

REPLICA CHAINS & THE PORTABILITY OF JERUSALEM

by

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B.A., University of California, Berkeley, 2014

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES
(Art History and Theory)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

August 2019

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Replica Chains & The Portability of Jerusalem

submitted by Catherine Volmensky in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

in Art History

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Abstract

Erhard Reuwich's *Map of the Holy Land*—found in Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*—allows for an investigation of the portable nature of Jerusalem. Published in Mainz in 1486, Breydenbach's pilgrimage guidebook offered the early modern viewer access to an eyewitness account and images of the Holy Land. In Reuwich's fold-out map, the city of Jerusalem occupies the central viewpoint. In this topographical view, Reuwich labeled the Dome of the Rock (688–692) as the Temple of Solomon. I argue that this reimagining of the structure was due to a desire for visual ownership of this space following Saladin's conquest of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187. Incorporating ideas of transmediality, I suggest that the transformation of the architectural structure to the medium of print allowed the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon to act as an icon or container to activate sacred memory. I demonstrate that the portability of the guidebook and the medium of print allowed the sites of the Holy Land to cross cultural and geographic boundaries in the early modern period.

Jerusalem also functioned as a relic or sacred site for Islam. A fourteenth century Ilkhanid *Book of Ascension (Mi'rajnama)* allows for an investigation of the portability of Jerusalem within an Islamic context. This Ilkhanid manuscript painting, found in a Safavid album of calligraphies and paintings, shows the archangel Gabriel transporting the city of Jerusalem to the prophet Muhammad. This image is interpreted within the context of the Prophet's night journey to Jerusalem. To demonstrate the Prophet's autoptic authority, the archangel Gabriel brought Jerusalem in its entirety to Mecca. Focusing on Jerusalem as a site of cross-cultural encounters, Reuwich's the *Map of the Holy Land* and the manuscript painting from the *Book of Ascension (Mi'rajnama)* allows for an examination of Jerusalem as a liminal space.

Lay Summary

Published in 1486, Erhard Reuwich's *Map of the Holy Land* fits within a cross-cultural and transmedial framework. I argue that Reuwich's central depiction of the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon must be understood within the context of the interstitial space of Jerusalem. The portability of the guidebook allowed the sacred sites of the Holy Land to cross cultural and geographic boundaries, and the central depiction of the structure of the Dome of the Rock cemented the authority of Reuwich's woodcut within the replica chain model. Constructed in the late seventh century, the visual power of the Dome of the Rock symbolized the sacred for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. While the structure drew from local Christian sources, the Umayyad caliphs built the Dome of the Rock to solidify their authority. From this complicated historical, religious, and political context, Reuwich's *Map of the Holy Land* emerges.

Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Catherine Volmensky.

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the faculty and staff in the Department of Art History, Visual Art, & Theory who have made it possible to complete this work. In particular, I thank my advisor Dr. Saygin Salgirli for his advice and guidance; his insightful questions, and answers to my concerns about the project made this a stronger work. Additionally, I thank my second reader Dr. Joseph Monteyne; an earlier version of this work originated in his class, and I am deeply grateful for all the time and thoughtful insight he offered over the course of this project. Finally, I thank Dr. Julia Orell for her continued support, insight, and encouragement throughout the MA program.

I would like to thank my fellow students in the program for their support and friendship. In particular, I am thankful for the friendship of Yeganeh Abed, Suhyun Choi, Irene Choi, and Alison Ariss. Throughout the process of writing, their critiques and suggestions enormously helped the process and struggle of writing.

I am grateful for my family's unfailing love and support. I would not have been able to complete the MA program and this project without their encouragement and understanding.

I thank the Department for nominating me for the Josephine Jungic Graduate Travel Award In Art History and for the Graduate Student Research Award. This support made it possible for me to conduct research in Washington D.C. and New York. Special thanks go to the librarians in the Sherman Fairchild Reading Room of the Morgan Library & Museum.

To my mother, Susan Volmensky.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In early modern Europe visual images start to move. Some are dispersed due to iconoclastic conflict, many circulate widely through new technologies of print, and others still are taken to or brought back from distant parts of the world.¹

—Rose Marie San Juan

1.1 A Map of the Holy Land

A late fifteenth century pilgrimage guidebook to the Holy Land contains a lavish, fold-out map that offers the landscape in a single view, spanning from Syria to Egypt. This view of the Holy Land comes from Bernhard von Breydenbach's pilgrimage guidebook, first published in Mainz in 1486. By incorporating a large topographical view into the format of the guidebook, the artist, Erhard Reuwich, was able to offer the early modern viewer a fully accessible pilgrimage journey.² With each unfolding of this large woodcut, the devout pilgrim would have been able to access the divine space of biblical events [Fig. 1].

I suggest that the portable nature of Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* allowed Jerusalem to be transported to Europe, and the medium of print created replica chains of Jerusalem that kept alive a Christian desire for ownership of the sacred space.³ *The Map of the Holy Land* [Fig. 1] can be understood as an icon or modified triptych, and a way to activate sacred memory. Within the narrative of pilgrimage, the medium of print allowed for a simultaneous reference to past and present, and these multiple temporalities gave an added dimension of authority to the image. While drawing on autoptic authority, the map sits between two understandings of image-making. The medieval image theory relies on an understanding of

¹ Rose Marie San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors: The Animation of the Visual Image and Early Modern Travel*, (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 4.

² Kathryn Blair Moore, "The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture," *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance*, (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 198.

³ The term "replica chain" originates in the work of Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood.

substitution and places the work of art within the framework of replica chains. On the other hand, an image theory emerging from the early modern period relies on the idea of authorship to give authority to a work of art.⁴ Essentially, *The Map of the Holy Land* was produced during a time when medieval and early modern image-theories overlapped and bears traces of both theories. This work is not arguing for a progressive or triumphalist view of the role of the artist and the Renaissance. Rather, I am interested in investigating the changing ways images, relics, and artifacts functioned and were understood during this period and the role that print technology played in these changes.

While I examine Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* in its broader historical, cultural, and religious context, I focus primarily on Reuwich's depiction of Jerusalem in order to investigate the portable nature of the city, and I concentrate on the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon in order to explore the concept of the replica chain. The methodology of this paper draws on the work of Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood to explain the concept of the replica chain. I utilize the replica chain in order to understand how Reuwich used the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon. For example, predating Reuwich's *Map of the Holy Land*, Jan van Eyck's *Three Marys at the Tomb of Christ* [Fig. 2] demonstrates that in Netherlandish art the Dome of the Rock was already functioning as a way to access Solomon's Temple. The circular, domed structure in the background of this painting depicts the Dome of the Rock as Solomon's Temple.⁵ While the author of the text of the guidebook was Bernhard von Breydenbach (ca. 1440-1497), Erhard Reuwich (ca. 1466-1490), a Dutch artist and printer,

⁴ Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 48-49.

⁵ Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 12-17.

created and first published the woodcuts. Erhard Reuwich was trained as a painter in Utrecht, and he would have been familiar with the pictorial conventions of Jan van Eyck and other Netherlandish artists. Under the substitution or replica chain model, one token or artifact substituted for the older relic. Understanding the actual historical moment and circumstances of an artifact's creation were not necessary in the process of endowing the artifact with its meaning or function.⁶ Therefore, within the replica chain, the Dome of the Rock could substitute for Solomon's Temple. Within scholarship, it is clear that Reuwich's map was a turning point in the iconography of views of Jerusalem and the Temple. To create his large topographical view, Reuwich drew on older maps of the Holy Land, portolan charts, and *mappae mundi*;⁷ however, in comparison to earlier views of Jerusalem and images of the Temple, Reuwich's map had the authority of eyewitness.

The concept of autoptic authority or the authority of eyewitness had a long tradition in Flemish and Netherlandish art. In particular, Flemish artists upheld the idea that they had special abilities to observe and record nature. For example, Jan van Eyck maintained that he had the ability to produce a legally authentic likeness. The connection between the concept of autoptic authority and *autopisa* should be noted. In essence, artists were claiming the same authority that anatomists claimed in their autopsies—that an artistic likeness drew from life and was therefore factual.⁸ Due to this concept of autoptic authority and the popularity of the pilgrimage guidebook, *The Map of the Holy Land* became a reference point for later artists creating views of

⁶ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 63-68.

⁷ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 101-139.

⁸ Pamela H. Smith, "Artists as Scientists: Nature and Realism in Early Modern Europe," *Endeavour* 24, no. 1 (2000): 15.

Jerusalem. These later views and paintings can be found across media. It has been noted within scholarship that the work of the Venetian painter Vittore Carpaccio extensively drew on Reuwich's city views and renderings of the people of the Holy Land. In this paper, I briefly analyze Carpaccio *The Triumph of Saint George* in order to explore the concept of transmediality. The concept of transmediality emphasizes the process of transfer, but acknowledges the completed result; it focuses on the simultaneous presence of the media involved.⁹ When thinking of the structure of the Dome of the Rock and Reuwich's rendering of the Temple, the idea of the simultaneous presences of the media involved becomes particularly interesting.

1.2 Jerusalem as Concept

Jerusalem holds a special position amongst cities as a pilgrimage destination. Jerusalem's long and complex history is shared between the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions. This unique combination allows the city to exist as a liminal space. Representations of the city can be found across media and geographical locations, creating the idea of Jerusalem as unbounded by earthly temporality. The many spatial, architectural, and visual representations of the city exist in a Jerusalem network, which allowed the sacred site to be transported over vast distances, and the act of pilgrimage holds an important role in the network connecting Jerusalem to different urban centers in the Mediterranean world.¹⁰ Through travel, the early modern pilgrim crossed

⁹ Nadja Gernalzick and Gabriele P. Pizarz-Ramirez, eds., *Transmediality and Transculturality*, (Heidelberg: Mainz University, 2013), xi-xxiii.

¹⁰ The term "Jerusalem network" is borrowed from Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt. These scholars attribute the spread of images of Jerusalem throughout the world to the city's unique history, which is shared between the three Abrahamic religions. Drawing on the metaphor of network, they trace Jerusalem along a vertical and horizontal axis. The vertical axis is the past, present, and future of the city, and along the horizontal axis are the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic representations of Jerusalem. For a more complete discussion of this topic see Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, "Introduction," in *Visual*

geographic and temporal boundaries, and guidebooks and maps played an integral role in physical and spiritual journeys.¹¹

Placing Reuwich's *Map of the Holy Land* within a Jerusalem network, allows for a more complex understanding of cross-cultural encounters between followers of the three Abrahamic religions, and their various material representations of the site. When the map and guidebook were printed in the late fifteenth century, Jerusalem was under Mamluk rule;¹² however, this is not to say that Jerusalem was isolated from Europe or the neighboring Ottoman Empire. In a similar way to the Jerusalem network of images, the physical city of Jerusalem also existed within a network of Mediterranean cities. For example, war, trade, politics, and pilgrimage connected Mainz, Venice, Istanbul, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, and these connections are all demonstrated in the text and images within Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*. Building on the above concept of the Jerusalem network, I argue that the net as metaphor for network is effective in an examination of ideas of transculturation, microecologies, and zones of cultural and artistic contact.¹³ "The net, in contrast to knitted or woven material, is characterized

Constructions of Jerusalem, edited by Kühnel, Bianca et al., (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), xxxiii-xxxvi.

¹¹ Ellen Badone, "Crossing Boundaries: Exploring the Borderlands of Ethnography, Tourism, and Pilgrimage," in *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*, edited by Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 180-181.

¹² Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 143.

¹³ In this instance, I draw on the work of Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu. As Yenişehirlioğlu notes, each case study must be analyzed within its own cultural and economic boundaries before it can be linked to wider cultural and global trends. Additionally, different zones of artistic and cultural contact allow various peoples to be exposed to ideas and artistic practices without directly coming into contact with other culture. Within this discussion, Yenişehirlioğlu brings up three types of cultural encounters: enculturation, acculturation, and transculturation. For my discussion, I am using Yenişehirlioğlu's definition of transculturation: "Transculturation encompasses more than a transition from one culture to another. It consists not merely of acquiring another culture (acculturation) or of losing or uprooting a previous culture (deculturation) but, rather, merges these concepts and additionally carries the idea of the

by the fact that its junctures are held together by knots whose structures allow for variable permeability.”¹⁴ I argue that the networks of trade, war, and pilgrimage stretching over the Mediterranean world can be thought of as structures of variable permeability. Additionally, the urban centers of Venice, Istanbul, and Jerusalem can be thought of as the knots of the net, and these junctures were zones of cultural and artistic contact. Drawing on the work of Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, it is clear that the Holy Land can be thought of as a microregion; within this microregion, lines of communication and trade would have connected Jerusalem to other urban centers in the Levant and Egypt,¹⁵ and this connectivity can be seen in the itinerary of Breydenbach’s pilgrimage guidebook.

1.3 The Portable Nature of Jerusalem

Jerusalem also functioned as a relic or sacred site for Islam, and the idea of transporting Jerusalem through space can also be seen in the context of Islamic visual culture. Drawing on the above discussed concept of the Jerusalem network, I use a fourteenth century Ilkhanid *Mi‘rajnama* painting from a Safavid album of calligraphies and paintings [Fig. 3] to argue that the idea of the portability of Jerusalem was shared cross-culturally, between both Islamic and Christian visual cultures. This *Mi‘rajnama* painting demonstrates the shared importance of Jerusalem, and a further examination of the painting places Breydenbach’s guidebook and

consequent creation of new cultural phenomena (neoculturation).” “Whither Art History?: How Global is Ottoman Art and Architecture?: 1.” *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 4 (2015): 359-363.

¹⁴ Julia Gelshorn, “Network,” in Anika Reineke et. al., eds. *Textile Terms: A Glossary*, (Emsdetten/Berlin: Swiss National Science Foundation and Dietrich Reimer Verlag GmbH, 2017) 173-174.

¹⁵ In Chapter IX of *The Corrupting Sea*, Horden and Purcell introduce the idea of mobility of goods and people, and they argue “the Mediterranean world at all periods must be understood as a vast conglomerate of tiny sub-regions and larger groups of sub-regions.” For further discussion on this topic see Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 342-400.

Reuwich's map within a wider international world. However, I am not arguing that there is any direct visual link between Reuwich's map and this Ilkhanid manuscript painting.

Though there is no standard *Mi'raj* text of the Prophet's ascension,¹⁶ *Mi'raj* tales described in prose or verse the Prophet's ascension and return to Mecca, and contained descriptions of an eschatological nature of heaven and hell. These tales were written in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, and there are examples of these tales written in Swahili, Latin, French, Castilian, and Greek.¹⁷ Drawing on the work of Christiane Gruber, I examine the text from a late thirteenth century Ilkhanid *Book of Ascension (Mi'rajnama)* and compare the text to the *Mi'rajnama* painting in order to arrive at a more complete interpretation. Both the Ilkhanid text (1286) and the painting (1317-35) under discussion are anonymous. As seen visually in Figure 3, some narratives recount the Prophet's accurate description of Jerusalem to the disbelieving Quraysh tribe (Muhammad was part of the Banu Hashim clan of the Quraysh tribe). The columniation of the tale with this visually and aurally dramatic episode confirmed the truth of Muhammad's account and was used as a tool of conversion to Islam.¹⁸ By the mid-fourteenth

¹⁶ Through their building projects, the Umayyad caliphs made Jerusalem a political and religious center. These building projects coincided with the development of "the traditions dealing with the Prophet's night journey from Mecca (*al-isrā'*) and his ascension to heaven (*al-mi'raj*)." The circulation of this literature during the Umayyad period gave "Islamic legitimacy to the position of the city and its sanctity." See Amikam Elad for a discussion of the development of Islamic architectural monuments in Jerusalem with a comparison to Islamic literature and traditions. Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, Vol. 8, (Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1995), 28, 48-49, 161.

¹⁷ Christiane Gruber, *Ilkhanid Book of Ascension: A Persian-Sunni Devotional Tale*, (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010), 2-3.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 2-3.

century when the *Mi'raj* painting was created, the Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock were associated with the Prophet's night journey and ascension.¹⁹

The Ilkhanid dynasty used *Mi'raj* tales and manuscript paintings like this example [Fig. 3] to promote a specific form of religiosity (Sunni Islam), and to uphold the idea of a shared cultural history.²⁰ This *Mi'raj* painting was created at a time of religious and political fluctuation in Iran. By the late thirteenth century, the Mongol elite had converted to Islam, and *Mi'raj* texts would have functioned as a type of catechism for the Islamic faith. Due to the date of production, the last Ilkhanid ruler, Abū Sa'īd (r. 1317-1335), most likely commissioned the group of *Mi'raj* paintings that this case study comes from, and they are the only extant series of ascension paintings from the Ilkhanid period.²¹

In the *Mi'raj* painting, the prophet Muhammad is shown sitting on a rug. Kneeling to the Prophet's left, the two figures have been identified as Abu Bakr and Abu Jahl (the leader of the Quraysh), while the remaining figures occupying the foreground are members of the Quraysh tribe.²² The figure of the archangel Gabriel dominates the upper right side of this image, and he is transporting the city of Jerusalem to the Prophet [Fig. 3].²³ According to the *Mi'raj* text

¹⁹ Carole Hillenbrand, "Merits of Jerusalem (Fada'il al-Quds)," in *Jerusalem, 1000-1400: Every People Under Heaven*, edited by Boehm, Barbara Drake, and Melanie Holcomb, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 84.

²⁰ Christiane Gruber, *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-Cultural Encounters with the Islamic Mi'rāj Tales*, edited by Christiane Gruber, and Frederick Colby, (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010) 27.

²¹ Gruber, *Ilkhanid Book of Ascension: A Persian-Sunni Devotional Tale*, 24-25. This material comparison between the text from (1286) and the group of *Mi'raj* paintings (1317-35) is indebted to the work of Gruber. See Gruber for the English translation of the text and the original Persian text, p. 34-156.

²² *Ibid*, 77.

²³ During this period in Iran, figural representation was accepted, as shown in manuscript paintings and ceramics (some of which are signed and dated). Paraphrasing the Persian poet Nizami Ganjawi (ca. 1141/46- ca. 1180/1217), "realistically drawn images are only a reflection of nature, and not nature itself. Painting can be learned, yet creation is the work of God alone."

(1286), the inhabitants of Mecca refused to believe Muhammad’s account of his night journey, and to demonstrate the Prophet’s autoptic authority, the archangel Gabriel brought Jerusalem in its entirety to Mecca.²⁴ In the text, the archangel Gabriel says to Muhammad: “‘O Messenger of God, do not fret because now, by the order of God, I will bring Jerusalem to you.’ He flapped his wings and ripped out Jerusalem—along with its cities, neighborhoods, rivers, and gardens—from its place.”²⁵ The brief examination of the text in conjunction with the *Mi‘raj* painting shows how the text and visual imagery worked to solidify the religious beliefs of the Mongol elite.²⁶

When the *Mi‘raj* painting is compared to Reuwich’s *View of Jerusalem* [Fig. 4], a similar conception of Jerusalem emerges. In both case studies, Jerusalem is shown contained within circular or hexagonal walls. In the Ilkhanid painting and text, the idea of the portability of Jerusalem and the transference of the sacred is emphasized. As stated by Alina Payne, “...architecture does not travel, people and objects do.”²⁷ However, the concept of architecture’s portability is particularly interesting when put into the context of the Jerusalem network.

In comparison to examples where architecture becomes mobile through spolia or European collecting practices of the nineteenth century,²⁸ in a Christian context, I argue that images and replicas of Jerusalem were understood to carry some form of the sacred within them.

See Eva Baer, “Painted Figures and the Mongols,” in *The Human Figure in Islamic Art: Inheritances and Islamic Transformations*, Bibliotheca Iranica: Islamic Art and Architecture Series 11, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers Inc., 2004), 23-31.

²⁴ Oleg Grabar, *Jerusalem*, (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate/Variorum, 2005), 178-179.

²⁵ Gruber, *Ilkhanid Book of Ascension: A Persian-Sunni Devotional Tale*, 74.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 24-25.

²⁷ Alina Payne, “Introduction: The Republic of the Sea,” in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, edited by Alina Payne, Vol. 1. Mediterranean Art Histories, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), 1.

²⁸ In this case, I refer to the Parthenon Marbles currently in the collection of the British Museum, and the case of the Pergamon altar ruins, which Payne discusses in her introduction to *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean*, 1-18.

As demonstrated by the architectural replicas of the city of Jerusalem that began appearing as early as the first half of the fourth century, the concept of creating a “New Jerusalem” did not occur within just one culture or time period, from one of the earliest examples of a New Jerusalem built in Mtskheta, Georgia to the late fifteenth century pilgrimage site of Sacro Monte di Varallo, Italy.²⁹ An approach that takes into consideration Jerusalem’s portability casts a different light on the architecture of the city and the images representing and reformulating the holy sites.

1.4 The Travelogue or Pilgrimage Account

Breydenbach’s *Peregrinatio* exists within a long tradition of descriptions of Jerusalem, comprised of pilgrimage accounts and travelogues. Early modern Europe was a world constantly on the move, with roads where pilgrims, merchants, soldiers, and travelers met and interacted. As demonstrated by the pilgrimage group that Breydenbach and Reuwich were a part of, by virtue of their movement from the Archbishopric of Mainz to the Holy Land, these travelers and pilgrims “crossed cultural, religious and confessional borders.”³⁰ During the Middle Ages, overseas travel from Europe to the East was rare enough that travel writers could and often did embroider the truth of their observations, though not always intentionally. While commercial exploration characterized “exotic travel” in the early modern period, pilgrimage fulfilled this role for the medieval traveler.³¹

²⁹ Tamila Mgaloblishvili, “How Mtskheta Turned into the Georgians’ New Jerusalem,” in *Visual Constructions of Jerusalem*, edited by Kühnel, Bianca et al., (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 59-66.

³⁰ Kim Siebenhüner, “Conversion, Mobility and the Roman Inquisition in Italy Around 1600,” *Past and Present*, no. 200 (August 2008): 5.

³¹ Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic Travel Writing, 400-1600*. (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 1-7.

Since it purports to present the truth, the travel book acts as a witness. The author of a travel book did not need to be an erudite or powerful person; rather, the authority of the work came from experience, and the narrative structure of travel accounts relied on first person testimonials of sites seen and experienced.³² The genre of the travel book is comprised of other genres, and the narrative structure of these works contributed to the genres of the autobiography and the modern novel. Travel accounts primarily grapple with the literary problems of presentation: how to present the self, the Other, and the external world.³³ Based on the work of John Wilkinson, from the fourth until the eleventh century, there are only nineteen known pilgrimage accounts describing the Holy Land.³⁴ These numbers changed dramatically after the Latin conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. The early twelfth century saw an influx of pilgrims from all of Europe and many new accounts appeared, and some of these accounts continued to be copied into the early modern period. By 1500, printer's workshops could be found in every important urban center, and the role of the printing press in the widespread dissemination of Holy Land guidebooks must be stressed.³⁵ In 1890, Reinhold Röhricht created a comprehensive catalogue of pilgrimage accounts, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinae (Geographical Library of Palestine)*, showing that 1,599 travel accounts to the Holy Land were written before the nineteenth century.³⁶

³² Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 1-7.

³³ *Ibid*, 6.

³⁴ It should be noted that these numbers do not include Jewish or Islamic travel accounts.

³⁵ Kathryn Blair Moore, "The Disappearance of an Author and the Emergence of a Genre: Niccolò Da Poggibonsi and the Pilgrimage Guidebooks between Manuscript and Print," *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 357-360. And Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 44.

³⁶ *Supra*, 359.

Elizabeth Ross, the first art historian to write a monograph on Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* in English, argues that Breydenbach "set out to use the new medium of his day—print—to reconceptualize the form and making of a book."³⁷ Breydenbach was certainly aware of the possibilities that the new medium of print offered; even before he left on his journey, he planned to publish the *Peregrinatio* on his return. The best-selling status of the book and multiple translations of the text demonstrate the successful combination of images and text, but the guidebook also demonstrates the shift from manuscript production to print as a medial shift. Ross states that the *Peregrinatio* is "the first illustrated travelogue, a work especially renowned for the originality, experimental format, and unusually skillful execution of its woodcuts."³⁸ In contrast to Ross's claim, it must be noted that Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* was not the first illustrated guidebook to the Holy Land; however, Breydenbach was the first to bring along a painter, Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht, to record eye-witness views to illustrate the guidebook. In contrast to earlier illustrated guidebooks, these illustrations were prepared en route and it was the first guidebook to incorporate these panoramic views as fold-out plates.³⁹

The anonymous Holy Land guidebook *Viaggio da Venetia al Sancto Sepolchro et al Monte Sinai (Voyage from Venice to the Holy Sepulchre and to Mount Sinai)* printed by the Venetian editor Niccolò detto Zopino in 1518 was the most popular Holy Land guidebook in early modern Italy, and it was based on manuscript copies of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltramare* (1346-50)—an illustrated guidebook that predates Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*. Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook also contained a written account of his experiences in

³⁷ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 1.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 1.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 1; Kathryn Beebe, "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Visual Constructions of Jerusalem*, edited by Kühnel, Bianca et al., (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 209.

Palestine, Syria, and Egypt; however, the manuscript illustration of the Dome of the Rock in Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook fits into an older tradition. In contrast to Reuwich's identification of the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon, Niccolò da Poggibonsi (like his contemporaries) identified the Dome of the Rock as the *Templum Domini* (Temple of God) while the Aqsa Mosque, located on the Temple Mount close to the Dome of the Rock, was called the *Templum Salamonis*.⁴⁰

The movement of people ties into the idea of the movement and portability of images. As stated by Jerry Brotton: "Print transformed literary expression, as it created demand amongst an increasingly literate and predominantly metropolitan audience that was looking for new forms to understand their changing world."⁴¹ The flexibility offered by the printing press and the medium of print additionally meant that later publications could be reformulated, and this is seen in later editions of the *Peregrinatio*. The idea of the *Map of the Holy Land* [Fig 4] started with the movement of people and shows the development of the theory of an artist recording a view from life. Like many images from the early modern period, when the map arrived in Europe, it did not stand still.⁴² Rather, the image carried the concept of Jerusalem across religious and cultural zones of contact, and the medium of print facilitated the circulation of the guidebook and allowed the maps and woodcuts contained inside it to reach a wide audience.

⁴⁰ Kathryn Blair Moore, "Textual Transmission and Pictorial Transformations: The Post-Crusade Image of the Dome of the Rock in Italy," *Brill, Muqarnas*, Vol. 27 (2010): 51–59.

⁴¹ Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 120.

⁴² San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors*, 4-5.

Chapter 2: Pilgrimage, Space, & Temporality

*And the idea of pilgrimage renders the journey important as journey: pilgrimage is significant journeying. Under its aegis the motion of travel becomes the action of quest, and so deserving of representation.*⁴³

—Mary Campbell

2.1 Between Pilgrimage & Tourism

Embedded within the *Map of the Holy Land* is the idea of pilgrimage. From the 1480s onward, books like the *Peregrinatio* were acquired by people unable to make the long and arduous journey themselves. Through the medium of the guidebook, these people were able to journey virtually to holy sites, and Reuwich's woodcuts facilitated in this vicarious experience.⁴⁴ In the late fifteenth century, the Mamluks controlled access to the Holy Land, but a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was still viewed as an important task that a Christian should accomplish.⁴⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that in the late fifteenth century, Germany began to make explicit claims concerning Jerusalem. The difficulties in accessing the Holy Land gave rise to three different types of what Kathryne Beebe calls "appropriation." These include visualizing Jerusalem as a solely Christian city; creating a Jerusalem in the mind's eye, as a way to transcend one's location through imagined pilgrimage; and finally, visualizing one's local city as a New Jerusalem. These three ways of accessing Jerusalem were also tied to a new civic piety or "piety of place."⁴⁶

These three ways of accessing Jerusalem can be found within Breydenbach's text and Reuwich's images. Breydenbach and Reuwich were part of a fairly large pilgrimage group

⁴³ Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic Travel Writing, 400-1600*, 15.

⁴⁴ Moore, "The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture," 201-202.

⁴⁵ Hunt Janin, *Four Paths to Jerusalem: Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and Secular Pilgrimages, 1000 BCE to 2001 CE*, (Jefferson/London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2002), 124, 127.

⁴⁶ Beebe, "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Visual Constructions of Jerusalem*, 409.

comprised of three noblemen along with their servants.⁴⁷ A long-time canon in the Mainz archdiocese, Breydenbach was promoted to Dean of the Mainz cathedral after his return from the Holy Land in 1484. Joining the pilgrimage group in Jerusalem, the Dominican Felix Fabri of Ulm also wrote an account of his journey; initially, Breydenbach asked Fabri to collaborate on the *Peregrinatio*. However, Fabri declined since he was working on his own guidebook intended for several communities of nuns, living along the Danube River (he worked as their spiritual adviser and as a Dominican Observant reformer). Fabri's account is more text-based than Breydenbach's and has greater semblance to the diary of a modern tourist.⁴⁸ In contrast to Breydenbach's work, Fabri's guidebook was meant to stand in for travel, and allow the nuns to access the "Jerusalem of the mind's eye"; rather than inspire pilgrimage and crusade.⁴⁹ In the context of this discussion, Fabri's account is important since it offers extensive substantiation to the *Peregrinatio*'s description of events.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Breydenbach came from a noble family and was a well-educated man. After studying at the University of Erfurt, he became a Doctor of Law and eventually Canon of the cathedral of Mainz. He was an influential man within his community, and his name is often found on official charters, which implies that he was also a chairman of the secular court. Lia Scheffer, "A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai in the 15th Century," *Zeitschrift Des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1953-) 102 (1986): 144-51.

⁴⁸ As a two-time pilgrim to the Holy Land, Fabri wrote the *Sionpilger* in the Swabian dialect for a particular audience, and the nuns asked for the inclusion of all the indulgences available to a pilgrim. This was done so that, through contemplation and reading, the nuns could access those spiritual benefits. See Pnina Arad, "'As If You Were There': The Cultural Impact of Two Pilgrims' Maps of the Holy Land," in *Visual Constructions of Jerusalem*, 312-313. While the *Sionpilger* was written so the nuns could virtually experience the Holy Land, Fabri had already adapted his pilgrimage experience for three different audiences. After his first pilgrimage in 1480, he produced a rhymed, Swabian-German text for his secular patrons; after his second, longer journey, he produced a longer account for his noble patrons written in the vernacular; for his Dominican brethren, he compiled the encyclopedic Latin *Evagatorium*. Kathryn Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context: The Imaginary Pilgrims and Real Travels of Felix Fabri's 'Die Sionpilger.'" *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 2008, Vol. 25 (1): 39.

⁴⁹ Scheffer, "A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai in the 15th Century," 144-51.

⁵⁰ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 11.

The group that Breydenbach, and Reuwich traveled with was not unusual. Nobles from the same geographic region would often band together to form larger parties. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land was a dangerous undertaking, and before leaving, pilgrims were advised to put their affairs in order. During this period, almost all pilgrimage routes led to Venice. The pilgrimage group set out on April 25, 1483 from the town of Oppenheim (located about seventeen kilometers south of Mainz on the Rhine). After fifteen days of travel, they reached Venice where they stayed for three weeks to tour the relics and holy sites and gather provisions for their trip. The *Peregrinatio* group set out for the eastern Mediterranean port of Jaffa (Tel Aviv) on June 1, 1483. Due to the technology of the galleys used at this period, the pilgrimage group stopped often at various port cities. These stops included: Parenzo (Poreč, Croatia), Zara (Zadar, Croatia), Corfu, Modone (Methoni, Greece), Rhodes, and Cyprus. The final port was Jaffa, where pilgrims waited for processing by Mamluk officials before they were released to the Franciscans, who guided pilgrims to Jerusalem.⁵¹

For the early modern pilgrim, Venice as a starting point made sense. It was celebrated for its buildings and relics and was thought of as the first window opening to the East.⁵²⁵³ Due to the large number of pilgrims departing from Venice, the Senate established a tourist office, which turned into a lucrative trade. Since many galley owners took advantage of pilgrims, the Senate also made sure to set a fare for the journey from Venice to Jaffa. Galleys had to display a banner

⁵¹ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 9-11; Kathryn Beebe, "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Visual Constructions of Jerusalem*, 409-410.

⁵² Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, translated by Donald W. Wilson, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 26.

⁵³ See Pnina Arad for a developed discussion concerning this topic, "*Memory, Identity and Aspiration: Early Modern Jewish Maps of the Promised Land.*" 263.

with a red cross to show neutrality, and once in Jaffa, the Venetian ship-owners negotiated with the Mamluk officials on behalf of the pilgrims.⁵⁴

Within Breydenbach's account, his discussion of Venice is politicized, and the connection between Venice and the Holy Land by water is made clear in Reuwich's *Map of the Holy Land*. This paper argues that the shoreline of the Mediterranean and the water running along the lower portion of the map is an important visual element in understanding the significance of the map. Venice was seen as an extension of the sacred space of the Holy Land and as a bulwark against the ever-expanding Ottoman Empire. When the other woodcuts for the guidebook are examined, the connection of Christianity to sanctity through water is made clearer. Reuwich carefully illustrated all of the stops that the pilgrimage group made; for example, in the *View of Rhodes* [Fig. 5], once again a galley is included in the foreground of the image, reminding the viewer that this is a virtual pilgrimage that they are accompanying the actual pilgrims on. In the *View of Rhodes*, Reuwich included the recent damage Rhodes had sustained at the hands of the Ottomans, while the text of the *Peregrinatio* offered an account of the depredations of the Ottoman siege of 1480. The damage to Rhode's towers is clearly discernible and the inclusion of a corpse hanging from the gallows is a reminder of the aftermath of the siege; this deliberate inclusion was part of one of the overarching themes of the *Peregrinatio*, which was to inspire crusade.⁵⁵

The language found in Fabri's guidebook and Reuwich's woodcuts distorts the boundaries between pilgrimage, tourism, and an ethnographic recounting. For example, Fabri's description of Venice bears a striking resemblance to a promotional travelogue: "The famous,

⁵⁴ Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, 26.

⁵⁵See Moore for a further discussion on this topic, "The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture," 199.

great, rich and noble city, rising from of the waters, with its lofty towers, great churches, magnificent houses and palaces.”⁵⁶ This description can be compared to Reuwich’s large fold-out view of Venice, which shows the dramatic cityscape of Venice rising from the Adriatic [Fig. 6]. Reuwich’s *View of Venice* is the largest fold-out view in the *Peregrinatio* and was printed over eight leaves. The *View of The Holy Land* and the *View of Venice* required great technical skill to produce. The map and the city view are made up of attached sheets, and the *View of Venice* folds out to a length of 1.62 meters. Reuwich’s city views and maps are important in the study of Mediterranean cities. While these woodcuts are not the first examples of city views, they were created before the city view or city plan had coalesced and developed as a genre.⁵⁷ Similarly to Fabri’s description, the viewer looks across the water to Venice, and the elaborate façade of the Doge’s Palace is clearly discernible [Fig. 6]. The sheer scope of the composition demonstrates Venice’s maritime power. While the “artist’s field of vision [stretched] from the *Theloneum* (Customs House) at the tip of the Dorsoduro to the Rio di San Martino,”⁵⁸ the focal point of the *View of Venice* is the Doge’s Palace and St. Mark’s Campanile, while the cupolas of St. Mark’s Basilica can be seen rising behind the palace. In the Piazza San Marco, Reuwich also included the columns of San Marco and San Todaro, symbols of the history and might of Venice. In the foreground of the city view, various ships point to Venice’s maritime might and the start of the journey from Venice to Jaffa.

In the text of the *Peregrinatio*, Venice is framed as an exemplary Christian capital standing as a bulwark against the Ottomans and the heresy of Islam.⁵⁹ For centuries, the

⁵⁶ Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, 28.

⁵⁷ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 2-3 and 33.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 67.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 60. The *Peregrinatio* also contains a catalogue describing the different peoples living in the Holy Land, and Breydenbach makes sure to condemn the different types of heresies found

Venetians had cultivated an identity that emphasized their liminal territory and their relationship with the Holy Land, and Breydenbach appears to have built on Venice's own vision of itself in the landscape of pilgrimage and crusade.⁶⁰ The *Peregrinatio* ends with a list of Ottoman conquests in the Mediterranean, and Breydenbach collected different contemporary sources dealing with the current conflict. As in Reuwich's *View of Venice*, Breydenbach paints a scene of the city that demonstrates the strength and grandeur of the Venetian Empire. Breydenbach's speech of commendation includes a description of the city's busy shipyards, which are ready to respond to military threat and demonstrate the reach of the city's trading empire. According to the text, the virtue and piety of Venice is directly related to its role as a protector of Christian interests. The framing of Venice as the ultimate Christian power, unsurpassed by the pope or the Holy Roman Emperor, is contrasted strongly with the later passages describing and condemning the proliferation of heresies in the Holy Land.⁶¹

From Fabri's quote with its emphasis on the physical splendors of Venice, we can see that the line between pilgrimage and tourism has become blurred. Since both types of travel are about transformation, it is perhaps not surprising that there is visual and textual slippage. The knowledge gained from crossing cultural and geographical boundaries often leads to self-transformation, which corresponds to the idea behind pilgrimage: spiritual transformation. For both tourism and pilgrimage, a "there" with desired goods (whether material or spiritual) must be

there. Contrasted against the orthodoxy of Western Christianity, Breydenbach saw a connection between the heresies of Islam, Judaism, and Eastern Christianity. Within Eastern Christianity Breydenbach included: Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Georgians, and Ethiopians. See Elizabeth Ross (67-69).

⁶⁰ Moore, "The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture," 199.

⁶¹ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 65-67.

constructed in order to differentiate from the “here.”⁶² For Breydenbach and Fabri, the journey was a method of research, and their own experiences and observations were a respectable source.⁶³

In the mapping impulse of Reuwich and in the guidebooks of Fabri and Breydenbach, there is a desire to reach immortality through association with a timeless heritage.⁶⁴ In the *Peregrinatio*, Jerusalem and in particular the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon exist outside an individual’s lifetime; therefore, through this association, Breydenbach and Reuwich were placing themselves within the chain of replicas associated with this sacred site. Through the medium of print, Breydenbach was able to offer this self-transformation to a European audience, and through this tangible medium, allow the viewer a tactile way to access the Jerusalem of the mind’s eye.⁶⁵

Reuwich drew on many sources to create the *Map of the Holy Land*. The map stretched from Damascus to Alexandria and the Nile Delta, and moving back in space, Reuwich included the Red Sea. However, Reuwich collapsed the Arabian Peninsula and depicted the single site of Mecca. Both Breydenbach and Fabri mention the importance of the hajj; however, their texts conflate Mecca and Medina, “naming Mecca as the destination of the hajj, and then incorrectly understanding the focus of the pilgrimage as the tomb of Muhammad (which lies at Medina)”

⁶² Badone, “Crossing Boundaries: Exploring the Borderlands of Ethnography, Tourism, and Pilgrimage,” 182.

⁶³ Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 15.

⁶⁴ The term, “mapping impulse,” is derived from Svetlana Alpers. In Chapter 4 of her work, Alpers traces the rise of mapping and picturing in Northern European visual culture. She demonstrates that in Netherlandish art there was a long tradition of viewing maps as paintings with their own pictorial presence, and maps were often used as wall-hangings. Svetlana Alpers, *The Dutch Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 119-121; Badone, “Crossing Boundaries: Exploring the Borderlands of Ethnography, Tourism, and Pilgrimage,” 184.

⁶⁵ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 1.

[Fig. 7]. After the focal point of Jerusalem [Fig. 1], the eye goes immediately to the oversized ship placed before the port of Jaffa [Fig. 8]. Since pilgrims disembarked from Jaffa before proceeding to Jerusalem, the change in scale was undoubtedly deliberate on Reuwich's part.

Visually, the entire map is united not only by the water that runs along the base of the image, but also by the mountain ranges that rise behind the eastern Levant, Jerusalem, Sinai, and Egypt. Breydenbach divided the guidebook into two sections, and the journey to Saint Catherine's Monastery and Alexandria took up the second half of the account. Since this movement took the pilgrimage party out of the realm of older maps of the Holy Land, Reuwich drew on portolan charts to create these composite views.⁶⁶ The treatment of space within the map changes depending on the subject matter, and this was due to a compilation of *mappae mundi* and portolan charts. The treatment of space seen in *The View of Jerusalem* aligns with the way Jerusalem was conceived in *mappae mundi*. Moving to the peripheries, space is both flattened and abstracted, and this is due to the visual dichotomies found in portolan charts.⁶⁷

2.2 Mainz: Printing Crusade & Print Culture

The guidebook was created against the backdrop of Christian anxiety over the growing power of Islam in the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe. In 1453, Constantinople fell to the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed II (r. 1444-46 & 1451-1481), and the Catholic West had never forgotten the loss of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 to the Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din (r. 1174-

⁶⁶ Ross states: "References to portolans by pilgrims are not common, and the evidence of Reuwich's detailed access to such charts arises around two clusters of toponyms along the coasts of Egypt at the Nile Delta and the Red Sea. His source must have extended as far as the most extensive examples of the genre, at least as far as the western lip of Arabia. Portolan charts collected observations about the shape of the coast and relationships of distance and direction—information from pilots for pilots, and their production and use centered in the Mediterranean ports of Spain and Italy. They were as much a novelty in northern Europe in 1486 as any of Reuwich's other imports." Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 121.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 119-127.

93).⁶⁸ Since the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the papacy had tried to inspire war, and finally due to Ottoman seizure of Venetian territories, the Republic of Venice declared war in 1463. After the fall of the colony of Negroponte (Euboea) to the Ottomans, an uneasy peace was declared in 1479.⁶⁹ In the opening of the text, Breydenbach makes clear the guidebook was made to inspire pilgrimage and spur the pious to crusade.⁷⁰ With this information in mind, I argue that the *Map of the Holy Land* must also be understood within the context of post-Crusader images of the Holy Land and as a response to the perceived threat presented by the Ottoman Empire.

Originally printed in Latin, the *Peregrinatio* was quickly translated into the vernacular. In 1486 and 1488, the text was published in German and Dutch. Before 1500, the text could be found in Czech, French, and Spanish translations, which demonstrates that the guidebook circulated widely and was not solely reserved for an elite audience.⁷¹ Drawing from my research at the Morgan Library & Museum, I am primarily focusing on the edition published on 21 June 1486. This edition is comprised of 164 leaves, containing eighteen woodcuts and seven fold-out topographical views. In this edition, Reuwich added his own printer's mark. Blurring the lines between ethnography and pilgrimage, Reuwich also added six renderings of peoples of the Holy Land with seven charts containing their alphabets. Depending on the edition, the format of the guidebook changed. For example in the third edition (printed by Anton Sorg in Augsburg on 22 April 1488), the guidebook contains only eight woodcuts. There are no fold-out topographical views, so the images are modified. Additionally, this edition is missing the elaborate frontispiece

⁶⁸ Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008), 56.

⁶⁹ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 57.

⁷⁰ Moore, "The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture," 199.

⁷¹ *Supra*, 3.

found in the Mainz edition and the alphabet charts. The reconfiguration of the Augsburg edition points to the cost of production and places a greater emphasis on the text of the guidebook.

From the establishment of the medium of print, Mainz was a center for both printing and disseminating crusader propaganda,⁷² and Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* emerged from this environment. In the late fifteenth century, Mainz was an important episcopal see in the Holy Roman Empire. Mainz was governed by the Archbishop of the diocese, who was also one of the Electoral Dukes of the empire. Additionally, the Archbishop acted as the Arch-Chancellor of the Reich, and he presided over the meetings of the Assembly. Because of this, the printing press in Mainz had a particularly important role in disseminating official decisions and decrees, which before the advent of print, had to be copied by hand in the chanceries. While the "early printing press was free and it stood or fell with its economic success or failure," it is clear from the types of publications emerging from the press at Mainz that it was closely tied to both church and state. The press was run by Peter Schoeffer, a pioneer book designer and printer, who primarily published for the church and the university (the press was inherited from Gutenberg). The Catholic church quickly recognized that the printing press could be used as a powerful tool to spread anti-Islamic propaganda and to demonstrate the West's technical superiority. From 1461-1490, the press in Mainz printed sixty documents directly dealing with the threat of the Ottomans, and these documents framed the Turks as threats to Western Christian culture and religion.⁷³

⁷² Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 58.

⁷³ Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz*, (Rochester, N.Y.: The Printing House of Leo Hart, 1950), 69-79; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 14.

The Mainz archdiocese gained most of its income from printing and selling indulgences. Responding to the threat to Constantinople, a papal legate of 1452 authorized the printing of thousands of indulgences by the Mainz press, which ostensibly would result in funding a crusade against the Ottomans. *An Admonition to Christendom against the Turks*, a text written in the German vernacular and printed in the workshop of Johann Gutenberg (1454), bears many similarities to passages from the *Peregrinatio*, and, along with the papal legate, shows how early Mainz started its printed campaign of crusade against the Ottomans.⁷⁴

It should be noted that the printing press was used differently in the Ottoman Empire, and there was a socioeconomic aspect to the opposition to the printing press. Thousands of scribes and painters made their living from manuscript production, and the printing press would have left them unemployed.⁷⁵ However, as early as 1493 in Istanbul, religious minorities (in this case Sephardic Jews) were allowed set up their own presses—as long as the presses did not produce anything in Arabic script. In the West, leaders of the Church actively encouraged the printing of missals, psalters, and other sacred texts in order to efficiently replicate the writings of church fathers; after all, the Bible was the first major work to be printed by a European press. On the other hand, the Ottomans took active steps to ban printing in the Arabic script.⁷⁶ These prohibitions remained in place for three centuries, and the Qur'an continued to be copied by hand.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 46-47 and 58.

⁷⁵ M. Şükrü. Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 3.

⁷⁶ Metin Coşgel, Thomas J. Miceli, and Jared Rubin, “The Political Economy of Mass Printing: Legitimacy and Technological Change in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Journal of Comparative Economics* 40 (2012): 363.

⁷⁷ *Supra*, 14.

Returning to Kathryne Beebe's concept of the emerging "piety of place" and the construction of the portability of Jerusalem, it is easy to see that Mainz was an optimal place for the creation of a book like the *Peregrinatio*. Mainz was a center for print culture; it had a long history of printing and selling crusade; and the city had close connections to papal authority, the Holy Roman Empire, and it had a vested interest in regaining control of Jerusalem. While relying on the authority of eye-witness, Reuwich's visual construction of Jerusalem [Fig. 4] was not meant to depict a contemporary Mamluk city. Admittedly, Reuwich carefully showed Mamluk architecture in the cityscape; however, the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon is the focal point of the view. And this Islamic, Umayyad structure was deliberately renamed by the artist, which situates Jerusalem outside time, and definitively makes the claim that Jerusalem remains a Christian city, which fits into a long history of post-Crusader images of Jerusalem and the Holy Land.⁷⁸ What sets Breydenbach's text apart from other pilgrimage accounts is his use of the authority of eyewitness. Through the use of an artist's eyewitness views, Breydenbach increased his credibility and the status of his guidebook.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Printed in Nuremberg in 1493, Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (*The Nuremberg Chronicle*) is another example of a city using the medium of print to link itself to Jerusalem. During this period, the citizens of Nuremberg were asserting the primacy of their city as the New Jerusalem and the symbolic center of imperial Germany. While the *Liber Chronicarum* is a history of the world rather than a pilgrimage guidebook, it frames history as a series of displacements, and it traces a direct line from Jerusalem to Rome, and finally to Nuremberg. Like the *Peregrinatio*, the *Liber Chronicarum* has a topographical view of Jerusalem, and demonstrates the city's centrality to biblical and Roman history. The woodcut showing the destruction of Jerusalem by Michael Wolgemut perhaps most closely resembles Reuwich's construction of the city (in particular, Reuwich's depiction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre). See Moore, "The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture," for a developed discussion of this topic, 205-208.

⁷⁹ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book* 46-47.

Chapter 3: Substitution

*To perceive an artifact in substitutional terms was to understand it as belonging to more than one historical moment simultaneously. The artifact was connected to its unknowable point of origin by an unreconstructible chain of replicas.*⁸⁰

—Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood

3.1 Icon: Sacred Land, Sacred Temple in the Form of a Woodcut

Within the map, the city of Jerusalem is conceived in a spatially dissimilar way when compared to the peripheries [Fig. 1]. Presented with a bird's-eye view, the viewer is spatially separated from the land by the Mediterranean Sea, which seems to hold up the sacred space as a visual offering. Drawing on an older tradition of maps of Jerusalem, Reuwich also shows the city as circular [Fig. 4]. While Jerusalem is the focal point of the woodcut, within Jerusalem, the Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock dominate the picture plane. Above the roof of the ambulatory of the Dome of the Rock, the label, "*Temple of Solomon*,"⁸¹ indicates to the Christian audience that this building should function in a Christian context. By labeling the structure the Temple of Solomon, Reuwich evades the Islamic religious and architectural function of the building and instead creates a clear link back to a Biblical source. Reuwich offers a detailed view of the Temple Mount and seems to have paid particular attention to the placement of identifiable architectural monuments. To the left of the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount, the al-Aqsa Mosque is distinctly rendered, and Reuwich made sure to include all the sites that would be useful for a pilgrim. At the top left of [Fig. 4], there is the Chapel of the Ascension and Mount

⁸⁰ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 30.

⁸¹ Pamela C. Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple: The Dome of the Rock as Image of the Ancient Jewish Sanctuary*, 1st ed., (Studies in Religion and the Arts, Volume 5. Leiden: Brill, 2012), 154.

Sion. On the right of [Fig. 4] in the maze of buildings, the pilgrim would have been able to find the Via Dolorosa, the site of the stoning of Saint Stephen, and the Ecce Homo Arch.⁸²

The Northern European impulse to gather information from diverse sources to create a whole can be found in Reuwich's map.⁸³ Besides evidence of this early modern mapping impulse, the reproducibility of the *Map of the Holy Land* in general and Jerusalem in particular seems to indicate that the map was also supposed to function as an icon. The authority of an icon comes from a reference to a sacred past, and for the fifteenth century pilgrim, the topography within the *Map of the Holy Land* would have operated within a replica chain of sacred sites, a way to recall the divine past and bring it to the present. For the purpose of this paper, I argue that the concept of icon can also be applied to Reuwich's woodcut, and that the concept encapsulates more than the familiar understanding of an icon, which is a portrait panel painting. In Greek, the word *eikon* simply means "image." Throughout history, icons can be found across media, on mosaics and on coins. Additionally, icons were mass produced or found in the singular.⁸⁴

Due to the sanctity of the land that the *Map of the Holy Land* was depicting, I contend that the Byzantine definition of an icon can also be applied to a Northern European map. In this case, I follow the work of Gary Vikan who states: "What defined an icon in Byzantium was neither medium or style, but rather how the image was used, and especially, what people believed it to be."⁸⁵ While the description of geography seen in the map is abstracted, the labeling of the sites would have helped the devote Christian navigate the space. Juxtaposed

⁸² Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 145.

⁸³ Ibid, 4; Alpers, *The Dutch Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, 119-168.

⁸⁴ Gary Vikan, "Sacred Image, Sacred Power," in *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World*. Hoffman, Eva R., ed., Blackwell Anthologies in Art History, (Malden/Oxford/Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 135.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 135.

against this, the viewer would have been able to handle the surface of the woodcut. In this way, the medium of print allowed for an imprint of the divine to be replicated in the present.

The genre of the printed devotional image is based on an older history of private devotional images and mass-produced paintings. The concept of the private devotional image began as a painted reproduction of a famous original. This led to private devotional images that varied in size and interpretation from the original. The private devotional image had a long history of use in monasteries, and the introduction of the technique of woodcut allowed for even greater rapidity of replication. The introduction of the medium of print meant that private devotional images in general and Reuwich's map of the Holy Land in particular were no longer tied to a particular place. The original image or relic was tied to a particular place, but private devotional images allowed for greater circulation, and they made their way into everybody's hands.⁸⁶ Regardless of translation, the woodblock of Reuwich's image stayed intact (the Latin labels are on all the later editions of the map), and I argue that this ties together the idea of the private devotional image and Reuwich's printed map.

In a more general sense, Jerusalem was seen as the site of memories and transformation, and images would be increasingly useful in negotiating the space of this transformation, which is why Reuwich's woodcut is particularly interesting. The substitution model allowed the image of the Temple of Solomon to act as a mediator between the Christian pilgrim and God,⁸⁷ and the idea of virtual pilgrimage is contained in the form of the guidebook. If Reuwich's woodcut could capture the essence of Jerusalem, then the guidebook could bring the sacred site to Europe. In

⁸⁶ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, translated by Edmund Jephcott, (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 425.

⁸⁷ Pnina Arad, "Memory, Identity and Aspiration: Early Modern Jewish Maps of the Promised Land," *Imago Mundi*, The International Journal for the History of Cartography, 69, no. 1 (2016): 276.

this way, Reuwich's map of the Holy Land works on multiple levels: it situates the viewer between past and present, and the labeling of the important pilgrimage sites allows the pilgrim to visually and physically recapture Old and New Testament events and holy places. According to Pnina Arad, "Pilgrims always thought of the geography of the Holy Land as both evidence and memory. In their view, the sacred events had left an imprint on the physical space of the land and altered it forever."⁸⁸ In other words, the landscape of the Holy Land, and the image representing the space could work as an icon. By representing the original topography, the map copied the form of the land and reproduced the sacred.⁸⁹ The very nature of the guidebook—its portability—allowed the Holy Land to cross geographical and cultural boundaries.

Looking across the Kedron Valley from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount offers perhaps the closest physical view to Reuwich's *View of Jerusalem* [Fig. 9]; however, even in this case, Reuwich reconfigured the physical landscape to accommodate the narrative of ownership and pilgrimage. Reuwich represented the Holy Land from the west, with the shoreline of the Mediterranean running along the lower portion of the print, but the city is shown from the east. This allowed Reuwich to include the eastern Golden Gate and turn the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre toward the viewer and make it legible. The Golden Gate holds great significance for both Christians and Jews. Within the Jewish context, it is believed that the Messiah will enter through this gate, and it is referred to as the Gate of Mercy.⁹⁰ For Christians, it is the purported meeting place of Joachim and Anna, and the gate through which Jesus entered

⁸⁸ Arad, "Memory, Identity and Aspiration: Early Modern Jewish Maps of the Promised Land," 268.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 272-74.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 261.

the city six days before his Passion.⁹¹ Therefore, it is unsurprising that Reuwich would position the city in such a way that the Golden Gate would be visible. Since the square walls built by the Romans still define the city and would have also done so during the late fifteenth century,⁹² Reuwich's depiction of the circular walls of Jerusalem was deliberate. Additionally, while placing the Dome of the Rock within a Christian context,⁹³ Reuwich also made sure to include minarets and mosques in the cityscape.⁹⁴ Behind the Dome of the Rock on the right, the bell tower of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre rises above the minaret of the Mosque of Umar ibn al-Khattab while the Salahiyya Minaret flanks the church's right side, both shown in a distinctly Mamluk style. Pilgrims would have been aware of the importance of minarets within Islam,⁹⁵ and this inclusion on Reuwich's part seems religiously and politically charged.

3.2 The Dome of the Rock as the Temple

Within scholarship, the most discussed aspect of Reuwich's map is the *View of Jerusalem* and the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon [Fig. 4]. The site of Solomon's Temple has religious importance for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. For Jews, the successive Temples acted for the Hebrew people as a site of worship and a way to access their glorious past. The site functioned as a cosmic center and a way to activate God's divinity.⁹⁶ In a Christian context, Christ taught within the Temple precincts. For Muslims, the Temple Mount was first associated

⁹¹ Robert Schick, "Christian Identification of Muslim Buildings in Medieval Jerusalem," *Jerusalem as Narrative Space*. Hoffmann, Annette, and Gerhard Wolf, eds., (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 373.

⁹² Oleg Grabar, *Jerusalem*, (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate/Variorum, 2005), 193-194.

⁹³ Since the Dome of the Rock functioned in various ways for each major religion (Jewish, Christian, and Muslim), I use the term, "Christian context," to differentiate the building's function from an Islamic context or a Jewish context.

⁹⁴ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 145.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 145.

⁹⁶ William J. Hamblin, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History*, 1st ed., (London/New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 58.

with Solomonic rule, and later understood as the site where the Prophet ascended to heaven during his night journey.⁹⁷ In 70 CE, the Romans destroyed the third and final Temple built by Herod the Great (r. 40-4 BCE). Scriptural sources give the dimensions of the Temple as oblong, and the Jewish historian Josephus (37-100 CE) wrote a detailed description of Herod's Temple, its ritual significance, and destruction by the Romans, and his writings were well known to medieval Christians.⁹⁸ However, due to the biblical sanctity of the site and the memory of the ritual function of the Dome of the Rock as a church during the Crusader period,⁹⁹ within the Christian context, the Dome of the Rock stood for Solomon's Temple.

It was partly due to the use of the Dome of the Rock as a church that spurred the Muslims to a counter-crusade. During the Crusader period, the interior of the Dome of the Rock contained an altar, paintings, and the rock was surrounded by an iron grill and covered with a slab. The crusaders placed a cross on a globe above the dome and dedicated the structure to the Virgin.¹⁰⁰ By 1187, Salah al-Din's preacher had "purified" the Temple Mount with rosewater. The Haram

⁹⁷ Carol Herselle Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 1.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁹ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 66.

¹⁰⁰ *Supra*, 4.

al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary) was given new layers of meaning within Islam, and Christians were no longer allowed to worship at this site [Fig. 10].¹⁰¹

Built by the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik (r. 685-705), the Dome of the Rock was part of a larger plan to sanctify Jerusalem in a specifically Islamic way [Fig. 11]. The Umayyads located the Dome of the Rock in the center of the former Temple precinct, located atop Mount Moriah. The Umayyad dynasty was also most likely trying to establish a link to Solomonic kingship through this structure.¹⁰² The architectural sources of the Dome of the Rock were most likely local Christian structures; however, the Dome of the Rock was constructed to visually transmit an anti-Trinitarian statement. The Umayyads designed this monument to surpass the Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from which it drew architecturally, and to express the Islamic rejection of the divinity of Christ and the role of Mary as the “God Bearer.”¹⁰³ Visually, the structure of the Dome of the Rock consists of a square core, and this is surmounted by a gilded dome. Before 1552, most of the exterior of the structure was covered in gold;

¹⁰¹ Necipoğlu states: “in a well-known sermon delivered during the first Friday prayer held at the Aqsa Mosque, Salah al-Din’s preacher cited *fadā’il* traditions identifying the sanctuary as the site of the Prophet’s Night Journey-*cum*-Ascension, the first qibla, and the gathering of humankind on Judgment Day. He defined the sanctuary’s official status in terms of three honorary epithets, in descending hierarchical order, which would continue to have currency under Mamluk and Ottoman rule: “the first of the two qiblas” (*ūlā al-qiblatayn*, i.e., Jerusalem followed by Mecca); “the second of the two places of worship [created on earth]” (*thānī al-masjidayn*, i.e. Mecca followed by Jerusalem); and “the third [place of pilgrimage] after the two Harams” (*thālith al-haramayn*, i.e., Mecca and Medina followed by Jerusalem). Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ‘Abd al Malik’s Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman’s Glosses,” 56 (50-60).

¹⁰² Finbarr Barry Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture*, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2001), 83-88.

¹⁰³ Rina Avner, “The Dome of the Rock in Light of the Development of Concentric Martyria in Jerusalem: Architecture and Architectural Iconography,” *Brill*, Muqarnas, 27 (2010): 31-49.

however, Suleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566) replaced the gold covering with the faience decorative tiles still seen today on the building.¹⁰⁴

The Mamluk dynasties ruled the Holy Land from Cairo from 1249-1517, and their impact on Jerusalem is often overlooked in comparison to the later contributions of the Ottomans. Jerusalem was a provincial town within the Mamluk Empire, with a population of about 5,000-10,000 people. However, Jerusalem was also an important religious site and pilgrimage destination. The Mamluk's building projects still shape the city's built environment and demonstrate Jerusalem's sacred status.¹⁰⁵ During the period of Ayyubid and Mamluk control of Jerusalem, one crucial Islamic tradition was solidified, based on interpretations of the Qur'an and different hadiths of the Prophet. This was the tradition identifying Jerusalem as the site of the *al-Masjid al-Aqsā* (Furthest Mosque) that Muhammad visited during the *Isrā* (Night Journey). According to the Qur'an: "Praise be to Him who travelled by night with His servant from the Masjid al-Haram to the Masjid al-Aqsa, whose surroundings we blest in order to show him Our signs" (Qur'an, Sūra xvii, v.1).¹⁰⁶ The *Mi'raj* manuscript painting discussed earlier [Fig. 3] shows Muhammad accurately recalling and recounting his journey, and visually demonstrates the tradition that identified Jerusalem as the starting point of Muhammad's ascension to heaven. Originally, the entire Haram complex [Fig. 10] was referred to as the Masjid al-Aqsa, since this is where the original Temple stood. However, over time, the Friday Mosque, which stands on the south edge of the Haram complex, took on that name. Starting as early as the late ninth century,

¹⁰⁴ Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," 3-5.

¹⁰⁵ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 143-144.

¹⁰⁶ Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*, (Essex: Scorpio Publishing Ltd, 1987), 58.

these complicated traditions were gathered into a series of works called the *Fada'il al-Quds* ('The Merits of Jerusalem').¹⁰⁷

Within the woodcut [Fig. 4], Reuwich labeled the Dome of the Rock the "*Temple of Solomon*." This naming of the structure fits within a Christian construct of Jerusalem and was undoubtedly referencing religious and political anxiety over the loss of this space to Islam. Before the monument functioned in any other way, the Dome of the Rock substituted for the preceding Temple structures.¹⁰⁸ While Jerusalem is the focal point of the map, within Jerusalem, the Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock dominate the picture plane. The label, the "*Temple of Solomon*,"¹⁰⁹ indicates to the Christian audience that this building should function as both Solomon's First Temple and as the Celestial Temple found in the New Testament.¹¹⁰

According to John Guillory, "Remediation makes the medium as such *visible*."¹¹¹ When one material form is transposed transmedially, it becomes easier to see what the medium does.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Burgoyne, 58-59. See Michael Hamilton Burgoyne for an architectural study of Jerusalem under the Mamluks. Due to Burgoyne's exhaustive survey and study, it is possible to identify the Mamluk architecture in Reuwich's map. *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*, (Essex: Scorpio Publishing Ltd, 1987); Robert Hillenbrand, "Medieval Muslim Veneration of the Dome of the Rock," in *Tomb and Temple: Re-Imagining the Sacred Buildings of Jerusalem*, Griffith-Jones, Robin, and Eric Fernie, eds., (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2018), 126-129. See Hillenbrand for a recent publication concerning the role of the Dome of the Rock for medieval Muslims. The focus of the chapter is summed up by Hillenbrand, "...given the huge literature on the Dome of the Rock as a building and as a speaking symbol at the time of its completion in 691-692, it is curious that scholars have devoted so much less attention to how it functioned thereafter" (125). In Chapter 5 of her book, Elizabeth Ross identifies and discusses the Mamluk architecture found in Reuwich's map. *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 141-156.

¹⁰⁸ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 64-67.

¹⁰⁹ Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple: The Dome of the Rock as Image of the Ancient Jewish Sanctuary*, 154.

¹¹⁰ Hamblin, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History*, 96.

¹¹¹ John Guillory, "Genesis of the Media Concept." *Critical Inquiry* 36, no. 2 (Winter 2010): 324.

¹¹² *Ibid*, 324.

In line with a long tradition of depicting circular Temples, Reuwich's Temple of Solomon goes against the scriptural sources. In both 1 Kings 6 and in Ezekiel 40, the dimensions of the Temple are given. During the Middle Ages, these passages were heavily commented on, and the form of the basilica church and every synagogue in some way recalls this biblical archetype. However, thinking of the Dome of the Rock in substitutional terms, Reuwich's woodcut is able to access the historical and religious sanctity of Solomon's Temple. For Christians handling the surface of Reuwich's work, the Temple in the center of the map does not represent an Islamic structure, but through the Islamic structure, they are able to access the Temple.¹¹³

3.3 The Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Within a discussion of Jerusalem and Breydenbach's guidebook, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is another important building that must be mentioned. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was originally built in the fourth century by the Emperor Constantine, but was destroyed in 1009 by the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (d. 1021).¹¹⁴ Before the construction of the Dome of the Rock, many sacred traditions associated with the Temple of Solomon were transferred to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹¹⁵ The structure that Reuwich saw in the late fifteenth century was not the original Constantinian basilica. The Fatimid caliph oversaw the building of a mosque that obscured the site of the entrance to the original Constantinian basilica. This resulted in the Christians using a subsidiary entrance from the south, and the church finished in 1048 reflects the forced reorientation of the structure. Due to the surrounding

¹¹³ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 64-65.

¹¹⁴ Benjamin Keder, "Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templar," in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays in Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001), 60 (59-69).

¹¹⁵ Hamblin, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History*, 105-106.

buildings, the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is visually obscured, and this obscurity might have also contributed to the centrality of the Dome of the Rock in depictions of Jerusalem.

In Reuwich's rendering of the church [Fig. 12], the bell tower on the left of the main façade is raised and embellished, which contrasts with the form of the structure seen today [Fig. 13]. Additionally, in the print, the dome has been elevated to offer greater visual coherence and grandeur. In the late fifteenth century, as shown in Reuwich's woodcut, pilgrims saw the distinctive south façade with its double-arched portals and the raised bell tower, which dated from the reconstruction of 1048. In 1545 and 1719-20, the medieval tower sustained damage, so pilgrims can no longer see the tower's full height, including the dome and upper stories. After the fall of the Latin Kingdom, Christians were allowed to continue worshipping at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but the keys to the structure were placed into the hands of a Muslim family.¹¹⁶

Typically, in pilgrim accounts dating to the second half of the fifteenth century, the author draws comparisons between their local church and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Usually this comparison was based off of a single architectural feature.¹¹⁷ This recalls once again the idea of substitution. For the medieval and early modern pilgrim, the form of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre acted as a token or type. Therefore, the church could take up "multiple residencies in time." For pilgrims recounting their experience at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, their native churches "were understood as reinstatiations, through typological association, of prior structures."¹¹⁸ Interestingly, in his guidebook, the Dominican Felix Fabri directly references Reuwich's woodcut: "If anyone wishes to see the form of this church, let him

¹¹⁶ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 154-155.

¹¹⁷ Moore, "The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture," 196-197.

¹¹⁸ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 29.

look at the ‘Pilgrimage’ written by ... Lord Bernhard de Braitenbach ... where he will be able to see its image drawn clearly as if he were standing in the courtyard and beholding it with his eyes.”¹¹⁹ Both Reuwich’s woodcut and Fabri’s recounting prioritize the pilgrim’s point of view, and once again both sources emphasize autoptic authority.

¹¹⁹ Moore, “The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture,” 197.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Images are not just a particular kind of sign but something like an actor on the historical stage, a presence or character endowed with legendary status, a history that parallels and participates in the stories we tell ourselves about our own evolution from creatures “made in the image” of a creator, to creatures who make themselves and their world in their own image.¹²⁰

—W. J. T. Mitchell

4.1 The Many Temporalities of a Work of Art

Throughout the Renaissance and into the eighteenth century, Reuwich’s woodcut was copied across media. Two later copperplates referencing Reuwich’s work [Figs. 14 & 15] demonstrate that the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon was still in circulation as a powerful idea in the seventeenth century.¹²¹ Space is dealt with in a similar way in Reuwich’s woodcut and in these later views of Jerusalem. As in Reuwich’s woodcut, both prints share the visual relationship between the Dome of the Rock, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Golden Gate.

These examples are not introduced to act as case studies, but rather to show the continued influence of Reuwich’s woodcut in early modern print culture. While I argue that Reuwich’s print can be understood as existing between the two understandings of image-theory, these prints function in a slightly different way. These views of Jerusalem cannot be thought of as icons or containers of the sacred, and they do not come from pilgrimage guidebooks. However, these images do demonstrate the idea of the portability of Jerusalem (the importance of Jerusalem’s

¹²⁰ W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 9.

¹²¹ Copperplates found within Loar, Eran, ed., *Maps of the Holy Land: Cartobibliography of Printed Maps 1475-1900: Based on the Eran Laor Collection at the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem*, (New York/Amsterdam: Alan R. Liss, Inc. and Meridian Publishing Co., 1986), 148-149, 154-155.

circulation in early modern Europe), and by referencing Reuwich's round Temple, these prints can be thought of as distant recollections of the replica chain or substitution model.

The works of the Venetian painter Vittore Carpaccio are perhaps the most well-known examples from the Renaissance that show a direct visual reference to Reuwich's woodcut. The link is unmistakable between Reuwich's Temple of Solomon, and the hexagonal structure painted by Carpaccio in *The Triumph of Saint George* [Fig. 16].¹²² I use Carpaccio's work to demonstrate the ways in which the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon moved across media. I argue that the Dome of the Rock can be thought of as participating in the process of transition to Reuwich's printed Temple of Solomon, and to Carpaccio's Temple; therefore, the building remains as a presence in the final medium of the painting. The continual reference to the *View of Jerusalem* across media in the early modern period demonstrates that this work was viewed as an authoritative reference point.¹²³

Like the text and the woodcuts from the *Peregrinatio*, Carpaccio's work was also politically charged. In the late fifteenth century, Ottoman advances continued to erode Venetian territories. In 1499, the fortresses of Modone and Corone fell to the Ottomans, and the war of 1499-1502 was the culmination of Venetian and Ottoman antagonism. From this context, the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (Confraternity of St. George of the Slavs) commissioned Carpaccio to create a series of paintings relating to the life of Saint George. The members of the confraternity were active in the various battles against the Ottomans; in particular, they aided in the defense of Rhodes in 1480 [Fig. 5]. Carpaccio started the series in 1502, and he depicted

¹²² For a further discussion of Carpaccio and Reuwich see David R Marshall, "Carpaccio, Saint Stephen, and the Topography of Jerusalem," *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 4 (1984): 610-20.

¹²³ Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book*, 84.

Saint George as the paradigmatic crusader in a contemporary setting.¹²⁴ Looking at Carpaccio's painting, it is clear that he not only drew on Reuwich's depiction of the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon; the tower in the background of the painting also bears a striking resemblance to the bell tower of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre depicted by Reuwich [Fig. 12]. For Carpaccio, the central depiction of the Temple of Solomon serves as a backdrop for the triumph of Saint George. In elaborate armor, the saint is shown as the quintessential champion of Christianity and a slayer of heresy. Thinking transmedially, the Islamic structure of the Dome of the Rock has been reframed in relation to the triumph of a Christian saint. It can also be argued that once again this painting points to "an imagined Christian possession of Jerusalem," but in this case, the depiction is "within Venice's own sacred landscape."¹²⁵

The *Map of the Holy Land* not only circulated Europe within the Christian context. Sources show that Jewish communities were also aware of the *Peregrinatio*. Even after the destruction of the Temple, the site continued to play an integral role in Jewish devotional practices, both in Palestine and in the diaspora.¹²⁶ The spiritual and devotional role of the Temple remained active through memory; however, despite the Temple's central role in Jewish consciousness, a unified pictorial representation of the structure never developed.¹²⁷ Rather than visual accuracy, the symbolism of the site mattered. A Messianic depiction of the Temple from the Venice *Haggadah* (1609) demonstrates one of the ways that the Temple was envisioned; in

¹²⁴ Moore, "The Conspicuous Nobility of Dedication to Holy Land Architecture," 200.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 200-201.

¹²⁶ Hamblin, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History*, 67.

¹²⁷ Shalom Sabar, "Messianic Aspirations and Renaissance Urban Ideals: The Image of Jerusalem in the Venice Haggadah, 1609," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art; Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Bianca Kühnel, 294-312, *Journal of Jewish Art*, 23/24, (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Center for Jewish Art, 1998), 295.

this case, the Temple acts as an emblem [Fig. 17].¹²⁸ Similarly to Reuwich's rendering of the walls of Jerusalem, the walls shown here are hexagonal in shape. But it is the central structure of the Temple that makes the relationship to Reuwich's woodcut clear. *Messianic Jerusalem* [Fig. 17] shows Elijah the prophet leading the Messiah, who is depicted riding a donkey, toward the Gate of Mercy. From the hills surrounding the walled city, the Jewish people return from diaspora. This particular imagery was not typical of Italian Jewish art. It originated in Northern Germany and eventually spread to Italy. Earlier uses of the emblem of Jerusalem were accompanied by texts calling for revenge against the Gentiles; however, here the text has changed.¹²⁹¹³⁰ This particular woodcut was made to illustrate a liturgical poem concerning the entrance of the Messiah into Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple.¹³¹

Since it depicted a Temple that had yet to be built, the central plan of the Temple seen in *Messianic Jerusalem* was acceptable within the Jewish context. This perhaps also had to do with the multifaceted way that Jews viewed the actual structure of the Dome of the Rock. When the Umayyads first entered Jerusalem in 638, the Jewish community viewed them in a favorable light. The hope was that these new conquerors would free the Jewish people from the oppressive Byzantine rule. At first, the Arab shrine built on the Temple Mount was viewed in apocalyptic terms, and until the eighth century, Jews were allowed to worship on the Temple Mount. However, as Islam and Judaism began to drift further apart, the Dome of the Rock was viewed "as a rival alternative."¹³² Perhaps then, the circular Temple seen in the Venice *Haggadah* can

¹²⁸ Arad, "Memory, Identity and Aspiration," 61.

¹²⁹ Sabar, "Messianic Aspirations and Renaissance Urban Ideals: The Image of Jerusalem in the Venice Haggadah, 1609," 298.

¹³⁰ For a discussion of the replica chain of images between this woodcut and Reuwich's *View of Jerusalem* see Arad, "Memory, Identity and Aspiration" 52–72.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 62.

¹³² Hamblin, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History*, 79-80.

also be viewed as a way to reclaim a sacred space that was lost. The Jews living in Venice during the early seventeenth century were not able to physically worship at the sacred site on the Temple Mount, but through the medium of print and the emblematic use of Jerusalem, the sacred space was transported to Europe.

4.2 Jerusalem: The Nature of an Image & the Power of Print

The bestselling status of the *Peregrinatio* demonstrates that Breydenbach's account was viewed as an authoritative source. The real and virtual pilgrim looked for a past, but it was a past comprised of singular events, monuments, epiphanies, and incarnations. As stated by Mary Campbell in reference to pilgrimage accounts, "Places are referred to as "witnesses" of those events and people, and pilgrims in turn are witnesses of those places seen *as* events."¹³³ When this is applied to Reuwich's work, it is clear that labeling the identifiable sites in the *Map of the Holy Land* solidified the image as a "witness." The idea of the map as "witness" supports the analysis of the woodcut-as-icon. From the point of view of a devotional image, the icon becomes what it portrays, and in effect transparent. It is transformed into a "window" or 'door' *through* which the worshipper gains access to sanctity."¹³⁴

The composition and technical skill needed to create the *Map of the Holy Land* also points to Reuwich's virtuosity as an artist and printer. The early modern viewer of the *Peregrinatio* would have appreciated the technical skill needed to produce the woodcuts, which would have increased the value of the work. The woodcuts in the *Peregrinatio* were created at a time when printing was used to demonstrate inventiveness. While the *Peregrinatio* did not remain solely in the hands of the upper classes, it is clear that Breydenbach intended it to be for

¹³³ Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 18-19.

¹³⁴ Vikan, "Sacred Image, Sacred Power," in *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World*, 136-135.

such an audience. Reuwich was working at a time when the medium of print began to compete with panel painting; the technical skill needed to create the *Peregrinatio*'s woodcuts shows that the images were presented as a sophisticated alternative to panel painting.¹³⁵

The early modern period saw a growing interest in the natural world, and in the case of the *Peregrinatio*'s woodcuts, this interest is combined with the medieval practice of affective piety. Reuwich's labels and identifications of sacred sites encourages the viewer to see a Christian land, but a Christian land through *his* eyes.¹³⁶ The continued popularity of Reuwich's map as a reference point in early modern renderings of Jerusalem points to its situation between the two understandings of image-making. While the *Map of the Holy Land* gained authority through a medieval understanding of substitutions in relation to artifacts, neither Reuwich nor Breydenbach framed the work as appearing without human intervention. In fact, it was the idea of autoptic authority and "witness" that gave the guidebook and the woodcuts such authority.

The concept of the portability of Jerusalem is powerful and long-lasting. This is due to the fact that "Christianity is in fact the first Western religion in which the sacred territory is located emphatically Elsewhere."¹³⁷ Therefore, not only must the concept of Jerusalem be portable, but this also contributed to the circulation of physical objects related to the sacred site. Alina Payne makes an important distinction between the terms "portability" and "mobility" that are significant within the framework of the Jerusalem network. While mobility implies "the capacity to move," portability carries the additional concepts of held and carried. Both terms suggest transport; however, portability emphasizes the characteristics of the objects being

¹³⁵ Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, 425-426.

¹³⁶ Beebe, "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Visual Constructions of Jerusalem*, 419.

¹³⁷ Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 18.

moved, while mobility focuses on movement.¹³⁸ While movement is an important aspect to any examination of a pilgrimage account, I have emphasized Jerusalem's portability in order to unpack Breydenbach's account and Reuwich's woodcut. Logically, the built environment of Jerusalem should be too big to be portable. However, I argue that the *Map of the Holy Land* and the *Mi'raj* manuscript painting circumnavigate problems of scale and demonstrate across cultures that Jerusalem was not thought of as contained by its geographical location.

Since Western Christianity's sacred space was located Elsewhere, the pilgrimage account fulfilled an important role in shaping people's ideas and religious observance. The pilgrimage account is significant because the feelings conveyed in the narrative are intensified by distance and cultural alienation. The pilgrimage account also bears witness; it allows access to a sacred space that is geographically difficult and arduous to access. Most Christians never visited the Holy Land, and they had to substitute the experience gained through reading. Or in the case of Reuwich's woodcuts, the devout Christian could reach contemplation of the divine space of biblical events through the tactile interaction with the medium of print.

Throughout its long history, Jerusalem has been shared as a sacred space amongst Jews, Christians, and Muslims. The brief examination of the Ilkhanid manuscript painting allows for the inclusion of a non-Western understanding of the importance of Jerusalem, and its role as a portable city and sacred site. In this paper, I have contextualized Reuwich's *Map of the Holy Land* within a cross-cultural and transmedial framework. I have argued that the central depiction of the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon must be understood within the context of the interstitial space of Jerusalem. The portability of the guidebook allowed the sacred sites of the Holy Land to cross cultural and geographic boundaries, and the central depiction of the structure

¹³⁸ Payne, "Introduction: The Republic of the Sea," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean*, 3.

of the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon cemented the authority of Reuwich's woodcut within the replica chain model.

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