

## Chapter XI

### Jerusalem Elsewhere\*

Most investigations of Jerusalem have dealt with the city as a geographical entity, a city located at a specific place in the rather inhospitable and tortuous rocky landscape between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean coastline. It is a city with a long and complicated history, from obscure walled settlements datable to the eighteenth century BCE to the contemporary capital of the state of Israel.<sup>1</sup> Fewer but often important investigations have dealt with what may be called a mythic or visionary Jerusalem, that is to say, the Jerusalem imagined as the city to come, from Ezekiel's architectural depiction (Ezekiel, chapters 40–43) to the "New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" and covered with precious stones, found in the Christian Book of Revelation (Revelation 21:2, 10), or the medieval Jewish idea of a Jerusalem whose whole territory is covered with "precious stones and pearls," so that all conflicts disappear because wealth is available to all.<sup>2</sup>

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\* First published in *City of the Great King: Jerusalem from David to the Present* (Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 333–43.

<sup>1</sup> There is no single introduction to the history of the city of Jerusalem that is consistently accurate and up to date, inasmuch as every year brings a new crop of contributions and subdivisions to established chronological periods (prehistory, Israelite, Post-Exilic to Roman, Christian, Arab Muslim, Ottoman, twentieth-century) or to common analytical or synthetic competencies (linguistic, archaeological, historical, national, archival, visual). As a result, parallel accounts are constantly created that rarely meet, if ever. Instead of providing a long list of complementary references, many of which are bound to be out of date, I would argue that the best "introduction" to the history of the city lies in the articles on Jerusalem found in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (under "al-Kuds"), *The Dictionary of the Bible*, the *Reallexikon der byzantinische Kunst*, and so on. In fact, a slightly updated and well-illustrated selection of all these encyclopedia entries would make a useful introductory anthology of a type apparently favored by book publishers. Although all the entries are out of date and often inaccurate in many details, the overall information they provide corresponds more or less to what a reader wishes and needs to know. Furthermore, the errors often cancel each other out.

<sup>2</sup> For the Jewish example, see Raphael Patai, *The Messiah Texts* (New York: Scribner, 1979), pp. 224 ff. Otherwise the most recent discussions of visionary Jerusalem are Werner Müller, *Die Heilige Stadt* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1966); Marie-Thérèse Gousset, "Iconographie de la Jérusalem Céleste: IX–XII siècles" (thesis, University of Paris, 1978); Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem* (Rome: Herder,

But in addition to the physical and visionary Jerusalems, there may well be a third dimension worth investigating – a transformed Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> It has clear connections with physical reality, yet it is never located in Palestine; it appears to be visionary, but does not deal with eschatology and the end of time, as it always maintains a concrete existence. It is not certain that a single name or attribute can be given to this “other” Jerusalem located “elsewhere.”

First, it is worth mentioning briefly two areas related to a concrete Jerusalem that is not the city now seen by millions of tourists nor the one yet to come. [334]

The first area consists of the uses of the words and concepts “Zion” and “Jerusalem” in the pious practices, liturgies, and prayers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam seen together and comparatively rather than separately, as they usually are. Elaborate and unique uses are absent from Muslim practice, since Islam did not develop, to the same extent as the other two faiths, elaborate rituals with considerable variants or local liturgical habits and prayers. But it did develop one pious practice that is pertinent to Jerusalem and that is documented as early as the eleventh century. It is the *'umrah*, the local pilgrimage, often made in order to secure specific benefits, like divine blessings on the occasion of circumcisions, as mentioned in an eleventh-century source.<sup>4</sup> Even today, conversations with Muslims born and bred in or around Jerusalem elicit recollected stories and legends told by elderly relatives about ritual practices that are not part of formal and official Islam and are largely unrecorded. Within Christianity and Judaism, the liturgical uses of the words “Zion” or “Jerusalem” are more easily available. But a curious subsidiary topic emerges in the occurrence and symbolic significance of the two words in Protestant hymns from northern countries, quite different from the liturgical meanings of the words in rites created for the most part around the eastern Mediterranean. In approved ecclesiastical rituals or in the pious poetry of Anglo-Saxon divines, the prevalent vision of Jerusalem is not the image of the real city, nor is it always the eschatological Jerusalem of the end of time. It is, rather, a sacred shell, a faithful reflection, or a striking model for a great variety of human emotions and for the

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1987); M. L. Gatti-Ferrer, *La Gerusalemme Celeste* (Milan: n.p., 1983), a catalog of an important exhibition that seems to have escaped notice in most scholarly literature.

<sup>3</sup> The notion of “another” Jerusalem arose while I was completing a lengthy study of the city between c. 600 and 1000 CE, the time when the Christian city became a Muslim one. For this study, see Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Medieval Jerusalem* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>4</sup> Nasir-i Khosro, *Safarnama (The Book of Travels)*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr (New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986), p. 21. The whole issue of local or even pan-Islamic uses of Jerusalem’s holiness, especially during the Ottoman centuries, deserves a fuller investigation than it has received on the part of cultural historians and, particularly, ethnographers.

infinitely complex interaction between man and God.<sup>5</sup> The second area is the history of the representation of Jerusalem in the arts and the variations within these representations from period to period, artist to artist, and region to region.<sup>6</sup> Whether in Carpaccio's series dealing with St George or in a large number of Flemish Crucifixion paintings after the publication of Breitenbach's travels to the Holy Land, images of Jerusalem appear that are not strictly fantasy, although fantasy does not really disappear from images before the second half of the nineteenth century. Most of these representations are focused on specific buildings, usually the Dome of the Rock as the Jewish Temple at the time of Christ or the Holy Sepulcher, but a more or less vague urban setting or a crowd of people in theatrical oriental clothes is included to remind the viewer that the monuments are in a [335] city. The variations in the image of the city probably contain lessons about the perception of Jerusalem that existed in premodern Europe. Three groups of documents, different from each other in kind, complexity and importance, illustrate the phenomenon of Jerusalem "elsewhere."

### "Farthest" Jerusalem

A perusal of indexes of place names in atlases yields remarkably few results when one thinks of the consistency with which names with biblical connections were used in the Christian expansion over more or less empty territories. I found one Jerusalem in New Zealand and there is one Russian village near Moscow, not found on maps from Soviet times, called "New Jerusalem." It was actually a monastery, which grew into a larger settlement. A more interesting and more original case is that of Qudus in Indonesia, by now a sizable town in central Java with a fairly well-known mosque complex developed around the tomb of a holy man. The complex goes back to at least 1533. The mosque is appropriately called al-Aqsa, as it was, when it was built (at least according to local tradition), the "farthest" from Mecca. The case is interesting in that the holiness involved in the root *qds* as used for the name of a city depends less on the intrinsic merits of that city than on its use in the name of the city in Palestine that contained a mosque identified by

<sup>5</sup> For some vivid examples of this interaction, the best book is still Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957), pp. 10, 44–5, 127, and elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> For preliminary and, on the whole, still very simple-minded attempts in this direction, see Gatti-Ferrer, *La Gerusalemme Celeste*, and Françoise Robin, "Jérusalem dans la Peinture franco-flamande," in Daniel Poiron, ed., *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 1986). The latter volume also contains an interesting study by Mireille Mentré on illustrations of celestial Jerusalem in manuscripts and so far the only existing study of the Haram in the context of Muslim holy places, presented and discussed by Janine Sourdel. Both of these topics are, however, outside the concerns of this chapter.

universal Muslim tradition as the place mentioned in the Qur'an, the *masjid al-Aqsa* – the “farthest” mosque to which God carried the Prophet during the mystical Night Journey or *Isra'*.<sup>7</sup> Not much is available about the history of Qudus in Indonesia, even though photographs and plans of the mosque have often been published, especially because of its unusual minaret built in the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> But it is symbolically appropriate that the name of the Palestinian city has been reused and preserved in two lands, Indonesia and New Zealand, farthest away from the real Jerusalem.

### Christian and Muslim Representations of the City

The museum located in the château of Saumur, a sleepy town on the Loire known for its old military school and heroic defense in 1940, possesses a large painting representing Palestine, or at least an approximate [336] Palestine with many holy sites, from the Transfiguration to Bethlehem and the cave of the Nativity. Its title, *Jerusalem, the Holy City and Its Surroundings*, is in Greek, and it is dated 1704. The painting, remarkable for its representation of Jerusalem in the center of the composition, belongs to a tradition of sacred cartography going back as far as the sixth century mosaic map from Madaba in Jordan.<sup>9</sup> The complex of the Holy Sepulcher occupies most of the city, its major components are clearly recognizable, and an obvious and perfectly appropriate emphasis is given to the three sacred events of the Crucifixion, Burial and Resurrection. The rest of the city is fitted inside walls zigzagging their way over formalized hills; one can easily recognize the citadel and especially the Haram al-Sharif with the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque.<sup>10</sup> This image of Jerusalem in its Palestinian setting was probably made for Greek or other Orthodox Christians living away from

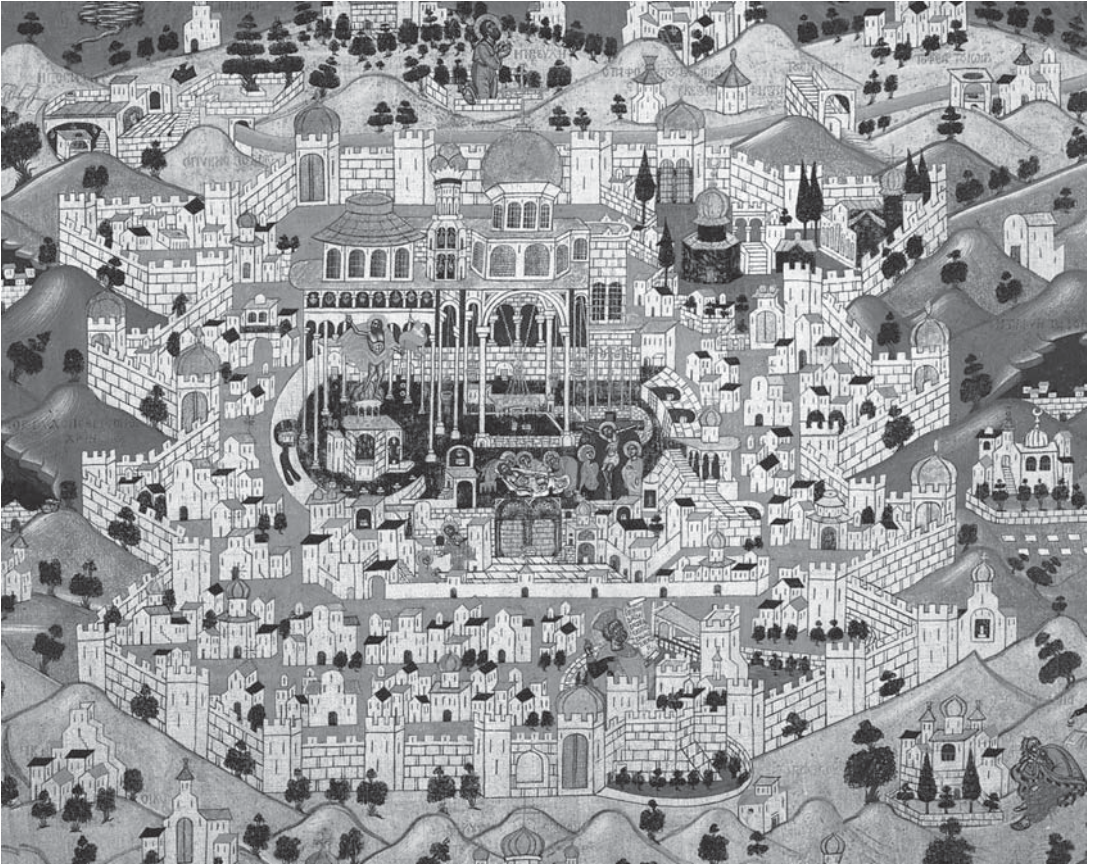
<sup>7</sup> Much has been written on these topics. For a basic introduction to all of them, see, in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, the entries “al-Aksa,” “isra’,” and “mi’raj” (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954).

<sup>8</sup> For the latest references, see Martin Frishman and Hasan-uddin Khan, *The Mosque* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), pp. 235–6.

<sup>9</sup> The Madaba map has often been published and discussed; the latest statements on it are Herbert Donner and Heinz Coppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1977), and in a more summary form, Michele Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Transjordan* (Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 1993). For other maps and drawings in general, the most accessible survey with the best pictures is Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Holy Land* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1986). Unfortunately, the number of beautifully illustrated books has not been matched by intelligent discussions of the meaning of their illustrations.

<sup>10</sup> I owe my knowledge of this painting to an old family friend, M. Boris Lossky, for many years director of the museum of Tours and now long retired. To my knowledge, it has never been published. Further studies should be able to identify other buildings as well as many of the sanctuaries near Jerusalem or in the rest of the strictly Christian Palestine.





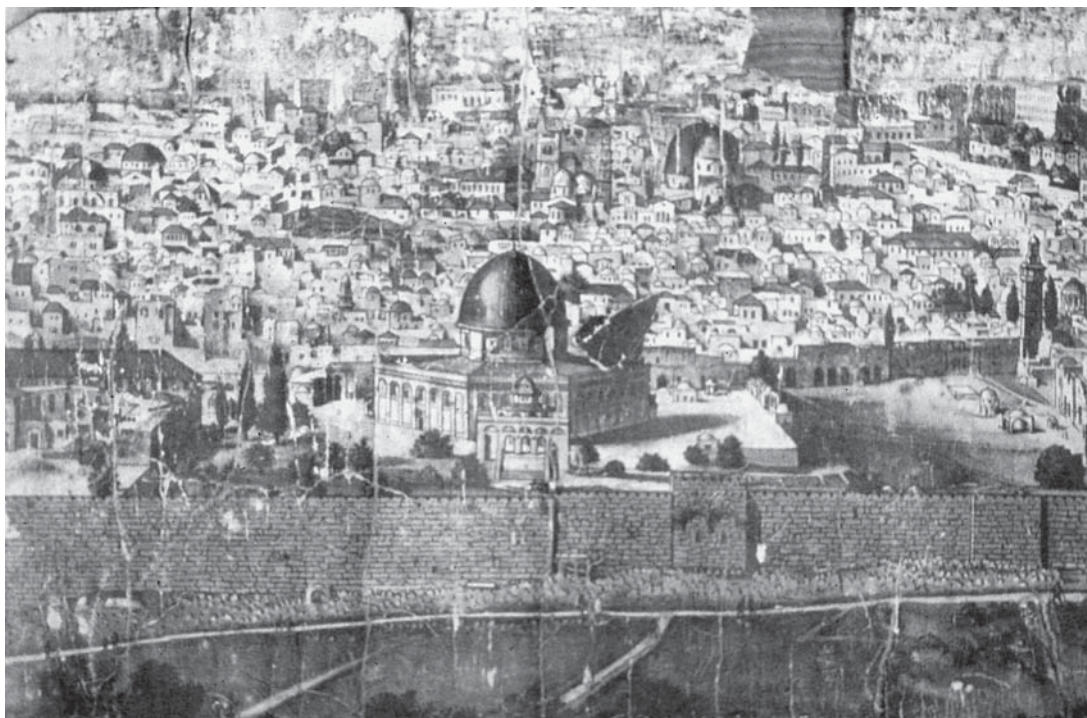
Palestine and provided a view of the city which, though not visually accurate, contains all the striking elements of the actual city that would have been reported orally by pilgrims: massive walls, towers, impressive gates, sanctuaries, houses, and the Holy Sepulcher.

A century or more later, a Muslim pious popular painting now in the Aleppo Museum (Figure 2) also shows walls, houses and sanctuaries, but *its* focus is the Dome of the Rock dominating an image of the city with the fullness of its urban setting, including even churches and synagogues but without the dramatic appearance of a walled city. How legitimate it is to draw any kind of conclusion about Jerusalem itself from the evidence of these images remains a debatable matter, inasmuch as no one has, to my knowledge, worked on folk representations of architecture in Ottoman times.<sup>11</sup>

A third representation takes us many centuries back. In an extraordinary painting from the rich collection of the Topkapi Serai Museum in Istanbul,

1 Jerusalem, the Holy City and its surroundings (1704), anonymous Greek painter, Musée de Saumur, France

<sup>11</sup> I owe my knowledge of this painting to a postcard received from Garth and Elizabeth Fowden.



2 Jerusalem.  
Anonymous,  
nineteenth  
century, Aleppo,  
Syria

the Prophet Muhammad is shown settled on a rug in front of two personages, with a crowd of other people arranged below in groups characteristic of Persian painting from the early fourteenth century (Figure 3). A large angel flies in from the upper right carrying a piece of land with a city on it. The painting was first interpreted by the late Richard Ettinghausen as showing Constantinople brought to the Prophet as a gift yet to come.<sup>12</sup> But there are, as Ettinghausen sensed, many difficulties with this interpretation, the [337] main one being that none of the accounts of the heavenly Journey of the Prophet ever relate the bringing of Constantinople to the Prophet. Furthermore, the arrangement of the personages did not make sense, and the cylindrical shape of the minaret, which he interpreted as Turkish, is an anachronism for the fourteenth century.

A solution to the problem of this miniature lies in the Arabic text of the *Mir'aj-nameh*, which was not known to Ettinghausen in 1957. It is Jamel Eddine Bencheikh who seems to have discovered the correct explanation,

<sup>12</sup> Richard Ettinghausen, "Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century," in his collected essays, *Islamic Art and Archaeology*, ed. Miryam Rosen-Ayalon (Berlin: G. Mann Verlag, 1984), first published in 1957. The picture itself has often been reproduced and appears in color in M. S. Ipsiroglu, *Masterpieces from the Topkapi Museum* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), fig. 10.





even though he does not say so. His publication of a French translation (in reality a literary adaptation) of the Arabic text has been designed in such a way that this particular miniature [338] faces a very striking and appropriate passage at the end of the book. As it turned out, according to this version of the story, the inhabitants of Mecca refused to believe the Prophet's story about his journey to Jerusalem on the way to the heavens, and in order to test him, they asked him to describe the city. He could not do so, because he had visited it during a dark night. Then God ordered the archangel Gabriel to go to Jerusalem, to take it with "the mountains, hills, and valleys around it, with its streets and passageways, and with its sanctuaries,"

3 Jerusalem being shown to the Prophet Muhammad by the archangel Gabriel, detail of painting, Persian, fourteenth century, Topkapi Serai Museum, Istanbul, *hazine* 2154, fol. 107a

and to carry it to Muhammad in Mecca so that he could describe it to local skeptics.<sup>13</sup>

If this is indeed the correct interpretation of the city represented in the Persian miniature, Jerusalem is shown as a “type” city, with rivers, most un-Palestinian minarets and domes, and many other features clearly relating it to the visual memory of early Mongol Iran.<sup>14</sup> But the mountains, the mighty walls, the fancy gates and the large sanctuaries are all there. Just as in the Madaba map, the Greek painting of 1704, the Aleppo folk painting, and probably scores of other images, Jerusalem is shown not as it was, but as a typical or idealized city of the culture for which the image was made, to which a few specific “signs” were added that had become associated with Jerusalem, mostly through oral transmission by travelers or by reciters of hagiographical accounts.

### Russian Transformation

A third series of documents emerged during an investigation of the appearance of Georgian monks in Jerusalem. The search led me to the early medieval history of the monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, located just east of the present Israel Museum. The monastery is alleged to have been founded by Georgian monks in the sixth century, rebuilt in the eleventh, decorated in the twelfth, and passed on to Greek monks in the eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Finding that monastery, in turn, led to a monastery of Holy Zion built c. 1060 in Georgia itself.<sup>16</sup> And the monastery in Georgia, first published and discussed by Russian scholars before the revolution, revealed the existence of a considerable literature in Russian on what has recently been called the “many-layered holy model” of Jerusalem in medieval and, as it turns out, premodern Russia.<sup>17</sup> Following are a few observations pertaining to the image of Jerusalem in Russia. [339]

Like the rest of Palestine and at times like Constantinople, Jerusalem became a text, almost a completed book, in the sense that the knowledge of its spaces was a lesson in sacred history and, therefore, a model for a moral

<sup>13</sup> Jamel Eddine Bencheikh, *Le Voyage Nocturne de Mahomet* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1988), pp. 174–6.

<sup>14</sup> It is worth noting that the image of the city in this miniature was used to illustrate a “typical” city by Paolo Cuneo, *Storia dell’Urbanistica, Il Mondo Islamico* (Laterza, Rome: Roma-Bari, 1986), pp. 18–19.

<sup>15</sup> T. B. Virsaladze, *Rospis Ierusalimskogo Krestnogo Monastyra* (Paintings in the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem) (Tbilisi: n.p., 1973).

<sup>16</sup> Further information on this and other related issues was passed on to me by my friend and colleague Professor Ihor Ševčenko.

<sup>17</sup> This statement and most of the information that follows has been inspired by A. Batalov and A. Lidov, eds, *Ierusalim v Russkoi Kultury* (Jerusalem in Russian Culture) (Moscow: Ed. Nauka, 1994), a very remarkable compendium of articles on the subject.



life. It has even been argued that the urban structure of many settlements from old Rus' was meant to reproduce Jerusalem as it had been described by pilgrims. Such may have been the case for Novgorod and Arkhangelsk, and, as one scholar had pointed out, an imaginary specificity for Jerusalem appears as late as in Boris Pasternak's poetry when he writes about "a road [that] went around the Mount of Olives [while] below flowed the Kedron," a depiction of the Kedron only possible for someone who had never been there.

Much earlier and equally strangely, a legend about an early holy man from Novgorod called John included a story of his Night Flight to Jerusalem on a wild beast that transformed itself into a steed, while the holy man prayed in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. There is obviously some connection here with the story of Muhammad's Mi'raj and possibly also with the Egyptian account of a Muslim converted to Christianity as he was transported on a winged horse from the Arabian desert to the monastery of St Mercury in Egypt.<sup>18</sup> Instantaneous travel opportunities obviously existed for holy men everywhere, as they had been available to Solomon.

Curiously, Solomon is not mentioned in any of the stories I encountered in my brief foray into medieval Russian literature. But David does appear as the hero of a book of sacred legends entitled *Jerusalem Talks*. He is depicted interpreting the dream of the Russian legendary hero Voloto Volovich in the following way: "There will be in Rus' the main city of Jerusalem and in that city will be gathered the apostolic church of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, with its seventy tops, that is to say the Holy of Holies." The Holy Land is in Holy Russia, and every city is a Jerusalem or acquires a direct connection with Jerusalem through miraculous events or through real or imaginary pilgrims.<sup>19</sup>

These myths, ideas and fragments of concrete knowledge find their most original expression in several works of late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century architecture, a time when the lands of Orthodox Eastern Europe and especially the Muscovite realm underwent complex and fascinating transformations under the simultaneous impact of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the spread of the Renaissance and [340] the Reformation, and a variety of internal pressures. The most immediately pertinent example is the cathedral of the Resurrection built between 1658 and 1685 in the monastery near Moscow, which was specifically called New Jerusalem. But the most remarkable example is the celebrated Church of St Basil on Red Square, which appears in all pictures of Moscow and is one of the most fascinating

<sup>18</sup> Severus ibn al-Muqaffa, *History of the Patriarchs of Egypt*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Le Caire, 1948), pp. 151 ff. It should be added that, according to the same source, a monastery of New Jerusalem existed in the Egyptian wilderness, vol. 1, p. 60.

<sup>19</sup> M. V. Roshdestvenskaia, "Obraz Cviatoi Zemli v drevnerusskoi literatury" (The Image of the Holy Land in Old Russian Literature), in Batalov and Lidov, eds, *Ierusalim*.

monuments in the history of architecture in general. It was founded in the second half of the sixteenth century and much redone in the seventeenth. It was a “Jerusalem,” as it was even called by the Western traveler Olearius, because it commemorated the victory over the infidel Tatars, whose capital, Kazan, had been taken by Ivan IV.<sup>20</sup> Several other monasteries, some as late as 1814, when a Greek monastery called Ierusalimskij was founded near Taganrog, now in Ukraine, continued the tradition until the dawn of the nineteenth century.

These appearances of Jerusalem as a constructed space are interesting for their ideological message, but the ideological message itself is far more fully and clearly expressed in written form than it is perceivable visually. What makes the visual transformation interesting is not that it provides yet another example of something known otherwise, but that it uses in a rather original way a process of visual persuasion known, from its rhetorical origins, as the *synecdoche*. Normally it means that a part stands for a whole, as when, in the decoration of a medieval church, two or three examples – for instance of the liberal arts or of sins – stand for a complete set, the seven arts or the seven vices.<sup>21</sup> But in the examples given here, this rhetorical procedure is used backwards: it is a case of metonymy, as the whole identifies a part. The whole city, Jerusalem or Zion, is used to designate a church or a monastic establishment, and the use of the name magnifies the glory or the holiness of the patrons or users of a space, because, like David and Solomon or like the masses of people who came to see Christ enter Jerusalem a week before His Passion, these patrons or users do not really deal with a church or with a monastery in the Russian north, but with a city made holy in name as well as in fact and that can be present anywhere.

The souvenirs of today’s Jerusalem, which, together with photographs, are the parts of the city carried to the four corners of the earth, perpetuate one aspect of this phenomenon, that of seeing the city exclusively from the point of view of one of the religions claiming [341] rights in it and thereby excluding or diminishing the place of others.<sup>22</sup> Even photography can be and has been manipulated so as to preempt the city for a sacred place, the Western Wall, the Haram al-Sharif, or the Holy Sepulcher. In doing that, the contemporary culture or cultures dealing with Jerusalem simply continue a tradition of seeing and representing the city through its major buildings. Unique historical, emotional and political reasons made the transfer of these ways of perceiving the city particularly striking in the Muscovite Russia of

<sup>20</sup> William C. Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 122–9, 165–7; André Grabar, *L’Art du Moyen Age en Europe Orientale* (Paris: A. Michel, 1968), p. 192; Batalov and Lidov, *Ierusalim*.

<sup>21</sup> Although he did not use the term *synecdoche*, André Grabar described the procedure in his *Les Voies de la Création en Iconographie Chrétienne* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), pp. 169–70. The earlier English edition of this book does not contain this section.

<sup>22</sup> There probably are ecumenical souvenirs, but I do not recall any.



4 A “Jerusalem” or “Zion” Russian Eucharist vessel

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But there are traces of comparable transfers in medieval Western Europe with considerable variations between the times before and after the Crusades and possibly between different areas.<sup>23</sup>

The originality of the Russian transformation of Jerusalem outside of Jerusalem is, finally, demonstrated by the existence of bronze objects in the shape of domed churches that are called “Zions” or “Jeruselems” (Figure

<sup>23</sup> Here are a few randomly assembled examples of studies that have dealt with the subject or alluded to it: Robert Konrad, “Das himmlische und das irdliche Jerusalem im mittelalterlichen Denken,” in C. Brauer et al., eds, *Speculum Historiale* (Munich: n.p., 1965), pp. 527–40; Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 12 ff. (esp. n. 61); Robert G. Ousterhout, “The Church of Santo Stefano, a ‘Jerusalem’ in Bologna,” *Gesta*, 20 (Fort Tryon Park, New York: International Center of Medieval Art, 1981).

4).<sup>24</sup> They were known under this name in the fifteenth century, when they became commonly used liturgically in the several entries and processions of the eucharistic service. By the twelfth century, such objects in the shape of buildings, with certain late antique examples if not prototypes, had probably acquired the name of the city of Jerusalem. At that time, the relatively easy access to Jerusalem through the Crusades led, within the many layers of Christian memory associated with the city, to a different kind of awareness than had existed before. This is precisely the time when, like a booster shot for inoculations, the physical and actual Jerusalem affected and modified once again the myths that had developed around it. And the confusion between an imaginary city and a real one led sometimes to unusual results, like, in the seventeenth century, the ordering by a monastery in Russia of a wooden model of the Holy Sepulcher to be copied into a church within the monastery.<sup>25</sup>

Except perhaps in food practices (a “coney island”) or in items of exotic clothing (a “fez” or a “bikini”), I do not know of many instances of objects that have acquired the name of a city or even of a concrete geographic space.<sup>26</sup> That this happened with Jerusalem is a testimony to the extraordinary role the city has played in the imagination and practices of believers from three systems of faith who live far away from it. Jerusalem always existed elsewhere than on its own territory. Because of its highly developed iconography of architecture [343] and representation, and especially because of its highly complex liturgical practices, Christianity has been richer than Islam or Judaism in elaborating other Jerusalems than the Palestinian one and even in making objects of it. It was specific and unusual circumstances of place, as in Indonesia, or of time, as in fourteenth-century painting in Iran, that created Muslim imaginary Jerusalems. For Jews, Jerusalem was

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<sup>24</sup> André Grabar, “Reliquaire d’Aix-la-Chapelle,” in A. Grabar, *L’Art de la Fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Collège de France, 1968), pp. 427 ff., with important corrections to the translation of one of the basic Russian texts for the interpretation of these objects; W. B. R. Saunders “The Aachen Reliquary,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 36 (1982), with the identification of the sponsor of the object and its place of manufacture; I. A. Sterligova in Batalov and Lidov, *Ierusalim*, pp. 46–8, with a major and, I believe, justified disagreement with Grabar’s original explanation. What makes the whole problem of these small objects in the shape of domical buildings even more interesting and more complicated is that such objects exist in the secular art of the Muslim world as well, and there is little doubt of an ultimate formal relationship, a point that probably had an impact on Grabar’s interpretation when he had put it together (1957). On this score, however, we are escaping from our original topic. For examples and a very provocative as well as thoughtful discussion, see Souren Melikian-Chirvani, “State Inkwells in Islamic Iran,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 44 (1986).

<sup>25</sup> N. Brunov, “Model Ierusalimskogo Hrama” (A Model for the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem), *Soobcheniya Rossiiskogo Palestinskogo Obchestva*, 29 (1926), pp. 139–48. I owe this reference to my erstwhile colleague Professor E. T. Keenan of Harvard University.

<sup>26</sup> Names of cities are used for rugs and porcelain, but in all cases the name is a modifier for an omitted term. Even the instance of *fez* is uncertain, because the etymology of the Turkish word from which the English comes is dubious.



stored in memory and ready for the end of time, and it had less need to be expressed visually. What is sure, however, is that, when he built his city and planned its Temple, King David could not have imagined that three thousand years later his city would exist on the edges of the Pacific Ocean or in the monasteries of northeastern Europe. Nor could he have imagined that the search for the many meanings of his city would lead to so many questions of history and of art.

