

VISUAL CONSTRUCTS OF JERUSALEM

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BREPOLS

A (HI)STORY OF JERUSALEM: MEMORIES AND IMAGES IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

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Visual constructs of Jerusalem reached a new peak in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Different entities made use of the apparently inexhaustible and malleable symbolism of this unique city, constructing and reconstructing narratives in a variety of forms, media, and contexts according to their particular needs and causes. Eager to assert their presence and influence in the Ottoman-ruled city and to become part of its history, contesting Christian denominations and imperialist European powers built representative monuments that would also enhance their prestige in the national and European contexts.

Most of these buildings are located in the Christian holy places (or as close to them as possible), or at topographically imposing sites that could be perceived from far away. Most are grandiose, despite the fact that patrons often had to make do with reduced size because of lack of funds or less prominent features because of the Ottoman authorities' objections. The structures—churches, monasteries, hospices, and charitable institutions—were designed by prestigious architects in eclectic historical styles that not only linked past and present, but also clearly signalled the nationality and faith of the patron: distinct neo-Gothic stylistic elements created an association with France or Britain, neo-Romanesque arches and towers identified Germany, late medieval and Renaissance motifs pointed to Italy, and onion domes to Russia. The use of local materials, technologies, and decorative motifs made a bridge between West and East and, most important, symbolized the strong and long-lasting bond of the European patron to the Holy Land, enriching the cultural and ideological contents of his monuments.¹ The use of crusader imagery also symbol-

ized this bond because it helped create a national historic perspective. The invention of a crusader ancestor had become a political asset for European royals, and crusader referents combined the romantic appeal of the exotic Orient with chivalry and heroism, awakening national pride and loyalty and advancing claims to rights and privileges in the holy city as 'the' heir to the medieval hero.² Significantly, any achievement by one power would immediately activate a response from the others, a fact that explains the extraordinary European investment in the city.³

Despite the acknowledged potential of visual images to contribute to a wide range of historical and cultural studies—including memory, heritage, and ethnography; religious, national and socio-political identities; and cultural translations—most of these monuments have been only partially studied. Moreover, scholars have dealt with their location and architectural style, but their decorative programmes have not received sufficient attention even though they often hold the key to the semiotics of the monument.⁴ Also in its infancy is multidisciplinary

2 Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusaders in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 39, 43, 161–74.

3 David Kushner, 'Jerusalem under Imperial Ottoman Rule: Problems of Government and Administration', in *The History of Jerusalem: The Late Ottoman Period (1800–1917)*, ed. by Israel Bartal and Haim Goren (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2010), pp. 3–17 [Hebrew].

4 See my studies at the European Forum, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Lily Arad, *The Crown of Jerusalem: Franz Joseph's Dream of an Ideal Empire* (Jerusalem: Spectrum, 2012), and Lily Arad, 'Perception and Action in Kaiser Wilhelm II's Concept of Jerusalem' (Working Paper 44/2005), as well as 'Theater: eine kaiserliche Waffe. Ein himmlischer Segen für den Kreuzzug-Kaiser Wilhelm II. in Jerusalem', in *Deutschland und Deutsche in Jerusalem, eine Konferenz*

1 David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture* (New York: Vendome Press, 1994), pp. 101–42.



Figure 14.1. Jerusalem, Austro-Hungarian Hospice of the Sacred Family, 'The Military and Peaceful Pilgrimages from Austria-Hungary to the Holy Land since Ancient Times', mosaic on north wall of chapel, 1907 (photo: courtesy of L. Molcho).

research on a related phenomenon, the transposition of Jerusalem to Europe by means of emulating monuments and elements of the sacred topography, adopting and adapting traditions, and translating relics.⁵

This paper sheds light on constructed images of Jerusalem as a sacred space and on the use of these constructs by European entities, focusing on three milieus: the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Jerusalemite, and the European settings. The first and the last milieu are particularly significant and challenging because, among his many titles, the Habsburg monarch also styled himself King of Jerusalem, a God-given privilege that appeared even in the shorter versions of his grand title.⁶

in Mishkenot Sha'ananim, März 2007, ed. by Haim Goren and Jakob Eisler (Jerusalem: Mishkenot Sha'ananim, 2011), pp. 46–62. See also Bernhard Böhler's descriptive "Franciscus Iosephus Austriae Imperator ante portas Hierosolymae": ein Mosaik in der Kapelle des österreichischen Hospizes zur Heiligen Familie in Jerusalem als Denkmal für den "König von Jerusalem", in *Mit Szepter und Pilgerstab: Österreichs Präsenz im Heiligen Land seit den Tagen Kaiser Franz Josephs*, ed. Bernhard Böhler (Vienna: Österreichischer Wirtschaftsverlag, 2000), pp. 129–40; Jürgen Krüger, *Die Himmelfahrtskirche auf dem Ölberg in Jerusalem* (Leipzig: Langewiesche, 2010), essential for architecture and architectural decoration.

5 Spectrum: Visual Translations of Jerusalem, European Forum at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; <<http://www.spectrum.huji.ac.il>> [accessed 13 June 2012].

6 This claim has been variously derived from Godfrey of Bouillon, the Lusignan and Lorraine houses, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the Holy Roman Empire. On the

Franz Joseph I, emperor of Austria (r. 1848–1916) and apostolic king of Hungary (r. 1867–1916) by God's grace, ascended the throne at the pinnacle of the Spring of Nations. Throughout his reign he struggled with the nationalistic aspirations of his disparate peoples and the ambitions of other European powers. Concurrently, the church endeavoured to maintain its authority in an era notable for major developments in all branches of the physical, biological, and epistemological sciences, which increased attention to temporal reality and weakened religious dimensions.⁷ Mutual support became an imperative for both Crown and Church.

The Catholic Church combated the secular new world by, among other efforts, fostering popular religiosity and encouraging devotional pilgrimage marked by fervent personal piety. These offered to the pious the hope that the sacred had not abandoned them. The Holy Land was a most promising destination. Pilgrims travelled there with the scriptures in their hearts and hands,

need for a comprehensive study, see Barbara Haider-Wilson, 'Die Habsburgermonarchie und das Heilige Land 1842–1917: Schutzmachtproblematik, katholisches "Jerusalem Milieu" und Volksfrömmigkeit' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 2007), pp. 344–45, and Judith Popovich Aikin, 'Pseudo-Ancestors in the Genealogical Projects of the Emperor Maximilian I', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 13.1 (1977), 8–15 (pp. 10–11).

7 James Shedel, 'Emperor, Church, and People: Religion and Dynastic Loyalty During the Golden Jubilee of Franz Joseph', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 76.1 (1990), 71–92.



Figure 14.2. Linz, cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, 'Entry to Jerusalem', stained glass window in south aisle, 1913–16 (photo: courtesy of the Tiroler Glasmalerei- und Mosaik Anstalt, Innsbruck).

eager to retrace the life of Christ, atone for their worldly sins, and achieve spiritual regeneration and indulgences. Piousness imbued their attitudes, among them a perception of the Holy Land as a timeless space that had not changed over the centuries and had preserved its inherent sanctity to the very present; its geography, exotic landscapes, monuments, and even the locals' looks authenticated the tenets of the true faith. Matter was encoded with a spiritual dimension founded on folk traditions and legends and expanded with mystical components by different church representatives. Pilgrims sought tangible proof of God's presence by touching the physical site, praying, and buying apotropaic relics and souvenirs that would transfer the site's immanent blessings to their homes. This was not an exceptional attitude. For most Christians, the Holy Land was like an enormous open Bible: archaeologists mapped biblical narratives in the sacred topography, geographers identified the biblical flora and fauna, and writers and artists recreated the landscapes and peoples; although their views contained more factual material, these specialists remained past-oriented and located biblical narratives as testimony to the veracity of the scriptures.⁸ The biblical past and the present merged.

The romanticism that swept Europe awakened in many the desire to experience the East's alien charms, and tourists, like pilgrims, travelled to escape their stable set of cultural conditions and enter a liminal state. They arrived in a backward country, part of the mysterious and exotic Orient, yet most of them recognized and valued its immense religious significance. For some travellers this quality was merely one of the historical, cultural, and scenic dimensions that defined the site, but for modern 'tourist-pilgrims' this was the Holy Land.⁹

Three sophisticated representations of 'peoples' pilgrimages' from Austria-Hungary to the Holy Land outstandingly illustrate the construction of narratives of Jerusalem in the service of Church and Crown. One is in a mosaic in the chapel of the Austro-Hungarian Hospice

8 Charlotte Whiting, 'Geographical Imaginations of the "Holy Land": Biblical Topography and Archaeological Practice', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 29.2–3 (2007), 237–50 (pp. 237, 241–47).

9 Doron Bar and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, 'A New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Palestine', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 39.2 (2003), 131–48 (p. 134); Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, 'Perceptions and Images of the Holy Land', in *The Land that Became Israel: Studies in Historical Geography*, ed. by Ruth Kark (London: Yale University Press, 1990, pp. 37–53).



Figure 14.3. Linz, cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, 'Third Pilgrimage to Jerusalem', stained glass window in north aisle, 1913–16 (photo: courtesy of the Tiroler Glasmalerei- und Mosaik Anstalt, Innsbruck).

of the Sacred Family in Jerusalem (Fig. 14.1), and the other two are in stained-glass windows at the cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Linz (Figs 14.2 and 14.3). All three works were donated by pilgrims' societies—the mosaic in the hospice chapel by the Palestine Pilgrims of the Brixen Diocese in 1907, and the cathedral windows by the Pilgrims of the Linz Diocese in the years 1913 to 1916—and tie together two homelands: the physical one, Austria-Hungary, and the spiritual one, Jerusalem. All were designed and made by the same prestigious workshop, the Tyrolean Glass-Painting and Mosaic Institute in Innsbruck,¹⁰ using well-known

schemes of Jerusalem. Mosaic and stained-glass painting, traditionally considered most appropriate to convey holiness, spirituality, and mystical states, blossomed again in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and artists incorporated new technologies such as photography, which was perceived as a documentary practice, to better achieve their aims.

What were the reasons for the choice of a specific image of Jerusalem in each work? In effect, the basic question is how storytelling and narrative incorporate cultural, religious, and political content to represent Jerusalem, and how they come together in the creation of history. We will consider the narratives according to three criteria—form (visual representation), story (engaging factual or fictional content), and history (factual, authenticated content)—and in this light we will ask: What image of Jerusalem dwelled in the hearts and minds of the patrons of these pilgrimage memorials, the one in the holy city and the other in Linz? What did Jerusalem mean for the Austrian emperor and the Church, who encouraged the pilgrimages? And how did form and content function in those works to tell a relevant story in the Austrian national-historical and the Linz local-historical context? After concisely presenting the mosaic in the Austro-Hungarian Hospice in Jerusalem, we shall focus on the Linz cathedral windows, which have not yet been studied.

The Mosaic in the Chapel of the Austro-Hungarian Hospice in Jerusalem

The Austrian Hospice rises on a hillock along the Via Dolorosa. Built between 1856 and 1863, it was the first national pilgrims' house established by a European monarchy in Jerusalem and the most representative Habsburg monument in the city.¹¹ Its cornerstone, specially brought from Austria, symbolically translated that realm into Jerusalem, asserting possession. The 1907 mosaic titled 'The Military and Peaceful Pilgrimages of Austria-Hungary to the Holy Land since Ancient Times', in a lunette on the north wall of the hospice chapel (Fig. 14.1), was presented to Franz Joseph as a first homage on his coming sixtieth jubilee. It also functioned as a memorial to the donors, the pilgrims from the Brixen diocese who in 1898 took the cross, in imitation

10 Reinhard Rampold, *140 Jahre Tiroler Glasmalerei und Mosaik-Anstalt (1861–2001)* (Innsbruck: Athesia-Tyroliia, 2002), pp. 5–35.

11 Dagmar Redl, 'Das österreichische Hospiz in Jerusalem: ein "Kunstexport" des Historismus', in *Mit Szepter und Pilgerstab*, ed. by Böhler, pp. 89–128; Arad, *The Crown of Jerusalem*, Chap. 2.

of their monarch, in the first Austrian mass pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Franz Joseph was 'the noblest pilgrim of all times', who, by his own peaceful pilgrimage in 1869, 'showed his peoples the way to Jerusalem'.¹²

Franz Joseph majestically stands at the centre of the symmetrical composition, at the gates, as it were, of the longed-for Jerusalem that reveals itself on a high hill in the distance. Bathed in the white light of the rising sun, the city casts its aura of sanctity on the monarch, who shows the way to two special groups of pilgrims: 'military pilgrims', an anachronistic group of medieval crusader kings, knights, and saints from the lands that would become Austria-Hungary, at his right, and 'peaceful pilgrims', dressed in the national garments of the Austro-Hungarian peoples, at his left.

The ceremonial composition highlights the figure of Franz Joseph and clearly suggests that the representative pilgrims kneel not only at the sight of Jerusalem but also in honour of and gratitude to their emperor. Ancient rituals such as kneeling, kissing the ground, or washing the feet upon setting foot in the Holy Land often mark the passage from the secular to the holy. Guided by faith, pilgrims feel as if transported from mundane daily life to a sacred realm. Jerusalem was sanctified as the place of the resurrection of Jesus, and therefore a pilgrimage to the city was a metaphor for a journey to redemption and to heavenly Jerusalem. The first sight of Jerusalem was the fulfilment of a dream or prophecy.¹³ In this context, the emperor is both object and medium of the divine grace emanating from the holy city, the link between a celebrated past, the present, and an attainable ideal future. No unseemly element disrupts the shimmering pictorial grace and emotive stillness of the moment, and the timeless image successfully blurs the boundaries between allegorical and real and between story and history.

With the same aim, the Brixen Society of Pilgrims to the Holy Land also presented the emperor the mosaic decoration of the chapel's apse. It shows the apocalyptic *Agnus Dei* and, below it, a row of saints, some of them monarchs, who Christianized their people and became

their intercessors in heaven, or took the cross or the sword to the Holy Land; like the military pilgrims on the north wall, they are anachronistically presented as Austro-Hungarian.¹⁴

The selected figures in both mosaics clearly convey the enduring devotion and commitment of the Habsburg house and peoples to Jerusalem.¹⁵ Moreover, the narrative points to the pilgrims' sense of national identity, while also constructing an ideal image of supranational bond and common purpose centred on the Habsburg emperor and king. Paradigmatically, the two crusader monarchs in the mosaic of the military and peaceful pilgrimages were carefully chosen: King Andrew II of Hungary, whose epithet, 'the Jerosolimitan', signifies the importance accorded to his participation in the Fifth Crusade, and Austrian Duke Leopold V, who took part in the Third Crusade and there, according to Austrian tradition, provided the national red-white-red banner, symbolizing faith, bravery, and dynastic pride. The need to convey harmony and loyalty also dictated the choice of the other military pilgrims and the peaceful pilgrims as representatives of the Habsburg peoples.¹⁶ The chapel mosaics promoted loyalty at a time when Franz Joseph was struggling to keep his empire from disintegrating; it enhanced his image on the national and European stages, taking into account that beyond its aura as a sacred city and an exotic oriental locale, Jerusalem was the object of contesting European powers and religious confessions.

The image of Jerusalem in the mosaic—its scheme, location, and weight in the symmetrical composition formatted in a lunette—visually and literally holds the narrative by circumventing the wide gap between expectations and reality confronted by Christian visitors: whereas most confessions prostrate themselves in the Holy Sepulchre, retrace the Via Dolorosa, and pray at biblical sites, they fiercely compete for privileges in the holy places; Jews at the Wailing Wall lament the destruction of their sanctuary instead of 'seeing the light'; and the Muslim sanctuaries atop the Temple Mount accentuate the sorrowful situation of the cradle of Christianity. However, despite the misery, desolation, dirt, fanaticism, and gloomy atmosphere that many perceived as a divine curse, almost unanimously remarking that nothing remained of its glorious past, the city ultimately awakened the cherished mental images of 'the real Jerusalem'

12 Arad, *The Crown of Jerusalem*, Chap. 3 and Final Observations; Heinrich von Himmel, 'Das Mosaikbild in der Kapelle des österreichisch-ungarischen Hospizes', *Jahrbuch des österreichisch-ungarischen Pilgerhauses "Zur heiligen Familie" in Jerusalem*, 2 (1908), 27–31 (pp. 27–28).

13 'It was a mixture of piety and emotion that took hold of me in the expectation of the sights and blessedness which awaited me', wrote Franz Joseph to his wife on 9 November 1869: *Briefe Kaiser Franz Josephs an Kaiserin Elisabeth*, ed. by Georg Nostitz-Rieneck, 2 vols (Vienna: Herold, 1966), I, 108.

14 Arad, *The Crown of Jerusalem*, Chap. 3.3.

15 Haider-Wilson, 'Die Habsburgermonarchie und das Heilige Land', pp. 12–14, 344–45.

16 Arad, *The Crown of Jerusalem*, Chap. 6.1, 3.2, 4.2.

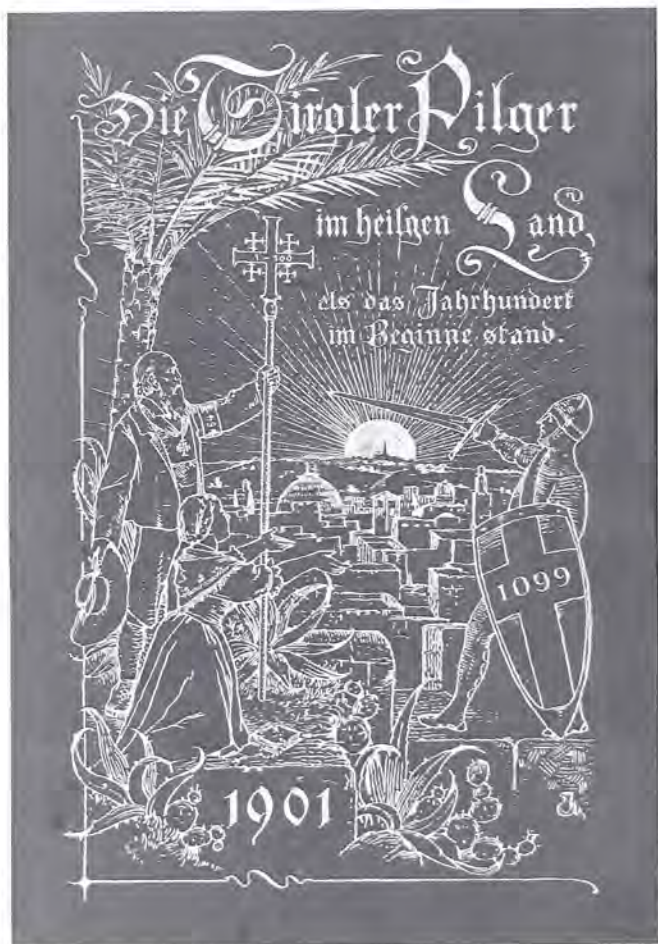


Figure 14.4. Melchior Lechner, *Die Tiroler Pilger im heiligen Land, als das Jahrhundert im Beginne stand: Gedenkbuch an die beiden Tiroler Pilgerzüge nach Jerusalem im September und Oktober 1901* (Innsbruck: Palästina-Pilgerverein der Diözese Brixen, 1902), front cover (photo: courtesy of the Tiroler Landesmuseum, Innsbruck, and G. Fussenegger).

encoded in memory since early childhood. The disparate types, languages, habits, costumes, and religions would be taken for their exotic value, while the landscapes and the locals recalled the narratives of the scriptures.¹⁷ While also disenchanted, Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria-Hungary wrote typically in 1881: 'The people whom you see on the roofs of their houses, in the small streets and at the windows, are old biblical Jews; fantasy could not imagine them more real [...], the poor just as the people who listened [to] the Saviour in the streets and squares.'¹⁸ Furthermore, fantasy overtook him in

17 Elliott Horowitz, "Remarkable Rather for Its Eloquence than Its Truth": Modern Travelers Encounter the Holy Land—and Each Other's Accounts Thereof', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 99.4 (2009), 439–64 (pp. 451, 455–60).

18 Rudolf, Kronprinz von Österreich, *Eine Orientreise vom*

the last hours of his visit: 'We look at these views for a last time [wishing] we can recall them [...] and be taken through them into the cradle of the history of man, there where Paradise stood, in the holy, golden, and colourfully magnificent Orient.'¹⁹

The contrast between the real and the ideal city was a permanent and irreconcilable feature of the pilgrimage experience. Nevertheless, the image of 'The military and peaceful pilgrims' avoids any reminders of contemporary realities. It has the strong aesthetic appeal of a wholeness in which nothing is spiritually meaningless and everything is perceived as balanced and complete, like a picturesque painting. A close parallel is the cover of the memorial book of the Tyrolean pilgrimages in September and October 1901 by Melchior Lechner (Fig. 14.4).²⁰ The iconic image of Jerusalem appears on a hilltop in the distant horizon like the jewel on a crown, set within the orb of a huge rising sun as if in a great radiant halo of sanctity. Two different kinds of pilgrims appear in heraldic position at the sides of the front plane. On the left, a pair of peaceful pilgrims: the man holds the Jerusalem pilgrims' cross and the woman kneels in prayer. Opposite them, at the right, stands a medieval 'pilgrim in arms', who points to the holy city while holding a shield decorated with a large crusader cross; its horizontal arm is inscribed '1099', the year the crusaders conquered the city and founded the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. As in the Austro-Hungarian Hospice mosaic, the landscape leads our eyes to the oriental city, inviting us to join the pilgrims, and both images point to the continuity of the bond of Austria to the Holy Land.

This icon of Jerusalem was an optimal choice: it arouses imagination and makes possible mental constructions, while still being vague enough to allow the image to remain indefinite and consistent with the desired reading. As in the physical encounter with Jerusalem, 'the whole [that visitors] earnestly sought relied on a distinct slant of vision and some measure of strategic omission. Everyday features of the visited place (populations included) either fell cleanly away from view or arranged themselves as part of the spectacle.'²¹

Jahre 1881, ed. by Leo Leitner (Salzburg: Residenz, 1994), pp. 121 (disappointment), 260 (enchantment).

19 Rudolf, Kronprinz von Österreich, *Eine Orientreise vom Jahre 1881*, ed. by Leitner, p. 120.

20 *Die Tiroler Pilger im heiligen Land, als das Jahrhundert im Beginne stand: Gedenkbuch an die beiden Tiroler Pilgerzüge nach Jerusalem im September und Oktober 1901* (Innsbruck: Palästina-Pilgerverein der Diözese Brixen, 1902).

21 James Buzard, 'A Continent of Pictures: Reflections on the

Consequently, it was widely used at the time in different contexts by diverse cultural, religious, and social bodies,²² and the particular symbolism they endowed it with attests to its malleability or, rather, its manipulability. In the Austro-Hungarian Hospice mosaic, Jerusalem is a timeless, changeless space whose sanctity impregnates Franz Joseph and, through him, also his peoples. God's will, more than the monarch's historical right, is the source of legitimacy, invulnerability, and absolute power, precisely at a time when the principles of monarchical rule were being questioned.²³

The Pilgrimage Windows of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Linz

Unlike the wall mosaic in the Austro-Hungarian Hospice chapel, the Linz cathedral windows depicting pilgrimages to the Holy Land show specific sites as part of a decorative programme centred on the Virgin and Upper Austria.²⁴ The cathedral, built upon a cornerstone from the Mount of Olives, is the largest in Austria and for years was the largest in Europe, too. The window representing the first Linz diocese's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the year 1900, is located in the fourth bay of the south aisle (Fig. 14.2), and the one representing the third pilgrimage, in 1910 and including the Galilee, is in front in the north aisle (Fig. 14.3).²⁵ The layout of the scenes in the two windows is identical: the main scene, at the centre, spreads over three registers across the four trefoil-ending lights; the two bottom registers show views of four sites that the pilgrims visited during their stay in the Holy Land and the upper two have a neo-Gothic architectural decoration.

The window dedicated to Jerusalem seemingly is a colourful and lively representation of highlights in the pilgrimage (Fig. 14.2). At the centre, in the largest pic-

torial space, pilgrims lead a procession in front of the Dome of the Rock; below, on the same axis, is the Holy Sepulchre, and at the bottom there is a panoramic view of the holy city. An examination of pilgrims' accounts strongly suggests that the choice of the cities at the sides honours significant stations in the pilgrimage: Jaffa, where the pilgrims landed and prayed in the Holy Land for the first time, and Bethany, the starting point of the emotive procession that would lead them along the Via Dolorosa to the Holy Sepulchre.

Jerusalem is also present in the 'Third Pilgrimage' window, showing at its centre the landing in Haifa, with views of Nazareth and of the Sea of Galilee in the registers below (Fig. 14.3). The lateral images represent the Dormition church on Mount Zion and the Austro-Hungarian Hospice. The local patriotism marked by nationalistic and religious bigotry, mirrored in pilgrims' narratives and the Linz diocese's archives, can explain the choice of the first German-Catholic church in Jerusalem, which had just been inaugurated,²⁶ and the representative monument of the self-defined 'most Catholic monarchy', Austria-Hungary. Therefore, the special selection of sites reflects both the contest between the various Christian denominations and between the European powers at that time.

The most telling images, in this context, are those juxtaposed on the vertical axis of the Jerusalem window: the procession on the Temple Mount right in front of the imposing Dome of the Rock, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the holy city (Fig. 14.2). A pilgrim carrying a large Jerusalem pilgrims' cross leads the procession. He is followed by prominent figures headed by the bishop of Linz and Heinrich von Himmel, the architect of the first Austro-Hungarian 'peoples' pilgrimage' to the Holy Land, the 1898 Brixen pilgrimage that became the model for Austrian mass pilgrimages. Four pilgrims were given the honour of carrying the statue of their heavenly patroness, the Virgin of the Rosary, and a fifth carries the precious banner donated by the imperial patroness of Upper Austrian pilgrims, Archduchess Marie Valerie. Finally, two women pilgrims carrying palm branches bring up the rear of the procession. The striking presence of the Dome of the Rock, as well as such details as the figures of the escort of the Austro-Hungarian Hospice sitting on the ground in the left corner and two young women in charming pseudo-oriental costumes watching

²² "Europe" of Nineteenth-Century Tourists, *PMLA*, 108.1 (1993), 30–44 (p. 34).

²³ Arad, *The Crown of Jerusalem*, Chap. 3.2.

²⁴ Shedel, 'Emperor, Church', pp. 74–81, 84–88, 91–92.

²⁵ Gottfried Schicklberger, *Die großen Glasgemälde des Maria-Empfängnis-Domes zu Linz* (Graz: Diözesanverein zum Dombau, 1995), pp. 8–13, 52–55; Margarete Böhm, 'Die fünf Fensterzyklen im Maria-Empfängnis-Dom in Linz 1868–1994' (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Salzburg, 2005), pp. 106–09. Both are descriptive works.

²⁶ Drafts for the Jerusalem window, at the Tyrolean Glass-Painting and Mosaic Institute, show the dates of the first and second pilgrimages, 1900 and 1904. See below.

²⁶ Jürgen Krüger, *Rom und Jerusalem: Kirchenbauvorstellungen der Hohenzollern im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Akademie, 1995), pp. 224–27.



Figure 14.5. Friedrich Perlberg, 'The Church of the Blessed Virgin on Mount Sion in Jerusalem', C. Andelfinger & Co. and Carl Hirsch postcard, Germany, 1898 (photo: courtesy of Y. Amir).

the event at the right, add the exotic touch expected in a Holy Land scene. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the pictorial space below, is enlivened by picturesque oriental figures in its parvis, whereas the cityscape, in the bottom field, is majestically silent.

The images are realistic. Not only the pilgrims but also the holy places could be easily recognized:²⁷ the models were the highly appreciated photographs documenting the 'sacred geography' and postcards based on them. These included the coloured postcard of Jaffa published in a handsome 1906 album of the Holy Land by the Imberger brothers,²⁸ the Holy Sepulchre and the Dormition Abbey (Fig. 14.5) in 1898 postcards by Friedrich Perlberg, and Nazareth in a postcard from that same year by the Schneller Institute.²⁹ The image of the Austro-Hungarian Hospice recalls that on the front cover of the 1904 Upper Austrian pilgrimage book *From the Danube to the Holy Land*, by Friedrich Pesendorfer (Fig. 14.6).³⁰ The use of such photographs and postcards

as models may account for the conventional range of colours as well as the stereotypical choice of views and perspectives. Iconographic elements common to these mementoes and the cathedral windows, beyond the similarity in their schemes, are peace, neatness, and the presence of oriental signifiers in a picturesque tableau, perceived as mirrors of biblical times; also common is the absence of elements that aroused the passions of orientalist minds: no harem, *almeh*, or cruel and hedonistic sheiks are present. An illustrative example is an earlier proposal for the Jerusalem window (Fig. 14.7), which presented not only more images of pilgrims and sites, similar to proposals for the 'Third Pilgrimage' window, but also a verse from Psalm 121, 'Stantes erant pedes nostri in atriis tuis O Jerusalem' (Our feet were standing in thy courts, O Jerusalem), and the popular orientalist images of a woman carrying a jar and two men with a camel. The associations with the sacred were achievable by a selective perception of reality, especially when it conflicted with strongly held values.³¹

Verbal and visual images had an important role in keeping memories and narratives alive, creating and reinterpreting myths, legends, and traditions, and enhancing the impact that the new (hi)stories could have on behold-

27 For their identification: Schicklberger, *Die großen Glasgemälde*, pp. 52, 54.

28 Yoel Amir, *Holy Land Scenes 1906: The Imberger Album of Colored Photos—Then and Now* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2006), No. 2.

29 Yoel Amir, *The Orientalists: Postcards of the Holy Land, 1880–1935* (Tel Aviv: Eretz-Israel Museum, 2008), figs pp. 51, 73 (postcards by C. Andelfinger & Co. and Carl Hirsch Publishers, Germany), and 96, respectively. The Annunciation Church, which identifies Nazareth in the Linz window, dates from 1877 and was replaced in 1955 by the actual building.

30 Friedrich Josef Pesendorfer, *Vom Donaustrand ins heilige Land: Gedenkbuch an den II. oberösterreichischen Pilgerzug nach*

Jerusalem vom 17. April bis 8. Mai 1904 (Linz: Kath. Pressverein, 1905).

31 Whiting, 'Geographical Imaginations', p. 243; Vivienne Silver-Brody, 'Selected Sectarian Postcards, Texts, and Snapshots of Jerusalem: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *Jerusalem in the Mind of the Western World, 1800–1948*, ed. by Yehoshua Ben-Arieh and Moshe Davis, *With the Eyes Towards Zion*, 5 (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), pp. 207–16 (pp. 210–13).

Figure 14.7. Linz, cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, proposal for the 'Entry to Jerusalem' window, watercolour, Tyrolean Glass-Painting and Mosaic Institute Archive, 1913 (photo: courtesy of the Tiroler Glasmalerei- und Mosaik Anstalt, Innsbruck).

ers. Impressions gathered during travel would probably be perceived as symbolic and internalized emotively. The juxtaposition of the images of the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Linz cathedral's window strongly suggests that the Umayyad memorial monument represents more than the Muslim holy site in Jerusalem: it embodies the Temple site, *Tempelplatz*, as stated in the cover of the 1904 Linz pilgrimage memoirs just mentioned (Fig. 14.6), and, furthermore, the *Templum Domini*, which juxtaposed to the image of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre synthesizes the Christian history of Jerusalem.

The cathedral's 'Consecration' window, presenting biblical scenes related to the Temple and the Saviour,

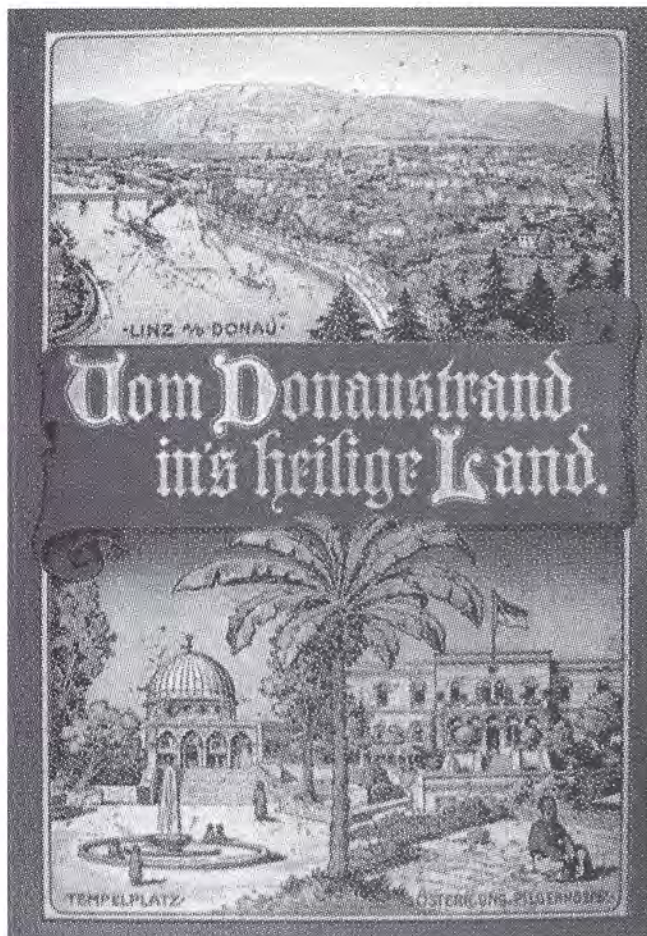


Figure 14.6. Friedrich Pesendorfer, *From the Danube to the Holy Land* (Linz: Kath. Pressvereines, 1905), memorial book of the second Upper Austrian pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 17 April to 8 May 1904, front cover (photo: courtesy of the Stadtarchiv Linz).





Figure 14.8. Linz, cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, 'Consecration of the Cathedral', stained glass window in north transept, 1912 (photo: courtesy of the Tiroler Glasmalerei- und Mosaik Anstalt, Innsbruck).

supports our interpretation (Fig. 14.8).³² In the main scene, Jesus accepting Zacchaeus (Luke 19. 1–4, 9–10), against the background of a round columned building housing an altar, metaphorically announces redemption; at Jesus's right appear the Canaanite woman with her daughter and the dog (Matthew 15. 21–8; Mark 7. 24–30) and apostles, also symbols of salvation. At the far left, King Solomon holds a telling inscription: 'Now I have built a majestic temple for you' (I Kings 8. 13). The scene below presents Jacob's dream at Bethel, equating the first altar to God (Genesis 28. 11–22) with the consecration of the Linz cathedral. The central vignettes at the bottom present eucharistic symbols, referring beholders to the chalice on the altar in the round building above, which thus can only be the *Templum Domini*/ Dome of the Rock, translated to Linz.

The fact that the event taking place in the cathedral's Jerusalem window is a sophisticated construction, geographically incongruent with its title, 'Entry to Jerusalem' and historically unthinkable in Ottoman Jerusalem, further supports this reading (Fig. 14.1). The Sublime Porte would not have admitted a Christian procession onto the Temple Mount, revered by Muslims as the Haram al-Sharif, the Noble Enclosure, which is showily displaying the large statue of the pilgrims' Madonna, the banner adorned with her image, and a large pilgrims' cross.

The appropriation of sacred sites and monuments, the construction of magnificent ones that would play down those belonging to other faiths, and the manipulation of symbols, stories, and history have been a common feature in Jerusalem since early times. Non-Muslims were not allowed to visit the Temple Mount before the mid-nineteenth century with only a few exceptions during the Egyptian rule of Palestine (1831–40). The dependence of the Ottoman Sultanate on the European powers for its existence, especially after the Crimean War (1853–56), called for a more flexible policy, including visits to the Temple Mount available with a bundle of special permissions and suitable baksheesh to the local authorities. Indeed, the French consul, the Franciscan custos, and the Latin patriarch presented petitions to the Ottoman authorities to allow each group of pilgrims easy access even to the Christian holy places, and generously bribed local officials to look aside while processions proceeded outside a church.³³ Recurring complaints by

32 Schicklberger, *Die großen Glasgemälde*, pp. 28–29.

33 Catherine Nicault, 'Foi et politique: les pèlerinages français en Terre Sainte (1850–1914)'; in *De Bonaparte à Balfour: la France, l'Europe occidentale et la Palestine 1799–1917*, under the direction

the Sultan about offenses to Muslims' honour and sensitivities also evidence the difficulties faced by pilgrims, despite the seemingly open atmosphere. Therefore, the 1900 Linz pilgrims' visit to the Temple Mount probably was quite similar to the 1904 visit, with no pilgrims' cross, no statue of the Virgin, and no banner with her image. The Linz Jerusalem window does not present a mere synthesis of significant moments in the pilgrimage, but a construction whose formal aspects, naturalistic style, and emotive contents facilitated its perception as an authentic event. It perfectly attends to Bishop Rudolf Hittmair's 1910 remark that 'the stained-glass windows will show our history to our whole homeland, lands, and peoples'.³⁴ His words were not empty rhetoric: Linz was homogeneously German, zealously Catholic, and extremely nationalistic.

In view of the realistic rendering and emotive appeal, the procession scene would have been meaningful not only to the pilgrims, but also to those in Linz who had not reached the Holy Land. Many had attended ceremonies celebrating the pilgrims' departure or return, or had seen images or heard stories about these events. The pilgrims were blessed at a devotional service in the cathedral and, proudly carrying the cross, the statue of the Virgin, and the banner with her image, marched to the train station. Their families and fellow townsmen prayed, sang hymns, and exclaimed 'God wills it!', Urban II's 1095 call for a 'pilgrimage in arms' to Jerusalem. Also, the pilgrims' return was highly emotive: they carried back the liturgical objects, now sanctified by the Holy Land, and waved palms, as documented in photographs and illustrations in their journals and the media.³⁵ Therefore, beholders would gaze in admiration at the familiar image depicted in the cathedral's window, and precisely the fact that it had been enlivened with attractive orientalist features would make it wholly convincing.

The ordinary tourist was scornfully characterized as having 'no judgment [...] [he] admires what the infallible Murray [guidebook] orders him to admire [and] never diverges one hair's breadth from the beaten track of his

predecessors'.³⁶ All the more so, pilgrims, and believers as a whole, followed the priests and eagerly took the accounts literally. The identification of the Dome of the Rock with the *Templum Domini* was kept in the Christian collective memory ever since it was nurtured by the Crusades, and the two 'temples', the *Templum Domini* and the Holy Sepulchre, were often presented in close relationship.

The juxtaposition was recalled and reconstructed in the nineteenth century and up until the time the Linz windows were made. A postcard produced in Fredrick Vester's studio at the American Colony in Jerusalem, on the occasion of Emperor Wilhelm II's peaceful crusade in 1898, places the two sanctuaries on the same axis.³⁷ However, in Wilhelmine propaganda it was not the Holy Sepulchre that was commonly associated with the Temple/Dome of the Rock, but the Redeemer's Church, the first Lutheran church in Jerusalem, whose consecration was the official aim of the imperial visit.³⁸ Similarly, in the c. 1910 ceiling painting by Otto Vittali Jr at the Ascension church in the Augusta Victoria Hospice on the Mount of Olives, the heavenly Jerusalem, in the image of the Dome of the Rock, is juxtaposed to the model of that Wilhelmine church that the imperial pair offers to God.³⁹ The juxtaposition of the Temple/Dome of the Rock and the Holy Sepulchre was essentially Catholic. In 1912, Otto Wagner's pupil, Joseph Heinisch, presented to his teacher a design for a grandiose papal palace in Jerusalem, in anticipation of the day the pope would take the Holy Land under his protection. Contrary to what one would expect, neither a reference to St Peter's in the Vatican nor Wagner's style are the outstanding feature, but rather the size of the dome, similar to that of the Anastasis rotunda and the *Templum Domini*.⁴⁰ The substitutions show that the combination was significant both in a religious and a political context.

The Austro-Hungarian Hospice functioned as the representative imperial institution in Jerusalem.

of Dominique Trimbur and Ran Aaronsohn [sic] (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2001), pp. 295–324 (pp. 305, 312).

34 Florian Oberchristl, *Der Maria-Empfängnis-Dom in Linz a.D.: zum sechzigjährigen Bau-Jubiläum* (Linz: Christlichen Kunstblätter, 1923), p. 1.

35 Ferdinand Zöhler, *Die Oberösterreicher im heiligen Lande: Gedenkbuch an den I. oberösterreichischen Männer-Pilgerzug nach Jerusalem in den Tagen vom 24. April bis 15. Mai im goldenen Jubiläumsjahr 1900* (Linz: Katholischer Presseverein, 1901), p. 61; Pesendorfer, *Vom Donaustrand*, pp. 170, 481.

36 James M. Buzard, 'Forster's Trespasses: Tourism and Cultural Politics', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 34.2 (1988), 155–79 (p. 155).

37 American Colony Archive, 3603 no. 858.

38 Kunstverlag H. Vogel, Leipzig, and Palastine-Pracht Karte No. 5, Kaiserreise 1898 (captions: 'Tempel' and 'Erlöserkirche'), or cover of Ludwig Schneller's *Die Kaiserfahrt durch's heilige Land* (Leipzig: Wallman, c. 1899).

39 Arad, 'Perception and Action', pp. 23–25.

40 David Kroyanker, *Dreamscapes: Unbuilt Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Museum of the History of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 58–59.

Accordingly, the cover of the above-mentioned 1904 pilgrimage book (Fig. 14.6) presents in the upper pictorial space a romantic view of Linz by the Danube and, in the bottom space, to each side of a tall palm tree, a patriotic version of the *Templum Domini*-Holy Sepulchre icon: the Dome of the Rock, representing the Temple site, and the Austro-Hungarian Hospice. Appropriately for the diocese that embodied ultramontanistism,⁴¹ the bishop chose for the Linz cathedral the juxtaposition of the *Templum Domini* and the Holy Sepulchre as a token of its bond to the church and Jerusalem.

Our interpretation is reinforced by additional expressions of the significance of Jerusalem in the cathedral. Its foundation on a blessed cornerstone 'white as a lily', cut 'at the foot of the Mount, by the Tomb of the Immaculate',⁴² is variously recalled. The ceremony is represented in a poster, looking, as it were, through a monumental arched gate; an inscription on a band entwined on the lower part of the painted frame announces the event and the date, 1 May 1862 (Fig. 14.9). In the bottom right corner of the frame, branches embrace the cornerstone, which is engraved with a cross, and in the corner above appears a model of the cathedral; a banner and episcopal coat of arms occupy the two left corners. No documentation on the poster's design is available.⁴³ To judge by the combination of roses and lilies in the frame's left side, the roots and branches holding the cornerstone may represent, independently from the oak branch above, an olive tree—that is, the origin of the cross on the stone in the *locus sanctus*. The stone's place of origin also stands out in the crypt, on memorial plaques to the ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone and to Canon Strigl, who brought it from Jerusalem.

Strong bonds to the Holy Land are also mirrored in a monumental orientalist Nativity manger in the Linz cathedral crypt. Sebastian Osterrieder created it between 1906 and 1913, following a journey to the Holy Land to study the timeless biblical sites and local

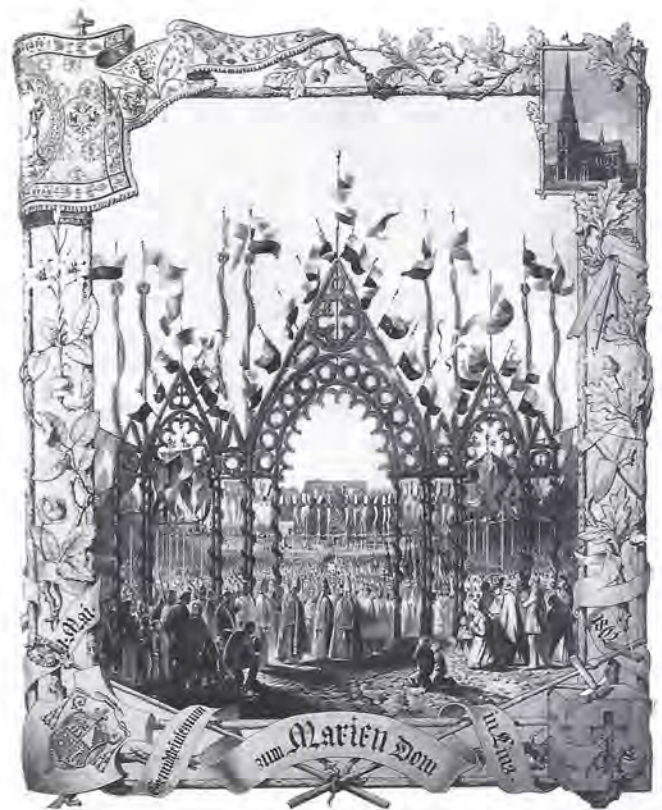


Figure 14.9. Linz, 'Laying of the Cornerstone of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception', Diocesan Archive memorial print, 1862 (photo: courtesy of the Diözesanarchiv Linz, and J. Asch).

people.⁴⁴ Crenellated walls and ruined structures with arched openings, palm trees, the grotto and manger, a replica of the star in the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem, branches specially brought by pilgrims, and figures in pseudo-oriental garments locate the scenes of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Child in the 'biblical' city. The figures of the three angels who hold the instruments of the Passion and hover above the sacred family, as well as those in the huge glory on top, are, however, conventional European types in classicizing robes. At twelve metres long and more than fifty figures, the Linz crib (*Krippe*), the largest of its time, exemplifies a process that began around 1851 when Johann Hilber and Joseph Taferner returned from their pilgrimage to the Holy Land and created the first oriental crib in South Tyrol, according to the biblical text and their own recollections of the landscape and people of Bethlehem. Their work led to a revival of the craft and advanced the

41 Max H. Voegler, 'Religion, Liberalism and the Social Question in the Habsburg Hinterland: The Catholic Church in Upper Austria, 1850–1914' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2006), pp. 300–48.

42 Ingo Mörth, 'Donaustrand und Heiliges Land: auf den Spuren von Pilgern, Forschungsreisenden und Kreuzfahrern in Linz', in *Stadtbuch Linz*, ed. by Andrea Schmolzmüller and Gerhard Stadler (Vienna: Promedia, 1993), pp. 195–204 (p. 196); <<http://soziologie.soz.uni-linz.ac.at/sozthe/staff/moerthpub/Donaustrand.pdf>> [accessed 21 May 2008].

43 Photograph and information courtesy of Josef Asch, Linz Diocese, 24 November 2010.

44 Balthasar Scherndl, *Die größte Krippe im Dom von Linz: Sonderabdruck aus dem Krippen-Kalender 1923* (Linz: Tyrola, 1922).

general trend to replace European and fantastic stagings with 'evidentiary biblical' schemata.⁴⁵ A pious pilgrim, Emperor Franz Joseph wrote:

the Valley of Rephaim, the well of the Three Kings, the cloister of Mar Elias, the Tomb of Rachel [...], the flowering trees on smooth hills and stone houses one above the other as in an amphitheatre, [are] exactly as the landscape of Bethlehem in mangers' plays!⁴⁶

Lastly, Linz also has its own Jerusalem by the 1608 translation of the Stations of the Cross to an evocative hill by the Danube. The oldest surviving building is the Calvary chapel, built from 1651 to 1654 and sacralized in the first half of the eighteenth century with a relic of the True Cross; this was the Twelfth Station until 1902, the year the event was relocated to a separate shrine. In 1659 the Fourteenth Station, a Holy Sepulchre chapel in a design evoking the *locus sanctus* in Jerusalem, was built in the graveyard to highlight the promise of redemption. The other stations date from the years 1845 to 1850. The stations house the corresponding scene enacted by wood figures in painted and sculpted settings; an 1849 life-size statue of St Helena holding a large cross adds to the Linz-Jerusalem equation.⁴⁷

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, as well as to sacred sites in Europe, were more than a metaphor for nearing heaven. The contemporary Linz windows and the

Jerusalem mosaic exemplify how stories were incorporated into 'historical' representations of pilgrimages to the holy city to suit specific contexts and aims. The Tyroleans who went in a pioneer 'peoples' pilgrimage' to Jerusalem in 1898 wished to celebrate themselves as going in the footsteps of their Christlike monarch, stress the loyalty due him, and emphasize the historical commitment of his house and peoples to Jerusalem since ancient times. The location of the mosaic, in the Austro-Hungarian national house in Jerusalem, led them to choose a dreamlike orientalist image of the holy city that enhances the figure of Franz Joseph as emperor by the grace of God, recalling that by divine grace he also holds the title to Jerusalem.

The Linz pilgrims wrote a different story, a chapter in their own history enhanced by their love of and commitment to Jerusalem in Linz. They were not the only patrons. The Linz diocese, leading the struggle for absolute and overall authority of the Catholic church, fostered the pilgrimages and their commemoration as highly effective means of indoctrination and control. Thus, the bishop chose an icon of the Christian history of the holy city that juxtaposes the *Templum Domini* and the Holy Sepulchre and incorporates the realistic portraits of prominent pilgrims in a fictitious procession. These personages would engage the religious and patriotic feelings of beholders while celebrating themselves and the diocese of Linz as bearers of the banner of Austrian Catholicism.

These images of Jerusalem tell us more about the people who made use of them, and about their spiritual and political interests, than they do about the historical Jerusalem. Typically, in both works they are meant to represent the real as well as the ideal city, the heavenly Jerusalem. Both works exemplify the long-standing and far-reaching potential of Jerusalem to symbolically enhance rulers, nations, and Churches, which led to the invention of a sophisticated imagery manipulating stories as history.

45 Johann Krammer, 'Austrian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land', in *Austrian Presence in the Holy Land in the 19th and Early 20th Century*, ed. by Marian Wrba, Proceedings of the Symposium in the Austrian Hospice in Jerusalem, March 1–2, 1995 (Tel Aviv: Austrian Embassy, 1996), pp. 66–80 (p. 69).

46 Nostitz-Rieneck, *Briefe*, I, 114.

47 The Maria-Heilbrunn and Maria-Thal chapels were built for the veneration of Mary in the years 1660 to 1690. Ernst Krämer, *Kreuzweg und Kalvarienberg, historische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Kehl: Heitz, 1957), pp. 55, 118. Photographs at <http://www.sagen.at/doku/quellen/quellen_00c/st_margarethen.html> [accessed 13 June 2012].