KATHRYN BLAIR MOORE

TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION AND PICTORIAL TRANSFORMATIONS: THE POST-CRUSADE IMAGE OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK IN ITALY

For many historians, the story of Italy's relation to the Dome of the Rock (fig. 1) only begins in the late fifteenth century, with the printing of illustrated guidebooks. In particular, the eyewitness representation of the Dome of the Rock—labeled the Temple of Solomon (*Templum Salamonis*) in Erhard Reuwich's panoramic woodcut illustrating Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz, 1486)—is singled out as the starting point for a new realism in relation to the architecture of Jerusalem (fig. 2).[1] In an often-cited article of 1970 on representations of the Temple of Jerusalem in European painting before 1500, Carol Krinsky argued that before such pictorial realism in Northern Renaissance art there had not been any representations of the Dome of the Rock in Europe.[2] Some dissenters have since recognized that the pervasive association of the Dome of the Rock with the Temple of Solomon may have caused Italian painters to depict the Temple as a polygonal centralized building,[3] as in Duccio di Buoninsegna's fourteenth-century depiction of the *Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 3), or Pietro Perugino's fifteenth-century *Consignment of the Keys to St. Peter* (fig. 4)—both of which predate the publication of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*.[4] But the overwhelming majority of scholars have followed Krinsky's lead in maintaining that such images of the Temple derived from Byzantine workshop tradition or the Renaissance notion of the "ideal temple," as in Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin* (fig. 5).[5]

Curiously, Richard Krautheimer's famous theory of the conceptual rather than optical imitation of architectural form, first established in 1942 in his "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" played no role in Krinsky's theory.[6] Krautheimer's iconography, formulated in reference to the Anastasis (Resurrection) Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (figs. 6–8) but easily extended to any famous building in the medieval period, might have explained how these pictorial representations of the Temple as a polygonal building could refer to the Dome of the Rock without immediately resembling it.

Krinsky and Krautheimer nonetheless agreed upon one important point: descriptions of the buildings of Jerusalem found in pilgrimage accounts evinced a level of imprecision and confusion typical of the lack of mimetic realism that pervaded all media in the medieval period—text, pictorial representations, and built architecture. Krinsky took this idea of medieval confusion to the extreme, arguing that pilgrimage accounts were so unclear that artists could not have learned anything from them.[7] She characterized the European relation to the Dome of the Rock in this period in terms of uncertainty and misunderstanding vis-à-vis the true religious and historical identity of the Islamic monument. Krinsky's insistence that the Dome of the Rock was never represented in European painting before the realism of Northern Renaissance art, combined with Krautheimer's focus on the centralized Anastasis Rotunda as the preeminent architectural model in medieval Europe, has obscured the possibility of references to the Dome of the Rock in post-Crusade Italian visual culture.[8] Illustrations of both the Dome of the Rock and the Holy Sepulcher appear in the *Libro d'Oltramare* (literally Book of Beyond the Sea, published in translation as *A Voyage Beyond the Seas*), the Holy Land guidebook of Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who made his journey between 1346 and 1350 (figs. 9–12).[9] Modern scholars, including Krautheimer and Krinsky, have been unaware of these

Fig. 1. The Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem. (Photo: Kathryn Blair Moore)

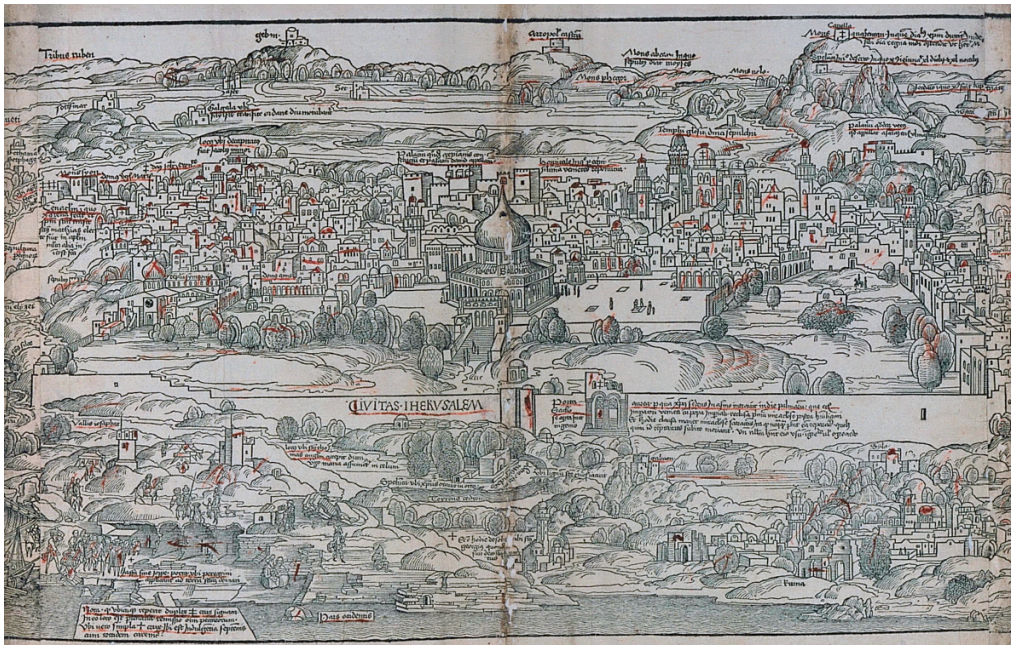

Fig. 2. Erhard Reuwich, *Jerusalem* (detail). From Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz, 1486). (Photo: courtesy of The Jewish National and University Library and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Dept. of Geography, Historic Cities Research Project)

Fig. 3. Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Entry into Jerusalem*. Panel from the back of the *Maestà*. Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana, Siena. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.)

Fig. 4. Pietro Perugino, *Consignment of the Keys to St. Peter*. The Sistine Chapel, Vatican. (Photo: courtesy of the Vatican Museums)

Fig. 5. Raffaello Sanzio, *Marriage of the Virgin*. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. (Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.)

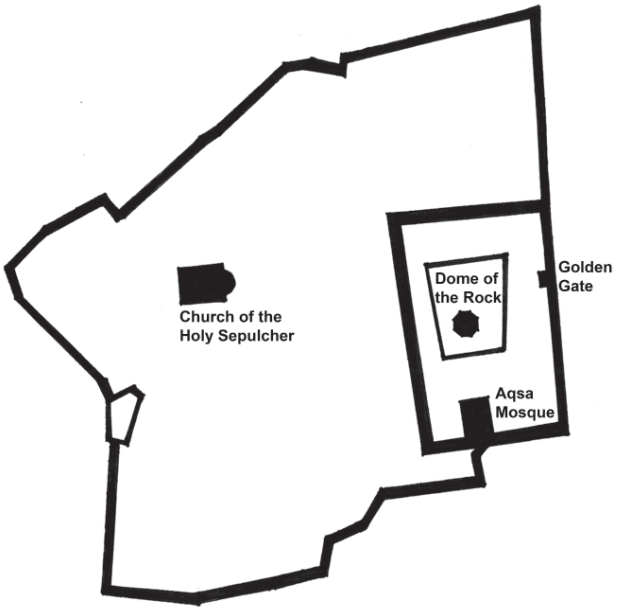

Fig. 6. Major monuments of Crusader Jerusalem. (Plan: Kathryn Blair Moore)

illustrations, which provide an opportunity to reevaluate the question of the instrumental role of pilgrimage accounts in relation to pictorial representations of the Dome of the Rock in Italy.

I would like to suggest that before the advent of the illustrated printed guidebook, the visualization of the Dome of the Rock in Italy emerged from—and was mediated by—texts written by European travelers to Jerusalem. The anonymous artists who illustrated the manuscript versions of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's Holy Land guidebook in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries worked not from an immediate knowledge of the appearance of Jerusalem but instead from a pictorial tradition formulated in conjunction with a pilgrim's textual description. The eyewitness encounter of the German artist Erhard Reuwich with the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem was unprecedented and would remain exceptional. Before this point, Italian artists, like the majority of Europeans, had knowledge of the appearance of the Holy Land primarily through a combination of verbal descriptions and pictorial precedents. Pilgrims like Niccolò da Poggibonsi described the architectural features of the Dome of the Rock—referred to as the *Templum Domini*—in connection with the Biblical events associated with the building, including Christ's entry into Jerusalem and the Virgin's marriage to Joseph.[10] These were the scenes that Italian artists like Duccio (fig. 3) and Raphael (fig. 5) depicted in narrative painting.[11]

In addition to exploring how Italians knew about the appearance of the Dome of the Rock before the publication of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, I would also like to suggest that the Italian reception of the image of the Dome of the Rock in this period was significantly informed by the politics of the Crusades. By the beginning of the eleventh century, many Christian pilgrims believed that the Dome of the Rock had been built by either Solomon or a Byzantine emperor rather than by an Umayyad caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 685–705), in the seventh century.[12] But the idea that the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem were Christian buildings

Fig. 7. The south façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem. (Photo: Kathryn Blair Moore)

Fig. 8. Interior of the Anastasis Rotunda with the Aedicule, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem. (Photo: Kathryn Blair Moore)

that had been perversely transgressed by Muslim idolaters only became prevalent in the late eleventh century, as a result of the propaganda campaign leading up to the First Crusade.[13] At the sermon of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II described how Muslims had desecrated the Lord's sanctuary in Jerusalem by erecting images of their gods in the *Templum Domini*.[14] During the occupation of Jerusalem from 1099 to 1187, the Christian Crusaders claimed the Dome of the Rock as one of the preeminent churches of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and chroniclers celebrated the slaughter of the idol-worshipers who had defiled the *Templum Domini*.[15] The image of the Dome of the Rock entered the Italian architectural imagination through this lens, and the use of the image continued to be entangled with the politics of the possession of Jerusalem through the Counter-Reformation period.[16]

Undoubtedly, politics and mimesis go hand-in-hand throughout the history of the Dome of the Rock. This story could easily be extended back to the building's initial construction at the end of the seventh century, and the religiously and politically charged appropriation of the most recognizable features of the nearby Anastasis Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher by the Muslim con-

Fig. 9. The Temple of Solomon. From Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. II. IV. 101, fol. 20v. By kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. (Photo: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

Fig. 10. The Temple of Solomon. From Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Panciatichi 78, fol. 31v. By kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. (Photo: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

querors of Jerusalem.[17] The story could likewise be applied to the twentieth century, and the use of the image of the Dome of the Rock in Palestinian textiles, on Israeli postcards, and in mosques in contemporary Germany.[18] To presume that in the premodern period a lack of technological sophistication or accuracy of representation corresponded to a general state of medieval confusion fails to account for the sophistication with which Western Christians first appropriated the Dome of the Rock in the period of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187). During this time, an altar covered the rock, paintings of Christ and the Virgin—anathema to Muslims—were hung inside, and Latin inscriptions were affixed inside and out, perhaps even literally masking the original Arabic inscriptions.[19] The actions of the Christian Crusaders suggest a politically motivated project to suppress signs of the Islamic identity of the building. The physical transformation of the Dome of the Rock into a Latin Christian church was the first stage in an ongoing process of translation that would ultimately culminate in the pictorial representations of the building as a Sienese-style Temple on the back of the *Maestà* (fig. 3) or a Roman-style Temple in the Sistine Chapel (fig. 4).[20] Rather than reading the history of the Dome of the Rock's relation to Italy in terms of failure (i.e., confusion, misidentification) until the suc-

Fig. 11. The Temple of Solomon. From Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Panciatichi 79, fol. 35r. By kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. (Photo: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

Fig. 12. The Temple of Solomon. From Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*. The Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Ms. Spencer 62, fol. 42r. (Photo: courtesy of The New York Public Library)

cess of realistic images in Northern art, as in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* (fig. 2), we might instead consider with what success the myth of the Christian identity of the building persisted in Italy through the sixteenth century.[21]

FROM JERUSALEM TO ITALY: THE DOME OF THE ROCK IN CRUSADER CHRONICLES AND PILGRIMAGE ACCOUNTS

Chronicles written by Crusaders in Jerusalem during the period of the Latin Kingdom are the only records of the many changes made to the appearance of the Dome of the Rock, which were entirely eradicated by Saladin after the reconquest in 1187. From chroniclers we learn that by 1114–15 Augustinian canons had covered and enclosed the Rock with an altar. Contemporary Muslims in Jerusalem recorded the offending presence of images of holy figures like Christ and Mary in the *Templum Domini*, as well as a cross above the dome.[22] The Dome of the Rock was formally dedicated as a church in 1141, and it was probably at this time that the inscriptions—as well as the ironwork screen encircling the Rock—were added.[23] The inscriptions, consisting of Biblical passages and liturgical readings, asserted the Christian identity of the *Templum Domini* and were apparently found on both the interior and exterior of the building. Two contemporaries, John of Würzburg

and Theoderich—both writing in the 1170s—recorded their content, including, for instance, "This is the house of God solidly built," and "Well founded is the house of God above the firm rock" (Matthew 7:25), perhaps chosen to allude to the Rock itself.[24]

Theoderich's account of the *Templum Domini* also included an extensive description of the major architectural features of the Dome of the Rock. He explained how the building was situated on an upper court above a lower court, and could be accessed by steps leading up from the *Porta Aurea* (Golden Gate) (fig. 6):

> The temple itself is shown to be an octagon (*octogonum*) in the lower part; the lower part is ornamented until the middle with most noble marble and from the middle up to the top, on which the roof rests, is most beautifully decorated with mosaic work…The upper wall, however, encloses a narrower circle (*angustiori circulo*), sustained inside by supports, which, holding up a lead roof, at the top has a great ball and, above that, a gilded cross. The building is entered and exited through four doors, each door looking out to one of the four corners of the world. The church, moreover, rests upon eight square piers, [and] sixteen columns, and its walls and ceilings are nobly decorated by mosaic work. The circuit of the choir has four piers, or pillars, and eight columns, which hold up the inner wall, with its own lofty, vaulted roof.[25]

Theoderich's Latin description of the *Templum Domini* was one of the first texts through which an Italian audience would have learned about the unique architectural features of the Dome of the Rock. Famous accounts, such as that of Theoderich, were copied many times throughout Europe.[26]

Pilgrims who described the buildings of Jerusalem in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, after the city had returned to Muslim control, similarly characterized the *Templum Domini* in the most essentializing terms, focusing on the octagonal shape of the building, the prominent dome, the orientation towards the cardinal points, and the two-storied elevation.[27] Such pilgrimage accounts were written in Latin and, if illustrated, included only schematic maps of entire geographic regions. The first known Holy Land guidebook to be written in the Italian vernacular was created in the mid-fourteenth century by the Franciscan pilgrim Niccolò da Poggibonsi. Four previously unknown illustrated manuscript copies of this guidebook provide new evidence of how Italians might have imagined or remembered the appearance of the Holy Land, and the Dome of the Rock in particular, through the aid of such textual descriptions (figs. 9–12).

Niccolò da Poggibonsi began his pilgrimage in 1346, and over the course of four years he carefully recorded his experiences in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt on gypsum tablets that he carried with him.[28] His description of the *Templum Domini*, like many aspects of his unique guidebook, was idiosyncratic: the building was characterized as possessing a round, hat-like dome above a larger substructure.[29] In all four of the illustrated manuscript copies, the *Templum Domini* is represented as a domed, two-storied, centralized temple adjacent to—or perhaps in front of—a small, rectangular building and tower, representing the Aqsa Mosque. This seventh-century building, located near the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (fig. 6), was identified by Niccolò da Poggibonsi and most contemporary pilgrims as the *Templum Salamonis*. According to Niccolò, the *Templum Domini*, the *Templum Salamonis*, and the surrounding "piazza" comprised the area of the original *Tempio di Salamone*.[30]

Niccolò da Poggibonsi's descriptions of the buildings of Jerusalem were copied many times in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in unillustrated manuscripts, but at least one modern scholar hypothesized that the original version may have contained drawings.[31] The oldest of the newly found illustrated manuscript copies, Ms. II. IV. 101 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (fig. 9), could be the manuscript made by Niccolò da Poggibonsi himself after his return to Italy in 1350, or an immediate copy of the otherwise lost original. Another of the illustrated copies, Ms. Panc. 78 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (fig. 10), which the scribe tells us was made from "the original itself," was produced in 1453 in Florence.[32] Either the latter or Ms. II. IV. 101 was copied in Florence in 1481—Ms. Panc. 79 (fig. 11)—and the other surviving illustrated copy, Ms. Spencer 62 of the New York Public Library (fig. 12), was made some time in the second half of the fifteenth century, perhaps in Fiesole.

The drawings of the *Templum Salamonis* and *Templum Domini* in the manuscript versions of Niccolò da


El tempio de salamone ꝛ del suo antiporto la porta a dẽtro vna chorte grã
de ꝛ quadra ꝛ e murata intorno intorno e nel mezo e il tẽpio del nſo signore il
qual tempio cõmincio adhificare il re dauid ꝛ salamone ma eglie stato disfa
cto tre volte e poi e stato rifacto. et inuerso il mezo giorno e il tempio di salamone ilqua-
le e choperto di piõbo templum domini e tanto bello difuora che e cosa marauegliosa a
vederlo disopra e tondo ꝛ e facto informa ò vno chappello e disopra e stretto et viensi al
largando de grado ingrado et e ornato con belle fenestre ma come si sia facto dentro q̃
sto non so io pero che li chan saracini lo tengbono per loro moschetta ꝛ per loro oratorio
e chi gli entrasse di christiani sarebe preso infuria dalli saracini e chonuerebe renegar la
fede del figliuolo didio cioe del nostro signore yhesu christo o vero gli conuerebe morire
et a. lx. giorni fu profetegiato el nostro signore nel tempio come lui vene nelle bracie de
symeone giusto doue il decto simeone disse. Nunc dimittis seruum tuum dñe secundum
verbum tuum in pace. ꝛc. et in quel luocho fu trouato il nostro signore che disputaua
tra li hebrei. Et quiui tempto sathanas il suo signore cioe il nostro idio e nostro salua-
tore quando lui disse si filius dei es. ꝛc. e quiui liberoe il nostro signore quella femina ch
fu trouata in adulterio rompendo il matrimonio. et quiui chacio lui del tempio tuti que
li liquali vendeuano laloro mercantia doue lui disse. dom⁹ mea dom⁹ oꝛõis vocabit. ꝛc
Templum Salamonis. Templum. domini.

Fig. 13. The Temple of Solomon. Leaf iii recto, from Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem, et al Monte Sinai, sepulchro de Sancta Chaterina* (Bologna, 1500). The Houghton Library, Typ Inc 6663 F. (Photo: courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University)

Poggibonsi's guidebook were the basis of the woodcut illustration of the same buildings in the first printed version, published anonymously in Bologna in 1500 by Iustiniano da Rubiera as the *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*… (Voyage from Venice to the Holy Jerusalem…) (fig. 13).[33] The woodcut illustration of the *Templum Domini* in the 1500 *Viazo da Venesia* exemplifies the type of representation that has been marginalized in studies of the Temple of Jerusalem in European art because of its lack of mimetic accuracy in relation to the real Dome of the Rock. Unlike its manuscript precedents, the 1500 *Viazo da Venesia* is well known to modern scholars, but its illustrations have been regarded as fanciful creations with no historical value because of their lack of topographic accuracy vis-à-vis the real architecture of Jerusalem.[34] The drawings of the earlier manuscript versions of the same guidebook indicate that the woodcuts of the 1500 *Viazo da Venesia* were not based on the actual topography of Jerusalem; rather, they were a continuation of a tradition of representing the buildings of the Holy Land as they were known through the original account of a pilgrim, Niccolò da Poggibonsi. Like Duccio's or Perugino's depictions of the Temple, these illustrations were not the result of an artist's eyewitness experience of Jerusalem, but instead emerged from the textual culture of Holy Land pilgrimage.

TRANSFORMATIONS WITHIN ITALY: THE *TEMPLUM DOMINI* IN NARRATIVE PAINTING

In the illustrated versions of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's Holy Land guidebook, drawings of the buildings of the Holy Land are integrated into the text, leaving us no doubts about the identity of each architectural image. In contemporary narrative painting, artists illustrated the city of Jerusalem as the backdrop for events in the lives of Christ, Mary, and other saints, but which specific buildings—if any—artists might have intended to represent is seldom agreed upon. The most interesting example of a pictorial representation of a building in Jerusalem whose identity remains unresolved is perhaps also the most controversial. The possible meaning of the polygonal temple found in Duccio's *Entry into Jerusalem* on the back of the *Maestà* (fig. 3), installed on the high altar of the cathedral of Siena in 1311, has been debated for decades.[35] Rather than being a background "pavilion" with no symbolic meaning, I would suggest that Duccio's Temple resembled well-known textual descriptions of the *Templum Domini*, repeatedly identified by pilgrims as part of Christ's entry into Jerusalem.[36]

Several years ago, Hayden Maginnis observed that there are three remarkable features in Duccio's *Entry into Jerusalem*, which have no known precedent in other depictions of that scene. The first was the almost free-standing doorway to the right of Christ (the Gate of

Fig. 14. Nicolas van Aelst, *Jerusalem* (detail). Rome, ca. 1590. (Photo: courtesy of The Jewish National and University Library and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Dept. of Geography, Historic Cities Research Project)

Jehoshaphat), the second the spiny, dead tree behind Christ (the tree cursed by Christ in Matthew 21:17–19), and the third the steep incline, which Christ is shown to be climbing (from the Valley of Jehoshaphat). Maginnis argued that the source for these unusual elements was not previous visual depictions of the scene, but instead textual descriptions of Christ's Jerusalem, composed by pilgrims in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[37] These observations led Maginnis to suggest that the source for the polygonal Temple to the left of the *Porta Aurea* in Duccio's scene was descriptions of the Dome of the Rock in the same pilgrimage reports. Maginnis came to the conclusion that Duccio "must have consulted someone who, either in person or in the reading of pilgrims' accounts, knew the topography of the Holy Land."[38]

There is yet another detail in Duccio's version of the scene that I would also suggest could have derived from accounts of Jerusalem—whether known through written texts or the first-hand reportage of pilgrims returned to Italy. Some pilgrimage guides specified that there were trees between the *Porta Aurea* and the *Templum Domini*, from which boys pulled down branches when Christ entered Jerusalem (fig. 6).[39] This is precisely the moment that Duccio depicted in the panel on the back of the *Maestà*. I would further suggest that other similar depictions of a polygonal Temple near the Golden Gate in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian painting might have also ultimately derived from an awareness of how pilgrims described Jerusalem.[40] Some closely related examples are to be found in the frescoes of the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi (1320s), in the Baroncelli Chapel of Santa Croce in Flor-

ence (1330s), and in the predella of a triptych made by Taddeo di Bartolo for the cathedral of Montepulciano (ca. 1401).[41] The association of the polygonal building behind the *Porta Aurea* with the Dome of the Rock in depictions of Christ's entry into Jerusalem was finally made explicit in one late sixteenth-century print (fig. 14), in which Christ is shown approaching the *Porta Aurea* and behind the identity of the polygonal Temple is indicated by an inscription immediately below the building: *quivi fu il Tempio di Salamone* (here was the Temple of Solomon).[42]

DOME OF THE ROCK OR HOLY SEPULCHER?

Although there are many similar representations of an octagonal Temple adjacent to the Golden Gate in fourteenth-century Italian paintings of Jerusalem, I have chosen that of the *Templum Domini* in Duccio's *Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 3) not only because it is the earliest, but also to highlight the problematic nature of attempting to account for manifestations of the Dome of the Rock in Italian art. The default assumption among scholars of Italian painting is that a centralized building in a depiction of Jerusalem most likely alludes to the Anastasis Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the round chapel surrounding the site of Christ's burial, first built by the emperor Constantine (r. 306–37) in the fourth century.

This common assumption ultimately results from the uncritical reduction of Krautheimer's famous theory that the Anastasis Rotunda was frequently "copied" in medieval Europe. For instance, in his classic survey of art and architecture in Italy from 1250 to 1400, first published in 1966, John White asserted that the "temple-baptistery,"as he called it, from the *Maestà* reflected "an iconographically significant reference to the centralized church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem."[43] White's description of the Temple as a baptistery indicated that his statement was based on Krautheimer's theory that Italian baptisteries were patterned after the Anastasis Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem because of their association with the death and resurrection of Christ.

If we turn to pilgrimage accounts of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, we find that the entry into Jerusalem was never mentioned in connection with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (this building, after all, did not exist during the life of Christ). Instead, the entry into Jerusalem was repeatedly described as occurring at the *Porta Aurea*, immediately adjacent to the *Templum Domini*. For instance, the early twelfth-century account of Saewulf refers to the *Porta Aurea*, through which Christ entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, as being located on the east side of the *Templum Domini*.[44] Likewise, in every illustrated version of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook—in both manuscript and print form—the illustration of the *Templum Domini* immediately follows that of the *Porta Aurea* (figs. 15–17).[45]

In pilgrimage accounts from the twelfth century onward, the most important association of the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher was as the site of the tomb of Christ and of His Resurrection (*anastasis* meaning resurrection in Greek). The most common term used to describe the form of the building was *rotundus*. Like many Latin terms, this was a flexible one, whose meaning could vary from "circular" to "round" to "centralized." Indeed, many descriptions of the *Templum Domini* included references to the forms of that building as both *rotundus* and possessing eight faces or exterior angles.[46] In contrast, the Anastasis Rotunda was never described as having many sides, but only simply as *rotundus*.[47] In order to account for why many buildings that apparently copied the Anastasis Rotunda in Europe were polygonal rather than circular, Krautheimer had argued that the circle and polygon were interchangeable in the medieval mind.[48] This assumption of a lack of geometric precision among medieval writers is typical of how the mechanisms governing the transmission of knowledge about buildings like the Anastasis Rotunda and the Dome of the Rock have been glossed over in discussions of architectural "prototypes" and "copies."

If we turn to Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook, we have an opportunity to reconsider how knowledge of the appearance of the Anastasis Rotunda, and of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in general, was transmitted to Italy. In contrast to the single illustration and description of the *Templum Domini* in the same guidebook, the description of the various elements of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher spans several folios and includes a series of separate illustrations, best preserved in Ms. II. IV. 101, Ms. Spencer 62, and the printed

Fig. 15. The Golden Gate. From Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. II. IV. 101, fol. 20r. By kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. (Photo: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

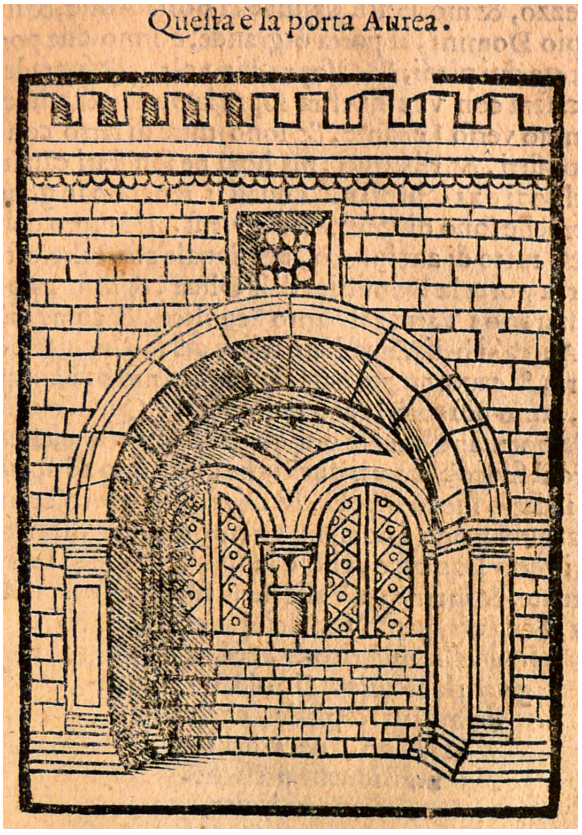

Fig. 16. The Golden Gate. From Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepolcro et al Monte Sinai* (Venice, 1606). Los Angeles, The Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 88-B1091. (Photo: Kathryn Blair Moore)

version of 1500.[49] First we see an illustration of the "green stone" (*pietra verde*) marking the place where Christ was anointed and embalmed, which would have been found in the courtyard in front of the eastern façade. This is immediately followed by an exterior view of that façade, with its two portals below and three vaults above (fig. 18).[50] Inside, the "round chapel" (*cappella rotunda*) and the Aedicule (the structure enclosing the Tomb of Christ) are illustrated separately.[51] These are followed by pictures of other chapels, including those marking Mount Calvary, Golgotha, the four columns bewailing the passion of Christ, and the Holy Fire, and then by a drawing of the tower (*campanile*) of the church.

As depicted by Niccolò da Poggibonsi in the mid-fourteenth century, the Holy Sepulcher was a complex amalgamation of a series of holy sites, each marked by a different vault.[52] At one point, Niccolò remarks that, "[v]erily the Church of Jerusalem can hardly be described or represented as it is (*non si potrebe scrivere, ne figurare*), for so great is the structure, that he who has not seen it, cannot picture it in his mind…."[53] Indeed, the many illustrations and lengthy descriptions of the different parts of the church indicate the lack of a clear image of the architecture associated with the sepulcher of Christ.

Due to the overwhelming intricacy of the surrounding church complex, the Anastasis Rotunda never possessed the iconic presence within Jerusalem that the Dome of

Fig. 17. The Golden Gate, Jerusalem. (Photo: Kathryn Blair Moore)

the Rock has always retained. Although Christian access to the interior of the Dome of the Rock was limited after the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, the building continued to dominate the skyline, with its seemingly immutable forms elevated within a vast piazza visible from great distances. In contrast, the complex of the Holy Sepulcher lacked a clear form within the cityscape. Moreover, the building often changed, having first been begun by Constantine in 326, destroyed by the Fatimid caliph Hakim in 1009, rebuilt by the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus in 1048, and further modified during the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, when the domed crossing and double portal were added around 1144.[54] This new dome challenged the iconographic centrality of the Rotunda. It has also been suggested that the forms of the crossing were created in reference to the *Templum Domini* (and the double portal in reference to the Golden Gate) to emphasize the symbolic and spiritual connections between the two key ritual spaces of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.[55]

None of this is to say that the idea of the Holy Sepulcher, and in particular the Aedicule, was not important to Italian visual culture in the period of pilgrimage.[56] But in the decades since Krautheimer first published his famous study, scholars have been suggesting revisions for his theory of medieval architectural iconography, varying from subtle modifications to complete rejection.[57] It has been proposed that some of the centralized buildings that Krautheimer identified as exclusively copying the Anastasis Rotunda may have instead had a more multivalent symbolic meaning, possibly alluding to more than one building, or type of building, at the same time.[58] This would allow for the possibility that a centralized building—or a representation of one—could simultaneously recall both the Anastasis Rotunda and the *Templum Domini*, as could have perhaps been the case with Pisa's baptistery, for example.[59]

In reference to the enigmatic polygonal building on the back of the *Maestà* (fig. 3), we might consider that instead of regarding the building as representing only the *Templum Domini* or only the Anastasis Rotunda, contemporaries could have interpreted it in a variety of ways. First, there would have been a general recognition of the building's similarity to local Tuscan baptisteries, as well as of other contemporary Tuscan elements of the cityscape in the panel.[60] Second, certain viewers would have realized that the city depicted was Christ's Jerusalem, a distant place to which many pilgrims had traveled, and some might have also remembered that the most significant sites associated with the life of Christ—including the *Templum Domini* and the Anastasis Rotunda—were centralized buildings. More literate viewers might have known that Christ's entry into Jerusalem was often described as occurring at the *Porta Aurea* near the *Templum Domini.* We should also keep in mind that the viewer's interpretation may have differed from the artist's original intention, which may have itself been specific or composite. In other words, while Krautheimer argued that a variable set of architectural features may all refer to a single building, it is important to consider the possibility that a single architectural feature may have been mediated by differing associative memories, in different contexts, and for different viewers.

Fig. 18. The "green stone" (*pietra verde*) and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. From Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. II. IV. 101, fol. 6v. By kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana/ Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. (Photo: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON AT THE SACRO MONTE DI VARALLO

Because of the confusion regarding the interpretation of representations of the Dome of the Rock in Italian painting, the question of whether such depictions had counterparts in the built environment of Italy has never been fully explored. More specifically, I would like to suggest that we could apply Krautheimer's idea of schematic copying to the interpretation of possible "copies" of the Dome of the Rock in Italy. For the most part, any possible allusion to the Dome of the Rock within the field of Italian architecture tends to be treated as an unintended consequence resulting from the misidentification of that building by pilgrims as the Temple of Solomon.[61] By contrast, in other regions of European art, the Dome of the Rock is often considered a possible architectural model due to its Solomonic fame, in relation to, for instance, Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen and Templar churches in England, France, and Spain (although such interpretations are nonetheless controversial).[62]

One possible example of an attempt to mimic the forms of the Dome of the Rock in Italy can be found in a sixteenth-century project to reconstruct the Temple of Solomon at the Sacro Monte di Varallo as an octagonal church.[63] Rather than being an immediate copy of the Dome of the Rock, I would argue that the reference to the Jerusalemic building was instead indirect, having been mediated by previous pictorial representations of the Temple as an octagonal building—such as those of Duccio, Perugino, Taddeo di Bartolo, and others. The reconstruction of the Temple of Solomon at the Sacro Monte di Varallo was part of a larger plan to reproduce Christ's Jerusalem in its entirety in the Piedmont region of Italy. The Franciscan Bernardino Caimi had initiated the project at the end of the fifteenth century, after personally witnessing the growing difficulty of pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[64] The Franciscan idea to reconstruct Jerusalem on Italian soil is an interesting counterpart to the Franciscan Niccolò da Poggibonsi's book project. Each was a response to the increasing obstacles to pilgrimage, and an attempt to create a comprehensive set of representations of the architecture of the Holy Land that would be accessible to Italians—one in built architecture, the other in written format.

By the mid-sixteenth century, this ambitious project was still incomplete, and an architect—apparently Galeazzo Alessi—was commissioned to create a design plan for the rest of the holy sites. The proposals were presented in a manuscript entitled *Libro dei Misteri* (Book of Mysteries), comprising a series of groundplans, elevations, perspectival views, and commentary dating from 1565 to 1569.[65] In an inscription within the

octagonal groundplan of the Temple of Solomon (fig. 19), the architect explained:

> I decided to make the present plan with an oblong shape in order to get as close as I possibly could to the description of the Temple of Solomon (*Tempio di Salamone*) in the sacred scripture; I wanted then to make the outer part an octagonal shape (*figura ottangola*), to accommodate the impression that many have, who have very often seen in various places the said temple depicted with an octagonal shape. And to please one and the other, I made the plan of the said temple as you see it.[66]

The Temple, had it been built, would have been based upon a set of previous pictorial and textual representations, rather than copying a building the architect had seen himself. This proposal for the Temple of Solomon is a rare written record of how, throughout the sixteenth century, representations of the *Templum Domini* (or *Tempio di Salamone*, as it came to be called in the vernacular by the sixteenth century) were mediated by previous representations, rather than by direct visual knowledge of the building in Jerusalem.[67]

The architect's commentary indicates that the idea of the Temple's octagonality was not directly connected to the real topography of Jerusalem. Instead, the idea emerged from what had become, by the sixteenth century, a long tradition of representing the *Templum Domini* in Italian narrative painting and pilgrimage guidebooks, since the time of Duccio. When the architect imagined the scene of the entry into Jerusalem in the *Libro dei Misteri*—conflating the historical Jerusalem with the project for its reconstruction at the Sacro Monte di Varallo—the Temple of Solomon was represented as a two-storied octagonal building, just as in Duccio's version of the scene over two hundred years earlier (fig. 20).

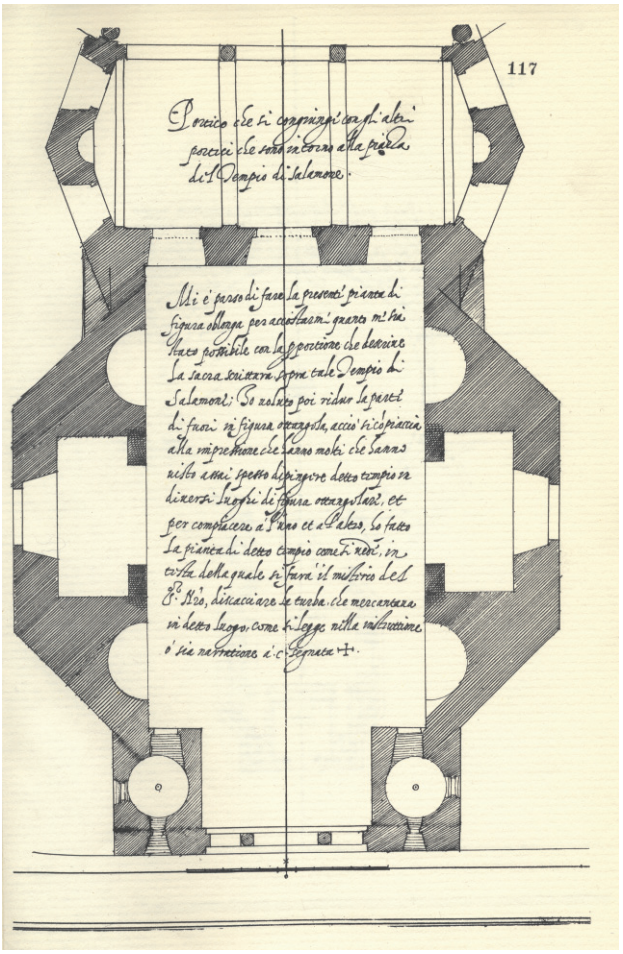

Fig. 19. Galeazzo Alessi, Plan for the Temple of Solomon at the Sacro Monte di Varallo. (After Galeazzo Alessi, *Libro dei Misteri: Progetto di pianificazione urbanistica, architettonica e figurativa del Sacro Monte di Varallo in Valsesia (1565–1569)*, ed. Stefania Stefani Perrone, 2 vols. [Bologna, 1974], 2:117)

Neither the Temple in the entry into Jerusalem from the *Libro dei Misteri* nor the Temple on the back of the *Maestà* in Siena immediately resembles the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Nonetheless, both images are ultimately linked to the original as representations of representations, connected by a schematic, Euclidean ideal that was easily transferred across various media—whether text, pictorial image, or built architecture. In the proposal for the Temple of Solomon at the Sacro Monte di Varallo, the primary symbolic features of the building were reduced to ideal forms—as the octagon and rectangle in the groundplan—and the same forms were conceptualized in the textual commentary inscribed within. The immediate juxtaposition of this inscription with the schematic groundplan suggests how what was originally a textual model for the buildings of the Holy Land could shift from written form to image to building and back, while still retaining its meaningfulness within the context of pilgrimage culture. If we consider that textual descriptions were originally the primary sources for Holy Land architecture, that pictorial representations first drew upon this body of

Fig. 20. Galeazzo Alessi, Plan for the Golden Gate with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. (After Alessi, *Libro dei Misteri*, 2:101)

knowledge, and that later pictorial and built representations drew on a combination of such sources—then perhaps these complex modes of transmission across media can account for what Krautheimer perceived as a cultural disregard for precision in architectural mimesis.

In the end, Alessi's project for the Temple of Solomon at the Sacro Monte di Varallo was never realized. The Temple was redesigned as a basilical church by a new architect, perhaps Pellegrino Pellegrini, in the period of Carlo Borromeo's involvement in the administration of the Sacro Monte immediately preceding his death in 1584.[68] Alessi's project had been an attempt to resolve the tradition of depicting the *Templum Domini* as an octagonal building in paintings with the new Counter-Reformation emphasis on the text of the Bible as the primary source for reconstructing the Temple of Solomon. Had it been built, the exterior would have been octagonal but the interior would have been a rectangular hall with the proportions described in the Bible. Borromeo, a cardinal of the Catholic Church and the most aggressive proponent of reform to combat Protestantism, had argued that centralized churches were inappropriate due to their connections with pagan antiquity. He must, then, have disapproved of Alessi's imaginatively hybrid plan.[69]

Borromeo's involvement in the demise of Alessi's plan for an octagonal Temple at the Sacro Monte di Varallo should perhaps be taken as an indication of the broader effects of Counter-Reformation politics on the image of the Temple of Solomon in Italy. In Holy Land guidebooks published in Rome from the mid-sixteenth century onward, authors consistently made the argument that the Dome of the Rock could not be the Temple of Solomon described in the Bible. For instance, in 1610 Bernardino Amico argued that the current Temple (fig. 21), which appeared spherical inside and octagonal outside, could not be the Temple of Solomon, because that building was "long and narrow" (*lungo e stretto*).[70] In Venice, on the other hand, the image of the Temple of Solomon as an octagonal building nonetheless continued to proliferate, especially in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook, published anonymously as the *Viaggio da Venetia al Sancto Sepolchro…* (fig. 22), as well as in the Mishneh Torah and Haggadah, also printed in Venice in the same period.[71] Indeed, the Venetian Republic's unique connections to the Ottoman Empire, support of its Jewish populations, and resistance to Papal and Jesuit control may have provided a political motivation for the promotion of that image. In contrast to the notion that the image of a centralized Temple of Solomon disappeared by the end of the sixteenth century as a result of a new archaeological awareness, the same image of the octagonal Temple was replicated in over sixty editions of the *Viaggio da Venetia al Sancto Sepolchro…* published in the Veneto until the final edition of 1800.[72]

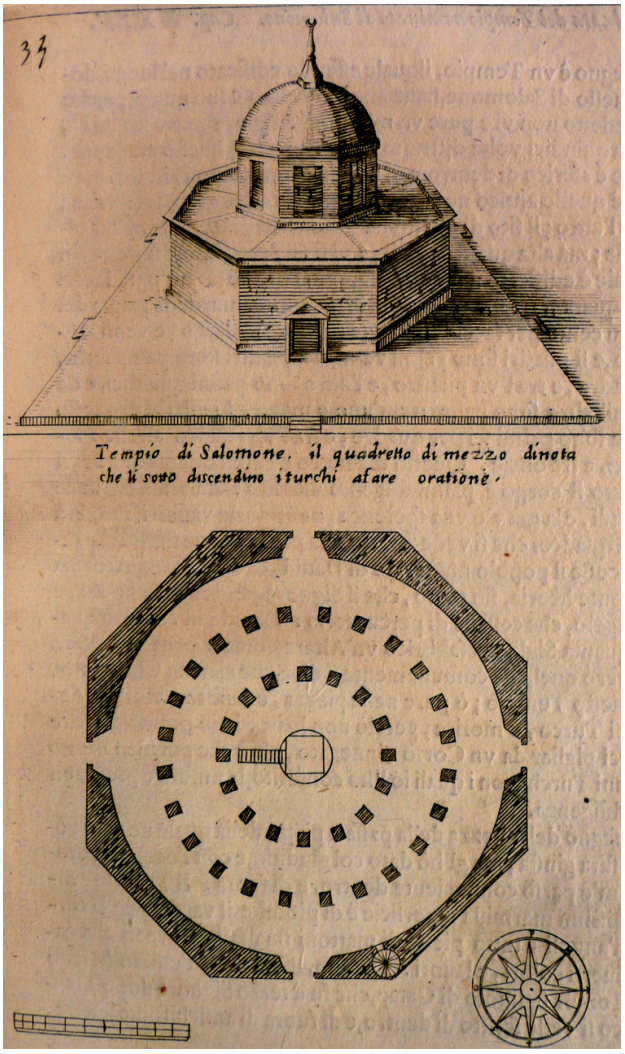

Fig. 21. The Temple of Solomon. From Bernardino Amico, *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizi di Terra Santa…* (Florence, 1620), pl. 33. Los Angeles, The Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 84-B29370. (Photo: Kathryn Blair Moore)

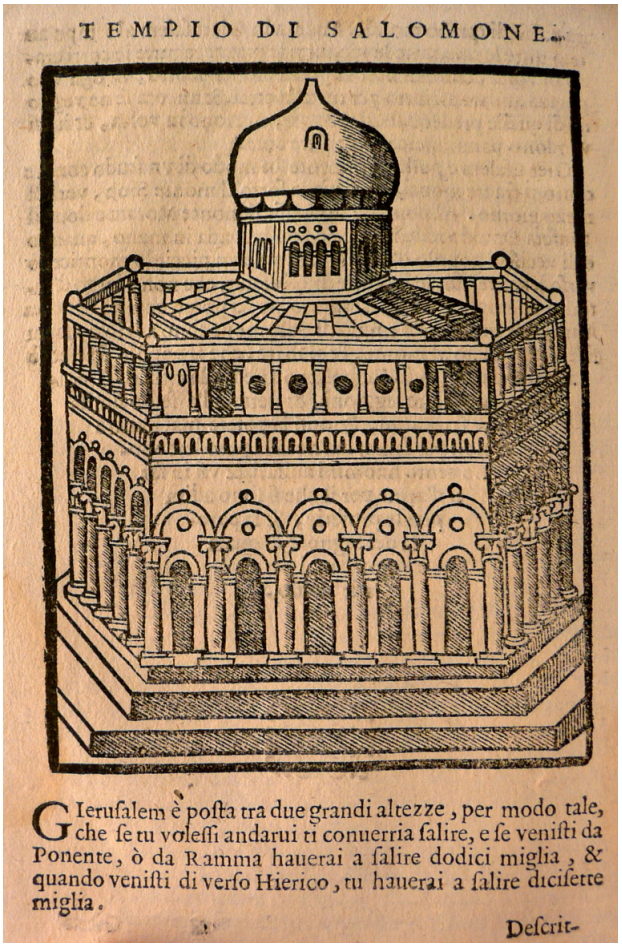

Fig. 22. The Temple of Solomon. From Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Viaggio da Venetia al Sancto Sepolchro et al Monte Sinai* (Venice, 1606). Los Angeles, The Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 88-B1091. (Photo: Kathryn Blair Moore)

VISUAL RESEMBLANCE, VERBAL TRANSMISSION, AND ARCHITECTURAL MIMESIS

Despite its prominent place in the imagination of Italian pilgrims, the possible connections of the Dome of the Rock to Italian art and architecture of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries have traditionally been dismissed as historically insignificant. Just as in Krinsky's article of 1970, which established confusion and misunderstanding as the basis of the European relation to the Dome of the Rock, Helen Rosenau's 1979 book *Vision of the Temple: The Image of the Temple in Judaism and Christianity* assumed that many Italian depictions of the Temple of Jerusalem as polygonal did not relate to the Dome of the Rock for the simple reason that they do not immediately resemble that building.[73] In both studies, Italian depictions of the Temple of Jerusalem were overshadowed by Northern versions, whose accuracy in portraying the Dome of the Rock, as in the Eyckian *Three Marys at the Tomb* or in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*

(fig. 2), is more impressive, according to modern standards of photographic verisimilitude.[74] Indeed, many of the Italian representations of the Temple of Jerusalem, as in narrative paintings by Duccio and Perugino (figs. 3 and 4) or in illustrations of pilgrimage guidebooks like the *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem…* (fig. 13), do not fit into the story of the development of European pictorial arts, regarded as one of progress towards the objective mirroring of the visible world.

In contrast to the study of representations of architecture in European painting, the study of built architecture has moved away from the idea of mimesis as an exact copying of the visual appearance of another building.[75] Paul Crossley has observed that architecture is a "non-representational art which permits no straightforward connection between 'form' and 'content.'"[76] Vittorio Ugo has similarly suggested that the object of reference in architectural "copying" is not the visible, perceptible phenomenon, but something intellectual, "something very close to 'text'": "One can thus speak of mimesis not only in relation to a perspective, a 'view' or a three-dimensional model, but also for the plan, section, or sketch, which normally does not have any corresponding point in 'natural' visual perception."[77] Ugo's observations apply to Alessi's explanation for the symbolism of the octagonal groundplan of the Temple of Solomon at the Sacro Monte di Varallo (fig. 19). The architect's commentary in the *Libro dei Misteri* indicates that what linked the project of the Temple of Solomon with the idea of an octagonal Temple based upon the Dome of the Rock was not a visible correspondence but an intellectual one.

Perhaps this textual modality of architectural mimesis is not unique to the relationship of buildings among themselves, but may also extend into the field of pictorial representations of architecture. I would argue that before the advent of the illustrated printed book in the late fifteenth century, when distant buildings of great fame were often never seen but nonetheless well known through the verbal accounts of pilgrims, architectural models were not generated by reference to the visual appearance of a building as it was known to the painter, the architect, or the viewer. The idea that visual representations of Holy Land architecture, and the *Templum Domini* in particular, emerged from the textual culture of pilgrimage seems best supported by the illustrations accompanying such pilgrimage accounts—as we have seen in copies of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook (figs. 9–12), which were not known to Krinsky, Rosenau, or Krautheimer.

In many ways it was Krautheimer's iconography of medieval architecture that established the possibility of one building referring to another, not through an immediate visual resemblance, but instead through some conceptual correspondence recognized by the viewer. Textual descriptions of the Holy Sepulcher found in medieval pilgrimage accounts were also central to Krautheimer's iconography, but only in as much as they seemed to demonstrate a pervasive imprecision vis-à-vis geometrical shapes and architectural forms in the medieval period. Perhaps Krautheimer's idea of the creation of architectural symbolism through the non-optical imitation of forms can accommodate the idea of a more active role for texts in the transmission process. Pilgrimage accounts can explain how a set of formal features became linked to key events in the lives of Christ and Mary. The architectural attributes of both the Anastasis Rotunda and the Dome of the Rock were described together with a list of the major holy events associated with each building. Krautheimer had argued that the centralized plan, conical roof, and internal pattern of piers and columns of the Anastasis Rotunda became symbols of the death and resurrection of Christ. In the case of the Dome of the Rock, its most prominent features—a polygonal groundplan and dome—would connect it to the Solomonic history of the site (as Alessi's commentary indicates, fig. 19), to events in the life of Christ, such as the entry into Jerusalem (fig. 3), or to events in the life of the Virgin, such as her marriage to Joseph (fig. 5).

Despite the many insights and nuances found in Krautheimer's theory, his idea of architectural copying has often been oversimplified and misapplied, resulting in persistent misunderstandings about the symbolism of centralized buildings in Italy. We have already seen evidence of this in assumptions commonly made about centralized buildings in pictorial representations, such as Duccio's *Entry into Jerusalem*. With respect to built architecture, the scope of Krautheimer's idea of architectural copying was greatly magnified by Günter Bandmann, in the 1951 *Mittelalterliche Architektur als*

Bedeutungsträger (first translated into English in 2005 as *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*). Bandmann sought to establish Krautheimer's idea of architectural copying as the primary *modus operandi* of medieval architects, arguing that the creation of architectural form in the medieval period depended on copying a prototype, especially in order to invoke its associations with holy events.[78] According to Bandmann, "[t]he prototype is broken down into its typical parts…and these parts are regrouped in new ways, in the copy."[79] The passive voice in this statement is telling. Bandmann never explained how this process of decomposition of the prototype occurred. In many ways, Bandmann's theory represents the most extreme exaggeration of Krautheimer's ideas, and in doing so reveals its most problematic assumptions and lacunae. Most importantly, Bandmann's ideas highlight Krautheimer's failure to address the question of transmission and the corresponding assumption that any differences between a copy and its prototype were due to the medieval disregard for precision in the mimetic process.[80] I would suggest that the breaking down of a building into a set of schematic features could have resulted from the process of verbal transmission—during which the spatial relation and scale of those features would be lost.

Although Krautheimer's famous idea of schematic copying has dominated interpretations of architectural mimesis in Italy, the idea of the verbal transmission of architecture has been well established in the field of Islamic architecture since Jonathan Bloom published his seminal article "On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture" in 1993. Bloom's inquiry began with a very simple observation:

> Historians of architecture often speak of how one building "influenced" or was "modeled" on another, but these easy phrases often conceal an imprecise understanding of the mechanisms by which the transfer of ideas and forms was effected.[81]

His primary examples were Umayyad mosques, whose major features can be expressed verbally, but whose visual similarities cannot be established as easily through comparisons of photographic images of the same buildings. Bloom's conclusion was that words, rather than images, were used to express and transmit the essential characteristics of famous buildings in the early periods of Islamic architecture.[82]

Along the same lines, Finbarr Barry Flood has argued that some Mamluk buildings copied the most famous Umayyad monuments as they were known through verbal descriptions.[83] His examples included the thirteenth-century Tomb of Qalaʾun in Cairo, whose octagonal format, ambulatory, and dome referred to the most famous features of the Dome of the Rock, even as its decoration alluded to the best-known characteristics of the Great Mosque of Damascus.[84] More recently, in studies of Islamic architecture in India, Flood has emphasized a poststructuralist framework for understanding the relation of copy and original in architecture. Flood has deliberately turned away from Krautheimer's assumption of a self-evident system of prototypes and copies and, through the lens of translation theory, argued that the copy is not a reproduction but a recreation of the original.[85] Flood has emphasized that in studies of architectural mimesis our search for the source—i.e., the prototype—imposes an artificially direct system of relations between two geographically distant buildings. From this perspective, none of the representations considered here of the building we call the Dome of the Rock are truly "copies" or "reproductions" of that building. Instead, each translation of the original into a different medium is innovative and transformative, and, perhaps most importantly, informed by previous representations, which could in turn momentarily function as the original or source.

I would also suggest that a matrix of representations could constitute the source for the copy, rather than the three-dimensional building itself. This may better account for the imprecise relation between prototype and copy that Krautheimer identified. Although his approach to copies of the Holy Sepulcher may at times appear to have been one-dimensional, it is important to remember that Krautheimer presented his observations as an introduction to an iconography of medieval architecture—as a starting point, rather than a final and definitive statement on the subject. His theory of the symbolic relations of medieval buildings can easily sustain the addition of another variable, the Dome of the Rock, and the expanded multidimensionality of a system, in which the various representational media—text,

pictorial image, and building—overlap and interact. In fact, Krautheimer himself hinted at a more complex system than is usually implied in references to his theory:

> Usually, however, the interrelations between the symbolical significance of a geometrical pattern and the ground plan of a building are not so plain. The process is of a much more intricate nature; probably the relation between pattern and symbolical meaning could be better described as being determined by a network of reciprocal half-distinct connotations.[86]

We might more thoroughly explain this "network of reciprocal half-distinct connotations" as a system of representations whose relations are interdependent, but rarely overtly stated. The indication of the interrelation of textual, pictorial, and built representations of the Temple of Solomon from the *Libro dei Misteri* seems particularly significant in this context, as the architect's commentary suggests that the representational content of certain architectural forms in a new project may be based not upon reference to a single known building, but upon a network of representations in different media—including, as he tells us, various pictorial images of an octagonal Temple of Solomon as well as the description of the Temple in the Bible.

CONCLUSION

In the period before the illustrated printed guidebook, the holy sites of Jerusalem had a reality within the textual realm that was independent of an immediate visual experience. From this perspective, there are no representations of the Dome of the Rock *per se* in Italy in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, but only images emerging from an awareness of that building in pilgrimage accounts, where it was identified variously as the *Templum Domini* or *Tempio di Salamone*. It would be easy to discount the significance of the attempts to visualize that building, as in Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook, Duccio's *Entry into Jerusalem*, or Perugino's fresco in the Sistine Chapel. But even after the advent of the illustrated printed book at the end of the fifteenth century, this indirect visuality based in the textual culture of Holy Land pilgrimage accounts continued to affect the formation of images relating to Jerusalemic architecture, as in the woodcut illustration of the *Templum Domini* in the 1500 *Viazo da Venesia* or in Galeazzo Alessi's project to reconstruct the Temple of Solomon in Italy. To discount these various pictorial and built representations of the Dome of the Rock as either visually unsophisticated vis-à-vis the standards of photographic realism or historically misguided in relation to the real identity of the ultimate prototype would fail to account for the sophistication with which text, image, and building interfaced in the genesis of architectural meaning.

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NOTES

Author's note: The materials in this article were first presented in papers delivered at two conferences in 2008: the annual conference of the College Art Association ("The Politics of Architectural Mimesis in Italy and the Islamic World: The Case of the Dome of the Rock") and the annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians ("Dome of the Rock or Holy Sepulcher: The Problem of Identifying the Primary Referents of Centralized Buildings in Medieval Italy"). The suggestions of the session organizers, Stefano Carboni, Alan Chong, and Areli Marina, as well as of the discussants and participants—especially Gülru Necipoğlu and Alick McLean—helped immensely. At the Institute of Fine Arts, Priscilla Soucek first suggested the topic, and my two advisers, Marvin Trachtenberg and Barry Flood, have consistently helped in the long process of developing and focusing the material, while Jonathan Alexander and Alexander Nagel have both suggested new sources and perspectives. This article will be a chapter in my forthcoming dissertation, "Italian Copies of Holy Land Architecture: The Illustrated Versions of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltramare*." All funding for the research involved in this project was provided by a generous six-year fellowship from the Graduate Scholarship Program of the Jack Kent Cooke Foundation.

1. Hugh William Davies, *Bernhard Von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4: A Bibliography* (London, 1911).
2. Carol Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 1–19. See also Helen Rosenau's discussion of the Eyckian *Three Marys at the Tomb*, which she puts in the category of "realism": Helen Rosenau, *Vision of The Temple: The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity* (London, 1979), 65.
3. A centralized building is characterized by a predominantly circular or polygonal disposition of walls radiating around a central point. See Staale Sinding-Larsen, "Some Functional and Iconographic Aspects of the Centralized Church in the

Italian Renaissance," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 2 (1965): 203–52.

4. Hayden Maginnis, "Places Beyond the Seas: Trecento Images of Jerusalem," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 13, 2 (Winter 1994): 1–8, esp. 7 n. 8, where Maginnis observes that: "[t]he octagonal shape of the Temple in Duccio's and Pietro's images may resemble that of Italian baptisteries, but, I contend, its source lay in the octagonal form of the Dome of the Rock that pilgrims mistakenly but persistently confused with the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of Jerusalem. The question of Western depictions of the Temple is discussed by C. H. Krinsky….Krinsky, however, fails to note these two examples that are among the earliest Italian painted evidence of that confusion and foundation stones in the road that would lead to Perugino's *Giving of the Keys to Saint Peter*." Maginnis's examples are the Temples in the *Entry* scene on the *Maestà* and in the frescoes of San Francesco in Assisi (see below). See also Juan Antonio Ramírez, "Evocar, reconstruir, tal vez soñar: Sobre el Templo de Jerusalén en la historia de la arquitectura," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 2 (1990): 131–50. Sinding-Larsen made the argument that the Dome of the Rock was a significant architectural model in the Italian Renaissance due to its associations with the Virgin Mary. He argued that this affected not just pictorial representations of the Temple of Solomon—as in depictions of the Virgin's marriage by Perugino and Raphael—but also the conception of churches dedicated to the Virgin. Sinding-Larsen, "Functional and Iconographic Aspects of the Centralized Church," 203–52.
5. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (New York, 1971), 1–40.
6. Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33.
7. "We have seen that the Bible and ancient Jewish texts offered descriptions of the Temples, and that medieval pilgrims and travelers offered conflicting ones—descriptions, in fact, of Moslem buildings. What is perhaps most remarkable is the fact that seldom did a medieval or Renaissance artist take any of these written descriptions into account. The discrepancies among the various reports might have prompted artists to ignore them all, but that is not a satisfactory reason. The explanation has to do with the artists' reliance on pictorial, not written sources. They depended not upon historical truth or contemporary opinion but upon conventions for representing buildings that were passed along in the workshops." Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem," 7.
8. The only Italian pictorial representations of the Temple of Solomon that are universally agreed to include significant references to the Dome of the Rock are found in the sixteenth-century works of Vittore Carpaccio. These images were based upon Reuwich's panoramic view of Jerusalem. See David Marshall, "Carpaccio, Saint Stephen, and the Topography of Jerusalem," *The Art Bulletin* 66, 4 (Dec., 1984): 610–20.
9. For the text of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook, *Libro d'Oltramare*, see Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *A Voyage Beyond the Seas (1346–50)*, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem, 1945).
10. The most comprehensive compilation of the Latin texts of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century pilgrimage accounts is Sabino de Sandoli, ed., *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII): Textus Latini cum versione italica*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1978–85). All four volumes can also now be found online: http://www.christusrex.org/www2/cruce/index.html. Pilgrimage accounts written in the vernacular from the mid-fourteenth century onward are more accessible. In addition to Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltramare*, the Jerusalem Franciscan Press has published many other accounts in English translation, including, for instance, Leonardo Frescobaldi, Giorgio Gucci, and Simone Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, and Syria in 1384*, ed. Bellarmino Bagatti, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem, 1948). For an introduction to fifteenth-century pilgrimage accounts, see Rosamond Joscelyne Mitchell, *The Spring Voyage: The Jerusalem Pilgrimage in 1458* (New York, 1964).
11. Perugino's 1481 depiction of the Temple of Solomon in the Sistine Chapel closely relates to his later painting of the Temple in the *Marriage of the Virgin*, begun around 1500 for the cathedral of Perugia: see Pietro Scarpellini, *Perugino* (Milan, 1984), 254. Raphael's famous depiction of the same scene was undoubtedly related to Perugino's version. For his discussion of Perugino's, Raphael's, and Carpaccio's depictions of the Temple of Solomon in the context of the Renaissance "ideal temple," see Marshall, "Carpaccio, Saint Stephen, and the Topography of Jerusalem," 610–11. The commission for the *Marriage of the Virgin* at Perugia's cathedral had initially been given to Pinturricchio, who was also probably involved in the painting of Perugino's Sistine frescoes. In 1501, Pinturicchio executed a series of frescoes for the *Cappella Bella* of Santa Maria Maggiore in Spello, including a depiction of Christ disputing among the doctors in front of the Temple of Jerusalem, rendered as an octagonal domed building. This was yet another Biblical event that pilgrims believed had occurred in the Dome of the Rock. See Giordana Benazzi, ed., *Pintoricchio a Spello*: *La Cappella Baglioni in Santa Maria Maggiore* (Milan, 2000), 13.
12. A compendium of eyewitness descriptions of Jerusalem—all translated into English—can be found in Francis E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginning of Modern Times* (Princeton, N.J., 1985). The Solomonic associations of the site of the Dome of the Rock likewise informed how Jewish and Muslim writers described the building: see Joseph Gutmann, ed., *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Art*, Religion in the Arts 3 (Missoula, Mont., 1976), esp. Priscilla Soucek's "The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art," 72–123, in which she discusses the Dome of the Rock in relation to the Koranic idea of the Temple of Solomon.

13. Until the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, Christian access to both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque was limited, and the Biblical events once associated with the Temple Mount were celebrated in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (first constructed by Constantine in the fourth century), only to shift to the *Templum Domini* and *Templum Salamonis* once they were in Christian possession. See Sylvia Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages," *Traditio* 40 (1984): 175–96. On the associations of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with the idea of the Temple of Jerusalem before the Crusader conquest of 1099, see Robert Ousterhout, "The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Savior," *Gesta* 29, 1 (1990): 44–53. Carole Hillenbrand has likewise argued that the Dome of the Rock only became truly famous throughout Syria and Egypt as a result of both Nur al-Din's and Saladin's propaganda campaigns, which were intended to rouse popular support for taking back Jerusalem from the Christian Crusaders. See Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Chicago, 1999), 150–60.
14. Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (New York, 1989), 107–8.
15. Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (New York, 1995), 32–33.
16. Even if pilgrims had differing ideas about who constructed the Dome of the Rock, the Rock was consistently believed to have been a part of the original Temple of Solomon. For instance, the pilgrim Fetellus, who made his journey around 1130, indicates that opinions on the precise date of the Dome of the Rock's construction varied: "Some say that the [destroyed Temple of Solomon] was rebuilt by Saint Helen at the time of Emperor Constantine; others say that [it was rebuilt] by Emperor Justinian, others by a certain sultan of Memphis, in Egypt, in honor of Allah, that is, the highest God, as the inscription in the Saracen language evidently shows. In fact, at the arrival of the Franks one did not see painted in [the *Templum Domini*] anything of the Law [i.e., Mosaic dispensation] or in Greek. The current Temple can be called the fourth. In the penultimate, Jesus was circumcised…." De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 2:100–101. (My translation from the Latin.) For an example of a much later pilgrim who made similar arguments—in this case that the Dome of the Rock had been built in the reign of Saladin—see the account of Pietro Casola, who journeyed to the Holy Land in 1494. M. Margaret Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494* (Manchester, 1907), 252–53: "It appears to me that there are no vestiges remaining of the said Temple [of Solomon], and that this Mosque was built according to the will of the Moors after the Christians had lost Jerusalem, which was in the reign of Saladin, Lord of Babylon, and they have never been able to recover it since."
17. The tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasi wrote that the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik—who had constructed the Dome of the Rock three centuries earlier—"noting the greatness of the dome of the [Holy Sepulcher] and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected above the Rock the dome which now is seen there." As quoted in Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "Symbolic Meaning in Crusader Architecture: The Twelfth-Century Dome of the Holy Sepulcher Church in Jerusalem," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 34 (1986): 109–17. For the political and ideological implications of the resemblance of the Dome of the Rock to the Anastasis Rotunda, see Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).
18. See, for instance, Shelagh Weir, *Palestinian Costume* (Austin, Tex., 1989). See also Tim Jon Semmerling, *Israeli and Palestinian Postcards: Presentations of National Self* (Austin, Tex., 2004). Regarding contemporary European mosques, see that of Gelsenkirchen, pictured in "Germany's Turkish Minority: Two Unamalgamated Worlds," *The Economist* (3 April 2008). For imitations of the Dome of the Rock in the United States, see, for example, the Islamic Center of America in Dearborn, Michigan, and the Islamic Cultural Center in Tempe, Arizona, both catalogued in Omar Khalidi and David Donnellon, *Moscheen in den USA und Kanada* (Frankfurt, 2006).
19. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, 252. For the content of the Arabic inscriptions—some of which specifically denounced the principal tenets of the Christian faith, including that Christ was the son of God, see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 56–71, 184–86.
20. Deborah Howard reached a similar conclusion at the end of her study of the relation of Venetian architecture to Islamic architecture in the medieval period: "Forms were rarely copied, not only because of the mutations resulting from the imperfect transmission of information, but also because the recipient culture had to impose authority on the image...rather than mere imitation of the prototype...." Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven, 2000), 218.
21. See Samer Akkach, "The Poetics of Concealment: Al-Nabulusi's Encounter with the Dome of the Rock," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 110–27. Akkach discusses a seventeenth-century Muslim who believed that the Dome of Rock had been built by the Crusaders during the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem—an interesting counterpart to the fifteenth-century Casola's belief that the Dome had been built by Saladin. See Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, 252–53.
22. Al-Harawi writes: "As for the Dome of the Rock, the Franks had built on it a church and an altar….They had adorned it with pictures and statues and they had appointed in it places for monks and a place for the Gospel….They put in it over the place of the [Prophet's] foot a small gilded dome with raised marble pillars and they said it was the place of the Messiah's foot….In it were pictures of grazing animals fixed in marble and I saw amongst those depictions the likenesses of pigs." As quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City*, 349–50. Al-Harawi also described images of Biblical

figures that he identified as Solomon, David, and, above one of the doorways, the Presentation of Christ (p. 318).

23. Peters, *Jerusalem*: *The Holy City*, 291–317. After the Templars were founded in 1120, the canons gave them a place to conduct their services in the *Templum Domini*. It is well known that the Templars used the image of the *Templum Domini,* rendered as a colonnaded, centralized building with a bulbous dome on a drum, on their thirteenth-century seals. See Daniel H. Weiss, "*Hic est Domus Domini firmiter edificata*: The Image of the Temple in Crusader Art," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem, 1998), 210–17.
24. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, 252.
25. De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana,* 2:336 (my translation).
26. See Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae: Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie* (Berlin, 1890), 86–87.
27. One of the earliest examples of such a description is given in the account of Peter the Deacon, writing in 1137. Although he himself never traveled to Jerusalem, he knew of the *Templum Domini* through previous pilgrimage accounts, to which he would have had easy access as the Librarian of Monte Cassino. Peter dedicated his description of the holy places to his Abbot, who was about to go on pilgrimage: "To the east, below Mount Calvary, is the *Templum Domini*, in another part of the city, which was built by Solomon. It has four doors, the first on the east, the second on the west, the third on the south, and the fourth on the north, which signify the four quarters of the world, and outside it has eight corners, each one turning a corner of twelve paces. In the middle of the Temple is a great mount surrounded by walls, in which is the Tabernacle; there also was the Ark of the Covenant, which, after the destruction of the Temple, was taken away to Rome by the Emperor Vespasian. On the left side of the Tabernacle the Lord Jesus Christ placed his foot, on the occasion when Symeon took him in his arms, and his footprint remains there exactly as if it had been made in wax. And on the other side of the rock is the opening of the Tabernacle, into which people go down by twenty-two steps…." John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London, 1988), 212–13. Regarding the Tabernacle, see n. 30 below.
28. "[F]or I thought within myself and in my soul decided not to depart from the place until I had seen all, as you shall find written. And not to fail, from day to day I wrote upon a pair of gypsum tablets which I carried by my side." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage Beyond the Seas,* trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 105.
29. "A large piazza lies beyond this gate, which is very beautiful and square and is enclosed by a wall; and in the middle is the *Templum Domini*, which the prophet David commenced and Solomon completed: but it has been destroyed three times and rebuilt; and beside it to the south is the *Templum Salamonis*, which is covered with lead. The *Templum Domini* is very beautiful exteriorly, and appears a marvel, with a round dome like a hat, while as it descends it grows larger, with very fine windows. How it is within, I know not, because the cursed Saracens have made of it a mosque; and he who would enter it, will deny the faith or be sawn in two." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage Beyond the Seas,* trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 47. Marco di Bartolommeo Rustici copied Niccolò's description of the *Templum Domini* almost word for word in his own personal guidebook, produced in the 1440s in Florence and now known as the Codex Rustici. Marco, however, misinterpreted the description of the dome being like a hat (*cappello*) as referring to a chapel (*cappella*): "The *Tempio di Domine* is beautiful from the outside and is a marvel to see, and it is all round and the chapel is made of three faces with beautiful windows and columns" (fol. 199r). Marco may have been referring to the octagon's appearance of "three faces" when viewed from a single vantage point. This is my translation from a transcription of the Italian made by Kathleen Olive for "Creation, Imitation, and Fabrication: Renaissance Self-Fashioning in the Codex Rustici" (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2004).
30. The spelling of Solomon in Latin and Italian in this period varies—*Templum Salamonis* or *Salomonis*, and *Tempio di Salamone* or *Salomone*—sometimes within a single manuscript or book. The meaning of the term *Templum Salamonis* is not clear in the sources. Many pilgrims seem to have believed that the Aqsa Mosque had been the Palace of Solomon, and some historians of pilgrimage literature have argued that *templum* could refer to a palace as well as a temple. See Wilkinson et. al., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 28. Like other pilgrims, Niccolò da Poggibonsi described the Temple of Solomon (*Tempio di Salamone*) as comprising the entire Temple Mount—referred to as a "piazza"—including the *Porta Aurea*, *Templum Domini*, and *Templum Salamonis*. The description of these three buildings is the subject of the chapter on the *Tempio di Salamone* in the *Libro d'Oltramare*: see Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage Beyond the Seas,* trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 47. Like many pilgrims, Niccolò does not give any further details on the *Templum Salamonis*, simply describing its location (south of the *Templum Domini*) and its lead roof. There is no evidence of Italian pilgrims believing that the Aqsa Mosque constituted the entirety of the Temple of Solomon. Whatever variations there may have been in the identifications of the buildings on the Temple Mount, the rock and cave at the center of the *Templum Domini* were almost always identified as the place of the Holy of Holies, containing the Ark of the Covenant (1 Kings 8:6–9). According to the Bible, Moses had originally built the Tabernacle (*tabernaculum*) to enclose the Holy of Holies (*sanctum sanctorum*), and Solomon built the Temple in Jerusalem according to the dimensions of the Tabernacle (Wisdom 9:8). I have never seen a pilgrimage account that locates the site of the Holy of Holies or Tabernacle in the Aqsa Mosque. For an example of a later pilgrim who identified the Rock with the Holy of Holies, see the late-fifteenth-

century account of the Franciscan Fra Suriano: Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, ed. Bellarmino Bagatti, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem, 1949), 109–10.

31. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Girolamo Golubovich argued that certain statements in the guidebook indicated that the original version must have contained drawings, e.g., "[A]nd that they may be the better understood, I shall represent them as they appear, exactly as the holy places are." As quoted in Girolamo Golubovich, ed., *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano, dal 1346 al 1400* (Rome, 1921), 4. Bellarmino Bagatti, in the introduction to *Voyage Beyond the Seas*, the English translation of the guidebook published in 1945, refuted Golubovich's theory, stating that "it remains to be proved that Niccolò over and above his descriptions of the places, also made drawings of the places to adorn his book." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage Beyond the Seas,* trans. Bellorini and Hoade, xxvii.
32. The inscription identifying the copyist is found on the back of the title page of Ms. Panc. 78: "This book of Pagolo del Pagone was copied 20 May 1453 from the original itself…." For the Italian, see Luigi Gentile, *I Codici Palatini* (Rome, 1889), 132–33, where the manuscript is known as Ms. Palatino 106. See the same for the copyist's inscription in Ms. Panc. 79, which is known as Ms. Palatino 54. These two manuscripts, like Ms. II. IV. 101, were used by Alberto Bacchi della Lega to create the 1881 text of the *Libro d'Oltramare*. He cited these three copies among the ten Florentine manuscripts that he consulted, but made no mention of their drawings. Bacchi della Lega refers to Ms. Panc. 78 and Ms. Panc. 79 by their old collocations, namely, "Codici Palatini…2. No 54, già Panciatichi…3. No 106, già Panciatichi…." See Alberto Bacchi della Lega, *Libro d'Oltramare di Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi*, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1881), 1:xi.
33. For a facsimile of the 1500 edition, see Armando Petrucci and Franca Petrucci, eds., *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem* (Rome, 1972). For a listing of the later editions, see Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, 158–59. C. D. M. Cossar argued that the illustrations of a unique fifteenth-century German translation of the guidebook (British Library, Ms. Egerton 1900) were the basis of the woodcuts of the 1500 *Viazo*: C. D. M. Cossar, *The German Translation of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's Libro d'Oltramare* (Göppingen, 1985). Until now, this was presumed to be the only copy of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's guidebook that was ever illustrated. I would argue, however, that the illustrations in the German translation were copies of the drawings in the previous Italian manuscripts, and that certain aspects of the illustrations in the German translation preclude the possibility that it was the source for the *Viazo*'s woodcuts. For instance, the illustration of the *Templum Domini* and *Templum Salomonis* in the German manuscript is separated into two different drawings, back-to-back on a single page (fols. 52r and 52v). First, on fol. 52r, the *Templum Salomonis* is represented as a multistoried tower, while on fol. 52v the *Templum Domini* is represented as a domed temple. The woodcut in the *Viazo*, however, represents the two buildings together in a single illustration, just as in the Italian manuscript versions (Ms. II. IV. 101, fol. 20v; Ms. Panc. 79, fol. 35r; Ms. Panc. 78, fol. 8v; and Ms. Spencer 62, fol. 42r). See also John Lowden's entry on Ms. Egerton 1900 in the British Library's online catalogue of "Treasures Known and Unknown in the British Library" (http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/TourKnownF.asp). Although he did not know of the existence of the illustrated Italian versions, Lowden argued in this catalogue that the drawings of Ms. Egerton 1900 could not have been the basis of the woodcut illustrations of the 1500 *Viazo da Venesia*, concluding "that the Italian version with woodcuts printed at Bologna in 1500 was based on a lost model."
34. See Petrucci's introduction to the facsimile of the *Viazo*, as well as Bellarmino Bagatti's introduction to *Voyage Beyond the Seas*, the English edition of the *Libro d'Oltramare*, in which the woodcuts are characterized as drawings emerging from the illustrator's imagination: Petrucci, ed., *Viazo da Venesia*, xi–xiv; Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage Beyond the Seas,* trans. Bellorini and Hoade, xxvii.
35. See, for instance, Florens Deuchler, "Duccio Doctus: New Readings for the *Maestà*," *The Art Bulletin* 61, 4 (Dec., 1979): 541–49. Deuchler argued that Duccio's textual source was Flavius Josephus's popular *De bello iudaico* (On the Jewish War), written in the first century A.D. Deuchler suggested that the description could have easily been conflated with the medieval "iconographic tradition" of representing the Temple as an octagonal building (p. 548).
36. Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem," 10.
37. Maginnis, "Places Beyond the Seas," 1–4.
38. Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto: A Historical Reevaluation* (University Park, Pa., 1997), 113.
39. We see this in at least two anonymous accounts, one dating from twelfth century, the other from the thirteenth: "[T]here is the *Templum Domini* in which is a great rock, and above the rock was the ark of the Lord….Between the temple and the *Porta Aurea* were trees from which they took palm branches and threw them in the street when God was going by amidst palm branches." De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 3:92–93. "From there one comes to the *Porta Aurea* through which Christ entered [Jerusalem] Palm Sunday when, sitting upon an ass, he was received. There, just as far as an arrow shot, is the *Templum Domini*, in which there are four entrances and twelve doors….[The *Templum Domini*] is magnificently made as a round building (*opere rotondo*)…. Between the temple and *Porta Aurea* were trees from which boys pulled branches when the Lord sat upon the ass...." De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 3:352–54. (All translations from the Latin are my own.)
40. It is also important to mention that Duccio depicted the Temple in four other scenes found on the *Maestà*. In both the *Presentation in the Temple* and *Christ Disputing with the Doctors*, the building is represented from the interior. As Maginnis had observed, details in both scenes—including the capitals and voussoirs of the arches—indicate that they are both views into the same building, the Temple of

Jerusalem. Maginnis had also argued that the octagonal form of the Temple, as depicted from the exterior in both the *Temptation on the Temple* and *Funeral Procession of the Virgin*, allows the viewer to recognize that this is the same building as in the *Entry* scene. Maginnis, "Places Beyond the Seas," 1. The octagonal Temple in the *Entry* scene is by far the largest and most detailed, while the exterior views in both the *Funeral Procession* and *Temptation* are reduced, syncopated representations of the same building—both have fewer windows, for example. It is also worth mentioning that the association between the *Templum Domini* and the Temptation of Christ may have derived from contemporary pilgrimage accounts. For instance, John of Würzburg includes in his lengthy description of the *Templum Domini* a reference to how Christ stood above the pinnacle of the Temple when he was tempted by the devil. De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 2:236. Another example of this association can be found in an anonymous thirteenth-century account: "From there one comes to the Golden Gate through which Christ entered Palm Sunday, when he was sitting upon an ass. There, at just an arrow's shot, is the *Templum Domini*, in which are four entrances and twelve doors….That which was by the Babylonians first destroyed was afterwards by the Romans faithfully [re]made in a centralized form….Nonetheless they have an image of Muhammad in the temple and do not permit any Christians to enter. In that temple, the blessed Virgin had been given over to Joseph….In that temple, Christ was given by his parents to Simeon….There, even above the pinnacle of the temple, he ascended, where the devil tempted him…." De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 3:352–54. (My translation from the Latin.)

41. Maginnis had himself suggested that the octagonal temple in the Assisi fresco probably also connected to the topography of Jerusalem as it was known in pilgrimage accounts. He related this to the Franciscan dedication of the church. The Franciscan dedication of Santa Croce in Florence is also significant in this context—perhaps Niccolò da Poggibonsi, a Franciscan, had seen one or both of these frescoes depicting Jerusalem before he left Tuscany. For Montepulciano, see Diana Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State* (New Haven: Yale University, 1999), 192. For an interpretation of the Solomonic symbolism of the octagonal Temple in Taddeo Gaddi's frescoes, see Marvin Trachtenberg, "Architecture and Music Reunited: A New Reading of Dufay's 'Nuper Rosarum Flores' and the Cathedral of Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, 3 (Autumn, 2001): 740–75. Trachtenberg argued that the fourteenth-century design of the octagonal domed crossing of Florence's cathedral was based upon the representation of the centralized *Templum Domini* adjacent to the Golden Gate in the frescoes of the Baroncelli Chapel. The artist, Taddeo Gaddi, was a member of the committee that finalized the design of the cathedral's crossing in the 1360s. If this was indeed the case, then this would be an important precedent for Galeazzo Alessi's design of the Temple of Solomon as an octagonal church at the Sacro Monte di Varallo, which, he tells us, was based upon both well-known paintings of the Temple as an octagonal building and the Biblical description of the Temple as a rectangular one (see below). For more on the symbolism of fourteenth-century Florentine architecture in the context of the idea of a New Jerusalem, see Marvin Trachtenberg, "Scénographie urbaine et identité civique: Réflexion sur la Florence du Trecento," *Revue de l'Art* 102 (1993): 11–31.
42. This is from a large sheet combining a map of the Holy Land with a view of contemporary Jerusalem (*Ritratta con parte del suo circuito secondo che hoggidi si uede dalla parte d'oriente*), printed from copperplate in Rome, ca. 1590, by Nicolo van Aelst of Brussels. For some explanations as to why the Dome of the Rock came to be referred to as the *Tempio di Salamone*, see n. 67 below.
43. John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250–1400*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, 1993), 297.
44. De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana,* 2:16–17.
45. The illustration of the Golden Gate is located on fol. 20r in Ms. II. IV. 101, fol. 40r in Ms. Spencer 62, fol. 8v in Ms. Panc. 78, and fol. 34r in Ms. Panc. 79.
46. For instance, John of Würzburg: "[T]he *Templum Domini*... has a good round form (*formam habet rotundam decentem*), rather a rounded octagon (*immo circulariter octogonam*), that is, having eight angles in a circle (*octo angulos habentem in circuitu*)…." De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana,* 2:236. Fulcher of Chartres compares the *Templum Domini* with the Sepulcher noting that both are centralized, "rotund" (*rotundus*) buildings, but emphasizes that only the Sepulcher has an opening in the top: "In the same city [as the Holy Sepulcher], one finds the *Templum Domini*, built in a round form (*opere rotundo compositum*)….The church of the Sepulcher of the Lord is similarly of round form (*forma rotunda similiter*), but it is not covered; instead, it is always open…." De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 1:110. (My translations from the Latin.)
47. See, for instance, the 1335 description of the Augustinian Jacopo da Verona. This account is known through a copy dated to 1424, which omitted a groundplan of the Sepulcher that had apparently been included in a previous version. The 1424 copy includes a rough sketch of the sacred places on Mount Sinai, but leaves blank spaces on two other pages, apparently intended for a drawing of a map and a drawing of the Holy Sepulcher, as the text indicates: "The Sepulcher is wondrously built: there is no other church in the world built in such a way….I have described it in the way I know. And afterwards, I will explain even as it is drawn…." This statement is followed by a blank page in the 1424 copy, and the description then continues: "[T]hat Sepulcher…is in the form of a small round chapel (*in una parva capella rotunda*)…." Jacopo da Verona, *Liber peregrinationis*, ed. Ugo Monneret de Villard (Rome, 1950), 25–26. (My translation from the Latin.) The drawing was perhaps intended to be like the groundplan of the circular Rotunda included in

the printed version of Santo Brasca's guidebook, first published in Milan in 1481. Deborah Howard published this groundplan in *Venice and the East*, 205.

48. "It seems as though circle and polygon were interchangeable throughout the Middle Ages"; "The 'indifference' towards precise imitation of given architectural shapes prevails throughout these 'copies' of the Holy Sepulchre"; "This inexactness in reproducing the particular shape of a definite architectural form, in plan as well as in elevation, seems to be one of the outstanding elements in the relation of copy and original in medieval architecture": Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" 5–7. The one time Krautheimer mentions the Dome of the Rock it is as supposed proof of his theory that polygonal shapes and the circle were interchangeable in the medieval mind: "Even as late as 1322 Sir John Mandeville called the octagonal Dome of the Rock 'a circular edifice.'" Ibid., 6. The term employed by Mandeville is again *rotundus*, however, rather than a Latin term or phrase explicitly expressing circularity.
49. Both Ms. Panc. 78 and Ms. Panc. 79 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze are missing several folios, which have been replaced with modern blank pages. The beginning of the guidebook, including the section on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, is entirely missing from Ms. Panc. 79.
50. "Regard how the holy Church, within which is the holy Sepulchre of Christ, is set upon a plain, facing east; and in front has two doors facing south; in front of it is a beautiful piazza; one door is walled up; the other, which opens, stands two steps from the one walled up. The doors are arched, vaulted and worked with beautiful columns of green, red, and white porphyry. Above the arch of the said door which opens, there is a figure of the Blessed Virgin with the child in arms, and it is mosaic work…." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage Beyond the Seas,* trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 12.
51. "[T]here is a chapel entirely round, with a round dome supported from the ground by marble columns, in all X columns and six stone pilasters….[O]n top it is covered with lead, with a large window in the summit…." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage Beyond the Seas*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 13–14. "Aedicule" refers to the tomb monument in the center of the Anastasis Rotunda. The present structure dates from 1810, created after a fire in 1808 destroyed the last in a series of replicas of the fourth-century original. The Rotunda, also part of the original Constantinian complex (begun in 326), had likewise been reconstructed several times over the centuries. Parts of the outer walls date to the fourth century, while the eleventh-century piers and columns were restored after the fire of 1808. See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford, 2008), 49–59.
52. Only the illustration of the exterior of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Ms. II. IV. 101 includes all three vaults in the drawing. These are reduced to two in Ms. Spencer 62, and to a single dome in the 1500 *Viazo da Venesia*. Moreover, in Ms. II. IV. 101, the southernmost vault is represented as a cone with an opening in the top—suggesting an attempt to represent the unique shape of the conical vault of the Anastasis Rotunda. For this and other reasons, I would argue that the drawings in Ms. II. IV. 101 may have been created by Niccolò da Poggibonsi himself, who spent four months living in the church complex while in Jerusalem.
53. Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage Beyond the Seas,* trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 21.
54. Ousterhout has noted that the Crusader church of the Holy Sepulcher had so many disjunctions as a building "that Robert Venturi included its plan as an illustration in his seminal book *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*. It hardly stands comparison with the clarity of its chief competitor in the city, the Umayyad Dome of the Rock." Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, 1 (Mar., 2003): 4–23, 10.
55. Kenaan-Kedar, "Symbolic Meaning in Crusader Architecture."
56. See J. E. A. Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages: Its Form and Function* (Leuven, 2000).
57. "[T]here is nothing explicit in the architectural form of any of these buildings [i.e., Baptisteries] to establish a link with the Holy Sepulchre. On the other hand, there would seem to have been a general, typological association of the octagonal baptistery with a common form of late Roman imperial mausoleum, and this would have emphasized the association between baptism and death." Ousterhout, "The Temple, the Sepulcher, and the Martyrion of the Savior," 52.
58. For example, see Juan Antonio Ramírez, *Edificios y sueños: Ensayos sobre arquitectura y utopía* (Madrid, 1991), 49.
59. See Alick McLean, "Italian Architecture of the Late Middle Ages," in *The Art of the Italian Renaissance: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Drawing*, ed. Rolf Toman (Cologne, 1995), 16–21.
60. In particular, the representation of the Golden Gate would perhaps have been interpreted in terms of Siena's own *Porta Solaria*. On Palm Sunday, this gate stood for the Golden Gate in processions that symbolically welcomed Christ into Siena. See Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. William McCuaig (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 28. See also Wolfgang Braunfels, *Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana* (Berlin, 1953), 85.
61. Deborah Howard has argued that the Dome of the Rock may relate to the church of Santa Fosca on the island of Torcello in Venice, rebuilt around 1100. Howard, *Venice and the East*, 213–25. See also Deborah Howard, "Venice and Islam in the Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence," *Architectural History* 34 (1991): 59–74. The church of Le Zitelle in Venice, dedicated to the presentation of the Virgin (like the seventeenth-century Santa Maria della Salute), was interpreted in relation to the forms and Biblical associations of the Dome of the Rock by André Corboz, "Sur les Zitelle, le Temple et les façades à intersection," in *Fünf Punkte in der Architekturgeschichte:*

Festschrift für Adolf Max Vogt, ed. Katharina Medici-Mall (Basel and Boston, 1985), 34–53. The same author interpreted the cupola of Pisa's cathedral as a representation of the Dome of the Rock—complementing the Baptistery's reference to the Anastasis Rotunda: André Corboz, "La Ciudad como Templo," in *Dios, arquitecto: J. B. Villalpando y el Templo de Salomón*, ed. Juan Antonio Ramírez and André Corboz (Madrid, 1991), 60–62. The forms of the octagonal, domed Santa Maria del Soccorso of Rovigo (located in the Veneto, begun in 1594) were similarly connected to the Marian associations of the Dome of the Rock by Juan Antonio Ramírez, "Evocar, reconstruir, tal vez soñar," 133–34. The various cupolas of Sant'Antonio in Padua were interpreted as representations of different holy sites in Jerusalem—including the Dome of the Rock—by Lionello Puppi, "La basilica del Santo," in *Padova, basiliche, e chiese*, ed. Claudio Bellinati and Lionello Puppi, 2 vols. (Vicenza, 1975), 1:169–98. Giuseppe Fiocco suggested that the double-shelled cupolas of San Marco in Venice were possibly based upon the double-shelled vault of the Dome of the Rock: Giuseppe Fiocco, "Le cupole di San Marco," *Bollettino del Centro internazionale di studi d'architettura Andrea Palladio* 8 (1966): 227. Wolfgang Born made a similar suggestion many years before in "The Introduction of the Bulbous Dome into Gothic Architecture and Its Subsequent Development," *Speculum* 19, 2 (Apr., 1944): 208, 220.

62. For Aachen, see Gustav Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und die frühislamische Architektur im Heiligen Land," in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Birgitt Borkopp (Amsterdam, 1995), 39–57; Rita W. Tekippe, "Copying Power: Emulation, Appropriation, and Borrowing for Royal Political Purposes," *Visual Resources* 20, 2–3 (June–Sept., 2004): 143–59; Paul Naredi-Rainer, *Salomos Tempel und das Abendland: Monumentale Folgen historischer Irrtümer* (Cologne, 1994), 124–25. For the connection between Charlemagne and the Dome of the Rock, see, for instance, a 1420 account of that building made by a pilgrim from Aachen, in Gritje Hartmann, *Wilhelm Tzewers*: *Itinerarius terre sancte. Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar, und Übersetzung*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2004), 2:166–70. For Templar churches and their possible relation to the Solomonic symbolism of the Dome of the Rock, see Ramírez, *Edificios y sueños*, 43–78. Ramírez argued that many centralized Templar churches conflated the idea of the Dome of the Rock and the Anastasis Rotunda. Many other scholars, however, maintain that such Templar churches were intended to refer exclusively to the Anastasis Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. See, for instance, Robert Ousterhout, "Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout (Urbana, Ill., 1990), 108–24. For a more recent discussion of Templar "replicas" of the Holy Sepulcher, see Annabel Jane Wharton, "Replicated Jerusalem: Temple, Templars, and Primitive Accumulation," in *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago, 2006), 9–48.

63. For a general introduction to the Sacro Monte di Varallo and the *Libro dei Misteri*, see *Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varalle*, ed. Stefania Stefani Perrone (Varallo, 1987). For a related interpretation of this project as modeled on the Dome of the Rock, see Ramírez, "Evocar, reconstruir, tal vez soñar," 136–37.
64. See Wharton, "Fabricated Jerusalem: Franciscans and Pious Mountains," in *Selling Jerusalem*, 49–96. She does not discuss the *Libro dei Misteri*.
65. For a facsimile of the *Libro dei Misteri*, see Galeazzo Alessi, *Libro dei Misteri: Progetto di pianificazione urbanistica, architettonica e figurativa del Sacro Monte di Varallo in Valsesia (1565–1569)*, ed. Stefania Stefani Perrone, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1974). For the attribution of the project to Galeazzo Alessi, see also T. Barton Thurber, "L'architettura religiosa nell'arcidiocesi di Carlo Borromeo," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana: Il secondo cinquecento*, ed. Claudia Conforti and Richard Tuttle (Milan, 2001), 390–405.
66. Alessi, *Libro dei Misteri*, 2:117. My translation from the Italian.
67. The explanations for why the Dome of the Rock came to be referred to as the *Tempio di Salamone* in the sixteenth century vary. The Latin label given to the building in Reuwich's panorama in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* of 1486—*Templum Salamonis*—may have contributed to this shift from *Templum Domini* to *Tempio di Salamone*. Perhaps the most interesting evidence of the overlapping of these terms is found in the printed editions of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's Holy Land guidebook. In the 1500 *Viazo da Venesia*, the illustration of the *Templum Salamonis* and *Templum Domini*—referring to the Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock—was presented in a single woodcut, based upon the previous manuscript drawings (see above). But in the 1518 *Viaggio da Venetia*, and subsequent editions, this illustration was replaced with a bird's-eye view of an octagonal, onion-domed temple, based upon Reuwich's illustration of the *Templum Salamonis* (here referring to the Dome of the Rock, not the Aqsa Mosque). This woodcut is repeated twice within a single book, first labeled the *Tempio di Salamone*, then labeled the *Templum Salamonis Templum Domini*—as it had been in the 1500 *Viazo*. See fig. 22 for an example of one of these woodcuts.
68. Alessi, *Libro dei Misteri*, 1:43–45.
69. See Evelyn Carole Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's* Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae*, 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis* (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1977).
70. "Plan and elevation of the Temple called Solomon's. This design is a Temple, which having been built in the place where that of Solomon stood, has also usurped the name; and of the previous one there is not the least vestige, except the esplanade, having been destroyed fifteen times and completely sacked. The former was long and narrow, this is round inside and outside it has eight corners. In a word the truth is that it is not the ancient one, nor a part of it, from the great difference between the one and the other."

Note that in the accompanying illustration of the *Tempio di Salamone*, a crescent surmounts the dome. Bernardino Amico, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*, ed. Bellarmino Bagatti, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem, 1953), 114–15. See also Ramírez, "Evocar, reconstruir, tal vez soñar," 136. Amico arrived in Palestine in 1593. He obtained approval for his book in Rome in 1609, and dedicated the first edition of 1610 to King Philip III of Spain.

71. I am referring to the 1550–51 Mishneh Torah and the 1609 Haggadah, both published in Venice. See Shalom Sabar, "Messianic Aspirations and Renaissance Urban Ideals: The Image of Jerusalem in the Venice Haggadah, 1609," in Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*, 295–312. For an example of an Italian Jew who visited Jerusalem and clearly described the Dome of the Rock as the Temple of Solomon (*Tempio di Salamone*) in the late fifteenth century, see Meshullam da Volterra's account in Meshullam ben Menachem da Volterra, *Viaggio in terra d'Israele*, trans. and ed. Alessandra Veronese (Rimini, 1989), 75–77. For the relation of the Jewish idea of the Temple to the Ottoman context, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ʿAbd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105. See also Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early-Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden, 1995).
72. This political context may help explain the decision to allude to the Dome of the Rock in Venice's most prominent seventeenth-century church, Santa Maria della Salute, constructed in the period when the Jesuits were expelled from Venice. See Howard, *Venice and the East*, 215. See also Andrew Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute: Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice* (Cambridge, 2000). On the Jesuits' role in establishing the Bible as the source for reconstructing the image of the Temple of Solomon, see Jaime Lara, "God's Good Taste: The Jesuit Aesthetics of Juan Bautista Villalpando in the Sixth and Tenth Centuries B.C.E.," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto, 1999), 506–21.
73. See Rosenau, *Vision of the Temple*, 33, where she characterizes the medieval depictions of the Temple not in relation to the real topography of Jerusalem as known to pilgrims, but as meaningless images resulting from "abstract design."
74. Rosenau, *Vision of the Temple*, 65; Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem," 14.
75. This is not to say that there have not been many attempts to move beyond the idea of mimesis as an objective mirroring or copying of visual experience in the study of Western art. See, for instance, András Horn, "The Concept of 'Mimesis' in Georg Lukács," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 14, 1 (1974): 26–40.
76. Paul Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography," *The Burlington Magazine* 130, 1019, Special Issue on English Gothic Art (Feb., 1988): 116–21.
77. "In architecture…mimesis consists then in a form of homology that conserves fundamental structures, the 'form' that uniquely and critically identifies the work, its scheme, its intrinsic properties. In this framework, the specificity of the model will owe to the pertinence of the choice of the elements that define the work in its precise individuality and whose syntactic relations are conserved in every transformation…." Vittorio Ugo, "Mimesi," in *Temi e codici del disegno d'architettura*, ed. Roberto de Rubertis, Adriana Soletti, and Vittorio Ugo (Rome, 1992), 17–18. (My translation from the Italian.)
78. Günter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, trans. Kendall Wallis (New York, 2005), 49.
79. Ibid., 50.
80. "Representations of buildings in medieval sculpture and painting appear to confirm the peculiar relation between copy and original in medieval architecture….Like the 'copies' they show the disintegration of the prototype into its single elements, the selective transfer of these parts, and their reshuffling in the copy." Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" 14.
81. Jonathan Bloom, "On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 21–28, at 21.
82. Ibid., 23.
83. Finbarr Barry Flood, "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 57–79.
84. Ibid., 64.
85. "…[T]he consumption of preexisting architectural forms might be seen as a dynamic form of production rather than a deficient form of reproduction. In this way the mosques might be viewed not as synchronic products of a finished event, but as constantly (re)produced by a potentially open-ended series of displacements and interpretations mediated and negotiated by multiple chains of actors and agents in specific contexts. This approach replaces a backward-oriented (and often ideologically charged) source-mongering with a more forward-looking emphasis on innovation and mediation." Finbarr Barry Flood, "Lost in Translation: Architecture, Taxonomy, and the Eastern 'Turks,'" *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 79–115, 107–9.
86. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" 9.