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Greek-Orthodox maps of Jerusalem from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Keywords: Jerusalem; Holy Land; map-icon; Orthodox Patriarchate; proskynetaria

Summary: The article will survey maps-icons of Jerusalem and the Holy Land that were drawn and painted over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. These images were included in various genres of ecclesiastical art: icons painted on wood; icons on canvas, and small manuscript booklets, known as "proskynetaria". They were drawn in traditional iconic style and offer expressly spatial representations of sacred places in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. These images were part of religious memorabilia sold to pilgrims in Jerusalem and their makers, artists-cummonks endeavored to cultivate and disseminate the Orthodox image of the Holy Land.

To this day, the literature on the history of Holy Land cartography focuses on maps that were produced in Western Europe. This rule applies to medieval maps,¹ fourteenth and fifteenth-century maps,² those printed in early Bibles,³ and maps of Jerusalem that were produced since the dawn of the print era.⁴ In addition, the same can be said for books and catalogs, Isaac Schattner's book on the maps of the Land of Israel, and album-like publications devoted to ancient works of this sort.⁵ The maps that are discussed in these works are indeed rooted in Western culture. Many of them are connected to processes that transpired in the West during the Crusades, the Ptolemaic revival, the Renaissance, the period of the humanist movements, and the Enlightenment.⁶ Even the small handful of Greek maps depicting Jerusalem or St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai Desert was the fruit of the emulation or replication of maps that originated in the West.⁷

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¹ Milka Levy, "Medieval Maps of Jerusalem," in *The History of Jerusalem: Crusaders and Ayyubids (1099-1250)*, eds. J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem: Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1991), pp. 418-507 [Hebrew]; Reinhold Röhricht, "Karten und Plane zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7 bis 16 Jahrhundert, II," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 14 (1891): 87-92; idem, "Karten und Plane zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7 bis 16 Jahrhundert, IV," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 15 (1892): 34-39; Simek, R., "Hierusalem civitas famosissima," *in Codices Manuscripti*, vol. 12 (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 1992), pp. 121-151.

² Joshua Prawer, "Historical Maps of Acre," in *Eretz-Israel*, vol. 2, dedicated to the memory of Zalman Lif (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1953) [Hebrew]; idem, "The Crusader Contribution to the Cartography of Eretz Israel – the Marino Sanudo Maps," *Cathedra* 57 (1990) [Hebrew].

³ Catherine Delano-Smith, "Maps in Sixteenth-Century Bibles," *The Map Collector* 39 (1987): 2-14; idem, "Maps as Art and Science: Maps in Sixteenth Century Bibles, *Imago Mundi*, 42 (1990): 65-83; Elizabeth M. Ingram, "The Map of the Holy Land in the Coverdale Bible: A Map by Holbein?" *The Map Collector* 64 (1997): 26-31; idem, "Maps as Readers' Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles," *Imago Mundi* 45 (1993): 29-44; Delano-Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles* 1500–1600: An Illustrated Catalogue (Geneva: Droz, 1991).

⁴ Rehav Rubin, *Image and Reality, Jerusalem in Maps and Views* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999).

⁵ Isaac Schattner, *The Map of Eretz Yisrael and Its History* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1951) [Hebrew]; Eran Laor, *Maps of the Holy Land, a Cartobibliography of Printed Maps 1475-1800* (New York and Amsterdam: Alan R. Liss and Meridan, 1986); Kenneth Nebenzhal, *Maps of the Holy Land* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1986); W. G. J. Van der Sluys, *Het Land van de Bijbel* (Utrecht 1986).

⁶ Zur Shalev, Sacred Words and Worlds Geography, Religion and Scholarship (1550-1700) (Leiden and London: Brill, 2012).

⁷ George Tolias, "Maps Printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment, 1665-1820," *e-Perimetron* 5/1 (2010): 1-48; Rubin, "One City, Different Views: A Comparative Study of Three Pilgrimage Maps of Jerusalem," *Journal of Historical Geography* 32 (2006): 267-290.

In contrast, the present article will survey maps-icons of Jerusalem and the Holy Land that were drawn and painted over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in monasteries affiliated with the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. These works were crafted in an independent fashion that was non-reliant on the West. Moreover, they fall under the rubric of various genres of ecclesiastical art: icons painted on wood; icons on cloth (canvas), which are known in the research as "proskynetaria" (Προσκυνητάρια, or proskynetarion in the singular); and small booklets consisting of text and illustrations that were disseminated in manuscript form. Scholars also dubbed the latter group "proskynetaria," on account of the fact that they open with the following words: "Pilgrimage by grace of the Holy Lord to the holy city Jerusalem" (Προσκυνητάριον σὺν Θεῷ Ἁγίω τῆς Ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ).

The maps-icons in question stand out from the above-mentioned Western works in all that concerns their content and cartographic outlook. Needless to say, our corpus is devoid of surveyed and accurate maps, for these sorts of representations of Jerusalem only began to be produced in the 1800s. Likewise, their authors' chief objective was not to provide a realistic model of the city. In any event, the common denominator between these graphical accounts is that they all offer expressly spatial representations of sacred places in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Put differently, each of these works can be viewed as conceptual maps.

The works under review offer a diagonal bird's-eye view of the walled city of Jerusalem. At the center of the city stands the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which takes up most of the area depicted between the walls. Within the city limits, the Great Church is surrounded by monasteries, churches, and shrines, all of which are depicted as relatively small structures. Outside the wall are more venerated places; some are in the vicinity of Jerusalem, while others are further away. *In toto*, these works encompass the full spectrum of Orthodox pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. Over the course of this article, we will introduce each of the relevant works, analyze their content,

⁸ Rubin, "Iconography as Cartography: Jerusalemite Cartographic Icons of the Holy City and its Environs," in *The Cartography of the Mediterranean World*, eds. G. Tolias and D. Loupis (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, 2004), pp. 347-378.

These map-like icons form a sub-group of a broader genre of icons that are painted on canvas. Most of the works that fall under this heading contain three parts. The central part depicts the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the right side Jesus, and the left portrays the Virgin Mary. Moreover, all of them include renderings of events from the Scriptures. For more on these sort of icons, see Immerzeel, "*Proskynetaria* from Jerusalem," *ECA* 2 (1999): 53-62; idem, Waldemar Deluga, and Magdalena Łaptaś, "Proskynetaria Inventory," *Series Byzantina* 3 (2005): 25-31.

Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Anonymous Description of the Holy Places 14th Century," in *Palestinski Pravoslavski Sbornik* (henceforth *PPSb*), vol. 26 (1890) [Greek with Russian trans. by Destounis]; idem, "Anonymous Proskynetarion of Jerusalem and Other Holy Places," in *PPSb*, vol. 53, (1900) [Greek with Russian trans. by Destounis]; idem, "Eight Greek Descriptions of the Holy Places 14th-15th-16th Centuries," in *PPSb*, vol. 56 (1903) [Greek with Russian trans. by Bazobrazov]; idem, "Three 16th Century Greek Proskynetaria," in *PPSb*, vol. 46 (1896) [Greek with Russian trans. by Destounis]; P. V., Bazobrazov, "Anonymous Proskynetarion of Jerusalem and other Holy Places, 17th Century," in *PPSb*, vol. 54 (1901) [Greek with Russian trans.]; Sotiris Kadas, *The Holy Places* (Athens, 1998) [Greek]; Andreas Külzer, *Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam, Studien zu Pilgerführern und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien, Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer undmetabyzantinischer Zeit* (Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik. Bd. 2) (Frankfurt, Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang, 1994).

¹¹ Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, "The First Surveyed Map of Jerusalem," in *Eretz-Israel*, vol. 11, I. Dunayevsky Memorial Volume (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1973) [Hebrew]; Rubin and Haim Goren, "Cartographic Representations of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century: Maps, Relief Maps, and Models," in *The History of Jerusalem: The Late Ottoman Period (1800-1917)*, eds. I. Bartal and H. Goren (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2010) [Hebrew]; Ben-Arieh, "Frederick Catherwood Map of Jerusalem," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 31/3 (150-160).

¹² Rubin, *Image and Reality* (note 4); idem, "One City, Different Views" (note 7).

and follow the development of this corpus' cartographic outlook. These steps will enable us to comprehend those elements that differentiate and unite the maps and to determine how these works reflect their authors' concept of Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Our corpus, which is certainly limited and incomplete, is divided into two sub-groups. The first is comprised of a map from a proskynetarion manuscript that is housed at the Bavarian State Library in Munich and a map-icon at the Byzantine Museum of Zakynthos, Greece. Our second group consists of the following items: a map-icon in the collection of the Château de Saumur, France; a practically identical work that was recently put up for sale at a public auction; a map that is part of a large icon at the chapel of the Saint George Monastery in the Old City of Jerusalem; and a mapicon at the Benaki Museum in Athens. All these icons feature an artistic map of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. In addition, there is a sizable group of icons in which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre dominates the central panel; some of these works allude to the city's wall and occasionally other venerated sites. These particular works have certain map-like characteristics, as they depict elements of the city and its environs; however, given the fact that the cartographic elements are merely hinted at and ancillary to the icons' main content, we shall only touch on them briefly.

Description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Regardless of genre type, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (the Church of the Resurrection or Anástasis in the Greek tradition) takes up the lion's share of Jerusalem in all the maps under review. ¹⁵ Graphically speaking, it is depicted in the same shape in many of the icons as well as the vast majority of the illustrated proskynetarion works that were produced in Jerusalem within the same context. For this reason, the survey opens with an analysis of the representation of the Church in these images.

¹³ Similar icons from this group have turned up in Egypt. They have already been scrutinized in the following works: Bellarimino Bagatti, "Una Veduta inedita di Gerusalemme e dintorni," *Liber Annuus* 1 (1950-1951): 247-261; O. F. A. Meinardus, "Greek Proskynitaria of Jerusalem in Coptic Churches in Egypt," *Studia Orientalia Christiana* XII (1967): 311-341.

¹⁴ Examples include icons from Warsaw, Patmos, and Cologne that are presented in illustrations 1, 2, and 4 in Immerzeel, Deluga, and Łaptaś (note 9 above); an icon from the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens that is discussed in Slobodan Ćurčić and Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, *Architecture as Icon: Perception and Representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art*, with contributions by Kathleen E. McVey and Helen G. Saradi, (New Haven: Princeton University Art Museum, 2010), pp. 312-315; and an icon at the Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg. The latter is included in the catalog of the Amsterdam exhibit: *Byzantine Jerusalem: Pilgrim Treasures from the Hermitage* (Hermitage Amsterdam, n.d.), no. 115, pp. 60-61.

¹⁵ In the most prevalent type of proskynetarion icons, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre takes up most of the central panel.

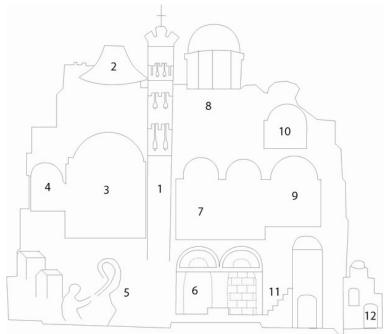


Figure 1: Key index to the drawing of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Bell-tower 2. The Rotonda 3. The Tomb 4. The chapel of Constantine and Helen 5. Jesus ordaining his brother James
 The Entrance 7. The Stone of Unction 8. The dome of the Catholicon 9. Chapel of Golgotha 10. The chapel of Abraham
 Stairs 12. The cave of the invention of the Cross.

The church of the Holy Sepulchre is presented from a southern vantage point using a quasi-architectural cross section. This approach offers a view of the compound's layout and even some of its internal spaces. At the center of the Church is a bell tower that is anachronistically drawn to its full height, as an earthquake damaged the top of this structure in 1546. From a graphical standpoint, the belfry constitutes an axis that divides the compound in half; in reality though, the tower is located west of center. On the left wing can be seen the round dome of the Rotunda, beneath which sits the monument marking Jesus' tomb. Some of these maps have embellished the Rotunda with an image of Christ rising from his grave. To the left of the compound is an assortment of buildings that are part of the Orthodox Patriarchate's complex, foremost among them the chapel of Constantine and Helen, whose images are painted thereon. Some of the works contain a scene of Jesus ordaining his brother James as the first bishop of Jerusalem in the front portion of the Church, next to the eponymous Chapel of James.

To the right of the bell tower can be found the Holy Sepulchre's double-arched entrance. As is the case to this day, the right (eastern) half of the portal is sealed with stones. Over the doorway is a representation of Jesus being anointed on the Stone of Unction, which in reality is indeed located just beyond the entrance. Above this scene is the compound's main hall, the domed Catholikon – site of, *inter alia*, the omphalos that allegedly marks the center of the world. Further to the right, one can clearly see the Chapel of Golgotha. In the Munich map, this venue is denoted by three crosses on a barren hill. The other works feature Jesus on the cross flanked by two women, who are to be identified as the Theotokos and John the Baptist. Atop the Golgotha is the Chapel of Abraham the Patriarch, which marks the place of the Binding of Isaac. Beneath the crucifixion scene is a building that is reached from the Church's main plaza by an ascending, Crusader-era staircase. Further to the right is a thick cluster of buildings. In the maps from the St. George Monastery and the St. Anthony the Great Monastery (in Egypt's Eastern Desert), a staircase at the bottom of this area leads down to the cave where Helena is said to have discovered the cross.

The proskynetarion from Saumur maintains the same format, but a substantial portion of the Church's walls is transparent. For this reason, the compound looks as though it rests entirely on columns. This cross section enabled the artist to depict substantial internal elements, like the graves of Joseph and Nicodemus inside the western wall and the two chapels on the compound's north-eastern side, along with attendant traditions, in a lucid and aesthetic manner. It also bears noting that the belfry in the Saumur version is less conspicuous than in the other works and that the painter mistakenly blocked off both sides of the main entrance (not just the right arch) with stones.

This general format for drawing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was indeed quite prevalent. With minor discrepancies, it is depicted in both the proskynetarion manuscripts and the icons. In fact, it constitutes the most prominent common denominator -though far from the only one-between the various genres that were used to present Jerusalem in the Orthodox iconography from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. ¹⁶ As a result, we were able to discuss this motif in one fell swoop. Let us now discuss each of the maps.

The Oval Cartographic Images of Jerusalem

The Munich Map

The above-mentioned Greek proskynetarion in the Bavarian State Library¹⁷ is a manuscript belonging to a large group of similar documents that were apparently produced in Jerusalem and the Great Lavra of St. Sabas (henceforth the Mar Saba Monastery) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These works depict the Holy Land's sacred places as they were perceived by the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Sheathed in a binder approximately 14x9.5 cm, the Munich manuscript is a codex that is somewhat larger than the other proskynetaria. It is described in an early nineteenth-century catalog of the Bavarian Library and in an article that was published in the annals of the Pravoslavic Russian Society for the Research of Palestine in 1900.¹⁸ Moreover, the entire document may be viewed on the Bavarian Library's website.¹⁹ Characterized by eloquent penmanship as well as large and clear letters, every page of this manuscript consists of ten or so lines, with only two to four words per line. Accordingly, the text is laden with abbreviations.

In contrast to the main text's meticulous calligraphy, the colophon seems to have been written in haste. The author identifies himself as Akakios the Monk from Crete (Ἀκακίου ἱερομοναχοῦ τοῦ Κρητὸς) who wrote "with his own hands" in Jerusalem in 1634.²⁰ The work is dedicated to Ananias (Ἀνανίας), the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem's protosyncellos.²¹ A portrait of Ananias can be found on page IIIa of the portfolio. The set of illustrations therein differs from the group's other manuscripts. More specifically, the Munich manuscript includes an unusual drawing of the

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¹⁶ In the icons under review, the monument of Jesus' tomb is depicted as it was before the fire of 1808, while the early nineteenth-century works have clearly switched to the new monument.

¹⁷ The manuscript's call number at the Bayarian State Library in Munich is Cod. Gr. 346.

Hardt, Ignaz, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Bavaricae*, Bd. 3, Monachii (Munich, 1806), pp. 347-348; *PPSb*, vol. 53 (note 10 above).

¹⁹ The Bavarian State Library website, last accessed May 19, 2013: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00037545/images/.

²⁰ See p. 182v of the MS.

²¹ Literally a cellmate, protosyncellos refers to a monk that is very close to the patriarch and serves as his secretary or deputy.

Church of the Holy Sepulchre, drawings of St. Catherine Monastery in Sinai, which only appears in a few of the proskynetaria, and other sites that were excluded from most of the other works.²² On page 8A, there is a map of Jerusalem that not only is without peer in the other proskynetarion manuscripts, but is in all likelihood the earliest map of the city in our corpus.

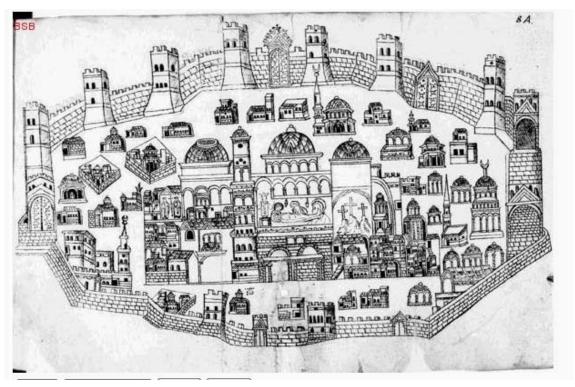


Figure 2: Jerusalem map in the Munich manuscript. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München Cod.graec. 346, fol. 8a

Sketched in black ink, this well-drawn map extends across the entire width of the page. Lacking a title, the work's only caption—the small letters $\iota\omega$ —is positioned inside the front wall, but its meaning is unclear. The absence of captions identifying the various buildings makes it rather difficult to identify the various sites. In the hopes of overcoming this challenge, the ensuing analysis rests on our familiarity with Jerusalem and its monuments as well as a comparison with other documents, including the textual and graphic details of other extant proskynetarion manuscripts.

The Munich map offers a diagonal bird's eye-view of Jerusalem, and the city's wall assumes the shape of an oval. These contours distort the city's actual dimensions, for in reality the wall is by and large rectangular and its corners practically form right angles. In addition, the wall is drawn in such a way that its front part, which is closest to the observer's eye, is viewed from the outside and the back part is seen from the inside. Consequently, the wall in the front of the city appears to be lower than the wall at the back. Interspersed along the wall are Jerusalem's gates and towers. To the right is a conspicuous high tower, whose gate is sealed off by a stone wall. Consequently, it should be identified as the Golden Gate, for this entrance on the Temple Mount's eastern wall has indeed been closed off since the Middle Ages. Another formidable gate tower can be seen on the opposite side. Below the tower and to its right sits the Jerusalem Citadel. The artist offered a realistic depiction of, *inter alia*, the citadel's rectangular high tower. Given its location, the

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²² Cf. the many illustrations in Kadas' book (note 10 above).

adjacent gate is most likely the Jaffa Gate. Our identification of the Golden and Jaffa Gates indeed suggests that the author rendered the map from south to north. That said, it partially corresponds to the southern vantage point of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Conversely, the majority of Western maps of Jerusalem portray the city from the Mount of Olives, namely from east to west. In light of the above, the two gates at the front of the map are to be identified as the Zion Gate to the left and the Dung Gate to the right. Likewise, the two gates on the back wall are the Damascus Gate in the center and the St. Stephen's (or Lions') Gate, which is crowned by a pointed gable. Like all the works under review, this map does not refer to streets, markets, or residential buildings. Put differently, it consists entirely of venues that the author deemed to be significant. As discussed above, the venue garnering the largest share of the drawing's space is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the format that was presented above. The aforementioned Jerusalem Citadel, which in other proskynetaria works is labeled "David's Tower," "David's Palace," or occasionally "the house of the Prophet David," 23 is recognizable by dint of the following realistic elements: the crescent atop the Ottoman-era minaret; and the tall rectangular towers that extend over the fortress' wall. To the right of and just below the citadel is an unpretentious, closed compound that should be identified with the Armenian Quarter. Like the actual neighborhood, this bloc is enclosed by its own wall and the Cathedral of St. James is recognizable by the cylinder under its dome, which exists in reality, as well as the renderings thereof in the proskynetarion from Athens.²⁴

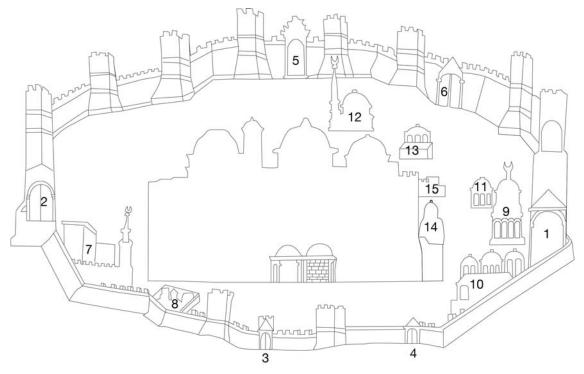


Figure 3: Legend for the Munich map.

1. Golden Gate 2. Jaffa Gate 3. Zion Gate 4. Dung Gate 5. Damascus Gate 6. St. Stephen's Gate 7. David's Tower - The Citadel 8. Armenian Quarter 9. The Dome of the Rock 10. Al-Aqsa 11. The dome of Solomon 12. Mary's birth place 13. Probatica Pool 14. St. John the Forerunner 15. Monastery of St. George.

²³ The use of the Arab appellation "the Prophet David" (*Nabi Da'ud*) attests to the influence of the Muslim tradition on members of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. Arab toponyms are also evident in, among other sources, the names of the city's gates in the map by the Patriarch Chrysanthus (1728); Rubin 2006 (note 7 above).

²⁴ Kadas (note 10), p. 187, fig. 21b.

To the left of the Golden Gate are two monuments. Due to its crescent and dome, the first is to be identified as the Dome of the Rock, which the Greek sources refer to as "the Holy" (Τὸ Ἱερὸ). By virtue of its three domes and pitched roof, the second venue is evidently al-Aqsa Mosque, or the Holy of Holies (Τὰ Ἅγια τῶν Ἁγίων). Next to the first site is a smaller domed structure, which perhaps represents the Dome of Solomon on the Temple Mount. Behind the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is another domed building and an adjacent minaret. In our estimation, it is the house of Anne and Joachim, namely the birthplace of Mary. During the Crusader period, the St. Anne's Church was built to mark this venerated site; after 1187, following the Conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, it was converted into al-Salahiya Madrasa. This identification is corroborated by the site's relative proximity to St. Stephen's Gate as well as the similarity between this rendering and that of the house of the Theotokos' parents in several proskynetarion manuscripts, which also feature the aforementioned Islamic elements.²⁵ To the bottom-right of this structure are three arches perched over a pool. This facility is apparently the Probatica Pool.²⁶ Here too, our identification is based on its proximity to the St. Stephen's Gate and its similarity to the pool's representation in other proskynetaria.²⁷

In all likelihood, the majority of the other buildings in this map are churches and monasteries that were in the possession of Jerusalem's Orthodox Patriarchate. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that some of the buildings are denoted by one of the two graphic templates for monasteries that also turn up in corresponding manuscripts: a compound surrounded by a rhombus-shaped wall within which lies a domed building; a structure resembling a tile-roofed basilica that is capped by or standing alongside a tower or dome. Following this line of thought, the buildings between the Jaffa and Damascus Gates are the Orthodox monasteries of Jerusalem's Christian Quarter, even if they cannot be identified on an individual basis. This hypothesis dovetails neatly with the content of the proskynetaria, which list the churches and monasteries of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, as well as the captions of the icons from St. George (Jerusalem) and the Benaki Museum (Athens) (see the discussion on these works below). On this same basis, it can be assumed that the relatively expansive domed building to the immediate right of the Holy Sepulchre is the Monastery of John the Baptist (*Prodromos*) and that the small building above it is the St. George Monastery (next to the Jewish Quarter).

As opposed to the works discussed below, the Munich map's purview does not extend beyond the city's wall. It even leaves out the holy places on Mount Zion, Gethsemane, and the Mount of Olives – sites that constitute an integral part of Jerusalem, despite residing outside its gates.

²⁵ Kadas (note 10), p. 40, fig. 10b; p. 114, fig. 25b.

²⁶ Also known as the Bethesda Pool, this is the site where Jesus is traditionally believed to have cured the lame man. A church was built here in the Byzantine period and again during the time of the Crusades. In the late Middle Ages, the pool was destroyed and the area was inaccessible to Christians. As a result, pilgrims began identifying it with the Pool of Israel, to the north of the Temple Mount and just inside (and west of) the St. Stephen's Gate. This site was filled in during the latter stages of the twentieth century. In the early and then mid-1900s, archeological excavations were conducted at the courtyard of St. Anne's Church and the original Probatica Pool was discovered anew.

²⁷ Kadas (note 10), p. 196, fig. 23a and p. 95, fig. 203a.

Rubin, "Greek Orthodox Monasteries in the Old City of Jerusalem," in *Eretz-Israel*, vol. 17, A. J. Brawer Memorial Volume (Jerusalem: the Israel Exploration Society, 1984), pp. 109-116 [Hebrew].

²⁹ Rubin, "Iconography as Cartography" (note 8 above).

The Zakynthos Map-Icon

Among the treasures of the Byzantine Museum in Zakynthos is a map-icon of Jerusalem, which was already discussed in the literature.³⁰ Atop this rather large (84 x 140 cm) tempera on wood painting is the heading "the Holy City Jerusalem" (Η ΑΓΙΑ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΗΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΙΜ). The icon reached the museum from a metochion (subsidiary monastery) of the St. Catherine Monastery of Sinai in Kepoi, Zakynthos. It was brought to the metochion in 1664 by monks, who were refugees from another subsidiary monastery in Crete. The icon's provenance -concomitant to the establishment of the monastery in Zakynthos- and its close resemblance to the Munich map (from 1634) led Georgopoulou-Verra to date it to the first half of the seventeenth century.³¹ Given the similarity between these two works, there is no need to repeat what has already been discussed above. Nevertheless, the Zakynthos version is bigger, was rendered in color, and its artistic quality is far superior to its counterpart. What is more, it provides a beautiful description of the city's environs and a bevy of more distant sites.



Figure 4: The icon from Zakynthos.

The difficulty deciphering the sites outside the city gates is tied to the fact that the painting's geographic orientation beyond the walls not only deviates from the south-to-north vantage point of the city itself, but is inconsistent. Put differently, there is no spatio-geographical order

³⁰ Μυρτώ Γεωργοπούλου, Τοπογραφία των Αγίων Τόπων σε εικόνα της Ζακύνθου (Myrto Georgopoulou-Verra, "Topography of the Holy Land in an Icon in Zakynthos"), *Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society* 24 (2003): 317-332 [Greek with English abstract]; Slobodan Ćurćić and Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, *Architecture as Icon* (note 14), pp. 310-311; H Αρχιτεκτονική ως Εικόνα (Architecture as Icon: Perception and Representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art, Catalogue of an exhibition), no. 63 (Thessalonica: the Museum for Byzantine Culture, 2010), pp. 324-325 [Greek]. This painting was also exhibited at the Museum for Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki and in Princeton.

³¹ Georgopoulou-Verra (note 30).

governing the venues outside of Jerusalem. While some of the places are arranged in logical locations, some were randomly plugged in to fill vacant space on the map. As a result, we identified the sites on the basis of the iconographic models that characterize certain venues, legible Greek captions, and Georgopoulou-Verra's research.

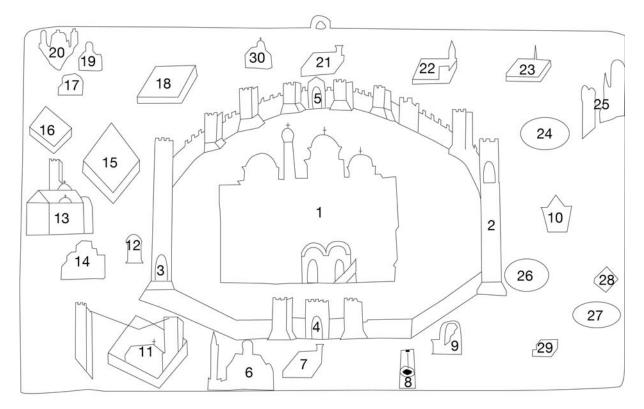


Figure 5: Legend for the icon from Zakynthos.

1. Church of the Holy Sepulchre 2. Golden Gate 3. Jaffa Gate 4. Zion Gate 5. Damascus Gate 6. Mt. Zion 7. Monastery of St. Onouphrios 8. Ein Rogel (Bir Eyyub) 9. Siloam 10. Mary's Tomb 11. St. Sabas Monastery 12. Rachel's Tomb 13. The Church of Nativity 14. Bethlehem 15. Elijah's Monastery 16. Al Khader and the Church of St. George 17. Beit Jala 18. Monastery of the Cross 19. Orini – Birth place of St. John 20. Emmaus 21. Gethsemane 22. Nazareth 23. Mt. of Temptation 24. Jacob's Well 25. Mt. of Olives 26. Jesus Entry to Jerusalem 27. The place of Baptism 28. Monastery of St. John 29. Monastery of St. Gerasimos 30. Mt. Tabor (or Carmel?).

At the front of the map and outside the city's wall are a handful of sites. A caption betrays the identity of the Zion Church. As was indeed the case during the Ottoman period, there is a minaret beside the building. To the right are two venues that, in reality, can be found on the lower part of the Hinnom Valley: the St. Onouphrius Monastery; and the burial ground for foreigners in Aceldama. The next site is the Well of Joab (Arabic: Bir Eyyub), which is known in the Hebrew Bible as Ein-Rogel. The nearby cave with the stairs and outflow of water is the Siloam Pool. The site's graphic representation indeed surfaces in other iconographic documents from the period in question. Thereafter is the tree-lined river bed of the Kidron Valley, at the incline of which stands the gabled portal of Mary's Tomb near Gethsemane. With the exception of the latter, these sites are indeed located south of the city.

At the bottom left-hand corner, one can clearly see the Mar Saba Convent. As usual, a bell-laden rope hangs between the main building and two structures on opposite sides of the venue: the Women's Tower outside of the compound; and the Justinian Tower – the tallest building along the monastery's wall. Due left of the Jaffa Gate is the dome of Rachel's Tomb. The large basilica on the adjacent mountainside is the Church of the Nativity. A caption reveals that the buildings

beneath the shrine represent the city of Bethlehem. This caption gives the impression that Bethlehem is a graphically distinct entity from the Church of the Nativity, even though the church is located in the eastern section of the city. Above and to the right of the basilica can be seen the Mar Elias Monastery, which stands about half way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Off to the left are the St. George Church and the adjacent village of al-Khader. Further up is the small town of Beit Jala, which is denoted by a caption (τ ov Π e τ ξαλά). In reality, this collection of sites is located to the south of Jerusalem, whereas the icon situates them to the left of Jaffa Gate and hence to the west.

As per its adjacent caption, the compound above the city's leftmost watchtower is the Monastery of the Cross. On the upper left-hand corner of the map is a church flanked by two villages. Georgopoulou-Verra proposed identifying the former as Orini, the birthplace of John the Baptist, which is located in modern-day Ein Karim (a village several miles west of the Old City). She identified the village in the far corner as Emmaus, where Jesus was seen by two disciples after the resurrection. In contrast, we were unable to fathom a guess for the third settlement. To the left of the map's title is a gray-green mountain bearing a solitary church. Although Georgopoulou-Verra suggests that the area is Mount Carmel,³² this toponym rarely comes up in the period's Orthodox sources. A stronger argument can thus be made that it is Mount Tabor, the site of Christ's transfiguration, which was indeed a popular destination for pilgrims.

At the center of the icon's upper part and just beyond Damascus gate sits Gethsemane. To its right are a couple of settlements, among them the clearly marked town of Nazareth, as well as an obfuscated, almost illegible caption. Georgopoulou-Verra proposed reading it as "Gaza," but this contravenes the site's location on the map. Further right is Qarantal, the Mount of Temptation, where Jesus fasted for forty days while jostling with the devil (Luke 4). Below this gray mountain range, the artist portrayed the encounter between Jesus and the Samaritan woman by Jacob's well. Given the fact that this tradition is placed on the outskirts of Nablus, this location is far-fetched from a geographical standpoint.

By the upper right-hand corner are several opulent buildings that are adorned with crescents. This area should apparently be identified as the Mount of Olives, for on the slope below is a man bearing a cross and another laying out his clothes on the ground. A subsequent scene from Christ's well-known entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday is situated between the Kidron Valley's riverbed and the Golden Gate, where a haloed man riding a donkey is followed by several people. The next scene is of John baptizing Jesus in the River Jordan. The backdrop for this representation is a largely barren mountain range – the Judean Desert. Nestled among its peaks and valleys are three monasteries. Adjacent to the highest one is a caption reading "desert" (η é $\rho\eta\mu\sigma\zeta$). There is no lettering by the middle convent, but its proximity to the baptism scene implies that it is the Monastery of John the Baptist. The caption by the third compound reads "Gerasimus," leaving little doubt that it is the Monastery of St. Gerasimos in Deir Hajla, which is situated between Jericho and the River Jordan.

All told, the Munich map and the icon from Zakynthos represent an early stage in the development of the cartographic rendering of Jerusalem on the part of Orthodox devotees in the Holy Land. While the orientation in these works is rudderless, the next group of maps-icons makes substantial improvements in this regard.

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³² Georgopoulou-Verra (note 30).

Maps with a Zigzag-Patterned Wall of Jerusalem

The second group under review covers a wider part of the Holy Land, from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea to the West until the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan River, and the Dead Sea to the East. Their shared attributes notwithstanding, the maps-icons in this category differ from one another with respect to their geographical purview, iconographic framework, the shape of the Jordan River, the number of holy sites far away from Jerusalem, the level of detail provided on these places, and other secondary matters. From a chronological standpoint, these works were created during the eighteenth century. Although some of the items are definitively dated by captions, we can only estimate the date of others. The brunt of this survey will be dedicated to the icon from Château de Saumur (1704),³³ the icon at the St. George Monastery in Jerusalem (1735),³⁴ and the icon housed at the Benaki Museum in Athens (1766).³⁵ Moreover, we will touch upon three icons from Egypt that were already thoroughly examined in the mid-1900s³⁶ and a work that is highly reminiscent of the Saumur painting.³⁷

Jerusalem is once again the centerpiece, but the shared graphic representation in this category differs from that of the two aforementioned seventeenth-century works both with respect to the contours of the wall and the map's orientation. The city walls in the present group take the form of a polygon. Their lower and upper sides are nearly straight and horizontal, while the other sides are drawn in a zigzag fashion with sharp corners protruding toward the outside. The vantage point is from west to east, and the majority of the space is taken up by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This format of the Church is identical to that of the earlier group, so that there is no need to reopen this topic. It does bear noting that the cross section of the Church in all these mapsicons attests to the fact that they were all produced before the conflagration of 1808, for the aedicule depicted in the Rotunda is the pre-fire version.³⁸ Conversely, the Byzantine Museum in Athens possesses several icons from the nineteenth century that clearly portray the new aedicule.³⁹ In all three maps, one can find the Jaffa Gate along the center of the western wall, in close proximity to the Jerusalem Citadel. As is evident from a caption on the Benaki icon, the Orthodox dubbed this fortress "the House of David." The Saumur version even displays an image of David atop the citadel holding a scroll, thereby giving graphic form to the Orthodox tradition whereby he wrote the Book of Psalms at this site. The entrances on the left side of the wall are the Damascus Gate and further up Herod's Gate, while the opposite side contains the Zion Gate and the Dung Gate. Lastly, St. Stephen's Gate and the sealed-off Golden Gate dot the eastern wall. In the icon from Saumur, the gates are crowned with golden domes. The gate doors in the St. George Monastery icon are colored bronze and their towers are dome-less. In addition, the Golden Gate is

³³ I am grateful to Ms. Estelle Géraud from the Château-Musée de Saumur for her assistance and her permission to include a photograph of the icon herein. The item's call number is Lair 282 B.A., and its dimensions are 85.5x125.5 cm.

³⁴ See Rubin, note 8.

 $^{^{35}}$ I owe a debt of gratitude to Ms. Panorea Benatou from the Benaki Museum in Athens for her assistance and for her permission to display photographs of this work. The icon's call number is Γ E 38240, and its dimensions are 75x98 cm.

³⁶ For a disquisition on the icons from Cairo, see Bagatti and Meinardus (note 13 above).

³⁷ A photo of the icon is displayed on the Bonhams Auction House's sales website. I would like to thank Prof. Immerzeel, of the University of Leiden and Ms. Alice Bailey of Bonhams for this information ("Islamic and Indian Works of Art," Bonhams Auction, April 23, 2013, London). The resemblance between the two icons is striking. This work is 82x118 cm.

³⁸ Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1999).

³⁹ I would like to thank Antonis Bekiaris from the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens for his assistance and for showing theses icons to me.

double-arched. With respect to the Benaki version, the domes on the gate towers are painted a grayish brown and the Golden Gate merits a caption labeling it as such.



Figure 6: Jerusalem in the St. George icon.

The area between the Holy Sepulchre and the lower wall is replete with small buildings. Most of these sites in the Saumur icon and all of them in the St. George and Benaki versions include a dome or small tower. In the works from St. George, Benaki, and the Monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt, captions indicate that these buildings are Jerusalem's Greek-Orthodox churches and monasteries. Furthermore, they warrant textual and graphic attention in the proskynetarion manuscripts.⁴⁰ A list of these buildings (see Fig. 7) reveals that three of them were not in the hands of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate during the period under review, but the institution did have historical claims of ownership to these sites. The first venue of this sort is the aforementioned Church of St. Anne. The Muslims held on to this site, which was appropriated by Saladin and converted into a Muslim school (madrasa) in his name, from the end of the twelfth century until the mid-1800s. For this reason, it is occasionally depicted with a minaret in the Greek iconography (see the Munich and Zakynthos maps). The second of the three is the Church of John the Theologian. This house of worship was held by the Georgians, who share a close affinity with the Greek-Orthodox. However, the church was transferred to the Franciscan Order in the aftermath of their banishment from Mount Zion in the sixteenth century on the part of the Ottoman authorities. 41 Moreover, the Franciscans renamed it St. Salvador Monastery. The final venue is the Church of St. James, son of Zebedee, which has formed the heart of the Armenian

⁴⁰ For an in-depth look at these monasteries, see Rubin, note 28 and the bibliography therein.

⁴¹ Amnon Cohen, "The Expulsion of the Franciscans from Mount Zion in the Early Ottoman Period - a Reassessment," *Cathedra* 22 (1982), 61-74 [Hebrew].

Quarter since the 1100s.⁴² According to the Greek-Orthodox, *inter alias*, this cathedral was established by the Georgians as well. Therefore, it too can be found in all of the group's works.

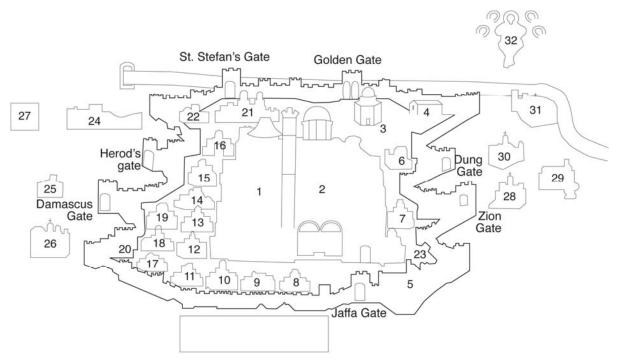


Figure 7: Legend for the sites depicted on the St. George icon.

1. The Holy Sepulchre – The Rotonda and Tomb 2. The Holy Sepulchre – The Catholicon 3. The Dome of the Rock 4. Al-Aqsa 5. David's Tower – The Citadel 6. Monastery of St. George (near the Jewish Quarter) 7. Monastery of St. John 8. Monastery of St. Thecla 9. Monastery of St. Pelagia 10. Monastery of St. Nicholas 11. Monastery of St. Demetrios 12. Monastery of St. George 13. Monastery of St. The Archangeloi 14. Monastery of St. Euthimios 15. Monastery of St. Panagia (Saydanaiya) 16. The Pretorium 17. Monastery of St. Basil 18. Monastery of St. Catherine 19. Monastery of St. Theodoroi 20. Monastery of St. John the Theologian (modern St. Salvador) 21. Mary's birth place 22. Deir el Adas 23. The Armenian church of St. James 24. St. Mary's tomb 25. Orini – Birth place of St. John 26. Monastery of St. Sabas 32. Jesus on Mt. of Olives.

At the south-eastern (upper right-hand) corner of Jerusalem sits a realistic, octagonal portrayal of the Dome of the Rock. To its right and abutting the city wall is al-Aqsa Mosque. Featuring an elongated roof, the mosque's façade faces north and, in yet another nod to reality is graced by a colonnade with seven arches. Like the first two maps, these works also omit the streets, markets, residential buildings, and non-Orthodox inhabitants of Jerusalem, as the painters were exclusively interested in holy sites. In other words, the Patriarchate's cartographers forged a picture of a city that is dominated by Orthodox churches and monasteries. The inclusion of sites that were not under the Patriarchate's control, but to which it had historical claims only strengthens the conceptual model of an Orthodox devotional landscape that transcends time.

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⁴² Richard Rose, "Communities of Eastern Christians in Crusader Jerusalem," in *The History of Jerusalem: Crusaders and Ayyubids (1099-1250)* eds. J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1991) [Hebrew].

⁴³ The St. George and Benaki icons contain only five arches.

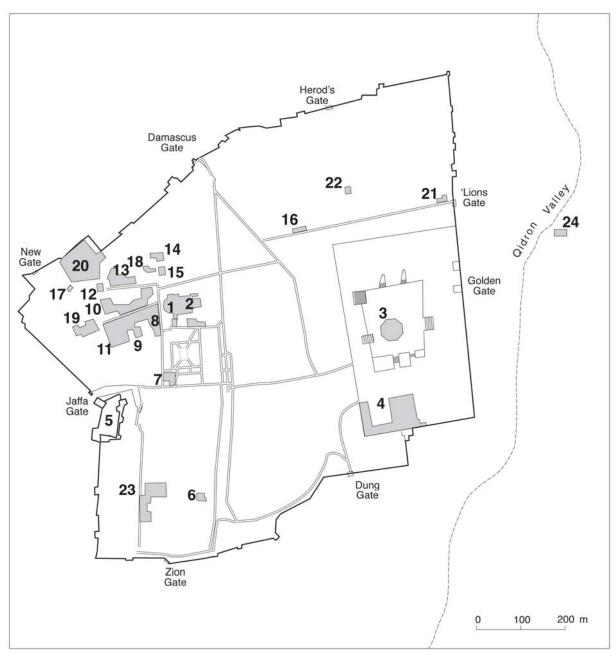


Figure 8: Orthodox monasteries in Jerusalem.

1. The Holy Sepulchre – The Rotonda and Tomb 2. The Holy Sepulchre – The Catholicon 3. The Dome of the Rock 4. Al-Aqsa 5. David's Tower – The Citadel 6. Monastery of St. George (near the Jewish Quarter) 7. Monastery of St. John 8. Monastery of St. Thecla 9. Monastery of St. Pelagia 10. Monastery of St. Nicholas 11. Monastery of St. Demetrios 12. Monastery of St. George 13. Monastery of St. The Archangeloi 14. Monastery of St. Euthimios 15. Monastery of St. Panagia (Saydanaiya) 16. The Pretorium 17. Monastery of St. Basil 18. Monastery of St. Catherine 19. Monastery of St. Theodoroi 20. Monastery of St. John the Theologian (modern St. Salvador) 21. Mary's birth place 22. Deir el Adas 23. The Armenian church of St. James 24. St. Mary's tomb.

The Mapping of Holy Places beyond the City Wall

As opposed to the highly uniform representation of Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the maps-icons under review, there are some differences with respect to the iconographic and cartographic depiction of the sacred sites of the Holy Land beyond the city's gates. Consequently, this topic merits an in-depth account.

The Icon from Saumur

The earliest of the eighteenth-century icons is the one housed in Saumur, which bears the title "The Holy City Jerusalem and its Environs, 1704" (AΓIA ΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΕΡΟ(Υ)ΣΑΛΗΜ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΑ ΑΥΤΗ(Σ) ,ΑΨΔ). Whereas the heading is quite legible, the icon's captions are impossible to read. As above-noted, there is a near duplicate of this work. Although the second icon's overall preservation is inferior, we were able to decipher some of its captions. Along with a comparison to Meinardus' work on the Egyptian icons and our familiarity with the repertoire of holy places and the iconographic characteristics thereof in other icons and proskynetarion manuscripts, these identifications have facilitated our analysis of the Saumur map.



Figure 9: The icon from Saumur.

The Saumur painting significantly expands on and enriches the descriptions of the Holy Land that were offered by its forerunners. The icon's outer western limit is the Mediterranean coast, with Jaffa on the bottom left-hand corner and Gaza on the bottom right. To the east, along the map's upper reaches, are the following bodies of water (from left to right): the Hula Lake, the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan River, and the Dead Sea. Spanning the Hula and the Sea of Galilee is what appears to be the Benot Ya'akov Bridge (i.e., Jacob's Ford). Parallel to these two lakes sit three

⁴⁴ Jaffa is also portrayed with a ship anchored off its coast on the bottom of what Meinardus calls the AIII icon from Cairo. Despite the lack of firm evidence, it is possible that the Greek-Orthodox artists were inspired by von Breydenbach's map; see Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz 1486).

⁴⁵ Another possible, albeit less likely, explanation for why the painter included two lakes is the fact that the Sea of Tiberias and the Lake of Gennesaret are mentioned in the manuscripts. For example, the Brussel's Crusader map of Jerusalem depicts three *different* lakes: Gennesaret, the Sea of Tiberias, and the Sea of Galilee. See Levy (note 1 above).

cities that should be identified as Paneas (Caesarea Philippi), Bethsaida, and Tiberias. Underneath these settlements are the city of Nazareth, the village of Cana (modern-day Kafr Kanna), and a detailed iconographic portrayal of the transfiguration on Mount Tabor: Christ is standing on the top of the mountain, flanked by Moses and Elijah. As told in the New Testament (Matthew 17: 1-9), three of the disciples (Peter, James, and John) throw themselves to the ground at the foot of the Tabor.

The Jordan River flows from the Sea of Galilee southwards. At the center of the river is an iconographic representation of Jesus' baptism, as a dove symbolizing the Holy Ghost hovers over the head of Christ. To the left of this scene is the Monastery of John the Baptist; and to its right is the Gerasimus Monastery. Between the latter and the next settlement, Jericho, Christ can be seen contending with the devil. In accordance with conventional Orthodox iconography, the devil is indeed portrayed as a black, winged creature. The site to the right of Jericho is probably either the Monastery of St. George of Koziba in Wadi Qelt or the St. Euthymius Monastery. Near the upper right corner there is another monument that should most likely be identified with Nabi Musa, which Muslims consider to be Moses' burial place.

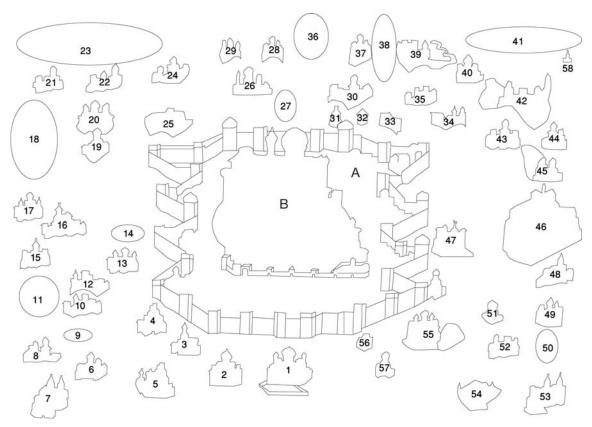


Figure 10: Legend for the icon from Saumur.

A. Jerusalem

B. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre

1. Monastery of the Holy Cross 2. The Baptism of the Eunuch 3. Orini – Birth place of St. John 4. Orini – The place where Mary met Elizabeth 5. ? 6. Lydda 7. Jaffa 8. Ramle 9. St. Demetrios 10. Sychar 11. Jacob's Well 12. Nablus (Shechem – Neapolis) 13. ? 14. The cave where Baruch slept 15. Samaria 16. Jenin 17. Naim 18. Mt. Tabor and the Transfiguration 19. Cana Galilaea 20. Nazareth 21. Paneas (Banias) 22. Bethsaida 23. Sea of Galilee 24. Tiberias 25. St. Mary's Tomb 26. Mt. of Olives 27. Jesus Prayer in Gethsemane 28. St. John's monastery 29. ? 30. Bethany 31. Absalom's Pillar 32. Tomb of St. James. 33. Siloam 34. Ein Rogel (Bir Eyub) and St. Onouphrius Monastery 35. Lazarium (al Azariah) 36. The site of Baptism 37. St. Gerasimos 38. Mt. of Temptation 39. Jericho 40. Monastery of St. George of Choziba 41. Dead Sea 42. St. Sabas Monastery 43. St. Theodosius Monastery 44. St. Chariton Monastery 45. Shepherds' Fields 46. The Church of Nativity 47. Mt. Zion 48. Beit Jala 49. Al Khader and the Church of St. George 50. St. George 51. Rachel's Tomb 52. Ephrata 53. Gaza 54. ? 55. Elijah's Monastery 56. The Hinnom Valley 57. Monastery of St. Simon.

Beyond Jerusalem's eastern wall lie several sites that are close to the city in reality (from left to right): Mary's Tomb, the peak of the Mount of Olives (including the site of the ascension), the garden of Gethsemane, where Jesus can be seen immersed in prayer, Absalom's Pillar, and the Tomb of Zechariah, which is identified in the Christian tradition as the final resting place of James. Perched above the last two sites is the town of Bethany; and to their right the Siloam Pool. The Siloam is depicted as a cave with steps, a model that turns up in other icons and proskynetarion manuscripts. The other places in the vicinity are Lazarium or al-Azariah (Lazarus' village of residence) and Ein-Rogel, which the Greek mapmakers refer to by its Arabic name of "Bir Eyyub."

On the right side of the painting appears the Mar Saba Convent, which is deemed to be the largest and most important of the monasteries in what was known at the time as the Jerusalem Desert (i.e., the Judean Desert). Its representation on this map is consistent with most of the accounts in the Orthodox iconography, as two towers are connected by a bell-festooned rope and St. Sabas himself stands guard over the compound's walls. Beneath the lavra is the Monastery of St. Theodosius, and the monastery to its left is perhaps St. Chariton. 46 Further down lies the Shepherds' Field, the site of the annunciation to the shepherds. Accordingly, an angel sits on a rooftop in the adjacent village (perhaps Beit Sahour) proclaiming the birth of the messiah. The capacious basilica nearby is the Church of the Nativity, as evident from the scene of Jesus' birth at the base of the compound. To the left is the Holy Zion Church. The crescent on its dome alludes to the fact that the site was under Muslim dominion during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Under the Church of the Nativity is what should be identified as Beit Jala, an unequivocally Christian village. Due west (below) is the village of al-Khader, on the outskirts of which is the St. George Church. The saint can indeed be spotted in his characteristic pose, that of a horseman slaying a dragon. In the front of the painting is a caption reading Ephratah, although Ephratah was a biblical village and not a settlement at that time. Just above this venue is Rachel's Tomb and to its right is the Mar Elias (Elijah) Monastery, both of which are indeed located on the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road. In front of the holy city stand the Monastery of the Cross and the Saint Simeon Monastery, which are indeed located west of Jerusalem. To the left of these sites is a spring. In all likelihood, this is a representation of where Phillip baptized the Queen of Sheba's eunuch. The traditional location of this event is near Ein Haniya, about five miles southwest of Jerusalem.

The front-left corner of the icon features a bevy of settlements and figures. With the help of the captions on the similar map, we have identified the following sites: Jaffa (the city of Jonah); the well on the outskirts of Nablus where Jesus met the Samaritan woman; and the cave in which Baruch, Jeremiah's student, fell asleep. Here too, we see Demetrius astride a horse. Insofar as the small towns are concerned, we discerned Lod (Lydda) and Ramle on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem as well as "Judah City" (Orini in Greek) – the birthplace of John the Baptist and where Mary met Elizabeth. As noted, this village is identified with modern-day Ein Karim. Adjacent to the well of the Samaritan woman are Nablus and Samaria (Sebaste). From a geographical standpoint, two of the settlements between the well and the scene of the transfiguration appear to be Jenin, where Christ is believed to have healed the ten lepers (Luke 17:11-19), and Naim

⁴⁶ With the exception of the Mar Saba Convent, all the monasteries in the desert were destroyed and abandoned by the time of the icon's creation. The proskynetarion manuscripts make note of the St. Chariton and St. Euthymius Monasteries. In all likelihood, pilgrims visited the ruins of these sites.

⁴⁷ The distinction between George and Demetrius is quite clear: the former is generally portrayed as slaying a dragon, whereas Demetrius' foe is traditionally a human being. That said, one would have expected George to have been displayed near Lod, given his connection to this city as well.

(Nein), where he resuscitated the widow's son (Luke 7: 11-15). However, neither town is mentioned in the proskynetaria.

The Icon at St. George's Monastery

From a cartographic standpoint, the icon gracing the Monastery of St. George in Jerusalem does not cover the entire Holy Land. In fact, the painting's main topic is the Last Judgment, as the lion's share of its area is taken up by heaven, paradise and hell, and the judgment scales. Bridging heaven and earth is a ladder, upon which souls can be seen ascending to learn of their eternal fate; the base of the ladder stands in Jerusalem. Unlike the other proskynetarion icons, this work incorporates only nine sites outside of Jerusalem, all of which are relatively close to the city: the Tomb of Mary, Orini (Ein Karim), the Monastery of the Cross, and the cave of Baruch to the left; and on the opposite side, the Church of Holy Zion, Bethlehem, the Mar Elias Monastery, the Mar Sabba Monastery, and the Mount of Olives, where angels are huddling around Jesus behind the city.

The Icon from the Benaki Museum

The icon at the Benaki Museum is dated to 1766. On account of the high level of artistry and preservation, all the captions are legible. The essence of this work is captured by the inscription at its forefront: "The *haji* and *proskynetes* [Turkish-Arabic and Greek for pilgrim] to the most holy and life-giving Sepulchre 1766" ((Χατζὴ προσκυνητὴς τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ζωοδόχου τάφου 1766). With the exception of the date, an identical inscription was found on a similar painting in Cairo (1767). These words attest to the fact that such items were crafted in Jerusalem and purchased by pilgrims as sacred souvenirs of their pilgrimage to the holy city. In other icons, the dedication inscriptions were penned in impeccable handwriting at the time of their creation. Moreover, space was left next to these words for adding the buyer's name at the point of sale, which was often penned in a rather sloppy manner.

The use of the Turkish derivative of the Muslim-Arabic term *haj* (pilgrim to Mecca) together with its Christian Greek equivalent (*proskynetes*) may well attest to the strengthening of Greek pilgrimage during the Ottoman Empire. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Greece and Jerusalem were both under the dominion of the same sovereign. Moreover, this period bore witness to the rise of an affluent middle class in Ottoman Greek society, which was interested in giving expression to its faith. Economic wherewithal thus combined with ideology to spur on a robust Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This hypothesis dovetails neatly with the proliferation of proskynetarion manuscripts and icons during the period in question and the adoption of the Muslim title *haji* by Christian pilgrims.⁴⁹

Excluding its bottom side, the Benaki icon is framed by outer panels. Each of the corners is dedicated to one of the four Evangelists: Matthew in the form of an angel, Mark as a lion, John as an eagle, and Luke as an ox. At the center of the top panel is a rendering of Jesus' praying at Gethsemane. On its left is Mary's Dormition, the Last Supper, and the washing of the disciples' feet. The first picture on the panel's right is the betrayal of Judas Iscariot, followed by Jesus' trial and Christ embarking on the road to the crucifixion. On the left panel are Basil, John Chrysostom,

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⁴⁸ Meinardus (note 13 above), pp. 313-314.

⁴⁹ Selcuk Aksin Somel (ed.), *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire* (Lanham, MD, Toronto, and Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2012), pp. 156-157 and 290-291.

and Gregory, while the right pays homage to Spyridon, Athanasius, and Charalampos. Beneath the saints on either side are equestrian warriors, both of whom are identified by the attendant captions as St. George. While the figure to the left assumes George's customary pose of dragon slayer, the figure to the right is battling a man. For this reason and by dint of a comparison with the analogous figure on similar icons, it would appear that the latter should be identified as St. Demetrius.



Figure 11: The icon from the Benaki Museum.

At the center of the Benaki map-icon stands Jerusalem. Like all the icons in our corpus, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre commands the majority of the city's space. Given our earlier disquisition on this theme, we will suffice with a unique detail of this version. On the foothills of the Temple Mount, in the southeastern part of Jerusalem is a building with a caption reading "court" (κριτήριον). As in the other icons, though, the Praetorium (the location of Jesus' trial before Pontius Pilate) is located in the northeastern part of Jerusalem, where in the 1700s the proceedings were indeed believed to have been held. Therefore, we are hard-pressed to determine the identity of this court.

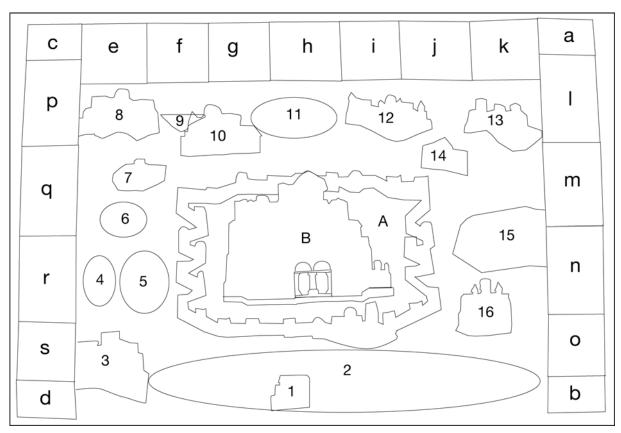


Figure 12: Legend for the icon at the Benaki Museum.

A. Jerusalem

B. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre

1. Monastery of the Holy Cross 2. The Legend of Lot and the Tree of the Holy Cross 3. Jaffa 4. Judas Iscariot 5. St. Mary the Egyptian 6. The cave where Baruch slept 7. St. Mary's Tomb 8. Nazareth 9. Sea of Galilee 10. Mt. of Olives 11. The site of Baptism 12. Bethany 13. St. Sabas Monastery 14. Siloam 15. The Church of Nativity 16. Elijah's Monastery. The Frame Iconography:

a. Matthew b. Markus c. John d. Luke e. The Dormition of the Theotokos f. The Last Supper g. The washing of the feet h. Jesus Prayer in Gethsemane i. The Betrayal of Judas j. Jesus Judgment k. The beginning of the way of the Cross l. St. Spyridon m. St. Athanasios n. St. Charalampos o. St. George (should be identified with St. Demetrius) p. St. Basil q. St. John Chrisostom r. St. Gregorios s. St. George.

Outside Jerusalem, the icon offers a relatively limited selection of places, especially when compared to the Saumur painting. At the front center of the Benaki version is the Monastery of the Cross. To either side of this compound are large renderings of the legend of Lot and the crucifix tree. According to this particular narrative, Abraham gave Lot the seedling of a tree—a cross between a cedar, palm, and olive tree—that originally sprouted from Adam's grave. Lot was instructed to plant the seedling and nourish it with water from the Jordan River, in order to atone for his incestuous relations with his daughters. Every time Lot returned from the Jordan, the devil sought to thwart his plans by drinking the water. In the end, though, Lot bested the devil and the tree soared. Centuries later, Solomon ordered his builders to chop it down for the construction of

⁵⁰ There are several known versions of this tale. The "golden legend" ties the tree to Adam and King Solomon, but makes no mention of Lot. See William Granger Ryan (trans.), *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, vol.1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 277-278. The Orthodox version of this story, which indeed revolves around Lot, is expounded upon in the following book: Grace M. Crowfoot and Louise Baldensperger, *From Cedar to Hyssop: A Study in the Folklore of Plants in Palestine* (London: Sheldon Press, 1932), pp. 133-130. Moreover, there are numerous graphic representations of this legend in Orthodox ecclesiastical art.

the Temple, but his wishes were spurned and the timber would eventually be used for the crucifixion. The Monastery of the Cross marks the traditional spot where this sacred tree grew. On the bottom left-hand corner are a few ships anchored off the coast of Jaffa. Above the port city is Judas Iscariot hanging from a tree and Zosimos feeding Maria Aegyptica. The next representations are of Baruch sleeping in the cave and Mary's Tomb. Nestled into the upper-left-hand corner are Nazareth and a glimpse of the Sea of Galilee. Between the Mount of Olives and Bethany, the artist rendered Jesus' baptism in the Jordan River. The Mar Saba Monastery takes up the upper-right-hand corner of the map. Underneath the lavra are portrayals of the Siloam Pool and the blind man who Jesus according to the New Testament cured at this location (John 9: 7). To the right of Jerusalem are two sites that are indeed located to the city's south: the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Mar Elias Monastery.

The Icon from the Monastery of Anthony

Meinardus took stock of the map-icon from the Monastery of Anthony in Egypt, identifying its various sites. Additionally, a photograph of this work was published by Skalova. From a cartographic standpoint, this work is quite similar to the Benaki icon, so that there is no need to delve into this particular facet. There are, however, several artistic discrepancies. To begin with, the St. Anthony version is devoid of side panels. In consequence, the four evangelists are depicted inside round medallions within the main area of this painting. The captions next to the horsemen are consistent with St. George and St. Demetrius' traditional poses. This, then, strengthens our argument that the Benaki version's caption reading "St. George" under the horseman pitted against a man is simply a mistake on the artist's part.

More significant are the components that differentiate between the St. Anthony and Benaki versions and link the former to the work in Saumur. The most prominent common denominator between the latter two is the rendering of the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan River, and the Dead Sea at the top of each painting. Other shared elements are the heading ("The Holy City Jerusalem"), the depiction of Jesus' struggle against the devil on the Qarantal Mountain, and the positioning of the Zion Church between the Mar Elias Monastery and the Church of the Nativity. In light of these affinities, the St. Anthony icon serves as a quasi-bridge between the two iconographic sub-types and demonstrates that they both belong to the same over-arching category.

Discussion

Occasional discrepancies aside, the similar imagined landscapes of the icons in question attest to a common source. It appears that this source was indeed a painters' workshop affiliated with the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem whose members worked in the institution's monasteries. The most noticeable common denominator is the representation of the Church of the

Sanctae Mariae Aegiptiae," *Patrologia Graeca* 87/3 (1863), col. 3697-3725.

Palestine, trans. R. M. Price, Kalamazoo, 1991, pp. 256-257; Sophronius Patriarcha Hierosoymitanus, "Vita

⁵¹ The story of Maria Aegyptica is first alluded to in Cyril of Scythopolis, "The Life of Cyriacos." A detailed version of this work was written by Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem (560-638). See *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. Edward Schwartz (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1939), p. 233; Cyril of Scythopolis, *The Lives of Monks of*

⁵² For Meinardus' article, see note 13 above. The photograph appears in Zuzana Skalova, "A Holy Map to Christian Tradition: Preliminary Notes on Painted Proskynetaria of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Era," *Eastern Christian Art* 2 (2005): 93-103, esp. 101-102. I would like to thank Prof. Immerzeel for sending me a copy of this photograph.

Holy Sepulchre, which is portrayed in a permanent and uniform manner from the early accounts in the Munich manuscript and the Zakynthos icon, through the later icons in our corpus, and even into the 1800s. Furthermore, all of these icons, as well as the illustrations in the proskynetarion binders, contain a set lineup of graphic forms (e.g., the rendering of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Nativity, and the Siloam Pool) and a set inventory of holy places. As is evident from the portrayal of the Jerusalem Citadel, the towers of the Mara Saba Monastery, and the cavern of Mary's Tomb, the painters integrated very realistic elements into their works. On the other hand, they were able to pick and choose from a rather extensive yet consistent palette of technical and graphical elements. These components were then assembled into different alignments on the basis of their individual taste, the objective and size of the painting, or the sensibilities and financial wherewithal of their potential buyers - Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem.⁵³

The outlook of this school is also evident from the way in which its members embraced an assortment of materials and genres. Among the items that we surveyed were icons on wood, paper booklets containing illustrated pilgrimage writing, and canvas paintings that were intended for pilgrims. Every work in our corpus bears the fingerprints of this workshop, which developed rather uniform visual models of the sacred places in Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Over the course of this school's development, we can detect two separate paradigms of Jerusalem's wall: an oval rim and a zigzag pattern. This corpus evolved from a chronological and cartographic standpoint. In what appears to be the early seventeenth century, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was rendered from a southern vantage point. Thereafter, the entire city fell in line with the view of the Church (e.g., the Munich manuscript). When the holy places in the vicinity of Jerusalem and further afield were added to the mix (e.g., the Zakynthos icon), the spatial order was once again disrupted. At the second phase of this development, the identical southern vantage point of the Great Church was embedded into a west-to-east vantage point of the city. In parallel, the cartographic rendering of the entire Holy Land was organized thus: Jaffa to the west (below), the Jordan River to the east (above), Jerusalem at the center, Nazareth to the north (left), and Bethlehem to the south (right). In other words, the Church's orientation did not accord with the other sites on the map.⁵⁴ The archetype of this cartographic outlook is the early eighteenth-century icon in Saumur, and all the subsequent paintings followed the same pattern.

The imprint of this school's geographical outlook also stands out in the proskynetarion paintings, where the iconographic framework is more complicated. In general, the left third of these icons is dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the right third to Jesus. Each of these sections is peppered with medallions or rectangular boxes depicting events from the lives of saints, not least the Theotokos and Christ. In the middle lies the Holy Sepulchre which is rendered in a format that bears a close resemblance to that of our corpus. A variety of scenes are situated above the Church. Furthermore, glimpses of Jerusalem's wall along with representations of Jaffa and other sites frequently dot the background (i.e., the right, left, and back sides of the Church). Although these cartographic elements are ancillary, they derive from the map-like icons and are associated with the same workshop.55

⁵³ The fact that icons of this sort turned up in Coptic churches in Egypt and in the West suggests that even non-Orthodox pilgrims purchased them on occasion.

⁵⁴ A similar phenomenon informs von Breydenbach's map: the whole land is oriented to the east and Jerusalem turns west, namely is shifted 180 degrees. Conversely, the edifice of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which in reality faces south, is turned 90 degrees counter clockwise. In so doing, the author was able to expose the Church's entrance to the reader. See Breydenbach (note 44).

⁵⁵ See the references in note 14 above.

As discussed, the workshop did not stand alone, but operated within the framework of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. More specifically, its artists participated in the institution's efforts to encourage pilgrimage and shape the faithful's perspective on the venerated sites of the Holy Land. This hypothesis is bolstered by the strong link between the pilgrimage booklets, the icons that were painted in Jerusalem and preserved on the walls of the monastery of the Cross and the St. George Monastery, and the paintings suggested for sale to pilgrims from abroad. In light of the above, it stands to reason that the constellation of sites informing these works reflect the Patriarchate's outlook concerning the essence of the Holy Land's sanctity. This reflects the use of the iconography and the written booklets as implements in the incessant efforts of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem for the restoration of the "pilgrimages" and using them as a lever for fundraising and establishing the status of Jerusalem as a major patriarchate in the Orthodox world. 56

In painting Jerusalem, there was no place for a realistic description of the city. The artists ignored Jerusalem's markets and other profane venues; and the same can be said for buildings that symbolize other Christian denominations or the local Muslim and Jewish communities. Even when the mosques on the Temple Mount (or what Muslims refer to as the Noble Sanctuary) are included, they represent the Christian historical-cum-theological worldview, for the attendant captions read "the Temple" and "the Holy of Holies." Furthermore, the vast majority of the buildings in these works are monasteries or churches that either belong to or are claimed by the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate. These maps thus reflect an Orthodox version of Jerusalem in which the sanctified time and space are united, while geography and history are subordinated to a theological outlook. The repertoire of venerated places throughout the Holy Land is no different, for almost all of them were visited by Orthodox pilgrims. Likewise, the artists highlighted the Orthodox characteristics of the devotional trek. A case in point is the emphasis on the monasteries in the Judean Desert. Although most of them were in ruins at the time of the workshop, they were all portrayed as functioning institutions. In so doing, the artists commemorated the glorious past of the fathers of monasticism, such as Chariton, Euthymius, Gerasimus, and above all Sabas, whose lavra was the only monastery that never ceased to function.

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⁵⁶ cf. Pinelopi Stathis, "Αλληλογραφία: Ένας αδιάψευστος μάρτυρας των ιστορικών γεγονότων. Αλληλογραφία από τη Συλλογή του Μετοχίου του Παναγίου Τάφου, Κωνσταντινούπολις, 1671-1797", in: E. Close, M. Tsianikas and G. Couvalis (eds.) Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Sixth Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies, Flinders University June 2005, Adelaide, Flinders University, p. 389-400; id, Χρύσανθος Νοταράς, πατριάρχης Ιεροσολύμων, πρόδρομος του νεοελληνικού διαφωτισμού, Athens, 1999. During the 18th century the same motivation led for the printing of Icons of Mt. Athos and Meteora, see: Veronica Della Dora, Mapping Pathways to Heaven: A Topographical Engraving of Meteora (1782), Imago Mundi, Vol. 65, No. 2, 2013, p. 215-231.

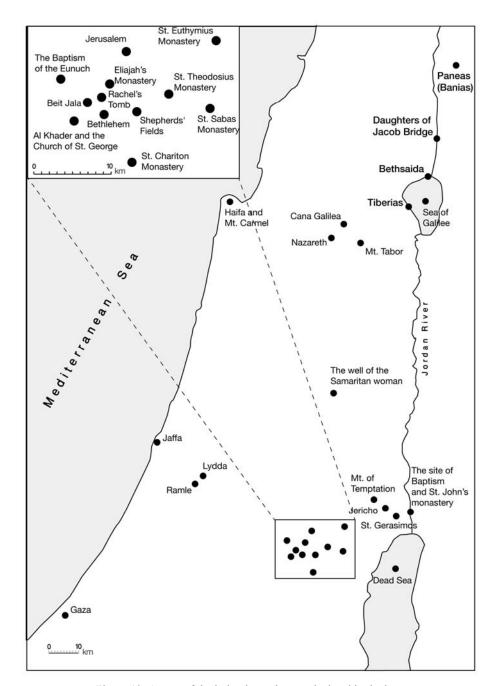


Figure 13: A map of the holy places that are depicted in the icons.

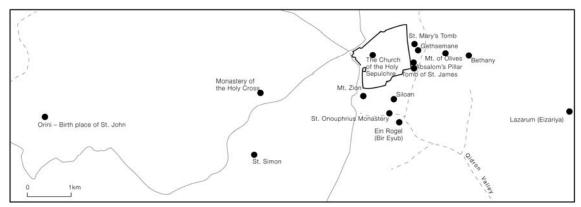


Figure 14: A map of the holy places near Jerusalem that are depicted in the icons.

A comparison between our corpus and West European maps sheds light on the uniqueness of the former. As opposed to the works under review, the contemporaneous European maps tended to focus on the biblical era and the days of Jesus. Accordingly, these works bear titles like "the Promised Land," "the Tribal Allotments as Joshua Divided [them]," and "the Travels of the Apostles."57 In addition, they are rife with toponyms from the Bible, the New Testament, and Hellenistic or Roman sources. A case in point is the books and maps of Adrichom and Fuller.⁵⁸ Alternatively, even Quaresmius, a Franciscan who was stationed in the Holy Land, chose to include a map that draws heavily on that of Adrichom in his own work on local pilgrimage sites.⁵⁹ A comparison between the Saumur icon and those from the Benaki Museum, Cairo, and the St. Anthony Monastery revealed a change in the balance between sacred sites and scenes of saints. Compared to the Saumur version, the number of holy sites decreases and there is a greater emphasis on places close to Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the Sea of Galilee, Nazareth, and Mount Tabor still figure prominently. This vacuum is filled by iconographic scenes from the lives of saints, such as Maria Aegyptica and Zosimus, the death of Judas Iscariot, and the Lot tales. 60 As our corpus is too small we cannot be sure whether this difference reflects a change through time or just differences between variants of the genre. In any event, this shift does not hinder the main objective behind these works—cultivating the Holy Land as a focal point of Orthodox veneration—because the saints that replace the holy sites are key figures in the Christian annals of this land, who embody the sanctity of this expanse.

The icons in our corpus were meant to be pilgrimage souvenirs. As such, they document the blossoming of Greek-Orthodox pilgrimage during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This, then, leads to the following question: Why did this sort of pilgrimage and the attendant luxury souvenir industry expand at this particular juncture? Given the limited scope of this article, we will make do with a cursory answer. Our hypothesis is tied to the stabilization of the Ottoman Empire between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. This empire constituted the sole political and economic framework for pilgrims travelling from Greece to Jerusalem. In consequence, these visitors never had to leave the boundaries of the empire whose language they spoke, whose norms they were familiar with, and whose currency they used. Moreover, a Greek middle class gradually took form under Ottoman rule that could afford such a trip and these expensive souvenirs. As evidenced by the inscriptions on some of these works, members of this class were even inclined to adopt the same pilgrimage honorific as their Muslim neighbors—the Arabic-Turkish title of *haji*—alongside its Greek equivalent – *proskynetes*.⁶¹

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⁵⁷ See, for example, Ortelius' map of the Promised Land, Seutter's map of the tribal allotments, and the Visscer family's maps of the travels of Jesus and the Apostles: Abraham Ortelius, *Palestinae sive totius Terrae Promissionis nova descriptio* (1570); Mattaeus Seutter, *Palaestina seu Terra a Mose et Iosua occupata et inter Iudaeos distributa per XII Tribus vulgo Sancta adpellata* (1745); and the Visscer Family, *Das Land Canaan wie es Christus der Herre und seine Apostel durchwandert* (1768). The latter map was included in a Bible.

⁵⁸ Christiaan van Adrichom, *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae* (Köln: Officina Birckmannica, 1590); Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine and the Confines Thereof with the History of the Old and New Testament Acted Thereon* (London: 1650).

⁵⁹ Franciscus Quaresmius, Chorographia Terrae Sancta sev Terrae Promissionis nova description; idem, *Historica, theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidation*, vol. I (Antwerp: Balthasar Moretus, 1639), before p.1.

p.1.

Another revealing example is the three saints on the front of an icon at the Church of Saint Barbara in Cairo. Bagatti proposed identifying these figures as Sabbas, Theodosius, and George of Choziba. See Bagatti (note 13 above).

⁶¹ The importance of this title, Haji, is evident to this day, as it continues to be a common prefix of many Greek surnames.

Conclusion

Though certainly less than complete, our corpus of icons-maps of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, which were drawn in manuscripts and on canvas or wood, bear witness to several developments: the blossoming of Christian pilgrimage to the region; the attendant souvenir industry; and the aspirations of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The graphic imagery that arises from the multiple genres under review is the fruit of a painters' workshop. Its output is intertwined with that of a school of authors and copyists that created the texts of the proskynetaria. As evidenced by the content of the works discussed herein, these artists-cum-monks endeavored to cultivate and disseminate the Orthodox image of the Holy Land. The sale of these graphical and textual products to out-of-town devotees in Jerusalem indeed helped the Patriarchate spread the idea of the Holy Land as an Orthodox sacred expanse and promote its own importance as the guardian of this holy space throughout the Christian world. In light of the above, we can assume that similar map-icons are still waiting to be discovered by scholars in museums and collections throughout the globe.

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