



Edited by Anna Kernbach, Lenka Panušková and Daniel Soukup

Reflecting Jerusalem in the Medieval Czech Lands

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Anna Kernbach,
Lenka Panušková,
and Daniel Soukup*

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Preface

“This city that you see is the reason for all our labour. Yet this city is the counterpart of Heavenly Jerusalem. This is the [earthly] image of that city we sign for.... For sure, if you will consider well and truly, the Jerusalem that you see, that you have come to, that you are at, both prefigures and presents that heavenly city.”¹

For medieval Europeans, Jerusalem – a city thousands of miles from the heart of Western Christendom, across the Mediterranean, on the shores of Asia, in a different climate – was, paradoxically, a familiar place. Everyone knew of it and had a mental image of it. This was formed partly by pilgrims’ records of the city’s holy places, and partly by descriptions of its eschatological counterpart: Heavenly Jerusalem as the final place in the history of salvation. However, the boundaries between these two concepts – the earthly Jerusalem of history, and its heavenly, eschatological counterpart – were often blurred, as Alessandro Scaffi remarks: “The elements of the earthly city were used in order to represent the expectations and hopes associated with Heavenly Jerusalem, and vice versa: ideal elements were always employed to describe the features of the earthly city, in a persisting reciprocal influence between local history and architecture and religious expectations.”²

In the last decade, several contributions have been published which attempt to trace this subject beyond medieval Europe. They focus on several separate areas of research – the real Jerusalem (as reflected in the reports of medieval pilgrims), Jerusalem in fiction (the imaginary Jerusalem), the visual Jerusalem (visual representations of the Holy City and translations of its topography), and Heavenly Jerusalem (Jerusalem in eschatology) – all of which, however, never exist in isolation; they often overlap and converge.³

In contrast to the internationally based research on the topic, the reflection of Jerusalem in the Czech Lands during the medieval period has not to date been systematically explored. Several contributions have been

1 *Baldric of Bourgueil, History of the Jerusalemites*. Translated by Susan B. Edgington. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020, 146; for the Latin original see *Historia Hierosolymitana Baldrici Archiepiscopi*, PL 166, col. 1142C–D.

2 Scaffi, Alessandro. Translated by Susan B. Edgington. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020, “Mapping the End: The Apocalypse in Medieval Cartography, Literature and Theology 26, no. 4 (2012)”, 401.

3 For a further overview of the research on this topic, see the Introduction in this volume by Bianca Kühnel, pp. 23–42.

made within the context of discussions dedicated to particular works of art, such as the manuscript MS A 7 of *De civitate dei* from the Metropolitan Chapter Library in Prague, the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Karlštejn, and the St. Wenceslas Chapel in the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague, etc. Only in September 2017 did the Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences organize a second Czech-Israeli colloquium, the topic being Jerusalem – Eternal Source of Artistic Inspiration. However, the colloquium had not been limited to a certain period and the focus shifted mostly to modern history.

The present publication, therefore, considers the processes of reception, reflection, and translation of Jerusalem in the medieval Czech Lands. The book covers visual arts, and both medieval Latin and vernacular literature within a general historical framework, thus applying an interdisciplinary based approach to the topic. In doing so, the book aspires to not only supplement a missing piece in the mosaic of “Jerusalem studies”, but to also present the uniqueness of the Czech medieval material to international research.

The above stated uniqueness dwells in the lack of continuity in forming direct contacts with the Holy Land and Jerusalem. The first person to mediate the idea of the Holy City in the Czech Lands was the Bishop of Olomouc Henry Zdík who brought a piece of the Holy Cross, a gift from the Patriarch of Jerusalem William of Mesines, to the Czech Lands (1138). A few decades later, a Czech contingent also participated in the Second, and later the Third Crusade led by Frederick Barbarossa. Afterwards, direct contact with holy places in Palestine and in Jerusalem practically ceased. It was re-established only at the end of the fifteenth century by the pilgrimage of Jan Hasištejnský of Lobkovice who, unlike his younger brother, wrote about his experience in the travel report *Pilgrimage to the Holy Grave in Jerusalem* (first published 1505). During this period, which can be delimited by Zdík’s pilgrimage and Crusades, and Jan Hasištejnský’s visit to the Holy Places, the connection between the Czech Lands and the Holy City was formed indirectly via Western Europe and Italy. The image of Jerusalem in this period can thus be considered as a double appropriation – an image formed in a different cultural environment and then transferred to Czech Lands where it was translated into a different context.

Hence the book aims to capture this transformation and reflection of the Holy City in the Czech environment in different media such as written sources, both historical and literary, and visual renderings in the form of wall-, panel-, and book-painting etc. Determining the relation between the primary and the appropriated images, i.e., the reflection of Jerusalem in the time of Bishop Henry Zdík and Jan Hasištejnský, is of equal importance. The reflection of Jerusalem is thus considered as an ideal entity; chapters in this



volume focus on the way it changed and developed in the Czech medieval discourse from the eleventh to fifteenth century. While all ten chapters are arranged more or less chronologically, there are significant thematic overlaps that bind some chapters together outside the chronological framework.

The book opens with an introduction to Jerusalem studies by Bianca Kühnel. Here, she overviews the principal contributions to the topic. Furthermore, she discusses certain methodological approaches by which the duality of the Earthly and Heavenly City is addressed. Finally, she exemplifies the local translations of Jerusalem and its holy sites across Europe to provide the necessary background for the situation at the time in the medieval Czech Lands.

The first chapter by Petr Kubín concentrates on Bohemian contacts with the Holy Land from the tenth until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Although the sources referring to this period are meagre, Kubín still manages to follow variable social groups participating either in Crusades or embarking on pilgrimages. The chapter offers a deep insight into circumstances in which new systems were established in the Czech Lands including military orders that originated as a result of crusading activities.

The next chapter, co-authored by Iva Adámková and Dalibor Havel, elaborates in more detail the person of Henry Zdík, the Bishop of Olomouc, who visited Jerusalem twice in his life. Citing diplomatic correspondence, the chapter analyzes the impact which both Zdík's sojourns in the Holy Land had on his pastoral office, and how the Jerusalem impulses affected the reorganization of the Olomouc diocese. This includes several monastic foundations that followed the bishop's return to his homeland. The second part focuses on Zdík's connection to Rorgo Fretellus, the composer of the *Descriptio de locis sanctis*, the earliest version of which was dedicated to Henry Zdík.

With the following chapter by Kateřina Kubínová, we move to the second half of the fourteenth century, when the Bohemian Kingdom and Holy Roman Empire was ruled by Charles IV, who pursued economic and cultural prosperity in the Czech Lands with constant echoes of the indigenous Přemyslid dynasty from which he descended on his mother's side. The chapter focuses on the three most prestigious building projects in Prague and Central Bohemia of this time – Karlštejn Castle, St. Wenceslas Chapel, and the New Town of Prague. Here, Kubínová reflects on the theories that suggest these foundations should have translated Jerusalem into the Bohemian Kingdom. Whereas both the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn Castle and St. Wenceslas Chapel at Prague Cathedral were intended as imitations of Heavenly Jerusalem, the foundations of the Prague New Town with its



religious houses has been interpreted as an effort to transfer Jerusalem's topography to Bohemia. However, Kubínová draws attention to the missing sources which would justify such an interpretation, pointing out that although Charles IV promised to organize a new crusade, he never actually planned to do so.

Milena Bartlová, in her chapter, approaches the issue of the St. Wenceslas Chapel in Prague Cathedral from a historiographical point of view. She aims to show that Hans Sedlmayr's seminal work *Die Kathedrale* was known in Communist Czechoslovakia, but could not be quoted due to ideological and political reasons. Although both chapters by Kubínová and Bartlová refer to the same literature and research sources, they place this topic in different contexts. Bartlová specifically examines the way in which Jerusalem, as a topic heavily imbued with religion and spirituality, was largely ignored in Communist Czechoslovakia. To stress the continuity in reflecting Jerusalem between the medieval Czech Lands and Czechoslovakia in 1970s and 1980s, these two chapters follow each other directly.

Chapters by Lenka Panušková; Milada Studničková, Petra Mutlová, and Kateřina Horníčková; and Jan Dienstbier concentrate on depictions of Jerusalem in the media of medieval painting. Lenka Panušková first explains the heterogeneous nature of the images of Jerusalem in the Bohemian manuscripts dating back to between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. This probably resulted from the fact that Bohemian manuscript production has been preserved only fragmentarily; much was lost, not only during the Hussite revolution when the monasteries were largely plundered as centres of the corrupted Church. The first section deals with more general depictions of Jerusalem, in which architecture is identified as embodying the Holy City through accompanying biblical text. Here, a very particular example of Jerusalem can be found in the margin of the Padeřov Bible. The Bible originated in the 1430s, under commission from Filip of Padeřov, a commandant in the radical Hussite city of Tábor. The image of Jerusalem illustrates the beginning of the Lamentations, where Jeremiah the prophet weeps over the destroyed city. Panušková's chapter continues with its comparison of two book illuminations from the end of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. One of them introduces St Augustine's *De civitate dei* – the full-page picture of the Heavenly Jerusalem which includes Bohemian representatives in the hierarchies of saints. The other example in the *Codex Gigas* follows up on Augustine's dichotomy of the City of God and the Earthly City. Finally, the third part of Panušková's chapter deals with a diagrammatic image of Heavenly Jerusalem that concludes the Book of Revelation in the Velislav Bible, the picture-bible of the 1340s.



The chapter by Lenka Panušková is complementary to the chapter dealing with the juxtaposition of the Earthly and Heavenly Cities in the so-called *Jena Codex*, the richest source of Hussite iconography. Due to the multilayered meanings of the *Codex*, the chapter is co-authored by three scholars – Milada Studničková, Petra Mutlová, and Kateřina Horníčková, each of whom concentrates on one particular aspect of these depictions. Thus, the chapter provides an iconographic description and analysis of the antithetical illumination in the *Codex*, which includes an assessment of its possible predecessors in medieval illumination, represented by the *Codex Gigas*. Furthermore, the chapter analyzes the accompanying textual material that is crucial to understanding the philosophical and theological context of these illuminations with its link to the Prague University environment. The concluding part of the chapter expounds on the antithetical images in relation to literary representations of good and bad cities within the context of Czech Reformation.

In his chapter, Jan Dienstbier deals with various attitudes towards the depiction of Jerusalem in medieval Bohemian wall-paintings, in a lengthy period from the first half of the thirteenth to the first half of the sixteenth centuries. First, he looks at two fragmentary depictions of Heavenly Jerusalem preserved in the vaults of the Basilica of St. George at Prague Castle (ca. 1220s), both showing various saints placed among the schematic city's walls and gates. In his view, the paintings demonstrate the important role of Jerusalem as an eschatological destination for the Benedictine nuns living in the convent of St. George. The wall-paintings in the side nave of the Church of St. Nicholas in the village Lažiště in South Bohemia from the end of the fourteenth century provide a completely different concept of Jerusalem. The depiction of the city presents a framework for miniaturized images of Jesus's passion, by which it anticipates depictions of Jerusalem as they appear in panel paintings of the second half of the fifteenth century, most particularly in the Netherlands. In the third example, Dienstbier deals with the wall-paintings in the monastery church in Kadaň (1520s), which display another mode of virtual pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The paintings of the Crucifixion and Entombment of Christ include not only the biblical city in their background, but are supplemented by a realistically conceived view of the Kadaň monastery.

The final three chapters in this volume survey the image of Jerusalem in literature from the Czech Lands. They cover different literary genres and languages (Latin, Czech, German) from the long period of the High and Late Middle Ages with the texts from the Luxembourg period (1311–1437) being at their core with references to the previous period of the last Přemyslids and

the Czech Reformation in the fifteenth century. These chapters complement the above mentioned examinations of the visual renderings of Jerusalem which mostly date back to the same period. Although the literary chapters provide an indelible background for the art-historical part of the volume, most particularly the chapter by Jan Dienstbier and the one by Daniel Soukup read in conjunction with that by Jaroslav Svátek, they have been grouped together at the end of the volume.

Matouš Turek devotes his attention to the representation of Jerusalem and the Holy Land in vernacular epic, hagiography, and chronicles. The earliest of these narratives are associated with Crusader culture and the ideal of pious knights, *miles Christi*, which connects Turek's chapter with the one by Petr Kubín introduced at the beginning of the volume. The presence of mythical heroes such as Alexander the Great and Wilhalm von Wenden in Jerusalem, for instance, served, for the German poet Ulrich von Etzenbach, as legitimization for the political ambitions of King Přemysl Ottakar II. Unlike Ulrich, the Czech translator of the Latin *Alexandreis* does not associate Jerusalem with political goals, instead offering the reader a moral recitation and view of the knight heading to the Holy Land primarily as pilgrim. The German and Czech versions of the anonymous epic *Herzog Ernst* work similarly. In the Old Czech verse legends, the imagery of Alexander's journey to the Holy Land is interpolated into hagiographic texts on the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Through the relics, in turn, Jerusalem is transferred into the geography of the Czech Lands, as the *Dalimil Chronicle* shows. Since the second half of the fourteenth century, the development of vernacular religious literature based on biblical and apocryphal motifs has made Jerusalem a familiar space in which any recipient could place himself without having to make the arduous journey to another continent. This allowed preachers to use the intimate image of Jerusalem to advocate the ideals of Reformers who wanted to purify the Church and compare it to Heavenly Jerusalem. Turek's chapter can thus be associated with the contribution by Kateřina Kubínová concerning the building enterprises of Charles IV and their cultural-political settings.

The second of the literary analyses by Jaroslav Svátek deals with the representation of Jerusalem in Bohemian travelogues from the fifteenth century. In these, Jerusalem is above all the desired destination for pilgrims who travelled from the Czech Lands to the Holy Land throughout the Middle Ages. Svátek examines the pretexts of the travel accounts and discusses their originality. Although the generally known standard texts, such as Burchard de Monte Sion, were well known in the Czech environment, their direct influence on Bohemian travelogues cannot be proven. A much more



important role was probably played by the so-called indulgence lists, which recorded the individual pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land and the indulgences associated with them. The descriptions and history of these places formed the basis of material for Czech authors. An exceptional case is the travelogue of Martin Kabátník, a non-Catholic (member of the Bohemian Brethren) from the late fifteenth century, whose description of the Holy Land is original and independent and seems to be part of a literary strategy to deliberately ignore older Catholic productions. This chapter thus bridges the gap in the direct contacts of the Czech Lands with Jerusalem and its holy sites that had remained open for a full three centuries, since Bishop Henry Zdík visited Jerusalem for the first time in the late fifteenth century. Among these travelogues, Svátek also looks at *Putování do Jerusalema* (Pilgrimage to Jerusalem) written by a Catholic noble, Jan Jan Hasištejnský of Lobkovice. From 1480, Jan and his brother supported the monastery in Kadaň, the decoration of which Jan Dienstbier explains with the reference to the virtual pilgrimage.

The last chapter, by Daniel Soukup, shows that in addition to the literary and theological image of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem, there is also the topos of an Uprooted Jerusalem, i.e., a city punished for the sin of deicide. While such a Jerusalem may have been a mirror of the sinful soul, it may also have served as an image of the Jews and their rejection of Christ. The destruction of Jerusalem during the siege of the city by Titus and Vespasian in 70 CE had significant potential to spread anti-Jewish sentiment. Soukup focuses on these attitudes, citing the example of Old Czech parabiblical and historiographical texts, hagiography, homiletics, and polemics from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The narrative by Flavius Josephus in *Bellum Iudaicum* became part of all these genres, through which anti-Jewish rhetoric was vernacularized and reflected in contemporary legislation. However, not all texts in which one encounters the image of the Uprooted Jerusalem primarily spread medieval anti-Judaism. One example is the sermon of the Reformer Jan Hus, who used this theme to criticize the contemporary Church. Religious prose – especially the Old Czech fictional *Epistle of Rabbi Samuel* – on the other hand, could interpret the fall of Jerusalem as clear evidence of the Jews' condemnation – and their eternal punishment.

This book, which is the result of a team research project supported by The Czech Science Foundation, provides the first comprehensive view of the reflection of Jerusalem in medieval Czech lands. However, despite the attempt to cover as broad a field as possible, from social history, architecture, and visual arts to literary culture, we are aware that this topic is not yet fully exhausted. We hope that this publication will stimulate further

discussion, especially in the field of comparative studies, and thus place the phenomenon of mirroring Jerusalem in the Czech Lands in a broader historical, geographical, and thematic context.

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Introduction

Bianca Kühnel

Abstract: This chapter provides an essential introduction into the Jerusalem studies. It traces the beginnings when representations of Jerusalem elsewhere across medieval Europe were analyzed mostly by pointing out their similarities and dissimilarities with the original model of the Holy Sepulchre and its surroundings. More particularly, it focuses on the new vocabulary that was introduced into Jerusalem studies in the last decades. Since Jerusalem sites are now more frequently referred to as translations rather than copies, the chapter uses examples on both sides of Alps to demonstrate the process of transition of the holy places within a different landscape. Doing so, the introduction constructs a necessary framework for Jerusalem translations as they were established in medieval Czech Lands during the long Middle Ages.

Keywords: Icon – *loca sancta* – Madaba – *memorium* – processional cult – *sacrimonti* – translation

The Jerusalem Translation

A few decades ago, studies dedicated to representations of Jerusalem elsewhere were mainly preoccupied with weighing up similarities and dissimilarities between translated monuments in Europe and their models in Jerusalem. They also aimed to deepen and expand the small corpus of monuments on which Richard Krautheimer built in 1942 his inspiring and enduring thesis concerning the iconography of medieval architecture.¹ The addition of a good number of various “copies” or “surrogates” of Jerusalem, as they were named at the time, the unveiling of their historical, architectural, and artistic documentation, have finally operated a shift in the perception

1 Krautheimer, “Introduction”.



of the phenomenon of Jerusalem's wanderings in the world.² With that, the degree of similitude between a medieval copy and its model gradually ceased to be an issue, or in any case not a challenging one. Swiftly, the weight of attention shifted from the moment and circumstances of the translation to the translated sites themselves, to their infinite variety of forms, functions, and adopted mechanisms of survival under different geo-historical conditions. Two new terms entered the scientific vocabulary accompanying the study of Jerusalem elsewhere, both coined by the ERC supported project SPECTRUM. First, the Jerusalem sites are now more frequently being labelled as "translations" instead of "copies". "Translation" accounts for the movement implied by transitions of various components of Jerusalem from the Land of Judea to a different landscape, thus allowing a certain degree of interpretation, i.e. change, on one hand sharing content with the model but, on the other hand, expressing it in a different formal language. The second new term inspired by the behaviour of Jerusalem sites and meant to contribute to a better understanding of their nature is "icon".³ Once installed, these sites indeed behave like Byzantine icons: they are temporally located in an ever changing historical present, evoke a past, and are believed to prepare a path to an eschatological future. The key to the extraordinary longevity and consistency of the Jerusalem icons is the same one that produces the permanence of any other popular icon: icons invite the eye to associate the things seen with the things they signify, up to a point of total identification. As the original icon, a Jerusalem site follows a constant, easily recognizable pattern, with variations dictated by specific, local requirements. And, also similarly to the original icons, Jerusalem sites have been used, re-used, manipulated, and remodeled according to the requirements and expectations of various translating factors, persons, and institutions operating under local historical circumstances and using Jerusalem in order to express, emphasize, sharpen, and strengthen their own interests and messages. Thus, as a result of the accumulation of insights on the translated sites, the focus of interest in the study of Jerusalem translations shifted to the receiver end of the inspiration from Jerusalem, to the infinite richness of means by which they became naturalized elsewhere without losing their identity.

The newly acquired recognition of the immense scholarly potential of Jerusalem sites in enriching the image, physical and spiritual, of the medieval and early modern European history and culture was marked

2 Kühnel, Noga-Banai, Vorholt, *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*.

3 Kühnel, *Jerusalem Icons*.



by an effervescence in scholarly interest in the phenomenon of Jerusalem translation. This interest amply manifests through international conferences, publications, and research projects which populate in particular the European academic world during the last twenty years in various centers of learning: Florence, Rome, London, Oxford, York, Berlin, Madrid, Girona, Nijmegen, Oslo, Prague, Moscow, and, of course, Jerusalem; this list does not even begin to be exhaustive.⁴ Most interesting are endeavours to add entire regions to the map of Jerusalem-inspired groups of monuments, by bringing together not only separate artworks – minor as well as monumental – referring to the earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem, but also historical and literary documentation witnessing connections with Jerusalem at different stations in time. To name only recent examples, one can mention Erdeljan's book on Serbia or the three-volume collection of studies dedicated to Jerusalem's presence in Scandinavia.⁵ The present volume devoted to the Czech Lands is a significant part of the same international endeavour to place Jerusalem in Europe. All these volumes reveal a wealth of local research endeavours and publications in languages not easily accessible to international scholarship, thus containing a promise for future integration of lesser known monuments in the exploration of Jerusalem's whereabouts.

The scholars and disciplines represented in this volume reflect the richness of aspects implied by the presence of Jerusalem in the Czech Lands at different periods, and the variety of sources mobilized to attest this presence. The introduction attempts to add a historical and theoretical framework of the phenomenon of translation itself, as well as a few examples from elsewhere with the aim to provide some parameters necessary to locate the Czech Lands in the broader European family of Jerusalem sites and to detect commonalities, on one hand, and specificities, on the other.

One of the general difficulties encountered in the research of Jerusalem representation stems from the effort to distinguish between earthly and heavenly elements active in the process of translation. However, this seems to be a misleading hence futile preoccupation, since reflections of Jerusalem elsewhere are usually based on a fusion between ideal and real Jerusalem.⁶

4 The following are collections of studies based on conferences dedicated to Jerusalem representation, in chronological order: Kühnel, *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem*; Hoffmann, Wolf, *Jerusalem as Narrative Space*; Lidov, *New Jerusalem*; Donkin, Vorholt, *Imagining Jerusalem*; Goudeau, Verhoeven, Weijers, *The Imagined and the Real Jerusalem*; Bartal, Bodner, Kühnel, *Projections of Jerusalem in Europe*.

5 Erdeljan, *Chosen Places*; Aavitsland, Bonde, *Tracing Jerusalem Code 1*; Oftestad, Haga, *Tracing Jerusalem Code 2*; Zorgati, Bohlin, *Tracing the Jerusalem Code 3*.

6 Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly*.

Earthly and Heavenly

To begin with, the Revelation text, although entirely dedicated to Heavenly Jerusalem, has many “earthly” overtones: not only was it written within the framework of a specific historical situation but the apocalyptic, the New Jerusalem, is depicted in pronounced contrast to the Jewish historical city. In visual depictions of Heavenly Jerusalem, key monuments in the earthly Jerusalem, such as the Golgotha Hill or the memorial building of the Holy Sepulchre, figure prominently in depictions of the Heavenly City. This is the case of the fifth-century apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome.⁷ The linkage between monuments of Christ’s First Advent, especially of his sacrifice, and the promised eschatological future allows Christian artists to encompass the entire history of salvation. There is more to it, however: the transplant of *loca sancta* motifs, either through commemorative architecture, painted narratives, or relics may witness a “political” intention in addition to the theological and cultic goals. Differently from the theological and cultic content, the political overtones serve a timely historical purpose. In early Christian Rome, for example, the main purpose in referring to *loca sancta* was the acquisition of support in the process of foundation of papal authority during the period of transition from Paganism to Christianity.⁸ By translating Jerusalem to Rome and by manipulating it to a subordinated position, the bishops of Rome inserted themselves in the drama of Salvation, assuming a leading role in it. The composition of the triumphal arch mosaic in the papal basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore is very blunt in divulging this policy. At the apex, the throne of Christ is flanked by Peter and Paul, the founders of Rome’s episcopal seat, while an inscription mentions the bishop responsible for the church and its decoration in terms borrowed from the imperial language (*Sixtus episcopus plebi Dei*); at the feet of the arch, two icons of *Hierusalem* and *Bethlehem* are located, providing the bishop instruments of authority with source in Christ, transmitted to him through Peter and Paul. The mosaics in between depict scenes from the life of Christ, while the nave walls display typological episodes from the Old Testament, expanding even more the historical and theological basis of the bishop’s leverage. The monumental depictions of *traditio legis* and *traditio clavis* that figured time and again in early Christian and early medieval Rome show how preoccupied the pope was to visually document the origin of his authority in Christ. The same purpose was also fulfilled by the many relics from the

7 Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*.

8 Noga-Banai, *Sacred Stimulus* with older bibliography.

Holy Land reaching Rome during these times. Among them, although later, figured huge quantities of earth meant to effectuate massive translations of Jerusalem to Rome, specifically to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and to the Vatican Hill. Processions carrying relics and icons from Jerusalem through the main churches of Rome developed into a stationary liturgy celebrating Jerusalem and enhancing, by association, the leading role of the pope in the history of salvation.⁹

The representation of Jerusalem elsewhere is a long, continuous phenomenon in the history of art and architecture, but by no means a uniform one. One of the most constant aspects in the connectivity between Jerusalem and its translations is their dependence on the history of the Holy City itself.

Local Translations

The main axis keeping most parts of Jerusalem together stretches from the Mount of Olives at the East and the Golgotha Hill at the West, with the Temple Mount at its core. These three mountains embrace the holy topography, the history, and the spiritual significance of Jerusalem. As such, they also form the foci of translation of Jerusalem elsewhere, providing the basic components of the languages of translation. Visible exchanges among the monuments of the three mountains document wanderings of places and traditions locally. Exchanges between built memorials anchor the memory of conflict and coexistence between the three Abrahamic religions in Jerusalem, marked by waves of “mobility in place”, possibly being a preview to the external translations.

Paradoxically, the history of many later mutations began with an act of fixation that put an end to generations of wanderings: the establishment of the location by King David, and the building by King Solomon of a permanent abode for the Ark of the Covenant, the dwelling place of the Shekhina.¹⁰ The Temple of Jerusalem and its location, the Temple Mount, became so identified with the people of Israel, that whoever wanted to cancel the Jewish identity of Jerusalem had to destroy the building that carried the quintessence of Jewish memory, the Temple. This is what Emperor Titus did in 70 AD and Emperor Hadrian accomplished in 132 AD. Erasure of the Temple and the change of names were meant to replace Jerusalem through *Aelia Capitolina* and to definitively delete the Jewish identity of the city.

9 Baldovin, *The Urban Character*; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*.

10 Grabar, Kedar, *Where Heaven and Earth Meet*.

In time, it became evident that the eradication was temporary and that the memory of the Temple was stronger than its walls. The memory of the Temple, the Temple Mount, and the Jewish traditions connected to them formed an essential component of the resurrection of Jerusalem after 200 years of *Aelia Capitolina*, albeit as a Christian city. Emperor Constantine the Great did not hesitate to create a connection to the Jewish Jerusalem, despite Christ's damnation in St. Luke's Gospel. True, he relocated places and traditions and baptized them. The Holy Sepulchre was to be the New Jerusalem, and Golgotha the location of the navel of the world, the place where creation began and Adam was buried, the place of Abraham's sacrifice and of the renewal of the covenant.¹¹ Christians needed these memories as a means of shaping their own, in order to establish the Christian identity of Jerusalem. With the Temple Mount desolate, the Holy Sepulchre Church and the Patriarch's quarter placed in the forum of the Roman city, the main Christian *loca sancta* became prominently commemorated, with Jerusalem evolving into a Christian city, and the land into a Holy Land.¹² A consistent process of architectural commemoration of specific *loca sancta* occurred during this period. While at the beginning of the fourth century, a grotto close to the top of the Mount of Olives was enough to commemorate several places and events connected to the Mount in the New Testament, inclusive of the grotto of Pater Noster as well as the Ascension, towards the end of the century, a specific Church of the Ascension was built on top of the Mount. From the fourth to the sixth century Jerusalem grew more and more Christian, with every place touched by Christ, his mother, and his disciples marked and commemorated by building and cult.

Nothing similar to the Pagan annihilation of the Jewish places of memory happened in the seventh century. There was no purposeful destruction or damnation on the part of the Muslim conquerors of Jerusalem, but rather appropriation. The Caliph Omar went to his knees in front of the Holy Sepulchre, while the Temple Mount was restored to its past glory, though with a different identity: the stone of Creation and Sacrifice became the starting point of Muhammad's Night Journey, with an octagonal memorial building erected to emphasize the event, the Dome of the Rock. The restoration of the Temple Mount was inclusive of both the Jewish and the Christian pasts of Jerusalem; therefore the axial arrangement of the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque in the rectangular temenos of the Temple esplanade refers retrospectively to the Constantinian Holy Sepulchre Church in an

11 Krüger, *Die Grabeskirche*; Boomer, Ousterhout, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre".

12 Halbwachs, *La topographie*; Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre".

identical sequence of centralized *memorium*, inner atrium, and longitudinal cult building. The choice of an octagonal plan for a memorial and of a basilica for a cult building was deliberate, attesting to a thorough knowledge and understanding of Christian architectural language and possibly the involvement of Christian architects. At the time of the building of Al-Haram al-Sharif, the Holy Sepulchre Church had already been much reduced in size for about seventy years. The recourse to a retrospective architectural scheme of the early Holy Sepulchre building in renewing the Temple Mount reflects an ambivalent tendency, characteristic of the entire attitude of Islam toward Judaism and Christianity: on the one hand, appropriation out of a sense of superiority; on the other, inclusion of a significant aspect of the city in order to draw from it rootedness, legitimacy, and authority.

In fact, the earthly city of Jerusalem is the outcome of a permanent discourse between its past and present architectures (with “past” and “present” updating themselves constantly), a chain of copies, imitations, rejections, and competitions. However, the Christian monuments, especially those of the Crusader period, ensure the continuity of Jerusalem’s physical appearance as well as of its history beyond differences in religious identity. They fulfil this task in several ways. First, unlike Constantine the Great, the Crusaders reverted to the Temple Mount. They baptized the Muslim buildings on the Mount into *Templum Domini* (a church) and *Templum Salomonis* (the palace of the Crusader kings). They thereby unified and appropriated both the Jewish and the Muslim past of the Mount which is the heart and the foundation site of Jerusalem’s sanctity. Secondly, the Crusaders echoed or, better, recycled the Temple Mount architecture in the two extremities of the axis of Jerusalem, namely in the Holy Sepulchre Church and on the Mount of Olives. They used two methods of recycling: imitation and the use of spolia. A simple case of spolia is the massive Corinthian and composite capitals from the Umayyad buildings on the Temple Mount, reused in the Holy Sepulchre Church by the Crusaders. A more sophisticated method is the imitation of architecture or architectural motifs. Not every imitation or inspiration from an earlier building is necessarily a conscious act of recycling. However, when a striking similarity between two monuments is backed up by an associated content, we may assume it to stem from an intentional act. For example, the southern, main portal of the crusader Holy Sepulchre Church evokes the double opening of the Golden Gate, the eastern entrance to the Temple Mount from the seventh century. As the Golden Gate commemorates the place through which Emperor Heraclius entered the city at the beginning of the seventh century, when he restored the cross previously taken during the Persian invasion, with this location

being identical to the traditional place of Christ's triumphal Entry to Jerusalem, the Crusaders had an obvious interest in inserting themselves in the same chain of triumphal deeds. By modelling the portal of their own Church of the Holy Sepulchre according to the Golden Gate, they assimilated connotations connected to an earlier triumphal monument, while at the same time framing the way to the cross with two monuments that communicate visually.

Another, even clearer case of intentional imitation, is documented at the eastern end of the Jerusalem axis, on the Mount of Olives. The Ascension Church was entirely re-modelled at the very beginning of the Crusader period from a round into an octagonal building, strikingly similar to the Dome of the Rock. Not only are the ground plans of the two buildings similar but the measurements of the Crusader Ascension Church are almost identical to those of the inner octagon of the Dome of the Rock. This near-replication of the layout of the Temple Mount's prominent building has a deep significance in the interreligious discourse of the land holy to the three monotheistic religions. What is important in our context is that the Dome of the Rock played an obvious role in the transmission of an early Christian tradition to the medieval period, namely the connection between octagonal shape and memorial function. It is certainly not by chance and not only due to its shape and beauty that the Dome of the Rock, which commemorates a journey upward, the Night Journey of the Prophet Muhammad, served as model for Christ's Ascension Church. This choice reflects an accurate iconographical understanding of a rival building, but also the renewal of a connection to the Temple Mount, extending and deepening its inclusion in the Christian holy geography. Thus, Crusader art and architecture reinforced the pattern of visual continuity, which existed in the Christian appraisal of Jerusalem since earlier periods, being largely responsible for the image of later transpositions of Jerusalem abroad.¹³

Early Translations Elsewhere

The Holy Sepulchre always stood at the heart of Jerusalem's representations outside the Holy Land. The Jerusalem mosaic marking the center of the sixth century Holy Land map on the floor of the St. George Church at Madaba in Transjordan, as seen from above, shows a flattened image of the Constantinian complex of the Holy Sepulchre, placed exactly at the center

13 Kühnel, "Productive Destruction".



of the walled city, ideally “correcting” the topography of the Holy City.¹⁴ This image predates the later, medieval *mappaemundi* centered around Jerusalem and the tomb of Christ.¹⁵

The tomb of Christ has been instrumental in creating the first architectural translations of Jerusalem to medieval Europe built in burial context.¹⁶ The first round structure in Europe commemorating Christ’s tomb was built by bishop Conrad of Constance near the cathedral church for his own burial.¹⁷ The building is dated to 955, following the second of three pilgrimages he made to the Holy Land. In addition, alluding to Christ’s tomb through the shape of the structure, in the dedication of the St. Maurice Rotunda at his cathedral, Bishop Conrad also called upon the patron saint of the Ottonian kings, whose relics were transferred from Reichenau to Constance sometime before 973. The St. Maurice Rotunda was probably brought to a cruciform shape by four apses with flat ends and relatively long arms. The form in which the Rotunda existed before 1009 was an imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Later around 1260, the imitation of the Holy Sepulchre was constructed inside the Rotunda. The Holy Sepulchre of Constance became a popular pilgrimage site and visitors were rewarded with significant indulgences. Changes undertaken in the thirteenth century, including the remaking of the tomb aedicule¹⁸ and the addition of a transept to connect the rotunda to the bishop’s church evidence both the popularity acquired by the place since its foundation and the continuity of a tradition. Up to our own day, the Rotunda functions as the focus of the local Easter liturgy.

The practice of providing churches, large and small, with Holy Sepulchre imitations or evocations continued during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, becoming very popular in the Holy Roman Empire, certainly more than the actual state of preservation and documentation allows us to know now.¹⁹ Their proliferation can be considered an outcome of the Crusades and of easier access to the *loca sancta* with the array of relics they provided. The replicas had a central role in the Easter liturgy and in the dramatic enactments that developed in direct connection with them.

14 Alliata, Piccirillo, *The Madaba Map Centenary*.

15 Kupfer, “The Rhetoric of World Maps”, 259–90.

16 Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*; Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini*; Rüdiger, *Nachbauten des Heiligen Grabes*.

17 Stolzenburg, “Bestattungen *ad sanctissimum*”; Spath, “Zeichen der Hoffnung”.

18 Kurmann, “Das Heilige Grab zu Konstanz”, 41–42.

19 Besides the early monuments discussed here, one can add Magdeburg, Chemnitz, St. Noris in Nuremberg and perhaps also Pretzien and Möckern-Lühe; see Schmitt, Tebruck, *Jenseits von Jerusalem*, 48–49; see also recently Bartal, Bodner, Kühnel, *Projections of Jerusalem in Europe*.

At the same time, the Crusades led to the appearance of a new architectural topos and a new spatial and social phenomenon: the construction of Jerusalem architectural complexes outside the walls of medieval cities, containing copies of several *loca sancta* illustrating key events in Christ's Passion, of which the Crucifixion and Resurrection commemorated at the Holy Sepulchre Church were accorded the most prominence by means of dimensions and central location. These architectural complexes were accompanied by re-modellings of the landscape in which they were placed so that the topography contributed a higher degree of resemblance to the original theatre of events, Jerusalem. A path often formed, leading from the city to its outskirts, as a pilgrimage route in imitation of Christ's own Way of the Cross. However, fully developed Stations of the Cross are preserved only from the end of the fifteenth century onward; Nuremberg, Bamberg, and Görlitz are just a few of the better-known ones.²⁰

Eichstätt seems to provide the earliest indication of the existence of such a complex north of the Alps. The extant evidence, albeit partial, witnesses a monument positioned in the evolution of Jerusalem translations to the Holy Roman Empire between the incipient patterns of evoking Jerusalem through the tomb of Christ and the fully developed architectural complexes of the end of the fifteenth century. In its present appearance and location, the Holy Tomb in the Capuchin church in Eichstätt does not differ much from the one in Constance. However, the current location differs from the original one: in the twelfth century, the aedicule was the centerpiece of a monumental building resembling the Anastasis Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, part of a Benedictine monastery erected by Irish monks between 1147 and 1166.²¹ The monastery, known as *Schottenkloster*, located outside the walls of the medieval city of Eichstätt to the east, also included a hostel for pilgrims, a hospital, and accommodations for lepers and the poor. At the time of the monastery's construction, Eichstätt was the seat of the Franconian diocese and the bishop extended his protection to the Irish Benedictines who dedicated their monastery *in honorem S. Crucis et S. Sepulchri*. The monastery housed a particle of the Holy Cross brought from Jerusalem by its founder, Walbrun, dean of the Eichstätt Cathedral. The appearance of the Anastasis building is documented by a watercolor of 1537, and by a late Gothic panel painting depicting the Raising of Lazarus.²² Corroborating the appearance

20 Dalman, *Das Grab Christi in Deutschland*; Meinert, *Die Heilig-Grab-Anlage in Görlitz*.

21 Ó Riain, "An Irish Jerusalem in Franconia".

22 See recently Shriki-Hilber, *In honorem Sanctae Crucis et Sancti Sepulchri*, 145–64 with earlier bibliography.



of an impressive round building, as depicted in the watercolor, with written testimony about it and with the measurements of the extant aedicule (which was accurately transferred to the new church),²³ and connecting these with the presence of auxiliary establishments at the monastery dedicated in part to the care of pilgrims, we may reconstruct a fairly large complex. It probably constituted the culmination of a pilgrimage route leading from afar (Ireland?) through the city of Eichstätt (possible stationing at the cathedral) and ending at Christ's imitation grave and resurrection place outside the walls. It is important to underscore the significance of Eichstätt in the European history of Jerusalem translations. Whereas the earlier evocations of the Anastasis in Constance, Busdorf, and Helmarshausen are certainly important, none of these can compare with the monumentality of the Eichstätt complex. None shows the combination of a monumental Anastasis-like round building with a central tomb aedicule of such dimensions. The additional buildings in the compound point to Eichstätt as a pilgrimage complex whose closest comparisons are to be found not in the past but in the future, in the fully developed Jerusalem complexes of the end of the fifteenth century and later.

Eichstätt shares its early date with the Jerusalem complexes in Bologna and Pisa, possibly including a Way of the Cross pilgrimage path linking the city with the monastery outside the walls; however, early pilgrimage ways are only sporadically implied in this early period. While the Jerusalem of Bologna probably developed from the end of the eleventh up to the fourteenth century through a number of phases which are not completely clear,²⁴ the complex on the Piazza dei Miracoli in Pisa is consistent and organic from both the historical as well as the formal point of view. The cathedral (1063), the baptistery (after 1099), and the Camposanto (1188) were built as architectural commemorations of wars against Islam, the first in Palermo, and the last two in the Holy Land.²⁵ Pisa played an important role in the Crusades and in the Latin Kingdom. Its archbishop Daimbert, responsible for the building of the baptistery, became the first Patriarch of Jerusalem. The baptistery of Pisa is considered the most accurate reproduction of the Anastasis rotunda elsewhere, while Camposanto is the only known monument outside Rome to have brought important quantities of earth

23 The aedicule in Eichstätt is 7.41m long, 4.82m wide, and ca. 4m high, according to Ó Riain, "An Irish Jerusalem in Franconia", 259.

24 Ousterhout, "The Church of Santo Stefano"; Ousterhout, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre"; Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple".

25 Bodner, "Earth from Jerusalem"; Bodner, "Why are there two Medieval Copies?"; Boeck, "Das Baptisterium".

from Jerusalem, in order to give Pisans the opportunity of burial in the soil imbued with the blood of Christ after the loss of Jerusalem in the Third Crusade. The rectangular plan of the Piazza dei Miracoli offers the three monuments a unified enclosure, a platform comparable to the esplanade of the Temple Mount, and an axial arrangement of cathedral and baptistery comparable with that of the Constantinian Martyrium basilica and Anastasis Rotunda as well as with that of the Ummayyad Dome of the Rock and the El-Aqsa Mosque.

Medieval Pisa knew of several other churches dedicated to or reflecting Jerusalemite monuments (San Sepolcro, Santa Agatha), which may indicate the existence of stationary processions, even though they probably belonged to different communities within the city. The existence of several, different monuments connected to Jerusalem in Mantua and Florence has also been discussed recently in scholarly literature.²⁶

The Devotional Turn

During the fifteenth century, consistent stationary paths crystallized following two related developments in Europe and in the Holy Land. These developments marked a transition from the commemorative approach vis-à-vis the holy places to an active and affective participation in the dramatic events connected to the suffering and sacrifice of Christ.²⁷ The devotional turn involved many social changes and led to significant reshufflings in the forms of cult and the handling of cultic objects, and as a result, in their style.²⁸

The formation of a processional cult molded on the Stations walked by Christ and his followers from his entrance to Jerusalem through the condemnation, mocking coronation, flagellation, imposition of the cross, empathy and help from his disciples, meeting with his mother and with Veronica, crucifixion and resurrection, is perhaps one of the most important expressions of the new devotional turn. A rationalization and a re-organization of the path taken by pilgrims in Jerusalem by the Franciscans, keepers of the Holy Places, led to the formation of a set of Stations, repeatedly recreated in

26 Bodner, "The Presence of Jerusalem in Mantua"; Chernetsky, *The Mythological Origins*; Kühnel, *Jerusalem Icons*, esp. 158–72.

27 Kühnel, *Jerusalem Icons*, esp. 183–275.

28 Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum*; Camille, "Mimetic Identification"; McNamer, *Affective Meditation*; Tripps, *Das handelnde Bildwerk*.

many European landscapes from the end of the fifteenth century on, given to enlargements or reductions in number during the subsequent centuries.²⁹

Nuremberg³⁰

Two large, relatively well-preserved sites in Bavaria, Germany, namely, the Calvaries in Nuremberg and Bamberg, were planned and executed by a famous artist, Adam Kraft. The installation in Nuremberg is composed of a Way of the Cross and a Calvary Chapel, divided between an open-air Crucifixion Station and a Chapel of the Holy Tomb. The installation is accompanied by reliefs illustrating the Seven Falls of Christ on the Way to Golgotha, completed with two additional stations on the Calvary site, all created by Kraft. Further imagery includes a wall painting representing Jerusalem inside the chapel and an altarpiece with the Resurrection, all executed at about the same time. The dating of the Nuremberg complex lies between circa 1494 (the date of an aquarelle by Albrecht Dürer that depicts the cemetery site without the Holy Tomb Chapel) and 1508 (the year of Kraft's death). A small site connected with a leper infirmary and graveyard that later became a plague hospital and cemetery predated the Jerusalem site on the same spot. Nine Stations of the Cross are spread throughout an important portion of the city, from its easternmost gate (the *Tiergärtnerort*) to the west, beyond the city walls, and culminating in the St. John cemetery. The installation of the *via crucis*, leading from the city to its western outskirts, coincides with the transformation of the cemetery into the municipal burial site dedicated to John the Baptist.

The Stations of the Cross are marked by nine columns that support rectangular reliefs depicting the Seven Falls of Christ carrying the Cross on his way to Golgotha, as well as a Lamentation at the entrance to the cemetery and a Deposition in the Tomb now inside the Holy Tomb Chapel. The reliefs and the Deposition group depict Christ and his followers with dramatic gestures and expressions, meeting the believers at eye level and including them in the procession, guiding them to the site of the Crucifixion. There, before the entrance gate to the cemetery, two groups of sculptures facing each other from two platforms re-create the drama of the Crucifixion. The division of the elaborated Crucifixion scene into two groups that face

29 Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross*; Mariani, Stella, *Il Camino di Gerusalemme*; Sticca, "The *Via Crucis*".

30 Wegmann, "Der Kreuzweg"; Kühnel, "Monumental Representations".

each other guided the pilgrims to execute a turn in their own movement, changing their bodily direction, and thereby marking the change in the narrative from life to death, from the public urban space to the burial site.

The Calvary Chapel (Holzschuher Chapel) is placed in the precinct of the cemetery. The architecture of the building, although larger than the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem, evokes the original through the division into a rectangular vestibule and a circular apse. Inside, two related pictorial representations are consistent with its identity: a Resurrection scene with the Vera Icon on the wooden winged altarpiece and an image of Jerusalem with scenes from Christ's life and Passion in the south niche of the wall. The altarpiece probably slightly postdates the chapel, since it was sponsored by Peter Imhoff and his wife, Magdalene Holzschuher, whose patron saints, Peter and Mary Magdalene, appear on the predella of the altarpiece.

The wall painting belongs to a genre of pictorial representation of Jerusalem in an exaggerated open and flattened perspectival view in which the various episodes of the Passion are placed. The episodes, from Judas's Kiss to the Deposition in the Tomb and Resurrection, are distributed in the houses and streets of Jerusalem as if in a casual tableau. In the second half of the fifteenth century, this genre was popular as substitute and instrument of devotion for those who could not make the trip to the Holy Land.³¹

The monumental complex in Nuremberg is part of the city's broader interest in Jerusalem, an interest that seems to have intensified in the second half of the fifteenth century and maintained throughout the following centuries. The civic interest was possibly incited and intensified by the pilgrimage led by Hans Tucher, son of a noble family of Nuremberg and a high official in the city administration, in 1479–1480. Tucher was accompanied by a group of other prominent Nuremberg citizens and wrote an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land from 1479 to 1480 that can be considered the first modern travel book.³² Other sites related to the Passion in the proximity of the *via crucis* were integrated in Nuremberg at various times. For example, the "house of Pilate" stood near the *Tiergärtner*tor, and a narrow street outside the walls of the same gate was known since 1820 as *Am Ölberg*, indicating that the station for the Mount of Olives must have been located nearby.

31 Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*; Kühnel, *Jerusalem Icons*, 217–48.

32 *Reyss ins Gelobte Land*, printed for the first time in Augsburg in 1482. Six editions of Tucher's diary came out between 1482 and 1486. This book was widely used by travellers, among them the Dominican Felix Fabri and the Domherr from Mainz Bernhard von Breydenbach, who were influenced by Tucher in their own descriptions of pilgrimage, as were some fifteen other known authors; cf. Herz, *Die 'Reise ins gelobte Land'*.

Italian Sites

The Italian sites contemporary with the earliest well-documented German ones are different from them in several aspects. The stations are marked architecturally by chapels, identified by monumental sculptural panels. The painted terra cotta figures are caught in dramatic movements and expressions dominating the inner, narrow space of the chapel. Most chapels on the Italian pathways have neutral shapes, typical of their time and place, except for key buildings, such as those figuring the Holy Sepulchre or the Ascension sites, which often evoke the building standing on the original location at the respective time.

San Vivaldo in Montaione occupies a park location of its own, part of a Franciscan monastery.³³ The topography of Jerusalem is clearly respected in San Vivaldo: the Holy Sepulchre complex and the Ascension aedicule are separated by the “Hinnom Valley” and placed in the west and the east of it respectively. The Crucifixion and the Resurrection sites are integrated in the topographical sequence of the Stations (not separated from the *via crucis*, as in Nuremberg), with the Calvary Chapel and the Tomb at a distance from each other, equal to the situation in Jerusalem. The double-storied Calvary is emphasized by the arrangement of the sculpture, with the Crucifixion above, and the groups of witnesses to the scene in the lower room looking up in awe. Like in many other episodes in San Vivaldo as well as in other sites of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, additional depth is achieved by adding wall painting behind the sculptures and reliefs.

San Vivaldo, Varallo Sesia, and Domodossola build a homogenous group of translated Jerusalem sites in Northern Italy. The *sacrimonti* of Piedmont and Lombardy were once considered a unique phenomenon dictated by specific, local historical and political circumstances.³⁴ Nowadays we know that the phenomenon is not limited to this region; nevertheless, the Italian *sacrimonti* are still remarkable in their richness and beauty. Some of them (Varallo) continued to develop into huge sites illustrating the biblical history thus departing in the seventeenth century from their initial objective. On the other hand, in other European regions in which building of *viae crucis* became affluent during the seventeenth century and later, these sites still kept their character of Calvaries and compact Jerusalem translations although the style of chapels and figures changed accordingly. In Austria

33 Piatti, Salvestrini, *La Gerusalemme di San Vivaldo*.

34 Cannon-Brookes, “The Sacri Monti”; Landgraf, *Die Sacri Monti*; Wittkower, “Sacri Monti in the Italian Alps”.



especially, in spite of a profusion of places added to the Passion (Graz), or a drastic reduction of Stations (Maria Plain), they still retain a similarity to the earlier sites. This is also the case of the Calvary hill at Strahov in Prague in which the fourteen Passion scenes are painted and the Tomb chapel is strikingly similar with the medieval ones.³⁵

There are many variations in the translations of Jerusalem to Europe. However, the equilibrium between tradition and innovation confers continuity upon the phenomenon of translation in Europe. During the entire Middle Ages, Jerusalem assumed an essential role in knitting together and strengthening the institution of the Empire by providing it with historical roots reaching deep into the Davidic and Solomonic reigns, on the one hand, and into the foundation times and places of Christianity, on the other. The nurturing of these two roots was expressed by continuous reference to and updating and adaptation of monuments that evoke Jerusalem as the connecting thread, as well as by the common framework of commemoration of the biblical and early Christian aspects of the imperial idea that shaped the conceptual foundation of the Holy Roman Empire throughout its existence. Charlemagne, Louis IX, and Charles IV can be considered the pillars of this phenomenon. It seems that Prague joined the rest of Europe in creating a framework in which the monumental representation of Jerusalem started to play a major role in the aspirations of Charles IV, King of Bohemia, in his endeavour to act as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.³⁶

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35 Kühnel, *Jerusalem Icons*, 92 and fig. 50.

36 See Kühnel, “Monumental Representations”, 319–47, esp. 335ff; Kühnel, *Jerusalem Icons*, 81–95. For a different opinion, see the chapter of Kateřina Kubínová in this volume.

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