; nor can one draw conclusions about the ability of the painter (or painters), despite the temptation to do so.

(1) *Male Portraits*: Ten out of the eleven male busts [nos. 2 (Fig. 9), 3, 4, 5, 6, II, III, IV, V, VI] present young men, each wearing a white *toga* arranged in three diagonal and parallel folds over the left shoulder, with a broad dark *clavus* (or an application on the edge of the toga) descending vertically from the right shoulder. The toga reveals a white tunic beneath it. The figures are positioned almost frontally, usually slightly angled to the left. Their oval faces are contoured with a graduated red colour border, sometimes interchanging to dark.[12] The different shapes of the voluminous parts of their faces are emphasized by a sequence of short red lines (nos. 2, 5, 6, III) which occasionally lose their original rythm to a more abstract pattern (nos. 4, II), or even blend into a unified geometrical red stain (no. 3, lower part of no. II). The noses are designed either as two approximate triangles (a red one for shadow and a light, possibly white one, for highlight; nos. 5, II); or as a long rectangular white highlight framed by red, sometimes broken, lines (nos. 2, 3, III, IV). Their eyes are relatively large and emphasized, and the irises turn sidewards (nos. 2, 3, II, IV); the eyes of no. III are closed, and in the other medallions the eyes of the figures no longer exist. The eyebrows are dark straight lines which continue the lines

a - Nos. 1-3.

b - Nos. 2-5.

c - Nos. 5-7

Fig. 7: The medallions on the western wall (courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority).

bordering the nose, above the eyelids. Most of them have a naturalistic size in relation to the eyes.[13] The eyelids (or what remains between the eyes and the eyebrows) are red. The foreheads are divided rather peculiarly by a large and long wavy red line, probably alluding to "thinking wrinkles" (nos. 4, 5, II, III). The mouths are painted in rich red colours, without any trace of contour lines, using only highlights or shadows of red hues, thus creating a very sensual
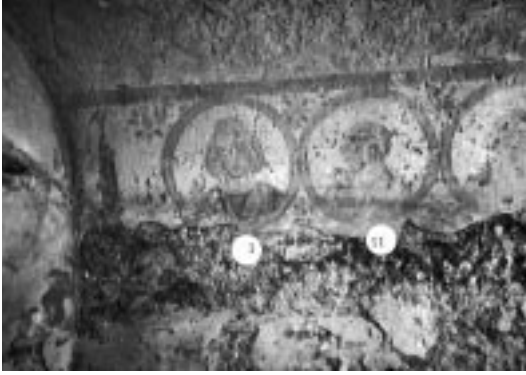
a - Nos. I-III.

b - Nos. III-V.

c - Nos. V-VII.

Fig. 8: The medallions on the eastern wall.

allusion. The mouths are generally rather small, with the lower lip being especially emphasized (nos. 2, 5, III). In all the busts both ears can be seen, and these are painted freely in a variety of shapes and sizes, ranging from relatively small (no. III) through medium (normal; nos. 2, 5) to huge, almost elephant-like ears (nos. II, IV). They are bordered by an uneven red line, and the details, if there were any, are no longer visible. The hairstyles are in a bad state of

Fig. 9: Medallion No. 2 (photograph by the author).

preservation, but their dark colour and general round shape is still clear. The hair itself is full, cut short, and slightly covers the upper part of the forehead.

Special attention has been given to the first male figure in the series of medallions on the western wall[14] (no. 1) (Fig. 10 a). Over his white tunic he is wearing a dark purple-red mantle, evenly arranged on both shoulders and fastened in the center. A continuous black contour frames his face; his eyes as well as the left side of his nose are treated in the same manner. His chin is square compared to the oval shape of the other male figures. His ears are but miniature red stains with no detail whatsoever, and his hairstyle is round, bushy and full, with long side whiskers of hair that join the dark contours of his face. His eyes are smaller than those of the others, and the pupils turn northwards. His nose seems to be more individual than those of the others, due to the use of three colours, but it is also shaped from three vertical stripes: dark, white in the center, and red.

(2) *Female portraits* (nos. 7, I, VII): Of the three feminine busts depicted on this frieze only one is relatively well preserved[15] (no. I) (Fig. 10 b) while the other two are in a fragmentary state of preservation. However, all three have a long oval face and wear similar garments, which distinguish them as female. Their attire consists of a dark upper mantle draped evenly over both shoulders, and decorated with a red *clavus* applied to each shoulder. Beneath their mantles (*pala* ?) the three women wear a light coloured *stola* over a *tunica interiora*. (The

Fig. 10: The patrons of the tomb: the first (northern) medallions (after Tsafrir 1969: colourplate).
a, Medallion No. 1;
 b. Medallion No. I

lack of these three folds on the shoulder of no. VII thus excludes the possibility of a *toga* and distinguishes the figure as feminine). Their oval faces are almost frontal, bordered like the faces of the male busts by a graduated red uneven line. The roundness of their cheeks is achieved by gradual red stains applied in different directions. The design of the noses corresponds to those of the male figures, forming geometric patterns of white and dark-red. The eyebrows are no longer clear but remnants indicate very wide and dark eyelids beneath them. The mouths are relatively small with the upper lip being longer than the fuller and emphasized lower lip. The mouth is painted in rich red colours, with (no. VII) or without (no. I) highlights. The hair falls evenly on either side of the face down to the chin, covering the ears, from whose lobes fall long pendant earings (nos. I, VII).

Special attention appears to have been given to the female bust opening the series, accentuated by her more strict frontality. Her fair hair is covered by a black net which emphasizes its fullness, probably gathered into a knot on top of her head. Part of her large eyes are missing, but what remains suggests a squinting glance.

Fig. 11: The uppermost frieze, the vault (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

The Connecting Horizontal Band (The Vault) (Fig. 11)

The sequence of the iconographical scheme of the western and eastern walls is integrated by the large frieze of the vault.[16] The paintings are very damaged, but still reveal green vegetal scrolls, whose details are no longer clear. Above the spandrel between the second and third medallions on the western wall (the upper frieze) I have identified a large green shape which looks very much like a vine leaf. Above the spandrel between the first and second medallions on the same wall I have identified remnants of a green-grey bird with a short tail and red legs and beak, facing north. Another bird, though in worse condition, can be discerned above the spandrel separating the second and third medallions on the eastern wall, but facing south. The vault thus appears to have featured vine twigs, with birds perched upon them.

The Iconographical Scheme and its Symbolic Significance

The tomb at Or-ha-Ner exhibits a unique iconographical program, connected to yet unparalleled by any other known sepulchral monument in the Greco-Roman world. The program consists of four main elements: torches, flowers, vine trellises surrounded by birds and a series of busts within round medallions. Each of these elements will be analyzed separately below, in an attempt to unveil a possible common denominator.

Torches

Four burning torches are directed towards the entrance of the tomb - the two larger ones flank the entrance door and the inscription above it, while the two adjacent, and smaller, torches precede the series of medallions.

Depicting light from torches, candles, candelabras and the like was probably imported to the Greco-Roman world from the east and is extensively used in imperial as well as in popular sepulchral art, as already mentioned by Pliny.[17] Several gods are depicted holding torches, and fire has also been connected with immortality. Thus, Thetis tried to render Achilles immortal by hiding him in the fire in order to consume the merely mortal portion inherited from his father.[18]

According to Macrobius, Heracles suggested replacing the human sacrifice to Saturnus with masks, and Macrobius goes on to note that later these altars were honored with burning candles. He considers such a change as the etymologization of the Greek word $\phi\widetilde{\omega}\tau\alpha$ (light) which is sometimes used by Homer to express "human being".[19]

The frequent use of depictions of artificial light was adopted by emperors and kings,[20] thereby probably comparing themselves to gods. Torches are commonly depicted on both sides of the upper step of the pyramidal pyre, as can be seen on *Consecratio* coins[21] which feature an emperor's portrait on the reverse.[22] Although there is no evidence of the actual use of torches in such ceremonies it can be concluded that they nonetheless constituted an accepted and widely known symbol, probably indicating death and revival, namely *apotheosis* of the emperors and empresses. The Hadrianic relief portraying the *Apotheosis of Sabina*, on which the figures are shown rising from a burning altar and the winged Aeternitas who carries the empress is holding a flaming torch, is another example of the same meaning of the torch.[23]

Eschatological meanings accompany "natural" light, like dawn, as well as artificial light, being perceived as awakening the dead in their "second" existence.[24] Dawn is also often considered as expelling nocturnal demons, and since burning torches illuminate the darkness of the night, they might be regarded as apotropaic symbols.[25] And indeed, depictions of artificial lighting sometimes coincide or even take the place of the Gorgo-Medusa such as that carved on the center of ceremonial cuirases, like the one worn by Mars Ultor[26] or another by Marcus Holconius Rufus.[27] On both breastplates Medusa appears on the upper part, while a candelabra flanked by two heraldic griffins is depicted exactly below her.

Artificial means of light are commonly used in sepulchral art as they are supposed to supply the deceased with the light lacking in the eternal darkness

Fig. 12: The Haterii monument: the deceased lying in state (after Strong 1961: Pl. 66).

of his grave.[28] Torches and the like are frequently depicted around the deceased, lying on his death-bed. This is especially emphasized on the reliefs found in the Haterii monument,[29] where the deceased is portrayed on his bier surrounded by many burning torches and candelabras (Fig. 12). Such depictions were probably derived from imperial usage, known to us mainly from later ancient sources, such as Eusebius' description of Constantine's death-bed in the large hall of the palace, flanked by burning candelabras.[30]

Two long torches framing an inscription became common on sepulchral monuments such as *cippi* from the early Imperial period.[31] One of the most appreciated offerings to the dead is that of fire, as told in many epitaphs, in which the passerby is requested time and again to kindle a torch or a candle at the tomb, an act for which he will be blessed.[32] The carrying of torches at funerals was indeed customary, as recounted for example by Suetonius.[33]

The majority of monuments feature two torches, usually framing a central object, whether the door to the netherworld, an inscription, or even the image of the deceased, such as in the painted tomb of Aelia Arisuth in Gargaresh (Fig. 13) where two young men, each holding a distinctively large burning torch stand on either side of the deceased bust.[34]

Fig. 13: *The Tomb of Aelia Arisuth* in Gargaresh: A general view
to the wall containing the burial place (after Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971: Ill. 242).

It should be noted that although torches are depicted in pairs, the epitaphs almost always use the third person singular for the torch to address the passerby.[35] It was suggested that the discrepancy between epigraphic and iconographic evidence is mainly due to symmetric considerations of the representation,[36] but I cannot accept a merely compositional explanation for this phenomenon.

The torch is also one of the attributes of Lucina, the birth goddess. It was believed that the torch was ignited at the moment of birth and extinguished upon death.[37] But the torch is also one of the *matrimonium* symbols, charged with illuminating the way of the young woman leaving her parents and entering upon a new way of life.[38] Ovid tells of a young woman who has died, and whose mourning parents lament her, saying that instead of holding the torch of marriage they now hold the torch of death;[39] or a supplication to the marriage god to put away his torches, since other torches are now kindling in the grave.[40] Propertius is more explicit, speaking of a woman living between two torches - the torch of marriage and the torch of death.[41] An example of the torch of marriage held by Eros can be seen in one of the panels from the "Dionysus cycle" discovered in Sepphoris describing the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne.[42]

The two large torches flanking the door and inscription on the northern wall in Or-ha-Ner appear to represent the torches of birth and death, while the two

smaller ones, on the eastern and western walls, are the torches of *matrimonium*, identifying the patrons of the tomb, as will be dealt with below.

Flowers

A multitude of flowers are depicted on the longitudinal walls in Or-ha-Ner. Flowers were widely grown, used and described in the ancient world.[43] They are frequently mentioned in metaphors, equating the short life span of a person with that of a flower.[44] Pliny considers the delicacy of a flower to reflect the fragility of a mortal, and he adds that specially long-blooming flowers were grown in the vicinity of burial places.[45]

Red flowers, especially poppies, are connected with Demeter and her daughter Persephone (Kore). According to ancient written sources Persephone was abducted by Hades while picking red flowers - usually poppies.[46] The attributes of Demeter and Persephone are frequently interchanged and both are thus often depicted holding poppies.[47]

Specific flowers like the purple hyacinth,[48] the anemone[49] or the violet[50] were believed to have sprung from the blood of the beloved dead.

Thirst was generally seen as the strongest craving of the dead in their "second existence" as described, for example, by Lucretius[51] or Protertius.[52] The soul (*anima*) without blood, according to Servius, is useless.[53]

Human blood has many substitutes, and red flowers, as mentioned by Virgil, constitute a common substitute.[54] Indeed, Servius interprets the purple flowers as imitating the colour of human blood.[55]

Red, purple or violet flowers are often mentioned on epitaphs in which the deceased desires his or her ashes to be metamorphosed into violets or roses.[56] One epitaph notes that "this flower is Flavia's body."[57] Thus the deceased convey their wish to resemble the heroes of ancient myths. Another common formula in these epitaphs is the request to the passer-by to bring the deceased offerings of flowers, incense and fire. Here, too, the preferred flowers are roses and violets.[58] Indeed, many flowers frequently appear on funerary monuments either scattered in different locations, or as part of the vegetation of *Elysium*. This is exemplified in the painted tomb of Aelia Arisuth as a field full of small red flowers,[59] and in the painted tomb of the six year old Octavia Paulina in Rome, in which *Elysium* is described as a large place full of red flowers being gathered by small shadowy figures.[60]

The plucked flowers depicted at Or-ha-Ner alongside the abstract ones scattered between the medallions in the upper zone, and the two flowers ending the rows of medallions, indicate that the deceased are in *Elysium*. However, they

could also represent the actual ceremony held in honor of the deceased, namely, the offering of bouquets of red flowers as a substitute for the blood so desired by the dead.

Portraits

The series of fourteen busts within medallions represented on the upper frieze constitutes the most important part of the pictorial program.[61]

The representation of a figure within a circular medallion was referred to in ancient literature as *imago clipeata*.[62] It is generally accepted that a figure in the center of a shield represents apotheosis.[63] The portrayal of a bust within a shield could derive, among other possibilities, from the heroic custom of carrying the fallen warrior back home on his battle shield.[64]

In being represented within a shield it would appear that the king was accepted, like a solar god, as immortal. Such an approach was already manifested on one of the terracotta shields discovered in the tomb of the Erotes in Eretria which displays a radiating - resembling Helios - portrait of Alexander the Great.[65] By being represented within a medallion the pragmatic Roman emperors might have been attempting to prove the continuous link with Alexander the Great, who was perceived as a solar god in the east.[66] The tendency to link the imperial rule with the Macedonian throne is exemplified in three gold medallions depicting the busts of Olympias, Alexander the Great, and Caracalla.[67]

A group of painted *clipei* with a protruding bust in the center of each, resting on two horizontal bars, is depicted in the Casa dell' Impluvio in Pompei,[68] and might also have apotropaic meanings.[69] An unparalleled representation of a series of *imagines clipeatae* can be seen in "The House of the Roman Scribes" in Dura Europos.[70] The painted round medallions are set in a frieze below the vault and each one contains a figure identified by name and profession in an accompanying inscription (Fig. 14). However, despite their being identified by inscriptions, these figures cannot be regarded as portraits.

A prominent place is given to *imagines clipeatae* on various sepulchral monuments. They frequently occupy the centre of the longitudinal side of sarcophagi, such as in the Museo Nazionale of Naples.[71] In these sarcophagi the deceased are often depicted being elevated by winged *genii*. In the reliefs of the Haterii monument three busts of children are displayed between the pilasters of a small temple; two of them within circular medallions and the third, central, image within a sea shell.[72] All the above-mentioned figures are wearing more or less the same ceremonial attire, but their faces have been rendered individually, and their age is clearly distinguishable.
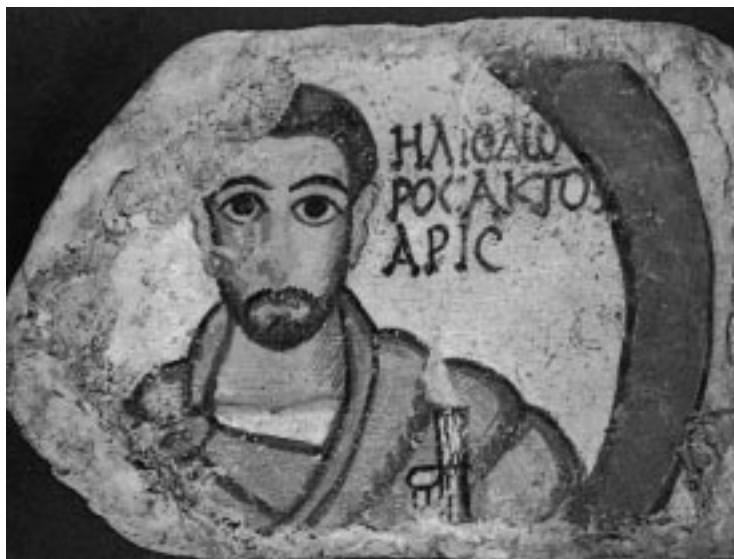
Fig. 14: *The Actuarius Heliodoros* (after Rotovtzeff *et alii.* 1936: Pl. XLIV 1).

The painted tomb of Aelia Arisuth provides a very unique example. The deceased is depicted within an elaborate wreath (*corona triumphalis*) held by two children (fig. 13). Above her bust two winged *genii* are holding up a wreath containing an inscription identifying her. According to the inscription she lived to the age of sixty,[73] yet she is depicted as a young and beautiful woman with large eyes, richly dressed and wearing a headdress.

"The Tomb of the Three Brothers" in Palmyra is the only known painted tomb in addition to Or-ha-Ner, in which a **series** of busts within medallions is represented.[74] Twelve busts of males and females within medallions each held by a winged victory are depicted next to the burial *loculi* (Fig. 15 a, b). The personages depicted are all well dressed. They all appear to be more or less in the same, relatively young, age group. The patrons of the tomb are painted in full length, opposite each other, on the entrance pillasters. Vegetal scrolls with red flowers scattered between the green leaves are depicted next to them. The figures do not have any of the personal characteristics that identify them as portraits; however, each of them is identified by an accompanying inscription.

As already noted, sepulchral depictions representing a **series** of **isolated busts within medallions**, as seen in Or-ha-Ner, are not known elsewhere. However, many paintings as well as reliefs attest to the 14 *imagines clipeatae* depicted in Or-ha-Ner as being well rooted in the Roman sepulchral tradition, especially in the eastern parts of the empire like Syria and Northern Africa. It

is highly probable that the *imago clipeata* evolved from its initial association with gods to kings, before being gradually adopted by various dignitaries and finally by the common people.[75] However, I tend to conclude that the ascension of the king was undoubtedly perceived as an apotheosis, and with time gained further meanings (for example in the Byzantine era, when the elevated emperor was conceived as merging with the infinite and eternal light of God).[76] The common citizen, however, displayed within a medallion was considered as merely achieving commemoration in the eternal afterlife, or perhaps simply hoped to achieve a somewhat higher rank in the nether world than his fellow mortals.[77] Hence, a "common" deceased when depicted within a *clipeus* and elevated by a winged *genius* should be understood as entering *Elysium* but not as deified (or apotheosized). Such conclusions are supported by the depiction of the deceased in the catacomb of Vibia in Rome in which a figure identified by an inscription as *Angelus bonus* accompanies her to paradise.[78]

The figures in Or-ha-Ner lack personal characteristics, and thus they can neither be compared to the Roman stelae known throughout the empire nor to the Fayum portraits of Roman Egypt.[79] They do, however, display certain general similarities in the very general and stylized rendering of the figures in "The House of the Scribe" and "The Tomb of the Three Brothers", both in Palmyra, notwithstanding the absence of identifying inscriptions in Or-ha-Ner. I believe that the schematic rendering of the figures and the lack of individuation in Or-ha-Ner is characteristic of the eastern regions, and differs from the typical and well-rooted Roman approach to portraiture.

In Or-ha-Ner the eastern hierarchic approach also dominates, distinctively placing the head of the family and his wife at the beginning of the sequence of portraits, each preceded by a torch, and adjacent to the entrance wall displaying the two large torches and inscription. The conjugal pair are subsequently accentuated by an individual touch manifested in their facial details, hairstyle and attire. A similar approach was adopted in the "Tomb of the Three Brothers".

All fourteen deceased depicted in Or-ha-Ner seem to be relatively young - about 20-25 years old, thus approximately corresponding to the age at which Aelia Arisuth is represented, and probably also to the figures painted in the "Tomb of the Three Brothers". The portrayal of figures in "their best age" may also be intended to convey the idea of eternal youth.[80]

Compared to the above mentioned examples of *imagines clipeatae* depictions in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean, the tendency mentioned by certain scholars, towards a more abstract and iconic art in the "subantique" regions,[81] could also be applied to Or-ha-Ner. The portraits displayed here exhibit a

a - Three busts of males.

b - A bust of a female.

Fig. 15: *The Tomb of the Three Brothers*, Palmyra (after Kraeling 1961-62: Pls. IV, VIII).

different, or an additional stage, linked to other funeral monuments compared to the central trend or other provincial artistic trends current in the Roman world.

Vine Trellises with Birds

The upper frieze consists of vine trellises with birds standing on either side of its edges.

Vines were the plant of choice in cepotaphs, as can be learned from Petronius: Trimalchio asks his family and servants to grow a variety of fruit trees and many vines around his burial place.[82] Thus the family would be able to use the produce of the garden for the actual rites being held at the tomb.[83]

The vine is the most prominent attribute of Dionysos, and its product - wine, is always linked with the mystery rites, especially of this particular god.

Wine represents the joy of life, the loss of senses, the pouring of libations, sacrifices and blood, all of which also represent symbols of death and rebirth. Wine is one of the most common substitutes for blood - the element which distinguishes the dead from the living. This is exemplified in Virgil's *Aeneid*: the latter pours blood over the tomb of his father.[84] Lucretius describes a feast where the participants are crowned with wreaths and drink wine, saying: "As if after death their chief trouble will be (that they are) miserably parched with thirst and burning drought ..."[85]

The encounter between Dionysos and Ariadne took place, as seen in many works of art, under or even within a vine.[86] Thus the vine may also be perceived as one of the motifs indicating matrimony.

The number of funerary works of art depicting birds within vine trellises is vast (sometimes other animals are also present). They appear frequently in Israel: for example, on the vault of the painted "Nymphs tomb" at Ascalon;[87] or the "Goliath tomb" at Jericho;"[88] and elsewhere, such as the mausoleum of Sta Costanza in Rome.[89] The vine is understood as an integral part of the blessed next world, whether in the pagan *Elysium*, the Jewish Garden of Eden, or the Christian *Paradisum*. The birds within the vine are often identified with "soul birds" into which heroes were transformed, and are perceived as the souls of the believers.[90]

Historical Aspects

The tomb of Or-ha-Ner is situated approximately five hundred meters from the remains of an unidentified settlement, which according to scattered pottery sherds was still inhabited in the early Byzantine period. The architectural remains, however, disclose no monumental or public edifice which could imply that this had been a large and important city. Consequently, it is impossible to identify the patrons of this tomb, their religion, their origin, or even when they lived. The same uncertainties apply to the artists.

This anonymous settlement, known today as Khirbet-um-Taboon, was originally built in ancient times between two leading *polei*, some 20 kilometers from Gaza and Ascalon, both of which are referred to by Ammianus as excellent towns.[91] Gaza and Ascalon are also mentioned in the 4th-century *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* as wealthy towns whose goods were exported to Syria and Egypt.[92]

Archaeological findings, although circumstantial, indicate the existence of artistic workshops specializing in mosaics and paintings in each of these cities.[93] Moreover, an important Roman road connecting Jerusalem with Beit Guvrin and going southwards towards Gaza with a junction leading to Ascalon, was

discovered about 500 m from Or-ha-Ner, and was probably still in use during the early Byzantine as well as early Arab periods.[94]

From the meager remains it can be tentatively deduced that the settlement of Khirbet-um-Taboon was administratively connected with one of the larger centers. This was not uncommon and is known in the region.[95] Furthermore, the tomb of Or-ha-Ner is located in a necropolis which could have served the nearby settlement.[96]

Gaza is well documented as a city inhabited by pagans, Jews and Christians.[97] This also held true for Ascalon, which according to inscriptions was an important international *polis* involved in political as well as cultural events around the Mediterranean basin. The pagan population was prominent. A Jewish community also flourished there after the Bar Kochba revolt.[98] The Christians gained momentum in Ascalon only during the Byzantine period. And indeed, the New Testament, which details the different cities along the sea-shore, such as Jaffa and Ashdod on the way to Gaza, ignores Ascalon. In the 4th-century it was gradually populated by a Christian community.[99]

It seems plausible that the tomb of Or-ha-Ner belonged to an affluent family who might have lived in the nearby settlement, and who were familiar with the burial customs prevalent at the time in the region: namely, an excavated and painted family tomb.[100] The geographical location can unfortunately contribute no further information as to the identity of the patrons of this tomb. The region underwent quite a few changes, such as the Palmyrene conquest in the 3rd-century.[101] Moreover, the exchange of cultural concepts may have also occurred through intermarriage.[102]

An attempt to determine the religion of the patrons of the Or-ha-Ner tomb can only be based on iconographical evidence, and even then, anything concerning this particular family might not necessarily apply to the other residents of the ancient Khirbet-um-Taboon. Even less can be concluded about the identity of the artists, who might have been locals as well as foreigners. Indeed, it was common for artists to move from one center to another.[103] However, stylistic analysis of their work might shed some light on possible artistic influences, as well as help to determine an approximate date.

Stylistic Analysis and Dating
The poor preservation of the wall paintings at Or-ha-Ner prevents a comprehensive stylistic evaluation such as the effects of light and shade, or a full scale of colour and hues.

All the figures and objects are presented against a light and uniform background with frontality and strict symmetry. Some of them are framed

within panels or medallions; others, like the torches and the flowers between the medallions, appear to be floating in neutral space, ignoring the rules of gravity. Due to this inconsistent description the elements are conceived as symbols and not as part of a narrative. Each object is carefully designed regarding plasticity and maintains correct proportions. However, all are detached from any objective surrounding reality and each is self-contained. For example, the torches on the northern wall display proportions which correspond to what can be learned from descriptions of the techniques of the making and use of the various types of torches in ancient literature,[104] as well as what can be observed in other works of art where torches are depicted.[105] The torches of Or-ha-Ner are designed three-dimensionally, achieved by locally applied colours accentuated with white highlights and dark-green shades. However, no attempt at diffusion of colours can be discerned, and the colours are limited to very few hues. Other elements like the birds on the vault, the flowers between the medallions, and the foliage or the geometrical-decorative frieze, exhibit the same approach: namely, the same restricted scale of colours, mainly greens, with occasional additions of red (the beak and legs of the birds, or the flames atop the torches) and a general tendency to detach the naturalistically executed items from concrete reality. The painterly wavy red stripes which create the ribbons correspond to the wavy stripes creating the flames on top of the torches, all of which, as well as the small red flowers on panel 2, are designed without outlines. The brush appears to have been used with a certain spontaneity, thereby forming both richer and more diluted areas, and creating a rather plastic illusion.

The phenomenon of an inconsistent rendering of forms within the same work of art was already noticeable in the mosaics of Antioch dating to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th-century CE. A tendency towards formalization of figures and objects, with an increasing use of conventions, became emphasized. The gradual disappearance of delicate nuances was also discernible, as well as an inclination to sharper frontality and a clear description of each element without integration of the ensemble.[106] The white background lost its vitality, together with the loss of cast shadows as a result of such a process. It should be mentioned that no stylistic difference appears between the Roman catacombs and their counterparts in the eastern provinces. Any attempt to create a spatial illusion was abandoned, with all the details being regrouped in the foreground of a single plane.[107] The spread out of elements evenly over an opaque and solid background was typical of this period. The neutral background might be meant to convey an unspecified depth which went deeper than reality. In this approach space is regarded as spiritual and

the objects described are rendered with a symbolic and even transcendental quality.[108] The artists of the Late Antique period appear to depict the figures and elements weightlessly, as if floating in space, without even touching the ground. The disconnection between the elements and the lack of a clear source of light can also be discerned.[109]

A different approach can be observed in the painted portraits of Or-ha-Ner. They are represented as a **series** of tangent medallions and can be perceived to rest diagonally on the upper and lower straight red stripes bordering them above and below. They are vaguely reminiscent of the painted *imagines clipeatae* hung between columns and resting on upper and lower horizontal bars in Pompei, and also correspond to literary descriptions of similar series of portraits of important personages hung in the ancient public libraries.[110]

The style used to depict the **almost** *isocephalic* and **almost** frontal busts is not uniform. The elongated oval faces though generally framed by a red line, are smoothly and delicately handled. The same gentle treatment can be observed in both the male and female depictions. The different parts of the faces are in some places linear, and in others painterly, featuring nuances and hues of colours, and also gradual shading and highlighting, alongside abrupt and uniform geometrical forms, sometimes all combined in the same portrait. Moreover, some parts are rather uniform, like the linear-geometrical treated noses, and the full and sensual red lips painted only in colour.

As a result, the features of the various busts seem to lack any personal characterization, and present rather a general scheme, or even a stereotypic concept of a portrait. The faces are ageless and lack any form of expression. The emphasized eyes with their peculiar unfocused gaze evoke a very calm and serene atmosphere, almost transcendental.[111] Could their frontal staging allude to a direct connection between the dead and the living?[112] Such a general representation contradicts the individual concept. And, indeed, it has been suggested that the deceased "loses his individuality and receives in exchange a superior form of existence."[113]

From the way the portraits of Or-ha-Ner are exemplified as an artistic motif, they look very much like the Palmyrene busts of "The House of the Roman Scribes" compared to both the north-eastern and south-eastern parts of the region. But, compared to the 4th-century catacombs of Rome - the latter are much more expressive, a quality achieved mainly by fixing the pupils diagonally to the inner part of the eyes and using very energetic, almost fierce brush strokes.[114]

Painted portraiture underwent substantial stylistic changes from the Severan period and up to the end of the third century. The earlier strong expression of

the eyes changed into a blank, almost stupid look; the clothes lost their sense of materiality as well as their organic connection with the body, and sometimes were represented almost as mere calligraphy; hardly any attempt is made to portray depth in space and colour loses its richness and variety. L'Orange distinguishes the gradual disappearance of expression into a spiritual human being as representing "the 'pneumatic' personality, to speak in the language of that period."[115] The distant glance beyond time was achieved by the abstract articulation of the forms. The serene expression of the eyes affected the entire face, and concentrated particularly on the muscles of the forehead. The organic form of portraits became simplified, and the weakening of the individual facial features evolved into immobile and block-like representations. These stylistic tendencies seem to be the main characteristics of the period, and are especially emphasized in the eastern parts of the empire.

Hairstyles: During the period of the Roman Empire women are known to have arranged their hairstyles after the fashion created by the Empress. Thus, the identification of a fashionable hairstyle could help in *post quem* dating of a work of art.[116] Of the three women depicted in Or-ha-Ner, only the one in medallion No. I is in a negotiable state of preservation. Her fair hair descends symmetrically on both sides of her face, revealing only her earlobes. The mass of hair is probably gathered into a top knot entirely enveloped by a black net. What remains of the female painted in medallion No. VII implies the same general arrangement of the probably dark hair, though no traces of a net can be detected.

In Roman female portraiture an arrangement of the hair falling to either side of the face on the neck, was first introduced by the Severi Julia Domna, whose hair was gathered into a knot on the back of her neck.[117] Towards the mid-3rd century the knot was raised to the upper part of the skull.[118] By the beginning of the 4th-century, the hair is longer and less thick on the sides, and the chignon is distinctively fuller.[119] The fashion of gathering the hair into a net has been known since very ancient times. It is also known in Greece and Rome.[120] Wearing a net over the hair was a common practice in Israel among pagan as well as Jewish women, as can be seen in a 3rd-century CE tomb discovered in Jerusalem, where a golden net was discovered;[121] or on a funeral bust from Sebaste dated to the end of the 3rd-century CE, where the hairstyle is relatively close to that of the woman at Or-ha-Ner.[122]

When considering the various female hairstyles from the 3rd to the 4th century it seems plausible that, the paintings of Or-ha-Ner were conceived no earlier than the mid-3rd century and no later than the very beginning of the

4th century CE.

The hairstyles of the male portraits at Or-ha-Ner are unfortunately also in a bad state of preservation. Yet one can still discern the black mass of hair ending in a wavy line on the upper third of the forehead, and also the quite long whiskers on either side of the face.

This kind of hairdo in masculine portraits, namely a large and compact mass of hair, distinctively parted in the middle above the forehead with symmetrical locks flowing on either side of the face, sometimes partly covering the ears, is characteristic to Late Antiquity, and is exemplified in Emperor Gordian's hairstyle.[123]

The Clothes: The costumes of the figures depicted in Or-ha-Ner have been carefully executed. Male attire features a fine white tunic under a white toga (excluding the male in medallion No. 1). The toga is arranged in three more or less equal folds on the left shoulder, separated from each other and from the background by dark lines. A wide dark *clavus*, bordered between two red lines, descends from the right shoulder.

From the ancient literature one can learn that wrapping the purified body of the deceased in a toga was a common custom, even when the toga was no longer in daily use.[124] Moreover, the toga was perceived as **the** Roman costume and as such it was widely adopted by freedmen in Rome and former 'barbarians' for their funerary portraits in order to proclaim their status as Roman citizens.[125] A toga was generally depicted as the upper garment of the deceased or other personages in funeral monuments throughout the Roman empire, as can be seen in numerous funerary monuments.[126] Such high officials as the *Actuarius* Heliodoros (fig. 14) are represented wearing a toga similarly arranged with three folds over the left shoulder.

The brown-red mantle of the male depicted in medallion No. 1 is less frequent in funerary art, and could perhaps be compared to that worn by the boy leading a horse in the catacomb of Trebius Justus in Rome.[127] This kind of mantle could also have been in use by contemporaries of the patrons of the tomb of Or-ha-Ner. Its purplish colour, however, might also be meant to emphasize the importance of the depicted personage, as seen, for example, in the *Anointment of David by the Prophet Samuel* in the Dura Europos Synagogue.[128] David's purple mantle is symmetrically arranged on both his shoulders and pulled together in the middle of his chest, creating a V-shaped opening. This serves to emphasize him despite his actual size being no larger than that of his brothers, and very much smaller than Samuel.

The female garments depicted at Or-ha-Ner can be mainly identified in

medallion No. I, and partially in medallion No. 7. The women appear to be wearing the three traditional layers of clothing: the delicate *tunica interiora*, a light coloured *stola* ending in a brown-red V-shaped opening near the neck, and an upper *palla* (or possibly *dalmatica*) enveloping both shoulders symmetrically, with a red *clavus* bordered with light stripes, descending from each shoulder. Similar costumes can be seen in several funerary depictions, such as the Orant of the catacomb of S. Callisto in Rome.[129]

In summary, when discussing the stylistic aspects of Or-ha-Ner, it could be assumed that the paintings were executed according to the pictorial traditions prevalent in the Roman empire, and especially in its eastern regions: the tendency to create symmetrical compositions; the inconsistency in style of the depicted objects - linear, painterly, or even both methods within the same work of art - but always detached from space and time; an inclination for abstract, though indecisive; the limited scale of colours; and a rather obvious approach towards immateriality. All these, together with the above observations regarding fashion of hairstyle, imply with high probability that the Or-ha-Ner paintings should be dated to between the end of the 3rd century and no later than the very beginning of the 4th century CE.

Conclusions

This re-evaluation of the tomb paintings in Or-ha-Ner reveals a unique iconographical program, not known elsewhere in the Roman world between the 1st and 4th centuries CE. The identification of the paintings on panel No. 2 (the red flowers) sheds new light on the reading of the paintings and enables the interpretation of the entire program. It is also evident that the artists of Or-ha-ner were familiar with the sepulchral traditions widespread throughout the Roman empire.

The combination of torches, flowers and vine trellises with birds is very common in funerary art, but the addition of a series of medallions to these three elements has no parallel. The rendering of the torches, the flowers and the frieze of vine twigs together with portraits as if detached from any narrative, may imply that they are meant to depict the actual funeral rites which were held in this specific place: namely, placing bouquets of flowers, lighting torches and pouring wine libations or growing vines in the tomb's surrounding in honour of the deceased. And indeed, these motifs were perceived in ancient times as promising the blessed afterlife and/or substituting the elixir of life so missed by the deceased (as mentioned by Virgil, Lucretius and Servius). The deceased depicted in Or-ha-Ner can not be identified by name or by

physiognomy, but rather exhibit stereotypic features of a similar young age. One possible explanation for such portrayals could be that they are all residing in the eternal-transcendental world: namely, in *Elysium*.

Finally, I would like to submit an additional possible interpretation of the program displayed at Or-ha-Ner, according to which the burning torches, the flowers, the vine twigs and the busts within medallions are complementary as well as interchangeable components. Such interrelation can be sustained by a sepulchral Greek inscription discovered in Ephesos, which enumerates the deceased's bequests.[130] The reader is told that the departed left a sum of five hundred dinars, and that the interest will suffice to buy wine; ten dinars were to be used for garlands and *kyriolos*. All of the above were meant to be used in the ceremonies on the 28th of Poseidon's month. It has been previously shown that wine is used as a substitute for blood, as are fire and red flowers. The term *kyriolos* is very rarely used, and should be translated either as "wax candles" or "wax images". Hence, the relevant components of the Or-ha-Ner tomb could be comprehended as illumination to the text in the Ephesos inscription. In other words, the iconographical program at Or-ha-Ner unifies all the various widely used sepulchral elements to supply the deceased with his entire needs in his "second existence" in *Elysium*.

The fairly coherent iconographical program suggested here may indicate that the patrons of the tomb were pagan, though there is nothing more substantial than this to be said about their religious beliefs. However, in view of the various cults known to coexist in the region, the possibility that they were Christians cannot be definitely excluded. In this case, however, the date should be shifted to the mid-4th century. This possibility is predicated upon the repeated Christian prohibitions concerning funerary rites, such as lighting torches and placing flowers on the tomb. The instruction to avoid ignition of torches or candles in the graveyards is repeatedly mentioned in Early Christianity,[131] and one of its strongest expressions was heard at the Elvira council (beginning of the 4th century), where it was declared:

> *Cereos per diem placuit in coemetrio non incendi,*
> *inquietandi enim sanctorum spiritus non sunt*.[132]

The early Christian Fathers also opposed the use of flowers in sepulchral rites, since Christ Himself is the eternal lily, etc.[133] When red flowers are depicted on Christian tombs, they are usually scattered around the composition, and should be perceived symbolically as representing the Christian heaven.[134] The *imagines clipeatae* sometimes appear on Christian sarcophagi, but never as a series of busts - a presentation usually reserved for Christ and His Apostles.[135]

Despite the ban on using the above elements in Christian funerary rites they occasionally appear on sepulchral monuments, either separately or in combination.[136] However, torches and candles depicted on Christian tombs should be understood as the eternal light of heaven, and not as a material light supplied as partial fulfilment of the deceased's needs.[137] And the same could be said about flowers.[138]

The pictorial program of Or-ha-Ner is well integrated and therefore it is quite plausible that the rather sophisticated assembly of all the elements so frequent in the pagan world on the one hand, and the lack of any specific Christian signs or symbols in the paintings on the other hand, imply that the patrons of this tomb were worshipers of a pagan religion. Furthermore, because the tomb is dated to around 300 CE and the Christian population had not yet become established in the region, the possibility of wealthy Christian patrons well-rooted in the region seems unlikely.

NOTES

* This paper is based on my MA thesis written under the supervision of Prof. Asher Ovadiah and Prof. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, submitted to Tel Aviv University, 1990.
1 Tsafrir 1968: 170-180; see also Tsafrir 1969: 61-65.
2 Based on unpublished mandatorial reports written by J. Ory. I would like to thank the Israel Antiquities Authority for enabling me to study them.
3 The analysis of the technique is based on L. Ofer from Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Tsafrir 1968: n. 7, and confirmed, at my request, by D. Luria, of Tel Aviv Museum of Art.
4 Measuring about 90x80 cm.
5 Each measuring about 100x100 cm.
6 Tsafrir 1968: 175.
7 Tsafrir, *ibid.*, refers to this in the legend to Fig. 4 as: "Imitation of marble panelling on the northern wall" and on 175: "crudely executed marble motif."
8 Height about 30 cm.
9 Tsafrir reconstructed them as sequential triangles, see Tsafrir 1968: Fig. 5.
10 The medallions were numbered by the author.
11 1.45 m from ground level to 1.95 m; its total breadth is approximately 60 cm.
12 No. 2 - red to dark; No. 4 - red; No. 5 - mixed red and dark. The others are not clearly distinguishable.
13 Except for the figure in No. IV whose eyebrows are "bushy", probably due to spill of over diluted colour.
14 This figure, including the preceding torch, was detached from the wall and is kept in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
15 This figure, including the preceding torch, was detached from the wall and is kept in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
16 Approximately 80 cm.
17 Pliny *NH*: XIII, 1, 3; XII, 41, 82 ff.
18 Apollodorus *Lib.*: III, xiii.6 and n. 4 on 69. The same applies to Demeter and Demophon, see: *Ibid.*, I, v. 1-2; and compare *Homeric Hymns*: "The Hymn to Demeter

(I)," 40-53, 233-265; Ovid *Fasti*: IV, 550-560 mentions Triptolemus placed in the hearth and disturbed by Metanira.

19 Macrobius *Saturn.*: I, 7, 31-33.
20 See for example, Ammianus: 23,6,34.
21 Pottier 1887: 1448-1451; McCormack 1981: 93-160.
22 *Consecratio* of Antoninus Pius, Faustina the Young, Marcus Aurelius and Maisa, see Rushforth 1915: Fig. 37 (1-4); *Consecratio* of Constantius I, see L'Orange 1982: Fig. 101a.
23 Strong 1961: Pl. 78.
24 Cumont 1949: 49; Cumont 1946: 46. It can also be demonstrated in the Tut-Ankh-Amon tomb where four bronze and gold torches were discovered. See *Ibid.* 1946: 45-46, ns. 16, 20.
25 Mau 1909: 1953; Salomonson 1955: 23.
26 Zanker 1992: Fig. 155b.
27 Heinze 1977: Fig. 132. 1-12 CE.
28 Cumont 1949: 48; Salomonson 1955: 23.
29 Dated to the Trajanic period. See Strong 1961: Pl. 66. The use of torches in the Haterii Monument is dealt in Rushforth 1915: *passim*, and Pls. IX, X.
30 Eusebius, *Vita consta.*: IV, 66-67 (*PG*, 20, col. 1221).
31 Altmann 1905: Ch. X and esp. Fig. 97.
32 For example, an epitaph from Salerno, read: *Have Septima, sit tibi terra levis. | Quisq(uis) huic tumulo posuit ardente(m) lucernam, | illius cineres aurea terra tegat*, *CIL* X: 633; and many others. See, for example, *CIL* II: 2102; VI: 10248; VII: 1, 9052; XI: 1420; and also Cumont 1946: 42-43.
33 Suetonius *Vita*: "Aug.," 98.
34 See Frova 1961: figs. 620, 621; Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971: 264-265. Ills. 242-243. 4th century CE.
35 For example *CIL* II: 2102; VI: 20358; VIII: 19052.
36 Rushforth 1915: 157.
37 See Gage 1969: 161;
38 Sikes 1921: 391.
39 Ovid *Her.*: XXI, 172.
40 Ovid *Fasti*: II, 561-564. Ovid uses the plural form - *faces*.
41 Propertius *Eleg.*: VI, 11, 33-35.
42 Tentatively dated to the end of the 3rd-beginning of 4th century CE). See Talgam and Weiss 1988: 94 down, and Pls. 98-99.
43 For example, Athenaeus *Deipnos.*: v, 196, D,E; Martial *Epigrams*: V, LXXX; Virgil *Georg.*: IV, 30 ff.; Pliny, *NH*: XI, *passim*.
44 Catullus: LXII, 39-47.
45 Pliny *NH*: XXI, 3, 39.
46 *Homeric Hymns*: "To Demeter (I)." 1-30; Ovid *Fasti*: IV, 420, 454; *idem*, *Met.*: V, 385 ff.; Pausanias: IX (Boioitia), 31.6.
47 See for example, Graves 1972: Fig. on 148.
48 Ovid *Met.*: X, 162-219; Apollodorus, *Lib.*: I, 3.3.
49 Ovid *Met.*: X, 725 ff.; *idem, Fasti*: V, 226; Apollodorus *Lib.*: III, 14.3-14.4; Hyginus *Fabulae*: LVIII.
50 Ovid *Fasti*: VI, 221-246; V, 226.
51 Lucretius *De rerum natura*: III, 916-917.
52 Propertius *Eleg.*: IV, 5,2.
53 Servius *En.*: III, 68.

54 Virgil *Aeneid*: V, 94-113; V, 75-79.
55 Servius *En.*: V, 79; VI, 221.
56 *CIL*: IX, 3184.
57 *CIL*: VI, 18385.
58 *CIL*: VIII, 9052; *CIL*: VI, 10248.
59 Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971: Fig. 242.
60 Cumont 1942: Fig. 76, 345-346. 3rd century CE.
61 Although Tsafrir claims that "The appearance of portraits within medallions is quite common in Byzantine art and in itself is of no particular significance ...," see Tsafrir: 1968: 179, I intend to prove otherwise.
62 For example, Pliny *NH*: VII, 30, 115; XXXV, 2, 10. For further list of ancient sources referring to *imagines clipeatae* see: Albert 1887: 1249.
63 L'Orange 1982: 94; see also L'Orange 1973: 321-322. This process is mentioned as one of the possibilities by Bolten 1968: 13, 16, 17.
64 Bianchi-Bandinelli 1970: 87; Bolten 1968: 13, 14, 25 refers to the compositional explanation as one of the possibilities. Grabar 1968: 73-74, 81 considers the Roman *imagines clipeatae* mainly as formal precedents for the depictions of Christ, the apostles, bishops and saints, and mentions that they are also frequent as a mode of depicting funerary portraits.
65 *The Search for Alexander* 1980: Fig. 95, and p. 153.
66 L'Orange 1982: 64-79, 80-87, 88-89, and esp. 92-94. See also Bolten 1968: 13-17, 20, 24, 25 and *passim*.
67 Dated to the Severan period. See *The Search for Alexander* 1980: cat. nos. 10, 11, 33, respectively, and colorplates 5, 6.
68 Bianchi-Bandinelli 1970: Fig. 100.
69 Cumont 1917: 87-100; cf. Bolten 1968: 18, and n. 2.
70 Rostovtzeff *et alii.* 1936: 265-304.
71 L'Orange 1982: Figs. 72-73; Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971: Ills. 72, 115; etc.
72 Strong 1976: Fig. 76.
73 Frova 1961: Figs. 620, 621; Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971: 263.
74 Kraeling 1961-62: 13-18 and plates. For the date see Levi 1948: 551; he dates them to the years 141-259 CE.
75 *Supra*, n. 63.
76 Corripus *De laudibus*: 2, 137; Manuel Holobolos, 5, cf. L'Orange 1982: 88-90.
77 Bianchi-Bandinelli 1970: 105.
78 Grabar 1967: Fig. 245. Compare to the tomb of Octavia Paulina depicting the deceased in *Elysium*, see Cumont 1942: 345-356, Fig. 76. 4th century CE.
79 Doxiades 1995: *passim*.
80 Strong's idea of the archaic grave statues of the *Kouroi* type which should be regarded as conveying the "magical principle of perpetual youth of the occupant of the tomb," could be applied here, even though there is a considerate lapse of time. See *idem* 1915: 123-124.
81 Brekenridge 1979: 286.
82 Petronius *Satyricon*: 71, 11-12. For cepotaphs, see also Cumont 1949: 44.
83 Cumont 1942: 491, and n. 5; Toynbee and Ward-Perkins 1950: 2; Cumont 1929: 226.
84 Virgil *Aeneid:* V, 77-79, 94-113.
85 Lucretius *De rerum natura*: III, 916-918.
86 Lenormant 1877: Figs. 690, 720; Colignon 1887: Fig. 2181.
87 Ory 1939: Fig. 2, Pls. XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX.
88 Hachlili 1985: Fig. 10.

89   Stern 1958: Fig. 33.
90   Toynbee 1982: 286.
91   Ammianus: 14,8,11.
92   *Expositio totius mundi:* Ch. 29, p. 162.
93   Practically nothing is known about an artistic workshop in Ascalon, yet remnants of mosaics were discovered there; see Avi-Yonah 1981: 284; Ovadiah 1987: cats. nos. 6-7 and bibliography.
      Three richly decorated painted tombs from the 3rd century CE were discovered near Ascalon. See Ory 1939; Michaeli (forthcoming); Michaeli 1997: 96-109. For Gaza it is widely accepted among scholars that a rather important mosaic workshop existed there. See Avi-Yonah 1971; Ovadiah 1975; Ovadiah 1987: 180-181.
94   Roll and Dagan 1988: 175-179.
95   For instance, from the *papyrii* of Nitzana - a village connected to the then central city - Halutza. See Dan 1984: 55.
96   Ory, the unpublished manadatorial documents kept in the Authority of Antiquities Archives.
97   Marcus Diaconus *Vita*: 49. Remains of a noteworthy synagogue were discovered in Gaza, see Ovadiah 1975.
98   Di Segni 1990: 67-90.
99   *Acts of the Apostles* 8:40; see also Bagatti 1971: 41, 43, 52.
100 Ovadiah and Michaeli 1987: 244-245, with bibliography.
101 Browning 1979: 10, 45-47.
102 Procopius *Anecdota*: XXIX, 17; Choricii Gazeii: IV, 25.
103 *The Life of Petrus*: 119.
104 Polibius *Hist*.: III, 93, 4; Pliny *NH:* XVI, 178; Athenaeus *Deipnos.*: 700E, 701.
105 For example, The Apotheosis of Sabina, see Strong 1978: Fig. 111; The tomb of Aelia Arisuth, see Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971: Fig. 243.
106 Morey 1938: 35-37.
107 Levi 1947: 536, 549, 608.
108 Kitzinger 1965: 342-343; Kitzinger 1969: 14. The same views are shared by Dorigo 1971: 92-93.
109 Grabar 1967: 49-54, 89, etc.
110 Pliny *NH*: VII, 30, 115; XXV, 2, 10. Tacitus *Ann.*: II, 83 mentions a proposal to place an image of Germanicus in the Senate. See also Bianchi-Bandinelli 1970: Fig. 100.
111 Kitzinger 1969: 14.
112 This possibility was suggested by Strong 1915: 171.
113 Richmond 1950: 27-28.
114 For example, the Orant of the catacomb of Giordani, see: Mancinelli and Fasola 1981: pl. 91.
115 L'Orange 1972: 111; for a further discussion see also 105-115.
116 Humbert 1911: 1355-1401; Wessel 1946-47: 62-76; L'Orange 1961: 54-71; Skupinska-Løvset 1983: 152.
117 Wessel 1946-47: Fig. I; Humbert, 1911: Fig. 1866.
118 It can be seen in the hairstyle of Furia Sabinia Tranquillina, Gordian III's wife, or Herennia Annia Dupressenia Etruscilla, Decius' wife. See Wessel, 1946-47: Fig. II.
119 For example, some of the women at Piazza Armerina; see Kahler 1973: Pls. 37, 42C, 47; or in Antioch mosaics, see Balty 1977: Fig. 26.
120 Shefer and Weber 1996: Fig. 11.
121 Shefer and Weber 1996: 528.
122 Skupinska-Løvset 1983: Pls. 61, 133; CIX left, cat. 69.

123   L'Orange 1947: 90, Figs. 61, 62.

124   Juvenal *Sat.* III: 171. For the types of toga used in funeral ceremonies, see Polybius *Hist.*: VI, 53. For further information see Lecrivain *et alii.* 1896: 1388, n. 12.

125   Kleiner 1991: 219. The Roman toga, as well as other forms of clothing were widely dealt with. See for example, Wilson 1924; Wilson 1938; Goette 1989.

126   For example, Grabar 1967: Figs. 123, 270; Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971: Ills. 100, 284; Browning 1979: Figs. 12, 140.

127   Grabar 1967: Fig. 247.

128   See Dorigo 1971: Pl. 42. Mid-3rd century CE.

129   See Mancinelli and Fasola 1981: Figs. 43-44; Grabar 1967: Fig. 232. Mid-4th century CE.

130   *CIG* : 3028; cf. Cumont 1946: 42. I would like to thank Prof. Bezalel Bar Kochva for the translation.

131   Prudentius: *PL*, 60, 255; Tertulian *De idolol.*: III, 61 ff.; Hieronimus, *Contra Vigilantium*: *PL*, 12, 349.

132   Hefele 1973: Canon 34, p. 239.

133   Clement Alex. *Paed.*: II, 72-73; Minucius Felix *Octavius*: 2 (38); Ambrosius *De Ob. Valen. Cons.*: LVI.

134   Leclercq 1922: 1693-1699.

135   Grabar 1968: 73-74, 81.

136   Duval 1976: Figs. 23, 32; Grabar 1967: Ills. 91, 94-95.

137   Rushforth 1915: 161.

138   Leclercq 1922: 1693-1699.

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Armenian Architecture in Twelfth-Century Crusader Jerusalem

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*T*he art and architecture of the crusaders in 12th-century Jerusalem have been constantly studied since the beginning of this century.[1] Major issues of investigation have been the geographical origins of various artistic projects, and the meaning of their iconographical programs. In the last two decades the assumption that local Christian art and artists left their impact on the art of the crusaders has been generally accepted.[2] The existence of Armenian art and architecture in 12th-century Jerusalem has been acknowledged,[3] as pilgrim descriptions of the Holy Land in the 12th century already mentioned Armenian monuments. These have not, however, been evaluated as artistic projects, but related to simply as edifices and monasteries belonging to the Armenians, rather than as manifesting specific attitudes and intentions which can be defined as Armenian.

Although modern scholars writing about 12th-century Jerusalem have briefly mentioned the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, the cathedral has never been systematically studied as an individual architectural project. Vincent and Abel noted it as a mixture of Armenian and Romanesque styles,[4] and T.S.R. Boase in his *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders* states: "The Armenian church of St. James in Jerusalem was being built at the time and by 1162 John of Würzburg describes it as completed. Melisend with her Armenian blood and her interest in ecclesiastical affairs must have been involved in this undertaking."[5]

In Jaroslav Folda's recent comprehensive work on crusader art, the 12th-century Armenian Cathedral of St. James has been surveyed, described and its ground plan and some detail presented. However, interpretations of the meaning and function of the edifice, in the context of life in the 12th century Armenian community in Jerusalem have not been made, and the author

repeatedly stated that "the church itself is an Armenian, that is oriental design"[6] Furthermore, Folda indeed presents Queen Melisend as the most prominent patron of the arts in Jerusalem between 1131-1161, as well as instrumental in getting *inter alia* the masons from the Holy Sepulchre Church to work also for the Armenians. Thus the Cathedral of St. James, the major Armenian project, has remained subject to the traditional idea that because the Holy Sepulchre church was the most prominent architectural project of 12th-century Jerusalem the artists working for the Armenians could have come only from this major project.[7] Similarly, in another book on crusader art, B. Kühnel (1995)[8] described the edifice of the Armenian St. James Cathedral as a middle Byzantine work. Furthermore, Folda speaks of the Armenian linkage of Queen Melisend "through her Armenian mother from Melitene Morphia. Thus the rebuilding of the Armenian church must have been of substantial importance to her."[9] In attributing to Queen Melisend the role of a major patron of various projects in 12th-century Jerusalem, Folda advanced a substantial step in the study of crusader arts. However, although he mentioned Melisend's Armenian origins he did not discuss this as a major issue.

It is my intention to study in context several aspects of the Armenian St. James Cathedral together with additional architectural projects: the tomb monument of Queen Melisend in the church of St. Mary in the valley of Joshaphat and the church of the Archangels in the Armenian compound. I suggest that these projects be considered as an expression of the attitudes and intentions of the Armenian community living in 12th-century Jerusalem; and that Melisend be seen as a patron of Armenian projects, including her own tomb monument, alongside her important role as a patron of the Latin church.

The history of the Armenian community in the Holy Land and in Jerusalem goes back to early Christianity. Armenian traditions relate the existence of the community to the 3rd century, and early Armenian monasticism in the Holy Land has been documented at least from the 4th century.

According to the Armenian tradition the head of St. James the Great was kept in the cathedral, which subsequently became a most holy place of veneration.[10] In addition, several 6th century mosaic pavements with Armenian inscriptions from sepulchral monuments testify to Armenian awareness of their ethnicity, to artistic activity and active patronage. One example is the mosaic pavement with the Armenian inscription "For the memory and salvation of all the Armenians, whose name the Lord knows."[11] Other inscriptions refer to "the monastery of the Armenians", etc. The mosaic pavement depicts vine scrolls stemming from an amphora, spread out symmetrically, with each one containing a bird. The great variety of birds are arranged symmetrically in

pairs. A similar theme appears in mosaic flooring of 6th-century Jewish synagogues and Christian churches in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Holy Land. The birds were often interpreted as images of the believers' souls. However, the use of this theme for a sepulchral chamber with an Armenian inscription is unusual.

The relationship between the Armenian principalities and communities in the East, although beyond the scope of this article, is a major component in the understanding of Armenian culture and art. Constant ties between various Armenian communities and the migration of its various populations from one center to another were a factor throughout the Middle Ages. From the end of the 11th and in the 12th century the relationship between the Armenians and the arriving crusaders became extensive. As Joshua Prawer has demonstrated,[12] the Armenians enjoyed a privileged position among the other local Christian communities. This situation was due (a) to the vast Armenian population in the crusader principalities, mainly in Edessa and Antioch; and (b) to the intermarriage between the Frankish and Armenian royal houses and nobility. Baldwin I, King of Edessa and Jerusalem, married Arda, the daughter of Prince Toros of Edessa, whom he later settled in the Jerusalem convent of St. Anna. The most influential marriage, however, was that of Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, to Morphia, the daughter of Gabriel, governor of Melitene. Morphia gave birth to four daughters: Melisend, who was to become the most prominent Queen of Jerusalem (1131-1161); Hodriena, Princess of Tripoli; Alaice, Princess of Antioch; and Yveta, who had been a hostage in her childhood and therefore could not marry, but who became the Abbess of St. Anna and later of the monastery of St. Lazar in Bethanie through the very strong support and lavish donations of Queen Melisend, her elder sister.

The impact of Queen Melisend as patron of the arts has been frequently noted. Numerous scholars of the history and art history of the period are in agreement about the following facts:[13]

1. The Queen was a great patron of the arts.
2. Her support of the local Christian communities is mentioned several times in the sources.
3. According to William of Tyre, in 1140 she rebuilt the convent of St. Anna and later the convent of Bethany and endowed it with vast property. Her sister Yveta was installed there as Abbess until the convent in Bethany above the tomb of Lazarus could be completed.
4. She was active in town planning; e.g. her removal in 1151 of a mill adjoining the Tower of David in order to open up the gateway.
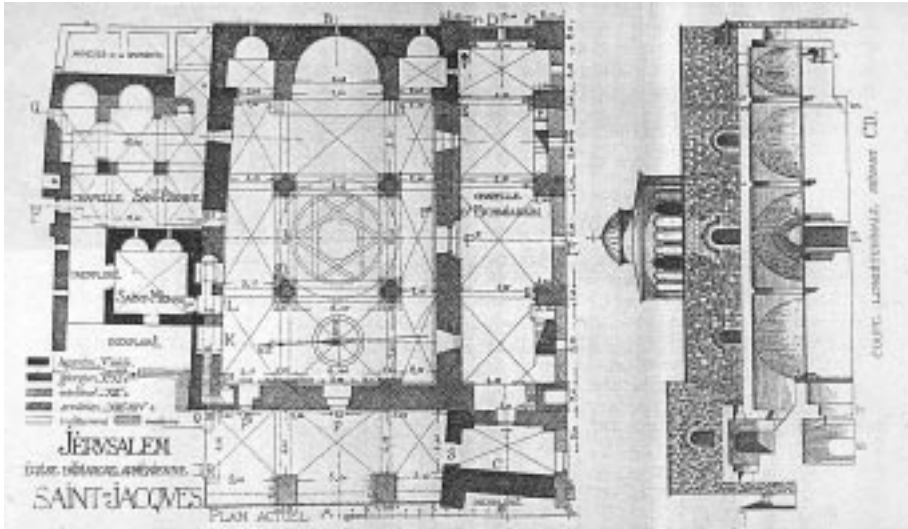5. The Armenian Cathedral was probably built during her time, as John of

Fig. 1: Ground plan – the Armenian Cathedral of St. James.

Würzburg describes it as completed in 1162.

6. She supported the monastery of St. Mary in the Valley of Joshaphat where she was buried.

7. The loss of Edessa brought an influx of Armenian and Syrian refugees into Jerusalem. A colophon (in a lectionary in St. Mark's, the 12th-century Syrian church in Jerusalem) is inscribed with a prayer for King Baldwin and his mother Melisend for all they have done for the unhappy survivors.

Several other events in the period of Queen Melisend's reign, however, have not been connected with her directly. Joshua Prawer, despite noting the friendly relationship between the Franks and Armenians, did not connect between the pilgrimage of the Armenian Catholicos Gregory III Bahlavonni (1133-1166) to Jerusalem in 1142 to a synod in the Cenacle (where he was received with pomp and impressed his audience with his vast knowledge and liberal speech) and the reign of Queen Melisend.[14]

The fact that Melisend was herself half Armenian has been mentioned in different degrees and ways by various scholars. Questions regarding her specific attitude to the Armenians and other oriental Christian sects have been only partially answered. Often various historical facts were recounted but not connected with Melisend. I believe that Folda took a marked step forward in advocating Melisend as a most prominent patron and in mentioning her Armenian lineage.
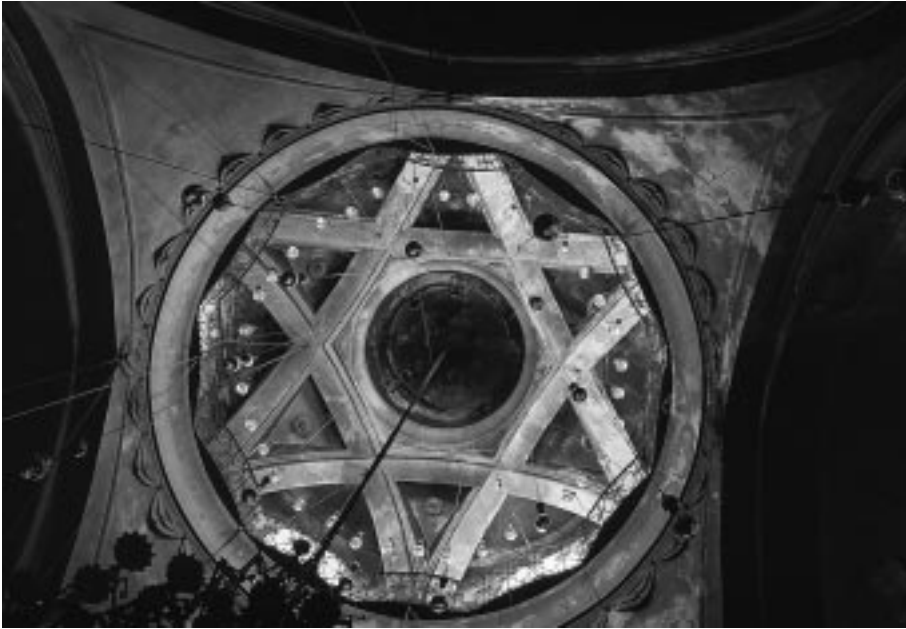
Fig. 2: The Cathedral's dome (photo: Garo Nalbandian).

With these considerations of Melisend and the Armenian community in Jerusalem in mind, I shall examine the Armenian building projects supported by the Queen, to determine whether they do indeed reflect specific Armenian concepts in their meaningful pictorial language.

St. James

The ground plan of the church as well as its architectural elements demonstrate a very close affinity with Byzantine and Armenian architectural traditions of the 11th and 12th centuries; thus differing consciously from the crusader plan of the Holy Sepulchre church. The exo-narthex is Byzantine. But the most prominent element of the church is its dome, which demonstrates a six rib structure on a square base with a decorative schematic garland frieze. The supporting piers are square, with four capitals on each side, suggesting the original existence of half columns, or being part of a specific family of forms, as noted below.

I believe this form of dome is distinctly Armenian. It is decorated with six intersecting ribs which form a star.[15] This form was already known from an earlier time, in the Mosque of Cordova between the 8th and the 10th centuries,[16]

Fig. 3: A capital of the dome's supporting pillar (photo: Garo Nalbandian).

and is commonly accepted to have had an impact on Spanish and French Romanesque architecture. The form was considered however as pre-Islamic and perhaps Armenian, and it reappeared in Armenian monastic architecture in the 13th century.

The question remains as to whether the dome of St. James in Jerusalem is a 13th-century alteration as some scholars have argued,[17] or is it indeed a 12th-century creation supported by Melisend and as such serving as a model for 13th-century Armenian architecture. Thus, the form of the dome of St. James could indeed be traditional Armenian although a link is missing in the architecture in Armenia itself[18] before the 12th century.

Fig. 4: The narthex of St. James Cathedral (photo: Garo Nalbandian).

I believe that the dome of St. James Cathedral is Armenian in concept. It differs from the hemisphere dome used by the Byzantines which created a unified space and was a traditional image of the dome of heaven. The Armenian domes, however, although bearing the same meanings, constitute an architectural element born out of an harmonious interplay between elements such as intertwined ribs and squares.

The Armenian dome differs completely from the crusader dome of the Holy Sepulchre church, which is hemispheric and was constructed with specific relation to the dome over the Anastasis.[19] Thus the choice of Armenian forms for the dome of the Armenian cathedral was not coincidental but must have been intentional, as the dome's structure is endowed with the meaning of earthly and heavenly cosmic rule. Furthermore, in the southern narthex of the Armenian church the following decorative elements appear: a goudron frieze around the entrance door; a frieze accompanying the arches and cut on the surface; and "elbow colonnettes". These elements also all appear on the façade and cloister of the Holy Sepulchre church. The origins of these forms are probably in greater Armenia, where they appear from the 6th century. A prominent example is the frieze from the Monastery of Tafer, dated to 885. On the southern façade of the Holy Sepulchre church, however, the goudron frieze is accompanied by a rosette frieze which has a long pictorial tradition in the

Fig. 5: The narthex portal – detail (photo: Garo Nalbandian).

land.[20] On the narthex portal of the Cathedral of St. James the goudron frieze is isolated. Furthermore, it is employed around the entrance door between the narthex and the church of the small monastic Armenian Church of the Angels in the Armenian compound. The goudron frieze also appears on the upper window of the church of St. Anna, albeit accompanied there by a palmette frieze in a similar manner to the Holy Sepulchre church. The monastic churches of St. Anna and of the Angels demonstrate great similarities in their usage of architectural elements. However, although they might have had the same patron, the application of their goudron friezes differs distinctly.[21]

The differences between how goudron frieze is used on the Armenian churches (St. James and the Church of the Angels) and on the Latin churches

Fig. 6: The portal of the Angels Church (photo: Garo Nalbandian).

point to a difference in meaning. In the Armenian churches the frieze appears isolated, and as the sole decoration of the entrance door. On the two Latin churches, however, the goudron frieze is enframed by additional friezes with motifs of Classical origin. The choice of this design in the Armenian churches was traditional. They used the frieze in the same way that it had been used on the Bab-el-Futuch[22] built by Armenian masons in Cairo at the end of the 11th century. The Latins, however, used the frieze as a novelty in their repertory of forms but integrated it into their routine traditional design.

It is unlikely that the choice of the Armenian domes and decoration systems for the major project of the Armenian cathedral could have been pure circumstance, or simply the result of a donation by an anonymous Armenian

Fig. 7: The Virgin's tomb – plan (designed by Fr. Bernardino Amico, 1596).

patron. It was, rather, probably a joint project born out of the royal support of the Queen and the efforts of high placed Armenian ecclesiastics, and the work of Armenian masons.

The choice of these forms for the major Armenian project in Crusader Jerusalem reveals, I believe, a very high self-awareness by the Armenian community and Queen Melisend herself. Both Queen and community must have been familiar with their own Armenian ethnic heritage and the power of its pictorial language. This visual language was connected to Armenia at large and to the individual Armenian communities, and regarded as a manifestation of Armenian life in Jerusalem. The Queen was concomitantly a patron of projects of the Latin Church and of the Armenian Church, supporting the expansion of the Armenian cathedral by means of Armenian indigenous forms.

Melisend's Tomb

Melisend was buried in the church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Joshaphat, much patronized by the royal house.[23] The Queen had supported the church with many gifts during her reign, making the monastery one of the richest in the Kingdom.[24]

The Church of the Tomb of the Virgin was probably founded in the 4th century. However, it was rebuilt and enlarged in the 12th century under the

Fig. 8: The Church of the Virgin's tomb – descending staircase and entrance arch to Queen Melisend sepulchral chamber (photo: Garo Nalbandian).

crusaders.[25] I accept the assumption of Fr. Michael Piccirilo and Albert Prodomo that Queen Melisend contributed to its expansion. The 12th-century stairs descending towards the Virgin's tomb were built as an autonomous monumental element and not merely as functional architecture. The stairs have no parallel in crusader architecture in the Holy Land, and the dramatic descent on the very wide stairs may be compared to the stairs leading upto the Cathedral of Le-Puy. It is known that the Queen's mother, the Armenian Queen Morphia, was already buried there,[26] although the exact location of her tomb is not known. William of Tyre describes the location of Melisend's sepulchral chamber precisely: "The first chamber on the right when descending the stairs".[27]

The royal sepulchral chamber is entered through a large arch decorated with floral *cassettoni* recalling an antique arcosolium. The inner space of the chamber has been planned with meaningful architectural elements. Two niches are situated in the southern and northern walls of the chamber, for the placement of two sarcophagi, suggesting perhaps the fact that Morphia's sarcophagus had in fact already been installed there. The niches are enframed with quasi pediments cut with inner profiles as is routine in Armenian architecture. The chamber's most outstanding element, however, is the domed lantern crowning its center.
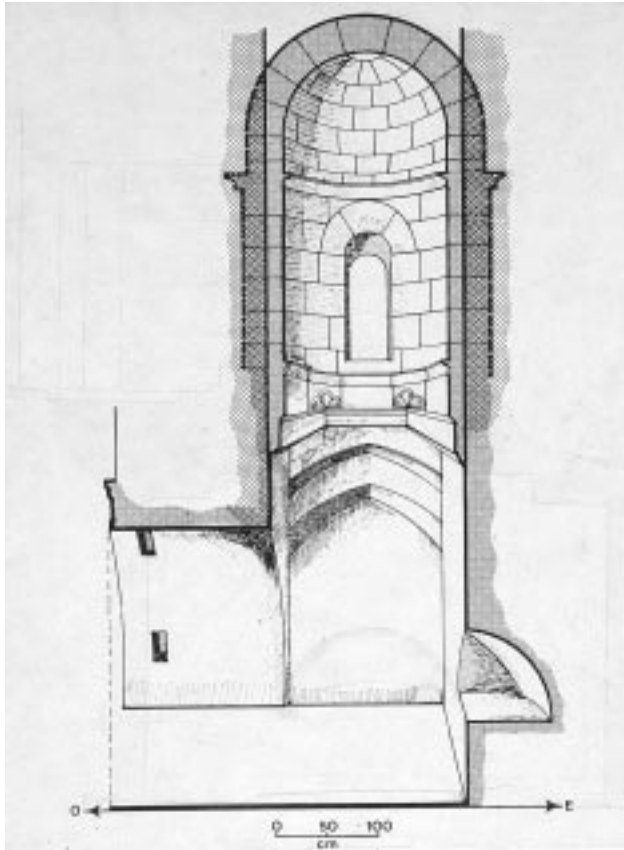
Fig. 9: The Melisend sepulchral chamber – plan (after A. Prodomo).

The dome is built on a square ground plan with octagonal basis on squinches and a round form in its upper part. It is thus a characteristic Armenian dome, like those in the monastery churches of *Haphpat*[28] from the end of the 11th century. Consequently this sepulchral chamber demonstrates a declared intention of "being Armenian", by deliberately deviating from the normative crusader art.

The use of a dome for a sepulchral chamber is unique in itself. None of the crusader kings were buried under a dome; nor any contemporaneous western king, as far as I am aware. Thus, the dome symbolizing eternity appears here again to be reflecting a deliberate choice.

Piccirilo, Prodomo and Folda in turn,[29] have suggested that the sepulchral dome was derived from the dome of the St. Helen chapel in the Church of the

Fig. 10: The chamber's dome (photo: Garo Nalbandian).

Holy Sepulchre. The dome of St. Helen, however, is a regular Byzantine hemispheric one and has no relation to Melisend's tomb. Thus, in the choice of an Armenian dome - recalling the dome crowning the Armenian cathedral, for her own royal tomb, Melisend deliberately associated herself with the Armenian cathedral which was acknowledged as the major monument of the Armenian community, and probably also known as her own project. At the same time, in the choice of the Church of St. Mary in the Valley of Joshaphat for her burial place, her association with the Frankish dynasty was also strongly established.

Although Boase and Folda have shown Melisend to have been a prominent patron of the arts, they have not investigated the specific choice of Armenian forms as an expressive means of ethnic identity.[30] I believe that Melisend must also have possessed very strong Armenian attitudes and tastes alongside her royal Western ones. Her Armenian cultural tendencies may be read, for example, from William of Tyre's description of her mourning over her husband King Fulques body at his death: "When the queen was informed of her husband's unexpected death she was pierced to the heart by the sinister disaster. She tore her garments and hair and by her loud shrieks and lamentations gave proof of her intense grief. Tears failed her through continual weeping. Frequent sobs

interrupted her voice as she tried to give expression to her grief. Nor could she do injustice to it, although she care from naught save to satisfy her anguish."[31]

The "Virgilian" description of the Queen's lamentations over Fulques engendered Runciman's statement in his *A History of the Crusade*: "Queen Melisend's vocal grief much as it moved all the court, did not distract her from taking over the kingdom."[32]

Further evidence of Melisend's Armenian links, relating to the specific relationship between her and her sisters, was attested to by William of Tyre: "During this time an enmity arising from jealousy sprang up between the Count of Tripoli and his wife, a sister of Queen Melisend. It was in the hope of settling this unpleasantness and at the same time visiting her niece Maria that Queen Melisend had come"[33] "... since she had met but with little success in patching up the matter however, she determined to take her sister back with her. "... when Queen Melisend was sick and old, her sisters did not move from her bed for a year."[34]

These patterns of behaviour must be considered together with Queen Melisend's deliberate support of her sister Yvetta, her support of the Jacobites and, as Benjamin Kedar has shown, her instrumentality in bringing Armenian dignitaries to Jerusalem. Her architectural projects, as I have tried to demonstrate, reflect her strong Armenian identity and her wish to express it in a deliberate visual language.

NOTES

1   Folda 1995: Bibliography therein.
2   Kenaan 1973: 165-175, 221-229; Folda 1995: 214-220.
3   Hintlian 1976: 18-24.
4   Vincent-Abel 1914.
5   Boase 1971: 103.
6   Folda 1995: 247.
7   *Ibid.*, 249.
8   Kühnel 1995: 27.
9   Folda 1995: 131-133, 246.
10   *Ibid.*, 247-249.
11   Hintlian 1976: 13-16.
12   Prawer 1976: 222-235.
13   See above, notes 9, 10.
14   Prawer 1976: 223.
15   Thierry 1989: 541, argues that the dome of St. James was altered in the 13th century.
16   Barrucand-Bednorz 1992: 76, pl. 78; Watson 1989: vol. I, 9; vol. II, figs. 11-12.
17   Thierry 1989: 540-541.

18 Thierry 1989: 228, pl. 96.

19 Kenaan-Kedar 1986: 109-115.

20 *Ibid.*, 225-227. For additional examples of the goudron frieze in Armenia see: *Armenian Architecture*, ed. A. Morance (Paris 1968), figs. 153-154. I would like to thank Sharon Laor-Sirak for calling my attention to these examples.

21 The Church of the Archangels has been mentioned by Folda and Kühnel but its architectural decoration has not been described or analyzed. The origins of the architectural forms of St. Anna have not yet been studied systematically. I would like to suggest that its capitals, with their very low carving and schematized late-antique forms should be compared to Armenian capitals. See for example, Thierry 1989, figs. 17, 28, 649.

    For the patronage of Melisend in St. Anna see Folda 1995: 133.

22 Kenaan-Kedar 1986: 226. See also "The goudron frieze on the campanile of the church of St. Mary's of the admiral in Palermo", in E. Kitzniger, 1990: 52-69.

23 Folda *The Art of the Crusaders*, 324-326; B. Bagatti, M. Piccirillo, A. Prodomo, *New Discoveries at the Tomb of Virgin Mary in Gathshemane* (Jerusalem, 1975), 83-93.

24 Folda 1995: 131.

25 Bagatti-Piccirillo-Prodomo 1975: 84.

26 Hamilton 1978: 148.

27 William of Tyre: 291.

28 Thierry 1989: 534-535, fig. 734. The monastery of Haibat.

29 Bagatti-Piccirillo-Prodomo 1975: 90-91; Folda 1995: 131.

30 See above notes 5, 6.

31 William of Tyre: vol. II, 134-135.

32 Runciman 1957, *A History of the Crusades*.

33 William of Tyre: vol. II, 214.

34 *Ibid.*, 283.

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The Peopled Scrolls at the Umayyad Palace in Jericho – Some Observations

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*T*he Umayyad palace at Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jericho (known as Hisham Palace) (724-748),[1] was richly adorned with sculpture, which I categorize into three main groups. The first group contains monumental sculptures depicting humans and animals (the caliph, women, lions, horses, etc.); the second contains busts, some free-standing, others enframed in medallions including imaginary creatures (simurgh, winged horses); and the third may be defined as a combination of humans and plants, among them human heads in the dome of the diwan, on the capitals, and peopled scrolls.
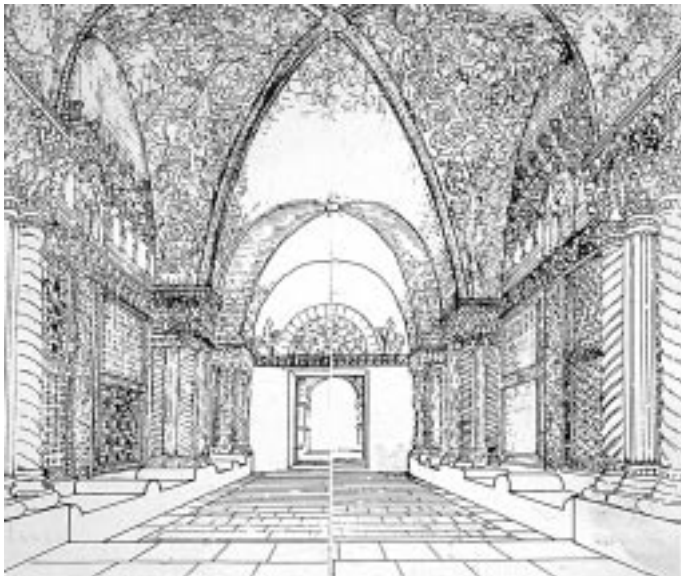
Fig. 1: Khirbat al-Mafjar, the Palace Entrance Hall. A Reconstruction
(after Hamilton 1988: Fig. 22).

Fig. 2: Khirbat al-Mafjar, the Palace entrance hall. A fragment from the Peopled Vine Scrolls (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

Research on the palace and its sculptural complex usually focuses on the monumental sculpture or on the imaginary creatures, mainly because it is possible to relate these to a specific iconography, based on sources such as the Koran, poetry, historical facts, etc. and so to establish their concrete meaning within an overall conception. The peopled scrolls, in contrast, were usually seen as a background element to the figures or categorized as ornament, i.e., essentially non-iconographical.

Lately, however, several scholars have suggested new interpretative possibilities for vegetable ornamentation. Grabar, in his book *The Mediation of Ornament*,(1989),[2] offers a semiotic interpretation; Prado-Vilar attempts to interpret the scrolls on ivory pyxides of the Umayyad period in Spain by means of the written inscriptions on the vessels;[3] and Flood traces the evolution of the decorative vine frieze (karma) from the Great Mosque of Damascus to its appearance on Mamluk buildings in Damascus and Egypt.[4]

The peopled scrolls at Khirbat al-Mafjar carved in stucco appeared - according to Hamilton, who excavated the site - in the diwan and the palace entrance hall. Sufficient fragments of the scrolls in the entrance hall, however, have survived to enable me to suggest a new reading of those scrolls.

As in the Umayyad palaces at Qusayr 'Amra,[5] and Mshatta, the peopled vine scrolls at Khirbat al-Mafjar constitute a continuation of thematic and

Fig. 3: A coptic stone relief. The image of Dionysus, 4th CE (after Wessel 1964: Fig. 28).

stylistic elements which were prevalent in pre-Islamic art. Tracing their origin from the Greek-Hellenistic world,[6] they became prevalent in the western part of the Roman-Byzantine Empire, in the provinces, and in the East - in Kushan India,[7] among the Parthians, the Sassanians[8] and the Chinese during the T'ang dynasty.[9] These peopled scrolls appeared prior to Islam mainly on wall and floor mosaics, on stone and marble carvings, and in mural paintings, but sometimes also in ceiling ornamentation and in stucco, as at Khirbat al-Mafjar.[10]

The peopled vine scrolls in the palace entrance hall of Khirbat al-Mafjar covering the entire vaults, appear to bifurcate from a "trunk", curling into loops or medallions (see Hamilton's suggested reconstruction, Fig. 1).[11] These medallions contained human figures, birds and animals all relating in some way to the clusters of grapes (touching, taking a bite, etc.). The figures, protruding ca. 10-12 cm from the surface, are almost three-dimensional.

They are of different heights, so that some are contained within the medallion whereas others extend beyond its circumference. There is no evidence that the scrolls were painted. In the following, I shall examine the sources of three of the human images found in the scrolls.

The first figure has a bunch of grapes hanging from its neck and concealing the upper part of its body (Fig. 2), which makes it impossible to determine its gender. The bunch is stylized, triangular, and disproportionately large in

Figs. 4 (left) and 5 (right): Khirbat al-Mafjar, the palace entrance hall. Peopled vine scrolls (4) and peopled scrolls (5), fragments (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

relation to the figure's height (42 cm). The figure wears a skirt with slit sides, decorated by deep lengthwise folds, and supported by a rope-like hip girdle.

We find a similar arrangement of a couple of bunches of grapes hanging down the chest in a Coptic stone relief (4th-5th CE) (Fig. 3).[12] Here too the triangular and stylized bunches conceal the chest and disguise the figure's sex. The figure wears a similar skirt (chiton?), tied by a rope girdle with dangling tails. If the Umayyad artist was trying to imitate the Coptic model, he misunderstood the meaning of the figure entwined with the vine (Bacchus or Dionysus?). A similar misunderstanding is reflected in the choice of the slit skirt (intended for riding), and deriving from a Persian, Parthian, or Asian source.

The second figure is depicted in a cross-legged sitting posture (Fig. 4), holding a wind instrument, probably a flute, with both hands, and dressed in a garment adorned by speckled lozenges. The depiction of the wind player-flutist within the scroll recalls similar representations in pre-Islamic art.[13] Such figures, enframed by vine or acanthus are prevalent in floor mosaics in Syria and Palestine. In the floor mosaic of the Monastery of Our Lady at Beth Shean (567-69 C.E),[14] the flute-playing figure is seated on a bench, dressed in a short chiton, with a dog in front of him sitting on its hind legs and "listening to the music". This figure is identified by Saller and Bagatti, as a shepherd playing to

Fig. 6: Khirbat al-Mafjar, the palace entrance hall. Fragments of beasts (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

a herd of sheep; a symbol of the pastoral serenity and plenitude bestowed by the god upon his believers.[15]

The third figure (Fig. 5) is nude and represented in a posture imitating the classical contrapposto. An animal, probably a lion, is attacking it, tearing at its raised right arm. The figure's emphasized left hip tilts the entire body sharply towards the animal. Possibly this image was inspired by depictions of Dionysus, or of Hercules,[16] who was the only god rendered in the nude in the pantheon of the Eastern gods.[17] Three-dimensional relief representations of Hercules, very similar to the one at Khirbat al-Mafjar, placed in niches in private residences at Dura Europos, were invested with apotropaic properties. The image of Hercules

Fig. 7: Khirbat al-Mafjar, the palace entrance hall. Fragments of beasts
(courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

also appears at Nimrud-Dag,[18] at Hatra,[19] and in India of the Gandhara period.[20]

In the interstices between the foliage in the Khirbat al-Mafjar entrance hall abundant representations of animals were also found, some intact, others fragmentary (Figs. 6-7), including pigs (boars?), cats, a monkey (?), a camel, horses' heads, and a roe deer (?). They were all fashioned in stucco, with long and full bodies tending to roundness in the belly and the rump sections, and usually depicted in a recumbent posture, legs pulled up close to the body (see Fig. 6), and the fur, hair and other features described by means of engraved hatches. The eyes almost always take the form of a bored round hole for the pupil within a lid-less eyeball, which is glued to the face by means of additional material. The palmette-shaped ears are likewise glued to the sides of the head.

Notwithstanding the anatomical inaccuracies and in spite of the fact that the artist did not copy his figures "from nature" the animal group evinces an attempt to distinguish between different animals and give them an "individual" identity. The pig, for example, is characterized by its wide snout, delineated by horizontal hatches; the cat by its triangular face, ending in a pointed chin, its back coat (described by hatched incisions of an entirely different kind than those on the pig's back, for example), and by the posture of its body, leaping towards the bunch of grapes. All these elements attest to the artist's attempt to differentiate the animals through precise, if minimalistic means, presenting a

Fig. 8: Kish. stucco relief of couchant animal, 4th CE (after Thompson 1976: pl. XXII/3).

colorful and enchanting fauna like. It is also interesting to note that the grapevine extending from the trunk (Fig. 1), though grouped in neat clusters, is neither arranged in rigid geometrical patterns nor encloses the figures as found in many of the Byzantine mosaics created in Palestine from the 4th through the 7th century.

To judge by the shapes of the animal bodies, the source of inspiration is Eastern - mainly Iranian. At Khirbat al-Mafjar, as in Sassanian representations (Fig. 8), the bodies are elongated, blocky, full, and rotund in the rump and lower belly section, with the hair marked by hatched and engraved lines in various areas; the couchant posture is identical as well, as is the placing of the joint of the leg at a too high level, as if extending from the neck. There is also a similarity in the shape of the heads: the head of the roe deer at Khirbat al-Mafjar (Fig. 9), as well as the one at Chal-Tarkhan-Eshqabad, from the Sassanian period (Fig. 10),[21] has a long and massive neck, an elongated jaw, a slightly open muzzle without lips, marked by an incision, and a glued-on eye of the type described above. There is a difference between the two examples in the ear section and in the transition from the forehead to the jaw, which is molded with a lighter touch in the Sassanian version. However, the pricked-up ears of the roe deer at Khirbat al-Mafjar add a special charm to the animal.

An additional source of influence on the interfoliar animals can be found in the masks and terracotta figurines uncovered along the Silk Road i.e. at Yotkan in the Khotan region in Central Asia.[22] These images, some of which served as handles or were attached to ceramic vessels, are generally, if tentatively, dated

Fig. 9: Khirbal al-Mafjar, the Palace entrance hall. Peopled scrolls, a fragment (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

Fig. 10: Chal-Tarkhan – Eshqabad. Head of a roe deer, Sassanian period (after Whitfield 1985: pl. 79).

Fig. 11: Khirbat al-Mafjar, the entrance hall. Peopled scrolls, a fragment (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

to the fourth centruy CE.

A comparison between the head of the "monster" at Khirbat al-Mafjar (Fig. 11) and one of the masks from Yotkan (Fig. 12) reveals a similar treatment of the eyes, the full and prominent cheeks, the pug nose, the half-open mouth (with the two canines particularly emphasized in the Khirbat al-Mafjar version), and the protruding ears. Another common element is the frightful yet comic aspect of both countenances.

Interspersed with the fragmentary vine scrolls at Khirbat al-Mafjar we find a rich assortment of birds (Fig. 13), distinguished from one another by means of details such as the graphic delineation of the eyes, the plumage and tail feathers, etc. Hamilton also attempts to identify the various birds: pigeon, rooster, goose, pheasant, quail and partridge. All these birds are prevalent in Roman and Byzantine mosaics in Syria and Palestine, and some mosaics are "dedicated" to birds alone, as, for example, in the "Armenian" 6th century floor in Jerusalem.[23]

An interesting contemporary documentation of the iconography of birds intertwined with vine scrolls is found in a text written by Choricius of Gaza in the first half of the 6th century, describing the decorative scheme of the Church of St. Sergius:[24]

Fig. 12: Yotkan. Central Asia. Terracotta figurine, 4th CE (after Whitfield 1985: Fig. 102).

> Such is the central scheme. In the aforementioned lateral (apses) there grow ever-burgeoning trees full of extraordinary enchantement: these are luxurious and shady vines, and the zephyr, as it sways the clumps of grapes, murmurs sweetly and peacefully among the branches...

He goes on to describe the birds in a didactic vein, explaining why certain birds were chosen rather than others:

> The artist has rightly rejected the birds of the poets, the nightingale and the cicada, so that not even the memory of these fabled birds should intrude upon the sacred place: in their stead he has artistically executed a swarm of other birds, (in particular) a flock of partridges. He would, perhaps, have rendered even their musical sounds, had not this hindered the hearing of divine things.

It is important to note that, notwithstanding the evident Byzantine sources, the specific features of the birds point rather to sources in Sassanian and Central Asian art, where the birds' bodies are covered with scales, their wings are studded with "pearls", and their tail is engraved breadthwise, as at Khirbat al-
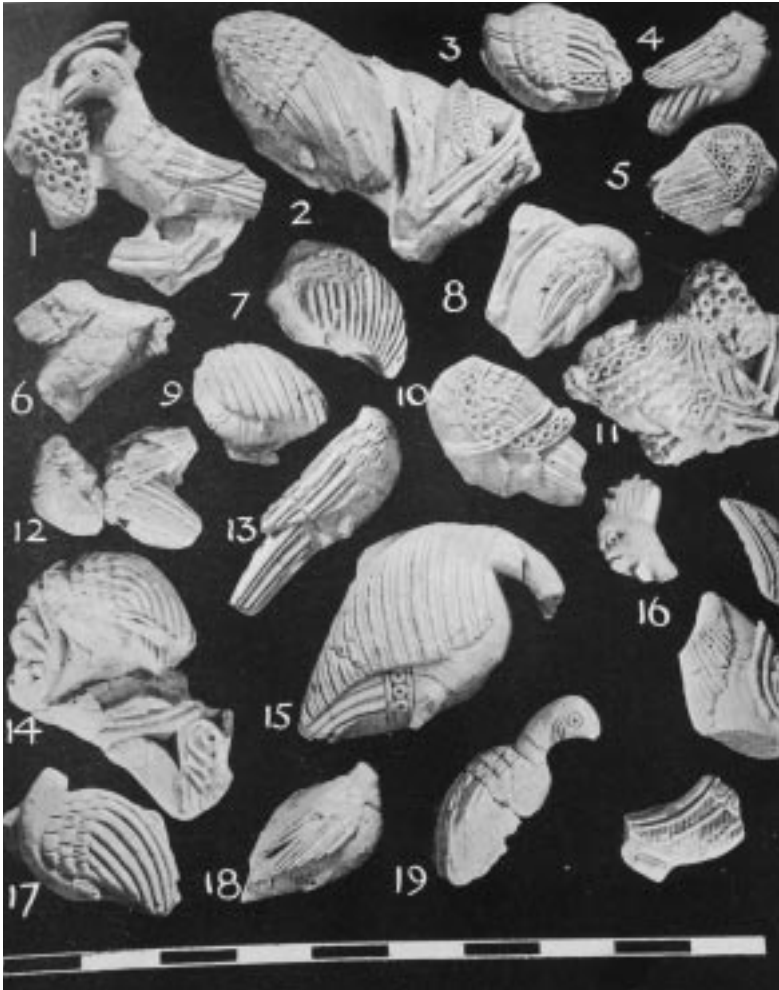
Fig. 13: Khirbat al-Mafjar, the entrance hall. Peopled scrolls, fragments
(courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

Mafjar, at Tepe Mile and Chal Tarkhan, in mural paintings at Ming Oi[25] in Central Asia, and at Kizil and Varakasha in Sogdia.[26]

We have seen, therefore, that although the peopled vine scrolls at Khirbat al-Mafjar are derived from the Roman-Early Christian tradition, on the one hand, and the Iranian and Central Asian tradition, on the other, the artist at Khirbat al-Mafjar created a "world" populated by human figures, an assortment of animals in different postures, and variously-sized birds, intermingling with the vines and one another in a free and playful manner. This lively quality is very unique to the scrolls at Khirbat al-Mafjar.

What then, is the function of the peopled vine scrolls in the palace entrance hall at Khirbat al-Mafjar? Should any specific iconographic or other significance be attributed to the peopled scrolls? Were their formal features related to the specific palace context or dictated rather by their general connotations? Or perhaps the peopled scrolls should be seen rather as an expression of the Umayyad aesthetic, an essentially non-narrative and hence non-interpretable artistic device.

The peopled scroll motif was prevalent in Eastern as well as Western art of the first millennium CE. In Rome it connoted the Dionysian Elysium and cults, that is, the rebirth, joy and happiness of eternal afterlife in the company of the gods Eros, Pan and the maenads.[27] This symbolism was most probably transferred to the Kushan cult of the god Kuvera, as reflected in Gandharan art.[28] The motif also passed from Roman to Christian art, where it connotes Christ's blood and Resurrection, as well as the Tree of Life (*arbor vitae*), bestowed by God upon the faithful when he blesses the fruits of their labor.[29]

In China of the T'ang and Suei dynasties, the grapevine is invested with a similar significance of plenitude and serenity,[30] and it has similar connotations in the Manichean world of Central Asia.[31] During the Sassanian period in Persia, the peopled scrolls are also prevalent.[32] The Sassanians absorbed both Eastern and Western iconographic and stylistic elements. Here too the motif symbolizes eternal life and plenty.[33] Carter focuses on the royal context and interprets the vine as a royal *arbor vitae*[34], as it finds expression in the Sassanian new year festival, the *nowroz*. During this festival, which was celebrated for six days, the king would appear before the public and receive the nobility and heads of families to consult with them on national affairs. The sixth day was designated as the festival of the ruler. Against this background, it is plausible to assume that the vines appearing in the entrance hall at Khirbat al-Mafjar connoted abundance and eternal life, as in pre-Islamic traditions, perhaps with special reference to the caliph, the master of the palace. Incidently, the interpretation of Hillenbrand, who sees the peopled scrolls as an emblem of the hedonistic banquets held in the palace (which, he claims, was built by al-Walid II),[35] does not seem adequate to me in this context.

Returning to the location of the vines in the palace entrance hall, the function of this hall leading to the peristylar court is unclear. Did it serve as a vestibule for ceremonial occasions, as in Rome and Byzantium;[36] as a locale of assembly for poets waiting to be summoned by the caliph to enchant him with recitals of their poetry; or perhaps as a meeting place with chiefs of local tribes who came to negotiate various matters?[37] The lack of a definite answer allows us to concentrate on elements of the sculptural scheme of the hall besides its broader
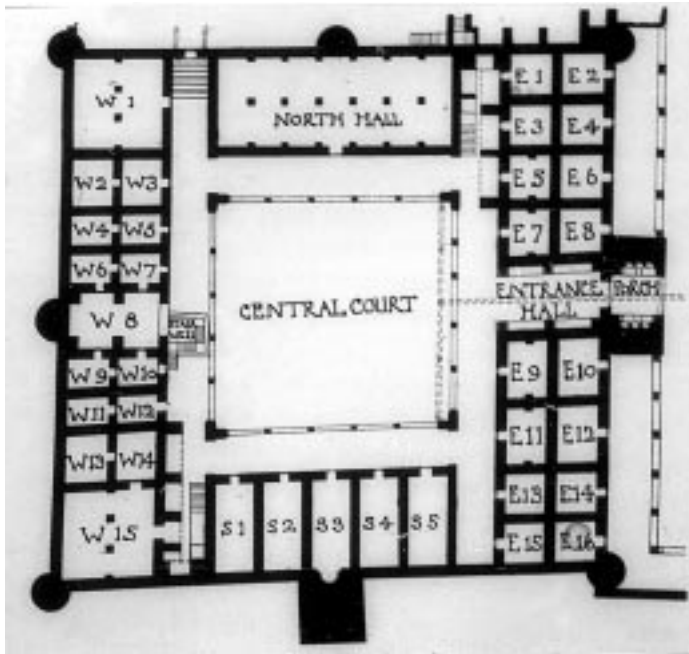
Fig. 14: Khirbat al-Mafjar. The Palace plan (after Hamilton 1959: Fig. 8).

implications: namely, its overall composition and its relationship to the spatial setting and to the viewer.

Several details of the hall itself are illuminating. The passageway from the palace forecourt to the peristylar court comprised two units, the porch, which formed the ground floor of the gate tower, and the entrance hall beyond it. They were linked by a double leafed door (Fig. 14).[38]

The hall had three massive wall piers on either side (a total of six piers), interposed by broad stone benches with arm-rests. The ceiling was "cross vaulted in brick with a barrel vault on the long axis intersected by two transverse bays. The groins at the intersections of the vaulting sprang from the opposing front corners of the six wall piers."[39]

The peopled vine scrolls grew out of the trunks carved in stucco above the capitals of the piers at the juncture of the vaults, and extended into clusters of trellises peopled with the humans and animals covering all parts of the vaults and the ceiling.

The data obtained by Hamilton enabled him to make a reconstruction of the Khirbat al-Mafjar entrance hall (see Fig. 1), which was destroyed (together with the other parts of the palace) in the earthquake of 748. The elongated hall

featured a combination of massive structural elements: piers, doors, niches, benches, and vaults, which functioned as "obstacles", blocking the free flow of space. I believe that the wrapping of the surface (the lateral stucco areas and the peopled scrolls in the vaults) in a uniform, even-textured material "contracted" the large and elongated space and "softened" the architectonic components, imparting a harmonious unity to the hall.

If dressing the hall in a decorative surface pattern was a technical device employed by the architect to integrate the disparate elements in the given space, the carpet-like stucco ornamentation also brings to mind the textile appearance[40] of the walls covered with muqarnas (stalactite-like ornamentation) in medieval mosques. Does the stuccoed ceiling decoration at Khirbat al-Mafjar mark the first stage of this "textile conception", which became such a characteristic feature of Islamic architectural decoration? Indeed, it seems to me that the Muslim artist sought to convey the impression not only of a textile awning or tent, but also of a verdant arbor intertwined with climbing vines of the type familiar throughout the Mediterranean region - a paradisical, cool and shady shelter from the blistering summer sun. Thus, the "arbor" entrance to the palace at Khirbat al-Mafjar would indeed seem to embody the abstract idea of Paradise in its various aspects, as suggested above.

NOTES

1   Hamilton 1959.
2   Grabar 1989: 195-226.
3   Prado-Vilar 1997: 19-21.
4   Flood 1997: 57-59.
5   Creswell 1979: Pls 120-131.
6   Toynbee and Ward-Perkins 1950: 1-43.
7   Rowland 1956: 353-361.
8   Harper 1978: 71-73.
9   Gyllenvard 1957: 119-128.
10   Joyce 1981: 92-97.
11   Hamilton 1988: fig 22.
12   Wessel 1964: 42, fig 58.
13   Grabar 1955: 209-210.
14   Avi-Yonah 1975: 49. See also St. George church, at Kh. Mukhayyat from the 6th cent. C.E. in Bagatti 1971: 272 Fig. 155.
15   This scene is a common one in mosaic pavements in Palestine, often dealing with pastoral agricultural life: fishing, sailing, wine making etc. see Saller and Bagatti 1949: 92-93.
16   Handbook 1967: fig 31.
17   Downey 1961: 3.

18   Ghirshman 1962: 66, fig 79.
19   Kawami 1987: 111-117.
20   Rosenfield 1967: IX, coins no. 73, 92.
21   Thompson 1976: 56 ff.
22   Whitfield 1985: pl. 79.
23   Kitzinger 1977: fig 164.
24   Mango 1972: 62. I thank Prof. Nurit Kenaan-Kedar for bringing this reference
      to my attention.
25   Gyllenvard 1957: Pl 69 (g)
26   Frumkin 1970: 122, fig 40.
27   Toynbee and Ward-Perkins 1950: 1, 2, 25.
28   Rowland 1956: 353.
29   Dauphin 1987: 95-98.
30   Gyllenvard 1957: 174.
31   Carter 1978: 196.
32   Thompson 1976: 58-59.
33   Harper 1978: 74-75.
34   Carter 1978: 196 ff.
35   Hillenbrand 1982: 13-14. We cannot be sure that al-Walid II built the palace at
      Khirbat al-Mafjar. On this issue see Grabar (1993: 97-98) who had already indicated
      on some problems concerning the connection between al-Walid II's "personality"
      and some architectonic and ornamental elements in the palace.
36   Grabar 1955: 134-135. see also: Taragan 1984: 64.
37   Grabar 1959: 102. see also Hamilton 1959: 27.
38   Hamilton 1959: Fig. 8, p. 28.
39   *Ibid.*,13.
40   Golombek 1988: 25-50.

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The Temple at Musmiyeh in Relation to the Religious Architecture in Roman Palestine

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*T*he story of the Temple at Musmiyeh, ancient Phaene, in the land of Trachon, now Southern Syria, is a most fascinating and unusual one. This temple was totally dismantled at the end of the 19th century, and all that remains of it are the two photographs and a few drawings prepared by 19th century travelers and researchers. Nevertheless, it continues to occupy scholars of Classical architecture. Indeed, the plan, design and decoration of the Musmiyeh temple are exceptions to the construction of other religious edifices found in this area of the Roman world .

Fig. 1: Syria, Roman Palestine and Provincia Arabia. Note the location of Musmiyeh.

Fig. 2: Musmiyeh, schematic plan of the Temple (drawn by Ch. Barry in 1819).

Fortunately, the temple is dated precisely, thanks to the inscriptions engraved on the entrance. We also know the history of the city in which it stood.
The story of the investigation of the temple is also fascinating. Many travelers and scholars have surveyed it, some of whom became central and most picturesque figures in the annals of architectural research in Syria, the Land of Israel and the Province of Arabia.

Geographic-Historic Background

The village of Musmiyeh or Masmiyeh is located at the northern edge of the Trachon (the Ledja), now part of Southern Syria. It was intersected by an important Roman road, a few sections of which were already found and documented in the 19th century (Fig. 1).[1]

Musmiyeh is identified with ancient Phaene (Greek Φαίνα) which was known to be an important Army base during the Roman period. Many of the inscriptions discovered in and around the City, mention various auxiliary units of two legions, the third (Tertia Gallica) and the sixteenth (Flavia Firma).[2] Among the City' s remains, inscriptions were found covering a period of about 150 years, beginning in the days of the reign of Antonius Pius (138-161 CE) and ending in the period of Alexander Severus (222-235 CE).

The dedication engraved on the temple' s entrance wall shows it to have been erected between 164-169 CE (during the reign of Marcus Aurelius) and dedicated by the legate Avidius Cassius.[3]

Fig. 3: Musmiyeh, general view of the naos and the adyton (drawn by Ch. Barry in 1918).

Research History

The earliest description of the temple is that by Burckhardt, who surveyed this site in 1810.[4] While he accompanies his quite general description with a very schematic and imprecise plan of the temple, he does devote great attention to the inscription engraved on the entrance wall.

W.J.Bankes (1786-1855), an English nobleman, very devoted to archaeology in general and Classical architecture in particular, surveyed Musmiyeh in 1819, accompanied by a young and then unknown architect named Barry (1795-1860)[5] who several decades later would be known as the greatest of the 19th-century British architects, who also designed the British Parliament buildings in London. Barry made two sketches at Musmiyeh: a schematic, but precise, plan of the temple; and a drawing of its interior space (Figs. 2,3). The latter is outstanding in its precision and beauty. Barry succeeded in capturing all the details and even in transmitting the special character and quality of the temple space.

Bankes never published the descriptions of his travels, but all of Barry's plans and drawings as well as those of Bankes, who saw himself as an amateur architect and did much sketching during his eastern travels, were preserved until recently at the Bankes family estate in Kingston Lacy in Southern England. A few years ago, the Bankes Family Archive was transferred to the regional archives of Dorset County in Dorchester.[6]

Fig. 4: Musmiyeh, general view of the Temple from the South East (drawn by de Laborde in 1827).

Fig. 5: Musmiyeh, a Temple, general view of the naos towards the adyton. Note the "Reconstructed Roof" (drawn by de Laborde in 1827).

Fig. 6: Musmiyeh, a Temple, general view of the entrance wall (drawn by E.G. Rey in 1860).

Others who visited Musmiyeh included Robinson in 1830, who described the temple in very general terms, but with no sketches whatsoever;[7] and de Laborde who reached Musmiyeh in 1827. His general description of the temple is accompanied by an artistic, but imprecise and even misleading artistic sketch of the interior space, as we shall see below (Figs. 4,5).[8] Rey surveyed Musmiyeh in the late 1850's, and in spite of his very short description, his words are accompanied by a very accurate drawing of the temple's exterior. His temple plan, however, is not precise (Figs. 6,7).[9]

In 1860, Baron de Vogüe surveyed Musmiyeh. Not only did he describe the temple precisely, but he also responded critically to the work of his predecessors.[10] His description is accompanied by fine illustrations that excel not only in their high artistic level, but also in the great care paid to architectural details. However, there is much lacking in de Vogüe's plan (Figs. 8,9).

The last scholar to visit the Musmiyeh temple before it was dismantled was the American researcher Merill.[11] He surveyed it in 1875 and also included in his description a few drawings, which he says were copied from his predecessor, de Vogüe. It is surprising that even though the temple was photographed by Dumas at the time of Merill's survey, the photographs were not presented in the report of the expedition, which he published in 1881 (Fig. 10).[12]
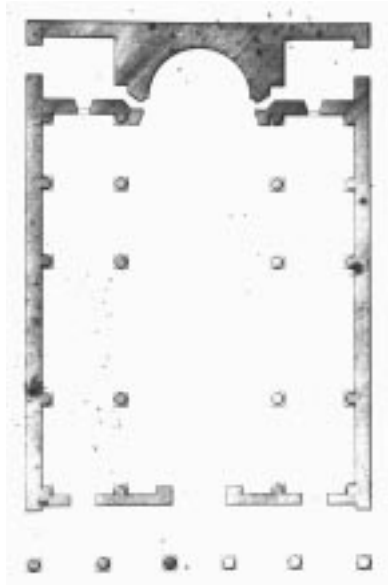
Fig. 7: Musmiyeh, plan of the Temple (drawn by E. G. Rey in 1860).

When Butler conducted his comprehensive architectural survey of Southern Syria at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, he also visited Musmiyeh, but made no mention of the temple, which had been dismantled by the Turkish Army a few years before his visit.[13]

Renewed interest in this temple was aroused by Butler's article on the inspirational architectural sources of the ancient churches in Syria,[14] which led to a considerable number of books and articles on this during the 1920s and 1930s.[15] Each of these studies mentioned the plan of the Musmiyeh temple and its similarity to the plans of the ancient Christian basilicas in Syria (Figs. 9,11).[16]

This renewed interest in the temple led to the first publication of the drawings from the Bankes Archive and the photograph taken in 1875.[17]

Description of the Temple

The Musmiyeh temple, as attested to by its surveyors, was located in a paved compound surrounded by columns and standing on a podium. It was rectangular in shape: length - 24.28m; width - 16.40m; height - 13.12m.[18] The entrance façade was in the east wall, one of its two short walls. Its plan was hexastyle prostyle, i.e. the six columns were set parallel to the entrance wall, while it lacked a pronaos, i.e. an entrance hall.

Along the front entrance wall, for the full width of the podium, there was a staircase of six steps, leading from the court to the narrow, rectangular area
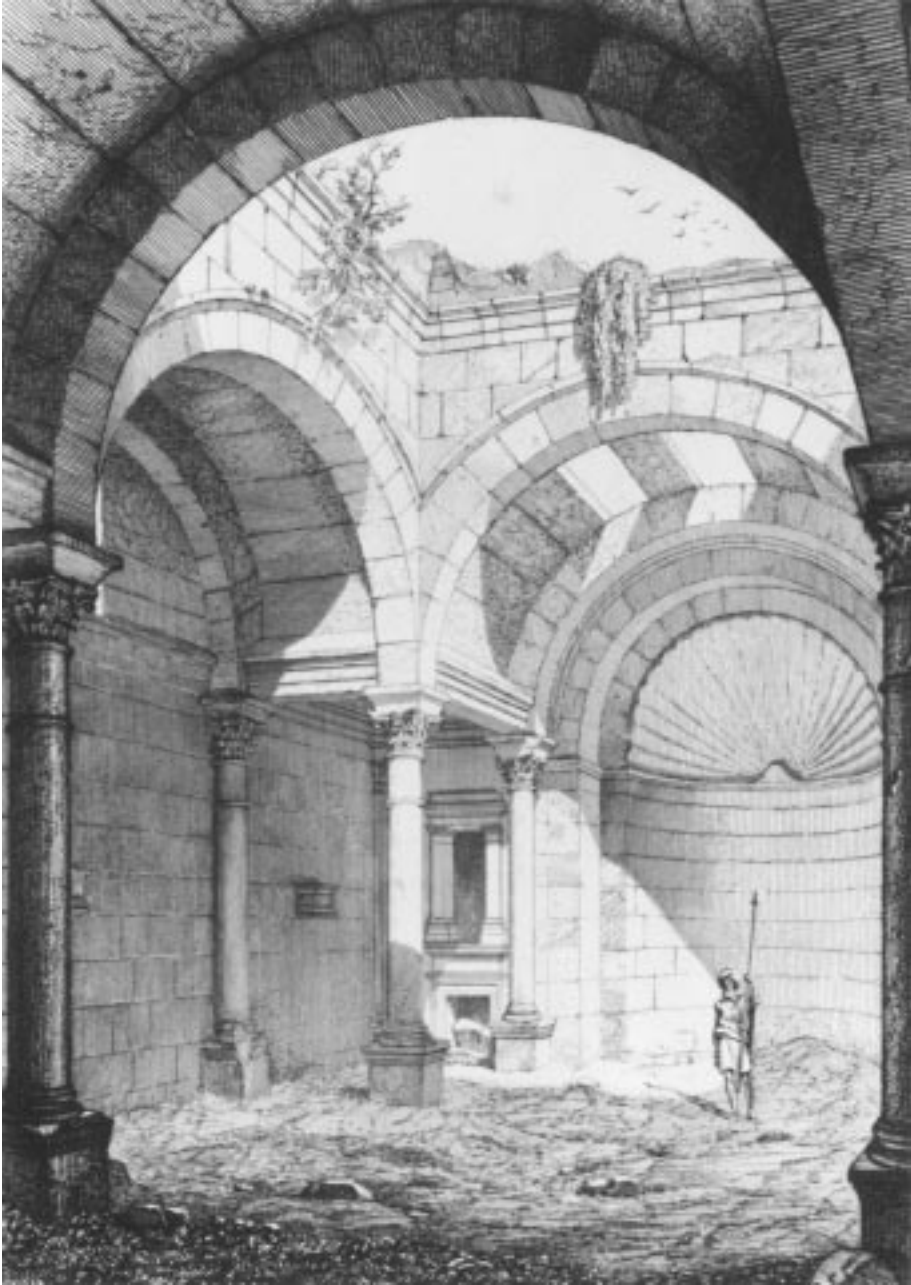
Fig. 8: Musmiyeh, a Temple. General view of the naos towards the adyton (drawn by de Vogüe in 1860).
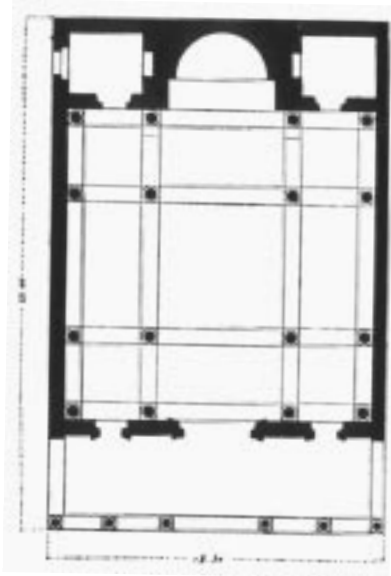
Fig. 9: Musmiyeh, plan of the Temple (drawn by Lassus in 1947, and based on de Vogüe's plan prepared in 1860).

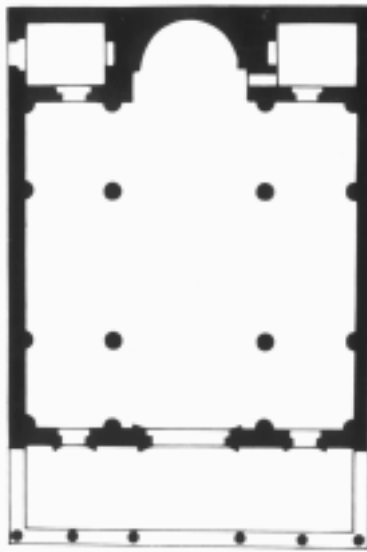Fig. 10: The Temple of Musmiyeh (photographed by T. Dumas in 1875).

Fig. 11: Musmiyeh, plan of the Temple (drawn by St. Hill in 1975).

opposite the entrance wall, where the porticus with six columns stood. These columns were arranged in such a way that the space (intercolumnium) between the two central columns was greater than the spaces between the other columns, providing an unimpeded view into the hall. The columns stood upon high podia. The unengraved column shafts were constructed of drums, set on Ionic bases and topped with capitals, reminiscent of Doric design (Fig. 10).[19]

In the fragments of the entablature still surviving (photographed in 1875), one clearly sees the architrave, with its three-stepped horizontal bands (the fasciae), the frieze and, finally, the cornice.

Due to the great space between the two central columns of the porticus, it would appear that the entablature in its central section, i.e. above the main entrance (of which more will be said below), was arched. It is plausible that it was shaped like the "Syrian gable," popular in many of the temples in that part of the Roman world.

Most of the entrance wall, as it appears in the photograph, is original, except for a number of repairs and building additions apparently made in the Byzantine period, when the temple became a church (Fig. 10).

There were three rectangular entrances in the entrance wall, the central one of which was higher and wider than the others. The height of the two side entrances was half that of the central one. Above each side entrance was a semi-circular niche, roofed by a half-dome. These niches were decorated by
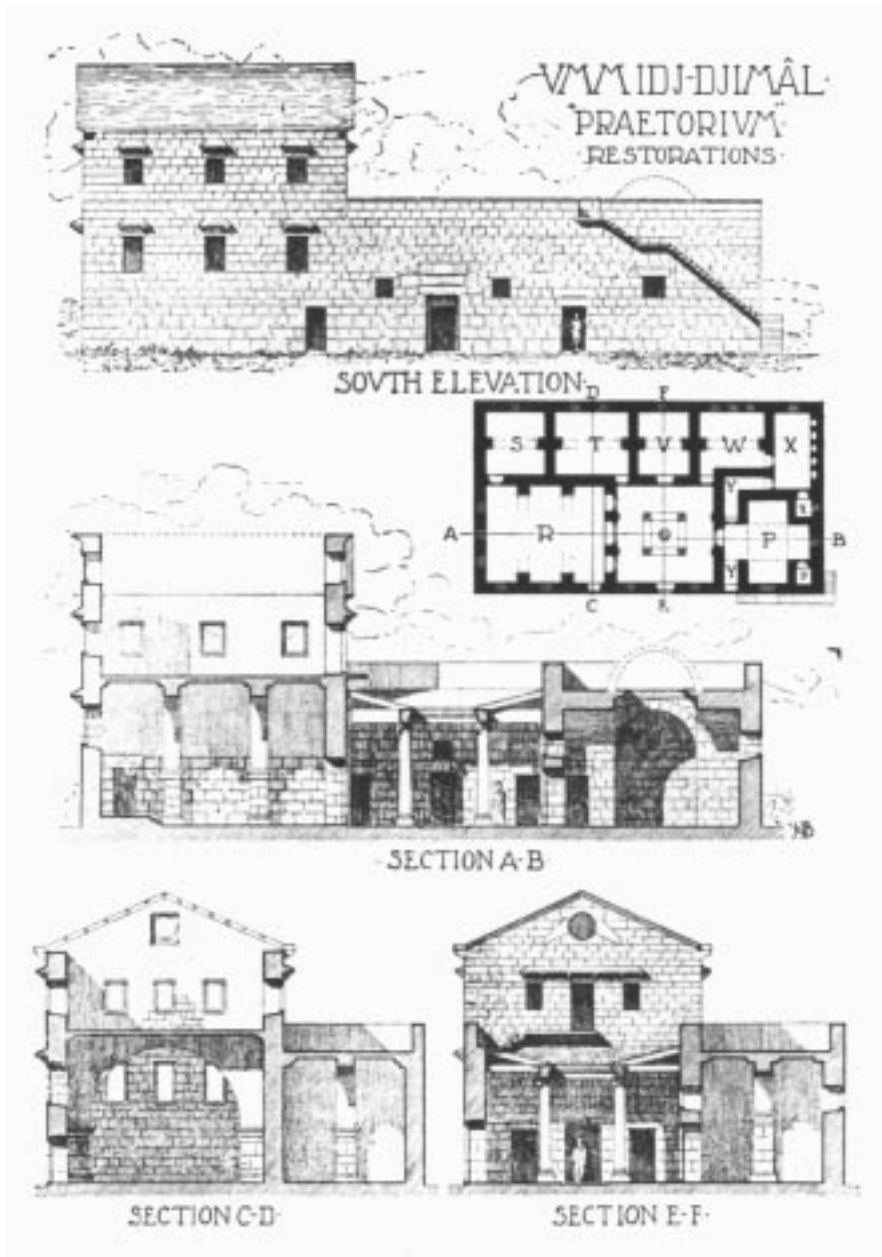
Fig. 12: Umm Idj-Djimal, the "Practorium", plan and sections.

Fig. 13: Umm Idj-Djimal, the "Praetorium", general view of the entrance wall.

the Syrian gables, placed above the half-domes, resting on the four half-columns attached to the walls - one pair on each side. All three doors were designed alike. The doorposts were richly decorated, and above the lintels cornices rested on the consoles, i.e. vertical supports with an S-shaped decoration. Above the lintel of the central entrance was a very flat, relieving arch, spanning the length of the lintel.

The inner space of the temple (13.78m x 15.09m) was never photographed completely, but was drawn by a few surveyors (Figs. 3,5,8).[20]

In the absence of the pronaos, the temple featured only the naos itself. The apse (diameter 4.84m), was built within the naos and located on the inner side of the western wall, i.e. opposite the entrance wall, where it served as the adyton. The apse was roofed by a half-dome, shaped internally like a conch.[21]

There were porticos along both long walls of the naos, each housing two columns. Opposite each column were two attached half-columns set into both the two long and the two short walls. Hence, the naos contained a total of 4 columns, 8 half-columns and 4 quarter-columns placed in its four corners. All these were topped with Corinthian capitals (Figs. 3,11).

This array of columns, half-columns and quarter-columns which, incidentally, is unparalleled in the religious architecture of the Roman world, created a mono-centered square space, with a square nave at its center and four rectangular aisles, identical in size, arranged around it (Fig. 11).

Fig. 14: Umm Idj-Djimal, the "Praetorium", general view of the main hall,
once roofed by a dome.

Despite this shape of the naos, it gave the impression of a rectangular rather than a square hall, with the apse at the center of the wall opposite the entrance wall. Furthermore, the arrangement of the entrance wall, emphasizing the central door and the location of the apse of the adyton, opposite the main door and in line with it, strengthened the axial and frontal sense of the temple space.

In light of the above, we can understand why some scholars see the Musmiyeh temple as the prototype, or at least an inspirational source, for the early Christian basilica structure.[22]

Each of the two long walls of the naos features three brackets set in a single row, about 2.50m above the level of the hall floor (Figs. 3,8). Each bracket, set in the center of a wall section, is bound by the attached half-columns. The very existence of such brackets inside the naos is a rare phenomenon, whose only parallel can be found in the Temple of Is-Sanamen in Southern Syria.[23]

Brackets meant to carry statues were a quite common decorative component along the colonnaded streets in the cities of Syria and Provincia Arabia. They are much rarer in Asia Minor and not found at all in other parts of the Roman world.[24] While brackets by the hundreds decorate the column shafts in the streets of Palmyra, Apamea and Bosra, it is much rarer to find them on the façades of buildings, as decorative arches incorporated in column-lined streets, such as in the "Theater Arch" at Bosra.[25]

Fig. 15: Umm Idj-Djimal, the "Praetorium". Note the moulded square frame, once roofed by a dome.
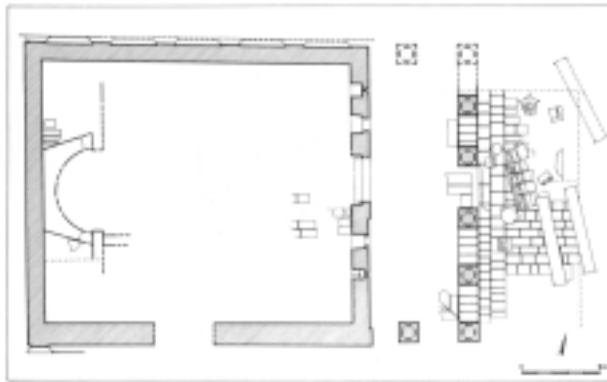

Fig. 16: Kedesh, temple of Baal-Shamin, a plan (after Fischer, Ovadiah, Roll 1984).

Throughout Syria we know of only three temples in which there are brackets set in the columns of the porticus of the entrance wall.[26] In all our other examples, the brackets are set in the outer space, in the colonnades or façades of the buildings facing the colonnaded streets or public squares. The only example of the use of brackets within a building outside of Syria comes from Imbriogon (now Silifke) in Cilicia (Southeast Turkey): in a temple-shaped mausoleum, the burial chamber, where the sarcophagi were placed, had four brackets, two

Fig. 17: Kedesh, Temple of Baal-Shamin. General view from the east
(after Fischer, Ovadiah, Roll 1984).

in each of the chamber's two long walls.[27]

To return to the temple at Musmiyeh. One of the most interesting aspects of this structure is the way the naos is roofed, and, indeed, the roofing of the Musmiyeh temple in general presents a number of original and unique solutions. A look at the drawings by the various surveyors, despite their inaccuracies and even errors, and relying mainly upon Barry's work, which is the most precise of all the plans that have reached us, reveals the roofing of the temple to have employed three systems:[28]

a) roofing by means of a dome: the square nave was roofed by a dome;
b) roofing with barrel vaults: the four aisles, arranged around the central square nave, were roofed by barrel vaults; and
c) roofing with horizontal stone slabs: the four square-shaped spaces in the corners of the naos were roofed by horizontal basalt slabs.

The dome above the square nave is somewhat problematical. The earliest drawing in which the nave appears is that of Barry. It clearly shows that the dome had collapsed and only a few very small portions of the bottom section are recognizable above the stone frame which tops the square central space (Fig. 3). It is therefore plausible to assume that the dome was cast in a concrete-like material, unlike all the other parts of the structure, which were built of

Fig. 18: Kedesh, general view of the entrance wall from the naos, i.e., from the west (after Fischer, Ovadiah, Roll 1984).

basalt ashlars. It is also possible that use was made of 'squinches', i.e. stone slabs placed at the four corners of the square to create an octagon, which would certainly have made construction of the dome easier (Figs. 12-15).[29]

The roofing of the other spaces is precisely documented, both in drawings and a photograph. And, indeed, the aisles were roofed by means of barrel vaults built of stone slabs. The vaults paralleled the four walls of the naos. We should not forget that the basalt used to build this temple was the finest available material for such construction, in which there was no use of wood at all.

The four square-shaped corner spaces were roofed with horizontal slabs, which, like the dome and the four barrel vaults, rested on the four columns, the eight attached half-columns and the four quarter-columns located at the corners of the naos.

The method of roofing at the Musmiyeh temple cannot but arouse admiration. The simplicity, the originality, the excellent use of the local basalt and the spatial solutions, all created an elegant, airy and unimpeded space. This space, whose entire roofing was borne on four slender columns and eight attached half-columns, was illuminated by the three doorways in the entrance wall and the two windows set in the two long walls of the naos, near the adyton. The adyton, which stretched across the full width of the western wall, i.e. the
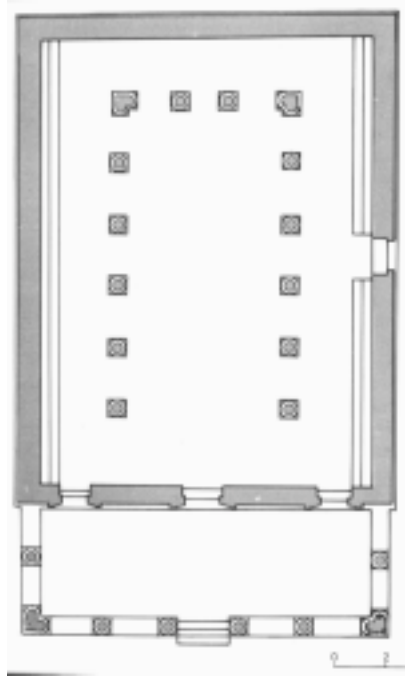
Fig. 19: Bar'am Synagogue, a plan.

wall opposite the entrance wall, comprised a central apse, flanked on two sides by rectangular rooms, which could be entered from the naos. What these rooms contained has not been documented, but it may be that, as in other temples in the Hauran and Trachon, they contained stairs to reach the temple roof.[30]

The apse itself resembles the design of apses in early basilican churches; it is outstanding in its pleasing design and the very careful dressing of its stones. Worth noting is the inner side of the semi-dome topping the niche, which is shaped like a conch (Figs.3,5,8).

This is not the place to discuss to what extent, if at all, the Musmiyeh temple or other temples, such as those at Slem, Kanatha (Temple of Zeus), or Is-Sanamen, are archetypes or direct inspirational sources for the basilical halls of the early synagogues or churches in Syria and Roman Palestine.[31] At the same time, however, it must be mentioned that the naos of the Musmiyeh temple, in its plan and design, invited the public to enter. The three doors in the entrance wall and its windows made for abundant air and light. The roofing, borne on four columns and eight attached semi-columns, formed a spacious and airy interior which was pleasant to enter.

The statues, set up on brackets attached to the naos walls, gave the temple's

Fig. 20: Bar'am Synagogue. General view from the south-east.

inner space a dimension of splendor and beauty, while the adyton, with the central apse roofed by a half-dome, in which the statue of the god was set, certainly constituted a clear and emphatic focal point for the temple.

In light of the above, it is not impossible that the Musmiyeh temple, with its plan and manner of execution, as presented here, could indeed have served as an inspirational source for the early synagogues and churches of Syria and Roman Palestine.

Whatever those sources may have been, there is no denying that the Musmiyeh Temple and others erected throughout the basalt regions (Hauran, Trachon and Bashan) in the second and third centuries CE faithfully represent a local architectural school with clear and unique characteristics. The architects who conceived and planned the temples at Musmiyeh, Slem, Is-Sanamen and Kanatha were well acquainted with the Classical lexicon of forms, but they also drew upon the local traditions of construction. They made wonderful use of the local main building material - basalt stone - whose characteristics in great measure dictated the original architectural solutions employed in the temples of the basalt regions. The temple at Musmiyeh is certainly the most fascinating, interesting and surprising of these temples.

Fig. 21: Bar'am Synagogue. The entrance wall. View from the east.
Note the partially restored porticus.

Notes

1 Merill 1881: 11-22, Dussaud 1927: 376-378, Avi Yonah 1966: 171, fig. 20. On the Roman road which passed near Musmiyeh, see: Butler 1919: 440.
2 Bass, Waddington 1870: 20-21. (See the discussion there about inscription no. 2525), Merill 1881: 20-21.
3 On inscription 2525, see note 2; Ovidius Cassius was sent to Syria in 164 CE.
4 Burckhardt 1882: 115-118.
5 On the picturesque figure of W.J. Bankes and his trips in the East, see: Bankes 1953: 142, Mitchell, 1994: 24-27. On Ch. Barry, see: Barry 1867. Also see: J. Bowsher 1997: 227-246.
6 The Bankes Family Archive, also known as the Bankes Collection, is open to the public. The author wishes to thank Mrs. S. Bridges and Mr. P. Irvine of the Dorset County Archives Service, who were of great help and also allowed the relevant drawings in the Archive to be photographed.
7 Robinson 1837: 130-131.
8 Laborde 1837: 57, pl. 51.
9 Rey 1860: pl. III (atlas).
10 Vogüe 1867: 45, pl. VII.
11 Merill 1881: 16-22. The expedition in which Merill participated was organized by the American Palestine Exploration Society. Among the members of this expedition was Dumas, who photographed many sites, including the temple at Musmiyeh. For reasons unknown to us, Merill did not add the photographs to the quite expansive chapter he devoted to Musmiyeh in his book.
12 See below, n. 17.
13 Butler 1919: 440.
14 Butler 1906: 413-413; Butler 1929: 12-17. In the introduction to this comprehensive

study, Butler deals with a series of pre-Christian buildings that could have inspired the ancient Christian basilicas in Syria. Among the other structures, he mentions the temples at Slem and Is-Sanamen. Butler is unaware of the plan of the temple at Musmiyeh, which is almost identical in all of its details to the temple at Is-Sanamen.

15 Crowfoot 1941: 61, pl. VIIIa (see there the bibliography of articles on this subject published during the 1920s and 1930s) Lassus 1947: 144, fig. 60. Crowfoot was the first of those who investigated the temple at Musmiyeh, who was aware of the existence of the Bankes Collection, and published Barry's drawing, showing the temple's interior space, in his book. However, he did not provide the temple plan that Barry had prepared, and this plan is published here for the first time.

16 Weigand 1938: 71-92, figs. 1-6. In this comprehensive, in depth study, the author analyzes the plan of the Musmiyeh temple, relying on the plans and illustrations of the French surveyors. This author, too, was unaware of the existence of the Bankes Collection. We should mention that Barry's illustration was first published by Crowfoot in 1941 (see previous note). Likewise, Weigand did not know of the existence of photographs of the temple taken by Dumas in 1875. Since his investigation depended on inexact sources, even misleading in part, his conclusions are, naturally, very faulty.

17 T. Dumas (see note 11 above), took two photographs at Musmiyeh: a general one of the temple, viewed from the east-northeast and another of the interior (see Fig. 10). The latter shows only a relatively small section of the interior: the apse, part of the half-dome and a bit of the wall north of the apse. Both photographs were included in the album published in 1877 in honor of the 4th Annual Report of the American Palestine Exploration Society as: "List of photographic views, taken expressly for the American Palestine Exploration Society, during a reconnaissance east of the Jordan River in the Autumn of 1875". It achieved a very limited distribution and few were aware of its existence. The photograph of the temple was published once again, see: Moulton 1926-1927: 55-69, pl. on p. 72. This article reviews the work of the A.P.E.S. and the photograph of the temple at Musmiyeh documents the 1875 trip by Merill and his companions. A copy is now at the Princeton University Theological Seminary Library. The two photographs were first published by Hill, see: Hill 1975: 347-349, figs. 1-5. In his article, Hill furnishes a schematic plan of the temple, and even though he was unaware of Barry's plan, it is quite accurate (see Fig. 11). Dumas' photograph of the Musmiyeh temple is kept in the P.E.F. Archive in London. We wish to thank Dr. R. Chapman and Dr. S. Gibson for their great help with everything related to our work at the P.E.F. Archive and for their permission to publish the photograph of the temple.

18 The surveyors are not exact about the temple' s dimensions, each one giving his own measurements (one in feet, the other in yards). In my opinion, the American Merill provides the most accurate measurements and it is upon these that I have based my work.

19 Hill 1975: 348-349.

20 See above, note 17.

21 On the architectural decoration in South Syria during the Roman period, see: Dentzer 1986: 261-309. (See *ibid*., the tablets: [Nawa] XXII; [Inkhlil] XXI; [Shaqqa] XVIe; [a Sanamein] XVI; [Bosra] XXIV d, in which conches appear similar in construction and decoration to that in the half-dome in the adyton of the temple at Musmiyeh) .

22 See above, notes 14-15.

23 The town of ls-Sanamen is located in the eastern part of the Bashan, about 55km north of Daraa, see: Butler 1915: 315-322, ills. 287-293, pl XIX; Freyberger 1989: 87-

108, figs. 1-5, pls. 29-39. Before expanding further on the brackets, we should recall vertical supports called consoles, which constitute a widespread component of both Greek and Roman architecture. Protruding from the flat walls, they were intended to bear stone beams, usually above entrances or windows. The front of the consoles were sometimes decorated, but usually left smooth. In many instances, even when the lintel above the door needed no supports at all, the consoles were placed for decoration only. I believe that it is here that we should seek the source of the corbels or brackets.

Apparently, the brackets intended to carry the statues originate, like the consoles, in their functional past. A look at the colonnaded streets shows that even when the street level changes, the architrave carried on the columns must remain horizontal and the height of the columns must remain uniform; in order to ensure this and preserve the continuity of the colonnades, despite the changing ground level, one section of the architrave reaches the next as it rests on a horizontal support set at the required height on the shaft of the column, and not on its top, i.e. on the capitals. In spite of the fact that the earliest of the colonnaded streets is from the end of the first century CE, we already find the use of brackets in colonnades in the Hellenistic period. See, for example, the peristyle courtyard in the "House of Trident" in the "Theater Quarter" in Delos. The house is dated from the second half of the second century BCE In the courtyard of these houses, the two colonnades that were part of the peristyle meet as described above.

What makes the brackets in the Musmiyeh and Is-Sanamen unique is that they are set inside the naos. This phenomenon is unparalleled in Classical architecture. Despite the fact that brackets in colonnades were already known in the Hellenistic period, it is more logical to assume that the direct inspirational source for the builders of the temples at Musmiyeh and Is-Sanamen were the brackets bearing the statues, which decorated the colonnaded streets of the cities in Syria and Provincia Arabia. On the "House of Trident" in the "Theater Quarter" of Delos, see: Webb 1996: 140-141, figs. 123-125.

24 On the colonnaded streets and how they were decorated, including the brackets, see: Segal 1997: 5-52.

25 Segal 1988: 54, figs. 121-124.

26 The three temples were: the temple of Baal Shamin at Palmyra, the Northern temple at Atil and the Seraia temple (Temple "C") at Kanatha. On the Baal Shamin temple, see: Collart, Vicari 1969-1975: *passim*. On the Northern temple at Atil, see: Butler 1903: 343-346; Butler 1915: 355-356; Brünnow, Domaszewski 1909: 102-106; Burns 1994: 52. On the Seraia temple at Kanatha, see: Butler 1903: 357-361.

27 Beeson 1996: 4-5 (two photographs on p. 5); H. Stierlin 1996: 197, figs. 157, 158.

28 The problem of the roofing of the temple at Musmiyeh has stirred debates and many scholarly questions since the 19th century and up to S. Hill. Let us begin with the earliest. A comparison of the drawings of the interior space done by Barry (in 1819), Laborde (in 1827) and de Vogüe (in 1860), raises a number of questions. A close look at the two earliest drawings, reveals a most significant difference between them. In Barry's drawing, the earlier of the two, only a few remains are recognizable of the dome, which in its time, had covered the square central space of the naos, but collapsed before 1819, when Bankes and Barry visited Musmiyeh. Furthermore, according to Barry's drawing, which is quite precise and detailed, it is evident that the remains of the dome were not built of ashlars, but of a cement-like material, i.e. that the dome was poured. In Laborde's drawing, on the other hand, made at least eight years after Barry's, the roofing of the central space is an intersecting vault

built of ashlars. This arouses some wonder, for if the dome had collapsed before Bankes and Barry's visit, how is it possible that it was 'built' anew about eight years later? It would seem that Laborde had given free reign to his imagination, and to the best of his architectural understanding "reconstructed" the dome above the central space of the hall of worship. de Vogüe's drawing is similar in almost all of its details to that of Barry. See Hill's discussion, Hill: 1975: 349.

29 Comparison should be made between the central space in the naos at Musmiyeh and the main hall in the 'praetorium' at Umm Idj-Djimal, now in Jordan (see Figs. 12-15). See: Butler 1913: 160-164, ill. 142.

30 The adyta at Slem and Is-Sanamen are almost identical in all their detail to that at Musmiyeh. On the temple at Slem, see: Butler 1915: 359-365, ills. 319-320, pls. XXVI-XXVII; Freyberger 1991: 9-38, pls. 5-16. On the temple at Is-Sanamen, see: Butler, Cummings 1909: 417-428; Butler 1906: 413-423; Freyberger 1989: 87-108, figs. 1-5, pls. 29-39. For the staircases alongside the apses in the temple of Is-Sanamen, see: Amy 1950: 91-94, figs. 8-9.

The design of the porticus and entrance wall at the temple of Kedesh in the Upper Galilee, in the North of lsrael, is very similar to the temple at Musmiyeh (compare Figs. 16-18), see: Fisher, Ovadiah, Roll 1984: 146-172, pls. 25-37.

It is interesting to note the great similarity in the design of the entrance walls at the temples at Trachon, Hauran and Bashan with those of the Galilean synagogues.

See for example, the porticus and the entrance wall at the synagogue of Bar' am in the Upper Galilee (North lsrael), which is most like that of the temple at Musmiyeh (cp. Figs. 19-21), see: Avigad 1993: 147-149; Jacoby 1987: 1-73; Watzinger 1916: 89-100.

31 Hill 1975: 348-349.

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The Image of the Oriental: Western and Byzantine Perceptions

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Descriptions of the East in medieval literature involve a large repertoire of "Otherness", consisting of Saracen infidels[1] and partly human races.[2] Their characterizations do not reflect empirical observations of objective reality; [3] but rather are nourished by fear and repulsion on the one hand and fascination with the fantastic and the exotic on the other.[4] The Biblical East differed greatly from how it was featured in medieval literature, thus the exotic repertoire which is used to represent the contemporary East is less relevant to the study of Biblical iconography which attempts to reconstruct a distant past. Nevertheless, this medieval iconography of Biblical events as a perceived historical reality is no less complex and merits analysis.

Narratives of both the Old and New Testaments explicitly set in the East as a site of historical truth rather than legend were generally not given an Oriental inflection in medieval art. In fact, medieval artists generally avoided giving Biblical characters an Oriental appearance. The relatively few instances in medieval iconography which do involve an attempt to construct an Oriental setting for the Bible reveal a striking difference between Byzantine and Western art. Byzantine and Western artists differ in their choice of which Biblical figures to portray as "Orientals" as well as in their images of these "Orientals." Whereas in Byzantine art they are clad in the ancient garments of the people of the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, in Western art their image is inspired by the new inhabitants of the "Orient", the Saracens. This article explores the aspects of both absence and presence in the representation of "Otherness" in medieval iconography of the Bible, considering the reasons for its predominant avoidance of Oriental elements and outlining the different principles for the selection of settings and characters for Oriental representation in both Byzantine and Western traditions.[5]

The ubiquitous absence of Oriental features from the pictorial traditions of the Bible appears to have been caused mainly by two factors: the exegetical tradition of the Bible and the relative and imaginary geographies of the Holy Land. The long established tradition of Biblical exegesis, which included historical, allegorical and typological interpretations, generated a multi-layered textual world. This exegetical understanding detached the Biblical events from historical reality and geographical reference. To the Christians, the Bible did not represent the history of the ancient people of Israel who had inhabited the East, but of the "true Israel" interpreted as the Christians themselves. [6]

An additional reason why medieval artists predominantly avoided constructing an Oriental setting for Biblical events may have resulted from the writings that placed the Holy Land in the center of the known world, rather than in the "East." Biblical texts do not localize the Holy Land in its objective place in the East. Some scriptures (e.g. the Book of Judith Ch. 1: 7-9, 2: 9) even call Judea "the Land of the West". Consequently, the Israelites are not Orientals or, as they are called in the Bible, "the children of the East" (Job 1: 3). Rather, the Biblical "East" includes the territories that lie beyond the Euphrates - Babylon, Mesopotamia, Persia and the deserts of Arabia, all of which are referred to as "the lands of the children of the East" (Genesis 29: 1). Similarly the medieval *mappaemundi* did not place the Holy Land in the East, although it was objectively known to be part of Asia. By placing Jerusalem at the center of the world they accorded the Holy Land a unique place in the period's mythical and metaphysical geography, detaching it from its objective location.[7] This mental separation between the Holy Land and the "East" may have unconsciously determined the relative absence of Oriental elements from Biblical iconography.

Geographies of the "East", however, account not only for the relative exclusion of Oriental elements from Biblical iconographies, but also for the differences among iconographies that do include them. Byzantine artists living in the actual East differed in their geographic orientations from the Western artists who perceived every part of Asia as the East. Consequently each of them evolved a unique code for determining which Biblical characters would count as "Orientals" and how their images would be constructed.

The Bible itself includes an abundance of references to the "East". Several Biblical texts, such as the stories of Daniel and Esther, feature Israelites exiled in the "East". The story of Job is also set in the "East", its protagonist is described as one of the richest men living in that area (Job, 1:3) and it emphasizes the Oriental origin of his friends, Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite (Job, 2:11). Biblical texts also describe many voyages to and from the "East." For example, Joseph is sold to the Midianites who take

Fig. 1: *King Ahasuerus and Queen Esther,* West Wall of the Synagogue of Dura Europos, third century (after Goodenough)

him to Egypt (Genesis 37: 28); it is from the "East" that the Queen of Sheba comes to meet Solomon (Kings I, 10: 1-3, 10-25) and the Magi come to venerate the newborn Christ (Matthew 2: 1-2,11).[8]

Biblical descriptions of the "East" are formally exceptional. While Biblical narratives are characteristically sparse,[9] the passages that refer to the "East" are very rich in details, conveying a highly sensuous and flattering image. The "East" they describe is opulent: rich in gold, precious stones, spices and beautiful fabrics. Thus, the Queen of Sheba is described as arriving at Jerusalem "with a very great train, with camels that bear spices, and very much gold and precious stones" (I Kings 10; 1-2). The palace of Ahasuerus is replete with "hangings of white cloth, of green and of blue, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble, the couches were of gold and silver upon a pavement of red and white, and yellow and black marble" (Esther 1:6-7).

In the New Testament, the gifts of the Magi - gold, frankincense and myrrh - not only bear symbolic import but also represent the riches of their countries and the typical resources of the "East".

Artists living in the East - both the Byzantine artists and the Jewish artists of Dura Europos - appear to have accepted the Biblical geography, giving an Oriental coloring to figures and events in areas that Biblical geography regards as the "East" such as Mesopotamia, Babylon, Persia or Arabia. Consequently, they did not identify the Israelites as "Orientals". The Jewish artists' distinction

Fig. 2: *The Vision of the Dry Bones,* North Wall of the Synagogue of Dura
Europos, third century (after Goodenough)

between Israelites and Orientals is made clear in the third century murals in
the Synagogue of Dura Europos, which feature Israelites wearing Graeco-
Roman garments and sandals[10] that may be considered "Western". On the other
hand, King Ahasuerus and his Queen Esther (Fig. 1) are depicted as Orientals
wearing very rich Persian or Parthian costumes, as is Mordecai, who was
presumably presented with them because he was favoured by the King.[11] The
figures presented as "Orientals" wear a tunic and trousers; the men sometimes
wear a jacket. The representation of Ezekiel's *Vision of the Resurrection of the Dry
Bones* (Ezekiel 37),[12] is very enlightening in this context. In all the preliminary
stages of the Vision, Ezekiel, who prophesized in the land of the Chaldeans,
wears an Oriental costume. However, in the scene of salvation, in which the
people return to the Land of Israel, he appears in Graeco-Roman garments, as
though his return home has altered his identity (Fig. 2).

Byzantine art features several figures who regularly wear Oriental garments:
Daniel;[13] the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace;[14] the Midianite merchants who
bought Joseph from his brothers;[15] and the Magi who came from the "East" to
worship the infant Christ.[16] The depiction of the story of Joseph in the 9th
century *Chloudov Psalter* (Fig. 3) is instructive. The scene is presented in two
registers: the upper one shows Joseph being sold to the Ishmaelite merchants,
and the lower one depicts Jacob and his family on their journey to Egypt. The
artist draws a clear distinction between the Midianites, who wear Persian
costumes, and Joseph and his brothers, who are dressed in "Western" garments.

Fig. 3: *Joseph sold to the Midianites, Chloudov Psalter,* 9th century, Historical Museum of Moscow, cod. gr. 129. (after Weitzmann)

Moreover, each of these groups is represented as using a different means of transportation: the Midianites travel on camels, while Jacob and his family travel on an oxcart.

Although offering several variations of Oriental attire, Byzantine artists usually opt for the Persian or Parthian costume, which consists of a short tunic and trousers and sometimes a mantle or an embroidered jacket.[17] High Priests also wear a *lacerna* over their shoulders. The "Orientals" are also distinguished by their headdress. In Early Byzantine art this was mostly the Phrygian hat, such as the Magi wear in the 5th-century mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome,[18] or in the 6th-century mosaics of San Apolinare Nuovo in Ravenna.[19] Later examples feature a cap or crown-like headdress, such as that worn by the Magi and by Daniel and the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, in the Hosios Lucas mosaic of the 9th century.[20] Although Revel-Neher argues that

this derives from the Jewish *tefillin* (phylacteries),[21] I would also suggest the possibility of an Oriental origin, that of the *polos* or *calathos*, a cylindrical cap worn by certain Parthian or Palmiran deities,[22] which appears to be closer in form to this headdress than the *tefillin*.

The same approach can be seen in Western copies of Byzantine recensions such as the Biblical mosaic cycles in Venice and Sicily. The depiction of the story of Joseph in the narthex of San Marco in Venice[23] once again differentiates between the Oriental Midianites and Joseph. The Midianites on camelback are portrayed with naked torsos, wearing only trousers (Fig. 4), while Joseph and his brothers are depicted in the "Western" manner. A similar distinction is made between Daniel and all the other prophets in the Martorana in Palermo: only Daniel appears in an Oriental costume,[24] while the other prophets wear Graeco-Roman attire.

The artists who worked on these mosaics were faithful to their Byzantine models, and do not appear to have been influenced by a Western approach. Although it is not certain whether they themselves were Byzantine or Western in origin,[25] Byzantine inspiration can also be seen in many other Western representations of Biblical narratives. In these cases, the Western artists, who relied on Byzantine models or were inspired by them, depicted their "Oriental" figures in Parthian garments and Phrygian hats, elements that were known in the West only through Byzantine art.

Contrary to these trends, most Western artists in the Middle Ages seem to have been unaware of or indifferent to Biblical definitions of the "East". Whereas the Byzantines largely accepted Biblical geography, to the Europeans the Biblical division between East and West would not have made sense. Perceiving the East as including all the territories of Asia, Europeans would objectively situate the Holy Land in the East and define Israelites as "Orientals". This geographical orientation, however, is not manifest in Biblical iconography until the 13th century.

Unlike Byzantine artists and their followers, most European artists of the Middle Ages did not include any Oriental characteristics in the depiction of Biblical narratives, detaching from their geographical reference even those events explicitly mentioned in Biblical texts as occuring in the East. This approach, discerned in most depictions of Biblical narratives produced before the Crusades, remained dominant in the medieval West until the 15th century. The main reason for this detachment appears to have been the exegetical understanding of the Bible that overshadowed objective geographical references. It is possible, however, that the absence of Oriental elements from pre-15th century depictions of Biblical narratives was also partly caused by

Fig. 4: *Joseph sold to the Midianites,* Mosaic of the Narthex of San Marco in Venice, 13th century (after Demus).

the scarcity of European artists who had actuallly encountered the East prior to that period.[26] The most evident example of this approach may be observed in the depictions of the *Adoration of the Magi,* most of which do not emphasize the figures' Oriental origins.[27] There are, of course, a number of pre-15th century examples that do represent the Magi as "Orientals", but in most of them (e.g. on the southern tympanum in the narthex of Vezelay) the reliance on Byzantine sources is evident.[28] The figure of Daniel, too, is often depicted without any Oriental characteristics, such as in the 12th-century porch of Beaulieu,[29] or in Spanish manuscripts from the 9th to the 12th century,[30] in which he appears as a symbol of salvation, or as the type of Christ. In the *Gerona Beatus* from the 10th century, for example, he is even depicted with a cruciform halo.[31] Here again, the allegorical meaning has overshadowed any historical or geographical localization of the text.

Representations of the Queen of Sheba, on the other hand, occasionally do include references to her Oriental origin. On the north portal of Chartres (ca. 1220), she is portrayed as a Western queen, but the small figure with negroid features at her feet alludes to her exotic origins.[32] In the *Bible of Roda,* from the 11th century, the camels attest to her journey from the East.[33] In the *Hortus Deliciarum*, from the 12th century, her Oriental origins are also emphasized:

Fig. 5: *The Voyage of the Queen of Sheba,* Herrade of Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum,*
12th century, Bibliothèque Municipale Strasbourg, LIV (after Green).

she and her escorts, all of whom have dark complexions and curly hair, are
shown on horseback, followed by a camel loaded with gifts.[34] (Fig. 5) In the
same manuscript, however, the banquet of Ahasuerus and Esther is devoid of
any Oriental characteristics,[35] raising the question of whether the Queen's exotic
appearance testifies to the artist's awareness of her Oriental origins, or is an
outcome of medieval typological exegesis that identifies her with the female
figure of the Song of Songs who asserts "I am black, but comely." (Song of
Songs 1:5)[36] The Klosterneuburg altar of Nicolas of Verdun (ca. 1181)[37] poses
the same difficulty. Here again, the Queen of Sheba is dark-skinned, while the
Magi are depicted as Western Kings.

A 13th-century Crusader manuscript, the *Arsenal Bible* from the *scriptorium*
of Acre, codex 5211 in the Bibliotheque Arsenal in Paris, reveals a turning point
in the Western approach. The manuscript comprises twenty illuminated
frontispieces, which are related in their format and style to both the Byzantine
and Western traditions.[38] Nevertheless, several scenes in this manuscript appear
to deviate from both Byzantine and Western models in the representation of
Oriental dress as well as by erasing the distinction between "Orientals" and
Israelites. This new image of the "Oriental" is no longer inspired by the
Byzantine model, but relies on the artist's observation of contemporary
costumes in his vicinity.[39] Instead of the Persian or Parthian garb, which had
characterized Byzantine representations of the "Orientals," new oriental
costumes appear, including turbans, white robes and precious jewelry. Thus,
in the scene of the *Triumph of Judith*, the Israelites of Bethulia wear turbans and
white robes (Fig. 6);[40] in the scenes illustrating episodes from the life of Job, the

Fig. 6: Scenes from the *Book of Judith, The Arsenal Bible,* 13th century, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5211 (Photo B.N. Paris).

Chaldeans driving Job's camels wear the tall conical helmets of Saracen soldiers, and his three friends wear turbans topped with scarves that drape over their shoulders;[41] and Balaam also wears some kind of a turban on his head, and trousers under his tunic, which is belted with a splendid sash.[42]

The new oriental garments introduced in this manuscript were not copied from any Byzantine or Western manuscript. The Western painter, working in the *scriptorium* of Acre, was exposed to a new cultural environment involving a diverse population of Armenians, Jews, Muslims and others and would thus have seen many different actual Oriental costumes.[43] Nevertheless, the new costumes he introduced into the manuscript probably do not represent a realistic copy of the garb of the contemporary Saracen or Jew, but are more likely an invention inspired by various types of robes worn by the diverse local population.

The painter of the *Arsenal Bible,* however, appears not only to have invented a new image of "Orientals," but also to have ignored the distinction between "Orientals" and Israelites. His representation of both the Israelites of Bethulia and the Oriental friends of Job as "Orientals," testifies both to his disregard of

Fig. 7: *The Voyage of the Magi, Très Riches Heures of the Duc du Berry*, (1413-1416) (after Meiss).

the Biblical distinction between East and West found in Byzantine art and to his faithfulness to the Western objective geographic orientation that locates the Holy Land in the East.

The new image of Biblical characters, embodied in the figure of the contemporary Saracen that appeared as early as the 13th century in the scriptorium of Acre, was perpetuated in European art until the 20th century. This image grew increasingly popular from the 15th century onwards, becoming dominant in the 19th century.[44]

The illuminations of the *Très Riches Heures of the Duc du Berry*, created by the Limbourg Brothers (1413-1416), provide another good example of the new image of "Orientals" in Western European art. The *Journey of the Magi* in this manuscript is set in a very exotic atmosphere: the Magi wear rich Oriental costumes and turbans on their heads, carry Oriental swords and are accompanied by exotic animals (Fig. 7).[45] Some features, such as the sword, the animals and some details of the costumes, were copied from items in the Duke's collection.[46] As in the *Arsenal Bible,* in this manuscript too no distinction is drawn between the Magi who come from the "East" and the Israelites or Jews of Jerusalem. The latter, too, are depicted wearing turbans, such as in the scenes

Fig. 8: *The Arrest of Christ, Très Riches Heures of the Duc du Berry,* (1413-1416) (after Meiss).

of the *Flagellation or the Arrest of Christ* (Fig. 8).[47] The identification of Jerusalemite Jews with "Orientals," however, is not consistent with the representation of the city of Jerusalem itself, which is depicted as a European city.[48]

In conclusion, medieval Biblical iconography can be seen to reveal three approaches to the representation of Orientals:

1) The Byzantine approach, relying on the Biblical distinctions between "East" and "West," that draws a clear distinction between Israelites and "Orientals," failing to perceive their mutuality. This approach is also evident in Byzantine recensions produced in the West.

2) The Western approach dominant until the 13th century, where in most cases the artists do not give Biblical narratives any Oriental colouring, instead depicting both Israelites and "Oriental" protagonists in what may be considered the "Western" manner. Those Oriental elements that do appear in Western medieval art during this period clearly rely on Byzantine models, which apparently served as a source of inspiration for the European artists.

3) The later Western approach which depicts both Israelites and figures localized by the Bible in the "East" as "Orientals," dates back to the 13th century, at which time it was still a marginal phenomenon. It became more

popular in the 15th century. From its earliest stages, this approach already manifested a detachment of the West from the Byzantine tradition which had been so influential in European art throughout the Middle Ages. Whereas in Byzantine art the "Oriental" wears the costumes of the people of the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, in European art they are a function of an immediate encounter with the contemporary East and its Muslim inhabitants. The emergence of this new type of "Oriental" in Western Biblical iconography was a result of the new exposure of Western artists to the East.

Although in general the representation of Biblical figures as "Orientals" was very limited in the Middle Ages, it manifested the contemporary need to make a distinction between Self and Other. In Byzantine art, the "Orientals," like the Barbarians, were looked down upon as "Others." The Orientals were usually not placed in an "Oriental" setting; and their oriental garments and camels are the only signs of their Otherness. In European art of the Middle Ages, on the other hand, the events of the Bible were usually detached from their historical place in the East. It was only the actual encounter of European artists with the Holy Land that brought the Biblical story back to its historical grounds and filled it with new life. The encounter of these artists with the Oriental population living in the Holy Land gave rise to their illusion that life there had not changed since the Biblical era, and consequently, they gave Biblical figures the appearance of the contemporary local Oriental population. This phenomenon, however, remained limited to those artists who worked in the Holy Land, and it was not until the 15th century, when the appeal of the exotic increased, leading to a new interest in the "East," that some European artists such as the Limbourg brothers, Fouquet, Durer Rembrandt and others painted Biblical events with Oriental colours. The Biblical text, in other words, provided these artists with the opportunity to express their fascination with the exotic: to represent different facial types as well as exotic garments, tools and accessories. The approach of these artists, however, was inconsistent: whereas they clad some Biblical figures in a variety of turbans, others were given Western clothes; similarly, the represented architecture is in some cases Oriental and in others Western.

The question of the authenticity of Oriental elements in medieval art, so frequently discussed by many scholars,[49] seems less relevant to the portrayal of Biblical figures. The Oriental depiction of Biblical events was a creation of the artists' imagination rather than an effect of Biblical reality.[50] Artists depicted Biblical figures using elements that had an Oriental flavour, whether real or imaginary, in order to make them apppear historically authentic. What they considered to be historical accuracy, however, relied in most cases on their

own perception of the East. In most cases, the artists did not really represent authentic oriental garments. Rather, most garments and headgear that appear in medieval iconographies are invented compositions inspired by various Oriental objects that were available to the artists or copied from sketchbooks. This is true not only of medieval iconography but also of later representations of the Biblical narratives. Thus it does not really matter whether the Magi are clad in Persian costumes in the Byzantine tradition, in Oriental costumes which were part of a collection of the Duc du Berry, in Ottoman turbans in an engraving by Durer, or in the garments of Arabic sheikhs in the painting by Tissot.[51] By introducing "Oriental" elements, real or imaginary, into their iconography, all medieval artists wished to represent the world of the Bible - historically distant yet ideologically and religiously crucial - in a flattering and alluring light.

NOTES

I wish to thank Prof. N. Kenaan Kedar for discussing this subject with me.

1   On the image of the Saracens in medieval literature, see Brancourt 1982: 29-49; Buschinger 1982: 61-73; Pastre 1982: 255-265; Wathelt-Willem 1982: 359-369 Rachewiltz 1971: 21-43; Kappler 1985.

2   On the legendary races in medieval literature, see Wittkower 1942: 159-197; Pochat 1970: 75-131; Friedman 1981.

3   Porter 1977; Zinguer 1991; Schein: 115-123; Balard 1987: 17-25.

4   Cazanave 1988: 61-71; Lachet 1983: 43-53; Friedman 1981; Porter 1977.

5   A systematic study of the concept of the "East" in Biblical iconography requires an extensive catalogue of a wide range of Biblical cycles, in order to reveal the many aspects of awareness of the exotic in these representations of Biblical narratives. In this preliminary study I offer a general overview of the different approaches and concepts in Byzantine and Western art. My conclusions are based on an examination of the most important Biblical cycles in the Middle Ages, in monumental art and in manuscripts.

6   The distinction between Israelites and Jews in representations of Old Testament figures is sometimes enigmatic. Revel-Neher refers in her study to the complexity of the "collective" term Jews. However, in her iconographical analysis she includes all Biblical figures under this term; see Revel-Neher 1992: 18-21. I believe, however, that a distinction between the Israelites and the Jews, although not always simple, does exist in Christian iconography. This distinction, naturally, does not exist in Jewish art. The representations of Old Testament figures as Jews wearing characteristic pointed hats is familiar from the 13th century onwards, as for example in the Moralized Bibles of the 13th century; see Branner 1977: fig. 31, ONB 1179, fol. 166d. fig. 36, ONB 1179 fol. 174a, fig. 75 Toledo III fol. 14b. These representations were probably intended to mark the Jewish origin of Old Testament figures rather than to emphasize their Oriental origins.

7   Wright 1965: 102-187, pl.XV; Kimble 1979: 66-254; Miller 1895. The mental separation

between the Holy Land and Asia is very evident even in maps which are not centered on Jerusalem; see D. Lecoq 1990: 155-207.

8   Additional references: the prophecy of Ezekiel in the land of the Chaldeans; the return of the People of Israel from Persia in the times of Ezra and Nechemia; the journeys of Abraham's servant who is sent to the "East" to bring a wife for Isaac (Genesis 24); Jacob goes to the "East" where he meets Rachel (Genesis 29), and Moses goes to Midian, where he meets and marries Zipporah, the daughter of the High Priest Jethro (Exodus 2: 15-21).

9   Auerbach 1973: 8-22.

10 Goodenough 1964: vol. 11; on the garments in Dura Europos, see Rostovtzeff 1938: 117, n. 59.

11 Goodenough 1938: vol. 11, pl. VI.

12 *Ibid*.: vol. 10, 194-196; vol. 11 pl. XXI; Sed Rajna 1985: 76.

13 Daniel in the mosaics of Hosios Lucas, Lazarides n.d. : pl. 24; On a pyxis from Syria, Weitzmann 1979: pl. 436; Dufrenne 1966: *Pantocrator 61*, fol. 182r, pl. 27; the *Cosmas Manuscript* Vatican cod. gr. 699 fol. 75r, in Weitzmann 1970: fig. 155. It is worth noting that in Early Christian art in Rome, Daniel sometimes appears in the image of Hercules, e.g. on the Trinity Sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum; see Milburn 1988: fig. 37.

14 For *the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace*, see the Catacomb of Priscilla, Weitzmann 1979: fig. 383; *Pantocrator 61*, fol. 222r, Dufrenne 1966: fig. 33; *Athens Ethnike Bibl.* cod. 15 fol. 1242, Cutler 1984: fig.18; in Hosios Lucas, Lasarides n.d : pl. 25.

15 *Chloudov Psalter* in the Historical Museum of Moscow, cod. gr.129, fol.160r, Weitzmann 1980: fig.12.

16 For the Magi in Hosios Lucas, see Lazarides n.d.12. in a Byzantine Psalter, British Mus. Add. 40731 fol. 115v, Dufrenne 1966: fig. 54; Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchale, Lib. Taphou 14. fol. 107v, Weitzmann 1980: fig. 36. in the *Menologue of Basil II*, Rome, Vat. gr. 1613 fol. 133, see Revel- Neher 1992: fig. 27.

17 On the oriental garments, see Hope 1962: XXV-XXVIII.

18 Oakeshott 1967: pl.55-56.

19 Von Simson 1965: pl. 34.

20 Lazarides n.d.: pl. 12, 24, 25.

21 Revel-Neher 1992: 50-76. The examples that she presents consist mainly of High Priests and the Magi. But there are also other figures with a similar "headdress": Daniel and the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace. A most curious example can be seen in the *Aristocratic Psalter*, Rome Vat. Palat gr. 381b, fol. 171v, where God appears wearing this kind of "headdress" in the scene of *Moses receiving the Law*; see Cutler 1984: fig. 296. I do not find convincing the idea that the Magi wear *tefillin* on their heads.

22 See Colledge 1986: pl. XLIV b; on a relief from the second century, the Victories wear on their heads an object that looks like a *calathos*; pl. XXVII b, on a relief from Dura Europos, first century, the god Alphad wears the *calathos*; pl. XXIV on a relief from Dura Europos, first century, Zeus Kyrios/Baalshamin wears the *calathos*; see also Colledge 1976: fig. 146, a Victory with *calathos*.

23 Demus 2, 1984: figs. 244, 253-254.

24 Lia Russo 1969: pl.11.

25 Demus 1976: 63-73; Toesca 1956: 22-23.

26 The new image of the "Oriental" emerged in art produced in territories where there were close contacts with the East, and became more popular from the 15th century onwards, following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when contacts with the East became closer and the artists had more convenient access to exotic objects.

27 To name only some examples: in the *Echternach Codex* from the 10th century; most Romanesque and Gothic representations: in France, on the porch of Moissac, on the western tympanum of Saint Bertrand de Comminges, on the tympanum of Anzy le Duc, on the south tympanum of la Charité-sur-Loire, on Chartres north left portal. In Italy, on the bronze doors of the Duomo of Pisa; on the northern tympanum of the Parma Baptistery; on the pulpit of the Duomo of Fano. In Spain: on the western tympanum of Santo Domingo in Soria. The same approach can be observed in the 13th century manuscripts, see the *Psalter of Saint Louis*, now in the Leiden University Library. *The Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, New-York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 729 fol. 268r and 275v. Even in manuscripts from the 15th century, the Magi still appear as Western Kings, see Plummer 1982: pl.9b.

28 Similar examples: on the southern tympanum of St. Gilles du Gard, on the tympanum of Clermont Ferrand.

29 Maury 1969: figs. 144-145.

30 Daniel in the *Morgan Beatus* fol. 260r.; see Williams, Shailor 1991: 219-220; in the *Roda Bible,* Ms. Lat. 6, vol. III, fol. 66r., Cahn 1982: fig. 46. See also *the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace* in the *Citeaux Bible*, Dijon, Bibl. Pub., M.14, fol. 64r., *Ibid*.: fig. 98.

31 Camon Aznar *et al.* 1975: fol. 257r.; *Les jours de l'Apocalypse*, (La Pierre qui Vire 1967), fig. 73.

32 Katzenellenbogen 1964: fig. 62; Moralejo 1981: 79-109.

33 *The Roda Bible*, Paris Bibl. Nat. Ms. Lat 6, vol. II fol. 129v., Cahn 1982: fig. 44.

34 Straub and Keller 1977: pl. LIV; the "Ishmaelite", pl. XIIbis.

35 *Ibid*.: pl. XVIII, *the Banquet of Ahasuerus*.

36 E. Benz, "Ich bin schwarz und schon," in Greschat 1969: 225-243; Durand-Lefébvre 1937: 109-110.

37 Pritchard (ed.) 1974: pl. 119; Buschhausen 1974: 1-32, fig. 7b.

38 Buchthal 1957: 54-68; Folda 1976: 21-22, 159-160; Weiss 1993: 176.

39 Buchthal 1957: 64- 65.

40 *Ibid*.: pl. 73, fol. 252r.

41 *Ibid*.: pl. 75a, fol.269r.

42 *Ibid*.: pl.65a, fol. 54v. Many other figures wear Oriental style costumes, including Samuel in the scene of the *Anointing of David* and one of *David's Musicians*, *ibid*.: pl. 70, fol. 154v.; Vashti and Esther, *ibid*.: pl. 74a, fol. 261r.

43 On the diverse population in Acre see Folda 1976: 5.

44 Raby 1982: 17-19. 19th century Orientalists set the Biblical scenes in an exotic environment and most of the Biblical protagonists were modelled on 19th century Arab inhabitants of the Holy Land, see Stevens (ed.),1984; Thomson, Scott 1988.

45 Longnon, and Meiss 1969: the *Meeting of the Magi* fol. 51v and the *Adoration of the Magi* fol. 52r. pl. 48-49.

46 *Ibid*.: 15.

47 *The Flagellation, ibid*.: pl. 109; *The Arrest*, *ibid*.: pl.110.

48 *Ibid*.: in the scene of the *Penance of David* we can see a European landscape, pl. 88, and in other scenes we can observe buildings in the Gothic style. The same fusion of Oriental and Western features is evident in Fouquet's illustrations for the Antiquities of the Jews, see Durrieu 1908: pls. II, III, VIII, XIII, XIV.; in the *Book of Hours of Catherine Clèves*, see Plummer 1986: pls. 26, 30, 85, 115, 116; and later in the works of Dürer, Bellini, Rembrandt, Dorée, the Pre-Raphaelites, and the 19th century Orientalists.

49 Raby 1982: 21-83; Olshki 1944: 95-108.

50 We have little information on the clothing of ancient Israel, see Yadin 1971: 66-85.

51 Raby 1982: figs. 10-11; Tissot, *The Journey of the Magi,* in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, see Stevens (ed.), 1984: 229, fig. 118.

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The Heavenly Jerusalem: from Architectural Canopies to Urban Landscape in the Southern Portals of Chartres Cathedral

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*T*he sculptural program of the southern portals of Chartres cathedral (dated to between 1210 and 1250)[1] comprises both monumental and small sculpture. While the monumental programs have been studied (along with other parts of the cathedral) for about the last one hundred and fifty years, the small gothic sculpture of the cathedral, including the sculptural cycles in the archivolts, the canopies and the corbels, as well as the cycle of ninety-six reliefs on the four piers of the southern porch have remained peripheral to scholary interest. They have rarely been the object of study and their meaning has been almost totally neglected. It is in this small sculpture of the southern portals of Chartres cathedral that representations of a major subject of Gothic thought and art can be illuminatively traced and examined - images of the Heavenly Jerusalem. It is the purpose of this article to study the urban forms sculpted on the southern portals of Chartres cathedral as representations of the Heavenly Jerusalem and to follow their development from the canopies over the jamb statues to the architectural frames of the small reliefs of the porch. The simultaneous presence of two modes of urban representation which stand for the Heavenly Jerusalem - architectural canopies and architectural frames - on the same façade, makes the study of their iconographic and stylistic function, as part of the entire sculptural program of the cathedral, not only possible, but systematic and explicit as well.

The southern façade of Chartres cathedral is dominated by the central portal which renders a unified image of the Last Judgement, while the lateral doorways introduce images of the lives and acts of the martyrs and confessors

Fig. 1: Jamb statues, Chartres cathedral, southern porch, 1210-1220.

of the Christian church from its early beginning. The jamb-figures in the three portals of the southern façade (dated 1210-1220)[2] depict the apostles, the founders of the Christian Church, who are being given the sacred Word by Christ the teacher on the *trumeau* in the central portal; and the saints who have died for its sake or confessed Christ while spreading His Word, are depicted on the side portals: including St. Thomas, St. Philip, St. Andrew, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John, St. James the Great and St. James the Lesser in the central portal; St. Stephan, St. Clement, St. Lawrence, St.Vincent, St. Denis and St. Piat in the left portal; and St. Leo, St. Ambrose , St. Nicholas, St. Martin, St. Jerome and St. Gregory in the right portal.

Fig. 2: An architectural canopy, Chartres cathedral, southern porch, 1210-1220.

The jamb-statues share many features: they are all monumental, hierarchical, non-narrative representations; they have the same dimensions, they are all identically haloed and they all constitute part of the façade's architectural framework and monumental sculptural programs. Their gestures and attributes are characteristic of high-ranking clergymen and knights. Their expression is contemplative and their bearing is emblematic. In addition, they are all surmounted by almost identical architectural canopies.[3] (Fig. 1)

Although of small sculpted scale, the architectural canopies are of monumental nature and also share a unified stylistic pattern. They all consist of a suspended three-arched basis topped with a rounded-shape series of miniature buildings. Although the series of miniature buildings differ from one canopy to the next, within each canopy the same one or two architectural forms are repeated (Fig. 2). Each canopy is also dominated by the same octagonal or round miniature edifice which springs out of its center. In this manner the architectural canopies over the jamb-statues form a continuous representation of a similar majestic form that repeats itself to establish an ordered, unchanging pattern of urban images that make up part of the monumental sculptural program of the facade.

In Gothic art the unified pattern of canopies above the jamb-statues of the apostles and saints is generally interpreted as the symbolic representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem.[4] In the northern and southern portals of Chartres cathedral this interpretation is intensified due to the symmetrical pattern of the canopies with the unique presentation of their round middle fortified core which probably represents the Tower of David. By doing so, the artist of Chartres

follows a long established pictorial tradition which introduces images of concrete buildings like the Tower of David and the church of the Holy Sepulchre as emblems of the Kingdom of God, the Heavenly Jerusalem.[5]

The emblematic architectural form of the Tower of David is found above the figure of Christ on the *trumeau* and at His feet in the Last Judgment portal in the western façade of Notre-Dame in Paris, where it is also integrated into the depictions on the canopies over the jamb-statues and crowns the figures of the blessed and the damned in the archivolts; in Reims it is part of the architectural setting that frames the figures of the Virgin and the Child in the northern transept and in Amiens it appears not only above the jamb-figures, but also at their feet as part of the less elaborate canopies over the figures of the *marmousets*. In Chartres, the same emblematic depiction forms part of the fortified walls which frame images of charity and holiness. On the lintel of the Gate of the Confessors of the southern porch it frames the graceful deeds of St. Martin and St. Nicholas (c. 1220) and it also appears on the Gothic remains of the cathedral's jubé , above the figure of St. Matthew writing the Word dictated to him by an angel (Fig. 3). The Tower of David also found its visual representation on the crusader maps of the period, on seals and coinage of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem who made the Tower their citadel and royal residence,[6] and on the architectural sketches of Villard de Honnecourt .

Besides the canopies, the rich sculptural program of the southern façade of Chartres cathedral includes a series of architectural images of a quite unique and innovative nature. These images are employed as architectural frames to the small reliefs of the four piers of the porch (dated 1230-1250).[7] The four piers depict in small sculpture scenes from the lives of the saints, images of the Virtues and Vices and figures of the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse. In contrast to the utterly composed representation of the apostles and saints as the jamb-figures, one of the main characteristics of the depictions of the saints on the small reliefs is a deviation from the strict, symmetrical code of the monumental representation. The small sculpture manifests the adventures and miraculous deeds of the saints, often featuring one crucial moment in the life of the martyr or confessor - his martyrdom or act of charity- narrated by means of concrete images. Thus St. Denis is depicted along with his executioner while carrying his own severed head; St. Lawrence is being thrown on a grill; St. Saturnin, still clothed in his bishop's habit, is being dragged by a bull down a steep staircase; and St. Gregory the Great is depicted according to early medieval pictorial tradition, seated at his lectern, writing and listening to the cooing of the dove, while his secretary peeps from behind a curtain.

On the whole, the small reliefs constitute a highly developed narrative

Fig. 3: *St. Matthew*, remains of 13th century jubé, Chartres cathedral
(after J. Mallion, 1964).

sequence with a great tendency towards a realistic depiction of figures as well as animals and objects. The architectural images which add to the narrative within the different small scale scenes, are also constructed in a concrete, realistic manner. The prison cell of John the Baptist is depicted as a polygonal brick masonary, topped with a fortified pinnacled roof, standing on a large base with longitudinal niches (Fig. 4); St. Saturnin is being dragged along a suspended staircase (Fig. 5); Pope Leo is kneeling in front of St. Peter's monumental grave; and St. Gregory is writing his proverbs in a highly decorated interior.

These concrete representations are enhanced by arrays of miniature buildings that are not part of the narrative, but rather serve as ninety-six different architectural frames to the small reliefs of the porch. Although they share the same pictorial pattern, each frame consists of different architectural forms. Thus we find depictions of castellated mansions along with basilica and cathedral façades, polygonal edifices along with ornamental arcades, blind

Fig. 4: *The martyrdom of St. John the Baptist,* pier relief,
Chartres cathedral, southern porch, 1230-1240.

arches, pilaster strips, fortified towers, longitudinal sections of religious as well as civic monuments, two or three rows of domical buildings, towered gateways, elevations of two storeys, gabled roofs and elaborate rose windows (Fig. 6). By means of this serial representation of a variety of miniature urban edifices, the architectural frames of the small reliefs succeed in creating an autonomous architectural entity which draws from actual concrete Romanesque and Gothic buildings of the time.

A close examination reveals a definite similarity between the architectural settings of the reliefs and those of the canopies. They in fact share the same forms but constitute different sequences with a different architectural syntax. First, in comparison to the abundance of forms of the small reliefs, the vocabulary of architectural forms that constitute the canopies is rather limited. Besides, while the small frames reflect a moveable, highly-animated spirit through their varying and varied forms, the canopies achieve their mode of stability, unity, order and similarity by means of repeating the same one or two forms. Moreover, while the canopies form a three-dimensional, free-standing form, the small frames remain two-dimensional and plain, like the reliefs

Fig. 5: *The martyrdom of St. Saturnin,* pier relief,
Chartres cathedral, southern porch, 1230-1240.

themselves.

The ninety-six arrays of miniature buildings may be said to deviate from
the symmetrical, ordered stylistic code of the canopies in the same way that
the miniature images of saints deviate in their narrative nature from the
monumental representation on the jambs. In both cases the small sculpture
draws its visual components from the monumental design, which forms an
earlier cycle of representation of Saints, but installs them into a new visual
pattern which determines not only their artistic style, but also their thematic
meaning.

Although they serve no structural function and are considered small scale
sculpture, the design of the canopies at Chartres, symbolizing the Holy City,
echoes Gothic monumental architecture and is closely related to the
monumental representation of the figures of apostles and saints beneath them.
Thus they reflect the fundamental Gothic quest for unity and harmony. Their
unified structural pattern reveals a visionary perception of the Heavenly city.
The small scaled concrete form of the Tower of David succeeds in materializing
the abstract idea of the Kingdom of God and thus evoking in the minds and

hearts of the faithful the same religious contemplations and emotions as their prototype - the real earthly monuments in the New Jerusalem. The copy, as Krautheimer contends, is not of reality, but rather constitutes a symbol. Such a symbol is achieved not when a particular monument is reproduced, but when a concept is reproduced - that which the architect aimed to establish as 'a memento of a venerated site and simultaneously as a symbol of promised salvation'.[8]

In contrast with the high-standing, symbolic canopies, the small scaled architectural settings of the southern portals in Chartres constitute a different pattern of representation. They are multiform and depict an earthly, local image of a varied and changing human world. Most of their architectural components are reflections of the creations of men.

On the one hand, the order and harmony manifested in the heavenly spheres and represented by the canopies stand in vivid contrast to the disorder and variety manifested in the terrestrial spheres of human existence as represented by the architectural arrays and their realistic nature. On the other hand, a close examination of the iconographic and stylistic role of both representations within the vast sculptural program of the southern façade, as well as their mutual correspondence, reveals them as two faces of the same Christological existence.

Visual images of Jerusalem from the 4th century onwards are mainly characterized by symbolic representations of the celestial city.[9] Through its painted and sculptural programs, its illuminated manuscripts, small scale liturgical and ornamental objects, stained glass windows, maps and architectural design, medieval pictorial tradition makes use of Christological signs and of geometrical forms and numbers, as well as of figurative depictions of concrete religious and civic architecture. These varied devices are often combined in order to materialize the abstract concept of the City of God as part of Christian iconography of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and thus to manifest the Vision of John: 'And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband' (*Revelation* XXI 1-2).

However, a distinction has to be made between two parallel symbolic modes of representations of the Heavenly Jerusalem in medieval art, through its different ages and media. One such mode depicts the Heavenly Jerusalem as a central image or as an integral part of the composition of the work of art. It is depicted thus in the *Apocalypse of Valenciennes* and the *Apocalypse of Paris* (9th century) in the symbolic image of the Agnus Dei standing in the middle of an elaborate circular construction. The *Apocalypse of Trèves* and that of *Cambrai*,

Fig. 6: Architectural frames, pier reliefs, Chartres cathedral, southern porch, 1230-1240.

which date to the same period, depict the celestial city in a figurative representation of a group of ornamented buildings, some of which bear the sign of the cross. As part of pictorial compositions it is depicted at the end of the 4th century (to mention just a few examples of early Christian art), on the mosaic apse of Sta. Pudenziana in Rome, where the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem consists of Christological elements such as the cross, the symbols of the evangelists and Christ teaching the apostles after His resurrection, along with concrete Constantinian architectural elements, including the church of the Holy Sepulche; in Sta. Maria Maggiore (5th century) where it is portrayed as a jeweled city; and in the apse of St. Apollinare in Classe (6th century) where it is symbolized by a large ornamented cross against a celestial dome. It is also found in later compositions, such as the Bayeux tapestry (1080).

Another mode of representation depicting the Heavenly Jerusalem from the early beginning of Christian art, is as a marginal image usually framing the

main theme of the work of art. On 4th-century city-gate sarcophagi it frames central Christological themes, including Christ and the Apostles, the Adoration of the Magi and Christ delivering the Law. These architectural frames usually consist of a limited number of architectural forms, such as arches, fortified walls and city-gates. More elaborate architectural frames representing the Heavenly Jerusalem are depicted as marginal images on Carolingian, Ottonian and early Romanesque ivories and illuminations, such as the *St. Gregory* ivory panel (c. 990/1000) (Fig. 7) and King Henry II's *Book of Pericopes* or the Whalebone ivory plaque depicting the Adoration of the Magi (c. 1130). Here the architectural frame usually takes the form of a series of miniature small scale buildings atop a rounded arch or simply elevated on two decorated pillars bearing capitals.

Far more elaborate architectural frames are found on Romanesque capitals, such as those framing the Dream of the Magi on a column from Coulombs ; the Visitation and Nativity on a capital from Dreux (Fig 8); the capitals of Saint-Maurice cathedral in Vienne; and those of the basilica in Nazareth. This phase in the development of the architectural frame representing the Heavenly Jerusalem could be regarded as the preliminary phase and forerunner of the highly elaborate forms of the architectural canopies over the jamb-statues of Gothic cathedrals.

Canopies above jamb-statues are part of the sculptural programs of most Gothic cathedrals. Their very early phase is generally characterized by a non-elaborate representation in the form of square, arcaded structures topped by miniature edifices. This can be seen in the canopies over the figures of the wise and foolish virgins in the central portal of the western façade of St. Denis (before 1140), the Royal Portal of Chartres (1145-1155) and the southern portal of Notre-Dame in Etamps (1140-1150). The transition to the later and much more elaborate phase of Gothic sculpted canopies can be seen in the southern portal of St. Etienne cathedral in Bourges (ca. 1160) and in the western facade of St. Etienne cathedral at Sens (ca. 1184) where they begin to take on a round shape but do not yet share a unified form. The canopies over the jamb-figures of the High Gothic period between 1210-1230 in the northern and southern portals of Chartres cathedral and the cathedrals of Notre-Dame in Paris, Reims, Amiens and Strasbourg, feature a rather unified form of round arcaded structures topped with a variety of miniature edifices.

It can be assumed that the representations of the Heavenly City on the architectural canopies, as well as those on the architectural series of the reliefs in the southern portals of Chartres cathedral, follow the long established medieval tradition of emblematic images of Jerusalem. However, although both

Fig. 7: *St. Gregory*, Ivory panel, c. 990/1000, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (after P. Lasko, 1994).

architectural settings share the same abstract, symbolic meaning of the Holy City , they establish different stylistic entities. Whereas the canopies belong to the abstract, spiritual domain of representation, the small sculpted frames create a new visual expression. Their images of concrete, detailed, highly-decorated edifices develop a new visual reality of a concrete Gothic city, which consistently represents the Heavenly Jerusalem. Rather than depicting a general visual form which points at a spiritual entity, they combine concrete urban images which designate the divine nature of the City of God in which the saints, the Elders of the Apocalypse and the Virtues and Vices all dwell together. Thus they give birth to a new iconographic and stylistic syntax that might be regarded as an early representation of urban landscapes, paving the way for those of the 14th and 15th centuries. They provide a concrete manifestation of the Gothic spirit of humanization and naturalism,[10] of a shift from the general forms to the concrete, from the divine to the human, from the invisible to the visible which comprises the invisible.

Not only are the small architectural settings of the reliefs of the southern portals of Chartres therefore forerunners of a new artistic conception, but they

also show how an image that is peripheral to the central monumental sculptural program of the cathedral could become complementary to the center by gaining a new, autonomous significance.

In spite of their different nature, an obvious interrelation can be traced between the canopies over the jamb-statues, as part of the monumental art of the southern façade, and the architectural arrays of the small reliefs. I have suggested above that the arrays of miniature buildings are echoes of the canopies over the jamb-figures, which were usually considered a symbolic representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem. While the image of the celestial city of the canopy encompasses the spiritual, contemplative image of the saint, the small architectural setting frames the narrative which illustrates the human nature of the saint which comes to an end with his martyrdom or natural death. Upon his death, the saint becomes a spiritual entity who dwells in the heavenly spheres depicted on the upper parts of the archivolts of the southern façade. Thus, the figures of the apostles and saints on the jamb-statues acquire an emblematic nature which links their narrative human experience with their heavenly, spiritual existence.

In the same way that the figures on the jamb-statues elevate the image of the saints, the architectural canopies elevate the architectural forms of the earthly depictions. These two artistic representations, through both their symbolic and concrete nature, indicate an anagogical aspiration towards the spiritual spheres of heavenly existence. The earthly forms "look up" to the canopies. They are the goal, the reason, the source at which both to aim and to draw from. Thus, this new artistic syntax, rearranged, may be regarded not merely as a deviation from monumental to small scale representation, from sheltering a three-dimensional statue to a two-dimensional low relief, but rather as a transition from abstract theological thought to its concrete realization in everyday life. Indeed, as already noted, these two representations should not be perceived as two separate identities. On the contrary, they should be understood in their inseparable and interrelated complementarity.

The material buildings of the reliefs gain their significance only through their reflection of the immaterial essence of the canopies; the physical act seems to manifest spiritual reality. When Abbot Suger delights in the beauty of the House of God he has built, he reflects on 'transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, on the diversity of the sacred virtues: then it seems to me that I see myself dwelling, as it were, in some strange region of the universe which neither exists entirely in the slime of the earth nor entirely in the purity of Heaven; and that by the grace of God, I can be transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogical manner.'[11]

Fig. 8: *Visitation and Nativity,* capital, 12th century, Dreux museum
(after Il-de-France Romane, Zodiaque 1983).

This journey, from the ideal representation of the canopies to the beginning of an urban landscape on the small-sculpted reliefs, can thus be seen to present a manifestation of the Gothic spirit and the Gothic cathedral, which is usually considered an earthly model of the New Jerusalem.[12] The Gothic universe embraces them all: the high and the low, the heavenly and the earthly, the temporal and the eternal, the invisible and the visible. Moreover, only through the low, the earthly, the temporary and the visible can the heavenly spheres be understood; and only by fusing the two, can harmony be achieved.[13]

NOTES

*   I am grateful to Prof. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar for calling my attention to the subject of urban landscape in Gothic art, which has not yet been investigated. I have discussed a few aspects of this theme, as represented in Chartres cathedral in my M.A. thesis on "The Miniature Sculpture of the Southern Porch of Chartres Cathedral", which was supervised by Prof. Kenaan-Kedar and submitted in April 1994.

1   Bulteau 1850; Grodecki 1951: 156-164; Houvet 1919; Meulen 1967:152-172.

2   *Ibid*.

3   The figures of St. Theodore and St. Georges in the lateral doorways date to a later phase (1230-1235) and are surmounted by different, far more elaborate canopies. See Sauerländer 1972: figs. 116, 117.

4   Baltrušaitis 1988: 17-36.

5   Krautheimer 1942: 3, n2, 15.

6   Smith 1956: 104, figs. 94-97; Metcalf 1995: 43-79.

7   See note 1.

8   Krautheimer 1942: 16-17
9   Kühnel 1987.
10 Frankl 1960, 1962; Simson 1962; Worringer 1927.
11 Panofsky (ed.), 1979 (1946):65.
12 Lehmann 1945; Simson 1962; Stookey 1969..
13 See Worringer 1927: 166-167: "The infinity of the movement which is macrocosmically expressed in the architectural structure as a whole expresses itself microcosmically in every smallest detail of the building. Every individual detail is, in itself, a world of bewildering activity and infinity, a world which repeats in miniature…..The crown of a pinnacle is a cathedral in miniature…."

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Relations between Hispania and Palestine in the Late Roman Empire

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*A*t the end of the Late Roman Empire there were certain relations between Hispania and Palestine which, although not very deep, were nonetheless important, for the Jewish community in Hispania was itself an important one. The Elvira Council, held in Illiberri (Granada) at the beginning of the 4th century, indeed dedicated five canons to the Jews (XVI, XXXVI, XLIX, L, LXXVIII), thereby confirming the significance of this community. These canons regulate the relations between Jews and Christians, including certain prohibitions regarding the former. That the Jews performed a blessing over the fruits of the earth and ate at the same table with Christians, is known precisely because these two actions were forbidden by two of the above canons; while Canon XVI states that a Christian who married either a Jewish or a heretic woman was committing adultery, probably because such marriages, according to the Council bishops, led Christians astray from the Christian doctrines. Canon XXXVI prohibits the display of pictures on church walls; a possible result of Jewish influence on the Hispanic Church. However, several Doctors of the Church, such as Tertulian,[1] Irenaeus,[2] and Origen[3] note that Christians did not have images in their churches. The first known Christian church featuring images is that of Dura Europos, from the beginning of the 3rd century.[4] The ban issued by the Elvira Council should thus probably be read as an archaic relict of the Spanish Church.

Gregory of Illiberri dedicated four homilies to the Jewish question, thereby reinforcing the theory of the importance and influence of the Hispanic Jewish community. Jewish communities are known to have existed in several important Spanish cities: from a tombstone in Tarraco we know of the important position held by the deceased in the synagogue there; while in Ibiza there was a flourishing Jewish community.[5]

Hispanic travellers to Palestine

Palestine grew in importance in the 4th century as a result of Christians travelling to visit the Holy Places, following the example of Helena, Emperor Constantine's mother. Avitus, presbyter of Bracara Augusta, settled in Jerusalem in the year 409 CE. He translated the Greek text of the *Epistola de inventione corporis S. Stephani martyris*[6] and sent it with the relics of the saint to Palconius, Bishop of Bracara Augusta, by means of the future historian Orosius.

According to Palladius,[8] Melania the Elder,[7] the daughter of the *consularis* Marcellinus and a woman of Spanish origin, together with her granddaughter Melania the Younger, founded a monastery on the Mount of Olives.[9] The praefectus of Alexandria banished a group of Egyptian ascetics to Diocaesarea, Palestine, where they were taken in and helped by Melania the Elder, for which the consul of Palestine had her imprisoned. She lived in Jerusalem for twenty years and established a nunnery there with fifty virgins, where she offered hospitality to her friend Rufinus of Aquileja, as well as to bishops, maidens and the many pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem. This pioneering woman died in Jerusalem in 410.

Melania the Younger (383-439) belonged to a family of Spanish aristocrats and possessed one of the largest fortunes of the time, enjoying an annuity of 12,000 gold pounds. In spite of her elevated status, she played a prominent role within the Palestine ascetic movement.[10] After her mother's death (ca. 431), she founded a nunnery[11] with ninety women[12] on the Mount of Olives; and when her husband Piniaus died in 432 CE she founded a monastery next to the Church of the Ascension.[13] Melania the Younger built the *Apostoleion* in Jerusalem as her husband's final resting place,[14] as well as the Chapel of the Ascension.[15] In the year 419 CE, following the pacification of Hispania, she was visited by a friend who brought her money, probably from the sale of her possessions in Hispania,[16] indicating that it was possible to travel from Hispania to Palestine without hindrance.

Another lady of Spanish origin who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem but did not remain there, was Egeria, according to Valerius del Bierzo (Bergidum Flavium), abbot of several monasteries in the Spanish region of Bierzo who died in 695 CE. He wrote an *Epistola de beatissimae Echeriae laude* to his monks, a work in which he purports that Egeria came *'huius occiduae plagae sera processione tandem refulssisset extremitas.'* Egeria wrote an *Itinerarium* of her pilgrimage to Palestine and other Eastern places, a work important for its knowledge of the Christian liturgy, dated between the years 381-385 CE.[17] Her description of the Jerusalem liturgy (*Itinerarium* 24.1) appears to have been drafted during her stay in the city (382-384 CE).

These three ladies—the two Melanias and Egeria—belonged to the aristocracy and were extremely wealthy. Emperor Constantine built a number of churches in Jerusalem which were visited by Egeria, such as the *Martyrium* in Golgotha, the basilica of *Anastasis* (on the site of the grave), and the church of Eleona on the Mount of Olives. In Bethlehem, also visited by Egeria, Constantine ordered the construction of the Nativity basilica, similar in its architectural structure to the Golgotha church. Pilgrims also visited other places, such as Mambré, where another basilica was built by Constantine; the grave of Lazarus in Betania; Hebron, where the tombs of the patriarchs were located; Carneas, where Job once dwelt; Mount Nebus; and Mount Sinai where Moses had received the law.

Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa, sent to Jerusalem the Spanish presbyters Orosius and Jerome, as recounted in the *Chronica* by Marcelinus Cosmas (73.1): '*Orosius presbyter Hispani generis septem libris historiarum descripsit, missus ab Augustino episcopo idem Orosius pro discendo animae ratione ad Hieronymum presbyterum reliquias beati Stephani tunc nuper iuventas rediens primus intulit Occidenti.*'

Relations between Hispania and Palestine in the works of Jerome

Jerome,[18] who practiced the most strict Christian asceticism in Bethlehem, maintained a correspondence with various Spaniards, confirming that the relations between Hispania and Palestine were unencumbered and regular, as exemplified by his correspondence with Lucinus, to whom he wrote Letter 71 (dated 398 CE). Lucinus was a wealthy man, and sent six amanuenses to Palestine to copy the works of Jerome. A year later Jerome sent a second letter, Letter 75, to Lucinus' widow Theodora. This document reveals that Lucinus was connected with various churches in both Jerusalem and Alexandria, to which he sent large amounts of money.

The information Jerome provides in his work *De viris illustribus*, written in Palestine in the year 393 CE, proves direct knowledge of the reported events and of various Spanish figures, a knowledge which can only be explained through continuous correspondence and visits between Palestine and Hispania. This work was written at the request of another Spaniard, Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, an important figure who was proconsul in Asia between 379 and 387 CE, *comes rerum privatarum* of the East in 387 CE and *praefectus* of the *praetorium* in Italy in 395 CE.[19] Jerome also mentions in this work one presbyter Juvencus (84), who wrote the gospel in verse; Damasus, Bishop of Rome, a man extremely talented in the composition of verses (103); Gregory, Bishop of Illiberri, who composed treatises which were quite plain stylistically (105); Pacianus, Bishop

of Barcino, untiring in the attempts to improve his style (105); Acilius Severus, who relates his life as if it were a journey, combining prose and verse (111); Priscilianus, Bishop of Avila, who published many tracts, some of which were obtained by Jerome (121); Latronianus, a very learned man who could compete with the ancients in verse composition (122); Tiberianus, native of Betica, who wrote in a pompous and highly pedantic style an *Apology* in which he defended himself against an accusation of heresy, also directed at Priscilianus (123); Dexter, the son of Pacianus, who wrote a *General History* dedicated to Jerome, but which the latter had not yet read when he was writing his own work; Valerianus, Bishop of Calagurris, an eloquent man, the author of many works (136); and Prudentius, an excellent poet, who composed several poems against heretics and pagans and sang in high quality verses the mysteries of the Christian faith.

Jerome, living in seclusion in Bethlehem, was familiar not only with all the important Spanish ecclesiastics of his time but also with their works, which he discussed. He expressly states receiving these dignitaries, again indicative of the relations existing between Palestine and Hispania. Thus, he knew of the arrival of Marcus from Egypt who travelled from Aquitania, in Southern Gaul, to Hispania, and whom he mistook for a pupil of the Gnostic Basilides. He was aware that Marcus was somehow connected to the wealthy and that he addressed himself mainly to women (*Epist*. 75.3), by which he probably meant Priscilianus' followers. In a letter (71.6), dated 398 CE, he claims that the Eucharist was received daily in Hispania, just as it was in Rome.

Bishop Idacius and Palestine

The Bishop of Aquae Flaviae, the present-day town of Chaves, briefly recounts in his *Chronica*[20] the main events he witnessed in Hispania between the years 379 CE (when the chronicle of the *Chronica* begins) and 469 CE, coinciding mostly with the terrible events following the invasions by Swabians, Vandals and Alani, the tribes that invaded Hispania between 409 and 412 CE, plundering the country and continuing to fight until the final settlement of the Visigoths during the reign of King Eurichus between 466-484 CE, according to Iordanes.[21]

In his *Chronica*, Idacius proves that he has some familiarity with the main Bishops of Jerusalem, indicating that the relations between Palestine and Hispania had not been broken: he mentions the Bishop of Aquae Flaviae (38), and the names of the Bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea (John and Eulogios respectively). The former was bishop in Palestine between 404 and 410 CE. Idacius (58) claims that in 415 CE the body of Stephen, the first Christian martyr, was found by the presbyter Lucianus, who confided his discovery to the Spanish

presbyter Avitus.[22] The find occurred on the 3rd of December, after the burial place had been revealed to Lucianus in a dream. He went to Lydda to inform his bishop, John of Jerusalem, who was participating in a discussion of Pelagius. Bishop John, together with Eusthonius of Sebaste and Eleuthere of Jericho, presided over the opening of the grave. The exact location of the grave remains unclear: possibly Beït-el-Djema, 40 Km. west of Jerusalem, or Djemmal, 25 Km. to the north, although the latter is the more likely location. On the 26th of December, 445 CE the relics were removed by John to Zion, the great church of Jerusalem. Iuvenalis then built the basilica that was to house Stephen's remains. This find is important because Orosius later transferred Stephen's body to Hispania.

Idacius (59) appears to have had a thorough knowledge of Jerome's actions during those years in Bethlehem, where he settled in 386 CE and where he wrote most of his works.[23] He is aware that Jerome was very familiar with the Hebrew Holy Scriptures, on which he used to meditate daily and that he knew the studies on the Law, attacked Pelagius' heresies and wrote highly valued works on these topics. Indeed, 415 CE was the year when Jerome's attack against Pelagius started, according to a Letter[24] by Jerome himself to Chtesiphon, which he followed with a tract with three dialogues. Jerome's battle against Origen, whose work he knew very well,[25] against Lucifer of Cagliari's followers, and against Arius' followers, took place during these same years. Idacius refers to these disputes, thus proving that he was kept very well informed of Jerome's activities in Bethlehem. There was a conflict between Jerome and his bishop, John, because of Origen's work. It was within this tense atmosphere that Idacius visited Palestine and met several of the figures mentioned in his *Chronica*.

The Bishop of Aquae Flaviae (71) recounts that in 419 CE an earthquake shook the holy places of Jerusalem, and that John was the bishop at the time. John, however, had in fact died, but the news had not yet reached Hispania. As confirmed by the *Cons. Constantinop. ad an.* 419, an earthquake did occur in 419, but by then the Bishop of Jerusalem was Praylius, a fact ignored by Idacius. The Bishop of Aquae Flaviae also knows the name of the Bishop of Jerusalem in 435 CE, Iuvenalis (106). On this occasion Idacius provides an important detail about his source of information, writing that his knowledge came from a presbyter of Arabia called Germanus and through other Greeks who had arrived in Gallaecia.[26]

As we can see from the above, there was ongoing travel between Palestine and Gallaecia, although its purpose is not known. The reference to the Greeks could indicate that they were traders.[27] The presence in Gallaecia of people from the East is supported by the oriental influence on Spanish monastic life.[28]

Idacius also seems to be aware that in 435 CE various important figures had died: John, Bishop of Jerusalem; Jerome, and others. It is interesting that he mentions the news being brought from Palestine. John's successor as Bishop of Jerusalem, Praylius, ruled the city's church from 417 to 422 CE. Jerome's death can be fixed at 419 or 420 CE; Eulogius of Caesarea died in 417 CE. Idacius knew of all these bishops' deaths. However, in this particular paragraph of the *Chronica* (106) Idacius proves to be mistaken, since he states that the council convened by Iuvenalis, Bishop of Jerusalem, with the other bishops of Palestine and the East, was not held in Constantinople but in Ephesus, in 431 CE, and it was there that Theodosius II fought the Ebionites' heresy that Arius, Bishop of Constantinople, had revived. Idacius has this information wrong. The council met against Nestorius, who was the Bishop of Constantinople between 428 and 431 CE.

The arrival of Stephen's relics at Mahon and the first persecution of the Jews in Hispania

Bishop Severus of Menorca's Letter 13, and the document titled *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, which has been attributed to the same author and refers to the same events, provide several reasons to account for the mass and compulsory conversion of the large population of Jews of Mahon, the *Magone*. At the time, the Jewish community maintained good relationships with the Christians, and the Jews held important positions in the administration.[29]

The situation changed when the future historian Orosius arrived at the island with Stephen's relics, recently discovered. This fact gave a new impulse to the Christian community - they burned down the synagogue, although the Jewish community managed to save the books and silver objects. Many Jews converted to the Christian faith, while others who had fled fearing retaliation, returned and also embraced Christianity. The synagogue became a church.

The arrival of Stephen's relics from Palestine prompted the first large-scale persecution against the Jews and, consequently, the first significant surge of forced conversion of Jews to Christianity in Hispania. The facts recounted by Severus would have occurred between 416 and 418 CE, or at least some time before 438 CE.

The *Altercatio* has been related to the conversion of the Mahon Jews. It could be a *commonitorium* of Severus, dated between 409 and 438 CE.[30] Seguí and Hillgarth believe that very different characteristics define the two works.[31] The *Letter* seems to be the work of Severus, because of its knowledge of the institutions, while the *Altercatio* is probably a later work, from the 5th century, based on the relevant descriptive details it provides.

Christian basilicas in Menorca (Balearic Islands) influenced by the art of the Palestine synagogues

Seguí and Hillgarth connect the events which occurred in Mahon to the Menorcan basilica of Son Bou. Palol[32] attributes to Jews who had converted to Christianity the four basilicas whose pavements greatly resemble those of various synagogues in Palestine: Son Bou, La Illeta del Rei (Fig. 1), Es Fornás de Torelló (Fig. 2), and Puerto de Fornells. The floors of the basilica of La Illeta del Rei bear great similarity to those in Es Fornás de Torelló, which have in turn been compared to the pavement in the synagogue of Hamman Lif. Moreover, it features an inscription (...SANCTA SINAGOGA) that clarifies any doubts which could arise about the original identity of the building. The large hall of the temple of Es Fornás de Torelló offers a pattern of decoration similar to that of the *diaconicon* of the temple of the *Propylaea* in Gerasa, Palestine. Palol points out very specific similarities between the two pavements in Menorca and those of the Palestine synagogues: 'the mosaics of Menorca are an example of the influence of the Jewish sources and models in the Paleo-Christian art of the West.' He also stresses the fact that the mosaic craftsmen were familiar with contemporary mosaic pavements of synagogues, especially in Palestine.

The mosaic floors of Es Fornás de Torelló and La Illeta del Rei depict two lions symmetrically facing the Tree of Life, also depicted in the synagogue of Ma'on (Nirim), near Gaza, dated no later than 538 CE,[33] where, however, the lions face each other, as in the mosaics of Menorca, where they flank the *menorah* next to the palm trees. Similar lions facing the building's dedication appear in the synagogue of El Hammeh; the synagogue of Na'aran; the mosaic of Beth Alpha, from the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century, in which they face the Ark of the Covenant; the synagogue of Tiberias, from the 6th century; and the synagogue of Jaffa. From the floor of Santa María del Camí, in Majorca, six panels have been preserved offering a cyclical depiction of a scene in Paradise, with a lion and crows, Adam and Eve, and Joseph being sold by his brothers. These influences of Judaic art probably reached Hispania between the years 540 and 500 CE.

Schlunk and Hauschild[34] disagree with the theory of the influence of the Palestine synagogues on the mosaics of the Balearic Islands, and suggest instead that the models, and even the craftsmen, came from Africa Proconsularis. They also dispute the notion that the church of Elche,[35] in the present province of Alicante, had been a synagogue in the 4th century, as has often been maintained in Spain because of a sign written in Greek that has been read as "synagogue" (Fig. 3). The authors regard that inscription as insufficient in itself since no other Judaic symbols appear. However, I believe such an absence to be
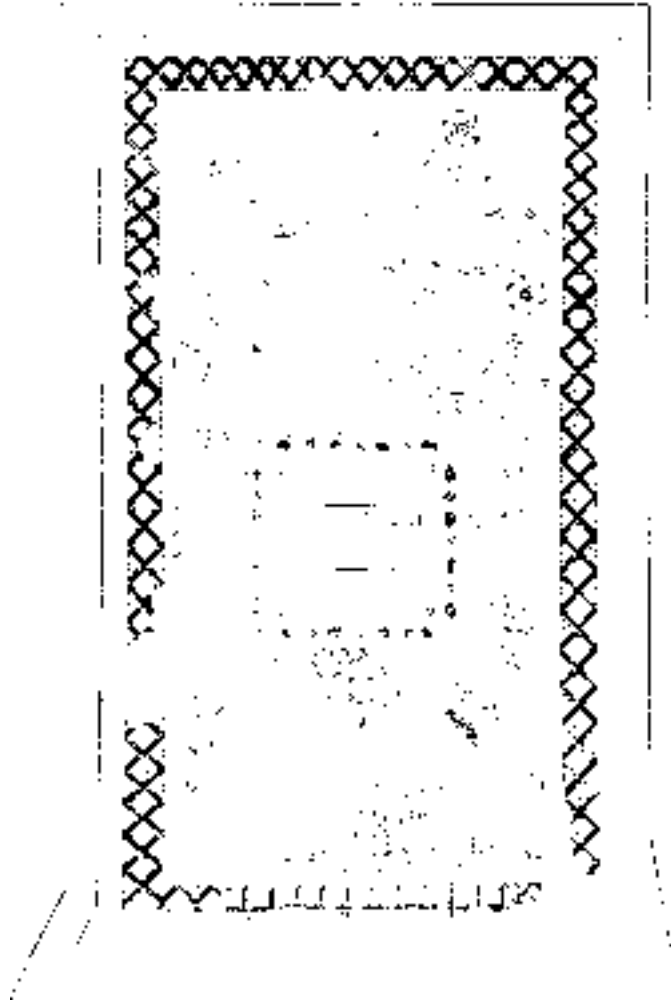
Fig. 1.A: Mosaic of the Church. Illeta del Rei. Menorca.

understandable in a building that had undergone various remodelings before finally becoming a Christian church. On the contrary, I find it very important that it has signs in Greek, quite extraordinary in a Christian building in Hispania; and the fact that a word has been read as "synagogue" I believe to be an element identifying the original function of the building. This could have belonged to a community of Eastern Jews, perhaps from Palestine, which settled in eastern Iberia. García and Bellido consider that after the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70 CE many Palestine Jews came to Hispania and settled for good in the Iberian Peninsula.
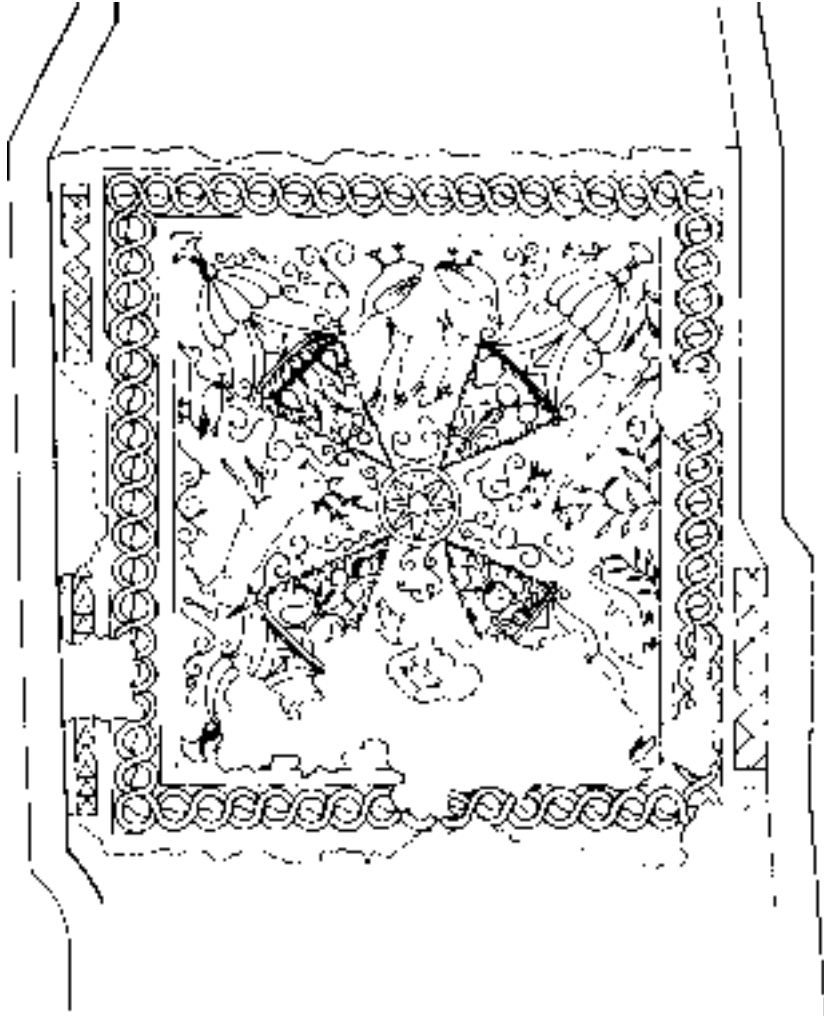
Fig. 1.B: Mosaic of the Church. Illeta del Rei. Menorca.

There is nothing remarkable in some of the mosaics of the Balearic Islands following the models of Syria-Palestine, as well documented by Fernández Galiano[36] in several Late Roman Empire Spanish mosaics, such as for example two mosaics in the Villa de Fraga (Huesca) with scenes of Eros and Psyche, and of Eros and Venus, whose style seems to be related to mosaics in Antioch and Syria. The mosaics of Bellophoron and the Chimaera of Puerta Oscura, Málaga, or of Plaza de la Compañía in Córdoba, depicting the four seasons, have been stylistically connected to mosaics of a late age in Syria-Palestine. A mosaic in La Almunia de Doña Godina, Zaragoza, from the 5th century, has
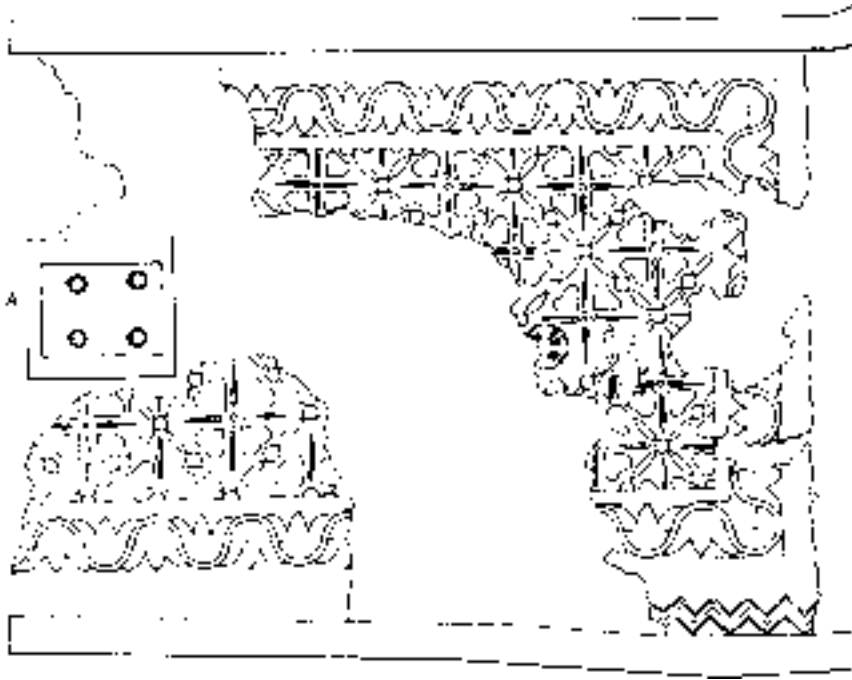
Fig. 1.C: Mosaic of the Church. Illeta del Rei. Menorca.

been linked with some mosaics in Paleo-Christian churches in Bethlehem.

Some geometrical motives which appear in the Spanish mosaics, such as the floral frames of the figured pictures with gods, in the Villa de Fraga, virtually unique in Hispania, are very common in the region of Syria-Palestine. The motive of the four alternate ivy leaves found at the Villa de Baños de Valdearados (Burgos), is also documented from Jericho, Gaza, etc., but is almost completely unknown in the West. These prototypes could have entered Hispania through Eastern craftsmen, as had occurred with the jewels of Elche; or through the patternbooks, which I believe more feasible. In the time of Theodosius I (379-395) the emperor was surrounded by a clan of highly influential Spaniards and relations with the East were probably more intense.[37]

The Menorca Jewish community would have been a wealthy and populous one. Some of its members held important positions, according to Letter 4 by Bishop Severus. Theodorus, for instance, was Doctor of the Law, *pater patrum* of the synagogue, *defensor civitatis* and patron of the municipality, as well as holding possessions on the island of Majorca (4); Caecilianus was *defensor civitatis* and *pater*; and Florianus was *pater senior* (14). Bishop Severus claims that Caecilianus held the highest position of honor in the synagogue,

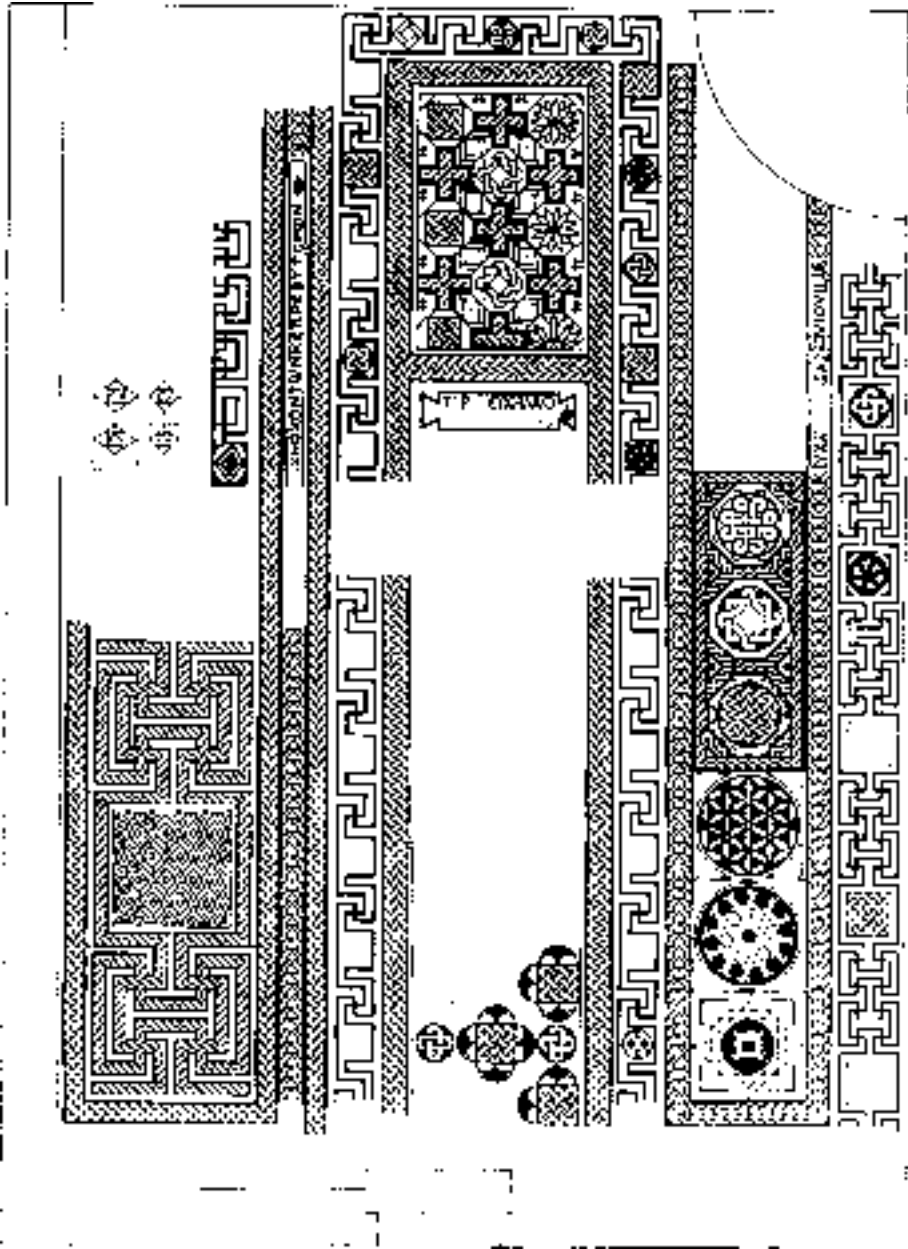Fig. 2: Mosaic of the Church. Es Fornás de Toreló. Menorca.

Fig. 3: Mosaic of the Synagogue. Elche.

immediately after Theodorus. Other important Jews were Lectorius, who had been governor of the province and *comes*, and Inocentius, slave owner, a very learned man and expert in Greek and Latin literature. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that these Mahon Jews had relations with Palestine.

From all the above we can deduce that there were uninterrupted relations between Hispania and Palestine in the Late Roman Empire. Important Spaniards visited Palestine in pilgrimage and returned home; others settled down and remained there. In turn, travellers from Palestine came to the Iberian Peninsula and the adjacent Balearic Islands. The influence of Palestine on Spanish art is obvious, both in the Roman motives and in the explicitly Jewish themes.

These relations between Hispania and Palestine can be viewed within the more comprehensive sphere of Hispania's relations with the East, widely reflected in art. This is exemplified in the sarcophagus and mausoleum in Las Vegas de Pueblanueva, in the province of Toledo,[38] from the end of the 4th century; or Villa de Carranque, of the same province and chronology, which features splendid mosaics;[39] and two basilicas, probably the grave of Maternus Cynegius, *comes sacrarum largitionum* between 381 and 383 CE, *quaestor sacri palatii* in 383, and *praefectus praetorium* of the East between 384 and 388 CE, whose body was brought for burial to Hispania by his wife Acanthia.[40] Other outstanding works of art of Eastern influence are the sarcophagus of Écija (Seville) dated to the 5th century; of Alcaudete[41] (Jaén) of the 5th or 6th century; or the jewels of Elche, buried by a jeweler of the East, and found next to a *semis* of Arcadius (395-408 CE) coined in Constantinople and a *solidus* of Honorius (394-423 CE).[42] Greek artists too were the creators of those mosaics in which we can read names in Greek script, such as that of the Seven Wise Men in Augusta Emerita[43] and in Cabezón de Pisuerga (Valladolid), which features a Homeric theme.[44]

NOTES

1   Tertulian, *De idolatria*, 5.
2   Irenaeus, *Adv. haer*. I,26.6.
3   Origen, *Contr. Cels*. I.5; VII, 62.
4   Grabar 1967: 68-71, Figs. 59-63.
5   On Hispania during the Late Empire: Blázquez 1975; 1978: 485-618; 1978: 242-379; 1986: 365-466; 1990; García Iglesias 1978.
6   *PL*. 41. 805.
7   Murphy 1946: 59-78.

8   Palladius, *HL*. 46.1.
9   Pall. *HL*. 46-54.
10   Clark 1984: 118.
11   Ger. *Vita Mel*. 41-48.
12   Ger. *Vita Mel*. 34-37.
13   Ger. *Vita Mel*. 49, 57.
14   Ger. *Vita Mel*. 49.
15   Ger. *Vita Mel*. 57.
16   Ger. *Vita Mel*. 37.
17   Arce 1980; Siniscalco 1985.
18   Duval 1988; Kelly 1975.
19   Chastagnol 1965: 290.
20   García Moreno 1976: 27-42; Molé 1974: 280-351; 1975:58-139; Tranoy 1974.
21   Get. XLVII, 244.
22   Cons. Constantinop. ad an. 415.
23   Tranoy: 1974: 48.
24   *Epist*. CXXXIII.
25   *Epist*. LXXXII.7; LXXXIV.2.
26   Tranoy 1974: 71-72.
27   Torres 1955: 31-360; 1956: 401-448; 1957: 53-64.
28   Fontaine 1959 II: 897, n. 2.
29   García Iglesias: 1978: 87-92; Seguí Vidal 1937.
30   Seguí-Hillgarth 1954: 10-11.
31   Hillgarth 1970: 301-302.
32   Palol 1967: 133-150; *Id*. 1967a: 223-233.
33   Ovadiah 1987: 106-107; Pls. CXVI. 2-3.
34   Schlunk and Hauschild 1978: 182-188, Pls. 78-83.
35   *Ibid*.: 143-147, Pls. 36-37.
36   Fernández Galiano,1983: 419-428.
37   Chastagnol 1965: 269-292.
38   Schlunk and Hauschild 1978: 129-131, Pls. 21-22.
39   Fernandez Galiano *et alii* 1944: 317-326.
40   Chastagnol 1965: 289-290.
41   Schlunk and Hauschild 1978: 150-153; Pls. 42-43, 45.
42   Schlunk and Hauschild 1978: 156-157; Pls. 48b-49b.
43   Blázquez 1993: 155, 157.
44   Blázquez 1994: 280-281.

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A Family Album: Photography versus Memory in Sigfried Kracauer's Writings on Photography

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To Paula Ruby and Mona Lilian, in Memoriam

Introduction

Mona Lilian, a great aunt of mine, visited Israel. She was 85 and everyone silently acknowledged that this would be her last visit. We fussed over her in gratitude for all the wonderful moments she had given us during her life time, which spanned a number of family generations for whom she was both friend and counselor. In the midst of her visit, I discovered her body in bed one morning. Sitting opposite her, moments before she was whisked away to be buried, I recalled an observation Maurice Blanchot made about the ritual of laying out the body in Catholic practices of mourning.[1] The irrevocable moment of death turns the body into a shadow; into a representation that is removed from reality as we no longer look at the real person we knew. Roland Barthes referred to a similar condition when he discussed the phenomenological status of the photograph, which simultaneously attests to the presence and the absence of a person because it is only an image.[2]

I later thought of one of the major differences between Catholic and Jewish practices of mourning. The Catholic laying out of the body for public inspection is founded upon a more pagan emphasis on the image as ornament that enables the body itself to be a sign for the deceased person who must be viewed by the mourners in order to achieve separation. In the Jewish tradition, burying the body on the same day encourages the mourners during the *shiva* (the seven days of mourning) to emphasize the *oral* practice of bringing the dead back to life by recounting memories and stories of them.

In both practices nowadays the use of the photograph is common. Such use raises questions about the differences between memory and photographs in retrieving the past and acting as a *memento mori.* Does the photograph function as a personal monument for the person we love? Is it capable of reconstructing our idea of a person we knew? Does it actually invigorate our memories of certain events or does it only prove that they took place? In this article I shall investigate these questions by examining a family album my great aunt gave me that belonged to her sister who was my grandmother. After my grandmother retired and made *Aliya* she settled in Ashkelon. In the midst of the scorching heat of southern Israel a gentle English lady was assembling her family albums with the meticulous attention to dates and captions that enabled her to construct her past (Fig. 1). The albums were arranged according to different branches of the family tree and ancestry, and in a linear order that starts, in the album I discuss, from my grandmother's birth, leading to her acting career, her marriage, and the birth of her children, which eventually resulted in her abandoning her theatrical career. I wish to present a reading of three family photographs in the context of a theoretical issue that was raised by Siegfried Kracauer, who questioned the difference between photography and subjective-memory.

Kracauer's work has been reassessed in the last decade by researchers who have shown that he was not simply a film person but a writer who contributed important insights to the realms of sociology and philosophy, and especially pioneered the study of popular culture. In brief, one can characterize his interests in cinema, advertising, sport, workers, and urban spaces as a need to examine the illusive areas of everyday life that escape our notice precisely because they are so familiar to us. The subject of photography is raised in three of Kracauer's crucial publications. The "Photography" essay was written in 1927 during his early Weimar writings. Forty years elapsed before he took the subject up again in his book *History: The Last Things Before The Last.* Prior to this he wrote a short summary of photography history that served as the basis for his book on the theory of film. Between his early and later periods of writing Kracauer fled Germany, lived in Paris for eight years and finally in 1941 received a permit to immigrate to the United States where he had to begin life again at the age of fifty-one.

I shall discuss the difference between Kracauer's early and later attitude to photography in terms of the way he understood it to be either unable at first, or able later, to represent reality. The "Photography" essay relies on a Proustian model of subjective memory to recover the past. At this stage photography is presented as a subjectless technical instrument that is merely capable of capturing a spatial configuration of a temporal instant that is incommensurable

Fig. 1: Paula Ruby with her son and daughter, 1926.

with history, and which can only be brought back by a memory-image. In Kracauer's later writings photography is attributed with a formative capability that enables the medium to express the subjective creative aspirations of the photographer. The analogy between "camera reality" and "historical reality" aims to explain a relationship between photography and history that revolves around estrangement as a precondition for the ability of the historian to retrieve the past and interpret it. In both his early and late writings on photography the figure of a grandmother plays a crucial role. In his "Photography" essay Kracauer begins with the analysis of a photograph of a public figure (the diva) and a private figure (the grandmother). Here he relates the image of the grandmother to the past, whereas in the *History* book the image of the grandmother serves to illustrate the present; one deals with the photographic *object* and the other with *vision*.[3]

Grandmother's garments

Figure 2 presents Cleopatra; or rather, this is an actress playing Cleopatra. In fact, it is my grandmother posing in a studio as the eponymous heroine of a

Fig. 2: Paula Ruby as "Cleopatra", 1926.

famous historical play. The click of the camera has frozen my grandmother and removed her from the flow of time. A small colored aureole that was added during the retouching of the photograph has given her a ground that is meant to distinguish her theatrical presence from the flat surface of the photographic paper (a commodity that will be used to advertise her skills and later end up in the family album). The aura created by this artificial colored cocoon gives the impression that she has just emerged from a genie's bottle capable of storing time. She stands on the tinted ground next to a shawl which adds a naturalistic "oriental" detail. Such descriptive detail was common among 19th-century painters and photographers who wanted to bring reality into the studio and juxtapose it with the artificial pose of the subject. This realistic detail belongs to the particular and contingent realm of everyday life that usually escapes our notice. The pose, on the other hand, belongs to a more universalized rhetoric of gestures that defined the way people looked and acted in the past. The elderly woman I remembered still had the same expression in her eyes. Her experience in the theater made her automatically strike a pose whenever a camera was directed at her.

'Is this what grandmother looked like?' asks Kracauer at the start of the "Photography" essay, as though he was actually scrutinizing a photograph (Fig. 3).[4] The question instills doubts about the capability of photography to represent the essence of a person and cajole us into remembering people. Several issues are at stake: Kracauer argues that 'were it not for the oral tradition, the image alone would not have sufficed to reconstruct the grandmother's 'identity.'[5] Only subjective memory and knowledge of the grandmother, transmitted by generations of her family, could lead to a true understanding of her personality. But once her contemporaries are gone, who can attest that this is truly a photograph of a particular grandmother? Maybe it is simply someone who resembles her? In fact, in the course of time, the grandmother turns into just "any young girl of 1864". Moreover, once she dies the mimetic function of the photograph is also irrelevant for there is no longer a need to compare the image to its referent. Her smile may have been arrested by the camera but 'no longer refers to the life from which it has been taken. Likeness has ceased to be of any help. The smiles of mannequins in beauty parlors are just as rigid and perpetual,' writes Kracauer.[6]

Grandmother's old style garments become a metaphor for the disparity between fashion and history. Kracauer claims that 'photography is bound to time in precisely the same way as *fashion*. Since the latter has no significance other than as current garb, it is translucent when modern and abandoned when old.'[7] In making an analogy between photography and fashion, Kracauer was targeting the proliferation of current event photography in the Weimar Republic. He perceived the surge of photographs in the illustrated press as a sign of a culture afraid of death. Mechanical reproduction replicated a culture that was attune to fashion and technical innovation, enabling the snapshot to create a world that had taken on a "photographic face". In this self-satisfied narcissistic mood of self-replication the flood of photographs 'sweeps away the dams of memory and the sheer accumulation of photographs aims at banishing the recollection of death, which is part and parcel of every memory image.'[8] In this sort of mood photography is unable to resurrect the dead because even the recent past appears totally outdated. Images wander 'ghost-like through the present' and reality remains unredeemed.[9]

Memory-Images

Kracauer finds memory images far more useful. History can only be brought back through the medium of subjectivity. Proust's *memoire involuntaire* is the perfect model. A person is able to condense or embellish memory, unlike the photograph that in the passage of time only appears to darken, decay and

shrink in proportions. The camera is only capable of capturing a brief moment that accentuates space rather than temporality. The medium of subjective memory, however, can shatter the space-time configuration in order to piece the salvaged fragments together into a new meaningful order. Kracauer writes that when the grandmother stood in front of the camera 'she was present for one second in the spatial continuum that presented itself to the lens. But it was this aspect and not the grandmother that was eternalized.'[10] On the contrary, the memory image is capable of giving the impression of the whole person because it reduces the subject into a single unforgettable image: 'the last image of a person is that person's *history*,' writes Kracauer, and it is presented by the *monogram* 'that condenses the name into a single graphic figure which is meaningful as an ornament.'[11] Another form of condensation takes place in the making of a painting. The history painter does not paint his subject in order to present him in a naturalistic setting, but instead, through many sittings, aims to achieve an idea-image that captures the spirit of the sitter. Photography, on the other hand, is limited to showing us the appearance of the subject. It does not enable us to penetrate through the outer veneer to find the essence of the subject. This superficiality extends to the inability of photography to divulge the process of cognition of history. Photographs are regarded as merely able to stockpile the elements of nature without a selective process, as if it was a heap of garbage.[12]

Reality (nevertheless) Redeemed

In the closing pages of his "Photography" essay Kracauer makes an unexpected turn in his argument. Photography is given a role in the study of history. Suddenly, the mute surface appearance of the photograph that was impenetrable to probing the essence of the subject is an advantage. The photograph can only signify meaning in hindsight once the personal value of the image has been diminished after the grandmother and her grandchildren have died and the garments merely look peculiar. Moreover, in Kracauer's dialectical fashion, the fault he found in photography's capacity to merely stockpile the elements of nature becomes an asset once the photographs are piled and viewed *en masse*. In this new order, belonging to the "general inventory" of the catalogue, photography can yield information that hitherto was unnoticed. In writing that 'it is the task of photography to disclose this previously unexamined *foundation of nature*,' Kracauer anticipates Benjamin's definition of photography's optical unconscious that enables an image to store and release meanings that were neither perceived by the photographer nor recognized by his peers.[13] Hence, there is a tense relationship between

Fig. 3: Paula Ruby, ca. 1923.

photography's capacity to negate history by dwelling on the present, and its capacity to release the residues of nature that were previously invisible and open up new ways of interpreting reality later on. Once the notion of the singular subject disappears, leaving no need for the photographs to perform the task of resurrecting the dead as a *momento mori,* then the function of the photographic archive is to assemble 'in effigy the last elements of a nature alienated from meaning.' Thus, the inventory and the catalogue evoke images of unsorted photographs waiting to be categorized in hundreds of archival boxes. In this jumble of discarded and homeless images, one can find a new order that enables reality to be examined critically by the usage of film montage, photographic collage, and by adopting a surrealistic approach that estranges reality.[14]

The Family Pose
A Jewish immigrant family are dressed for a festive occasion (Fig. 4). Their motions are arrested twice: once by the pose they strike before the camera,

seconds before the photograph is taken, as though the force of the lens had already petrified them; and again, by the click of the camera that instantly separates them from the present they wish to preserve. A stamp on the photograph reads "rough proof" to denote that the printer of the photograph can still improve and enhance the appearance of his sitters. Below, embossed, is the name College Studios, identifying the photographer's enterprise: one in which a studio style photograph is actually taken outdoors to capture a family portrait from which women have been excluded. The photograph exudes an elegant air precisely because these figures have probably hired their formal costumes for the day, juxtaposed against the shabby backyard that exposes their real social status in a crammed working class area of Dublin. The poise of the seated bearded man recalls to mind Kracauer's connection between photography and fashion. He noted that a photograph from the recent past that 'claims to be alive' may appear more outdated than the representation of a past that existed long ago. The grandchildren observing the recently worn outfit of their grandmother find it comical because 'it might hide the legs of a modern girl.'[15] In our discussed photograph, however, it is not the passage of time that creates the comical tension between the present and the past. It is the bearded man who is hiding an old body in modern dress that makes us smile, unlike his sons, who appear more credulous in it. On the bearded man the hat and coat already cling as they did to the grandmother in the photograph once she had died and become a mere mannequin.

Does the fascination of this photograph rely only on its private value for me as I look at my ancestors and try to read in their faces my family's social history? Is it due to the fact that I am named after this old man who is my great-grandfather? Can his drooped hands attest to the beautiful Hebrew calligraphy he demonstrated as he sat day after day in a framer's shop in Dublin writing religious scripture while selling the pictures of Catholic saints which hung over his head? Could this photograph reveal that this old person was one of the few religious people in his community who believed in Zionism as a solution to the Jewish problem? It is only when I attach my memory to one of the members in the photograph that the image becomes meaningful. I look at the handsome man who stands in a debonair pose on the right. He assumes the air of a gentleman, as though the clothes have always been a part of his wardrobe. Hands in his pockets, slightly turned sideways yet looking directly at us, my grandfather appears to be looking toward the promising future that would lead him to become a respected member of the Jewish community of Leeds and a founder of the B'nai-Brith youth organization in Britain. Yet, at this moment in time, there is no clue to the look his eyes would assume shortly

Fig. 4: Meyer Joel Wigoder with Louis, Harry, Philip and Simon;
54 Dufferin Ave., Dublin, ca. 1910.

before he died when, lying in bed, he resembled a helpless child in a crib whose hollow upwards stare no longer saw people in the room but only the uncertainty of the moment that would claim his death. His long stare into space, as well as the look he gives the camera, recalled to me the spectral quality of 19th-century portrait photographs. They captured people gazing at length into the cold empty camera lens that was never able to return their look because the unseen camera operator was hiding beneath the black winged cloth of the Angel of Death.[16]

Present-Absentees

Forty years after writing his "Photography" essay, Kracauer returns to the subject in his books *Theory of Film* and *History: The Last Things Before The Last*. The Proustian subjective process of *memoire-involentare,* that Kracauer relied on in his early writings, is replaced by an image of photographic self-alienation to describe the condition of detachment that is necessary for the cognition of history. In what can only be described as "the return of the grandmother",

Kracauer reverts again to Proust by choosing a scene from *The Guermantes Way* as a paradigm for the relationship between the photographer, the stranger, and the historian. Marcel enters unannounced into his grandmother's living room after not having seen her for a long time. 'I was in the room, or rather I was not yet in the room since she was not aware of my presence,' writes Proust.[17] The meaning of this line hinges on the narrator's ability to be *present* but at the same time *absent* as long as an exchange of gazes does not take place between him and his grandmother. The sight of his grandmother sitting and reading on the sofa is likened to a photograph that is presented mechanically before the eyes of an observer, who suddenly feels that all he has known and felt for his grandmother has vanished because, for a brief moment, he is able to see her real character, 'heavy and common, sick, lost in thought....a dejected old woman' whom he suddenly does not know.[18]

In *History* Kracauer explains that Marcel's 'vacant mind' (the ability to be self-effaced and turn into a detached stranger) enables him to perceive his grandmother as she really is because he has divested himself from the 'complete Marcel' (the lover who has subjective memories and knowledge of her). Consequently, Marcel's "inner picture" of his grandmother yields to a photographic representation of her precisely at the moment when 'the loving person shrinks into an impersonal stranger' who is not influenced by his memories of her.[19] From a Proustian point of view the scene lends itself to becoming a photograph because the passivity of the observer is likened to the notion of the camera as an objective mirror. Kracauer claims that Marcel's vision of his grandmother is more complex. He envisions a "palimpsest sensibility" that enables Marcel the stranger to superimpose himself on Marcel the lover whose inscription is temporarily effaced. Similarly, he compares this dialectical sensibility to the way photography combines a "realistic" and a "formative" approach. The 19th-century definition of the subjectless camera that merely records the world is replaced with the belief that the camera is able to convey the subjective creative will of the photographer through his choice of filters, camera angles and printing styles.

The dialectical relations of the photographer/lover and the formative/realistic approaches in photography, are boosted by another comparison with the stranger who resides in a space of "extraterritoriality". He lives either in enforced or free-willed exile that causes him to be severed from his roots and culture. The new and old identity reside together in a state of flux and uncertainty that ensures 'he will never belong to the community to which he now in a way belongs.'[20] The condition of being somewhere and nowhere and of carrying one's past identity into a new surrounding also produces here a

"palimpsest sensibility": This is the realm of the stranger that Kracauer claims has ceased to belong:

> "Where then does he live? In the near-vacuum of extra-territoriality, the very no-man's land which Marcel entered when he first caught sight of his grandmother. The exile's true mode of existence is that of the stranger. So he may look at his previous existence with the eyes of one "who does not belong to the house."[21]

The next turn in Kracauer's argument is to compare the stranger with the historian and his methodological approach to the study of the past. The photographic relationship between the "realistic" and the "formative" approaches are compared to the "passive activity" of the historian's journey during the research and interpretation of historical material. When the historian sifts through the primary material he resembles the stranger as his thoughts ambulate between the past and the present with no fixed abode. Like Marcel, the historian must be detached and self-effaced at the first stages in order to prevent his theoretical ideas from obstructing the 'unexpected facts' that 'perhaps turn out to be incompatible with his original assumptions.'[22] Then, the historian's subjectivity enters at the stage of interpreting the material. A grey area exists between the ability of the material to do its own talking and the historian's subjective skills as a story teller. For Kracauer, self-effacement did not imply a quest to reach an objective state of knowledge. Instead, objectivity is replaced by 'unmitigated subjectivity.' The historian's journey does not imply an ability to divide history into universal abstractions and neat epochs. He is free to move from the present to the past as he pleases and, to use a reference to mythology, 'must return to the upper world and put his booty to good use.'[23] Elsewhere in *History*, Kracauer cites another example of the historian's journey from darkness to light to describe this freedom of mobility:

> Like Orpheus the historian must descend into the nether world to bring the dead back to life. How far will they follow his allurements and evocations? They are lost to him when, re-emerging into the sunlight of the present, he turns for fear of losing them. But does he not for the first time take possession of them at this very moment—the moment when they forever depart, vanishing in a history of his own making? [24]

History is perceived at the moment in which the past is petrified into an image. Orpheus' journey from darkness to light evocatively recalls the process of

printing a photograph. The image is developed in the dark room. A precise amount of time marks the journey in which it emerges from the paper, making its way to visibility like Euridyce's ascent to reality - *the return from the dead*. An impatient photographer, prematurely turning on the light to see the photograph before it has been transferred from the developer to the fixative bath that protects it from the injuries of time, like Orpheus looking back over his shoulder, would cause the image to vanish. Both Orpheus and the photographer are tested for their patience; their faith relies on a prerequisite to wait. Both take hold of reality precisely at the moment when they lose sight of it.

The Unbound Reality

Figure 5 represents the photograph I never had of myself and my father. For this reason I place it by my desk and observe my father as a young university student walking with my grandfather down College Avenue in Dublin. One person in this photograph has died. As long as my father lives I am always someone's son and he acts as a buffer zone between me and death. On this photograph I am able to project my affection for my father by recalling the joy and creative play I derived from walking with him to synagogue as a child, to his work places, and especially to my first sights of New York City. The enterprising street photographer has surprised these walkers and immediately offered them a photograph they could otherwise have never had of themselves, two anonymous pedestrians in a city street. Consequently, a family portrait, which usually entails posing, has been transported into the aesthetics of street photography that relies on contingency and chance. The stilled image offers us a view of a space we rarely see: an intermediary area opens up in my father's gait; it measures the breadth of his step. Yet, this space defies definition because it is never really fixed and only the camera has prevented the next step from taking place. This area, between the previous and subsequent step, marks the logic that typifies snapshot photography: the photograph represents a moment in time that separates what will *no longer take place* from *what has not yet happened.*

The street evokes the mood of the melancholic photographer as a *flâneur* who roams around with no fixed abode selecting the discarded "garbage" in the form of photographic bits-and-pieces.[25] The camera enables us to comprehend the interrupted quality of contingent reality precisely because the photographic medium captures reality only partially, testifying to our fragmented experience. Nonetheless, it was the animated cinema and not the absolute frozen gaze of photography that Kracauer felt was best equipped to redeem reality from oblivion. In *Theory of Film* he explains that the chief characteristic of cinema is derived from its ability to capture transience, 'street

Fig. 5: Louis and Geoffrey Wigoder walking down
Westmoreland St., Dublin, 1942.

crowds, involuntary gestures, and other fleeting impressions are its very meat.'[26] Such chapter subheadings as "The unstaged", "The fortuitous", "Once again the street", and "Concept of life as such" reveal Kracauer's interest in uncovering the mundane aspects of our lives that escape our notice. For this reason, cinema is able to reveal things that have been hitherto hidden and 'persistently veiled by ideologies.'[27]

The provisional aspects of experience, the unbound reality, become the most important clues for the historian's understanding of a period. Kracauer writes that 'one may define the area of historical reality, like that of photographic reality, as an anteroom area. Both realities are of a kind which does not lend itself to being dealt with in a "definite way" and both elude "the grasp of systematic thought".'[28] The "anteroom thinking" contains the palimpsest

principle. It is an intermediary area that can simultaneously contain Marcel the blind lover who is effaced by the photographer/stranger, just as it can allude to the realist/formative approaches in photography and to the passive/active research of the historian. While considering where such an area might exist in a photograph, I returned to the image of my father and examined a singular area that especially caught my attention. The fold in my father's coat represents the quintessential sign of the fortuitous moment in street photography that relies on accident. (It was probably overlooked by the photographer when taking the photograph.) The fold is an intermediary area that encompasses both the exterior of the coat and its inside lining; it simultaneously belongs to both and yet to neither. It is the place that draws our attention to the surfaces of both the coat and the photograph. We should remember that Kracauer's redemptive criticism relied on a "material aesthetics" that is based on emphasizing the importance of the surfaces of reality to our understanding of popular culture and historical processes.

The "anteroom area" evokes another association in my mind with the surface of film. The cinematic dissolve, which is used to signal the passage of time, superimposes two images. The transition from one image to another is often imperceptible unless its motion is arrested on the editing table: there in the blurred space of the stilled photograph, between the image that has not fully departed and the new one that has not yet been fully formed – like Marcel standing at the threshold of his grandmother's living room – exists a "combination image" whose beauty and particularity can not be foretold; a no-man's land that cannot be grasped; a space of freedom and of waiting that also typified the émigré experience and sensibility of Kracauer's entire life.

NOTES

1 Blanchot 1981: 79-90.
2 This idea is discussed in Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida* which he dedicates to *L'Imaginaire* by Jean-Paul-Sartre. See Barthes 1984.
3 My reading of Kracauer's theory is indebted to the following articles: Koch 1991; Mulder-Bach 1991; Rodowick 1987; Schlüpmann 1991.
4 Kracauer 1995: 47.
5 *Ibid*.: 48.
6 *Ibid*.
7 *Ibid*.: 55.
8 *Ibid*.: 59.
9 *Ibid*.

10 *Ibid*.

11 *Ibid*.: 51.

12 *Ibid*.

13 See Benjamin 1980: 203.

14 Kracauer 1995: 62.

15 *Ibid*.: 55.

16 'Looking at someone carries the implicit expectation that our look will be returned by the object of our gaze,' writes Walter Benjamin. For the early 19th-century sitters, who flocked to have their portraits taken in the studios, the slow process of the daguerreotype caused them to prolong their gaze at the camera that was unable in return to acknowledge them. See Benjamin 1989: 188.

17 Kracauer 1960: 14.

18 *Ibid*.

19 Kracauer 1969: 83.

20 *Ibid*.: 84.

21 *Ibid*.: 83-84.

22 *Ibid*. : 84-85.

23 *Ibid*.: 88.

24 *Ibid*.: 79.

25 Kracauer emphasizes the "insatiable curiosity" of the photographer that stirs him to roam the streets of the city like an "explorer". The photographer's receptivity resembles the role Proust cast for the photographer as a stranger. Melancholy governs the strolling of this *flâneur*. The urban scenery in the photographs reveals his state of mind rather than the city per se. See Kracauer 1960: 16-17.

26 *Ibid*.: ix.

27 *Ibid*.: 299.

78 Kracauer 1969: 191.

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Lilien and Zionism

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*E*phraim Mose Lilien has often been described as the first artist of the Zionist Movement, or even labeled at times the "first Zionist artist."[1] There is undoubtedly ample justification for referring to Lilien in such terms; he was, after all, the foremost contributor to the early visual vocabulary of the Zionist Movement, and some of his images have persistently kept a firm hold on the imagination of later generations. He was, furthermore, actively involved over a period of years with the Zionist Movement, and served as representative to the Sixth Zionist Congress. He was one of the founders of the *Jüdischer Verlag*, the Jewish publishing company in Berlin whose publications propagated the artistic and literary output of the Jewish Renaissance. He also took part in establishing the Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem. However, a marked lessening of his commitment to Zionism may be discerned in the years following his first trip to Jerusalem, at the time he started working on his Bible illustrations and developing his skills as an etching artist. The roots of this development lie further back in time, close to when he was still actively involved in Zionist affairs. A certain ambivalence in his Zionist attitudes could be discerned even then, and it is the peripeties of his Zionist stance that are brought under scrutiny in the following pages.

There seems to have been, in retrospect, much to commend the conjoining of Lilien and the burgeoning Zionist movement. Art Nouveau, or *Jugendstil*, to apply in Lilien's case the German term for the Munich-based Art Nouveau center, embodied to a large extent the striving for a new art, a new aesthetic direction free of any allegiance or subservience to the styles of the past. Thus, words like "renascence" and "liberation" figured often in writings associated with the movement.[2] The names by which the style was known in its various

centers — Art Nouveau, *Jugendstil*, or "style of youth," *Modernista*, Modern Style — also convey a sense of a new beginning.

It is hardly surprising that, quite early on, at the time Lilien's association with the Zionist Movement was already well-established, the awakening of the Jewish national spirit would be associated with this stance of artistic liberation. In 1906, in a small book entitled *The New Art of an Ancient People*, M. S. Levussove, an art professor in New York, argued that the renascence of the Jewish spirit could be compared to what he termed the 'art rebellion, the war of the Secession,'[3] which he defined as an 'onslaught on the academic and classic art' resulting in the creation of a new style.[4] Levussove was careful enough, however, not to define a "Jewish style", and his stylistic observations regarding Lilien's work could have fitted a great many of the artistic trends associated with the Secession movement in general.

The question of Jewish art was heatedly debated in the Fifth Zionist Congress. Martin Buber argued that the diaspora Jew, his existence wholly lacking the aesthetic dimension, is a barren human being, blind to beauty and nature. Jewish art, Buber said, would help regain this dimension and complement the efforts of the Zionist movement to lead the Jewish people toward a realization of its potential. While a truly national art would flourish only on Jewish soil, there is much that can also be accomplished, Buber asserted, by Jewish art, if it becomes fully conscious of the cultural tradition of the Jewish people. Buber's reference to a 'truly national art' flourishing on Jewish soil appears to be the closest he came to evoking the notion of style. Indeed, Martin Buber, Ahad Ha'am and others saw Jewish art mostly in terms of Jewish content or Jewish iconography, and there was very little effort to define a Jewish style.[5] This is where Art Nouveau, especially in Lilien's *Jugendstil* version, could indeed have suggested the means of circumventing the question of style by potentially enabling the incorporation of the symbols and iconography of the Jewish cultural tradition within a stylistic framework, which, in placing itself under the banner of the new and in its somewhat eclectic stylistic orientation, presumed to free itself from subservience to any hallowed style of the recent or more remote past. Its floral ornament suggesting life and energy would have formed a strong stylistic correlative to the promise of dynamic awakening inherent in Zionism. Furthermore, perceived as essentially a non-Jewish artistic mode, *Jugendstil* also suggested to Jewish intellectuals of the time the benefits of incorporating, under the aegis of Zionism, a vital non-Jewish cultural force into Jewish secular self-identification.[6]

The coming together of *Jugendstil* and Zionism had its beginning in Lilien's career during the last years of the century. Lilien's artistic activities in Munich

Fig. 1: E. M. Lilien, "At the Anvil" ("Am Amboß"), *Süddeutscher Postillon*, September 1897.

during that time might, indeed, be seen as nurturing those developments that eventually led to the later conceptions underlying his work for the Zionist movement. In 1897, a short while after he had begun publishing drawings in the literary and artistic journal *Die Jugend*, Lilien began his activities as illustrator for various socialist publications, primarily the illustrated magazine *Süddeutscher Postillon*, whose editor, Eduard Fuchs became a close friend of his.[7] Beginning with his first drawing to appear in the *Süddeutscher Postillon*, an illustration for a poem entitled "Der Amboß" (The Anvil) (September 1897), (Fig. 1), Lilien's illustrations for this magazine, in their relative sobriety and solemnity, exhibit marked differences from his work for *Die Jugend*, with its Arcadian subjects of nymphs and satyrs and its erotic, almost decadent frivolity — characteristics that also exemplify some of the ex-libris he designed around that time. Some of the elements that formally characterize the works for *Jugend* — undulating curves and uninterrupted flowing lines, usually applied to bacgrounds or to the depiction of serpentine hair — found their way to the *Süddeutscher Postillon* illustrations. Such are, for instance, the undulating hair of the female figure in the cover of the Christmas issue of 1897, or the ornamental sparks arising from the grinding machine in "Das Rad der Zeit" (The Wheel of Time), the centerfold illustration of the August 1898 issue. However, contrary

to the light and sketchy character of the Jugend illustrations, the latter exhibit stronger lines and simpler decorative schemes. These works for the *Süddeutscher Postillon* and, similarly, the title page and double-page spread for the *Mai-Zeitung* of 1899, already reveal much of what would characterize, a few years later, his work for the Zionist movement, both conceptually and stylistically. They were mostly conceived as allegorical schemes involving personifications of, for instance, labor, art and Social Democracy. These allegorical figures are engaged in symbolical actions (for example, the winged Social Democracy handing a wreath to the worker who has just broken off his chains; labor and art shaking or holding hands). In a manner which would become even more pronounced a few years later, Lilien retained the primacy of the human figure, setting an opposition between the academic naturalism of the figure drawing and the flatness of setting and ornament. The decorative schemes were mostly relegated to the borders, often involving ornamental elements that functioned as emblematic signs communicating meaning (for instance, stylized and schematized workers' tools).

These characteristics point away from normative Art Nouveau or *Jugendstil*, and it is, indeed, in such deviations that one may locate the promise for his contemporaries of concepts such as Socialist art or, later, Jewish national art. To this might be added considerations of the thematic implications of Lilien's stylistic choices, especially in view of what might be considered the failure of Art Nouveau's program of regeneration of art and life. While preparing the way for important future experiments in art, architecture and design, Art Nouveau was also bogged down by an undertow of Romantic and mystical yearning, as well as by its inability to face the harsh realities of modern society. Weary and decadent *fin-de-siècle* mood, and ornament of great preciosity approaching the morbid, took precedence over its more robust representations of the vital forces of plants and flowers. Zionism, on the contrary, required a more robust approach; not pure aesthetics but a forceful expression of ideology; not a suppression of narrative content but harnessing such a content to its overall political and social purpose. Academic naturalism, combined with decorative forms which also stood for Jewish or Zionist emblems and symbols, served this purpose better than Art Nouveau morbidity or abstraction[8] on the one hand, or any of the more progressive Post-Impressionist trends on the other.

All these considerations notwithstanding, that Zionism seemed for a while to have found a potent vehicle in *Jugendstil* was largely due to the publication in 1900 of *Juda*, a book of poems by Börries von Münchhausen, designed and illustrated by Lilien. There is, however, no reason to assume that Lilien's work

on this book had been prompted by any direct association with Zionist circles, or that he had in this publication consciously proposed a program or a model for a Zionist or Jewish national art. That is not to say that Lilien was wholly oblivious to Zionism at the time. It has been argued that it was in his hometown Drohobycz (1892-1894) that the foundations had been laid for his strong national Jewish sentiments as well as his identification with Zionist ideology,[9] and that some of his associates in Munich belonged to Zionist circles.[10] It might be added that some of the symbols introduced in *Juda*, such as the Magen David and the eight-branch Menorah, were, as noted by Yigal Zalmona, at that time already well-established as new Zionist emblems.[11] However, within the overall thematic and decorative scheme of the book, these seem to be grafted on to what is generally a Jewish cultural context and thus appear more in their capacity of traditional Jewish religious symbols. Admittedly, there were no clear demarcation lines at the time between sentiments related to a renascence of Jewish national identity, in its religious-cultural sense, and those associated with Zionism as a national liberation movement that aimed to provide an answer to questions raised by modern anti-Semitism. However, steeped on the whole in Jewish and Biblical themes, the book is certainly quite removed from anything referring to Zionism's "political" aim of creating for the Jewish people a home in Palestine, as it was proclaimed in the "Basle Declaration" in 1897. As a collaborative effort by von Münchhausen and Lilien, the book is an expression of late-century romantic-national ideas. In what concerns the book's literary context, the name "Juda" indicates its "Judaizing" tendency; that is, the casting of its Biblical material in a specifically Jewish framework (rather than Christian exegesis).[12] Even the ballad "Passah" (Passover), with its call for the Jews to return to their homeland and celebrate Passover in the future in Jerusalem, is not necessarily an expression of modern Zionist political rhetoric. In this respect, the material is no more "Zionist" in essence than, say, Byron's "Hebrew Melodies." This could also be said of Lilien's illustration for "Passah", which represents an old Jew, his figure encircled in thorns, viewed against monumental Egyptian architecture and the distant sun of "Zion" sending forth its rays. The Jew, standing on a high precipice, irrevocably separating him from "Zion", does not even turn directly toward it; the thematic roots of the illustration are thus embedded in the Diaspora rather than in anything associated with a contemporary Zionist sentiment. If we can still see *Juda* as a Zionist creation, it is because it was so enthusiastically adopted by the Zionist movement. It was indeed the book Zionism yearned for, one whose conception, overall design, and stylistic deviations from typical *Jugendstil* norms, suggested a promising direction for the art to be, a Jewish national art that would fulfil its ideological

Fig. 2: E. M. Lilien, "The Jewish May" ("Der Jüdische Mai"),
Lieder des Ghetto, 1902.

and propagandist needs. Furthermore, it would appear that it was the enthusiastic reception accorded to the book by Jewish and Zionist circles that helped recruit Lilien and his art to the cause of Zionism.

Once Lilien harnessed himself to this task, he began pursuing successfully an artistic idiom that would answer the expectations of his generation, as is well apparent in the persistence of some of the images he created in the common consciousness of the Jews in the following decades. Such is, for instance, the illustration for the poem "Der Jüdische Mai" ("The Jewish May," *Lieder des Ghetto*, 1902) (Fig. 2), with its unabashedly emotional depiction of an old Jew who, bound with thorns and guarded by snakes, stretches his arms with a tearful and yearning look toward the sun which rises over an enchanted dream-vision of a Zion underneath which flows a meandering river bedecked with lush vegetation and palm trees. For the Diaspora Jew yearning for a Zion he had never seen, few images can equal this one in its direct emotional appeal (in this respect, it is far superior to the "Passah" illustration). A similar image was used around that time for a souvenir card for the Fifth Zionist Congress (1901), in which a similarly bound Jew is ordered by an angel to look toward a distant Zion where a Jew is seen ploughing the land within the orb of a huge and blinding sun. Lilien's art succeeded indeed in synthesizing readymade ingredients with a proven appeal to the Jewish popular imagination — mostly

those in which the religious and folkloristic motifs remained dominant. When Issachar Ryback and Boris Aronson, in an 1919 article, criticized Lilien, from the perspective of Jewish modernism of the Russian Revolution era, for embracing the 'Biblical, Zionist sentiment with all its superficialities and pseudo-romanticism — the palm tree from Goldfaden's theatre and the *Menorah* from the poems of Frug,'[13] they pointed precisely, though unsympathetically, to those elements that made his art so popular.

As noted before with regard to *Juda*, the Zionism inherent in Lilien's work was romantic-national in essence. As an expression of Utopian longing for Zion, tinged with "Biblical" romanticism — paralleling, in a sense, the Utopian socialist themes, with their somewhat romanticizing attitude regarding labor and the proletariat, that dominated his work during the Munich years — it remained an insubstantial vision, quite lacking in what referred to activist Zionism. It was also well removed, as we shall see, from the reality of Palestine, to which he was exposed during his first trip in 1906. Ryback and Aronson's criticism notwithstanding, Lilien's illustrations were less heavily tinged with romanticism and more topical in their implications when he came to express Jewish, or even Jewish-national, themes that were not necessarily related to Zionism. His illustrations for Morris Rosenfeld's *Lieder des Ghetto* are, in this respect, more persuasive as authentic expressions of Lilien's frame of mind vis-à-vis their subjects than those for *Juda*, for instance. The son of a poor wood turner in Drohobicz, Lilien witnessed in his childhood the plight of the small craftsman who could hardly provide for his family. This childhood experience is given memorable expression in the portrait of his father at the lathe, a haunted and despairing look on his face, framed by his working tools and by the highly stylized shapes of the shavings coming off the wooden block. In other illustrations for the "Lieder der Arbeit" section, the sinister shapes of a blood-sucking vampire or a spider weaving its web are grafted on to the more realistic depictions of Jewish tailor and sweatshop worker. Most of Rosenfeld's poems deal with the fate of Jews in the Diaspora. Appropriately, they are accompanied with images — in illustrations and border decorations alike — that revert in their form, mood and iconography to an idiom that might be considered closer to normative *Jugendstil*. Such are the bare drooping branches of a tree and a broken harp (cover illustration), roses with extremely long thorny stems, drooping flowers, curling snakes, and cobwebs. These images appear to be more indicative of the general mood of the book than the depiction of an archangel bearing Herzl's physiognomy in the illustration for "The Creation of Men" (Fig. 3). Indeed, the book as a whole is quite removed from the spirit of Zionism as a movement of political renascence and liberation. The illustration

Fig. 3: E. M. Lilien, "The Creation of Men" ("Die Erschaffung des Menschen"),
Lieder des Ghetto, 1902.

for "Storm" (Fig. 4), with its two Jews forlornly sitting on the deck of a ship
tossing in the storm, is, in its expression of the experience of Jewish immigrants,
far more concrete and immediate than the illustration for "Der Jüdische Mai"
— the only direct "Zionist" work in the book — in which the yearning for Zion
is offered from the timeless perspective of the traditional viewpoint of the
Diaspora Jew.

Some of the illustrations of *Lieder des Ghetto* convey a hidden sense of
uneasiness. It is not just a matter of sinister bats and vampires, or snakes rearing
their heads in the border decoration. In a less obtrusive manner, it is introduced
even in the illustration for the poem "Mein Kind," which follows a long
Romantic tradition of portraits of children, whose innocence and purity find
their counterparts in flowers and other creations of unspoiled nature. Here,
though, this innocence seems to be threatened, since the heartshaped frame
surrounding the child's head is made of thorns. Such an almost undefined
quality of bizarreness, even perverseness, can also be discerned in the
illustration for the poem "The Creation of Men." It is not so much that the
image of Herzl, as one of the angels present at the creation of man, is shown
practically naked, although this does have a somewhat bizarre effect. Rather,
this quality is derived from the contrast perceived between Herzl's strong and
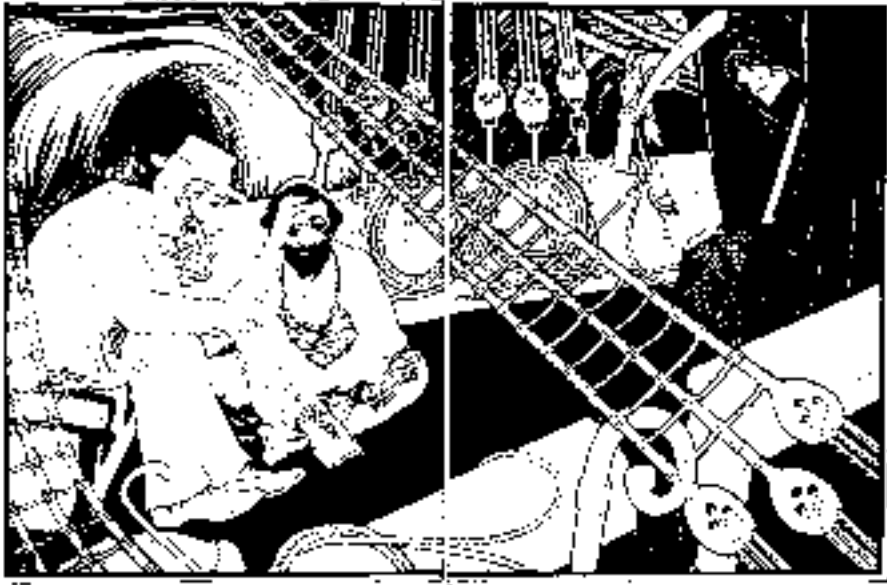masculine figure, which dominates the left-hand page in this double-page

Fig. 4: E. M. Lilien, "Storm" ("Sturm"), *Lieder des Ghetto,* 1902.

illustration, and the boyish, vulnerable and somewhat feminized figure of the newly-created man seen on the left.[14] As suggested in the poem, the newly-created man also represents the poet or artist, and one might be tempted to see this vulnerable poet as Lilien's oblique reference to himself as an artist dominated by the larger-than-life figure of Herzl. A certain ambivalence regarding Herzl, that may have been only hinted at in 1902, became much more pronounced later on in 1908, when a Herzl figure appeared again in Lilien's art in several of the illustrations for the first volume of the Westermann edition of *Die Bücher der Bibel.* The juxtaposition one may perceive in the illustration for "The Creation of Men" comes up again in the depiction of Jacob's struggle with the angel, where, in a strange reversal of roles, Jacob, a strong black-bearded figure (indeed, with pronounced Herzlian features) struggles with a young vulnerable angel whose own twisted thigh is more prominently displayed than Jacob's. I suspect there is some homoerotic quality in this pair; or, it may refer to some hidden current of a love-hate relationship with Herzl. I won't go into the psychological implications of such illustrations (a subject that still awaits a serious study), but rather consider the implications insofar as Lilien's commitment to the cause of Zionism is considered. These are brought into high relief in the representation of "The Expulsion from the Garden of Eden," where an angel holding the "flaming sword which turned every way"

bears Herzl's features, while Adam's appearance somewhat resembles that of the vulnerable angel struggling with Jacob. The angel, whose sword, held upright along his body, hides his nakedness, refers back to two very significant precedents: Lilien's earlier "Rahab" illustration in *Juda*, in which the naked Rahab is lying prostrate below the figure of an angel with huge dark wings and holding a long phallic sword that seems plunged into her body. The posture of this figure appears directly related to that of the angel represented in Franz von Stuck's *The Guardian of Paradise* (1889), whose sword also seems to have been a model for the sword in the Bible illustration. I suspect that both Von Stuck's painting and its permutation as an erotic-sadistic scene in the "Rahab" illustration were on Lilien's mind, perhaps quite unconsciously, when he came to represent his version of the "Guardian of Paradise." The question is why has Herzl been assigned such a role in Lilien's work. It has been suggested that the desert-like seashore, with its desert vegetation, is a reflection of the Land of Israel, as Lilien saw it during his first trip to Palestine.[15] The border of the Garden of Eden, on the other hand, seems to consist of papyri or bulrushes, and these are associated with Egypt. Thus, the illustration also has as a subtext the Exodus from Egypt, with Herzl-Moses ordering the Jews to leave the fleshpots of Egypt-Europe in order to settle in the desert-land of Israel.[16] Does Lilien's picture imply a perception on his part, however unconscious it might be, of his own inability or unwillingness to leave Europe for the desert land of Zion? The drooping heads of the lilies (*Lilien* in German) seen at the feet of the angel, next to Lilien's signature, seem to offer a further substantiation for this interpretation.

Can we discern in these pictures hints concerning a disenchantment with his role as a Zionist artist or a lessening of his Zionist commitment? In the most extensive biographical source, Lilien's collected letters to his wife, *Briefe an seine Frau: 1905-1925* (1985), there is no specific indication warranting such a conclusion. However, whereas the early letters are full of enthusiastic pronouncements concerning Zionism, letters written during or after his first trip to Palestine appear to be quite low key in this respect. Alongside enthusiastic responses to sites holding remnants of the Biblical past, the letters also seem to express some disappointment with the present-day reality he found there, which was quite removed from the Utopian vision of Zionism presented by him in his earlier work. This disenchantment may have been enhanced by a weakening of his ties, following Herzl's death, with the new leadership of the Zionist Movement. To this might be added Lilien's falling-out with Boris Schatz, after he had accompanied him to Jerusalem as a member of the executive committee of Bezalel, in order to help establish there the Bezalel art school. It

Fig. 5: E. M. Lilien, *The Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*
Die Bücher der Bibel, 1, 1908.

may also be argued that, whereas his Jewish national feelings and his Zionism were nurtured by his Eastern-European background, and grew as a response to the hardships and pogroms experienced by the Jews there,[17] his marriage in 1906 to Helena Magnus, daughter of a respectable and fully assimilated Jewish family in Brunswick, may have brought about a lessening of his Jewish and Zionist commitment.

Such issues, however, might be explored by a future biographer. My concern is with the evidence provided by Lilien's two central activities in the years following his first trip to Jerusalem — the Bible illustrations and the etchings — this mostly in relation to the development of his conception of landscape. In most of his early illustrations, figures, symbols and emblematic forms act in a non-realistically determined space. The flatness and stylization of setting in his early work often resulted in the placement of figure and landscape in two distinct and separate spatial configurations as, for instance, in "Passah" or in "Der Jüdische Mai." Although the landscapes almost always contain important emblematic elements, these spatial tensions necessitated at times that landscape elements be relegated to a somewhat subsidiary position. We can view, indeed, the gradual change in his art following his first visit to the Middle East in 1906 as one in which the landscape loses its emblematic character and becomes more realistic. This development is easily discernible in the illustrations for the three volumes of the Westermann edition of *Die Bücher der Bibel* which came out in 1908, 1909 and 1912. In the first Bible volume Lilien tended to choose the kind

of motif that required a non-realistic, symbolic or allegorical treatment. Such is, for instance, his treatment of Moses with the Tablets of the Law, referred to above, with its stylized clouds seen against a fantastic landscape. Some of the illustrations in the sixth volume (the second to be published), especially those for "Psalms," offer views of a more authentic nature, still placed within a decorative border (palm trees in Psalms 42 and 43). In the 1912 volume, the presence of human figures is often quite inconsequential. Lilien introduces some identifiable locations, either as settings for a Biblical theme (for example, the Damascus Gate as an illustration for Ruth) or with no narrative pretext whatsoever (a view of Jerusalem with palm tree, to accompany Proverbs, chapter 29). Landscapes of this type appear in great preponderance in the single-volume Bible editions published in 1912 and 1915, which make use of all the illustrations included in the three volumes of the uncompleted early edition.

No great discernment is needed to perceive the direct relationship existing between those illustrations and Lilien's etchings. Lilien started making etchings around 1908, and after 1912 etching became his exclusive mode of artistic creation. His move to graphics may have been prompted partially by personal or even material factors. One may conjecture that at that time Lilien had to accept the painful truth that, as an "Artist of the Zionist Movement," he had few commissions coming his way. There was no question that the print medium offered potentially a better income than drawings or illustrations. In one of his letters to his wife Lilien reveals his enthusiasm over sales of etchings and enumerates all those sold; in another he says that more etchings were sold than drawings.[18] It is also conceivable that Lilien felt a growing urge to engage in an art form that can be acquired by collectors, hung on walls or displayed in exhibitions, rather than remain hidden within the covers of a book or put away in a newspaper bin.[19] Lilien would have been aware, to a greater or lesser extent, of the momentous implications of such a decision for the Zionist orientation of his art. Rather than harness his art to the general dissemination of the Zionist idea in the form of a book or any other form of publication, a Jewish publication, Lilien would create in the exclusive domain of the individual collector or the art connoisseur. Whether or not these implications were fully on Lilien's mind when he turned to etchings, such developments certainly add another dimension to the lessening of his ties with the Zionist Movement to which I have referred before.

A parallel development might be discerned in his etchings. Among the first etchings in 1908 and 1909 there are some, like *Ploughing Jew* and *The Wall of Lamentation in Jerusalem*, which reveal, in their fantastic quality and linear or decorative character, some persistence of older forms and motifs. But there

are also quite a few portraits, and even some depictions of "ethnic" types: a Moroccan Jew, a Yemenite Jew, a Turk. In 1910 and later, most of the prints depict authentic locations and "types." It appears that Lilien began looking for a means of conveying more effectively his newly awakened perceptions of the reality of the Land of the Bible, and he found in etching a medium most suitable to this end. The adoption of etching may in itself also have progressively enhanced his awareness of that reality and led to a growing dependence on the possibilities offered by this medium. Lilien's ever growing reliance on the etching medium is, indeed, most apparent in the illustrations for the third Bible volume and for the later New Testament section (included in the Bible editions published in 1912 and 1915), in which the character of the landscape and, at times, the textural quality follow those of the etchings. Lilien's growing adherence to this medium may have affected his work on the Bible illustrations. One may account for the unfinished state of the Westermann edition of *Die Bücher der Bibel* by citing the publisher's diminished enthusiasm for the project. It would be no less accurate, however, to see the abandonment of this project as being primarily due to Lilien's own waning interest, as evinced by the smaller number of illustrations in the last two volumes to be published.

The subjects of Lilien's etchings are not exclusively Middle Eastern; over the years he made some very fine works depicting European subjects, views of Brunswick and of Lemberg, landscapes in Galicia or portraits of Polish peasants. The Middle Eastern works, however, far outweigh the others. The question is whether this fact suffices to vindicate the viewpoint that argues for a Zionist continuity in Lilien's work. We can consider this question in the light of the importance assigned by Lilien to topographic and ethnographic accuracy. Lilien follows here a tradition whose roots lie in the 18th or early 19th-century penchant for accurate representation of subjects of interest for the historian or scientist. The Middle East was one of the preferred areas to be explored by scientists and pilgrims alike, and the publications documenting such expeditions offered scope enough for topographical artists, as did guidebooks for tourists or other pictorial surveys. I should mention, in this respect, David Roberts' volumes of lithographs published in the 1850s; Finden's *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible*, some of which were drawn by Turner, published in 1836; Bartlett's and Alom's illustrations for John Carne's *Syria, the Holy Land, etc.* published in 1836; or Charles Wilson's famous *Picturesque Palestine*, with illustrations by anonymous artists, published in the 1880s.

The 19th century saw some significant developments in the methods for attaining this truthful representation of the oriental setting. In this, the work of the artist was greatly enhanced by photography, which simply offered an easier,

faster, and more accurate way of sketching a landscape or, even better, a street scene, in preparation for a painting. Artists such as Horace Vernet and Jean-Léon Gérôme, for instance, are known to have painted with the help of photographs.[20] At times, the reliance of the artist on specific photographs done by others may border on slavish imitation. This accurate rendition of a photograph was, of course, precisely what was demanded from an engraving artist converting a photograph into an engraving. This was the only viable way for publishing photographs before the introduction of photo-mechanical printing later in the century. Indeed, it was a far more efficient method of reproduction than the pasting of separately developed photographs into a book.

However, especially in the case of landscapes, the engravings were often modified slightly; an imaginary reality was introduced to accommodate some pictorial convention that was not necessarily commensurable with the original photograph. In the far more independent context of painting, such modifications, either of the photograph or the actual scene as experienced by the artist, are certainly the rule. Topographical artists were influenced, in this respect, by a tradition of landscape painting that was based on patterns derived from the ideal landscapes of Poussin or Claude and from the somewhat later schemes of the picturesque, a term, as has been aptly pointed out, which 'counts among its many connotations the literal one of seeing nature in terms of other pictures.'[21] The Claudian structure usually suggested a closed scene, framed by trees, buildings or hills—an artful "framing" of nature—in which the foreground was occupied by figures or ruins, for instance, and the background suggested some misty distant vista, often a mountain, while the main subject lay in between the two. The Claudian scheme retained its strength in European art well into the 19th century, and it persevered even later in topographical art.[22]

The deviations from strict topographical accuracy we find in 19th century paintings or engravings of Holy Land landscapes were often intended to bring the bare, at times featureless, and desolate landscape closer to this convention.[23] Photographers too often chose their point of view to accommodate such a scheme. We may place alongside one another, for instance, the views of Jerusalem from Mount Scopus or from the Mount of Olives found in Charles Wilson's *Picturesque Palestine* (1880-84) (Fig. 6), in which trees or a small ruin frame the subject (although here the city itself occupies a very distant middle ground), and a 1900 photograph (by an American Colony photographer)[24] of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives in which trees even more obviously serve as a framing device (in a manner quite similar, in fact, to Lilien's depiction of the same motif in a New Testament illustration). It should be added that,

Fig. 6: Charles W. Wilson, "Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives",
Picturesque Palestine, 1880-84.

alongside such or similar efforts to bend the photograph to obey the conventions of the picturesque, there were other photographers who remained on the whole quite faithful to the special character of the landscapes of the Holy Land. Indeed, some of their photographs may appear to us today quite monotonous in their dull and somber textures.

Photography, as has been amply documented in recent years, was indeed a dominant aesthetic factor in Lilien's work, serving as aide-mémoire and helping him when he was back home to recapture accurately the detail and flavor of types and places.[25] His etchings also largely reflect the two diverging attitudes noted above. Some offer artistic embellishments of the landscape that would satisfy the demands of the conventions of the picturesque, while others appear closer to the more objective approach. Lilien's famous 1911 etching of the view of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, for example, with its olive trees and Arab tent (Fig. 7), appears quite close to Francis Frith's 1862 photograph,[26] with its olive trees jutting into the city, its figures and small oriental edifice; as opposed to the stark view offered by a 1855 photograph by James Graham.[27] Lilien's etching *The Shore of the Sea of Galilee* (1919), on the other hand, represents quite a bare landscape, and is similar, in this respect, also to some of his New Testament views (Fig. 8).

Fig. 7: E. M. Lilien, *Jerusalem, from the Mount of Olives,* etching, 1911.

My concern, however, is not with Lilien's dependence on photography for his illustrations and etchings, but with the manner in which the conceptions underlying his etchings evince a basic ambivalence on his part regarding his commitment to the Zionist cause. His vision of the Holy Land, it seems, had no place in it for modern Zionism, for the actual manifestations of the Zionist effort. Nowhere in his work do we find any perception of the new. His vision was quite selective in this respect. His many portraits of Arabs, Yemenite Jews, Samaritans, and other ethnic groups are authentic representations of "types", but these were chosen precisely because they were types; the streets of Jerusalem in his graphic work are faithful representations of Jerusalem of his day, but he does not venture his look beyond them. In fact, no implements of the modern world ever encroach on his vision of the Holy Land. This is quite in contrast to what the European subjects offer. In his *Wool Market in Brunswick* (1922), for instance, we find a bicycle rider. Furthermore, all his "agricultural" subjects— *The Milker* (1914) or *The Reapers* (1914), for instance—are strictly European, while the Palestine landscapes are populated by pastoral shepherds. There are no images of the new Jewish settlements, not even of the Jews living outside the Walls of Jerusalem. He does mention, in a letter dated the 20th of April, 1906,

Fig. 8: E. M. Lilien, *The Shore of the Sea of Galilee,* etching, 1919.

the fact of his coming back from the 'Jewish colonies',[28] but he does not elaborate. This indifference seems quite odd in view of his ecstatic reference a few months earlier (significantly enough, before his trip to Palestine), to '64 flourishing colonies' and the way Jewish labor transformed swamps and deserts into 'splendid plantations and fertile fields'. He also wrote then — and this is quite telling in view of his later attitudes — about 'wretched' Arab villages that have been transformed into 'vivacious' colonies.[29] Indeed, nothing of this is present in his graphic work, and this at a time when — even before the 1920s — one could already find in various publications, postcards and newspapers attempts to present more objectively and realistically the Jewish settlement efforts, and to evoke a vision of a newly built land consisting of images of the modern *Chalutzim* (pioneers) or even of a new town such as Tel-Aviv.[30]

This consistent obliviousness to the concrete manifestations of Zionism can be considered in terms of landscape conventions employed in his etchings. Lilien, it would appear, had been emotionally bound by the picturesque sensibility, with its ruins and the sense of timeless antiquity that obviously has no place in it for the new. The introduction of figures of Arabs, with their pronounced Biblical aura, into many of these landscapes evinces a kind of

Zionist vision which, while not admitting of any mark of active Zionism, entails a perception of Jewish continuity in the Holy Land as part of an ever present reality. The other landscape scheme adopted by Lilien, based on a more faithful, topographically accurate rendering of the special character of the land, represents the religious thought underlying the tradition of scientific pilgrimages to the Holy Land— expeditions intent upon developing the scope of Biblical archeology and finding or, rather, reconstructing a Christian truth based on the observable reality of Biblical sites. In other words, the sites and the people of the Middle East were thought to offer a concrete link with the Biblical past, providing an accurate idea of how Biblical figures and places really looked. Michael Bartram, in *The Pre-Raphaelite Camera*, offers an apt remark with respect to the English context, which might be equally applicable in other instances as well. He points out that 'traditional British susceptibility to landscape was combining with Protestant devotion to the Bible to view the topography of Palestine as synonymous with the Word of God: to tamper with it was sacrilege.' He cites as an example a writer in the 1860s attesting that topographical investigations corroborate 'the minute accuracy of the inspired Record.'[31] Sites associated with episodes in the life of Christ, be they the most barren and unimposing, also confirmed the prophecy about the fate allotted the Jews who had not recognized Christ's divinity. Commenting on American photography in the Holy Land, John Davis points to the absence or suppression of the human figure in 19th-century photographs as 'laying open a rift' between the Palestinian land and the people who inhabited it:

> Up to a point, the locals were embraced by visiting Westerners, for they could also be considered as "evidence" . . . of a continuing "scriptural" way of life. Such an approach required that 19th-century Arabs and Jews remain safely within the religious past, on the other side of a distancing buffer zone of time. This temporal *cordon sanitaire* effectively filtered out the disconcerting implications of contemporaneous inhabitants, whose very presence asserted an implicit challenge to Western attempts of possession and control.[32]

Michael Bartram similarly proposes that British photographers and artists in the Pre-Raphaelite context, 'in laying a visually all-encompassing hold on the terrain and reducing or banishing the native inhabitants . . . seemed, more than the more tasteful Roberts before them, to be claiming it as theirs, feeling deep down that it belonged to them.' Bartram argues that this feeling arose

from a sense of racial superiority. To quote him again: 'The decay of the town and the villages, which illustrated the unfitness of the inhabitants, strengthened the British Protestant proprietariness.'[33]

One may ask whether a similar reasoning could be applied to Lilien, in whose works — those that are not strictly figure compositions — human figures are generally very small or are omitted altogether; whose Palestine, while retaining traces of Jewish continuity, is largely abandoned by its other inhabitants; and whose landscapes are often suffused with a sense of abandonment and dilapidation. Could we, then, view Lilien's Zionism as constituting such or similar attitudes? Perhaps it would not be proper to imply that Lilien consciously adopted such an outlook, although, by the same token, one might note the quite explicit presence of a sense of Western superiority in a 1913 etching ironically entitled *Masters of the Holy Land*, which depicts two Arabs lazily smoking a Nargileh.[34] We should remember, however, that Lilien, on the whole, was a commercial artist who geared his work to the needs and requirements of his potential clients. The voluminous listings of the sale of etchings found in his letters point to his awareness of what constituted a successful etching as far as his European collectors were concerned. His Bible illustrations, especially those used for the New Testament, evince an acquiescence on his part with the German-Protestant attitude. In all fairness, it should be added that the absence of figures in these illustrations might be explained by Lilien's reluctance to depict New Testament scenes, or by the publisher's Lutheran bias against such depictions. These or other observations, however, do not suffice to answer all the questions raised here; at best, they serve to color somewhat our perception of the basic ambivalence informing Lilien's Zionist stance, and thus they shed light not only on his later work but also on what concerns his early association with the Zionist movement.

Notes

1   This appellation was used in the introductory essay by Orna and Micha Bar-Am for the Tel-Aviv Museum catalogue, *Painting with Light: The Photographic Aspect in the Work of E. M. Lilien* (1990). The latest Lilien catalogue, published by the Open Museum, Tefen (1997), is entitled *E. M. Lilien: the First Zionist Artist*.

2   See, for instance, Henry Van de Velde, "Memoirs: 1891-1901," in Chipp 1968: 120-123.

3   Levussove 1906: 49.

4   *Ibid.:* 10.

5   See Zalmona 1983: 25-28; also Ofrat 1982: 35-36.

6   Gelber, 1986: 109-110.

7   I am indebted to Inka Bertz for much of the information regarding Lilien's work for the Labor Movement in Munich. Her article, "Lilien's Lehrjahre : Imagery and Ideology in his Work for the Labor Movement (1894-1900)," is to appear in a forthcoming collection of essays, *E. M. Lilien, Jugendstil, and Cultural Zionism*, Mark H. Gelber and Haim Finkelstein (eds.), together with several papers read at the Lilien conference held at Ben-Gurion University in 1988.

8   The later abstract phase of Art Nouveau is represented, for example, by Van de Velde's non-objective ornament.

9   See Maria Klanska, "E. M. Lilien and Drohobycz," to appear in a forthcoming collection of essays (Cf. Note 7).

10 Cf. Note 7.

11 Zalmona's text appears in Hasenclever 1987: n.p.

12 This was argued by Mark H. Gelber in a paper given at the Lilien conference held at Ben-Gurion University in 1988 (Cf. Note 7).

13 Cited in Kampf 1984: 29.

14 Milly Heyd (Heyd 1980: 66) distinguishes between the hermaphroditic nature of a young boy in an illustration by Beardsley which served Lilien as a model, and the "unquestionable" masculinity of the young boy in "The Creation of Men." It seems to me, however, that, notwithstanding his obvious male attributes, the boy still strikes a feminized figure.

15 This interpretation, to which I have been greatly indebted in my own reading of this illustration, was offered by the late Claude Gandelman in a paper given at a Lilien conference (Cf. Note 7).

16 The equation of Herzl and Moses might be conjectured in view of another Bible illustration, in which the awesome figure of Moses with the Tablets of the Law, looking both like Herzl and an Assyrian god, is seen rising like some colossus against a fantastic landscape.

17 In 1907, Lilien prepared a dedicatory page for *Sbornik*, an anthology of poems by Jewish poets in Russia planned by Maxim Gorki, that bears the Hebrew inscription "To the Martyrs of Kishinev."

18 Lilien 1985: 162; see also 178-179.

19 In a letter dated 13th of July, 1905, Lilien expresses dissatisfaction with his work and a longing for color, but adds that he cannot permit himself the luxury of painting in oil (Lilien 1985: 41).

20 Scharf 1979: 79-83; also Perez 1988: 64-74.

21 Novak 1980: 228.

22 One may consider, to cite a few examples almost at random, Bartlett's depiction of Absalom's Tomb (*Jerusalem Revisited*, 1855), with its framing trees, horsemen, and steep ridge in the foreground, and the distant promontory of the Mount of Olives, or the same subject in Charles Wilson's *Jerusalem the Holy City* (1880), again with trees serving to frame the edifice and the figures of Arab shepherds in the foreground.

23 See MaryAnne Stevens, "Western Art and its Encounter with the Islamic World 1798-1914," in Stevens 1984: 19-20.

24 See Schiller 1980: 18-19.

25 I have dealt with this in detail in my paper "Lilien's Etchings: From *Jugendstil* to 'Photo'-Realism, " read at the Lilien conference held at Ben-Gurion University in 1988. The subject has since been fully documented in the 1990 exhibition at the Tel-Aviv Museum (Cf. Note 1).

26 Schiller 1980: 17

27 Peretz 1988: 70-71

28 Lilien 1985: 80.

29 *Ibid.:* 38.

30 Many of these publications are illustrated in the catalogue for the exhibition *Visual Images of Zionism 1897-1947*. Beit Ha'tfuzot, Tel-Aviv, 1996-7.

31 Bartram 1985: 103.

32 Davis 1992: 251

33 Bartram 1985: 105

34 This is Lilien's title or, at least, one which he made use of in referring to this etching. See Lilien 1985: 175.

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Architectural Orientalism in the Hebrew University – the Patrick Geddes and Frank Mears Master-Plan

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On July 24, 1918, the corner-stone for the Hebrew University was laid in the presence of Dr. Chaim Weizmann and the Zionist promoters of the Hebrew University. A special guest at the ceremony was General Allenby, who had just completed the British conquest of Palestine. The ceremony marked a watershed in the history of Palestine - the end of the Ottoman rule and the beginning of the British rule and the first steps towards a Jewish State.

The Hebrew University was to become the first university of the Jewish people and the first university in Palestine. But at that time, whereas the founders of the Hebrew University discussed almost every aspect of the future university, they did not discuss the issue of its architecture.[1] The physical and aesthetic aspect of the university campus was left entirely in the hands of the architects.

Who was the first architect of the Hebrew University? Was there a local architectural style at the time, to which he could relate? How did he cope with the question of the design of such a major symbol of the Jewish cultural and national revival?

Since the 1880s, following the Jewish national revival, there had been attempts to create a new unique Hebrew culture in Eretz-Israel, which would replace the Diaspora culture. These attempts were mainly affected by the wish to merge with the indigenous people who were perceived as closest to what the Hebrews would have become had they not been exiled. The attitude to the local Arabs in Palestine, however, was of a dual nature: on the one hand they were viewed as primitive and repulsive, while on the other they were admired as courageous warriors and men of the soil.[2] Members of *Ha'Shomer* [The Guard] (established in 1909) adopted the most exteriorized form of emulation by

speaking Arabic, wearing local traditional Arab attire and riding Arab horses.

Artistic endeavours reflected from the start the Zionist wish to create a new "Hebrew" national identity. The most outstanding example was the establishment of the *Bezalel* school of art by Boris Schatz, a Russian born artist who studied and practised in Poland.[3] Schatz shared the dream of many active Zionists of his time, of a new Eretz-Israel Jew, who would turn his back on the Jewish mentality of the Diaspora, and take up the Romantic image of the Biblical Jew as an ideal. He personally manifested his ideals when living in Palestine by wearing traditional Arab attire. On the other hand he was also greatly influenced by the writings of John Ruskin,[4] even referring to himself as the "Hebrew Ruskin" and, like Ruskin, he believed that the art of a people reflects its national ambitions and cultural character.[5] In his Utopian book *Within the Built Jerusalem*,[6] Schatz described Eretz-Israel in the year 2018. The description includes a Third Temple, built not as a religious centre, but as a Jewish museum.

The *Bezalel* style was an East-European fantasy of the Orient, and thus would appear to be the first public building designed as "Hebrew" architecture. "Gymnasia Herzlia", the first Hebrew high school in the new "Hebrew" town of Tel-Aviv, and the symbol of the revival of Hebrew culture among the Eretz-Israel Jews, was designed by the architect Joseph Barsky. A *Bezalel* graduate, Barsky designed Gymnasia Herzlia in 1909, as a symmetrical fortress, with a monumental entrance in the centre (Fig. 1). A preliminary drawing (Fig. 2) signed by both Barsky and Schatz (Schatz joined in either as a participant or as a supervisor) shows that originally a dome was planned above the monumental entrance, and the arches were to be Islamic in style. On the other hand, the drawing shows a few Baroque characteristics, such as the rusticated wall on the ground level and the curved wall on each side of the entrance. These were abandoned in the actual building, as well as the dome and a few of the Islamic elements or features. The latter were given up at the demand of the Gymnasia Herzlia promoters, who thought the design too Arabic in style, while they wished for an ancient Jewish architectural style.[7] Thus the Oriental style of the Gymnasia Herzlia façade, with its "four horns of the altar" on both sides of the entrance, was inspired by ancient Assyrian art.[8] Since it was not inspired by the neighbouring indigenous architectural forms, and despite Barsky having applied Oriental details to the building, the Gymnasia Herzlia was rather like an enormous piece of stage scenery set up in front of Herzl Street.

The architect Alexander Baerwald[9] maintained that an architect working in Palestine must choose between a Western or an Oriental style, and he himself favoured the latter.[10] He considered the Oriental style to achieve harmony with the land and its history. Baerwald made a study of local architecture, particularly

Fig. 1: Joseph Barsky, "Gymnasia Herzlia" (1909), Tel Aviv 1914.

Fig. 2: Joseph Barsky and Boris Schatz, drawing of the proposed façade of the "Gymnasia Herzlia".

in Jerusalem, during his frequent visits to Palestine, after he received the Haifa Technion (Hebrew Technical Institute) commission in 1909 (Fig. 3).[11] In 1912, while still in Germany, he prepared Oriental style designs not only for the Technion (the construction of which was completed only in 1925, after delays due to the First World War and its aftermath),[12] but also for a Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem and various designs to house the immigrant Yemenite Jews.[13] These drawings could well be sketches of existing Arab houses, lacking only the quality of an unplanned, or haphazard whole which is the outcome of a dwelling unit which grows according to changing needs, as is often the case with traditional Arab houses.

The Baerwald designs hold together as integral units and, in comparison to Gymnasia Herzlia, they have more volume, and are not merely scenic two-dimensional façades. The plans explicitly manifest Baerwald's fascination with

Fig. 3: Alexander Baerwald, The Technion (1909-1925), Haifa.

indigenous Arab architecture, which continued after he had settled down in Haifa in 1925. The Technion building stands on the northern slope of the Carmel mountain, at the top of a large garden. Compared to the Gymnasia Herzlia building, it seems well placed in its natural and architectural environment, and although it is of a representational character, with its symmetrical design and monumental entrance, it is not as imposing and artificial as the Gymnasia Herzlia must have been.

Baerwald's idea of the "New Architecture" in Eretz-Israel was well rooted in the German eclectic architecture of his time;[14] he chose the indigenous architectural forms as a calculated solution to the question of an "authentic" style for the new immigrants who had gathered from West and East.

The notion of establishing the Hebrew University became a major endeavour in the general effort to create a new Jewish culture in Eretz-Israel. It was conceived in the late 19th century, discussed at the first Zionist congresses, and occupied the minds and efforts of leading Zionists. The very idea of a University in itself brought about an encounter with Western (West-European

and North-American) concepts of a University.[15] The most important promoter of the idea was Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who was supported mainly by the "Democratic Fraction" members, who became active prior to the Fifth Zionist Congress. They succeeded in compelling the Congress to devote the sessions entirely to art and culture, believing that the Hebrew national revival would materialize through cultural revival (although the Democratic Fraction opposed Herzl, he supported them on the issue of the Hebrew University).

Weizmann believed that a University (or rather a *Jüdischer Hochschule*, a Jewish Higher Education Institute, as it was referred to then) would create a new generation of Jewish scholars who would effect a blend of West and East, and thus - a renewed nation.[16]

The land on Mount Scopus was purchased before the First World War ended, from the owner - Sir John Gray-Hill, together with the Gray-Hill family mansion.[17] Dr. David Eder[18] proposed to Weizmann that Patrick Geddes would plan the Hebrew University. He explained his choice in a letter:

> The future improvement of Jerusalem with the planning of the site for our university and the building of it are, we all agree, of great importance ... Our suggestion is that we should engage the most prominent expert in town planning to come on our account to Jerusalem to study the situation and draw up a report for the Zionist Organization ... the gentleman with the highest qualifications for the particular job is Prof. Patrick Geddes. Prof. Geddes knows how to maintain what is traditional and beautiful in the past whilst combining it with all the necessary requirements in the way of sanitation and hygiene and modern requirements.[19]

Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) was a famous Scottish sociologist, biologist and town-planner.[20] He was affiliated with the Garden-City movement in Britain, founded by Ebenezer Howard, who believed in the integration of residential units, industry, cultural amenities and the countryside. Geddes had worked in India as a lecturer at the University of Bombay and as town-planner. It is possible that he was chosen by Eder because, since the task of erecting the Hebrew University was the responsibility of the British Zionist Organization, it was only natural that they should choose a planner with whose work they were familiar. It is also possible that Eder found Geddes suitable not only because of his professional achievements, but also because of his enthusiasm for the Bible and the Holy Land. His Scottish upbringing had included a close study of the Old Testament and he recalled how as a child he had listened to the tale of the
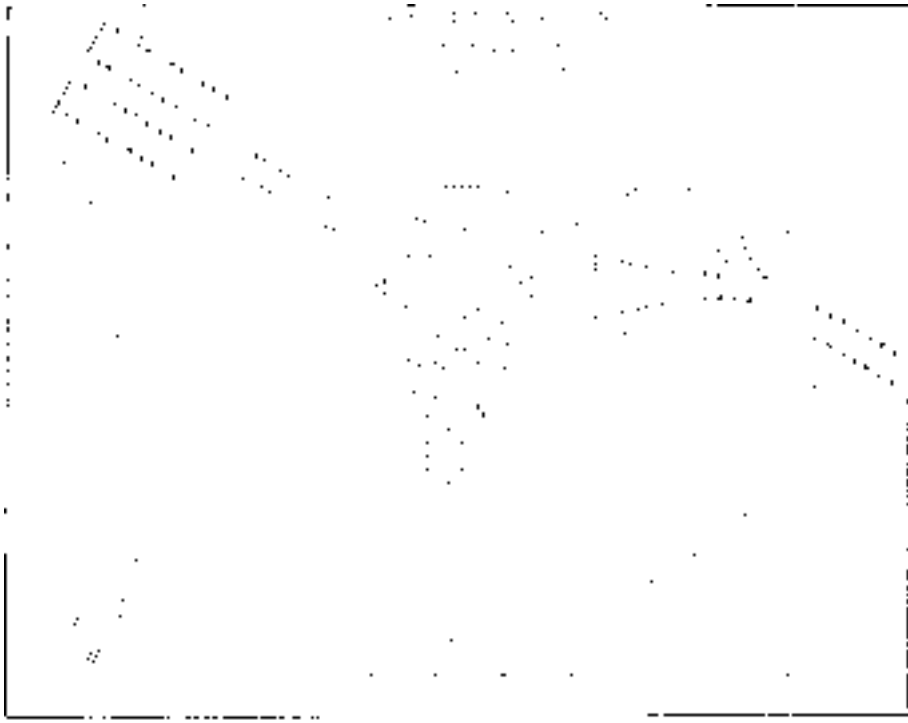
Fig. 4: Patrick Geddes and Frank Mears, The Master-Plan for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, 1919.

rebuilding of Jerusalem.[21]

In July 1919 Geddes met Dr. Chaim Weizmann in London and they agreed that Geddes would plan the University.[22] He arrived in Palestine in August 1919 and stayed until November.[23] In December he submitted his master plan (Fig. 4). Since he himself was not an architect, he was assisted by the architect Frank Mears, his son-in-law. The Oriental style of the architecture is quite noticeable in the general model (Fig. 5) and in Mears's various drawings. One of the drawings shows a magnificent proposed view from the west (Fig. 6), in which there are distinct Oriental characteristics. In light of the cultural and artistic processes in the Jewish community in Palestine described above, it is not only the concept of the Hebrew University presented in Geddes's plan that is interesting, but also his choice of architectural style. A letter he wrote to Mrs. Fels in London in July 6, 1920,[24] during his second visit to Jerusalem, deals directly with this matter. It concerns his approach to the question of indigenous

Fig. 5: Patrick Geddes and Frank Mears, A Model for the Proposed Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

architecture in Palestine and its potential contribution to the Jewish national revival. Since it is relevant to this article, and Geddes was such a master of words, I shall quote the letter almost in full.

It opens with an assessment of the meeting (or rather alienation) between west and east in Jerusalem and in the new architecture in Palestine. Geddes described the unique situation of the Zionist Jews in Palestine and their attitude towards the indigenous culture:

 ... Zionists ... [are] very deeply impressed with the culture (with some of the misculture too!) of the various nations and countries from which they come. Thus the Americans are very American, the Germans very German, the French very French, English very English, and so on: - all Westerners so far, not yet re-orientalised (which may take some forty years!) - and all this in architecture as much as other things.
Thus any Western eye can see that the Arabs are dirty, untidy, in many ways degenerate, and is all too likely to overlook, or have difficulty in seeing, the **qualities** of their buildings, even those of the fine houses of Damascus type in Jerusalem, with ample courtyards, airy rooms of ample proportions within, and so on. The plain little box-like houses are appreciated hardly at all: and so, in Tel-Aviv etc. we have nice little houses

of the London and other suburban type **before** the Garden Village period in England, and with no Oriental character at all! ... .

Then Geddes described his own enthusiasm for the Arab architecture and the artistic qualities he found in it:

Now try to recall even the poorest Arab village, piled up on its hillside, box above box - but also, often, dome above dome. Here, with all its faults, is **real** architecture: that of the old craftsmen by no means merely sub-conscious in their building, like the bees; for when they get the chance of building the little mosque its dome is perfect, completing the piled-up masses into a **composition**, one often of true art ...
There, then, is architecture in its very essence - 'the contrast and composition of masses and voids' as we call it in technical language ... these simple houses and small domes, often no bigger than a room, make up the essential picture, from sunrise joy to sunset glory: they justify the big domes here and there and give them value - the two synagogues, the Dome of the Rock, the church of the Sepulchre.

The letter ends with the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus as an outcome of all the above:

So now imagine us as artist-architects, full of all the beauty of the hill-cities, from Stirling and Edinburgh, all the way through Provence and Italy and Greece, through Stamboul, Smyrna and Cyprus - don't we see the opportunity offered by this supreme site of all, that of Scopus? ... But let us work in the historic life and spirit of the land and place - and so try to make it the very culmination of Palestine and the Orient! How? By crystallising anew its old and simple, useful and practical, economical and homely way and style of building into their fullest and highest expression. So pray clearly understand that it is out of the **old** Jerusalem, with its broken yet surviving beauty, that we have each, and together, got our vision of this New Jerusalem upon the hill.

Geddes appears to have had a close affinity with prevailing trends in Zionist ideology. Within the general effort to create a new "Hebrew" culture, furthermore, he must have been aware of these trends through his Zionist friends and his tour of Palestine. In all events, Geddes made it quite clear that his campus, a task more ambitious than any performed before, was designed

Fig. 6: Frank Mears, a drawing of the view from the west of the proposed Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

to create the same architectural beauty achieved in an Arab town or village. But his Hebrew University master plan contains more than an arrangement of volumes and domes. A primary source for the understanding of the Geddes and Mears master plan is a detailed presentation of the plan titled 'The Proposed Hebrew University in Jerusalem' written by Geddes (assisted by Mears).[25] In this presentation Geddes explains his approach to the planning assignment and interprets his plan. He first describes his preliminary tour of Palestine and his survey of the educational system in Jewish society in Palestine, a matter on which he regarded himself an expert. He found it exceptionally "favourable".[26] Indeed we know that he spent most of his time in Jerusalem, where he stayed at Eder's residence.[27] On his tour of the country he also visited the Gymnasia Herzlia building in Tel-Aviv and the Technion building (which was almost completed in 1919) in Haifa.[28] One can assume that Geddes was aware of the significance of the Oriental style of those two buildings but he never mentioned their architectural aspects.

In any case, even if he disregarded the new "Hebrew" architecture, his approach certainly shows that he intended to establish his plan of the Hebrew University on firsthand knowledge of the educational needs of the Jewish

community in Palestine. His University clearly was not intended only to be a traditional Western university; it was also designed to meet specific local needs.

The basis for the formal design was first of all the natural and topographical surroundings. As the model of the plan shows (Fig. 5), the complex follows the lines of the topography, and the buildings are laid out in a symmetry and hierarchy of academic faculties, supported by the slopes of the hill. Although Geddes expressed his enthusiasm for the site ("this site, with its panoramic prospect, second to none in the world ... and also incomparably first in historic outlook ... "[29]), he did not explain how it would serve the specific needs of a university. Even if Geddes believed that a university campus should be located on a remote site, far from the busy town, he did not say so explicitly in regard to the Hebrew University. However, he referred indirectly to the matter in another document, in which he mentioned the hilltop road which connected the Mount of Olives with the northern neighbourhoods of Jerusalem via Mount Scopus. He explained that a road bisecting the University would bring "the dust and noise of motors etc., right into the heart of the institution, to the inexpressible disturbance and damage of its peaceful and dust-free working".[30] In this respect Geddes's plan followed the Western concept of the secluded university, where academic work is not to be interrupted by mundane events. He therefore eliminated the hilltop road from his plan.

The different faculty buildings in the plan are arranged around a domed Great Hall (Figs. 5, 6), which serves as the nucleus of the whole complex. The designs prepared by Mears show a Byzantine-like style of architecture and decoration. In the interior decoration of the dome of the Great Hall Mears included the Star of David. He seems to have deliberately juxtaposed the Great Hall and the 7th century Islamic Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount in the Old City of Jerusalem: "Of the six doorways [of the Great Hall] that facing Jerusalem is obviously the main one", Geddes wrote, thus manifesting the importance of the view of the Old City.[31]

The Dome of the Rock's importance lies first of all in its significance for Islam, and in its location on the Temple Mount, the site of the first and second Temple. In addition, it is situated so that it cannot be ignored. It is placed in the centre of the Temple Mount platform, the only open space in the congested Old City; beautifully proportioned, imposing its grandeur over the surrounding valleys and mountains. The plan of the Great Hall and its design show a resemblance to the Dome of the Rock; the octagonal shape of the ambulatory of the Dome of the Rock is replaced by a hexagonal ambulatory in the Great Hall. The dome of the Dome of the Rock is borne by a taller drum than that in the design Mears drew for the Great Hall. Mears also designed semi-domes

(which do not exist in the Dome of the Rock) for the ambulatory roof, which add to the Byzantine look of the Great Hall. Of his scale considerations for the Great Hall as related to the Dome of the Rock, Geddes wrote: "It is moreover already larger than the Dome of the Rock, and this both as regards main building and stretch of Dome: so it is perhaps well not to exceed this further: though the distance and perspective will not render this too obvious".[32] This remark shows clearly that Geddes had considered an architectural relationship between the two buildings.

In his search for an appropriate design for the dome, Geddes also considered the architectural heritage of other Islamic buildings in the Middle East.[33] But in the end he decided that his dome would be erected on a hexagon, unlike any of the other buildings he had observed: "This plan too I had also reached independently, and unlike on architectural grounds of sound construction, (as old as the bees), and on symbolic grounds as well, since the six-sided figure alone lends itself to the full notation of Life - life organic, life social and moral also".[34] Geddes founded his architectural theory not only upon architectural precedents, but also upon natural phenomena, and the "six-sided figure" is also a reminder of the six-sided Star of David. Thus Geddes combined a Jewish connotation with a general philosophic one through the form of the building. In doing so he was very much a traditionalist, following a long European history, mainly of architecture for religious purposes.

A doorway was designed for each of the six walls of the hexagon with the one facing Jerusalem and the Temple Mount being the main entrance.[35] The layout of the other University buildings follows both an educational and a philosophical concept, together with the aesthetic concern to apportion the buildings in harmony with the topography and the surroundings. Five buildings and a balcony encircle the Great hall. They too are arranged in the form of a hexagon. The balcony, in front of the main entrance of the Great hall, overlooks the panorama of the Old City and the Temple Mount. The building to the left of the balcony is the Reading Room, and the one to the right is the Dining Room. Opposite the balcony, on the other side of the Great Hall, is the Philosophy Building, with Music on its left and Mathematics on its right. The five buildings stand both for themselves and as symbols of an integrative concept of academic and intellectual life.

From the three different fields of knowledge (Mathematics, Philosophy and Music) stem the University faculties. Music was for Geddes "the highest of the Arts" and an "inspiring spirit" for architecture and all other forms of fine arts.[36] Therefore Geddes combined Fine Arts with the Technological Arts on the northern side of the campus, in the spirit of the Arts and Crafts movement.

The different sciences faculties are placed towards the south, emerging from the Mathematics Building: "Mathematics with its immediate service upon the scientific side, is naturally placed southward and next to this", Geddes wrote.[37]

Philosophy, "with its high claims of university, and aim towards Unity",[38] was to remain on its own for the time being. Geddes thought it best to leave the planning of different fields, such as the History of Philosophy, or Philosophical aspects of Sociology, Psychology, Aesthetics etc. for the future development of the University.[39]

The administration was purposely not placed among the main buildings of the University. Geddes reserved the Gray-Hill house, situated in the master plan way back towards the south-east of the main buildings, for the Administration Department. His opinion was that "Universities are not for Administration; administration is for Universities".[40] The example of many universities (mainly those of Paris and London) which have placed administration in the centre, shows, according to Geddes, that "this system and regime has long and increasingly been definable as the most sterilizing of all educational systems in history," and instead of serving the university "it has proved to be the very worst of masters".[41]

The History and Languages departments are long, narrow, parallel buildings to the north-west. They lead towards the domed Hebraic Studies building, placed in the "finest of architectural treatment accordingly".[42] The planned building is comparatively large, and although part of the complex, yet is separate from the other buildings. The general form, and especially the dome, echoes the shape of the Great Hall, suggesting the importance of Jewish Studies for the Hebrew University. Geddes placed Jewish Studies as part of western culture, but also distinguished it in the context of the Hebrew University.

Another comparatively large dome crowns the hall at the far south-east end of the plan, the Sciences side. This layout balances the plan both formally and thematically. Domes, therefore, have great significance in the Geddes plan; they follow a tradition of university architecture in Europe and the USA (as Geddes indicated in his presentation of the plan), but above all they respond to the indigenous as well as the monumental architecture of the Old City of Jerusalem and its environs.

There is another interesting aspect to the relationship of the Geddes and Mears plan for the Hebrew University and the town of Jerusalem. The campus is planned to create a beautiful site crowning Mount Scopus, to be observed from the town. That this was Geddes's intention is clear from his own words, concerning the "need of relating the general aspect of the university to be viewed from the city".[43] This partially explains the strict symmetry and emphasis on

Fig. 7: Patrick Geddes, Frank Mears and Benjamin Chaikin, The Wolfson National Library (1919-1930), The Hebrew University campus, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem.

an imposing formalism of arrangement of the buildings. It also illustrates the way the Hebrew University was perceived, not just as a university, but also as a symbol whose visual appearance must make a statement.

There are many more interesting aspects to the Geddes Hebrew University plan: its connection to the city plan,[44] the educational and academic innovations included in it, and the plan in respect to other university plans at the time. As part of the new "Hebrew" culture, the Geddes plan was one of the most impressive manifestations of the trend which sought to merge with the East. Geddes, however, did not admit that there had been local architects before him who had turned to the indigenous architecture as a source of inspiration, and that admiration for the Orient was already part of the artistic endeavours in the Jewish community in Palestine. Nevertheless his Hebrew University master plan is a monumental attempt in this direction and he used a large range of Oriental architectural vocabulary; indigenous, monumental and historical.

The Zionist movement used the Geddes plan and the Mears drawings for its propaganda, and to impress potential donors for the Hebrew University. Even long after the Geddes and Mears plan was no longer valid (it was finally

Fig. 8: Patrick Geddes, Frank Mears and Benjamin Chaikin, The Mathematics Institute (1919-1928), the Hebrew University campus, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem.

rejected in 1929),[45] it was still the most familiar symbol of the Hebrew University in Zionist propaganda, as illustrated on the cover of a United Palestine Appeal Year Book published in 1937. The cover is designed as a collage with giant stereotyped figures of two pioneers on each side of a Biblical prophet at the background. In front, on a smaller scale, a farmer is ploughing his field in front of a group of buildings, in the centre of which Mears' drawing of the proposed Great Hall is depicted.

The Great Hall was never materialized. Only three buildings were

constructed under Geddes and Mears by the architect Benjamin Chaikin,[46] their local representative in Jerusalem: the Wolfson National Library (Fig. 7, now part of the Faculty of Law), the Mathematics Institute (Fig. 8, now part of the Contemporary Judaism Institute) and the Physics Institute (now, after major alterations, the Bezalel School of Art).

The Library building was completed in 1930, and more than the other two bears some resemblance to the original plans, including quite a few Oriental characteristics, such as the use of stone, the small windows and the dome above the main entrance which covers a small room set on the roof of the building (it was used at the time as Dr. Magnes's office).

The Mathematics Institute was completed in 1928. It was also built in carved stone, but its size and location bear no resemblance to the original plans. The small scale, the shape and size of the windows can be associated with local Arab domestic architecture.

The Physics building, which was completed in 1930, has hardly any resemblance to the original plan, featuring no Oriental decoration whatsoever. On the contrary, it was constructed of concrete, which was an innovation in Jerusalem at the time.

The real reasons for the rejection of the Geddes and Mears master plan have remained obscure. The criticism of the plan centred mainly on its ambitious scale and on the fact that it is formally an intact whole, which made it difficult to implement with the limited resources available to the Zionist Organization. There was even mention (by a very reliable source) that the objection to Geddes and Mears was on the grounds that the Hebrew University should not be designed by a non-Jew.[47] But there was never a definite resolution taken by the University authorities or by the Zionist Organization against the plan. Since the architecture of the first Hebrew University campus was never seriously discussed, and the architectural plans did not seem to oblige those responsible for erecting the University, we shall have to settle for assumptions. Perhaps the changing attitude toward the Arabs of Palestine within the Zionist Movement and the *New Yishuv* in the late 1920s created a change of taste in art and architecture, which also altered the attitude towards the Hebrew University plans.

The Geddes and Mears master plan for the Hebrew University was part of the Oriental aspect of creating the new "Hebrew" culture. But one must bear in mind that this Oriental style was adopted mostly by people who had been accustomed to Western, or rather East-European standards. Orientalistic characteristics were in fact as alien to Schatz, Barsky, Baerwald, Geddes and Mears, as they were to most of their clients in Palestine. Thus, while this

approach played a short part in building a romantic image of the new "Hebrew", regretfully it did not lead to a more meaningful relationship with the Orient.

NOTES

1 The most recent and comprehensive source of information on the process of erecting the first Hebrew University campus is Katz and Heyd 1997. On the architectural issue, see also Dolev 1990.
2 Even-Zohar 1981: 173.
3 Zalmona 1985.
4 John Ruskin (1819-1900), professor of Fine Arts and promoter of the Pre-Raphaelites and of the Arts and Crafts movement in England.
5 Zalmona 1985: 18.
6 Schatz 1925.
7 Ben-Yehuda 1970: 55.
8 Friedmann 1911: 451, 452.
9 Alexander Baerwald (1877-1930) was born in Berlin to an assimilated Jewish family. He was educated in Berlin and practised as an architect in Germany. In 1925 he emigrated to Palestine and settled in Haifa, where he taught architecture in the Technion.
10 Richter 1989: 9.
11 *Ibid.*: 15.
12 Herbert and Sosnovsky 1993: 217-219.
13 Richter 1989: 13, 14.
14 *Ibid.*: 220.
15 Kolatt 1997: 3.
16 *Ibid.*: 24.
17 On the Gray-Hill family and their mansion, see Dolev 1990: 51-53; Wahrman: 1997.
18 Dr. David Eder (1866-1936) was a well known psychiatrist in England at the time. A leading member of the Zionist Organization in Britain, Eder was nominated chairman of the Zionist Commission in Palestine in 1918.
19 Letter signed by Dr. Eder, sent by the Zionist Commission in Palestine to the Inner Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization in London on May 15, 1919. File Z4/1721, Central Zionist Archive.
20 For further information on Geddes and his work, see Geddes 1915. Two comprehensive publications: Boardman 1932 and Mairet 1957. The most recent and up to date biography is Meller 1990. On his work for the Hebrew University plan, see Dolev 1990, Dolev 1997 and Shapiro 1997.
21 Mairet 1957: 184.
22 Letter from Geddes to the Secretary of the Zionist Organization, July 8, 1919, in *Geddes Correspondence,* Nat. Lib. of Scotland, Mount Scopus 10516/12, mentioned in Herbert and Sosnovsky 1993: 74.
23 Mairet 1957: 183.
24 *Ibid.*: 186, 187.
25 Geddes 1919.
26 *Ibid.*: 1.
27 Boardman 1932: 317.
28 Geddes 1919: 1.

29 *Ibid.*: 25.
30 Geddes and Mears 1924: *Comments on the Romberg plan for the Hebrew University*, Central Zionist Archive, L/12 39.
31 Geddes 1919: 32.
32 Geddes 1925: Memo I, enclosed to a letter to Dr. Magnes, April 11, Hebrew University Archive, file no. 31.
33 Geddes 1919: 29. "*Les Coupoles d'Orient et d'Occident* which lies beside me as I write".
34 *Ibid.*: In a footnote on the same page Geddes listed the six factors of the expression of Life: environment, function, organism; organism, function, environment. And he adds: "At any rate this symbol [the Star of David] can be none the worse in modern University use if it be also seen by its students as applicable in modern terms, and to modern studies, of nature and man, of life and society".
35 *Ibid.*: 32.
36 *Ibid.*: 35.
37 *Ibid.*
38 *Ibid.* 36.
39 *Ibid.*
40 *Ibid.*: 34.
41 *Ibid.*
42 *Ibid.*: 37.
43 *Ibid.*
44 Shapiro 1997.
45 Magnes wrote to Mears in August 1, 1929, that the plan had been rejected because people had found it was not beautiful. Hebrew University Archive, file 31.
46 Benjamin Chaikin (1885-1950) was born and educated in England. In 1920 he settled in Jerusalem. In addition to his work with Geddes and Mears he also repaired the Chemistry Institute in the Hebrew University after the 1927 earthquake and built the open air theatre, which still stands there, almost unaltered.
47 Eder 1926: 3.

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Desert Wind - Sea Breeze: the Art of Israel Rabinovitz

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*T*wo themes recur in the art of the sculptor and painter Israel Rabinovitz: one deals with the material culture of the Palestinian and Bedouin Arabs; and the other, no less dominant, tends toward Jewish and Biblical subjects. In his works created between 1989 and 1994 he forged his sculptures from limestone, ancient pieces of broken marble, and clay vessels which he combined with blue-dyed metal pieces.[1]

Israel Rabinovitz is a 'sabra', a native Israeli, born in 1954 to a Holocaust-survivor father and an Israeli-born mother. His visual memories are linked to his childhood in the town of Rishon-Le'Zion, a childhood spent among orange grove plantations and sandy dunes leading to the near-by sea. The desert also plays an important part in his imagery, for as a soldier during the early '70s, he

Fig. 1: *The Golden Dunes of the City of Tel Aviv.* 1989. Iron and wood (private collection).
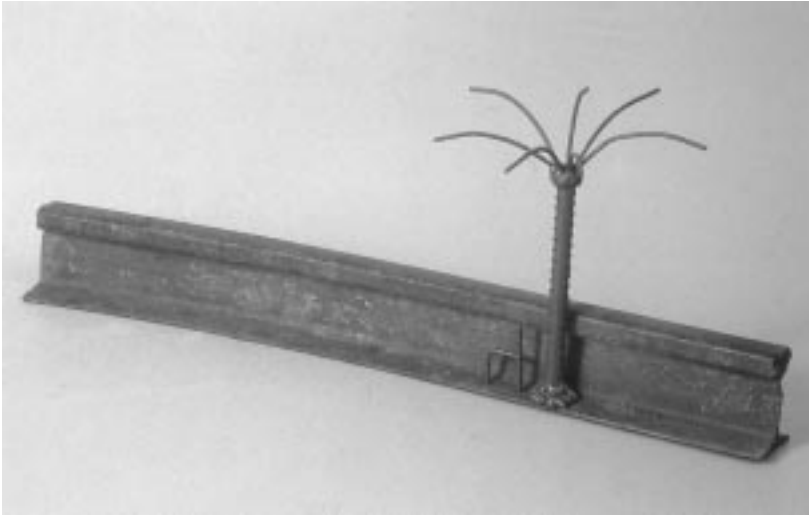
Fig. 2: *In the Shadow of the Rail,* 1990. Iron (private collection).

lived in Kalya, a Nachal settlement near the Dead Sea and later on in Kibbutz Yotvata in the southern Negev. This personal tension between his family's tragic Jewish past and his own need to be a typical sun-burned, bare-footed Israeli boy became, later on in his life, the main source of his creation.

Two sculptures created in 1989 and 1990 reflect this tension. In the earlier one, *The Golden Dunes of the City of Tel Aviv* (Fig. 1) Rabinovitz recalls the camel-caravans still seen in Tel Aviv at the beginning of the century. The wooden camels, dyed golden and mounted on a used hoe, are a visual reminder of similar caravans depicted by Nahum Gutmann and Reuven Rubin in their paintings of the '20s and '30s. Furthermore, they also bring to mind the archetypal imagery of the 'East' so familiar to western eyes.[2]

Using the rusty cement-stained hoe as the base for the camels is another reminder of the deeds performed in the spirit of the Zionist dream of the *Halutzim,* those pioneers who took part in building the country. A thin, wavy, blue metal line is placed next to the hoe head. It stands for the sea front of Tel Aviv, lapping the golden sand dunes. While Rabinovitz evoked in this sculpture the memory of things past, with his usual sarcasm he also referred to the fact that shortly only the memory would remain, because the Tel Aviv water-front had recently become home to high-rise hotels constructions built by alien, non-Jewish hands.

In the second sculpture, *In the Shadow of the Rail,* (Fig. 2) Rabinovitz touches upon the other vein of his art, in combining a local image, namely the palm

Fig. 3: *Yama-va-Kedma,* 1991. Oil on canvas (the artist's collection).

tree signifying the 'Here', with a railway track, that constant remainder of 'There': of the Eastern-European railways moving toward the concentration and extermination camps during the Holocaust. In front of the tall palm-tree the artist has placed a small chair. Both chair and tree are dyed blue. The dark cold memory of the Holocaust is confronted with the lively blue color. This color plays a major part in Rabinovitz's works and in his personal iconography it symbolizes various elements: the element of water, as noted earlier; and now blue stands for locality. The palm-tree thatches over the small chair as if protecting it, casting its comfortable shadow on it and creating the sense of a new presence here in the Middle-East. The same small chair reappears in the painting *Yama va-Kedma* dated 1991 (Fig. 3) in which the chair is painted over an ornamental grid, its legs straddling the west and south as if representing the two geographic\biographic directions in Rabinovitz's art and life. As the son of a father who was a Holocaust survivor, Rabinovitz is well aware of his lost roots in the European "West"- *Yama,* and of establishing new roots in the "East"- *Kedma*.

I believe this loss of roots and the constant feeling of severance from the Jewish East-European culture constitutes one of the main reasons why Rabinovitz is constantly drawn to the Bedouin and Palestinian folklore. His quest for local traditions to replace those which have been lost, finds visual as well as spiritual answers in the ancient archaeology of this region and in its nomadic cultures. The Bedouin tribes, herdsmen and food-gathers, building

Fig. 4: *The Date Palm Circle,* 1992. Iron and stone (private collection).

their homes anew each time, creating oases in the middle of a desert, represent for Rabinovitz the human capacity to create something out of nothing. They represent the continuation of an ancient, Biblical life-form, and by understanding their mentality and assimilating it into his works, he imbues his art with a sense of timeless existence.

Another way in which Rabinovitz enhances the sense of locality and historical continuation is by using marble fragments or old working tools such as the millstones which form the base for his sculptures *The Date Palm Circle* and *The Cypress Circle* - both created in 1992 (Figs. 4-5). In *The Date Palm Circle* Rabinovitz placed a blue, metal, palm tree in the center of the millstone. The stone itself can not be dated precisely, many such tools can still be found in use by Bedouins in the Negev region and in Sinai. In his book *Negev,* the archaeologist Beno Rothenberg features a photograph of a Bedouin woman at work using a millstone to grind wheat.[3] Rothenberg points out that this particular manual-type millstone is similar to others found at Bik'at Timna and Nachal Amram, which were dated as belonging to the early Iron Period, around 1200 BCE.[4] Rothenberg's book is in Rabinovitz's personal library. The artist's love of archaeology arose when as a student at the Bezalel Academy of

Fig. 5: *The Cypress Circle,* 1992. Iron and stone (private collection).

Art and Design he took classes in this subject. Rabinovitz often uses this book as a source of information, in order to learn more about items he has found or purchased for his sculptures.

The visual motif of the palm tree in this sculpture was influenced by another interesting archeological finding: for his tree Rabinovitz borrowed the shape of the rods found in 1961 by the archeologist Pesach Bar Adon at the 'treasure cave' in Nachal Mishmar, belonging to the highly developed Chalcolithic culture of the fourth millennium BCE (Fig. 6).[5] These rods were probably used as ceremonial staffs as well as status symbols of warriors or rulers of that period. The rods are on display in the Archeology wing of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, where Rabinovitz must have seen them. The blue color of the tree was borrowed from a Palestinian Haj-painting Rabinovitz saw in Jericho, near the ancient synagogue there (Fig. 7). Such paintings were created in honor of those who returned from their Haj trip to the holy city of Mecca. In Palestinian lore the blue color known as *Charza-Zarka* is used to ward off the evil eye and protect the tenants of the house on which it is painted.[6] Palm trees alongside the image of the Dome of the Rock symbolize eternity in the eyes of the Moslem believer. The two-dimensional paintings on the walls of the house echo the group of palm trees growing in the background. Beyond their symbolic meaning these trees have an important material function which can not be ignored: they provide fruit and shade, and where there are trees there is water. Combining the blue palm and the millstone into one sculpture, in Rabinovitz's personal
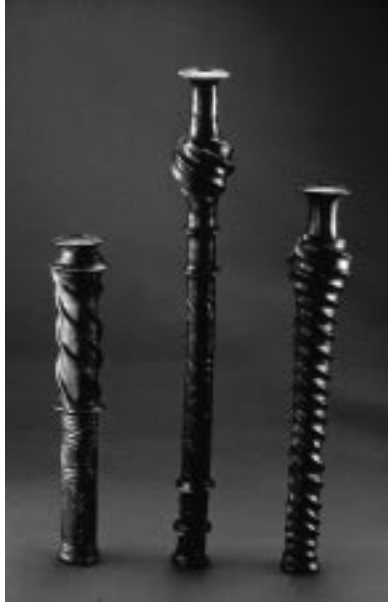
Fig. 6: Rods from the "treasure cave" of Nachal Mishmar, Chalcolithic culture, fourth millennium BCE (Collection of the department of Antiquities, photographed and displayed at the Israel Museum).

iconography reflects the very essence of 'Oasis' representing water, shade, ripe fruit and bread. They also stand for a reminder of his army service as a soldier in Kalya near the Dead Sea where one of his tasks was to plant palm trees.[7]

As already mentioned, *The Cypress Circle* is another work in which Rabinovitz features a millstone as the central part of his sculpture. Where *The Date Palm Circle* creates an altogether optimistic atmosphere, this sculpture tends toward gloominess and pessimism. The cypress stands in the center of the upper stone thus making the stones disfunctional. Instead of the wooden stick which helps to grind the grain, Rabinovitz has placed a metal bar, once a part of a typical Jerusalem-style window lattice. The bar's shape, with its pointed end, is similar to a mediaeval spear and brings to mind the weapons of the crusaders, and other images of wars and armies in this region. The apposition of the cypress with the 'spear-head' is immediately associated with death on the battle-field and with cemeteries, which are bordered by ever-green cypress. In Arnold Boecklin's famous painting *Die Toteninsel* (1880), dark, almost black, cypress trees thrust their tops against the evening skies, concealing part of the burial chambers on the mysterious island.[8] Rabinovitz made his small cypress tree hollow, in order to emphasize the loss of leaves on this otherwise ever-green tree. The mortality of the tree is thus connected with the

Fig. 7: A house with Palestinian Haj-painting, near Jerico
(Photo: Israel Rabinovitz, 1992).

heavy stone underneath it. The no longer functional millstone becomes a tombstone over a grave. The blue color of the tree evokes a new and different meaning; this time it is a spiritual flame-like shape, seeking the heavens, symbolizing the soul's quest.

In 1994 Rabinovitz returned once again to the thin line of blue waters, this time in a work titled *The Water Front* (Fig. 8). The water line creates a division between a rusty old plough and a fragment of a white marble capital, undated but definitely ancient.[9] The marble fragment is attached to an iron chain that hangs from the plough, connecting these two different representatives of two different aspects of the Mediterranean culture: the Hellenic-Roman and the Palestinian-Israeli. Agriculture and Religion are united in these two *objets trouvés* found on a hillside near Jerusalem; two objects that signify the major eras in this region. The conflicting materials are simultaneously divided and unified by the blue element, symbolizing the sea, the rivers and streams, and the hidden sources of water so necessary for survival in this country.

The constant tension apparent in this work can be found in all of Rabinovitz's sculptures. Water and sand, stones and trees, nature and culture - all are bound together in his art. While looking toward the desert and finding it a potent and vibrant sign of the region, Rabinovitz is also drawn to the coastal landscape of his childhood, the palm-tree oases of his army service times, and to the urban culture of Jerusalem, ancient and new, in which he lives today. By reenacting through his sculpture the events, fears, hopes and daily struggle for survival as an Israeli, he also touches upon the history of the Jewish people, their past, their present and their dream for peaceful existence in the future.[10]

Fig. 8: *The Water Line,* 1994. Iron and stone (the artist's collection).

Notes

1 Parts of this paper were presented at the Hebrew University Jewish Art seminar, in Passover 1993, at the Israel Museum.
2 Rubin 1975: 71, 77.
   Haezrachi 1965: fig. 14.
3 Rothenberg 1967: pl. 31.
4 *Ibid.:* 252 n.25.
5 *Ibid.:* 280, n. 54.
6 I am grateful to Mr. Salam Zuabi for pointing out this information to me.
7 All personal information about the artist is derived from conversations I had with him.
8 This is the first of several versions of the painting *Die Toteninsel* done by the Swiss artist Arnold Boecklin (1827-1901) during the 1880s. A reproduction of this painting can be seen in: Fucks 1975: 86-87.
9 Rabinovitz believes it might be a Hellenistic capital but no laboratory tests were done to substantiate this.
10 This paper is dedicated to the memory of Reuven Rabinovitz, the artist's father, who passed away this year.

List of References

Fucks 1975: E. Fucks, *Boecklin*, Munchen 1975.
Haezrachi 1965: Y. Haezrachi, *Nachum Gutmann*, Tel Aviv 1965 (Hebrew).
Rothenberg 1967: B. Rothenberg, *Negev - Archaeology in the Negev and the Arabah*, Ramat Gan 1967 (Hebrew).
Rubin 1975: R. Rubin, *Rubin*, Tel Aviv 1975 (Hebrew).

Kaulbach's Wandering Jew: An Anti-Jewish Allegory and Two Jewish Responses

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Wilhelm von Kaulbach (born 1804 in Arolsen (Hesse), died 1874 in Munich), was the pupil and close follower of Peter Cornelius, one of the principal members of the Nazarene movement. Following the great success of his *Battle of the Huns* in 1837, Kaulbach was appointed by King Ludwig I of Bavaria as court artist. He swiftly became the most celebrated history-painter in Germany, and later succeeded his former teacher as the leader of the Late-Classicist school in Munich.[1]

Kaulbach's large painting - *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (Fig. 1) in the Neue Pinakothek, Munich, was initially commissioned by 1836 by the Countess Angelina Radziwill, who also suggested its subject. However, by 1838 the countess had lost patience and she cancelled the commission. In late 1841, when Ludwig I heard that King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, who had seen an oil sketch of the painting, coveted it for himself, he immediately commissioned the painting from Kaulbach.

The Bavarian king paid 35,000 gulden for the work, the largest sum ever paid in Germany up to then for an individual painting. The finished work entered the royal collections in about 1846 and in 1853 it was installed in a place of honour in the central hall of the Neue Pinakothek (the first museum to be dedicated to contemporary art) which had been inaugurated that year by Ludwig I, and it has been on display there ever since.[2]

Having failed to acquire the Munich painting for himself, The King of Prussia asked Kaulbach to include a replica of *The Destruction of Jerusalem* in the vast fresco cycle which he had commissioned from the artist in 1842 for the mural decoration of the staircase-hall of the New Museum in Berlin (then still under construction). The murals were to represent "the entire cultural development of Humanity in its artistic and religious meaning" in six large

Fig. 1: Wilhelm Kaulbach, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*. Munich, Neue Pinakothek

scenes representing a sequence of crucial chapters in the history of Civilization.[3]

Depictions of the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple by the Romans had already appeared in mediaeval illuminations, as well as in printed book-illustrations and easel paintings. The iconographic program of Kaulbach's painting is, however, unprecedented in many respects. Kaulbach transformed the historical event into a visual Christian allegorical sermon according to which the destruction of Jerusalem was a divine punishment wrought upon the Jews for their rejection of Christ. The destruction of Jerusalem is seen as marking the downfall and dispersion of the Jewish people and also the end of their ancient religion, and the triumphal emergence of the new faith - Christianity. In 1840, long before the completion of the final version of the painting, Kaulbach had published a booklet of detailed *Explanations* to the iconographic content of the picture, in which he identified each of the main figures. It also includes quotations from Old and New Testament prophecies purporting to relate to and support the content of the painting, as well as some references to his principal literary source - Josephus Flavius' *Jewish War.* [4] These *Explanations* have remained our best source for the understanding of the meaning of the painting as well as of its ideological message.

In the upper section of the picture appear the four major Biblical Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, holding open books, which according to

Kaulbach's *Explanations,* refer to their wrathful prophecies foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the People of Israel.[5]

Inscriptions citing prophecies by Daniel (9: 26), and Luke (21: 24), both quoted in Kaulbach's *Explanations,* once appeared on the gilded spandrels of the original frame of the painting, now lost (Fig. 1).[6] Kaulbach's choice of verses quoted in these two inscriptions was clearly intended to supplement the visual message of the images of the Prophets, as well as to emphasize the Christian meaning of the painting. Daniel's prophecy (only the second part of the verse is cited) was interpreted by Christian writers as foretelling the destruction of the Second Temple by Titus, which would follow the death of Christ, while the verses from the Gospel according to St Luke present a Christian variant of the Old Testament prophecies.

Below the Prophets hover seven angels, an obvious allusion to the seven Apocalyptic Angels. They are brandishing bundles of rods, a visual reference to the recurring biblical metaphor of the Rod of Wrath, and thus bear the same message as the upper heavenly scene.[7] It has been noted that in the painting those few Jews who appear to be trying to defend themselves, are in fact not attempting to shield themselves against the swords of the Roman soldiers, but against the invisible heavenly darts of wrath.[8]

Kaulbach's interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans as a heavenly punishment brought upon the sinful people of Israel by Divine wrath, and as a fulfilment of the Old and New Testament prophecies, follows a long tradition already apparent in the teachings of early Christian writers such as Tertullian.[9]

The same pronounced anti-Jewish interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem appears to have informed Kaulbach's particular selection of historical episodes of the destruction (Fig. 2) as well as the manner of their depiction.

The principal episodes in his painting present the Jews not as being brought down by the hands of the Roman soldiers (let alone offering any resistance to their onslaught) but as bringing their own deaths upon themselves and killing their own children. The young High-Priest in the centre is depicted thrusting a dagger into his own chest after having killed his son. On the left a young mother is holding a knife in her hand, contemplating with horror the sleeping child lying on her lap, and whom she is going to slaughter; while near her, four fiendish looking starving figures huddle besides a cauldron, apparently eagerly awaiting their turn to gorge themselves upon the child's flesh. This gruesome cannibalistic scene (merely suggested here) is derived from Josephus Flavius' description of the famine in Jerusalem and the case of Maria of Beth Ezuba: an episode which, however, took place during the last phase of the siege, and not

Fig 2: Wilhelm Kaulbach, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*. Munich, Neue Pinakothek
(detail of Fig. 1)

during the destruction of the city. Interesting depictions of this scene had already made their appearance in mediaeval miniatures, but it is unlikely that Kaulbach was familiar with them.[10]

These episodes were chosen by Kaulbach mainly because they appear to represent the fulfilment of certain wrathful biblical prophecies and they accord with the horrifying descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem included in these prophecies.

A comparison of Kaulbach's painting with other depictions of the fall of Jerusalem (e.g. by Nicolas Poussin [1638, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum], Bartolomeo Pinelli [end of the 18th century], Francois Joseph Heim [1824, Paris, Louvre], or Francesco Hayez [1867, Venice, Galleria d'Arte Moderna]) serve to show how greatly the rendering of this subject by Kaulbach differs from the pictorial reconstructions of the historical event created by other Classicist artists before and after him.[11]

Kaulbach's interpretation of the *Destruction of Jerusalem* has also been frequently contrasted with the deeply sympathetic renderings of similar national disasters and tragedies by Kaulbach's younger contemporary, Eduard Bendemann (1811-1889) and his older contemporary Adam Eberle (died 1832).[12]

If, however, any uncertainty still remains regarding the anti-Jewish content of Kaulbach's selection of historical episodes of the Destruction of Jerusalem, there is little doubt regarding the outspoken polemics of the two Christian allegorical scenes which were appended by the artist on either side of the central scene. In the left foreground (Fig. 3), a bearded dishevelled man is fleeing from

Fig 3: Wilhelm Kaulbach, *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (*The Eternal Jew*, detail of Fig. 1).

the burning city, running wildly towards the viewer. He is Kaulbach's version of the Wandering Jew (the traditional title used in England and other European countries), or the Eternal Jew as he was termed in Germany.

The earliest known mediaeval source quoting the legend of the Eternal Jew appears in an Italian monastic chronicle written, presumably in Bologna, in or about 1223. According to this chronicle, while Christ "was going to his Martyrdom, a Jew drove Him along wickedly with these words: 'Go, go thou tempter' .... Christ answered him: I go and you will wait me till I come again". A variant of the story appeared in the entry for the year 1228 in Roger of Wendover's chronicle - *Flores historiarum.* A later version of this entry written and illustrated by Roger's successor, Matthew Paris, after the middle of the thirteenth century, was included in his *Chronica Majora* (in these two British versions the Jew is a porter in Pilate's service, and is called Joseph Cartaphilus). As in the earlier Italian version the Jew is condemned by Christ to wait (rather than to wander) until the Last Judgement.[13]

This version of the legend persisted (with many variations in the details of the story, including different names given to the Jew) up to the end of the 16th century.

The legend of the Wandering Jew appeared in print for the first time in 1602. In this version, published in German: "Kurtze Beschreibung und Erzehlung von einem Juden mit Namen Ahasverus", the Jew is described as a shoemaker named Ahasverus. Unlike his mediaeval predecessors, Ahasverus of the "Kurtze Beschreibung" is not condemned by Christ to wait until His

second coming in the Last Judgement. Instead, he is doomed to expiate his crime by eternal wandering. Numerous reprints and translations into several other European languages soon followed, and made the legend of the Wandering Jew widely known throughout Europe already by the beginning of the 17th century. Variants of the legend were published in single broadsheets and in *Volksbuecher* (some of which included woodcut illustrations) in Germany and elsewhere up to the end of the 18th century, making the legend enormously popular. In the late 18th and throughout the 19th century, particularly during the rise of Romaniticism, it inspired numerous literary, poetical, theatrical and even musical works, as well as dozens of graphic illustrations and popular single-leaf prints. The best known of such works is the famous series of twelve wood-engravings made after Gustave Doré's designs (1856).[14]

It was, however, in Kaulbach's work that the Wandering Jew made his first appearance in a large-scale painting, and in a representation with an even stronger anti-Jewish flavour than the original legend of Ahasverus. In his flight from the burning city, the Eternal Jew in Kaulbach's paintings is pursued not by Roman soldiers, but by terrifying images of divine revenge: three winged demons - male variants of the goddesses of vengeance, the Greek Erinyes, or the Roman Furies.[15] Like the Furies, their number is three, and they bear their characteristic attributes - wings and snakes. An additional biblical attribute of God's wrath, the scourge, is being brandished by one of the demons.

It has been observed that the scene recalls John Flaxman's illustrations for Aeschylus (1795), showing Orestes pursued by the Furies, as well as 19th century paintings by Pierre Paul Prud'hon (1808) and Alfred Rethel(1837), depicting a murderer pursued by symbolical figures of Wrath, Vengeance or Justice, which were inspired by the biblical story of the curse of the fratricide Cain. Later examples can be seen in Charles Gabriel Gleyre's *Pentheus fleeing from the Maenads* (1864) and Arnold Boecklin's *Furies* (1870).[16]

As noted above, in Kaulbach's painting the wandering of the Eternal Jew does not start immediately after his encounter with Christ, as told in the story of Ahasverus, but following his escape from Jerusalem after its destruction by the Romans.

No precedent in art exists for this new interpretation of the old legend. Kaulbach, however, may have been inspired directly or indirectly by several contemporary 19th century literary sources, which were widely known in Germany in his time.

The earliest and most influential of these writings was George Croly's triple-volume historical novel - *Salathiel.* In one of the passages of this vast work the Wandering Jew appears as one of the chief defenders of Jerusalem during the

Roman siege, escaping from the city after its fall and destruction. Soon after its publication (London 1827, second edition 1828), a plagiarized German translation by Ludwig Storch and a free German version by A. Kaiser appeared in Germany in 1829. One of these translations appears to have inspired a section in Julius Mosen's epic poem, "Ahasver", which describes the Eternal Jew escaping from Jerusalem after its destruction by the Romans. Mosen's poem was published in 1838, when Kaulbach was still working on his *Destruction of Jerusalem.* One of these German translations of Croly's novel, or possibly Mosen's poem, may have inspired Kaulbach to include the image of the escaping Eternal Jew in his monumental painting.[17]

However, unlike Croly's heroic defender of the city, Kaulbach's Wandering Jew escaping from the burning Jerusalem is an allegorical reference to the dispersion of the Jews that followed the destruction of their holy city. Significantly, Kaulbach, albeit fully aware of the traditional meaning of the figure, does not refer in his *Explanations* of 1840 to the Legend of Ahasuerus, but focuses on his own allegorical interpretation of the Eternal Jew as representing the "present state of the Jewish people".[18] Thus, in Kaulbach's painting the Wandering Jew, pursued by the demons of revenge, represents both the legendary Ahasverus suffering the punishment for his personal sin, and the entire Jewish people, doomed to dispersion among the nations and "to eternal darkness" as divine revenge for their rejection and condemnation of Christ.

On the opposite side of the picture Kaulbach introduced another scene of purely Christian content, which is even less related to the destruction of Jerusalem than that of the Wandering Jew. This unprecedented scene constitutes a visual comment on the particular meaning given by Kaulbach to his Wandering Jew, to which it is clearly the polar counterpart. Representing the triumphal rise of Christianity, it marks the epilogue and the grand conclusion of Kaulbach's allegorical drama. It is the *Familia Christiana*, whose members are leaving the burning city unscathed, chanting prayers and carrying martyrs' palms.[19] They are followed by three angels, alluding to the Holy Trinity and forming an evident counterpart to the three demons. They hold above them the radiant Eucharistic chalice - symbol of the Christian Virtue of Faith and the Triumphant Church.[20]

On its way the group encounters three beautiful, scantily clad children, whose pathetic gestures of prayer (an allusion to the Christian Virtue of Hope) express their yearning to join the saintly community. One of the angels and the boy riding on the ass below him appear to be graciously accepting the young neophytes. The female figure riding on the ass is derived from the traditional

representation of Mary in the scenes of the Flight into Egypt (Matthew, 2:14). Here, however, she is suckling two babes, a clear allusion to the traditional personification of the Christian Virtue of Charity.

The pure beauty of the members of the Christian Family, their solemn gait, and their expressions of calm, serene devotion, sharply contrast with the haggard appearance of the the wildly fleeing Eternal Jew on the opposite side of the composition.

The contrasting images of the defeated Jew and the triumphant Christian family follow the traditional representations in art of the opposing images of the defeated *Synagoga* and the Triumphant *Ecclesia.*

The two antithetical allegories representing Sin and Virtue, marching respectively towards eternal doom and divine salvation, also evoke the analogous division between the blessed and the damned in representations of the Last Judgement.

The inverted positions of the doomed Jew and the saved Christians in Kaulbach's composition may have been inspired by Lucas Cranach's allegorical paintings - *Fall and Salvation* in Gotha and Nuerenberg, and a woodcut of the same subject (Fig. 4, also called "Damnation and Salvation", or "Law and Grace"), in which the fleeing sinner running towards the spectator, is reminiscent of Kaulbach's Wandering Jew.[21]

In 1876, about a year after Kaulbach's death, a highly talented young Polish Jewish painter arrived in Munich from Crakow and enrolled in the Academy of Art as a pupil of Kaulbach's outstanding follower, the history-painter Karl Theodor von Piloty. His name was Maurycy Gottlieb (Drohobycz 1856-1879).[22] Until a year before his arrival, Gottlieb had showed little interest in Jewish matters. However, after he had been harrassed in the Cracow Academy of Art by some Polish fellow students, he became intensely interested in the history and fate of his people. This nationalistic metamorphosis began to be manifested in Gottlieb's art shortly after the beginning of his brief stay in Munich. During that year (1876), he painted two pictures in which he gave new, original interpretations to two familiar Jewish subjects which were often charged with anti-Jewish connotations: *Shylock and Jessica* (Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*) and - of particular importance to our subject - *Ahasver* (Fig. 5).[23]

Gottlieb's *Ahasver* appears to be little else than a self-portrait. A similar self-portrait is featured among the onlookers in Gottlieb's *Christ Preaching in Kafer Nahum* painted a few years later (1878-79).[24] The apparently irrelevant title was probably inspired, or rather provoked, by the figure of Ahasver in Kaulbach's painting, which Gottlieb had certainly seen more than once during his frequent visits to the Neue Pinakothek. It was probably no coincidence that

Fig 4: Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Law and Grace*. Woodcut.

his *Ahasver* was painted shortly after Gottlieb's arrival in Munich and that he never returned to this or any similar subject afterwards. The critical message of this painting is thus mainly limited to its incongruous title, by which the artist defiantly identified himself with the doomed Ahasverus in Kaulbach's *Destruction of Jerusalem.* By depicting himself wearing a golden diadem, Gottlieb, however, added another layer of meaning to the title of the picture. This royal attribute may refer to the Persian King, the protagonist of the biblical Book of Esther, whose name - Ahasuerus, was adopted for that of the Eternal Jew by the anonymous German compiler of the first printed German edition of the legend (1602).

The diadem on Gottlieb's head thus transforms the defeated Wandering Jew into a triumphant royal figure.[25] Significantly, according to the biblical story, this fictitious feeble-minded monarch ultimately saved the Persian Jewish community from persecution by his non Jewish subjects and from a massacre plotted by his anti-Jewish vizier.[26]

A much more profound and explicit reaction to the anti-Jewish message of Kaulbach's Eternal Jew occurred a few decades later in a work by another young Polish Jewish artist - Shmuel Hirszenberg (Lodz 1865-Jerusalem 1907).[27] In 1882 young Hirszenberg, like Gottlieb before him, was studying at the Munich Academy of Art, and like him he too would have had ample opportunity of studying Kaulbach's celebrated *Destruction of Jerusalem,* which was still on view

Fig 5: Maurycy Gottlieb, *Ahasver. National Museum*, Cracow.

in the central hall of the Neue Pinakothek.

In 1896 Hirszenberg participated in the Munich Secession exhibition with his *Oneg Shabath* (Sabbath Rest).[28] Shortly afterwards he began working on his opus magnum: *The Eternal Jew* (Fig. 6). In 1899 the painting was exhibited in Lodz, Warsaw and Paris. However, to Hirszenberg's great regret, the artistic authorities in both Munich and Berlin refused to exhibit his work, probably because of its outspoken polemic content. Hirszenberg died in September 1907, a few months after he had arrived in Jerusalem, having responded to an invitation by Boris Schatz to head the painting department of the Bezalel School of Art, recently founded by him. *The Eternal Jew,* which the artist had brought with him to Jerusalem, remained in the possession of the Bezalel National Museum, where it was located until the early 1950s, on the upper floor of the main building. When the Bezalel Museum became part of the new Israel Museum and was transferred to its present site, Hirszenberg's work was relegated to the museum storerooms.[29]

Even a superficial glance at Hirszenberg's *Eternal Jew* reveals that it was not only directly inspired by the corresponding figure in Kaulbach's *Destruction of Jerusalem,* but also that it constitutes a critical comment on the anti-Jewish intent of Kaulbach's allegorical figure.

Fig 6: Shmuel Hirszenberg, *The Eternal Jew*, The Israel Musem, Jerusalem.

In Hirszenberg's painting, Kaulbach's legendary offender of Christ is transformed into a victim and a Martyr of Christian Persecution. For the same reason Hirszenberg also transformed the ideal generic figure of Kaulbach's Ahasver into that of a realistically rendered figure of a contemporary, frail old Jew of the Eastern Europe Diaspora.

Moreover, Hirszenberg lifted the Eternal Jew from the pseudo-historical context of Kaulbach's Christian Allegory, inserting him instead into an original symbolical environment of his own conception: a forest of dark, huge crosses strewn with massacred corpses. It is these menacing crosses, representing Christian persecution, that pursue Hirszenberg's Eternal Jew on his desperate flight, and not Kaulbach's demons of divine vengeance.[30]

Hirszenberg's Eternal Jew is thus both a pathos eliciting variation on Kaulbach's allegorical figure, as well as a much more defiant response to its anti-Jewish message, than Gottlieb's self-portrait as Ahasver.

The symbolic forest of crosses initially appears to be an entirely original invention by Hirszenberg. However, it has its precedents in several pictorial allegories inspired by Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi,* celebrating the faithful following Christ and the imitation of His Passion and sacrifice for the salvation of Mankind. Other characteristic examples can be seen in works by artists of

Fig 7: Lelio Orsi, *Christ among the Crosses*. Drawing. Whereabouts unknown.

the 16th and 17th centuries, the best-known of which are a drawing by Lelio Orsi (Fig. 7) and a pair of paintings arguably attributed to Philippe de Champaigne.[31] Admittedly, however, it is difficult to prove beyond doubt that Hirszenberg was directly inspired by any of these precedents. Regretably, our knowledge of this long neglected Jewish artist is still fragmentary.[32]

Notes

Fig 8: Alfred Kubin, *Ahasver,* about 1910.

1   For an updated bibliography on Kaulbach, see Menke: 1984, ad. voc. Kaulbach: 192-194, and *passim*; Menke-Schwinghammer 1994: 204-208; for the Battle of the Huns, see: 44-52; Kalinowski and Heilmann 1992, No. 21.

2   Neue Pinakothek, Munich, WAF 403, 5,85 x 7,05 m. Menke 1984: 209-213; Menke-Schwinghammer 1994: 38-44, Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, notes 127-160, 170; Schawe 1994: 9 (Fig.). My thanks are due to Dr. Schawe for his help and for this publication; Moeseneder 1996: 103-146. The galley-proofs of the article were kindly sent to me by the Editor, Konrad Renger, before its publication.

3   Kaulbach's murals in the New Museum, Berlin were destroyed during the bombing of Berlin in 1943 by the Allies. For the frescoes, see Menke-Schwinghammer 1994; Bertz 1996.

4   Kaulbach 1840.

5   Kaulbach 1840: 3-5.

6   For the two lost inscriptions on the original frame, see Moeseneder: 105, 131, and our Fig. 1 [photograph taken in 1921]. Significantly, in the Erlaeuterungen, 4-5, Kaulbach cites *in extenso* Daniel IX, 26 (given as "IX, 26-27": "And after threescore and two weeks, shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself, and (here follows the text cited on the frame of the picture) the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined".

Luke, XXI, 24: "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword and shall be led away captive into the nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden, down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled".

7   According to Kaulbach's *Explanations*, Kaulbach 1840: 5, the angels are holding "flaming swords" (he later probably changed his mind). The same description recurs in Moeseneder 1996: 106, 119, as well as in most of the other recent publications on the painting. For correct descriptions, see Becker 1964: 260-261; Wagner 1994: 38, but "flaming swords" in *id*. 1989: 136.
    For the biblical metaphor of the Rod of Wrath, see Proverbs 22:8; Isaia 10:5.

8   Moeseneder 1996: 108.

9   Moeseneder 1996: 123.

10 Kaulbach 1840:5; Josephus Flavius: Bk. VI. Ch.iii, 4. For this and other anachronisms in Kaulbach's painting, see Wagner 1989: 136. For a lively description of the sinister figures in the scene, see Howit 1853: 23.
    For the mediaeval depictions of the scene with Maria of Beth Ezuba about to kill her own child, see Muetherich 1979: 215-217, Fig. 1: "Christ bewailing the Fall of Jerusalem", a miniature in the Gospels of Otto III illustrating Luke XIX: 41-44, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, fol. 188v (text on fol. 189r). Later mediaeval examples: *Historia Romanorum*, Hamburg, Staats-und Universitaetbibliothek, Cod. 151 in scrin, fol. 105v: 152-154 (Italian, thirteenth century, Muetherich 1979: 16, 17, Fig. 2, n.2,). In this miniature the scenes appears to take place contemporaneously with the triumphal procession of Titus: *Evangelica Historia* 1978: fol. 73r,v.: 251-252 (Italian, fourteenth century, Mueterich, n.15). A third illustration (fol. 72v) showing several mothers holding their butchered children, is only loosely related to the text. The confused historical account, ultimately derived from Josephus, is based on the *Legenda Aurea,* see *Legenda Aurea* (1890): Cap. LXVII, de Sancto Jacobo apostolo: 298-303.

11 For some earlier depictions of the Destruction of Jerusalem, see Becker 1964: 259, 276; Moeseneder 1996: 109, Figs. 7-9. For bibliography on Poussin's painting, see *ibid*.: n. 30. Several authors refer to the upward gaze of Titus in Poussin's painting as a probable reference to the fulfilment of the wrathful Old-Testament prophecies on the sinning city.
    For Heim's painting, see Becker 1964: 276, Fig. 12; Moeseneder 1996: 110. For Hayez's painting, see Coradeschi and Castellaneta 1971: n. 341, Tav. LVII-LIX (1867).

12 For Eduard Bendemann and his paintings: *The Mourning Jews in the Babylonian Exile,* Wallraf-Richartz Museum Koln, 1832; *Jeremia on the Ruins of Jerusalem,* 1834/5 (destroyed); *The Jews led into Captivity in Babylon* (Jeremia during the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babilonian exile), 1866-1874 (1872 according to others), Berlin, National Gallery, see Becker: 261-264 (discusses also paintings of similar subjects by Bendemann's contemporaries); Saur 1994: 618-620; Renger 1996: 621-637. I am grateful to Dr. Renger for a copy of his article and for having drawn my attention to it when it was still in *statu nascendi.* See now Moeseneder 1996: 114, 130, 131, 133, 139, Figs. 13-15.
    Bendemann's paintings have been recently discussed by Bertz 1996, who showed a snapshot of the little known earlier version of *"The Jews led into Captivity"* (signed and dated 1865, Goeppingen, private collection). See Wichmann 1976: 8-9, Pl. 3.

13 For Kaulbach's Wandering Jew, see Kaulbach 1840: 8; Moeseneder 1996: 123-126 (updated bibliography in notes 80-85, 87, 88). For a thorough discussion of the evolution of the legend in literature see Anderson 1965; Anderson 1986. For an English translation of the entry for the year 1223 in the Italian chronicle, see Anderson 1965: 18. For the entries for the year 1228 in Roger of Wendover's *Flores historiarum* and Matthew Paris' *Chronica Maiora,* (in both of which the Jew is called Cartaphilus) and for Paris' illustration, see Lewis 1987: 300-304. For a colour reproduction, see Vaughan 1993: 142. In all the known mediaeval versions of the legend, the Jew is condemned by Christ to eternal waiting, and not to eternal walking. Lewis: 300, quoting a passage of the introductory section of Anderson's discussion (11) of the early literary sources of the legend, has erroneously believed it an excerpt from a sixth century text representing the original *Legend of the Wandering Jew* "in its earliest and simplest form, dating from ca. 500 A.D.". However, this passage is simply Anderson's own summary of the *Legend of the Wandering Jew* in its later form, according to which a Jew, who offended Christ on His way to His Crucifixion, was condemned by Him to eternal walking. Anderson's somewhat misleading account is derived from the thirteenth century versions mentioned above and the much later printed version (for which, see below).

14 Contrary to Lewis 1987: 300, the legend of the eternally walking or Wandering Jew does not appear before 1602. See the preceding note. For the first printed German editions of the legend of the Wandering Jew: Kurtze Beschreibung 1602, and for the numerous later editions, versions and adaptations of the story, see Heitz and Ritter 1924: 77-86, nos. 247-256a, which is based on Leonard Neubaur's pioneering studies of this theme (mainly 1893, 1912, 1914, all cited in Anderson 1965, *passim*). For a discussion and almost complete English translation of the *Kurtze Beschreibung*, see Anderson 1965: 42-70. For the original German text, see: 426, n. 12; Moeseneder 1996, n. 84.

For reproductions and discussion of some graphic representations of the Wandering Jew see, Adhemar 1968: 12, 13, Figs. I-III, Pls. 2, 3, 88 (col.); Champfleury 1869: 1-104; Stern 1995: 118, 120 (figs.), Cat. nos. 236, 237, 246.

A detail in the background of the illustration on the frontispiece of Champfleury's Histoire showing two "men of the city welcoming the Jew" has been identified by Nochlin 1967: 209-222, Figs. 1-4, as the source of inspiration for Courbet's Meeting of 1854. The motif already appears in a French broadsheet of 1616 (Adhemar 1968: Pl. 2) and in Chodowiecki's illustration to one of the novels in Reichars's *Bibliothek der Romane,* 1779-85, see Bauer 1982, nr. 694 (fig.), and Moeseneder 1996: 124, Fig. 24. Champfleury 1869: 64 includes the earliest (if not the only) reference to Kaulbach's *Wandering Jew* in France. For Gustave Doré's illustrations to: Dupont 1856, *La Legende du Juif Errant,* Michel Levy frères, Paris 1856 (12 plates - prints after Doré). See, Forberg, 1975: 1, nos. 149-161. For a reference to Dupont's text, see Champfleury 1869: 43-46. See also Schmidt 1982: 2 112-123, no. 52-57. Fuchs 1921: facing 144, reproduces a coloured caricature of the Wandering Jew, signed "Dumont *sc(ulpsit)*", but claimed to be "by Doré, 1852". without citing his source. Reproductions after Fuch's illustration (with a similar attributive caption) appear in van Run 1987: 292, Fig. 2; Mellinkoff 1981: 39, Fig. 5-6. I have not found any reference to this print in any publication on Doré's works. Doré's second illustration to Dupont's poem

inspired two depictions of this subject by Ferdinand Hodler: *Ahasver,* 1886 (Winterthur, Oskar Reinhardt Collection), and 1910 (private collection Switzerland), For the earlier version, see Ueberwasser and Spreng 1947; Hodler 1983: 491, Fig. 97. For this and other versions of the same year, see: 76., fig. 96, and Kat. 17. Edina Meyer-Maril has kindly drawn my attention to Hodler's painting. For reproductions of the 1910 version, see Becker 1964: 275, Fig. 10; Frodl 1992: 138-139 (col. pl.), No. 15. Hodler may have also been inspired by Courbet's lithograph, *L'Apostle Jean Journet* (1850), Nochlin 1967: Fig. 20), which in its turn, may have been inspired either by a popular print or by Doré. For Alfred Kubin's little-known drawing *Ahasver* of about 1910 representing the haggard looking Wandering Jew walking in a stormy, death-stricken landscape, see W. Schneditz, *Alfred Kubin,* Guetersloh 1958, Fig. 13, and our Fig. 8.

15 Kaulbach 1840: 6.

16 See Becker 1964: 272-273, Fig. 7; Moeseneder 1996: 125, Figs. 26, 27; Wagner 1989: 136-7, nn. 188-190. [refers to the expulsion from Paradise] in fact: angel with often flaming sword, pursuing the couple; also appears in Doré, Pl. 7.

   The three Furies with their characteristic attributes appear in Flaxman's drawings and illustrations to Aeschylus (Orestes pursued by the Furies) and a drawing by C. G. Kratzenstein Stub, see, Bindman 1979, Orestes Pursued by the Furies: 130, no. 159, c. 1809, drawing (with five, instead of the usual three Furies); 173, no. 243 [drawing by Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein Stub, 1814 (?): Figs. 90, 91 (line engravings by Piroli after Flaxman illustrations); The entries in the German translation: D. Bindman and Hanna Hohl, ed., John Flaxman, *Mythologie und Industrie,* Exhib. Cat. (Hamburg 1979), Munich, 1979, are cited inexactly in Wagner 1989: 85. 98, 136, 152, 199, ns. 167, 188, 251, Figs. 93-94. For Gleyre's painting, see Zeitler 1966: no. 166a. Cf. also Arnold Boecklin's *The Furies,* 1870, Shack Gallery, Munich, see, Heilmann 1988: 85.

17 Croly 1827; German Translations: Storch 1829; Kaiser 1829; Mosen 1838; Anderson 1965: 188-189, 218; Rouart 1988: 72-75. See also, Aurbacher 1827, cited in Zirus 1930: 28 (includes a list of 19th century works); Moeseneder 1996: 124.

18 Kaulbach 1840: 8; Moeseneder 1996: 122, 124; but, cf. Kaulbach's earlier description in his letter to the Countess Radzivill, 1838, in: Mueller 1893: 386, where he refers to the Wandering Jew as Ahasuerus. For a contemporary interpretation of Kaulbach's group of the Wandering Jew and the Demons, as representing the traditional Ahasuerus, punished for rebuking Christ, see the preposterous verses sung by the demons chasing Ahasverus in the third act of Guido Goerres' tragic-melodrama - *Die Zerstoerung Jerusalems* [1847], reproduced [with a drawing after Kaulbach], in: Moeseneder 1996, Fig. 6. See also n.11.

19 Inexact description of this detail in Kaulbach's 1840: 8 (cit. in Moeseneder 1996: 129, but see *ibid.:* 108). Among the many copies made of this scene in the nineteenth century (Moeseneder 1996: n. 10, 99), the most important one has escaped attention. Monika Wagner 1989: 138, n.196A, Wagner: 1994: 95, mentions an unpublished letter by the director of the Berlin Museums, I. von Olfers (Kaulbach Archive IV, file: v. Olfers) at the Bavarian Sate Library which refers to the intention of King Friedrich Wilhelm IV to order the production of a vase decorated with a copy of the Christian

Family after Kaulbach's mural in Berlin. Such a vase was actually produced by the Berlin Porcelain Manufacture. It recently reappeared in a sale of the collection of the Dukes of Baden in Karlsruhe. See Sotheby's 1995: 88, Lot 831 [col. reprod.]. The second vase included in the same lot is decorated with a copy of a detail from another of Kaulbach's murals in Berlin - *The Destruction of the Tower of Babel* (The Sons of Shem). Neither the subjects of the scenes nor their original prototypes, or the artist have been identified in the catalogue entry.

20 Moeseneder 1996: 108, 127-129. Moeseneder's historical explanation for the inclusion of the scene of the flight of the Christian Family in Kaulbach's painting is based on a passage from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica,* which, however, refers to the exodus of Christians from Jerusalem before the Great Rebellion. See also Kaulbach 1840: 8.

21 For representations of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga,* see Blumenkranz 1965: 55-61; Mellinkoff 1981: 92. For the *Last Judgement*, see Hughs 1968; For Kaulbach see Moeseneder 1996: 117-120. In Kaulbach's painting, the positions of the Wandering Jew and the Christian Family are reversed. For a similar reversion of the tradional positions of the Blessed and the Damned, cf. the paintings and printed illustrations made for Lutheran Propaganda, contrasting the Old Testament ("Law") with the New Testament ("Grace", "Salvation") by Lucas Cranach the Elder (Moeseneder 1996, Fig. 16 hereby Fig. 4) and the Younger, Hans Holbein the Younger, Franz Timmermann and others, in: Hoffmann 1984: Kat. 84-89; Schutwolf 1994: 20, 21, Kat. 1.3, (Fig.), col. Pl. on 35.

22 Guralnik 1991: 21-22. Mrs. Guralnik has kindly put her book at my disposal.

23 Guralnik: 21, 30, 36-37, 71, 96-98, 121 (col. Pl.), 200, cat. 7.

24 Cf. Guralnik: 24-25, 37, 121, 173 (col. Pls.), 209, cat. 52, Fig. 12, Fig. on 41.

25 Jerzy. Malinowski, in: Guralnik 1991: 98.

26 Esther, IX.

27 On Hirszenberg, see Zalmona 1983: 190-191, 329, 364, Figs. 3, 23; Talpir 1961-1962: 168-169. For Hirszenberg's little-known *Self-Portrait*, signed and dated 1890, see Sotheby's 1989, lot. 106 (Ill., bw.).

28 "Secession" 1896, 21, no. 177: *Sabbatruehe* (the only work mentioned in the catalogue); Talpir 1961-1962: 168 mentions a second exhibit.

29 Israel Museum, 343 x 293 cm. Letters of the Curator of the Department, and the Chief Curator of the Israel Museum to the author, 7.5.1989 and 11.5.89. The painting was included recently in an exhibition - "Windows" at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. The explanatory inscription claimed that the picture was "on public display for the first time in almost seven decades" (information: courtesy of the Chief curator, Yigael Zalmona).

30 The particular iconography of the painting has never been studied. Becker 1964: 273-274, Fig. 8, was the only writer on Kaulbach's painting to have included any reference to Hirszenberg's *Eternal Jew*; he dates the painting 1893.

31 For this motif, see Buettner 1983: 56-62, Figs. 45-47. For this theme and for Lelio Orsi's drawing, see Hoffman 1984: 137, Fig. 4. I am grateful to Dr. Hoffman for the photograph of Orsi's drawing. For the drawing and its derivations, see Bentini 1986: 34, 36-37, notes 15, 16; Monducci-Pirondini 1987: 188-190, Cat. 161, Fig. 161 a-f; Dorival 1976: 301, no. 1678 bis, 1679.

32 Piatkowska 1996 is currently preparing a monographic publication on the artist.

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Artistic Interaction in Israel: a Collection of Indian Sculpture in Kibbutz Hazorea

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*A*midst flowering bushes and palm trees in the pastoral landscape of Kibbutz Hazorea is a small, little known museum with a most interesting collection of Indian art. Its history takes us back to Berlin during the Second World War, where Wilfred Israel (b. 1899), a prominent and wealthy businessman and art lover, purchased the core of this collection. During his world travels in 1923 he established personal contacts with Rabindranath Tagore, as well as with members of Gandhi's inner circle in India. At that time he also began his involvement with Palestine. In the early 1930s he met members of the "Hashomer Hatzair" movement, founders of Kibbutz Hazorea, and was inspired by the humanist and socialistic ideals of pioneering Zionism. From 1933 he was active in Jewish aid organizations and helped hundreds of Jews to escape from Nazi Germany. His last visit to Kibbutz Hazorea, where he had dreamed of building himself a hut and devoting himself to sculpture, was in 1940. In 1943, while on a mission for the Jewish Agency, he was killed when his plane was shot down by the Nazis. It was then discovered that he had bequeathed his collection of East Asian art to Kibbutz Hazorea. An effort by the British Museum to purchase this collection was rejected, and the museum was built in 1951 as a memorial to the man and his dream.

The Wilfrid Israel Museum of Oriental Art subsequently provided a haven for other bequests and continues to acquire new collections. About 50 works of sculpture from 16 different collections are Indian or Nepalese (only 28 of these are currently on exhibit). The rest are from China, Cambodia, Thailand, Tibet and other countries of East Asia.

The collection of Indian and Nepalese art at Kibbutz Hazorea has never been properly studied. Tentative datings and attributions have been made by non-professionals, and no photographs of the works of art have been published. Modern reproductions and folk art, dating from the 18th to the 20th centuries, appear side by side with rare examples of ancient Indian sculpture, representing various schools from the 2nd century Graeco-Roman art of Gandhåra and up to the Vijayanagara style of the 16th century. The collection also includes later bronzes of various derivations. The present article constitutes an initial report relating to some of the most precious and interesting pieces in this collection.

Gandhåran art

There are at least seven authentic sculptures of the Kußån≥a period originating in the area of Gandhåra (now Pakistan). Most of them are carved from the gray schist typical of this region, and belong roughly to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Ancient Gandhåra was bounded by the Hindu Kush and Bactria on the north and the Jhelum river on the east. It was situated in the Peshawar valley between the Swat and Makam rivers on a strategic Indo-Asiatic route that linked East and West.[1] The process of Hellenization which had taken place at the end of the 4th century BCE, after Alexander's expedition and the establishment of a Graeco-Bactrian kingdom,[2] facilitated the assimilation of Roman influence from the first century CE on. The importance of its mountain passes as an alternative trade route between Rome and its ancient provinces on the one hand, and India and China on the other, increased when the Levant routes were blocked or became economically impractical because of taxation. Archeological findings at sites like Taxila, and the famous Bergram hoard, have revealed dominant Graeco-Roman stylistic tendencies which underwent local transformations due to indigenous Indian and Parthian traditions.[3] Under the Kußån≥a dynasty (the Yueh-Chi tribes of northern Asia), which ruled Gandhåra from the 1st century CE, an unprecedented proliferation of Buddhist monuments, including sculpture and cult objects, accompanied the transition to the Mahåyåna.

Seated Buddha (Fig. 1)

The Buddha seated in a posture of contemplation with his hands in the *dhyåna mudrå* (meditation) position is characteristic of Gandhåran art of the 2nd or 3rd century. The *samgåti* (monastic robe) which covers the shoulders and arms is typical of Gandhåra Buddhas as opposed to those of the contemporary school of Mathurå, where the right shoulder was left bare and drapery was concentrated on the left arm. As a product of cultural and artistic crossroads

Fig. 1: *Stone Buddha*, Gandhåra, 2nd-3rd c., schist, 26x22
cm., Max Thal Bequest, 1981 (1866)

the statue combines Indian iconography with Classical stylistic elements. The cross-legged meditative position, the broad ußn¥ßa (cranial projection) and the elongated ears, for example, are Indian.[4] The halo is one of the Persian elements which infiltrated Gandhåran art. Originally a solar disc, it is consistent with solar and other celestial symbols previously assigned to the Buddha in the aniconic art of the Mauryan period (3rd century CE and later) when Persian motifs were more salient. In this statue the Classical naturalism that characterizes Gandhåran sculpture has become formalized, rigid and geometric. Earlier exemplars of this type which have been attributed to the mid or later half of the 1st century still revealed anatomical forms beneath the garment as well as greater plasticity of drapery and subtleties of facial modelling.[5] This

Fig. 2: *Seated Bodhisattva*, Gandhåra,
2nd-3rd c., schist, 24.5x12 cm.,
Wilfred Israel Bequest, 1943 (1808)

figure has stocky, square proportions with drapery that has been reduced to
linear patterns incised in the stone. Such schematization resulted from constant
reproduction of the same models to serve growing demands.

Seated Bodhisattva (Fig. 2)

The Mahåyåna concept of the bodhisattva was expounded by disciples who
aspired not only to detachment but also to active virtues.[6] The bodhisattva
postponed his attainment of Buddhahood (i.e. *nirvåná*) in order to devote
himself to the practice of "perfections", welfare and teaching. This figure is
seated in *dhyåna mudrå* to designate meditation as one of the six "perfections".
Later, as bodhisattvas multiplied, each one was assigned particular identifying
attributes, but in this period there is very little differentiation. The *padma* (lotus)
suspended from the bodhisattva's hands is one of the earliest symbols of Indian
art, used to express the concepts of fertility, creation and purity, which are so
fundamental to both Hindu and Buddhist philosophy and religion.[7] As a divine
attribute it was assigned to the bodhisattva *Avalokites´vara,* of whom this is
probably an early image. He was also called *Padmapåni* (lotus handed). The
mantra associated with him is *om påni padme hum* (Om the jewel [of creation] in
the lotus hum). Bodhisattvas, in general, are identifiable by their royal attire,

Fig. 3: *Head of Såkyamuni,* Gandhåra, ca. 3rd-4th c., schist, 12cm. (1818)

which clearly sets them apart from the Buddha. This figure is typically adorned with heavy jewellery, such as the large pendant earrings, necklaces with suspended amulets, arm and wrist bands, and a stylish turban-like headdress with a headband that buckles on the forehead and strands of beads that contain a bun of long hair. In some of the larger figures these jewels contain extraordinarily minute details, reproducing extremely refined pieces, of which a few gold examples survive.[8] This statue has a distortedly small lower section. The disproportionate size of the lower extremities in relation to the torso is typical of Gandhåran figures. Canonical proportions dictated by classical aesthetics were of no concern to the Indian artist, whose dependence on classical models was actually quite superficial.

Head of Såkyamuni (Fig. 3)

This small head has the Buddha hairdo and *ußn¥ßa,* with a moustache that identifies him as a bodhisattva. The same combined Buddha-bodhisattva iconography is seen in heads from the monastery of Takht -I-Båhi. It was probably intended to convey the idea of Såkyamuni, before he had attained Buddhahood, and thus represents a symbolic rather than a narrative approach. The physiognomy represents a standard type characterized by a square face,

Fig. 4: *Buddha Head*, Gandhåra, 4th-5th c., stucco with remnants of paint, 22.5x16 cm.,
Eva & Fritz Pollack Bequest, 1993 (1882)

heavy upper lids, half closed eyes, full and narrow lips, a wide neck and an
arched moustache that extends from the nose outwards.[9] The moustache was
not a characteristic feature of the male deity in ancient Indian sculpture. In the
Kußåna period it was one of the features that distinguished the depiction of the
bodhisattva from that of the Buddha and was prescribed in Hindu sources for
Surya, the sun god, who was generally dressed in the garb of north-east Asian
tribes. In this statue the hair divided by ridges, a more stylized version of the
classically derived wavy locks typical of early Gandhåra, indicates a later date
for this statue, possibly the 4th century.

Buddha Head (Fig. 4)
Later artistic tradition in Gandhåra, after the dissolution of the Kußån≥a empire,
adopted new aesthetic values under the influence of the cultural renascence
which spread throughout northern and central India during the Gupta
dynasty.[10] The art of the Gupta period was more refined and sophisticated.
During the 4th and 5th centuries, concomitant with this influence, a renewed
classical impetus asserted itself in Gandhåran art, with the two currents

Fig. 5 (Top): *Relief of Buddha with Attendants*, Gandhåra, ca.2nd c., schist, 16x30 cm., Wilfred Israel Bequest, 1943 (1808)
Fig. 6 (Bottom): *Relief of Buddha with Six Attendants*, Gandhåra, ca.2nd c., schist, 13x30 cm., Max Thal Bequest, 1981 (1855)

synthesizing into a style that was unprecedented in its delicacy of form and expression. Although stucco, an Alexandrian invention, was rarely used for sculpture in the Kußån≥a period, it became the dominant material during the Gupta age. This Buddha head is a lovely example of Gandhåran stucco work of the 4th or 5th century. It was originally painted and has remnants of color on the right eye and lips. Its original colors can be reconstructed on the basis of

Fig. 7: *Relief of Buddha in Arched Frame*, fragment, Gandhåra, ca.2nd-3rd c., schist, 18.5x20x5 cm., Max Thal Bequest, 1981 (1856)

a related head in the Los Angeles County Museum, which has retained red lines around the eye, neck and lip area, black on the pupils and eyebrows and a bluish shade on the hair.[11] Similar heads were found at Had≥d≥a and Taxila.[12]

Stone Reliefs (Figs. 5, 6 & 7)

Two schist pedestals depict the Buddha and attendants or disciples. Both have a zigzag motif on the architrave and are flanked by the typical pillars and stylized acanthus capitals found in such reliefs of the 2nd century. The compositions of both are symmetrical, with an equal number of attendants depicted as mirror images on each side. The Buddha on a pedestal is in *dhyåna mudrå* (meditative hand position) or in *abhaya mudrå* (gesture of assurance) (Figs. 5 & 6). The attendants, depicted in three-quarter view, appear to be in *añjali mudrå* (gesture of salutation or benediction). Even spacing on a two dimensional plane and the lack of overlapping and other means of spatial illusionism reflect the limited assimilation of classical models. But the sweeping drapery falling below the right knee of the attendant (Fig. 5) is one of the mannerisms found in contemporary Roman reliefs.[13]

A fragment of a small schist relief with a Buddha in *dhyåna mudrå* and an arched frame belongs to the same period (Fig. 7). Arched portals and windows were standard elements of ancient Indian architecture, first executed in

Fig. 8 (Left): *Terracotta Head*, Central India, ca.early 3rd c., terracotta, 10x6.5 cm., Max Thal Bequest, 1981, (1854)
Fig. 9 (Right): *Buddha Head*, Mathurǎ, ca.5th c., Gupta Dynasty, stone, 17.5x13 cm., Wilfred Israel Bequest, 1943 (1819)

perishable materials, such as brick, timber and bamboo, and then reproduced in stone as early as the 3rd century BCE. Stone reliefs from Amarǎvat¥, Jaggayyapeta, Nǎgǎrjunakon≥d≥a and other Buddhist monuments of A¯ndhra and the Deccan provide evidence of sophisticated secular and religious architecture in which arches, cross-vaults and barrel-shaped roofs were common features.[14] Ivory reliefs from 1st century A¯ndhra containing detailed architectural depictions were found in the Bergram hoard, thus demonstrating one means by which knowledge of central Indian architecture was transmitted to the Gandhǎra region.[15]

Heads from Central India (Figs. 8 & 9)
Graeco-Roman antiquities have been discovered in India primarily at port cities along the coast or along inland trade routes. On the trans-Vindhyan trade route, in the city of Adam, typical Roman finds were discovered together with imports from Taxila in Gandhǎra and local sculptures that do not resemble the indigenous Andhran art.[16] Almost identical male heads in terracotta, that were found there, enable us to identify this remarkable head of the Hazorea collection (Fig. 8). Both these heads and that of Hazorea feature the aquiline nose with puffy nostrils, unarticulated heavy lips and moustache, an elongated oval head and a cap-like mass of hair. As in the Gandhǎran stucco head (Fig. 4) there are

remnants of color applied as linear accents to the lips, hairline and neck. This head presents a three-quarter view and may have belonged to a free-standing statue. It has a rustic, unornamented simplicity, assimilating stylistic elements from Gandhåra and possibly from the area of Mathurå, where most terracottas were produced during this period, to create its own unique style. The head was probably made before the mid-3rd century, when the collapse of Graeco-Roman trade caused the decline of such inland marts.

A very important artifact in the collection is a stone head from Mathurå (Fig.9), which I discovered hidden and neglected because of its damaged state. The Mathurå school of sculpture developed Buddhist and Hindu art in the Kußåṇa period and was one of the most important sources for the subsequent development of sculpture, especially in central northern India.[17] The stone head represents the austere and static massiveness and the tendency to formal abstraction typical of Mathurå work in the first centuries CE, but has the more refined and subtle qualities developed there and at Sarnath during the Gupta period.[18] A great many of the Mathurå sculptures were mutilated like this one when the Afghan sultan Mahmud of Ghazna sacked the city in the early 11th century.

A Buddhist Relief from Bihår (Fig. 10)

This unusual relief, a product of Tantric Buddhism, was probably produced at Nålandå or in the Gaya district of Bihår during the 11th century. The Någar¥ inscription on its base states: [de] *Dharmah Malakasa* [or Marakasa] or "This is the gift of Malaka" [or Maraka].[19]

On the extreme left is the hypostasis of Akßobhya (the Imperturbable). His imperturbability is represented by the image of Såkyamuni triumphing over Måra (the evil one), which focuses symbolically on the attainment of enlightenment. Akßobhya is seated in the yogi position with his right hand in *bhËmisparśa mudrå* (calling the earth to witness) and his left in *varada mudrå* (bestowing grace). He has a pointed *ußn¥ßa*, elongated ears, and a toga-like garment covering only the left shoulder in the style that originated in Mathurå. Three figures are seated to his left. The first is seated in *lalitåsana* (one leg folded, the other dangling), wears a crown and other ornaments and seems to be holding a large *padma* (lotus) in his (or her) left hand with the right hand resting on the knee. The second figure in the triad is in a dance-like *ardhaparyaṇka* position, with his right arm raised. The objects in his left hand are a *khatvåṇga*, a staff or club made of bone that terminates in a skull, and a *kapala* or skull bowl. He wears large round earrings and a flaming *mukuṭa* (crown). This combination of attributes identifies the figure as Heruka, a late Buddhist Tantric

Fig. 10: *Buddhist Tantra Relief*, Bihar, ca.11thc., stone, 7.5x18 cm.,
Wilfred Israel Bequest, 1943 (1806)

deity not often depicted in art, but known in this precise form in the Påla art of
Bihår and Bengal.[20] Heruka belongs to a group of angry deities called *krodhakåya*
who are victorious over demons. He also has the fangs and smile of the angry
gods. The apotropaic function of the Herukas, as a class of deities, is illustrated
by the fact that in Tibet, for example, they were depicted on dedicatory materials
placed inside metal images at the time of their consecration.[21] The third figure
of the triad sits in *lalitåsana*, wears a three-tiered crown and ornaments and
rests his (or her) hands on the legs. If the two figures flanking Heruka are
indeed females, as they appear to be, they are no doubt *dåkin¥s*, lesser deities of
tantric Buddhism who were also associated with apotropaic rituals because of
their malevolence. The first would be Padmadåkin¥, who holds the lotus. The
incised attributes between the figures are the *padma*, the *sr¥vatsa* (auspicious
sign), what appears to be a *cakra* (wheel) and the *sankha* (conch shell), all of
which are popular symbols of Buddhist Tantric iconography.[22]

Stylistically, this relief is remarkable for the way linear effects derived from
painting have been combined with the plastic medium of sculpture. Buddhas
and Buddhist deities, seated individually or in rows, within the linear frames
of a throne and an attached halo, were commonly painted in contemporary
manuscript illuminations of Bihar and Bengal. The throne and attached halo
have been incised on the stone behind the Buddha, indicating that the sculptor

Fig. 11: *Śālabhañjikā,* North India, ca.8th c., red sandstone, 75x23 cxm., L. Elkind Bequest, 1994 (1896)

was familiar with the paintings.

A *Śālabhañjikā* (Fig.11)

The theme of the tree goddess in Indian art seems to go back as far as the Indus Valley civilization (third millennium BCE) where the worship of a female figure framed within a tree was depicted on a seal, to represent either the divinity of the tree itself or else the spirit or goddess residing in it.[23] The image of the female fertility figure, the *yakṣī* or *śālabhañjikā,* with her right arm raised to grasp the branch of a flowering and fruit laden tree, appears in early Buddhist art as, for example, on the stupas of Barhut (2nd century BCE) and Sāñci (1st century BCE to 1st century CE). These prototypes, however, like subsequent *śālabhañjikā* figures, are also characterized by their cross-legged pose and the fact that one foot is actually touching the base of the tree. This pose reflected the ancient *dohada* rite (from Skt. *doha* - to milk or yield) described in Sanskrit literature.[24] It was believed that a young girl, by touching the trunk of the tree with her foot, could cause it to blossom. This stone figure has straight legs and also carries a parrot in the crook of her left arm. The parrot is a symbol of passion, associated with Kāma (love) and Rati (desire), the *yakṣī* (fertility spirit) and the *Śālabhañjikā* (dryad), from the sculpture of the Kuṣāṇa period till the romantic Kangra miniatures of the 19th century.[25] The figure therefore combines attributes of sensuality and sexuality with the symbolism of the *Śālabhañjikā* to express the inherent association between eroticism and the fecundity of nature.

The style is that of central India and the statue probably originated from

the region of Madhya Pradesh or eastern Rajasthan. I would assign it to the 8th or 9th century, based on stylistic affinities with Gurjara-Pratihåra stone sculpture. The massive figure is characterized by geometrical abstraction of bodily forms, such as cylindrical legs, closely placed melon breasts, a flat squarish head with squat neck, almond eyes and linked arched eyebrows, all seen in the art of the Pratihåra dynasty.[26] Also noteworthy is the stylish hairdo with asymmetrical bun and small curls attached on the forehead to a ridged hairline, as well as the large semicircular pendant earrings. These peculiarities of style and fashion were transmitted to the early Chandella figural sculpture at Khajuråho, notably at the Lakßma𝑟a and Pars̆vanåtha temples (the first assignable to ca.950 CE, the second shortly after).

A Dancer from Orissa (Fig. 12)
The charming dancer from Orissa is related to the *s̆ålabhañjikå* in its overt expression of feminine sensuality. But the exaggerated evocation of caricature-like facial features, with wide nostrils, delineated lips, a hooked nose and a receding chin, as well as the grossness and disproportions in the body and the dynamism of the movement, all emphasize a totally different approach. The style is typical of Orissan folk art.[27] The nose ornament was not depicted in ancient art but has become especially popular, though not exclusive, in the folk art of north-eastern India during the last two hundred years. This statue is imbued with unusual spontaneity and humour, and displays remarkable technical mastery in stone carving (seen especially in profile and three-quarter views). The eroticism may be related, in a broad sense, to the fact that Orissa was an important center of Buddhist and Hindu Tantric sects.

South Indian Sculpture
Although differing in style, technique, material and function, and spanning a period of more than 300 years, five sculptures are grouped here according to their geographical provenance to indicate their common cultural and artistic tradition. An important factor in the development of the so-called "Dravidian art" was the comparative isolation of southern India from direct Indo-European influences and from the foreign invasions and conquests that facilitated the infiltration and assimilation of imported artistic forms in the north. In the south there was a unique indigenous development in monumental architecture and sculpture which began under the Pallava dynasty in the 7th and 8th centuries and affected the arts of East Asia due to their commercial and religious contacts. There was a direct continuity between the Pallava art and that of the Cholas, who ruled Tamil Nåd≥u from the 9th to the 13th century, followed by the

Fig. 12: *Dancer*, Orissa, stone, 37.5x17 cm., Eva & Fritz Pollack Bequest, 1993 (1885).

Vijayanagara art, which spread from the Deccan (central India) southward between the 14th to the 16th century and that of the Nåyakas, who mark the last phase of south Indian sculptural and architectural tradition in the 17th and 18th centuries. Other important schools of art, like those of the Pån≥d≥ya in Tamil Nåd≥u and the Hoysal≥a in Karn≥å†aka, whose sphere of activity was more localized, also influenced mainstream developments of Dravidian art. Four of the sculptures constitute late examples of these developments; the fifth represents the art of Kerala in which Dråvida stone traditions related to Tamil Nåd≥u developed side by side with unique forms of wooden architecture and sculpture.

Kr≥ßn≥a Venugopala **(the cowherd with the flute)** (Fig. 13)

The free-standing red granite figure of Kr≥ßn≥a, which stands 1.36 meters high, is the largest statue in the collection. Kr≥ßn≥a in the typical *tribhan◊ga* pose (with three breaks in the main axis) exhibits elegant and controlled movement based on the skillful distribution of weight and counterweight. Weight is concentrated on the left leg, creating a dominant axis for the entire figure. This is counteracted by the diagonal of the torso that intersects it at an angle of about 45°. The head

Fig. 13: *Kr≥ßn≥a Venugopala,* South India, Vijayanagara Dynasty, 16th c., granite, 1.36 m., L.Elkind Bequest, 1994 (1895)

again changes the axial direction at a 90° angle to the flute. The horizontal line of the flute increases the off-center emphasis to the left, with the focal point on the hands and discus, creating an asymmetrical countermovement to the lower section. Intersecting and triangular forms are repeated throughout. The softness of the modelling contributes to the fluidity of undulating movement. This carefully designed rhythm and harmony of forms visually conveys the music of Kr≥ßn≥a's flute.

Technically the statue illustrates continuity in the southern tradition of granite sculpture from its inception by the Pallavas at Mahåbalipuram in the 7th century until the later representations by the Vijayanagara school, to which this statue belongs.[28] The Pallava method of excavating architectural and sculptural forms directly from granite outcrops is still reflected in the way the free-standing figure has not entirely emerged from its background but is still framed by the semi-defined stone mass. The later work can nevertheless be differentiated from its Pallava predecessors by the increased movement in space, elongated proportions and by the fact that the Pallavas, as long as they worked in granite, did not carve their deities in the round but rather excavated them in high relief from a stone surface.[29] From the 8th century the softer sandstone

Fig. 14: *Dev¥*, South India, Bronze, 85 cm., Eva & Fritz Pollack Bequest, 1993 (1890).

was preferred by the Pallavas and then the Cholas as it was easier to model and facilitated more detailed carving. Granite sculpture was not entirely rejected, however, between the 9th and 13th centuries,[30] and in the 14th century the San◊gamas, who were the first to rule the Vijayanagara Kingdom, chose granite as the building material for their temples because it was plentiful in their territories. When they invaded the southern territories they adopted the earlier style of sculpture in granite. This statue might have originated anywhere in the Vijayanagara controlled territories - in their capital where devotion of Vaißn≥ava deities, like Råma and Kr≥ßn≥a, was popular, or in the Tamil country, where the *bhakti* cult (stressing devotion to a personal god) was first promoted.[31]

Dev¥ (Fig. 14)

The bronze Dev¥ (literally goddess, cf. Latin *dea*), although of fairly recent execution, is nevertheless interesting as the product of an outstanding sculptural tradition in southern India. It is also one of the figures in the collection that reflect the central Hindu concept of the feminine principle or *s´akti* (power or energy) as it is conveyed in theology, mythology and cult.[32] Elements of the conception and form of Dev¥ evolved from the goddess of nature and the mother goddess of the proto-historical Indus Valley civilization, the earth goddesses of the non-Aryan nature cults, the more abstract Creative Principle of the Vedas

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and the genius of fertility or *yakß¥*, associated in the earliest art forms with the source of life as well as the power of illusion and magic. Each of these contributed its conceptual ramifications and symbolic attributes. This bronze Dev¥ stands on a lotus pedestal and once held a *padma* (lotus) in her right hand. The archaic goddess of the lotus flower bore epithets like *padmahasta* (having a lotus in the hand) and later evolved into S´r¥ or Lakßm¥, goddess of abundance and fortune, Pårvat¥ and other related manifestations of the Hindu goddess.

Iconographically, stylistically and technically this image is a direct descendant of the Cola bronzes (9th to 12th centuries) of which many examples survive in temples and museums.[33] These were cast by the *cire perdue* process, which is still practiced in small primitive workshops in the temple regions of southern India.[34] The preservation of the original bronze casting technique as well as strict adherence to stylistic conventions has often lead to confusion in dating. Among the salient formal transformations of the later periods are those of proportion. These were originally dictated by the *s´ilpas´åstras* (treatises for craftsmen). The Hazorea statue is conspicuously elongated and uniform in shape in comparison with ancient prototypes. In Cola bronzes sensuousness and movement were enhanced by opulent breasts and a broad hip area contrasted to a tiny waist. The Cola figures also maintained a fundamental equilibrium, not unlike classical contrapposto, which has been lost in this statue. Dev¥'s graceful hand positions have become rigid and forced after countless reproductions, and the ornamentation on her girdle and crown have have been modernized. These stylistic features as well as the lack of patina all confirm that this is a fairly recent work.

South Indian Woodcarvings

Gan◊gå on her Makara (Fig. 15)

The carving of *Gan◊gå* (personification of the holy river) was probably part of a *ratha* (chariot). These enormous structures of elaborately carved solid wood are still used throughout southern India as mobile temples to bear an image of the deity during festival processions. Although the wooden chariots are products of local folk art workshops, as accessories of temple ritual they are linked to iconographic and aesthetic prototypes of monumental sculpture. In fact, similar stone chariots were carved in the Vijayanagara period.[35]

The iconography of *Gan◊gå* was derived from the *yakß¥* or *s´ålabhañjikå* (see above), who preceded her as personifications of fertility. Like other depictions of *Gan◊gå*, this figure retains the typical cross-legged stance of these predecessors as well as the foliage motif of the *s´ålabhañjikå*. These features were already

Fig. 15: *Gan∆gå,* Tamil Nådu, woodcarving, 54x30 cm., Eva & Fritz Pollack Bequest, 1993 (1892)

adopted for the earliest Gupta depictions of *Gan∆gå* (5th century). At that time *Gan∆gå* on her *makara* (mythical aquatic creature) was generally juxtaposed with the river-goddess *Jamunå* on her tortoise in the context of auspicious imagery on the door lintel of the temple. Together they represented the symbolic process of purification (cleansing from sin), sanctification (with holy water), and restoration (physical and spiritual) undergone by those entering the temple. On the *ratha*, as a mobile temple, *Gan∆gå* would naturally be reproduced among other traditional motifs. The position of her damaged left hand can be reconstructed, for example, from wooden reliefs of dancers still carved in Tamil Nåd≥u.[36] These figures, like their ancient prototypes, demonstrate classical positions of dance first codified in the *Nå†yasˊåstra* of Bharata and the *Vißn≥udharmottara Purana* of the Gupta period (ca. 5th century) as means of visual expression. The significance of the original dance movement with its *tribhan∆ga* accents has unfortunately been lost in the work of this modern craftsman.

Kål¥ (Fig. 16)
The woodcarving of the goddess Kål¥ originates from Kerala (south-western India), the only area in the south where entire temple superstructures were

Fig. 16: *Kålı*, Kerala, woodcarving, 63x31 cm., Eva & Fritz Pollack Bequest, 1993 (1893)

constructed and elaborately carved in wood rather than stone during the last millennium. Images of deities, like this one of Kålı, and mythological narratives were modelled in high relief, creating a rich ornamental surface. Similar figures are found in the Alleppey district, for example, on the Sˈiva temple at Kaviyur where the extant timber walls were probably added between the 16th and the 18th centuries to a pre-existing granite base of the mid-10th century and on the Narasimˈha temple at Chengannur, where the timber walls were renovated in the 15th century.[37] The use of repetitive ornamental motifs, such as the scalloped edge and beads, on all parts of the figure is typical of the Kerala carvings, as are the facial characteristics and jewels.

Kålı, the bloodthirsty goddess, is a form of Pårvatı - the consort of Sˈiva. She is identified by her numerous Sˈaiva attributes, such as the two bulging eyes, flaming halo and fangs (borrowed from his manifestations as Bhairava or Kåla), the third eye (sign of both spiritual insight and destructive power) and the matted hair piled high as a *jaʈå mukuʈa* (crown). Six of her eight hands hold Sˈaiva attributes, among them the *trisˈ Ëla* (trident) and Nandi the bull. Kålı is the fearful black goddess, associated with the destructive power of time - Kåla, with death and with blood. As such she represents the ever present threat to

the order of *dharma*, the violent manifestations of human existence which must be neutralized and controlled through propitiation, ritual and strict social order.[38] But this Kål¥ is conspicuously lacking in some of her most frightening attributes - the protruding tongue, a necklace of human skulls, serpents and deadly weapons. Instead she demonstrates a benevolent *hasta mudrå* (symbolic hand position) and carries the *padma* (lotus flower), symbol of the womb, fertility, reproductive powers and metaphor of cosmic creation or the procreative aspect of the Absolute. The local artisan, who may have been ignorant of iconographic traditions or felt unconstrained to follow them, created an original and meaningful image of the multifaceted goddess, whose every image is conceived as only one manifestation or emanation of the supreme goddess. Myths describe transformations of Pårvat¥ into Kål¥ or of Durga into Kål¥, thus synthesizing conflicting concepts of creation and destruction, order and chaos, benevolence and noxiousness, purification and pollution, the divine and the demoniac.[39] Perhaps he was unaware of the philosophical implications of this synthesis of polarities but, by combining the contrasting attributes of Kål¥ and Dev¥ or Pårvat¥, he gave visual expression to concepts of ambivalence and paradox associated with the goddess even at the level of popular cult and folk art.

An Elephant with Four Riders (Fig.17)
This elephant is probably the oldest woodcarving in the collection and the original paint, which is now cracked, partly chipped and discolored, is still visible. This serves as a reminder that most Indian stone and wood sculpture was originally painted. The wooden elephant is a copy of stone precedents in Hoysala and Vijayanagara art. Series of similarly decorated elephants were depicted in relief on the plinths of Hoysala temples as, for example, at Halebid (12th century). In the 15th century Ramachandra temple at Hampi, the Vijayanagara capital, panels depicting processions of almost identical elephants with riders were among the secular themes of the temple which reflected not only the military campaigns of the patron but also temple processions.[40] The Italian Nicolo Conti, who visited there during the reign of Devaraya II (1424-46), described these processions as well as the large stone elephants with ornaments that flanked the stairs to the temples. The three-dimensional wooden elephant, with his four riders and the broken pole of what probably was once an umbrella (ancient symbol of royalty), may himself have participated in more recent festival processions as part of a *ratha*.

An overview
Despite its fortuitous history and modest proportions, the Indian collection in

Fig. 17: *Elephant with Riders*, South India, painted woodcarving,
17x30x46 cm., Max Thal Bequest, 1981 (1870)

Kibbutz Hazorea presents a whole gamut of iconographic and formal representations, characterized on the one hand by unvanquished tradition and archaism, and on the other by the dynamics of infinite transformation and multiplicity. To those who seek the residing spirits, these artifacts of stone, wood and metal relate many stories. Some of them were the products of a unique chapter in the confrontation between East and West; others are the mute remnants of indigenous schools and local styles. The chronological range of the collection permits an overview, from Buddhist art of the 2nd century to contemporary Hindu folk art, of leitmotifs which endure beyond the boundaries of geographical regions, religions or artistic schools, and convey fundamental concepts of Indian faith and ontology. The examples presented here illustrate the importance of popular and folk art as media of continuity as well as sources

of new creative impetus. The statues of Hazorea, representing the mainstream along with the eccentric, with variants of media, technique and style, and multiple levels of iconic and symbolic expression, convey the fundamental complexity and multiplicity of Indian culture.

NOTES

1. Nehru 1989, intro.
2. On the Graeco-Bactrian city of Ai Khanum, see Guillaume 1992: 16-27.
3. Nehru 1989; Mehendale 1996.
4. The meditative yogi position was depicted on an Indus-Valley seal of ca.2000 BCE. The ußnißa, considered a sign of exceeding wisdom, is thought to have derived from the long hair of the *Ksˊatriya* caste, which is still tied up in a turban in some parts of northern India. Similarly, it has been suggested that the elongated ears allude to Såkyamuni's royal origins.
5. For comparisons, see Bachhofer 1972: Pls. 144 & 145; Nehru 1989: Figs. 104-106.
6. On Mahåyåna Buddhism and the bodhisattva, see Bechert and Gombrich 1984: 90-93; Snellgrove 1987: 58-78.
7. Zimmer 1972: 90-101; Pal 1986: 39-42.
8. Original examples of this kind are exhibited, for example, in the East Asian Section of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.
9. Cf. Bachhofer 1972: 147 for combined iconography. See Nehru 1989: Fig. 27; Huntington 1985: Fig. 8.10 for this bodhisattva type.
10. Asher 1980; Williams 1982.
11. Pal 1986: 218-19, Colorpl. 57.
12. Cf. Mukerjee 1964: Pl.5; Harle 1990: Fig. 54; Pal 1986: 219, S92.
13. E.g. *Marcus Aurelius offering a Sacrifice,* relief from a triumphal arch, 2nd century, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori. Cf. Nehru 1989: Figs. 13 & 141; Bachhofer 1972: Fig. 143.
14. Meister, Daky and Deva 1988: 5-17.
15. E.g. ivory plaque from Bergram, 1st century CE, Kabul Museum, in Craven 1976: Fig. 42.
16. Nath 1995.
17. Sharma 1994.
18. Kramrisch 1983: 181-202, figs. 10-4 - 10-10.
19. I am indebted to Dr. Gautam Vajracharya of the University of Wisconsin for translating this inscription and corroborating the attribution presented here, and to Professor David Shulman of the Hebrew University for his invaluable help. For comparable inscriptions, see Pal 1988: 168-9; Debjani 1995: 82, 104. On Buddhist patronage and inscriptions, see Dehejia 1992.
20. Huntington 1984: Fig. 215 and 1985: 398-9, Figs. 18.3-18.4; Snellgrove 1987: 121, 153-7, 315.
21. Huntington 1990: 333-4, cat. no. 114.
22. E.g. Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988: 62.
23. Tiwari 1985: esp. 21-4.
24. Sivaramamurti 1977: 40; Pal 1986: 178.

25. For the female and parrot motif, see the following: *Yakß¥* from Mathurå, Kußå*n*⁄a, second century, Calcutta, Indian Museum; detail of doorjamb from Sakrigali, Patna Museum, in Asher 1980: Pl.24; *Yakß¥*, Panauti, Indre*s*´vara Mahådeva Temple, late 13th century, in Harle 1990: 480, Fig.388; Rati, Madurai, Minakshi Temple, Nåyaka, 17th century, in Sivaramamurti 1977: Pl.157. For *S* iva on the parrot, see Kangra style miniature painting, Punjab, ca.1820, in Blurton 1993: Fig. 121.
26. Cf. Sivaramamurti 1977: Pl. 76.
27. Cf.Maury 1969: Fig. 140.
28. Huntington 1985: 573; Stein 1987: 1-2; Michell 1995: 155, 161, 166.
29. For a possible exception, see Lockwood 1982: 1-2.
30. E.g. Pandyan granite statue of Vißn⁄u and Garu*d*a (8th-9th century), Metropolitan Museum of Art, Southeast Asian Art Collection; Cola granites in Pal 1988: 263, 164, 272-3; granite Ardhanari*s* vara *S* iva as male and female combined), 14th century in Pal 1997: 275.
31. Singer 1966; Godine 1982; Mookerjee 1985: 93-4.
32. Maury 1969: 127-40; Tiwari 1985: esp.183-4; Hawley and Wulff 1996.
33. E.g. Gangoly 1978: Pls. 33-35.
34. The model is made with beeswax mixed with resin and oil and covered with a first coat of alluvial soil and a second of clay and sand. After drying for about 10 to 15 days, it is heated over charcoal and cow-dung and the melted wax is removed from the open base. The cast is then buried upside down in a pit and filled with molten metal. After cooling, it is removed from the pit and 12 to 18 hours later the mud cast is broken. Protruding elements are eliminated with hammer and chisel and refined with emery paper.
35. Huntington 1985: Fig. 23.4.
36. Mode and Chandra 1985: Fig. 361.
37. Sarkar 1978: 118-20, 249-51, 165-6, Pls. LVI & LVII.
38. Kinsley 1977: 81-159 and 1996: 77-86.
39. O'Flaherty 1976: 370-9; Berkson 1997: esp.1-10.
40. See e.g. Sivaramamurti 1977: Figs. 148, 586; Rajasekhara 1983: Figs. 90, 95.

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"As One Speaks to Stone" – The Evocation of Celan's Poetry in the Works of Micha Ullman and Adam Berg

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*T*he work of the two Israeli artists, Micha Ullman (born in Tel Aviv, 1939) and Adam Berg (born in Tel Aviv, 1962) is separated by two generations and yet bridged by the poetry of Paul Celan. One can apply Celan's line from the poem *Radix, Matrix*-"As one speaks to stone,"[1] to both artists' attempts to express the inexpressable through their work. I would also like to attempt to speak through Celan's chosen material, thus unfolding what seems to be left untouched, namely, memory's shadow: a stone.
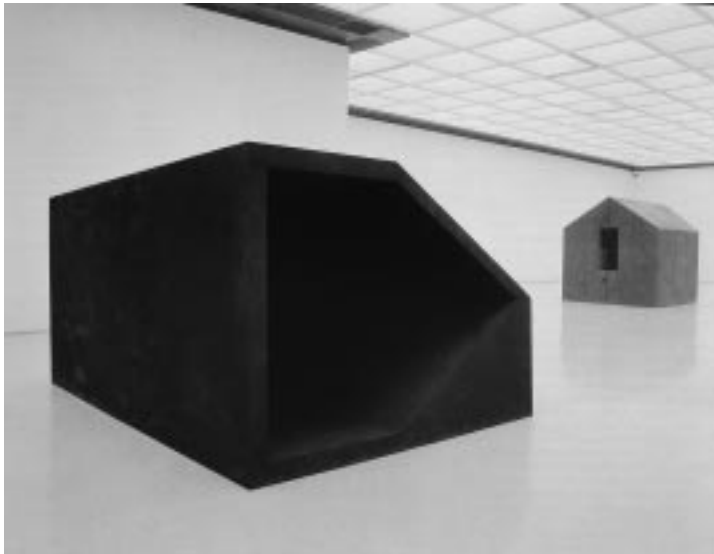

Fig. 1: Micha Ullman, *Havdalah*, 1988, iron plates and sand, 178 x 320 x 250 cm. Collection of the artist. Exhibit: The Israel Museum. Jerusalem. 1988.
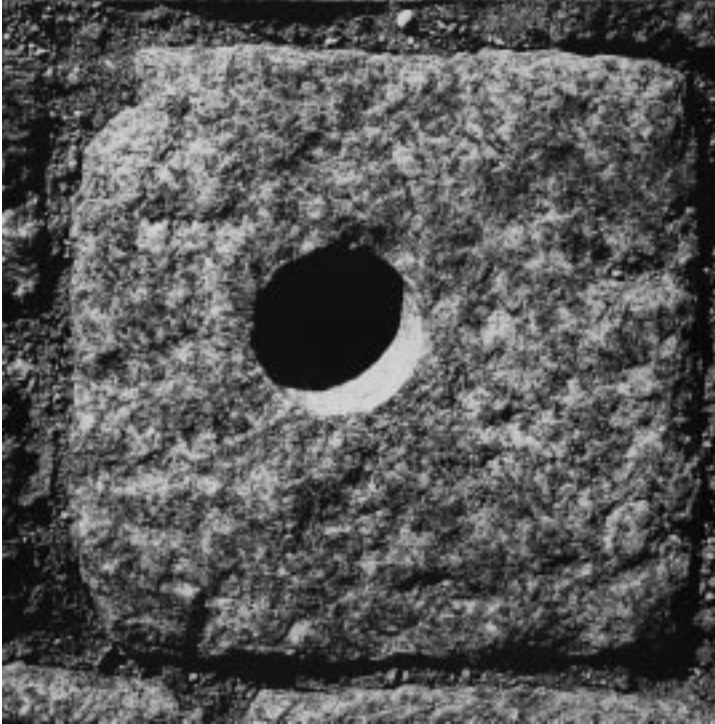
Fig. 2: Micha Ullman, *Full Moon*, detail from *Neumond*, 1994, outdoor sculpture, 29 carved stones, each carving 4 cm diameter. Schloss solitude, Germany.

The belief that it is possible to slip even a small particle of freedom through the "shackles" is the moment of victory in Celan's poem. The act of *Havdalah*,[2] the separation of the holy from the secular, of the splendor of the Sabbath from the six days of creation, is in itself an act of creativity - evident in the setting of the table, in the presence of the members of the household. Indeed, Celan moves along the paths of nothingness, but through the very act of poetry he wishes to express his belief in and wish to regenerate the rose through an act of ritual fertilization - one of the clear signs of the "Creation" in the *Kabalah*.

Ullman too is imprisoned within the magic of religious existentialism, being fervently addicted to Kierkegard's *Fear and Trembling,* or to the secrets of Buber's tales. He is conscious of his existentialist secularity, an awareness that forcefully leads him into nothingness. At the same time as he plunges beyond nothingness and digs beyond his disappearing roots, he must have the assurance of his identity; an identity which promises him the "Havdalah" from within the cycles of surrender and despair that are so characteristic of both his personal and tribal history.

While preparing to set out on a Sabbatical in Germany in the spring of 1989, Ullman chose to introduce a discussion on his sculpture by reciting several lines of poetry (conversation with author, 16.3.89). He chose poems by Paul Celan from *Die Niemandsrose* collection. After reading several of the horrifying lines from the "Death Fugue," with its end full of such despair, "Your golden hair Margarete / your ashen hair Shulamith",[3] Ullman continued reading "Havdalah" - a poem that could have served as another reference for his sculpture *Havdalah* (Fig. 1):

> An dem einen, dem
> einzigen
> Faden, an ihm
> spinnst du - vom ihm
> Umsponnener, ins
> Freie, dahin,
> ins Gebunde.
>
> Groß
> stehn die Spindeln
> ins Unland, die Baume: es ist,
> von unten her, ein
> Licht geknupft in die Luft-
> matte, auf der du den Tisch deckst,
> den leeren
> Stuhlen und ihrem
> Sabbatglanz zu - -
>
> zu Ehren.

Berg, too, frequently refers to Celan in his works. The installation *Recital*[4] is dedicated to Celan's open *Radix, Matrix,* which begins with the line "As one speaks to stone, like / you, / from the chasm",[5] - Furthermore, in the catalogue of his exhibition at Urbania,[6] Berg quoted from a Celan text which is based on a metaphor which connects an eye and a stone: "The stone. / The stone in the air, which I followed. / Your eye, as blind as the stone. / (…) / Flower - a blind man's word."[7]

In his recent works, Berg attempts to bring together conceptual and philosophical perspectives with personal and sensory experience. The desire to touch the real constrains him to relate to his own store of memories, which

Fig. 3: Adam Berg, *Link 20: Condition*, 1997, 300 x 150 x130 cm, Rocks and stainless steel wire. 1997 Exhibition: The Genia Schreiber University Art Gallery. Tel-Aviv, 1997

channels the flow of this artistic thought - and the objects that are perceived by the senses and that filter into the processes of cognition together with various behavioral aspects.[8] The strata of memory - both conceptual and perceptual - are articulated by Berg as a perforated weave, open and infinite, through the gaps in which he reconstructs his selfhood. In the process, his selfhood spreads over other objects and intensities, varying in time and place, which radiate upon it and accord it greater profundity.

Celan's imagery resonates in the material usage that Berg and Ullman make of it, manipulating the interplay of physical weight and psychological associations of stones. This interplay is expressed in both Ullman's *Full Moon* (Fig. 2) and in a detail from *Neumond*[9] as well as in Berg's *Condition* (Fig. 3). In *Full Moon*, Ullman perforates a stone which is part of a pavement. In the stone, the perforation creates a spherical hole whose boundaries are wide enough to achieve the illusion, when seen from above, that the sphere is really a moon. The sides of the sphere are lighted while the chasm underneath creates a night background emphasizing both the lunar silhouette and also the possibility of

Fig. 4: Micha Ullman, *Jacob's Ladder*, 1994-1995, 47 x 65 cm, tempura and ruddy sand
laid on the paper with direct touch of the fingers, Collection of the artist

an eclipse. Berg's *Condition* is a sculptural work which is composed of stones suspended in defiance of gravity. The array of stones is coiled into a thin, delicate wire which, impossibly, holds the stones above ground. Hence, both artists actualize the poignancy of the paradoxical liberation/boundedness that Celan's poetry bespeaks.

The attempt to question the forces of gravity and to grapple with the decree of the powers above and below is hinted at in the title of drawing no. 12 in the *Month* series, *Jacob's Ladder* (Fig. 4). In this context, Ullman was influenced not only by the biblical text about Jacob's dream of the ladder and his struggle with the angel (*Genesis* 28;32), but also by Arnold Schoenberg's oratorio *Jacob's Ladder*. Again, the imagery of the angels, impossibly ascending and descending the ladder, unless by celestial intervention, suggests the tension between what is rationally possible and spiritually true. Berg's suspended sculptural work *Condition* actualizes the impossibility of Celan's *Havdalah* in which Celan speaks of a land which is not sown, from which stand out knotted trees. Like Ullman's *Full Moon*, in which a penetration is sown into stone, so too, Berg's fallow rocks lie suspended, divorced from the land on which seeds cannot be sown.

Fig. 5: Adam Berg, *Link 29: Staircase, Scale (Bruno's Library)*, 1997, 500 x 250 cm , mixed media video installation. Exhibition: The Genia Schreiber University Art Gallery. Tel-Aviv, 1997

The stones in Celan's poem undergo real torments, both as matter and as something abstract: at times they fall with all their weight, and at times they float and pass far above us; at times they are hard and opaque, and at times they are transparent and embody light itself; at times they arouse weeping and at times they are like the lover's wild roses. It is time the stone made an effort to flower, Celan urges in the poem *Corona*.[10] But in another poem, the stone flies far away, beyond death, to the mysterious unknown, or, in Celan's formulation, into the "Bright-Once-More":

> The bright
> stones pass through the air, the brightly
> white, the light-
> bringers.
>
> They will
> not go down, will not drop,

Fig. 6: Adam Berg, *Bruno's Atrium*, 1997, 250 x 100 x 60 cm, mixed media video installation. Exhibition: The Genia Schreiber University Art Gallery. Tel-Aviv, 1997

will not hit. They open
up
like the flimsy
hedge briars, like them they unfurl,
they hover
toward you, my quiet one,
my true one-:
I see you, you pick them with
my new, my
everyman's hands, you put them
into the Bright-Once-More which no one
needs to weep or to name.[11]

Celan's poetry utilizes the impossibilities of German grammar to parallel the impossibilities of life. Ullman actualizes the imagery in *Havdalah* in his creation of gravity-defying, suspended domestic structures which are left

vagabond-like, to root themselves upside down. Berg's rock sculpture roots itself horizontally, one end in the wall of the gallery, and the other in the wall which is the staircase, both illogical in terms of gravity and in terms of the connotation of movement that the stairs evoke (Fig. 3).

As materials for domestic structures, or other edifices, stones also hold significance in both artists' work. Ullman's recurring domestic emblem signifies his search for a home. As in Celan's poetry (like "Havdalah"), this is a search for respite through the knownness of religion, of tribal history. Berg's *Library* (Fig. 5), constructed almost like a house, emblematizes the loss of tribal history by the eradication of its written history. This hope for respite in a form of a home is also a hope for resurrection through the stone; the desire of a desert to bloom. In many of the poems the stone is replaced by a flower, but there is no doubt that the eye floating in flowing water (tears, or the erosion of time), which is a recurring, almost obsessive motif in many of Berg's images, is superbly articulated in Celan's poem "Flower":

> The stone.
> The stone in the air, which I followed.
> Your eye, as blind as the stone.
>
> We were
> hands,
> we baled the darkness empty, we found
> the word that ascended summer:
> flower.
>
> Flower - a blind man's word.
> Your eye and mine:
> they see
> to water.
>
> Growth.
> Heart wall upon heart wall
> adds petals to it.
>
> One more word like this, and the hammers
> will swing over open ground.[12]

These are Catholic and Jewish images which are countered and paralleled

Fig. 7: Micha Ullman, *Corona*, 1994-1995, 47 x 65 cm, tempera and ruddy sand laid on
the paper with direct touch of the fingers, Collection of the artist

in Berg's and Ullman's work. The longing "that the stone should consent to start blooming,…" is found both in Ullman's *Full Moon* and in Berg's *Bruno's Atrium* (Fig. 6), which seek a mythical regeneration from dead elements. Ullman uses the immutable stone from which a changeable moon is reflected; and Berg uses images of hair and bone, from which light soars to create a desert bloom from what is otherwise buried. Like Celan, both artists seek an "Havdalah" after the devastating ending of *Die Niemandrose*.[13] The Havdalah candle's braided form also offers an interesting resolution to the "... golden hair Margarite" turned to "... ashen hair Shulamit." Difference or *Havdalah* is also peace making in this sense.

Celan's "Corona,"[14] Ullman's *Corona* (Fig. 7) and Berg's *La Cena* (Fig. 8), all use Jewish and Catholic imagery. Ullman has given the 11th drawing in his series, *Month*, the Hebrew title *"Keter'"*"[Crown], perhaps because of the circular wreath of touches in the center of the page. Here the ten fingers of the two hands create a complete circle, which the moon looks upon from the lower-right corner of the page. In contrast to the finger-touches in the other drawings of the series, which are spread all over the page, in this drawing a closed and complete circle is created - an excellent way of making the moon's cycle
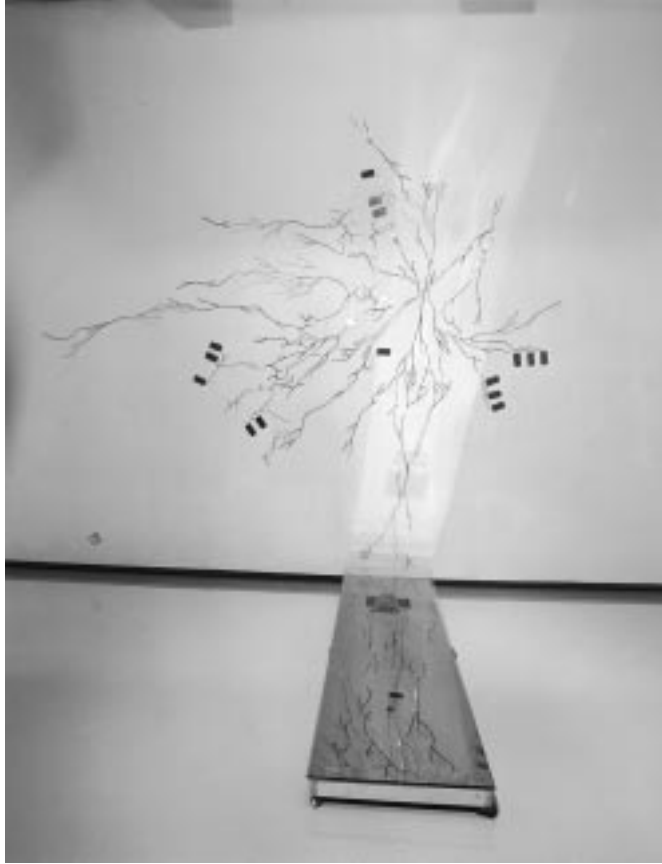
Fig. 8: Adam Berg, *La Cena*, 250 x 400 x 60 cm, 1997, laser cut stainless steel mirror, glass, wood, rocks. Exhibition: The Genia Schreiber University Art Gallery. Tel-Aviv, 1997

perceptible. An additional sense is evoked by the drawing's non-Hebrew name, "Corona", which is also the title of one of Paul Celan's early poems, from his first volume of verse, *Poppy and Memory* (1952).[15] Ullman, who has been following Celan's poetry for many years, has chosen an ambiguous motif - a royal crown or a wreath of thorns - just as the entire cycle of poems ranges between the dichotomy of amnesia and memory:

Corona

Autumn eats its leaf out of my hand: we are friends.
From the nuts we shell time and we teach it to walk:
then time returns to the shell.

Fig. 9: Adam Berg, *Bruno's Atrium*, detail of video monitor. Exhibition: The Genia Schreiber University Art Gallery. Tel-Aviv, 1997

In the mirror it's Sunday.
In dream there is room for sleeping,
our mouths speak the truth.

My eye moves down to the sex of my loved one:
we look at each other,
we exchange dark words,
we love each other like poppy and recollection,
we sleep like wine in the conches,
like the sea in the moon's blood ray.

We stand by the window embracing, and people look up from
 the street:
it is time that they knew!
It is time the stone made an effort to flower,
time unrest had a beating heart.
It is time it were time.

It is time.[16]

The longing "that the stone should consent to start blooming," the hope that "memory" should triumph over "forgetting" (the soporific poppy), the wish that through the power of love it will be possible to take flight to beyond the shells of time - these feelings underlie *Month,* connecting the artist's private myth with the eternal cyclicity of the moon.

The apocalyptic time returning to the shell (Celan in *Corona*) is harkened to in Berg's work as the observer sees himself reflected by the mirrored surface of the Cena. The spectator's image is trapped by the overlaying glass which encapsulates the evoked body seemingly lying within; except that the body is a stone, a simultaneous symbol of collective connection and dislocation, and it is connected to a symbolic tree sourced at the entombed memory of the rootless. The tree's branches are separated, yet so gently strewn together by pins which allow for spaces between them; they are as fragile as the wind which may have blown them, and yet are as thorny as the wreath which delicately crowns the royal head.

That Ullman was inspired by Shoenberg in *Jacob's Ladder* suggests the importance of music and sound to his work. The iconography of the series is laden with mythological and astronomical contexts, from the *Genesis* stories and Kabbalah texts to Gnostic and alchemical doctrines, from ancient philosophical and theological sources to social and political problems of the present. The manner in which it touches upon the context and then flees them, simultaneously loading and discarding, begets a plastic language which itself is also based on slight oscillations between painting and erasure, manifesting and causing to vanish: on the one hand, heavy smearing of paint done with the fingers; on the other hand erasure of the wet paint by pressure of the fingertips and gouging with the fingernails. The stamp of Ullman's fingers and body, the rhythm of his limbs over the surface of the paper, eternalize - in a very direct and primary manner - the flow of biological time and perhaps also what is beyond it: eschatological time. In Berg's work too, the Gregorian chants of the Atrium space, which emanate from monitors (Fig. 9), cemented into vertical tombs, emphasize the rootedness or trapped nature of the figure inside them (as opposed to the freedom of sound emanating from the final room in which soundscapes of travel and journey are evoked against images of the sea and movement.) Here, as in Ullman's work, space is embodied, and music is used to suggest its presence.

Mythological and astronomical contexts are also highly present in both artists' work. *Full Moon* and the notion of alchemy, the dark evoked by absence, has a Kabalistic parallel in the notion of "Nitzozot" found in the dark, the foul, and the lowly. In Ullman's work, the moon is the dark aspect set against the

Fig. 10: Micha Ullman, *Library*, 1995, 50 sq meters in area below ground, Bebel Place, East Berlin.

lightness of the stone, helping to evoke through a negative space a darkened image of what is generally luminous. Berg's *Remains of the Atrium*, likewise, figures an alchemical concoction, but using the modern material equivalents of gold, resin, and synthetic hair. These materials suggest a counterpart to the search for an ultimate material which is pure and whole in our contemporary search for cheap durability: the worthless replacing what was once the search for the priceless.

Spirituality too encompasses Berg's quest. His work seeks light (*Nitzozot*) and redemption through the ordeal of darkness. Though Western civilization's demise, in the image of burning books, begins the exhibition, the images of the sun and light through the sea in the final space end it. For Ullman, too, the image of a library and all it connotes figures largely in his work *Library* in Bebel Place, Germany. Like Celan's "grave in a cloud," so, too, does a passing cloud insert itself in the grave image of Ullman's inverted library (Fig. 10). The work evokes the restriction of the senses which is part of the underground enclosure. But the resonating image, that of the cloud passing through the artwork, is free, like Berg's image of the sea. Both artists lead out from the shackles to a vision of freedom in motion. Ullman and Berg contemplate the

loss of the emblem of civilization, the book, while looking outward for redemption from such loss.

Notes

1   Paul Celan 1995: 191.
2   Paul Celan 1983: vol. 1, 259.
3   "Your golden hair Margarete / your ashen hair Shulamith", Paul Celan 1995: 63.
4   Recital appears in Mordechai Omer 1997: 9.
5   Paul Celan 1995.
6   Feliciano Paoli 1995.
7   Berg quotes from Celan's text "Flower" ("Blume"), Paul Celan 1995: 115. An artist's book by Adam Berg, devoted entirely to Celan's *Gegenlicht* is about to be published by Harel Press, Old Jaffa, Israel.
8   Berg prefers the psychoanalytical approach of Freud to the archetypal approach of Jung, and displays a renewed interest in Claude Levi-Strauss' anthropological conception, especially in the incessant processes of demistification of culture.
9   Micha Ullman 1995.
10   Paul Celan 1995.
11   Paul Celan 1995.
12   Paul Celan 1995.
13   Die Niemandrose 1963; Paul Celan 1995: 157-226.
14   Paul Celan 1995.
15   Mohn und Gedachtnis (1952);Paul Celan 1995: 36-77.
16   Paul Celan 1995: 59.

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Omer Mordechai 1998: M. Omer, *Adam Berg,* Harel Press, Old Jaffa 1998.

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A Sense of Place: the Mediation of Style in Eretz Israel Paintings of the 1920s

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*O*ne, and perhaps the most difficult predicament a modern artist may face is caused by the abundance of tradition. However, young painters in Eretz Israel in the 1920s were hampered not by the multiplicity of styles and viewpoints that had appeared in art since the 19th century, but by a paradoxical epistemological situation in which the paucity of representations of the present, was counterbalanced by a wealth of ancient sacred images, poetic and metaphoric in form, in which history and myth intertwine. Could this textual and illustrative tradition, to which 18th and 19th century travellers' descriptions of the Holy Land added exotic and picturesque features, be a model for the perception of the present, a "here and now" that would not lend itself easily to definition and even less so to representation? The search for models that could shape the vision and image of the present and would provide an alternative to the Biblical and Orientalistic tradition of illustrative and stylized imagery adopted by Boris Shatz at Bezalel, precipitated the ideological and artistic struggle launched by Tager, Rubin, Paldi, Litvinovsky and others in the course of the 1920s.[1] The implementation of modern European styles plays its part in local debate and the widely divergent opinions about art.

Aesthetic issues constituted part of the broader conflicting perceptions of the nature and meaning of the renewed Hebrew settlement. Those painters who left Betzalel at the beginning of the 1920s felt that it should be represented as a concrete and directly apprehended "becoming".

The means at their disposal were the European modern traditions of painting, such as Romanticism and Symbolism, which could give human or cultural relevance to myth and history; Realist and Naturalist art, which defined the moral and aesthetic obligation to be of one's time; and early 20th century

art, which emphasized style and stylization as a vehicle to a broad span of spiritual and conceptual modalities of thought.

In European art of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries relations of present to past traditions became a crucial issue, ideological as much as aesthetic. In this respect, it implicitly contributed to the debate that took place in Eretz Israel over the same issue, mediating between past and present, playing a significant and multifaceted role in the building of the self- and collective-image required by the times. Coping with both the burden of the past and the elusiveness of the present, while shaping from them both a coherent or working image, was perhaps the main spiritual and cultural issue with which newcomers to an old country, to *the* Old Country, had to contend.

A simplified and more homogenous vision of a complex and quite inchoate reality is best achieved through the use of style perceived as an ordering and a reordering of things. But when styles are borrowed, their implementation becomes a reiteration of that order of things which enables the artist and beholder alike to confront and deal with an elusive or frightening reality.

These artists' invention or adoption of a style reflects their aspirations to create Israeli art, to be true children of the country and to give it a pure and dignified image, recalling its places and local heroes; in short, to produce for themselves and others what Linda Nochlin, quoting Eudora Welty, calls 'a sense of place'.[2]

The encounter between East and West, the use of European or historical styles in early Israeli art is first and foremost what allowed the articulation of a new and singular experience, both collective and individual. The instrumentality of style is best exemplified here, where it was rediscovered by a number of local painters who sought to create out of their modern sense of experience, their perception of the self as New and Modern, the image of a reality where old and new meet without merging, an experience where the shock of the "Old" is as arresting as the sight of the "New".

In borrowing the eyes of others, so to speak, these painters found and gave the Land a face: different images of its morphology, topography, conditions of light and the configuration of its space.

Deep ideological preferences determine the way that an artist deals with the singular circumstances - historic and human, collective and individual - that shape the image of a country at any specific time. Foremost among these ideological and aesthetic strategies are the borrowing and interpretation of styles and imagery, in a way that allows the shaping of a double identity: that of the self as an artist, and that of the painting as the true image of the present.

This correlation between a sense of self and a sense of place achieved through the mediation of style is best perceived in the work of Ziona Tager and to a lesser degree perhaps in that of Pinhas Litvinovsky. Their attitude to Eretz Israel was clearly defined by a deep interest in the sites and people of the time, the here and now of their actual life. Yet, this resolutely modern approach was matched by a no less deep involvement with painting as an expressive and quite autonomous medium. Their rendering of this concrete reality was thus permeated by remembrance of things both past and present, or interpreted through the encounter of older styles and new sights. European styles and formulas, ways of seeing and interpreting, values and concepts were thus appropriated and applied in the process of re-creating the elusive reality of the country and the people who lived in it.

The formation, the choice of a style and the way it is implemented makes it an apparatus generating meaning(s). We can see these conceptual, cultural and ideological workings at their best in some of the paintings created in Eretz Israel in the first decades of this century. The styles of other places and times are brought to bear on the way local scenery and events came to be defined as subject matter and on the interpretation - aesthetic and ideological - to which they were submitted. One can see how types of styles and the associated typology of images (seascapes and promenades, hills and valleys, sacred groves and celestial cities, earthly sandy shores and winding paths, open windows, portraits and figures which are half icons...) helped those artists to shape their vision and to turn their surroundings, ancient and new, into a local saga, a revised edition of the myth of foundation.

Reinventing or borrowing styles compensated for the absence of a "modern tradition" distinctly different from the Biblical and illustrative imagery, with its fantastic/Orientalist features, which had formed part of the European kaleidoscope of the exotic and Christian Orient (from medieval times onward) that Schatz had brought with him to Bezalel in 1906.

Against the deliberately archaizing tendencies of Bezalel's orientalising image of Zionism and the production of this image in the contrived setting of a school and its attendant workshops, those whom I term here *modern painters* (Tager, Litvinovsky, Paldi, Rubin), took two steps in one. In the first step, they attempted to reduce and fill the gap between art and life, between their painting and themselves as individuals; and between the images they wanted to create and the spiritual as well as physical frame of their daily existence, an existence which was perceived from all accounts as an intense experience, both exhilarating and exacting.

The second step, the move which would allow those expectations to be fulfilled, was the adoption of modern styles of painting,[3] of European forms and ideas, which could mediate between the new and its representation, and create "for the first time" images of a place, seen through unlearned eyes that acted as if they had forgotten or never known the mystical and Biblical meanings and colours of Tiberias, Safed and Jerusalem. They sought instead to see and show new settlements and cities whose only roots were in the land, or to rediscover the sanctity and mystery of those Biblical settings through the individual soul of the wandering traveller. (e.g. the sacred cities painted by Reuven Rubin in different styles). The sense of wonder that permeates many of these results from the paradoxical rejection of a Jewish, Biblical and literary tradition as a guideline to painting. Instead, they clung to the innocence of their gaze, seeking the local "reality" through the borrowing of sophisticated and learned European styles.

This "innocent" gaze coupled with the identification of quoted styles may account for the impression that the paintings of these artists have something simultaneously intimate and ceremonious, humoristic and austere, deeply serious at times and yet also childlike.

To these must be added contradictions of another kind, constructed via intimation of the beholder's presence, both outside and within the image. The presence or evocation of a beholder situated at some distance, more watching than belonging to the setting, is a presence so ubiquitous in the landscapes and views painted in those times, that it may have been intended to represent one of the strongest and most perceptible metaphors of the "watching distance" associated with the romantic and naturalist traveller of the 19th century landscape.[4] Such a distance is manifest in the choice of a viewpoint, which, while indicating the place where the beholder "stands", also puts the scenery on a stage. Consequently, the landscape as beheld by the viewer is laden with the intensity of emotive and projected meanings and values.

The kind of expectations and zealous attitude I have attempted to define in the context of those early landscape paintings, as the desire to know and depict the Country and in so doing to contribute to its building, is mostly felt in the tightness of the composition (as a rule); in the stylised appearance and enhancement of detail; and in the sense of wonder that many of these works bear as a key to the pervading attitude of the times as well as a key to the desire to possess the land, to be part of it.

This sense of wonder, when coupled with the 19th century European concept of "beholding" at work in landscapes by Paldi, Tager and Rubin, is somewhat at variance with the desire to fill the gap, and make the beholder an integral

part of the land he is looking at, part of what is newly fruitful and newly built. In landscapes of this kind, feelings of both longing and belonging are made to coexist in an insuperable but truthful contradiction, reflected in the images of sights seen from afar yet painted as if held in the palm of the hand. It seems clear that such painting, and particularly the landscapes, may be interpreted in this context as something akin to the awakening of deep bonds and renewed rights over the sights beheld; as though painting the ancient face of the country through the patterns of modern styles would give the painters free access to it. It is as if those patterns, borrowed and modified by each artist, were able to mediate the impact of the land on their senses and imagination, enabling individual, "unmediated" access to those ancient sights; as if, unhampered by tradition, they were able to comprehend it all, old and new, in a new light.

The gap between the contemplative and metaphoric distance that links beholder and beheld in European romantic and impressionist landscapes of the mid - 19th century and the kind of statement that prophetic times have come, is made manifest, I believe, in the stylistic features which earned those paintings of the 1920s a reputation for naivety. This was reflected in the explicit and patent use of a conceptualised, stylized rendering of a sight or a figure, the making of an image into an article of faith, the expression of a wish and, in the case of Reuven Rubin, a constant interpretation of the present as a timeless and sacred vent.

Of these complex issues, the paintings by Litvinovsky and Tager dealt with below, show but a few aspects. I have in mind principally the issue of stylistic borrowing or reminiscense, in which the implementation of styles becomes a determining factor, not only in the shaping of the image but also in the choice of subject and the resultant meaning and interpretation achieved through the use of pictorial ideas. It may also account for the fact that meanings relevant to specific, individual and artistic concern are produced by deliberate deviations from what seems the inescapable ghost of the original.

In the *Synagogue in Petach-Tiqva*, *Figures by a Camel* and the *Muezzin* (Figs. 1, 2, 3), Litvinovsky creates what could be defined at the outset as three genre images, each a closed and homogenous unity enfolding in reduced dimension, a kind of collective portrait of an ethnic group, singularised by what Litvinovsky saw as typical body postures and activities. There are Jews at prayer, Arabs on the roads on the move, their camel by their side, an even more intimate part of their group than their attire; while the Muezzin, by far the most enigmatic of these figures, appears to be making his call audible to the furthest reaches of the countryside. Litvinovsky's proliferation of details in the three scenes composes an image ultimately meant to show the customs and spiritual life of

Fig. 1: Pinhas Litvinovsky, *Synagogue in Petah-Tiqva*, early 1920s,
Watercolour, 26 X 38, Hackhmey Collection, Tel-Aviv.

the communities that these figures represent.

Litvinovsky chose to give prominence to images of traditional ways of life, of customs, behavior and beliefs he perceived as unchanged and unchanging, while also revealing the interest (shared with other painters of his generation, perhaps Reuven Rubin above all), the wonder or nostalgia which images of continuity awaken in those who no longer have it or never knew it.

Also manifest in the different settings that Litvinosky gave to "his" Jews and Arabs is his understanding of the peculiar juxtaposition of different origins and beliefs, the intermingling of traditions and customs, existing side by side without meeting or encroaching upon one another: Jew and Arab, Ashkenazi and Oriental, sights which travel through time, unchanged or apparently so. One such image is that of the *Synagogue in Petach-Tiqva* (Fig. 1), in which figures in traditional costume are shown closely seated on the floor, by candle-light, oblivious to the outer world.

Litvinovsky's use of dissimilar styles for each of these paintings reveals the different meanings and emotions attached to their subject matter: longing and empathy or fear and curiosity. The mediation of styles, forms and compositions, borrowed and invented, allowed him to create an image of an unfamiliar world (or even a familiar one, such as a synagogue) in keeping with tradition, with which he had, so it appears, certain affinities.

Fig. 2: Pinhas Litvinovsky, *Figures by a Camel in a Landscape*, 1920s,
Oil, Hackhmey Collection, Tel-Aviv.

Fig. 3: Pinhas Litvinovsky, *Muezzin*, Oil, 77.4 X 63.5,
Hackhmey Collection, Tel-Aviv.

Fig. 4: Eugene Delacroix, *Scenes of the Massacres of Scios*, 1824, Oil, 419 X 354, Louvre Museum, Paris.

Litvinovsky's *Figures by a Camel* (Fig. 2) clearly reflects the strong influence, direct or indirect, of Delacroix's Oriental subject matter of the 1820s and 1830s and of his compositional devices. Although Litvinovsky does not depict in detail either faces or clothes, he renders the moment as a stark, unified composition, strongly and simply structured within the rectangular shape of the canvas, through corresponding axes and patterns of form. For example, the outlines of the heads of the figures seated in the foreground are repeated in the design of the hump and neck of the camel standing behind them, whose extended limbs tower above their silhouettes, filling the gap between the two groups. They are linked together along one axis in the middle ground of the composition.

This rectangular composition, divided into two groups of figures, two on each side and the camel in the backgound, is framed at its upper limit by the horizontal branch of the tree and in the foreground by the axis running from the legs of the seated figure on the left to those of the figure facing it on the right. The slightly twisted movement of the body Litvinovsky gives to the female figure on the left, is reminiscent of Delacroix's inclined bodies with folded knees or stretched legs, such as the female figures on the right and left of his *Scenes of the Massacre at Scios* (1824) (Fig. 4) or the casual postures of the female figures depicted in the intimacy of their rooms in *Women of Algiers in their Quarters* (1832). Such casual intimacy is expressed by Delacroix in many

of the small sized works he painted following his stay in North Africa in 1832. They depict the vivacity and extreme physical grace of the figures, men and women, each in his or her own world, moving back and forth in daily conviviality.

Within this rectangle, Litvinovsky strongly defines a triangle formed by the three figures of the women in the forefront and middle ground, reminiscent of Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* (1832), drawing a relationship between the three figures in the form of a mute dialogue, based on the different angles of their bodies towards one another and the space between them. This modest allusion to some form of intimacy or proximity, alleviates the otherwise solitary and somewhat dramatic sight of this group of four anonymous figures seated on the ground near a lonely tree and a camel. The four figures, three of them women, seem struck by the summer heat: two have hidden their faces with their hands, from exhaustion or perhaps to shade their eyes from the strong sunlight.

In the layout of his own painting, a much smaller and less ambitious work than those by Delacroix, Litvinovsky succeeds in catching something of the harmonious and dynamic ordering of Delacroix's compositions in which monumental and twisted figures relate to one another through the overall movement of the body, in a way that delineates the space between them as either closeness or distance, reflecting both intimacy and tension. Such features of Delacroix's composition are also perceptible in his smaller drawings and sketches of Oriental, literary, dramatic or casual encounters which he drew and painted from the outset of his career and especially after his travels in North Africa. Representing as they do one of the last and most handsome testimonies of the tradition of figure painting (Raphael, Titien, Poussin, Rubens) in the 19th century, these compositions and qualities of Delacroix's art eventually merged into the European classical heritage and its art schools, where young painters such as Litvinovsky could, at the turn of the century, become familiar with them.

The situation and atmosphere in *Figures with a Camel*, like in other paintings of similar subject-matter such as the *Muezzin*, are of a much more passive, contemplative nature, without the expressive and narrative explicitness of Delacroix. Litvinovskys' depictions are so schematical that they offer a somewhat ambiguous perception. Whereas Delacroix constructed his figures as personalities acting or re-enacting some dramatic situation - historical or literary, intimate or collective - unfolding it before our eyes, as if in the actual time and place of its occurrence, Litvinovsky did not try to approach or treat them as characters in a story. Rather, he created an image midway between a group portrait and a genre scene. But if this painting is not a Delacroix-like

drama, neither does it display the characteristic "realistic" features of Orientalist genre paintings;[5] Litvinovsky draws attention to the painterly features of his work, to the somewhat schematic layout of his composition and to the way figures and ground merge through the medium of heavy overpainting. Filling the interspaces between the figures, the numerous and bold strokes of paint give the canvas a raw and harsh look. Constructing his figures out of the sheer texture of the paint, Litvinovsky allows them to become an integral part of the earth. His interpretation of the classical and academic model runs counter to the humanistic attitude embedded in this tradition. The narrative and descriptive components of the depicted scene are broadly submitted to the power and decisiveness invested in the application of paint, and the bold gloominess of the colors.

Mixing classical reminiscence and modernist migration of meaning and expressivity, from the characters and narrative to the handling of textures and marks, Litvinovsky achieves the kind of monumental (even in small format painting) and dignified composition found in paintings such as those of Delacroix. But, by the same token with which he rejects dramatic and narrative formulations, he achieves in *Figures by a Camel*, *Muezzin* and, in different ways but with the same results, in *Synagogue in Petach-Tiqva*, a depiction of something like a mysterious ritual enacted before the eyes of a beholder who has no direct access or real perception of it. In the mute language of facial expression and gesture, a ritual takes place in a setting suited to its needs and meanings (e.g. in *Synagogue in Petach Tiqva* the communal space of the synagogue, furnished with the basic components of a stage decor seen from above). In *Muezzin*, a tall and deep landscape is simplified and synthesized into several colored planes and forms, with no other link between its components than the presence of the figure in the foreground, tall and forcefully painted in blue and black, his gesture a singular and ambiguous omen, in the foreground of the peaceful landscape of dwellings and livestock. These stylistic devices, simplification, stylisation and above all the deep colors of blue, black and red that allow Litvinovsky to create this feeling of enigma and anticipation, produce, in the context of the art of those times, an image of a rare type and feeling, bordering on the dramatic and the ominous.

Such images are most often found in the paintings by Franz Marc, founder and co-editor with Kandinsky, in Munich, of the *Blaue Reiter Almanach* (1911-1913), and a painter of animals and landscapes of a pastoral, and later on apocalyptic, mood and meaning. Marc, as well as Gauguin, and in a minor and simpler way Litvinovsky, keeps the narrative to a minimum. Gauguin's stylistic devices, for instance, exemplify how genre painting in exotic settings,

the kind of subject matter found in the *Muezzin* or in *Figures by a Camel*, may be interpreted so that the attractively exotic features may be transformed into a philosophical riddle.

In Gauguin's paintings, the narrative elements are metamorphosed into emblematic images, a modality which Gauguin favoured from 1888 onwards, aimed at illustrating universal, philosophical meanings and spiritual values. He painted his characters in hieratic postures, frontally or in full profile. His monumental figures of well-tempered bodies, at times awkward and rigid, mostly in the foreground, enact his ritual questioning and admonition.

These aspects of Gauguin's art are so ubiquitous and recurrent that we may consider them as his basic mode of generating meaning and feeling. One cannot say the same of Litvinovsky, who did not create any such single purposeful and consequential style. This is perhaps why, although one can find in the *Muezzin* intention and even means (which although not an imitation of Gauguin or even of Marc, use parallel painting and compositional devices), one cannot find in this painting by Litvinovsky the philosophical and universalizing concerns of these two former painters. However, one can say of Litvinovsky that he tried to enhance the local quality and identity of this figure in its own setting, as a key to an alien world; furthermore he created an image reflecting the symbolist/expressionist attraction to artifacts, settings or characters, anything which could be termed archaic or primitive and bore the seal of folklore. Folklore fascinated entire generations of painters at the symbolist and modernist turn of the century, from Gauguin of Brittany and Tahiti, to Kandinsky of the Russian peasant art of decoration, of sacred images and of Bavarian glass paintings.

Synagogue in Petach-Tiqva (1920s) is in a lighter vein and seems closer in spirit to a swiftly sketched caricature than to the drawing of a timeless and typified portrait of an entire living community, such as Litvinovsky had depicted in his two previous works. However, in this small watercolour with its lightly brushed and drawn detail, Litvinovsky, with undeniable humour and sympathy, turns a recurrent sight, the traditional - i.e. "natural"- Jewish ritual gathering for prayer in the synagogue, into a folkloric event with ethnic features (analogous in this respect to, for example, Gauguin's *A Vision after the Sermon* [1888]). The ritual depicted here also connotes what is underscored as the anachronistic persistence of "archaic" behaviour and its oddities: a mixture of uniformity and mild anarchy, concentration and seriousness tempered with day-dreaming and sheer curiosity. Such a combination is expressed in the intimacy of praying as a collective but non-hierarchical activity, with each worshipper momentarily absorbed or distracted, following the free flow of his

Fig. 5: Henri Matisse, *Interior at Collioure* or *The Rest*, 1905,
Oil, Private Collection, Switzerland.

own thoughts, immersed in the physical proximity of the people seated on the floor, displaying similar traditional Oriental dress and hairstyle. In short, by portraying the worshippers in a mild form of caricature, Litvinovsky points to the idiosyncratic.

In doing so he adopts the point of view of the beholder as an outsider, estranged from the community (*Kahal, Kehila*) he is so keen to depict, and thus adopting an ambiguous position toward the world which he depicts as a microcosm sealed off from the modern world beyond. His sensitivity to details such as facial expression and posture discloses an intimate knowledge of the situation he is depicting; while his watching from above and afar is a sign of his personal alienation from a close-knit collectivity. Equally ambiguous are the stylistic devices he uses here, in which he combines the attention to detail expected in an illustrative and naive mode with a modernist treatment of space, form and color. Minute variations can be found in the clothing, hair colors and styles, and in decor details such as the shelves covered with old black books, the ornamented towering platform, not quite in the middle, not quite straight; and the simple benches placed along the walls and inverted. All these are the fruit of Litvinovsky's sweeping use of colour, blots and scribbles and the way he mixes drawing and textural effects in a swift handling of paint that has affinities with Matisse's Fauvist small canvases of 1905, such as *Interior at Collioure* (Fig. 5). But Litvinovsky's colours are more subdued and lack the red,

green, pink, blue and yellow colours of the Fauvist effect of coloured light.

Basically, Litvinovsky shows an imaginative use of colour, beginning with the light and at times quite transparent orange/ochre hue of the background, which covers the whole surface and creates a fantastically-lit space over which he sparsely, and apparently haphazardly, scatters small and irregular blots of the grey or brown black wash he uses to sketch the figures. He aligns them in an irregular, unruly pattern, along more or less three sides of the surface: the upper background is treated in the gloomier colours, as are the more detailed images of the bookshelves in their stylised and vaulted alcoves.

The Fauvist streak in Litvinovsky can be seen in the general swiftness of his handling of paint, in the bold and simple layout of the composition; in the symmetric organisation of the rectangle into two main subdivisions - the wider one in the foreground in lighter colour, the smaller one in the background in darker colours of blue and black, with both surfaces loosely covered with a thin layer of colour. Above all, the Fauvist in him shows in the effectiveness of his drawing, in shaping the space/surface into the vertical and ascendant axis of the wide foreground that meets the horizontal stripe of the darker backgound and in the positioning of the two benches, drawn on either side in coloured contours, as if suspended from the walls. The linear layout and the large patches of colour on the ground produce the explicit effect Litvinovsky achieved here: a view painted from above, an elevated position from which the whole setting is seen as if spread out in the palm of the hand.

Modernist and illustrative/anecdotal aspects compete in the *Synagogue in Petach-Tiqva*, where "pure" expressiveness is achieved through the plastic and sensual values of colours, texture and layout. The light and intimate impact are built into the swiftness Litvinovsky shows in the application of paint and sketching of the place and its people, who look like ghostly and weightless creatures floating above or inside a translucent matter; in the warm luminosity of his colors and the playful contrasts between the light and dark colours.

To his expressive handling of plastic and structural qualities and his conception of the setting at large, Litvinovsky adds anecdotal details, adopting an approach more akin to that of the caricaturist and virtually at variance with the more immediate and totalizing effect of his handling.

An (adventurous) comparison between the small *Synagogue in Petah-Tiqva* and the equally "Oriental" setting, but more monumental work of the *Moroccan Cafe* by Matisse (1912-3) (Fig. 6) will perhaps shed light on Litvinovsky's choice to juxtapose these two modes, expressive and narrative, as a double way to make sense.

The Matissian concept of *expression* built into a proportionate relationship

between colours, forms, figure and background, is best exemplified in the large-sized paintings, originally known as *decorations*, which he painted between 1909 and 1915-6. Such *expression* is realised at the cost of reducing the anecdotal aspects of his subject and recreating its spiritual and cultural meanings in plastic terms through the mechanism of the picture. In the *Moroccan Cafe*, the Orientalist heritage of this kind of genre subject, its folkoric qualities, or what could have been a "realistic"[6] or picturesque rendering of it, are kept to the essentials, leaving room for what is basically a large rectangle covered in light blue-green; its surface is enhanced and extended by the use of an almost monochrome device and by the drastic reduction of the figures and details.

Two figures are stretched out in what is left of the foreground, with the goldfish in their bowl and the upper stripe of black rythmic and recurrent shapes that represent the stylized Moorish arcade facing the yard, within which the two large figures are painted in green. These figures seem to be complementary attributes of the sense of place; their faces are an undifferentiated daube of ochre paint. A feeling of undisturbed space and tranquility is mildly enclosed and activated by the arcades on the upper part of the surface, and by the rounded silhouette of a smaller figure seated at the entrance to an arcade; its presence gives us the measure and depth of the expanding space unfolding in front of him.[7]

It is not known if Litvinovsky knew this painting by Matisse. However, when Litvinovsky was a student in the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, the Matisse was owned by Sergei Shchukin, and hung in his house in Moscow in 1913. Matisse's paintings of those and earlier years, bought by both Shchukin and Morosov, were at the center of a heated debate over issues of Modernism, Russian folk art and icons that was taking place in the artistic community in Moscow in 1911,[8] reflections of the current interest in the revival of folk and religious art which had begun in Europe in the 1880s.

By introducing the Matisse painting at this point, I do not mean to assert that the *Synagogue in Petach-Tiqva* is a kind of revised edition of the *Moroccan Cafe* (Fig. 6) of Tangiers, or that Litvinovsky had had an opportunity to see or hear about the latter painting, but rather to point to a revealing difference in conception of both the subject and of painting in general.

Matisse sought to transcend the literal rendering of a subject's characteristic aspects by producing a plastic equivalent of the conditions of light, space and time. His "Oriental" figures, attuned to themselves and their setting, are absorbed in an activity at once ordinary and enigmatic. Litvinovsky, working on an analogous subject, revels in the accumulation of anecdotal detail, which fills the surface/space of his image and contributes to its minute (within the
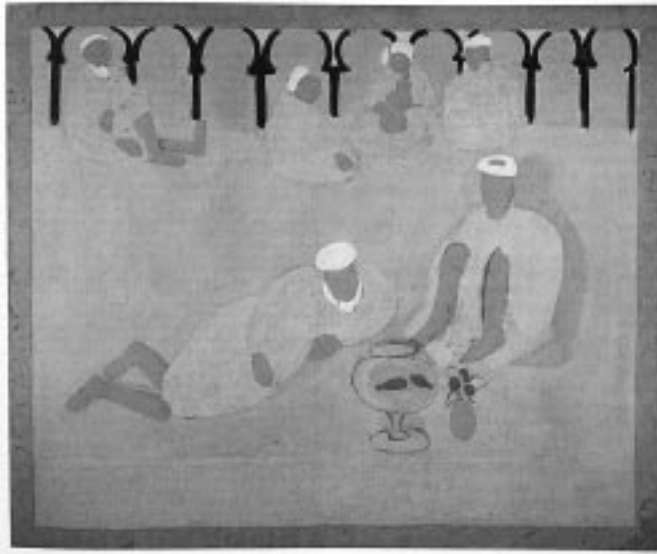
Fig. 6: Henri Matisse, *Moroccan Cafe*, (or *Arab Coffee House)* 1912-1913,
Size colours on canvas, 176 X 210, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

limits of his Fauvist elliptic script !) re-ordering. One is reminded of the tightly organised surface of miniatures such as those of the Persian Shaha-name where, incidentally, one of the recurrent motives is the depiction of seated courtesans in the Prince's court and gardens.

While Litvinovsky brings the blown-up image of Matisse's *Moroccan Cafe*[9] (Fig. 6) back to dimensions closer to those of a miniature, this does not mean that he adopted the hierarchical and rigid ordering of the Persian medieval miniatures, or the serenity - via ordered emptiness - which Matisse sought to achieve. On the contrary, the shivering shorthand that animates Litvinovsky's figures, and the movement that sweeps the entire layout of the image, are antithetic to the ceremonial spirit of the miniature and stand in contrast to Matisse's interpretation of the subject.

This small but dazzling work by Litvinovsky reveals his ability to borrow modalities of representation and styles and to merge them in a vivid and original image.

When these two works by Litvinovsky are seen side by side they reveal a mixture of sophistication, which stems from the way he uses and adapts styles and images to subject matter, and of awkwardness. Relocating his images in the larger contexts of earlier styles, he approaches the local and particular sights he paints with a kind of learned interpretation.

It is as if he has allowed a set of images, learned and remembered from

other times and places, to interfere with the immediate perception of the depicted scenes, and to influence or even determine the modality of the depiction. This determination "looks back" and stands between the depicted scene and the beholder. This "ghost" image, itself the outcome of the stylistic and cultural apparatus implemented by the painter, works to link the actual event to its depiction, as well as the depiction to the beholder.

Borrowed stylistic features and images produce borrowed meanings. Acquired aesthetic and cultural values and outlooks are indirectly or partly present in the images of Eretz Israel created in the 1920s. A local brand of Orientalism is bound to reiterate - even partially - European patterns, and to duplicate the inability or unwillingness to see the alien other than in picturesque terms, and alien ways of life as belonging to folklore.

This reduction of ways of life, of peoples and their appearance to folkloric dimensions, qualifies them as eminently suitable subjects for painters. When interpreted as *folkloric* they become stultified in certain forms, odd perhaps but harmless, ready to be processed through images and styles. Litvinovsky's paintings can thus be seen as a kind of vignette of what was thought to be typical - as opposed to the particular as a concrete and individual identity. These images are intended to produce an encompassing identification, beyond time and place and beyond change, of a stereotyped and collective identity. The specific newness that results from the shaping of a multi-layered entity developing through the juxtaposition of heterogenous traditions and identities is bound to be treated as folklore.

The *awkwardness* (for want of a better term) which seems to be in contradiction with the self-conscious handling of style(s) by Litvinovsky and Tager (to name only a few of the artists working along similar lines), is perhaps the effect of a gap between the styles, the variety of attitudes within them, and the way these were in turn interpreted by Israeli artists. The result of this effect is to provoke in the beholder a disturbing sense of *déjà-vu,* a stir of recognition which clashes with the modifications, twists and simplifications, partial and schematic quotations, Post-Impressionism, Cubism and Expressionism offered by the Israeli artists.

This awkwardness is mostly felt in abrupt compositional devices: shortened connections between planes incoherently juxtaposed vertically or laterally one upon the another, following a perspectival system (e.g. in Litvinovsky's *Muezzin,* or abrupt shortenings of perspective; e.g. in Tager's *Passing Train in Herzl Street,* Fig. 7). It is also felt in the simultaneous use of contradictory devices, such as the combination of stylisation and illusionistic depiction of volume, or panoramic landscapes with carefully selected detail.

Fig. 7: Ziona Tager, *Passing Train in Herzl Street*, 1928, Oil, 44 X 53,5, Hackhmey Collection, Tel-Aviv.

Another characteristic in all these Israeli paintings is the use of color: while articulating the different components of a landscape through the play of light and shadows, these are treated as a two-dimensional pattern of colored planes. As a rule, each detail and form in all these canvases, whether landscapes or townscapes, figures in a landscape, or even more so in portraits, is forcefully shaped and colored giving all, regardless of the subject matter, something akin to an "Expressionist" or expressive appearance.

These formal characteristics may be considered as a meaningful and deliberate deviation from the European models, as well as the expression of what these artists sought to achieve through the mediation of style, as the manifestation of their identity and originality.

Perhaps more than any other artist of her generation, the art of Tziona Tager points to the vexed question of the relationship between style and identity, and its peculiar modality in a country where every step, political or artistic, is a crucial ideological issue.

Her views of Tel-Aviv, *Passing Train in Herzl Street* (1928), and of Jaffa, *In the Harbour of Yaffo* (c.1926) (Fig. 8) manifest her self-conscious use of style and adoption of different styles for different places or subjects, re-creating their appearance and constructing their poetic identity and meaning anew.

The *Passing Train in Herzl Street* is basically a mixed-styled picture of a composite landscape, combining a panoramic view of Herzl Street, then one of the main streets of Tel-Aviv, as a landscape in the manner of Cezannne - in the upper part of the composition - and as a deep expressionist abyss, in its lower part.

The Cezannne-like upper background (reviewed by Tager via Braque) is

constructed as a geometric regular ordering of sunlit facades and walls of small houses with tiled roofs. This regular background, comprised of two parts meeting on either side of a small rural bridge in the middle, is jeopardized by the expressionist-like angular twist of the composition she uses to depicts the abrupt topographical declivity which is the main feature of her landscape. This has the appearance of a kind of raw funnel scored deep beneath the bridge above it, in the upper plane; it unfolds towards the foreground, and rolls downwards; to its right is a high and winding slope painted in the pre-Cubist style of an early Braque. A diminutive railroad, with a toy locomotive shuffling at full speed, its smoke stack blowing in the wind, a tamed Pegasus galloping along the deep river bed, completes the sight.

The French-style forms and concepts derived from Cezanne and Braque echoing in the geometric appearance of the upper part of the painting are made to coexist with the bold twist and abrupt declivity of the lower part of the composition; this reduced size panorama is broadly painted, predominantly in ochre-brown and gloomy greens, with the deliberate addition of carefully selected and tiny details.

In merging two styles, early or pre-Cubism and Expressionism, Tager reveals unexpected affinities between Braque's early Cubism of 1908, which favors the disproportionate mixing of over-volumetric forms and abrupt axes as in the *Road near L'Estaque* (summer 1908) (Fig. 9) or *Houses at L'Estaque* (August 1908) and German Expressionism stylistic features. This is mostly felt in the sense of space. Whereas the upper part of the image is built as a continuous horizontal axis extending from one side to the other, alternating in a schematic pattern of planes and the deep green cluster of trees, the lower part is engulfing, and designed, somewhat like the Berlin and Halle townscapes by Kirchner, as in his *Red Tower in Halle* of 1915, as an interplay of counteracting angular planes. Elsewhere, for example *In the Harbour of Yaffo,* black linear contours enhance the sweep of the broad axes which cross on either side of the composition, and those that point to the individual volume and location of each component. These black lines develop into dark black stripes which modify the foreground of the landscape, giving it the appearance of a twisted, muscular body.

In adopting and adapting Cezanne's devices and Braque's proto-Cubist forms, Tager attempted to achieve a stylistic discipline or rationale[10] whose effect is to frame and hold the inherent and instinctive power she invests in the act of painting. It is a discipline which meets and merges with her natural tendency to simplify and emphasize her use of the plastic elements. It is a conceptual approach which coexists with the affinity with Expressionism, shared by other painters of her generation. The outcome of this juxtaposition

Fig. 9: Georges Braque, *Road near L'Estaque*, summer 1908, Oil, 60.3 x 50.2, The Museum of Modern Art, New-York.

is most clearly felt in the equilibrium achieved in this painting between stability and instability, a difficult but forceful integration of the unconnected alien components of the image. As a result of this dichotomy, *Herzl Street* appears simultaneously as some quiet European suburb and as an awesome, mechanistic, progress-doomed metropolis.

Contrasting with the somewhat "futuristic" tempo of the *Passing Train in Herzl Street*, *In the Harbor of Yaffo* appears at first sight to be more pastoral in mood. At second glance, however, the fierce stylisation Tager applied to her view of the Jaffa seaside, with its massed pile of houses and tiny terrasses on the quay facing the sea, contradicts this first impression. So much so that it transforms the depiction of the small and intimate view of this corner of the harbor into a dramatic event, a struggle launched by the painter to impose some order and unity, which somehow compromises with the variegated sizes and colours of the houses, embedding them in an overall pattern of coloured patches, alternating light and shadow, light colours and dark, and with the omnipresent drawn lines and patches of black. These impart to the coloured pattern, reminiscent of Paul Klee, something of Kandinsky's strongly-willed abstract elements and their correlative force and movement. Influenced by Klee's semi-abstract watercolours of his voyage to Tunisia in 1914, and Kandinsky 's abstract, linear and colourful expressivity, Tager reinterprets the inescapable memory of Impressionist and even more Fauvist images of the

Fig. 8: Ziona Tager, *In the Harbour of Yaffo,* c.1926, Oil, 52 X 56,
Hackhmey Collection, Tel-Aviv.

Mediterranean Harbour. Marquet's, Manguin's and Derain's views of Saint
Tropez and Collioure in 1906 and 1905, and those by Dufy who had such a
strong influence on Nahum Gutman, are the best known examples of the genre.
She reinterprets these images of the harbour as a dramatic frontal encounter
between the sea and the quay: the sea is depicted as an awesome and menacing
element, capable of sending the flotilla of pointed prows and masts up the
small stairs to the quayside, and of launching an attack on the undefended
belly of the town.

Tager paints the wide curve of the shore at the juncture between the upper
half of the composition, covered by the irregular pattern of coloured patches
of the houses aligned under the high strip of skyline, and the curved plane of
the sea. The shore extends from one side of the painting to the other and echoes
the arched skyline and the curving array of houses, along whose width the sea
and the shore come together. The gray and metallic appearance of this arched
segment unites the two parts of the composition in a precise and continuous
juxtaposition that gives the landscape its articulation and logic.

The influence of Kandinsky is, in my opinion, deeply felt in the formation
of isolated elements of drawing and painting. We can perhaps identify the
enigmatic form standing in the foreground of the sea as the figure of a fisherman
(?), suggesting a certain similarity, accidental perhaps, with one of the four
shapes in one of Kandinsky's most colourful paintings *Sketch for Composition
no.2* (1910) (Fig. 10) with four figures to the side and a patch which seems to be

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Fig. 11: Paul Klee, *Full Moon*, 1919, Oil, Munich, Standgallery.

a bowed head. In addition, the influence of Klee is obvious in the general colour scheme and patches: Tager gives a linear and dynamic grid or net to her patches, closer in appearance to Klee's *Full Moon* (1919) (Fig. 11) than to his earlier *Hamamet with Mosque* (1914). There is also another kind of painting with which Tager had previously demonstrated an affinity: Georges Braque's proto-Cubist works, such as, *Harbor in Normandy* (1909). Braque's work is painted in proto-Cubist forms and colours: basically ochres, blues and greens, which produce an overall effect of gray, treated as a combination of light and shade over geometric planes inclined in various diagonal axes. These planes are further enhanced by darker outlines that help to distinguish between the sailboats, the sea and sky and the two cylindrical lighthouses placed one on each side of the composition, at the entrance to the harbor.

Tager's is clearly not a Cubist painting: the French influence is superseded by more abstract and brightly coloured painting, and a less austere and introverted attitude and language. None the less, in the parallel ordering of the masts, prows and sails, furled and unfurled, facing the buildings on each side, we can appreciate how Tager tightens the ordering of her forms, making them coincide precisely with each other.

Traces of influences and affinities are scarce in Tager 's biography, but it is known that between 1921 and 1925 she was a pupil of the Cubist painter André Lhote in Paris, and that in Berlin, at approximately the same time, she saw paintings by Kandinsky and Klee. But these contacts and affinities with

Fig. 10: Wassily Kandinsky, *Sketch for Composition no.2*, 1910.

modernist European painting were ultimately counterbalanced by what Tager, with all her devotion to style, highbrow and even hermetic art, would not do: she would not renounce the depiction and literal recording of the smallest details of the sights she had chosen to paint. It was as if her truthfulness in these matters was the proof of her having actually been on the spot she had painted, as the ultimate testimony of her intimate and familiar relationship with the places she had lived in and known. Such familiarity is alien, or so it seems, to the intellectual synthesis built into the implementation of style.

Most poignant, and at the same time odd, in this severe and strictly ordered painting is the reduced-size image of the setting and its reorganisation as a whole, as a small self-sufficient world. It is very different in that respect from Braque's *Harbor in Normandy*, but close to the decorative Fauvist images of the small harbors on the Mediterranean. However, while these decorative Utopian visions are threatened by the bold Fauvist treatment of colour, facture and space, Tager presents her own world, in which each part is kept in place, and each place is determined by the painter/beholder's dominating point of view, as a well-ordered space and contained unities of forms.

These works by Tager bring to the fore the issue of influence and effect that borrowed styles have on the vision, perception and, perhaps even, if not the choice of a motif, at least the confirmation of a choice.

Ultimately those issues have a bearing on the delicate question of a local iconography or its conditions of possibility. Those artists who sought a kind of art that would reflect the local and unfolding reality, its spiritual nature and meaning as much as its ongoing metamorphoses, had to find a middle way between the need to find models and the necessity to be of one's own place and time.

Issues of style, in this local context in particular, in which a lack of the long history of conflicting styles and traditions well-known in older countries was, and is, so strongly felt, are inescapably also issues of ideology. And the fact that a group of young artists in the 1920s declared their allegiance to painting as an international - i.e. European and modern - art, was to determine the way they inventoried their physical and human surroundings according to European categories of subject matter. They re-constituted or projected this classification of subjects (and styles) established throughout in the long and intimate processes of centuries, onto the raw materials of an old/new land groping for its historic, artistic and affective identity, building for itself a sense of place.

NOTES

1 For the historical and ideological background to the bitter debates about art that took place in the 1920s, see Barzel 1988: 5-36 and Zalmona 1991: 74-63.
   Boris Shatz, Betzalel and the lure of the Orient have been researched by Yigal Zalmona. A short article by him relates the images and themes found in works by Lilien, Raban and Gutman. See Zalmona 1982: 27-37 and recently Zalmona: 1991.
2 Nochlin 1991: 19-32. This 'Sense of place', both a feeling necessary for creation and the ultimate as regards the fiction of identity and rootedness, is a term borrowed by Linda Nochlin from Eudora Welty's *Place in Fiction* (Welty 1957): '[...] Eudora Welty has claimed that creating a sense of place is one of the most effective ways that the writer has to maintain the ties of his work to reality. "Place," says Welty, "is where the writer has his roots: place is where he stands; in his experience out of which he writes it, provides the base of references, in his work the point of view...Location pertains to feeling, feeling profoundly pertains to place...(n.p.)" '; Nochlin 1991: 20.
3 Borrowing styles and the self-consciousness that goes with, presupposes or indicates in the artist what Charles Altieri terms a 'dimension of purposiveness' whose ethical aspect is particularly relevant in the present context: [...] to make style a significant concept for larger ethical concerns. Personal style is a dimension of purposiveness that we attribute to what I shall describe as dynamic intentionality...the concept of style has its greatest resonance when we come to appreciate the rendering of intentionality as a deliberate communicative act. Thus personal style becomes a distinctive aesthetic and moral phenomenon when we imagine an agent treating how he or she self-reflexively carries out some task as part of what constitutes the action, Altieri 1995: 201-202.
4 Attitudes to landscapes in the 18th and 19th centuries are studied in the context of recent research on the picturesque, in Coppley and Garside 1994, esp. Wale 1994: 175-195.
5 Nochlin 1991 (1985): 33-59.and references therein.
6 *Ibid.*
7 On the circumstances and meaning of Matisse's trips to Morocco and the part they played in his art, see Washington: 1990, esp. Schneider 1990: 17-57; 44-46. See also Ananth 1993:73-96. On the connection between Delacroix, Matisse and the Orient, see again Schneider 1990: 20-23.

8   Vallier 1993: 55-72.
9   On Matisse and Persian miniatures, see Hermitage 1978: 178-179; and Flam 1986: 355 and note 55, 500. For a description of Matisse's technique and colour here, see again Flam 1986: 350-355.
10 On Cubism and its local interpretation, see Ballas 1982: 11-26.

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