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AN EMBLEM OF SACRED SPACE:  
THE REPRESENTATION OF JERUSALEM  
IN THE FORM OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

In 1656 the Russian Patriarch Nikon built a new monastery on the river Istra near Moscow<sup>1</sup>. The monastery's main church was designed according to the ground plan of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the whole complex had additional chapels commemorating the topography of the holy places in the Holy Land: the Damascus gate in the wall of Jerusalem, the so-called Tower of David, the Bethlehem Nativity chapel, Mount of Olives and Mount Tabor, the Jordan river, and more. Nikon dedicated the entire monastery and its main church to Christ's Resurrection, similar to the dedication of the Anastasis Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre church in Jerusalem. However, from the day of its construction to the present day, the place was referred to by another name, which was preferred by many — the New Jerusalem<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> The selected bibliography for the Russian New Jerusalem: *Зеленская Г. М. Святыни Нового Иерусалима (Zelenskaya G. M. Sacred sites and objects of the New Jerusalem)*, Moscow, 2002 (with early Russian bibliography); *Eadem. Новый Иерусалим — путеводитель (The New Jerusalem — A Guidebook)*, Moscow, 2003; *Faensen H. Patriarch Nikon als Bauherr. Das Kloster Neu-Jerusalem — eine Grabeskopie des 17. Jh. // Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 44 (1991), p. 175–190; *Бусева-Давыдова И. Л. (Buseva-Davydova I. L.) Об идейном замысле «Нового Иерусалима» патриарха Никона // Иерусалим в русской культуре / Eds. A. Batalov, A. Lidov. Moscow, 1994, p. 174–181 (English translation in: Batalov A. and Lidov A. (eds.), *Jerusalem in Russian Culture*, Moscow, 2005); *Ousterhout R. Building the New Jerusalem // Jerozolima w kulturze europejskie. Akten der Tagung 14.–17. Mai 1996 in Warschau (Jerusalem in European Culture) / Eds. P. Paszkiewicz, T. Zadrozny, Warszawa, 1997, p. 143–153; *Bobersky W. Jerusalem in Post-Medieval Russian Architecture // Ibidem*, p. 297–320; *Idem. Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography // Jewish Art*, 23/24 (The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art / Ed. B. Kuhnel) (1997/1998), p. 393–404, esp. p. 402–404; *Kruger J. Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem: Geschichte — Gestalt — Bedeutung. Regensburg, 2000, p. 207, 209.***

This common appellation of the monastery calls for explanation. From a formal point of view the name "Jerusalem" does not suit the main church of the monastery which portrays the Holy Sepulchre (only one of the buildings in Jerusalem which is represented in the Russian monastery), nor does it fit the Holy Land complex, which includes also places outside of Jerusalem. In fact, it seems more plausible to call it "the new Holy Sepulchre", or better "the new Holy Land". So why was the name New Jerusalem chosen, and is it a misnomer?

In this paper I would like to suggest, that this name was not just a one-time slip, but a continuation of a long-established tradition. The representation of Jerusalem in a form of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (or simply the Rotonda of the Anastasis) is known in different versions, in architecture and in two-dimensional representations. I propose that this visual formula is meant to recreate a very special Holy Space and to serve as a spatial icon.

The first time the Holy Sepulchre stood for Jerusalem as a whole, metonymically<sup>3</sup>, was at the very moment of its construction. In his "Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine", Eusebius of Caesarea wrote:

"Thus did the Emperor write [a letter to the bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius, with the order to build the Holy Sepulchre church]. No sooner had he written than the commands were put into effect. New Jerusalem was built at the very Testimony to the Saviour, facing the famous Jerusalem of old, which after the bloody murder of the Lord had been overthrown in utter devastation, and paid the penalty of its wicked inhabitants. Opposite this then the Emperor erected the victory of the Saviour over death with rich and abundant munificence, this being perhaps that fresh new Jerusalem proclaimed in prophetic oracles, about which long speeches recite innumerable praises as they utter words of divine inspiration"<sup>4</sup>.

In this text, Eusebius declares that the New Christian Jerusalem was raised in form of the Holy Sepulchre versus the Old Jewish Jerusalem, which stood at that time in emblematic ruins on the Temple Mount. It is also associated with Jerusalem of the Book of Revelation, which is expected at the end of time after God's Last Judgment. According to Eusebius' interpretation, the divine judgment was already made by punishing those who crucified Christ, i.e. Jews, by destructing their temple in the heart of the Old Jerusalem. Thus, the Holy Sepulchre complex from its beginning was seen by

<sup>3</sup> For metonymy in language and linguistics see e.g.: *Metonymy in Language and Thought* / Eds. K.-U. Panther and G. Radden. Amsterdam, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> *Eusebius of Caesarea. The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine. Book 3, ch. 33* // Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* / Tr. A. Cameron and S. G. Hall. Oxford, 1999, p. 135. On the Holy Sepulchre Church as a successor of the Jewish Temple see: *Ousterhout R. G. The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Savior* // *Gesta*, 29/1 (1990), esp. p. 44; *Wilkinson J. Picturing new Jerusalem* // *Icon and Word* / Ed. A. Eastmond. 2003, p. 105–118, esp. p. 109–112.

those who conceived it as the new Christian Jerusalem filled with multilayered, symbolic meanings.

It is not very clear when the first visual replacement of Jerusalem with its main church appeared. According to the 12th century legend, the San Stefano church in Bologna was built in a form of the Holy Sepulchre and was dedicated to Jerusalem already at the 5th century<sup>5</sup>. But this legend might be a projection of a later reality. In my opinion, it is very likely that in the Early Christian time no tradition existed of replacing Jerusalem by the Holy Sepulchre complex or by one of its components. As long as the Holy Land was in Christian possession, the representations of the Holy Sepulchre stood only for commemorating the holy places within it and they did not embody Jerusalem in general<sup>6</sup>. This can be seen, e.g., on pilgrims' *ampullae* from the Holy Land from the 6th and 7th centuries, on which every holy place has its own image (i.e. the sites of Crucifixion and Resurrection in Jerusalem, the Birth in Bethlehem, the Baptism on the Jordan River, the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, etc.)<sup>7</sup>. The change in the visual representation of Jerusalem from a concrete city to an abstract concept<sup>8</sup>, in my opinion, indicates a transition that happened in the minds of the Christian believers only after the

<sup>5</sup> "According to the *Vita Sancti Petronii*, written in the year 1180, the complex was originally founded in the 5<sup>th</sup> century by St. Petronius, the Bishop of Bologna, and called by him 'Jerusalem', being modeled after the holy sites he had visited in that city" (*Oosterhout R. G.* The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 311–321, esp. p. 311 and p. 318, n. 13).

<sup>6</sup> The only example, known to me, with the representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem in form of the Constantinian Holy Sepulchre complex, according to some interpretations, is the apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome, c. 400 — 'La dimora di Dio con gli uomini': (Ap 21,3) — Immagini della Gerusalemme celeste dal III al XIV secolo ("Gerusalemme celeste", Exhibition Catalogue, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, 20.5.–5.6.1983) / Eds. Gatti Perer M. L., et al. Milano, 1983, p. 200–201; *Kuhnel B.* From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representation of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium (*Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 42 Suppl.), Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1987, p. 63–72. However, even in this case, the church, which is situated between other city buildings and behind the city wall, embodies Jerusalem as the Heavenly City and not the idea of Jerusalem as a holy place.

<sup>7</sup> *Grabar A.* Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio), Paris, 1958; *Elsner J.* Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation: Pilgrimage and Collecting at Bobbio, Monza and Walsingham // *Journal of the History of Collections*, 9 (1997), p. 117–130 (with further bibliography). Even though the representation on the objects manufactured in the Holy Land during the Early Byzantine period, such as *ampullae*, do not necessarily copy the exact reality of the *Loca Sancta*, but they do reflect some local features: *Weitzmann K.* *Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine // *DOP*, 28 (1974), p. 31–55.

<sup>8</sup> The change in the conception of Jerusalem from real city to ideal concept in visual arts and thought was fully described in *Kuhnel B.* From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representation of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium (*Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 42 Suppl.), Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1987. I would like to thank my teacher Prof. Bianca Kuhnel, who ignited my love and passion to the Medieval Art and for teaching me so much on Jerusalem in art and history.

Holy Lands' loss to the hands of the infidels. From a geographical reality it became also an *idée fixe*, an obsession and an abstract conception<sup>9</sup>.

Two examples from the 9th century indicate that the Holy Sepulchre form represented more than its simple reproduction. These are the churches of Sankt Michael in Fulda (Germany) and the San Stefano in Bologna (Italy). Sankt Michael church in Fulda was built around the year 820 and was remodeled in the late 11th century<sup>10</sup>. It was designed in the form of the Holy Sepulchre R-onda with an *ambulatorium* within it, and it housed relics from Bethlehem and Mount Sinai (ill. 1)<sup>11</sup>. Thus, it is very likely that the Anastasis-form was chosen to represent a more general idea of the Holy Land<sup>12</sup>. Although the San Stefano church in Bologna was rebuilt in the 11th and 12th centuries, and the *aedicula* dates from the 14th<sup>13</sup>, yet in the 9th century there was a church named Jerusalem (*Sancta Hjerusalem*), mentioned in a legal document of 887<sup>14</sup>; and in its center was an architectural copy of the Tomb of Christ (ill. 2)<sup>15</sup>. Both churches, in Fulda and Bologna, were rebuilt during the later

<sup>9</sup> For the interweaving of the ideas of the terrestrial, the celestial and the ideal Jerusalem see e.g.: *Renna T.* Jerusalem in Medieval Thought, 400–1300 (Mediaeval Studies, 14), Lewiston, 2002.

<sup>10</sup> Michaelkirche or Abbey church, Fulda, c. 791–821 AD (destroyed 947, rebuilt as Salvatorskirche between 1000 and 1130). *Oswald F.* Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen. München, 1971, p. 87–89, and 1991, p. 133; *Ousterhout R.* Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage // The Blessings of Pilgrimage / Ed. R. Ousterhout. Urbana, 1990, p. 108–124, esp. p. 114; *Idem.* Building the New Jerusalem // Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej (Jerusalem in European Culture) / Eds. P. Paszkiewicz and T. Zadrozny. Warszawa, 1997, p. 149; *Kruger J.* Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem und ihre Nachbauten im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert // Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt; Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur am Anfang der Romanik / Eds. C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff. München, 2006, vol. 1, p. 505.

<sup>11</sup> *Ousterhout R.* Building the New Jerusalem // Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej (Jerusalem in European Culture) / Eds. P. Paszkiewicz and T. Zadrozny. Warszawa, 1997, p. 149.

<sup>12</sup> *Ousterhout*, Flexible Geography, p. 394; *Ousterhout*, Church of the HS (Bibl. Arch. Rev.), p. 31 and n. 19.

<sup>13</sup> The present *aedicula* was also heavily remodeled in the 19th century: *Ousterhout R. G.* The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 314, 319, n. 34; *Stefaniana: contributi per la storia del complesso di S. Stefano in Bologna* (Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna, Documenti e studi, 17) / Ed. G. Fasoli. Bologna, 1985.

<sup>14</sup> The earliest reference to S. Stefano as Jerusalem is a copy of diploma dated by the year 877 [not 887 as mentioned by Ousterhout] published by *Muratori L. A.* Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi. Milano, 1773, vol. 1, p. 922 — “Sanctum Stefanum qui dicitur Sancta Hjerusalem”. *Cecchi Gattolin E.*, Il Santuario di Santo Stefano in Bologna, Modena, 1976, p. 80 and *Postilla*, p. [19]–[20], n. 120; *Ousterhout R. G.* The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 318, n. 13.

<sup>15</sup> *Ousterhout R. G.* The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 319, n. 20. San Stefano had a relic from the Holy Sepulchre in the 1141 among other Christological relics — *Ousterhout R. G.* The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 314, 320, n. 41. In later medieval and early modern times more holy places from the Holy Land were added to Bologna church: the Church San Giovanni in Monte Oliveti commemorated the church of the Ascension, a church of S. Tecla built as a *similitudine* of the Valley of Josaphat and the Field of Aeldama, the Pool of Siloam, of

Middle Ages. Even though, the beginning of the phenomenon seems to be Carolingian<sup>16</sup>: in these examples — in Italy and in Germany — Holy Land or Jerusalem is represented by an architectural copy of the Holy Sepulchre. Robert Ousterhout proposed that the explanation for this replacement has to be looked for in the history of the Holy Sepulchre itself: the Byzantine church remodeled by Constantine IX Monomachos contained the whole Christian Jerusalem within one church complex. After the fall of Jerusalem into Persian hands and a Muslim rule, the Christian activities in Jerusalem (such as Easter processions) were restricted. This was the reason, the Byzantine emperor made a significant change inside the Holy Sepulchre — some holy places, associated with Christ's Passion situated somewhere on the streets of Jerusalem, were moved inside the newly build complex, such as chapels of Imprisonment, Flagellation, placement of the Crown of Thorns and the Division of the Garments<sup>17</sup>. In the words of Lieselotte Kotsche "this building [from the time of Constantine IX Monomachos] made over the tomb of Christ for the first time became in the following centuries a synonym for the Christian Jerusalem"<sup>18</sup>. Yet, it seems possible that the Holy Sepulchre began to represent the holy places of Jerusalem or of the Holy Land even before the 11th century, in the Carolingian era, after they were no longer in Christian hands<sup>19</sup>.

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undetermined location, is also mentioned: *Ousterhout R. G.* The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 315, 320, ns. 56–57. On St. Stephano church see also: *Nel segno di S. Sepolcro* / Ed. L. Serchia. Vigevano, 1987; 7 Colonne e 7 Chiese: La vicenda ultramillenaria del Complesso di Santo Stefano in Bologna / Ed. F. Bocchi. Casalecchio di Reno, 1987; *Kruger J.* Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem: Geschichte — Gestalt — Bedeutung. Regensburg, 2000, p. 191.

<sup>16</sup> For the attitude of Carolingians toward Jerusalem at the time of Muslim expansion on the Holy Land and its impact on visual arts, see: *Kuhnel B.* From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representation of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millenium (*Romische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 42 Suppl.), Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1987, esp. p. 112–119.

<sup>17</sup> *Ousterhout R. G.* The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 313; and again in *Ousterhout R.* Building the New Jerusalem // *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej* (Jerusalem in European Culture) / Ed. P. Paszkiewicz and T. Zadrozny. Warszawa, 1997, p. 144.

<sup>18</sup> *Kotsche L.* Das heilige Grab in Jerusalem und seine Nachfolge // *Akten des XII. internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie*. Bonn 22.–28. September 1991 (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 20, 1) / Ed. E. Dassmann and J. Engemann. Vatican and Munster, 1995, p. 272–290, p. 281.

<sup>19</sup> Recently the church of St. Michael in Fulda is mentioned in the research as possibly "the oldest copy of the Holy Sepulchre in Western Europe" — *Ousterhout R.* Building the New Jerusalem // *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej* (Jerusalem in European Culture) / Ed. P. Paszkiewicz and T. Zadrozny. Warszawa, 1997, p. 149; *Kruger J.* Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem und ihre Nachbauten im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert // *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt; Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur am Aufgang der Romanik* / Eds. C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff. München, 2006, vol. 1, p. 505. According to Freigang, the earliest architectural copies of the Holy Sepulchre rotunda goes back to the Carolingian times, but he does not provide any example for this idea:

During the following centuries, multiple medieval and early modern architectural copies of the Holy Sepulchre were made<sup>20</sup>. Some were dedicated to or directly called Jerusalem, such is an example of the Jeruzalemkerk in Bruges (Belgium) built in the early 15th century<sup>21</sup>. It was made in the form of the Holy Sepulchre church, and includes the Tomb of Christ and Calvary (ill. 3). The Russian New Jerusalem church built by the Patriarch Nikon continues this tradition.

Representations of Jerusalem in the form of the Holy Sepulchre can also be found in the two dimensional media. One example can be found in a Crusader manuscript from 13th century Acre, *Histoire d'Outremer*, kept today in the National Library in France (Paris, BnF, fr. 9084) (ill. 4). Here

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*Freigang C.* Jerusalem und Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: das Heilige Land in der Provence // Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.–14. Jahrhunderts / Ed. S. Gasser. 2006, p. 43–62, esp. 54.

<sup>20</sup> St. Maurice in Constance (934–976), Busdorf-Kirche in Paderborn (1036–1068), Neuvey-St.-Sepulchre (mid 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> cc), Pisa baptistery (from 1153), possibly Aquileia (11<sup>th</sup> cent.), Eichstatt (1150–1160), Capella Rucellai in Florence (c. 1460), possibly S. Lanfranco basilica, Pavia (1090); possibly S. Trinita basilica, Milan rededicated to S. Sepolcro (1099) and others. On the medieval architectural copies of Holy Sepulchre church see especially: *Krautheimer R.* Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture' // Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 4 (1942), p. 1–33; *Ousterhout R. G.* The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 321, ns. 80, 84; *Cardini F.* La devozione al Santo Sepolcro, le sue riproduzioni occidentali e il complesso stefaniano. Alcuni casi italiani // 7 Colonne e 7 Chiese: La vicenda ultramillenaria del Complesso di Santo Stefano in Bologna / Ed. F. Bocchi. Casalecchio di Reno, 1987, p. 18–49; *Biddle M.* The Tomb of Christ. Stroud, 1999; *Kruger J.* Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem: Geschichte — Gestalt — Bedeutung. Regensburg, 2000, p. 188–197; *Pieper J., Naujokat A. and Kappler A.* Jerusalemkirchen: mittelalterliche Kleinarchitekturen nach dem Modell des Heiligen Grabes. Katalog zur Ausstellung (Wissenschaftliche Schriften der Fakultät für Architektur der RWTH Aachen, 3), Aachen, 2003; *Kruger J.* Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem und ihre Nachbauten im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert // *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt; Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur am Aufgang der Romanik* / Eds. C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff. München, 2006, vol. 1 (Essays), p. 498–511. More examples are known in Post Medieval times. Rudiger counted 94 examples just at the time of Counter-Reformation and Baroque and only in Southern Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary and Switzerland — *Rudiger M.* Nachbauten des Heiligen Grabes in Jerusalem in der Zeit von Gegenreformation und Barock. Ein Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte architektonischer Devotionalkopien. Regensburg, 2003, p. 177–244. More examples, known as *Sacri Monti*, may be added from Italy, Spain and Portugal: *Sindone e sacri monti: l'arte e la società, lo spettacolo e la devozione* / Eds. M. L. Moncassoli Tibone, A. Bo, etc. Torino, 1998; *Plesch V.* A Pilgrim's Progress: Guidebooks to the New Jerusalem in Varallo // *Art on Paper*, 6/2 (2001), p. 50–57 (with further bibliography).

<sup>21</sup> *Pieper J. et al.* Jerusalemkirchen: mittelalterliche Kleinarchitekturen nach dem Modell des Heiligen Grabes. Katalog zur Ausstellung (Wissenschaftliche Schriften der Fakultät für Architektur der RWTH Aachen, 3), Aachen, 2003, p. 16–17, 45–47. Although, the authors of the catalogue proposed an idea, that the exterior of the Bruges church was designed, not necessarily as a copy of the Holy Sepulchre complex, but according to the painted image of the Dome of the Rock (known as *Templum Solomonis*), similar to an image produced in 1440 by Bartholomäus van Eyck.

Jerusalem is presented in a form of a stylized round building — the exterior of the Rotunda mausoleum with a huge cupola, encircled by the city walls<sup>22</sup>. In this example the formal similarity with the architectural copies is noticeable. Another example is a 13th century manuscript from Lower Saxony, depicting Emperor Heraclius bringing back a relic of the Holy Cross from Persian captivity to Jerusalem in 630 (ill. 5)<sup>23</sup>. Heraclius is shown entering Jerusalem through the city gates. But surprisingly, the city within the walls is represented in form of the interior of the Holy Sepulchre: the tomb of Christ is in the middle of a multipartite architectural frame, and above it hangs the eternal flame.

The engraved frontispiece opens the book of Thomas Fuller “The Historie of the Holy Warre” (1639), the treatise that criticized the Crusades to the Holy Land and the very idea of the Holy War (ill. 6)<sup>24</sup>. This early modern English miniature maps symbolically the way from Europe to the Holy Land and back<sup>25</sup>. Europe is represented as the exterior of an archetypical church building. While Jerusalem (according to the “*Declaration of the Frontispice*” it is “Jerusalem ravisht [ravished] by barbarous foes”) is represented in form of the Holy Sepulchre church seen from the South courtyard. The depiction of the Holy Sepulchre exterior copies almost entirely the engraving made in 1595 by the Italian artist Giovanni Zuallardo<sup>26</sup>.

Whereas in these cases the symbolic reference is direct, other examples suggest a similar symbolism, but are less certain, because they lack a clear context or accompanying inscription. The Holy Sepulchre appears several times on artifacts from the Crusader Kingdom, such as pilgrims’ *ampullae*

<sup>22</sup> Folda J. Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291. Princeton, N.J., 1976, p. 183, ill. 103. The miniature appears on the fol. 89v and it illustrates the book 8, ch. 1: “*Verites est que la sainte cite de Ier[usa]l[e]m siest entre .II. montaignes*” [The city of Jerusalem between two mountains].

<sup>23</sup> Baert B. A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, 22). Leiden 2004, p. 133–193 and p. 155, fig. 30b (with more examples of this kind). The accompanied inscription reads “*Heraclius cum debita veneratione reducit Crucem Domenicam in Iherusalem*” [With appropriate veneration Heraclius restores the Cross of the Lord in Jerusalem].

<sup>24</sup> Fuller T. The Historie of the Holy Warre. Cambridge, 1639. On the Fuller and his book, see: The Crusades: Motives and Achievements (Problems in European civilization) / Ed. J. A. Brundage. Boston, 1964, p. vii, 1–3.

<sup>25</sup> The miniature is accompanied with inscriptions: “We went out full, but [we] return[ed] empty; Europe; Vestigia pauca retrorsum [= A few steps backwards]; Peter the Hermit; I sound to myself a retreat, to others a March; The Temple of the Sepulchre”. Possibly, the expression “We went out full, but we returned empty” refers to the words of Naomi (Mara): “I went away full, but the Lord has brought me back empty” (Ruth 1:21).

<sup>26</sup> Betschart A. Zwischen zwei Welten: Illustrationen in Berichten westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts (Wurzbürger Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie, 15). Würzburg, 1996, p. 137, ill. 63.

(ill. 7), a seal of the Hospitalers' order and coins<sup>27</sup>. On the Crusader reliquary crosses the idea of Jerusalem or the Holy Land is summarized in the form of the tomb *aedicula* (ill. 8)<sup>28</sup>. In this context Russian Novgorod stone icons from the 13th or 14th centuries also come to mind (ill. 9). In all these examples, the representation of the Holy Sepulchre interior bestows on these objects a sacred dimension.

From the examples just presented, the following conclusions can be drawn. From the Middle Ages onwards there was an established tradition of representing Jerusalem by the Holy Sepulchre church. The Holy Sepulchre is the most important *locus* for the Christian believer, built, according to tradition, on the exact place where Jesus died, was buried and resurrected. For both, Catholic and Orthodox, it is the unquestionable center of the Christian *Ecumene*. Nevertheless, the actual appearance of the visual image still has to be explained, since the entire city is encapsulated in a compact emblem of one single architectural building. I want to propose my explanation to the confluence between Jerusalem and its main Church that happened in the mind of the believers.

Since it is very likely that the phenomenon started with the architectural copies, it seems logical to start the explanation with the three-dimensional examples. The natural ability of architecture is to create boundaries between spaces. It is true for separating profane space from the religiously loaded one (such is the church building, where the religious space is created separately from the profane). It allows also to create different gradations of holiness inside the religious structure (lay area versus an altar zone, etc.). All the architectural copies of the Holy Sepulchre repeat the fundamental principal of the original complex itself — they recreate the division of the space in different gradation of holiness. The similarity between the architectural copies of the

<sup>27</sup> Kotzsche L. Zwei Jerusalemer Pilgerampullen aus der Kreuzfahrerzeit // Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 51 (1988), p. 26, ill. 19; Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer / Eds. A. Wieczorek, M. Fansa, H. Meller // Exhib. Cat. "Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer" im Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle, Saale. Mainz am Rhein, 2005, p. 228–300, cat. no. A10.

<sup>28</sup> Kuhnel B. Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion? Berlin, 1992, p. 143. On the reliquary crosses bearing the depiction of the *aedicula* of the Holy Sepulchre church see: Meurer H. Kreuzreliquiare aus Jerusalem // Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg, 13 (1976), p. 7–18; Kuhnel B. Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion?, p. 138–153; Folda J. The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098–1187. Cambridge, 1995, p. 290–294; Jaspert N. Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult // Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung — Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen (Campus Historische Studien, 29) / Eds. D. Bauer, K. Herbers and N. Jaspert. Frankfurt am Main, 2001, p. 219–270; Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer (Exhib. Cat. "Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer" im Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle, Saale) / Eds. A. Wieczorek, M. Fansa and H. Meller. Mainz am Rhein, 2005, p. 408–412.



Holy Sepulchre church and the original building is in the combination of the forms: court or basilica with the rotunda, the Tomb of Christ and Calvary separated by roughly 42 meters<sup>29</sup>, or more often the Rotonda with the *aedicula* in its middle. Thus, the architectural setting repeats the very idea of the Holy Sepulchre church — built of multiple spaces of different degrees of holiness, situated near one another or inserted into one another. This is also a symbolic repetition of the pilgrim's journey — the deeper the pilgrim penetrates, the holier the physical surroundings and the spiritual state of the pilgrim. I would like to recall an expression I have personally heard from one pilgrim, who came to Jerusalem intending to be present at the liturgy celebrated at the Holy Sepulchre. He left for the church hours before the ceremony was supposed to begin, saying that he wanted to find a good location, as close as possible to the Holy Tomb, where, he said, "the grace is thicker". In modern physical terms this phrase has no meaning, grace could not be felt or physically measured. However, for this pilgrim, as well as for medieval people<sup>30</sup>, grace is a very material entity. Being the focus of the Christian universe, the Holy Sepulchre church has the "thickest grace," and casts its symbolic power over Jerusalem, the Holy Land, and the entire universe.

This terminology brings to mind a term used by Walter Benjamin in his treatise "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction"<sup>31</sup>. For Benjamin, in the modern world, the mechanically made copy loses the *aura* of the original work of art. I relate this *aura* to the "thickness of the grace" that is present inside the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and to the grace that is also present (maybe to a lesser degree) in architectural copies of the building. According to my understanding, the architectural copy of the Holy Sepulchre does not aim to reproduce the masonry, but to recreate the essence of the holy place itself. This creation of sacred space was defined recently by Alexei Lidov as *Hierotopy*<sup>32</sup>. The production of a copy of an actual holy

<sup>29</sup> According to Ousterhout it is 41.6 meters — Ousterhout R. G. The Church of Santo Stefano — A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 312.

<sup>30</sup> In the 6<sup>th</sup> century St. Peter's church in Rome the grace was actually scaled, and it had a very material weight: "For if someone wants to take away a blessed relic, he leaves a little cloth, previously weighed on a balance, inside [the shrine of St. Peter's tomb]. Then, keeping vigil and fasting, he earnestly prays that the apostolic virtue may assist his piety. Wondrous to relate! If the faith of the man is strong, when the cloth is raised from the tomb it is so soaked by divine power that it weighs much more than it previously did, and then the man who raises it knows that by its grace he has received what he requested" — Gregory of Tours, "Liber in Gloria Martyrum", ch. 27, in: Crook J. The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300 — c. 1200. Oxford, 2000, p. 26, n. 134.

<sup>31</sup> Benjamin W. The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction // *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* / Ed. H. Arendt. New York, 1985, p. 219–253.

<sup>32</sup> According to Lidov's definition: "The term 'hierotopy' (ierotopia) consists of two Greek roots: *hieros* (sacred) and *topos* (place, space, notion). [...] The meaning of the notion might be formulated as follows: Hierotopy is creation of sacred spaces regarded as a special form of

place creates a “bi-location”<sup>33</sup> of it. The copy transfers some part of the original *aura* of the unique holy place and thus it creates a spatial icon — that is, a space outside immediate reality, with its own temporal and physical rules. While entering a church whose architecture copies that of the Holy Sepulchre, the believer passes various boundaries. From the profane space of daily life he enters the holy space of a church (this mechanism is regular for each and every church building). Then, entering the copies of the Rotonda or the tomb-*aedicula* or approaching Golgotha he is transposed from his regular coordinates of time and space into different time and spatial zone, as if he was present at the Holy Land, in Jerusalem itself<sup>34</sup>. To mark this, the believer performs certain rituals which are similar to what the pilgrim performs at the Holy Sepulchre itself — he kneels, reads certain prayer, kisses the holy replicas, buys local souvenirs, etc.<sup>35</sup>

As I demonstrated earlier, the representation of Jerusalem in form of the Holy Sepulchre can be found not only in architecture, but also in two-dimensional occurrences. According to my research, these images are relatively rare. The explanation for this might be found in the existence of other competing

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creativity, and a field of historical research which reveals and analyses the particular examples of that creativity” — Lidov A. Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History // Hierotopy — the Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2006, p. 32–58, esp. p. 32. Eliade treated the theology of the holy place in Christianity in some of his fundamental treatises, see *Eliade M. Patterns in Comparative Religion* / Tr. R. Sheed. New York, 1958; *Eliade M. The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* / Tr. W. R. Trask. New York, 1959; and recently — *Inge J. A Christian Theology of Place*. Aldershot, 2003, p. 91–122 — “Place and the Christian Tradition: Pilgrimage and Holy Places”. Inge states, that the major aid of a Christian pilgrims is “traveling to their heavenly homeland, the New Jerusalem” (Ibid., p. 92).

<sup>33</sup> The term “bi-location” was originally used by Gerry Vikan to describe the double presence of the saint — *in situ* where he actually lives and simultaneously in his own iconic image far away from there: *Vikan G. Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Devotionalia as Evidence of the Appearance of Pilgrimage Shrines* // Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband, 20) / Ed. E. Dassmann. 1995, vol. 1, p. 377–388, p. 382.

<sup>34</sup> According to Nikon, both, the Holy Sepulchre church in Jerusalem as well as his Resurrection church in the New Jerusalem monastery, has to be understood in iconic terms: they are made as an instrument for veneration of the prototype, i.e. the Holy Trinity. They should not be seen as an original and its copy, but as two embodiments of the same idea — the Christian Church being a Jerusalem (“The law will go out from Zion, the word of the Lord from Jerusalem”, Is. 2: 3). This is how Nikon explain the name Jerusalem given to his new monastery: “As from a father a son is born, the first one is called son, and also the second one is called son, and they are both called by this same name, because they are both sons of the same father” — Nikon, “Refutation”, answers 13–14, in: *Patriarch Nikon on Church and State*. Nikon’s “Refutation” (Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 300) / Eds. V. A. Tumins and G. Vernadsky. Berlin, 1982, p. 149–168, esp. p. 162, 168 (in my translation).

<sup>35</sup> This mechanism of detaching the believer from his regular time and geography zone, while entering a holy place, was described in comparative religion study by *Eliade M. The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* / Tr. W. R. Trask. New York, 1959.

traditions for depicting Jerusalem. First, Jerusalem was represented as topographical city with other buildings and holy places (together with the Dome of the Rock for example). This tradition saw Jerusalem from the accurate view of mapmaking and truthful image of geography<sup>36</sup>. Second tradition saw Jerusalem as an ideal city of the 22nd chapter of the Book of Revelation and had no common points with the real city — it was depicted in a symmetrical shape, square or round form, empty of any buildings inside of it<sup>37</sup>. In most cases, however, Jerusalem was depicted as an abstract or ideal city in form of the town wall with some buildings inside that had nothing to do with the real geographical city or one of its buildings<sup>38</sup>. The Holy-Sepulchre-Jerusalem has different meaning from all of these — it is neither the specific geographic location, nor the eschatological idea or the ideal city.

In my opinion, the Holy-Sepulchre-Jerusalem representations function in a similar way to the architectural copies. They have some sacred dimension that derives from the original holy place.

A pictorial image can also trigger the hierotopical mechanism of recreating the particular sacred space with its rules and qualities far away from the actual place. Some of these two-dimensional depictions reflect one of the most important features of the holy place — the ability of shrinking time and space<sup>39</sup>. Many images representing Jerusalem, in a telescoping manner, show narratives and images distant from each other by time and place, e.g. Christ's dead body lies inside the contemporary Holy Sepulchre shrine, angels bring the message

<sup>36</sup> La Terra Santa e la sua immagine nella cartografia antica (Exhibition Catalogue: Museo della Comunità Ebraica di Trieste Carlo e Vera Wagner, Trieste, 19.1.–17.4.1995) / Eds. L. Lago, G. Galliano, C. Donato, et al. Firenze, 1995; *Rubin R.* Image and Reality: Jerusalem in Maps and Views. Jerusalem, 1999; Holy Land in Maps (Ehib. Cat. 'On the Map: Cartographic Images of the Holy Land', The Israel Museum) / Ed. A. Tishby. Jerusalem, 2001.

<sup>37</sup> 'La dimora di Dio con gli uomini': (Ap 21,3) — Immagini della Gerusalemme celeste dal III al XIV secolo ("Gerusalemme celeste", Exhibition Catalogue, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, 20.5.–5.6.1983) / Eds. M. L. Gatti Perer, et al. Milano, 1983; *Kuhnel B.* From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representation of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium (Romische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, 42 Suppl.). Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1987, Part II, ch. 2; *Kobielus S.* La Jerusalem celeste dans l'art medieval // Le mythe de Jerusalem / Ed. E. Berriot-Salvadore. Saint-Etienne, 1995, p. 101–121.

<sup>38</sup> Multiple examples can be found in: 'La dimora di Dio con gli uomini': (Ap 21,3) — Immagini della Gerusalemme celeste dal III al XIV secolo ("Gerusalemme celeste", Exhibition Catalogue, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, 20.5.–5.6.1983) / Eds. M. L. Gatti Perer, et al. Milano, 1983; *Kuhnel B.* From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representation of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium (Romische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, 42 Suppl.). Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1987.

<sup>39</sup> What Ousterhout called the "flexible geography" — *Ousterhout R.* Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography // *Jewish Art*, 23/24 (The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art, *Kuhnel, B.* (ed.)) (1997/1998), p. 393–404; *Eliade M.* The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion / Tr. W. R. Trask., New York, 1959.

of Christ's resurrection to the pilgrims, or the three Maries approach the Holy Tomb alongside with Constantine and Helena or the present-days clergy<sup>40</sup>. These depictions, by displacing time and geography, recreate the *aura* of the holy place in a new environment — a quality known as *iconic*. This conclusion is especially surprising, since, according to my research, the two-dimensional representations are typical for the Western un-iconical tradition<sup>41</sup>.

The visual formula representing Jerusalem in form of the Holy Sepulchre church is connected also to the experience of the pilgrimage. The main church of Jerusalem, the center of the Christian world was and still is the main target of the Christian pilgrimage. The holy places within it are more important for the pilgrim than the whole city in general. Here is Arculf, who visited Jerusalem in the 7th century:

I remember how often I used to see and visit the many buildings in the city [Jerusalem], and look at numerous large stone houses filling the space enclosed by the city wall. They are wonderfully well built. But for the present let us say nothing of any of them, except the amazing buildings in the holy places of the Cross and Resurrection<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> For some examples, see Crusader pilgrims' *ampullae*, 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> cent., Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. Nr. 24/73, in: *Kotzsche L.* Zwei Jerusalemer Pilgerampullen aus der Kreuzfahrerzeit // *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 51 (1988), p. 13–32, ill. 1–2, 5–7; Pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre, French manuscript, c.1500, Paris, BnF, Français 2810, fol. 125; *Andrei Abramov*. The Holy Sepulchre Church of Jerusalem (lithography), 1872, Moscow, State Museum of History, in: *Святая земля в русской культуре* (Holy Land in Russian Art) / Ed. L. I. Iovleva. Moscow, 2001, p. 316–317, ill. 305.

<sup>41</sup> The only exception seems to be the Russian orthodox monastery of Nikon. But the idea of building the New Jerusalem by Nikon in the 17<sup>th</sup> century resembles greatly the western, mainly Italian origins. *Sacri Monti* were built by Franciscans from the 15<sup>th</sup> century on in Europe, mostly in Italy. And although they were recreating a number of holy places of the Holy Land, such as Bethlehem and Nazareth, the whole agglomeration was called by contemporaries “the New Jerusalem” — *Plesch V.* A Pilgrim's Progress: Guidebooks to the New Jerusalem in Varallo // *Art on Paper*, 6/2 (2001), p. 50–57. The Russian monastery resembles the Italian sources greatly — Nikon's project recreates multiple cities of the Holy Land but was called simply the New Jerusalem. The similarity was not accidental, since it is likely that the architects and the craftsmen were trained abroad and were helped by the drawings of the Franciscan brother Bernardino Amico — *Бусева-Давыдова И. Л.* (Buseva-Davydova I. L.) Об идейном замысле «Нового Иерусалима» патриарха Никона // *Иерусалим в русской культуре* / Ред. А. Баталов, А. Лидов. Moscow, 1994, p. 178–179 (English translation in: *Jerusalem in Russian Culture* / Eds. A. Batalov and A. Lidov. Moscow, 2005). On Bernardino Amico, who prepared his drawings during his stay in the Holy Land from 1593 to 1597 and published in 1620 in Florence, see: *Amico B.* Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land, with Preface and Notes by Bellarmino Bagatti (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior, 10). Jerusalem, 1953; *Kruger J.* Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem: Geschichte — Gestalt — Bedeutung. Regensburg, 2000, p. 179; *Rudiger M.* Nachbauten des Heiligen Grabes in Jerusalem in der Zeit von Gegenreformation und Barock: Ein Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte architektonischer Devotionalkopien. Regensburg, 2003, p. 28–31.

<sup>42</sup> Adomnan, “The Holy Places”, book 1, ch. 2, 1. The words of Arculf, a bishop of Gaul who visited the Holy Land before 683, were written down by Adomnan an Abbot of Iona from 679 to 704 — *Wilkinson J.* Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades (newly translated with supporting documents and notes). Warminster, 2002, p. 18–19 and 171.

The real beauty for the pilgrim lies in the holy places themselves, not in urban architecture.

In the 15th century Russian “Narrative of the Journey of Archbishop John of Novgorod upon the Devil to Jerusalem”, a monk is taken one night to Jerusalem and back to Novgorod on the devil’s back.

And then the holy men sad to the devil who did not stop to cry: “because of your impudence I order you to take me upon your back from the Great Novgorod to Jerusalem, to the church where there is the Holy Tomb of the Lord, and at the same night — back from Jerusalem to my chamber, where you dared to enter. Then I will set you free”. After this, the holy man went out his chamber, crossed himself and set upon him [the devil] and at the same night found himself in Jerusalem-city, near the church of the Holy Resurrection, in which are the tomb of the Lord and the particle of his cross. [...] John approached the doors, kneeled and prayed, and the church doors opened wide by themselves and the candles and the chandeliers in the church and near the tomb of the Lord light themselves up. The saint thanked God in his prayer, shed tears, bowed before the tomb and kissed it, he also bowed to the life-giving cross and to all holy icons and places inside the church. When he came out the church, accomplished his dream, the church doors shut themselves. And the saint found the devil saddled as a horse standing at the same spot where he ordered him to stay. John set upon him and the same night found himself in the Great Novgorod, in his chamber<sup>43</sup>.

In Jerusalem the monk sees only the holy places in the Holy Sepulchre church. Nevertheless, according to the story, the Russian monk actually was in Jerusalem — since he experienced the very essence of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The Holy Sepulchre becomes a metonymy for Jerusalem.

Thus, the two-dimensional depictions of the Holy Sepulchre church, as well as narratives about it, reflect a very similar pilgrimage experience aimed at achieving the same goal as the architectural examples, namely these images transmit the idea of Jerusalem as a holy place. According to Hans Belting, “sites were transmitted through images”<sup>44</sup>. The case of the Holy Sepulchre can serve a prime example for such a transmission.

<sup>43</sup> My translation acc. to: *Малепо Е. И. (Maleto E. I.) Антология хождений русских путешественников XII–XV века: исследования, тексты, комментарии* (Anthology of the Accounts of Russian Travelers of the 12<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries: Researches, Texts, Commentaries), Moscow, 2005, p. 386–387.

<sup>44</sup> *Belting H. Image, Medium and Body. Reflections on the experience of privileged spaces // Hierotopy: Studies in the Making of Sacred Spaces. Material from the International Symposium / Ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2004, p. 34.*

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ЭМБЛЕМА САКРАЛЬНОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА:  
ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЕ ИЕРУСАЛИМА  
В ФОРМЕ ХРАМА ГРОБА ГОСПОДНЯ

В 1656 году русский Патриарх Никон построил новый монастырь на реке Истре под Москвой. Главная церковь монастыря была возведена в соответствии с планом Храма Гроба Господня в Иерусалиме, а весь комплекс включал также дополнительные постройки, восстанавливающие топографию святых мест в Иерусалиме и на Святой Земле: иерусалимские Дамасские ворота, так называемая Башня Давида, капелла Рождества в Вифлееме, Масличная гора и гора Фавор, река Иордан и пр. Никон посвятил как весь монастырь, так и его центральную церковь Воскрешению Христа, в соответствии с посвящением Ротонды Воскрешения в Иерусалимском Храме Гроба Господня. Однако с момента постройки монастыря и по сей день комплекс чаще именуют другим именем — Новый Иерусалим.

Название монастыря требует объяснения. С формальной точки зрения, имя «Иерусалим» не подходит ни к самой главной монастырской церкви, повторяющей формы Храма Гроба Господня (лишь одной из нескольких построек Иерусалима, представленных в русском монастыре), ни ко всему комплексу, воссоздающему Святую Землю и включающему в себя постройки и места за пределами Иерусалима. Более правильным было бы использовать название «Новый Храм Гроба Господня» либо «Новая Святая Земля». Почему же монастырь был назван именно «Новый Иерусалим»?

В данной статье я предлагаю следующую интерпретацию: это название не было случайной оговоркой, а является продолжением сложившейся традиции. Представление города Иерусалима в виде Храма Гроба Господня (а иногда только Ротонды Воскресения) известно в различных материалах — в текстах, в архитектурных копиях, а также в двумерных изображениях. Я предполагаю, что эта визуальная формула была предназначена для воссоздания определенного Святого Пространства и служила пространственной иконой.

В письменных источниках Храм Гроба представляет Иерусалим с самого момента своей постройки. Однако визуальное замещение Иерусалима его главной церковью скорее всего произошло лишь после того, как он перестал находиться в руках христиан (две церкви IX века — святого Михаила в Фульде (Германия) и святого Стефана в Болонье (Италия) — являются первыми примерами). В последующие столетия было

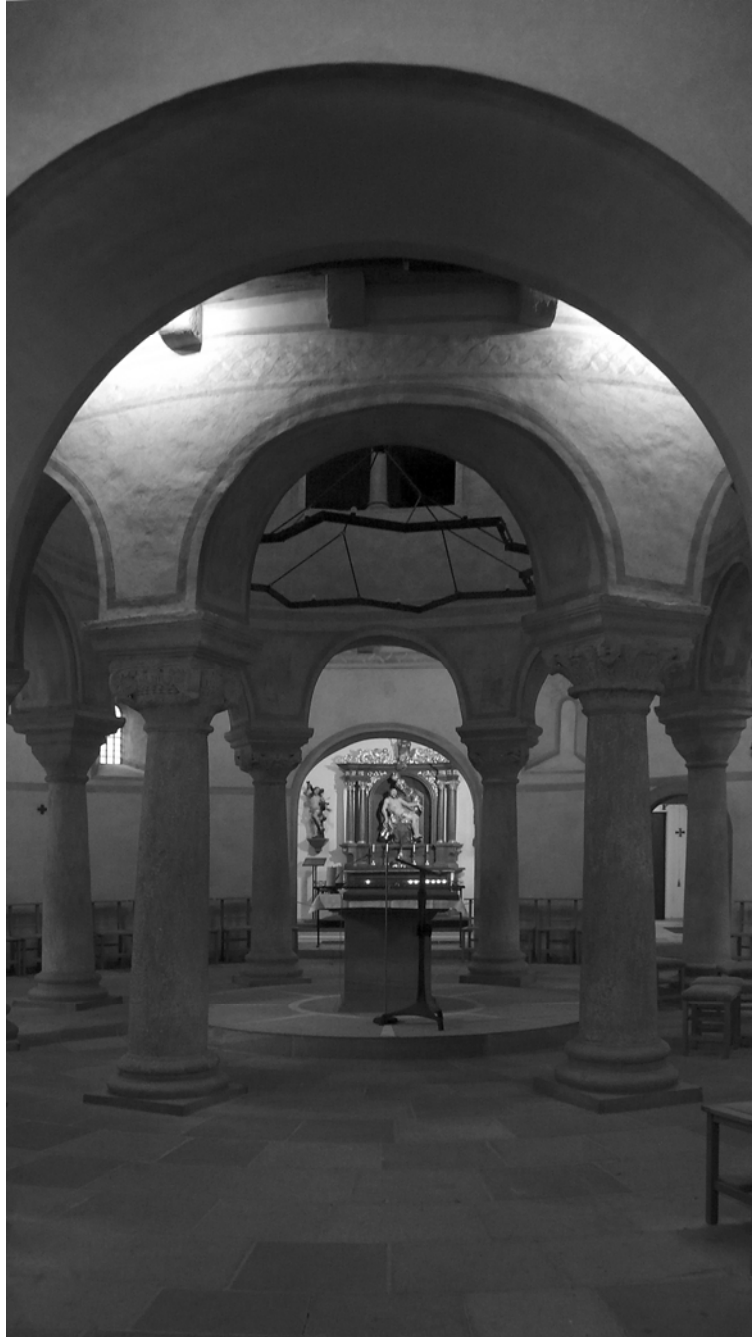
построено множество копий Храма Гроба Господня. Русская церковь Нового Иерусалима патриарха Никона продолжает эту традицию.

Представление Иерусалима в форме Храма Гроба Господня может быть найдено и в двумерных изображениях: в рукописях или на предметах прикладного искусства, например эпохи Крестоносцев. Изображение интерьера Храма Гроба Господня придает этим объектам сакральное измерение.

Из приведенных примеров было сделано несколько выводов.

Архитектурные копии Храма Гроба Господня повторяют основополагающий принцип подлинного образа — они воссоздают деление пространства, наполненного разными градациями святости, и таким образом повторяют путешествие паломника. Согласно моему пониманию, архитектурные копии Храма Гроба Господня не преследуют своей целью простое репродуцирование каменных стен, а воссоздают непосредственную сущность самого Святого Места. Копия переносит и воспроизводит *ауру* оригинального святого места и таким образом создает пространственную икону — то есть пространство, находящееся вне непосредственной реальности, со своими собственными временными и пространственными законами.

Двумерные изображения, на мой взгляд, функционируют подобно архитектурным копиям. В них присутствует священное измерение, происходящее от изначального Святого Места. Такая визуальная формула также связана с переживанием паломничества. Главная церковь Иерусалима, центр христианского мира, была и остается главной целью христианского паломничества. Святые места, находящиеся внутри Храма Гроба, важнее для паломника, чем весь город в целом. Иеротопический механизм воссоздания вдалеке от подлинного места определенного святого пространства, обладающего своими законами и качествами, возможен благодаря двумерным образам. Часто они отображают одну из наиболее важных характеристик Святого Места — сжатие времени и пространства (на многих изображениях Иерусалима одновременно присутствуют сюжеты и образы, несовместимые во времени и пространстве). Таким образом, эти изображения воссоздают *ауру* святого места в новой среде, вдалеке от прообраза — качество, присущее иконе. Подобный вывод особенно неожидан, поскольку, согласно моему исследованию, двумерные изображения наиболее типичны для Западной неиконной традиции. Согласно Хансу Бельтингу, «места могли быть перенесены при помощи образов». Храм Гроба Господня может служить примером подобного переноса.

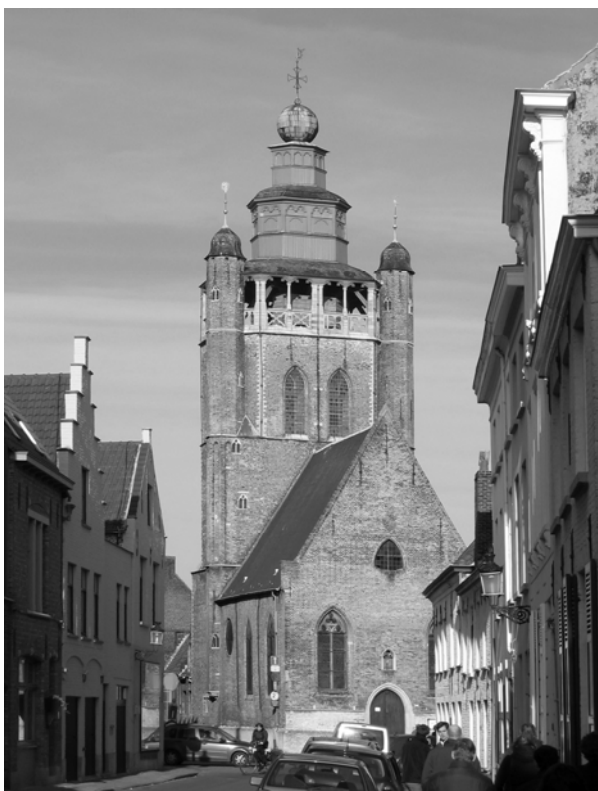


1. Sankt Michael Church, Fulda, c. 820 and late 11th cent. Photo: Johann Juer-gen Mohr.





2. San Stefano Church, Bologna, 9th to 14th cent. Photo: Author.



3. Jeruzalemkerk, Bruges, early 15th cent. Photo: Olga Karaskova.



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5. Heraclius restores the Cross, Alexander of Bremen, Lower Saxony, last quarter of the 13thcent., Cambridge, University Library, Mm 5.31, fol. 81v. From: *Baert B.* A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image // *Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples*, 22. Leiden 2004, p. 155, fig. 30b



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