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CITY of the GREAT KING

Jerusalem from David to the Present

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The Image of the Holy City in Maps and Mapping

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Jerusalem, the Holy City, the site of many important biblical events, occupied a central place in the hearts and minds of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, in the East and West alike. Both earthly and heavenly Jerusalem were represented in numerous types of compositions that dedicated a special place to the study and the description of the Holy Land and the Holy City.

Often the authors of these compositions were not content with verbal descriptions, and many of them included graphic depictions of the city, usually referred to as “maps” of Jerusalem.¹ Although Jerusalem was indeed holy to Jews and Muslims as well as to Christians, there are almost no such depictions of the city that were drawn by either of the first two groups; it seems that generally this was a Christian genre.

From the Byzantine period until the beginning of the twelfth century and the Crusader conquest, there was only one map of Jerusalem that is known today: the Madaba map, a mosaic that was made in the sixth century. There are about twenty extant medieval maps of the city. After the development of the printing press, from the end of the fifteenth century onward, many new maps were made.

The Madaba Mosaic Map

The earliest surviving map of Jerusalem, the Madaba map, was discovered in 1881 within the ruins of a church in Madaba, an active

bishopric at the time and now a small village in Jordan.² (See Plate 2.) It is a map of the Holy Land depicting an enlarged image of Jerusalem in the center, a city totally and exclusively Christian. It focuses on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, whose facade is turned toward the viewer—in spite of the fact that the map faces the east and therefore the eastern facade should have been hidden. Three other central features are the new *cardo*, or colonnaded street; the new complex of the Sancta Maria Nea, built by Justinian; and the Church on Mount Zion, the *mater ecclesiarum*. The color code of the map is also indicative, as all the churches in the city are marked out in red. Another very schematic representation of the city appears in the topographic margins of the mosaic uncovered about a decade ago in Umm al-Rasasin Jordan, under the title “Hagiapolis.” (See Figure 17, page 292.)

Not one single map of Jerusalem exists from the Early Islamic period (638 to 1099). But European Christian mapmakers throughout the Middle Ages gave graphic expression to the religious perception of Jerusalem as the center of the world.³ These maps, called *Orbis Terrarum*, or “T-O” maps, portray the world as a round disk with the oceans and rivers dividing it in a T-shaped fashion, the Mediterranean Sea as its vertical arm, Africa to its right, and Europe to the left. The horizontal bar is formed by the Nile River on the right and the Tannus (Don) River and the Black Sea on the left, while Asia is located on the upper part of the disk, with Jerusalem at its center.⁴

Crusader Maps

The Crusader conquest in 1099 awakened in the West a renewed interest in the Holy Land, and particularly Jerusalem, the site of the redeemed Sepulchre.⁵ Sites sanctified by Christian tradition became the targets of renewed interest, and a multitude of reports about the new Crusader Jerusalem, which was being rebuilt, flooded Europe. In addition to the numerous twelfth-century verbal descriptions, many graphic descriptions, especially maps, started making their appearance.⁶

There are fourteen maps, all depicting the twelfth-century Holy City under Crusader rule. These maps continued to be copied until the end of the fourteenth century, even though in 1187, with the collapse of the first Latin Kingdom, Jerusalem fell into Muslim hands

and thereafter, excluding a short period from 1229 to 1244, was not a Christian city any more. These fourteen maps include one main group of eleven round maps and three other single exemplars containing three very different maps.

The most important of the three single maps is the well-known Cambrai map (Figure 39), which was drawn in the twelfth century.⁷ It faces north, and is rhomboid in shape. Its special importance is that its author knew Crusader Jerusalem well and drew a very detailed, comparatively accurate map of Jerusalem. The Holy Sepulchre in its new Crusader form is correctly depicted, including its new bell tower and the new courtyard facing south. Next to it, the Hospitaller buildings are depicted in a very detailed fashion. On the former Aqsa Mosque the designation "Domus Militum Templi" appears, and in the west the "Curia Regis"—Royal Court—and the "Turrus Tancredi"—Tancred's Tower—are depicted. Another element that points to the author's acquaintance with the city is found on the northeastern part of the city wall, where it is written, "*Hic capta est civitas a Francis*": Here the city was captured by the Franks. A most interesting feature, unique to the Cambrai map, is its familiarity with the Eastern churches in Jerusalem, at least six of which appear on the map. These include the Church of St. Saba,⁸ the Church of Kharitun, where the Syrians showed the reliquiae of the saint in a wooden chest; the Jacobite Church of St. Mary Magdalene; the Church of St. George, located in the corn market; the Church of St. Abraham; and the Church of St. Bartholomew. Also unique is the use of the Greek name for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Anastasis. The pseudo-topographical lines, another very interesting characteristic of this map, demonstrate well the author's familiarity with the topography of the city and its surroundings.

The second single exemplar is the square map from Montpellier.⁹ Its most interesting feature is its attempt to present graphically the battle array of the Crusader forces around Jerusalem. Otherwise, it represents only a few basic traditions, most of which are placed almost arbitrarily on the map and are only remotely related to reality. These include the site of Jesus' disrobing, of his crowning with thorns, his binding, and arrest; the site where Helena found the Cross; and the Navel of the Earth.

The third single exemplar, the round Codex Harleian map,¹⁰ which

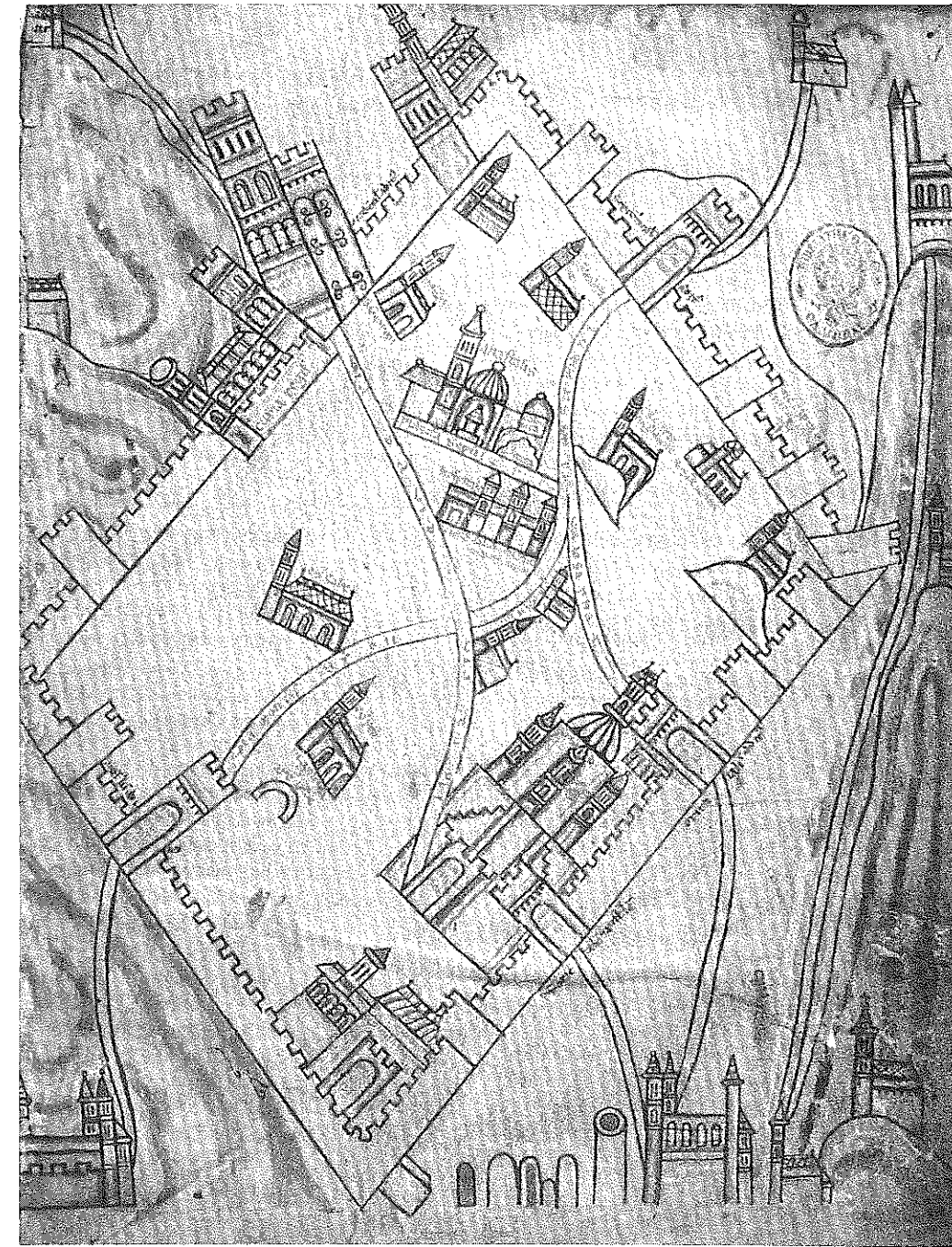


Figure 39.
Cambrai
manuscript
map, twelfth
century.

although round is distinctly different from the other round maps, is actually a map of the Holy Land rather than a map of Jerusalem. This map, which is a graphic presentation of a pilgrim's itinerary, starting at the port towns of Jaffa, Caesarea, Acre, and Ascalon, and reaching the Jordan River in the east and Nazareth and Banias in the north, demonstrates very clearly that its author saw Jerusalem as the highlight of the pilgrimage, while all the other sites were marginal in comparison. It is therefore a good example of a map that clearly has no pretense of accuracy but presents a graphic description of the author's conception of his journey. (See Figure 30, page 318).

The eleven round maps form a large and impressive group whose close resemblance to each other is evident at first sight.¹¹ Seven of these were drawn in the twelfth century, and four are from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their common characteristics indicate that this multitude of round maps was not just a product of a certain artistic fashion prevalent in Europe at the time—in which case each of these maps would have been made independently, under the influence of this style—but that there was, indeed, one original round prototype from which the other maps derived, either directly or indirectly.

In all of the round maps, the circle forms the city walls, while the two main streets—which look like the Roman-Byzantine *cardo* and *decumanus*—form a cross in the center. It should be noted that the Harleian map, which is also round, has no element similar to the crossroads that characterizes the round group. The round form may reflect the influence of the T-O world maps or, equally, the common depiction of the Heavenly Jerusalem according to Ezekiel, which was popular even before the time of the Crusades.

The round maps, like the T-O maps, always face eastward, in contrast to the square Montpellier map, which faces north, and the trapezoidal Cambrai map, which faces a general north.

The city plan—including the gates, the main roads and streets, and the main buildings depicted—is identical in all of the round maps; the Harleian map, in contrast, has only four gates, which are symmetrically located. The two main streets that form the crossroads within the city create four quarters, equal in size. The streets cross each other in the middle of the circle, at the marketplace (Forum Rerum Venalium). Apart from these two main streets, an additional street, leading to

Jehoshaphat's Gate, is indicated, and in most of the maps the street starting at St. Stephen's Gate and running under the Temple Mount, in the Tyropeon Valley, is also shown. This plan, although very schematic, is indeed the basic street plan of Jerusalem. In all the round maps, two roads diverge symmetrically from David's Gate in the west: one, leading south to Bethlehem, and the other, north, to Mons Gaudii (Nebi Samwil).

Several structures especially stand out in all of the round maps. The Holy Sepulchre (Sanctum Sepulchrum) and "the Lord's Temple" (Templum Domini, the Dome of the Rock, which was turned into a church by the Crusaders) are often presented as two circles complementing each other. Additional structures that are particularly prominent are David's Tower, the city's citadel, and "Templum Salomonis" (al-Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount, which served as the headquarters of the Templar Order).

One of the more notable characteristics of the round maps is the fact that, unlike the Cambrai map, they not only name the sites but also often present many traditions, both biblical and apocryphal, that were attached to certain sites. This element, which will later become very common in maps of Jerusalem, turning them into "condensed" or telescopic visual histories of the city, appears for the first time in the round maps.

A common group of traditions and sites both inside and outside the city appears regularly in all of the round maps and forms their basis.¹² The choice of sites, their location on the map, and the names given to them are identical in almost all cases, emphasizing the strong dependence of these maps on each other, and ultimately on one prototype created somewhere around the middle of the twelfth century. Apart from the monuments already mentioned, the following sites and traditions appear in all of the maps: Porta Speciosa, the Beautiful Gate;¹³ Ecclesia S. Anna; the Piscina, the Pool of Bethesda;¹⁴ Forum Rerum Venalium, the marketplace; the Cambium Monete, the money exchange; Lapis Scissus, the rock that split at the Crucifixion;¹⁵ and the so-called Ecclesia Latina, a name that stood for Ecclesia sanctae Mariae Latinae and actually represented the whole complex of the Order of St. John (the Hospitalers), which was in reality located just south of the Holy Sepulchre. The Calvaria and the Golgotha both appear in most of the round maps side by side, the Calvaria being

during the Crusader period the name of the site of the Crucifixion, while Golgotha was the name given to the Chapel of Adam, underneath the site of the Crucifixion.¹⁶

Outside the walls, the main traditions and sites depicted are the Ascensio Domini, the Ascension of the Lord;¹⁷ the Porta Aurea, the Golden Gate through which Jesus entered seated upon the ass;¹⁸ Ecclesia or Sepulchrum S. Mariae¹⁹ and Villa Gethsemani,²⁰ which were situated in the Kedron or Jehoshaphat Valley; Fons Syloe, the Siloam "Fountain"; and the Cenaculum, located on Mount Zion. Certain sites located further away from the city are also included.

Although all the round maps have a common basis, they nevertheless have individual traits and often present us with unique sites or traditions, from the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Apocrypha.

The Hague map (Figure 40) is the most famous and most beautiful of the round maps. It is distinguished mostly by its unique graphic features. Especially outstanding is the picture of St. George, in the apparel of a Templar knight, defeating the Muslim foe. To the north of the city there is a group of men with a villainous appearance: these are the Jews, an identification confirmed by the stones in their hands in preparation for stoning St. Stephen, who appears just beneath them.²¹ The church dedicated to St. Stephen²² was pushed all the way down to present this scene, showing us once again that reality and precision were not of considerable importance. The Hague map also mentions one additional tradition connected with the Cenaculum—that is, the Procession of the Holy Ghost, which is noted only here and in the Uppsala map.

The second round map presented here is the Uppsala map (see Plate II). This map, which was drawn in the twelfth century, is in fact a map whose whereabouts were unknown for more than a hundred years, and it was rediscovered just recently.²³

The Uppsala map is especially rich in biblical traditions. The author calls Mons Gaudii, the Mount of Joy from which the Crusaders first sighted Jerusalem, Masphat—that is, Mizpah, the place where Samuel congregated the people of Israel and called on them to repent;²⁴ The Shepherd's Field is named "The place where Jacob grazed his sheep";²⁵ nearby, the Hay—the second city conquered by Joshua after Jericho—is depicted.²⁶ Near Bethlehem, the site of the Passio Inno-

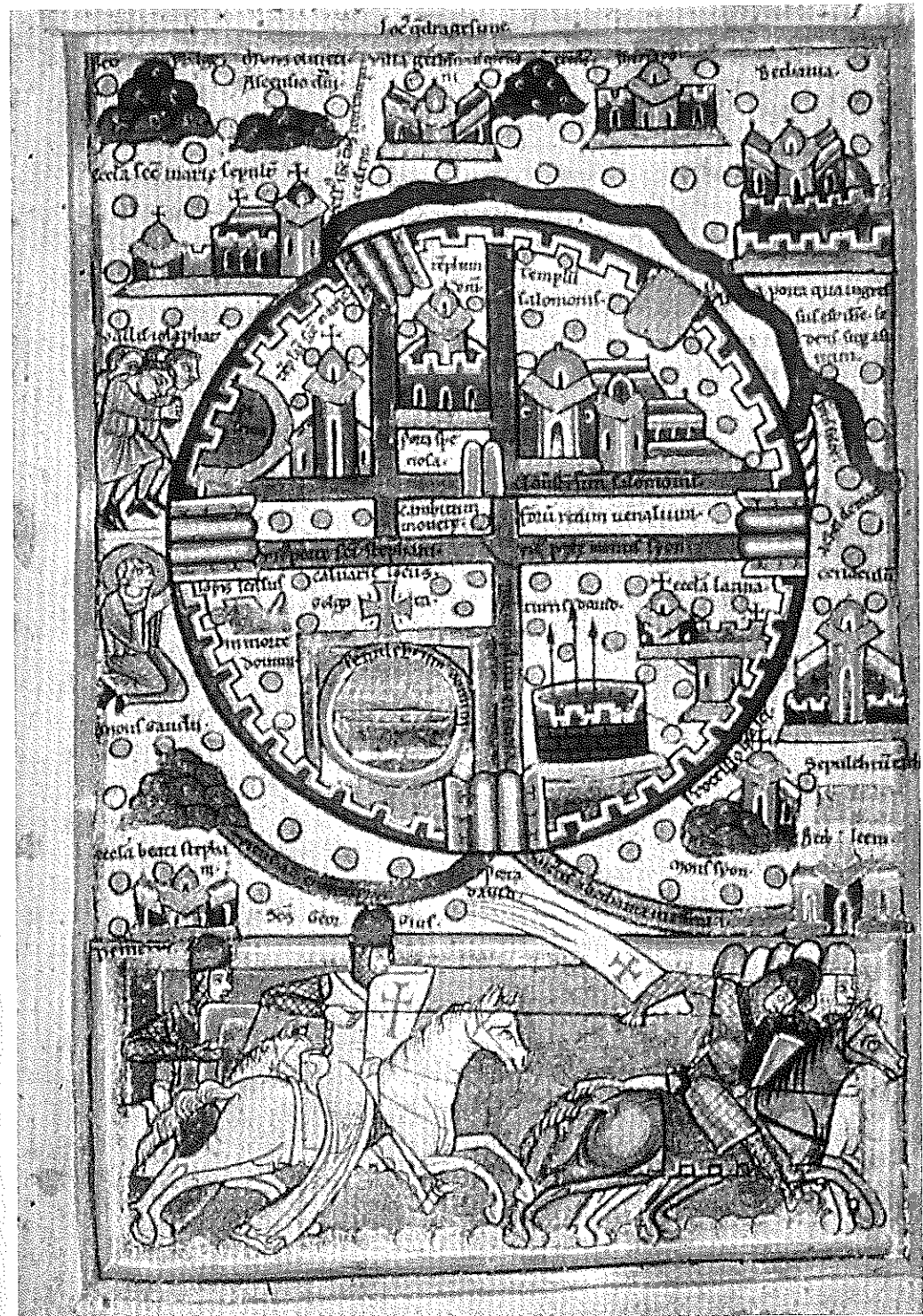


Figure 40. The Hague manuscript map, twelfth century.

centium, the Martyrdom of the Innocents, is shown.²⁷ An interesting inscription appears by the Sheep's Pool, next to a single column: "Here Jesus was flagellated."²⁸ The inscription, along with additional sites mentioned in twelfth-century itineraries, may indicate that the tradition of the Via Dolorosa was already formed in the twelfth century.²⁹ This detail demonstrates that despite the schematic and inaccurate nature of these maps, they may still supply us with information concerning the reality of their time.

What was the object of all of these maps representing Crusader Jerusalem? Were they meant to be realistic maps of the city? Were they meant to serve as a guide for pilgrims, so that they could find their way to the Christian sites or to the hostels of the military orders? Why were the round maps so popular?

The first question that should be raised is whether these maps were indeed attached to any form of guidebook or itinerary describing Crusader Jerusalem. A review of the relevant manuscripts shows that four of the round maps, Brussels A,³⁰ Brussels B,³¹ Uppsala, and St. Omer,³² all from the twelfth century, illustrate a text describing Crusader Jerusalem, while the London³³ and Paris³⁴ maps are actually surrounded by such a text on the same page. Since four of the earlier manuscripts are connected with the *Gesta Francorum Expugnantium Hierusalem* (The History of the Franks Who Conquered Jerusalem),³⁵ it is possible that this was the text that these maps originally illustrated, and that only later were they copied separately without the text.

A short look at the maps themselves will suffice to reject the claim that these are maps that were drawn originally for practical purposes and were meant to be realistic. The argument put forward by some—that the creators of these maps were not technically capable of drawing an accurate, realistic map—is completely unacceptable. The perfect circle symbolizing the walls of Jerusalem in the round maps (as well as the square of the Montpellier map and the trapezoid of the Cambrai map) has no pretensions of representing the actual outline of the city wall. The straight and symmetrical street pattern does not follow the winding streets of Crusader Jerusalem. Often buildings have been moved from one place to another, to make room for others or to present a more aesthetic image. If pilgrims had tried to use these maps, they most likely would have lost their way. It is clear, therefore, that

a map, in the modern sense of the word—an accurate and proportional description of the city—was not the object of these artists.

This is definitely true for the round maps, and for the Montpellier map. But even the author of the Cambrai map, who no doubt knew Jerusalem firsthand and was the more realistic of the lot, did not aim to supply the viewer with an accurate map.

The object of these maps was, therefore, different. They were meant to create a certain image of Jerusalem. In the round maps' case, it was an image of a glorious city that combines Christian tradition and Crusader reality; an illustration of the renewed Christian rule in historical Jerusalem; a presentation of the new Christian Jerusalem built by the new David and Solomon, Ezra and Nehemiah, and ruled by them.³⁶ It was God's new chosen kingdom on earth. To attain this goal, the artists combined in these maps sacred Christian sites and traditions side by side with the important Crusader monuments and buildings. The city they presented was not the one seen by the eyes: among the sites depicted we find places in which biblical events occurred. David's Gate, for example, may be called by its biblical name, "the fish gate" (Nehemiah 3:3); the road to Bethlehem is called "the way to Bethlehem Effrata" (Micah 5:1), and Bethlehem is called "Bethlehem of Judah" (Ruth 1:1); southeast of the city, Mons Seir (Edom) is depicted, along with Mons Synai, and the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.³⁷

Jerusalem is presented in these maps as a magnificent city, a mixture of history and reality, a sight that excites the imagination. The viewer of these maps, which are so colorful and ornamental, sees a city full of magnificent buildings and ruled by church spires; a Crusader city shrouded by its past history and glowing with royal splendor. This was the image of Jerusalem that the artists wanted to convey to the Christians in the West, to fill their hearts with pride.

It seems that this special character of the round maps of Jerusalem was the reason for their being so unanimously preferred over the other depictions of the city. The Cambrai map drew a beautiful aesthetic picture of Jerusalem, but it was definitely a contemporaneous one. The Montpellier map mixed tradition with the Crusader reality but did not present a glorious royal city. It was the round maps, laden with both history and royal splendor, with their perfect circle, a

symbol of the ideal city, a parallel of the round heavenly Jerusalem, that enraptured the Western Christian.

Post-Crusader Maps

The final collapse of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem shattered the image of the rebuilt Christian city, and it could no longer be presented in the West as it had been until then. The few maps we have from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries reflect this clearly. The first map that presents Jerusalem under Muslim rule is that of Marino Sanudo, attached to his book *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservazione* (Figure 41).³⁸ (The map was in fact made by Pietro Vesconte, as part of an atlas prepared in 1320.³⁹) Sanudo's Jerusalem is presented as a target for reconquest and the reestablishment of a renewed Christian kingdom. In his map, as well as in the rest of the maps from this period, there is none of the splendor of the Crusader maps, and the magnificent churches are gone. Sanudo's is in fact the first map to present a realistic view of the city. It is obvious that the author of this map knew the city well, as can be clearly seen from the accurate outline of the city walls and the locations of the different monuments. That this correct image should not be accepted uncritically, however, is demonstrated by the appearance of the city wall, which is presented as whole and complete. This depiction is very problematic, since there is direct and clear evidence that the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Mu'azzam had purposely destroyed the walls in 1219, when he feared that the city would be reconquered by the Crusaders.⁴⁰ There is no evidence that the walls had been rebuilt later. (See Figure 2, page 24.) Sanudo's map, like its followers, is more avid in depicting the important Christian traditions and sites than in depicting the contemporary image of the city.

Another graphic presentation drawn sometime in the fourteenth century is based on the description by Burchard of Mount Zion, written in 1283.⁴¹ Although the description is a realistic one, the map provides a completely imaginary depiction, with no pretense of any acquaintance with the city whatsoever; its author was clearly interested only in the biblical traditions. This type of imaginary depiction would become very popular in printed maps from the sixteenth century onward.

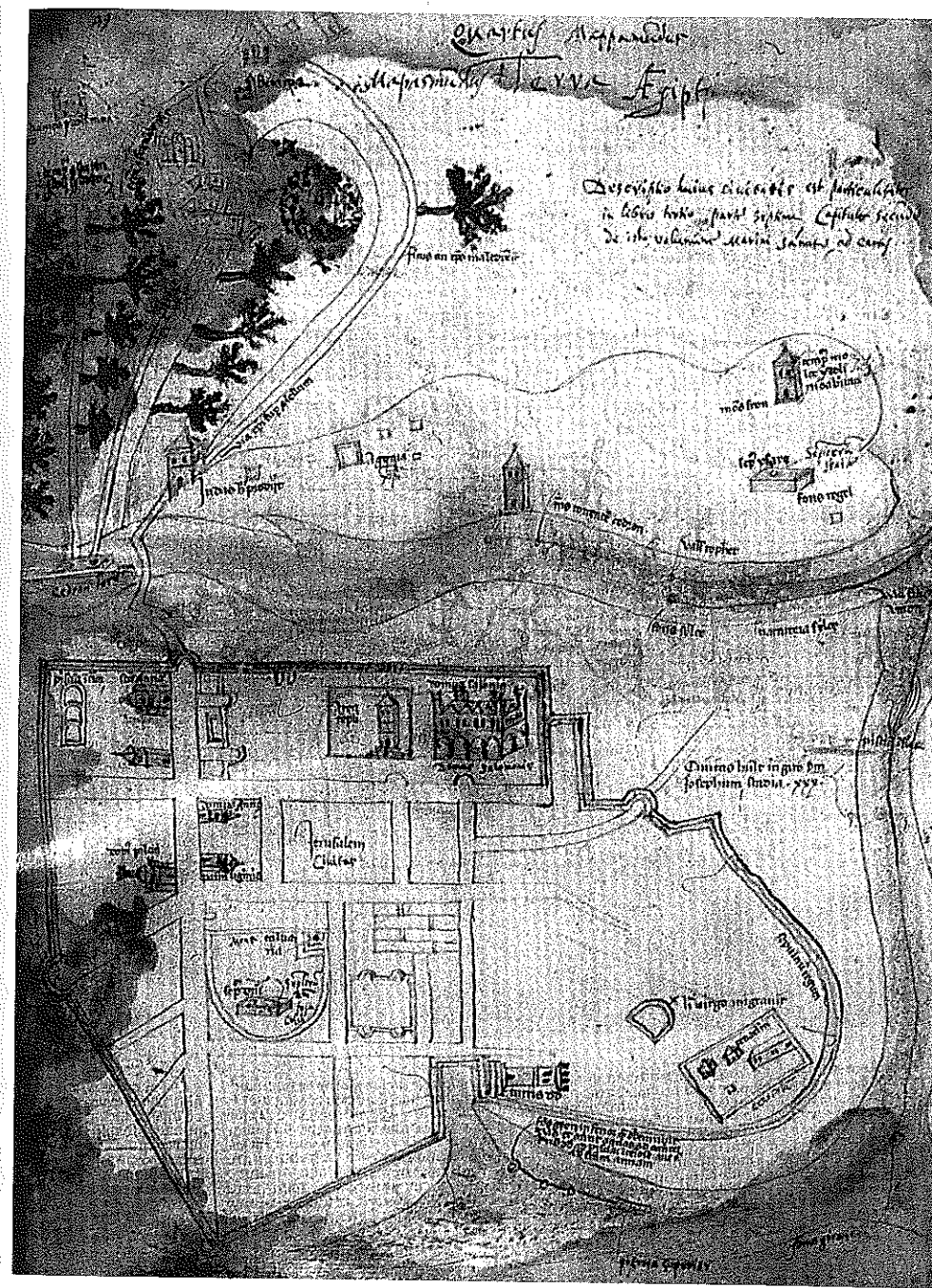


Figure 41. Marino Sanudo's map, 1320.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, a deputation of the Franciscan order was sent to Palestine and was organized as the Custodia Terrae Sanctae, the Guards of the Holy Land. Their task, given by the Pope, was to be the guardians of the holy places, to guide and take care of the pilgrims, and to keep the Catholic interests in the Holy Land, a mission that they have carried out through the centuries since then. The establishment of this mission furthered the revival of European Christian pilgrimage, and the maps that were made by these pilgrims reflect their initial motivation to visit the Holy City and its sites and to walk in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. The two manuscript maps from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the Sebald Rieter map (Figure 42) and the map attached to a text of Ptolemy,⁴² are in fact the heralds of a new genre that was forming under the influence of the Franciscan custody of Jerusalem and later gained widespread influence through the printed maps.

Sebald Rieter's map (ca. 1475) depicted Jerusalem from the top of the Mount of Olives, looking west. This vantage point was chosen for its beauty as well as for its holiness, as the site from where Christ looked over the city. Some of the city's buildings are portrayed schematically, but many of the important buildings are shown in fairly accurate detail. The city is surrounded by a wall in which gates and towers are presented: David's Tower, Samarian Gate (probably Herod's Gate), the gate through which St. Stephen was taken out of the city to be stoned (today's Lions Gate), the Golden Gate through which Jesus entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, and Zion Gate. South of the Temple Mount and on Mount Zion, sections of a demolished wall are depicted, as if the mapmaker had seen the remnants of the ancient wall that enclosed the City of David and Mount Zion. North of today's Lions Gate, a section of the wall is drawn broken; evidently this is to be identified with the wall destroyed in 1219 by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam,⁴³ and it implies, in fact, that the wall was not rebuilt until the time of Suleiman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century. However, Rieter's map evidently testifies to the fact that al-Mu'azzam's destruction of the wall was not systematic, and that parts of the wall remained, broken but still standing, impressing visitors to Jerusalem.

Two large structures are depicted on the Temple Mount: the Dome of the Rock, and al-Aqsa Mosque. Although the former is

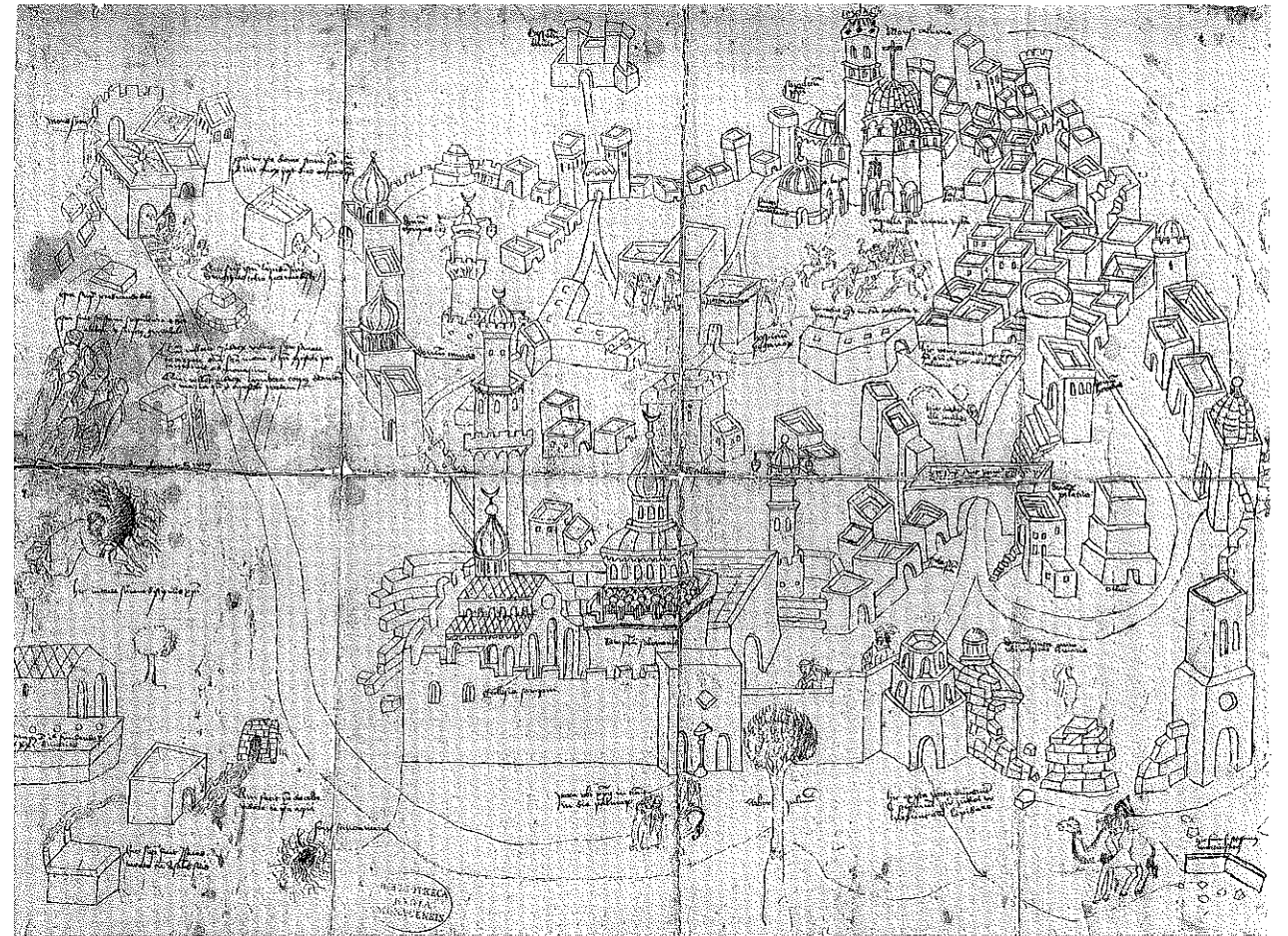


Figure 42. Sebald Rieter's map, ca. 1475.

labeled the Temple of Solomon, a crescent is depicted on its top, as well as on the al-Aqsa and on two of the three other minarets shown on the map, and the area of the Temple Mount itself is called Ecclesie Sarazeni—the Church of the Saracens. Although it was made when Jerusalem was under Muslim Mamluk rule, Rieter's map provides a detailed description of many places in Jerusalem relating to Christian traditions. The Gihon spring is called the Spring of St. Mary, and near the Siloam pool an inscription states that at this spot Jesus miraculously restored the sight of a blind man.⁴⁴ In the southern part of the

city is “the field of Judas Iscariot” that was bought with Judas’s thirty dinar.⁴⁵ Several traditions associated with Jesus, his disciples, and Mary are noted on Mount Zion and its slopes, and near St. Stephen’s Gate (Lions Gate) note is made of St. Stephen’s being taken from the city, and the place where he was stoned to death. The map offers perhaps the earliest graphic depiction of the Via Dolorosa, presenting the House of Pilate, adjacent to which is the arch where Pilate sentenced Jesus; the spot where Jesus met Veronica (today’s Sixth Station of the Way of the Cross); and the place where St. Mary saw Jesus on his way to the Crucifixion. (The site where St. Mary fainted is mentioned also in the Sanudo map, today’s Fourth Station.) These are followed by the spot where Jesus fell while carrying the cross and, finally, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is depicted as a large structure that includes Golgotha, the tomb of the Savior, a tall bell tower, and the chapels of St. Mary, the Angels, John the Baptist, and Mary Magdalen. The entrance to the church faces south, but the map is oriented to the west, so the artist turned the facade of the church to face east, a distortion that was followed by later mapmakers, so that the viewer is presented with the facade.

Early Printed Maps

In 1450 Gutenberg invented his printing press, and shortly afterward maps were being printed. In 1486 the first edition of Bernhard von Breydenbach’s book was printed, describing his pilgrimage to the Holy Land; it included the first printed map of Jerusalem.⁴⁶ During the Renaissance and Reformation, various developments and changes in technology, geographical knowledge, scholarship, religious clashes, and politics had immense influence on the proliferation of maps of the Holy Land. Two main trends characterize these printed maps of Jerusalem: on the one hand were maps depicting Jerusalem in a realistic manner, as viewed by Christian-European pilgrims, and on the other were imaginary, historical maps, based mainly on the Scriptures and the work of Josephus Flavius. Some mapmakers and authors put both kinds of maps in their books, sometimes next to each other or even on the same page.⁴⁷ However, it seems that the distinction between the imaginary and the realistic, which is so basic in our modern view, was not that sharp at the time, and realistic elements

are found alongside imaginary, conceptual, and anachronistic elements in both map groups.

Realistic Maps

The group of maps characterized as “realistic” were claimed by their makers to portray contemporary Jerusalem. Some were drawn by pilgrims and travelers and were based on their own sight and impressions, while others were copies and imitations, drawn in Europe by people who had never seen the city but had used maps by eye witnesses as a basis for their work. The image of Jerusalem as the Holy City where pilgrims walked in the footsteps of Jesus Christ was created and promoted to a large extent by the Franciscan monks of the Custodia Terrae Sanctae, either directly, through maps made by Franciscans who served in Jerusalem—like De Angelis, Amico, and Quaresmius—or indirectly, through maps made by pilgrims who traveled under the auspices of the Custodia, like De Bruyn, who described how the monks helped him conceal from the suspicious Turks and Arabs his intention to draw his panorama, by pretending to have a picnic on the top of the Mount of Olives.

The two best examples of this realistic genre are the maps by Antonio De Angelis, who printed his large map in Rome in 1578 after serving for eight years in Jerusalem,⁴⁸ and Francisco Quaresmius (Figure 43), who served for many years in the Levant and was even appointed head of the Franciscans in the Holy Land, and printed his map in his large book in 1639.⁴⁹ Thus both maps were based on firsthand information acquired during long years of work in Jerusalem. They depict Jerusalem from the top of the Mount of Olives, looking west. They both cover the area of Jerusalem and its environs, with the Valley of Hinnom to the south (left); Hebron and Bethlehem further south (upper left corner); the Judean Mountains and St. John the Baptist’s birthplace to the west (top); the Tomb of Helen Queen of Adiabene—also known as the Tomb of the Kings—to the north (right); and the Mount of Olives itself in the east (lower part). The city itself is in the middle, surrounded by walls, with the Temple Mount, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Citadel as its most prominent buildings. Many other sites, such as the Via Dolorosa, churches, and monasteries, are marked by numbers explained in the legend. The

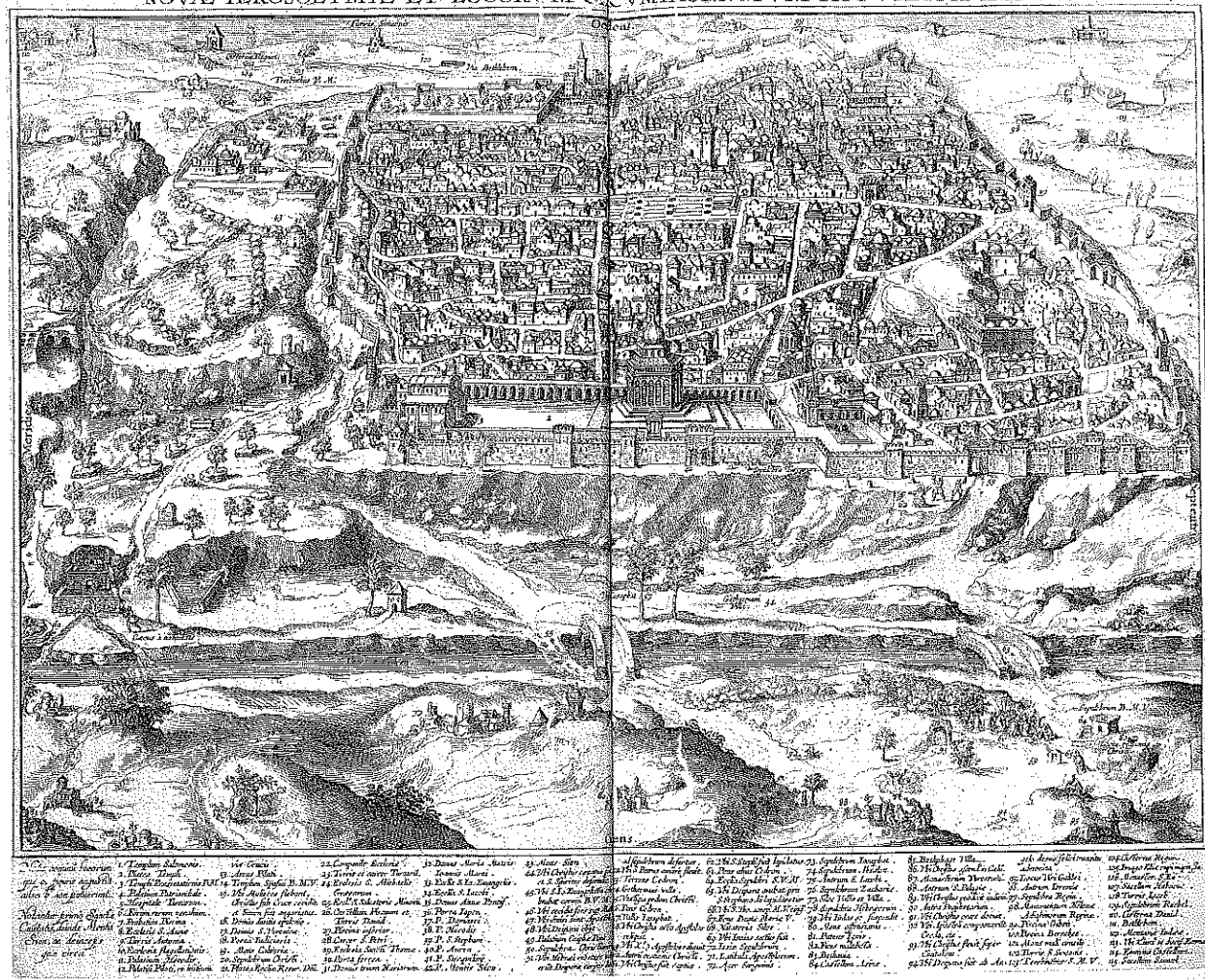


Figure 43. Francisco Quaresmius's map, 1639.

central part of the map provides a detailed and reliable depiction of Jerusalem within its walls. The gates are clearly drawn: Herod's Gate and Damascus Gate to the north; Jaffa Gate and the Citadel to the west; Zion Gate and the Dung Gate to the south; and the blocked Golden Gate and St. Stephen's Gate to the east. Within the city, on the eastern side, appears the Temple Mount, with the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque on it. Behind it, within the city, Damascus

Gate with its plaza and the city's two main thoroughfares leading southward from it are clearly depicted. On the main thoroughfare, not far from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the three Covered Bazaars appear, identified by the anachronistic Latin term used in the Crusader period, "*forum rerum venalium*," the marketplace.

Throughout both maps, sites are numbered in reference to the detailed legends. A careful review of these legends reveals that the maps should be regarded as realistic and highly reliable, yet it is clear that, being Franciscan monks, the maps' makers chose to focus mainly on Christian traditions and messages and ignored many of the other sites. Moreover, most sites are arranged in the legends and numbered on the maps, according to various routes leading to holy places in the vicinity of the city—routes that were created by the Franciscans for Christian pilgrims. Series of sequential numbers refer to various routes of this kind, as from Jerusalem, via the Monastery of the Cross, to the spring in which Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8),⁵⁰ and to the village of Ein Kerem, the birthplace of John the Baptist. A second, longer route led from Jerusalem to Bethlehem and to Hebron, marking the holy places along the way; two other routes led from Mount Zion to Gethsemane and to the Mount of Olives and Bethany.

Other traditions, although of secondary importance and based on the Apocrypha or later writings rather than on the Scriptures, are depicted on the maps, such as the House of the Three Marys; the place where the Jews tried to kidnap the body of St. Mary; the place where the prophet Isaiah was cut up; the pool of Bersabee (*sic!* this should of course be read "Bath-Sheba"); and many more. On the whole, these maps depicted Jerusalem as seen through the eyes of Christian Europeans, and represented the Christian ideology and concept of the city. Realistic and conceptual Jerusalem were, therefore, bound together in these maps. Consequently they are extremely important sources of information about the city as it was perceived by the Christian Catholic pilgrims of the time.

Imaginary Historical Maps

At the same time that "realistic" maps depicting contemporary Jerusalem were being drawn and printed, European scholars were creating

maps that were based on the Scriptures and on Josephus, and presenting them as part of their biblical exegeses and other religious literature. This genre of maps has almost no importance as a source on the history of Jerusalem, but it is valuable for the study of the concept of Jerusalem among European scholars of the period.

The best example of this genre is the map of Jerusalem made by Christian van Adrichom (1535–1585), a Dutchman who worked most of his life in Cologne (Figure 44). In 1584 he published a book accompanied by a map, entitled *Jerusalem et Suburbia eius, Sicut Tempore Christi Floruit*.⁵¹ The book and map were published in Latin and later translated into other languages, and they went through many editions. In this map, Jerusalem is depicted facing eastward, surrounded by mountains, with the Kidron Brook lying to its east. The city itself is rectangular and is surrounded by walls. It is depicted as if it were divided into three or even four parts. The southernmost (right) strip is “Mount Zion, the City of David, the Upper City.” The central strip—the main part of the city—is larger than the others, and the Temple appears in its eastern (upper) part. In the northern part of the city, two additional strips are separated by inner walls—“The Second City” and “Bezetha—The New City.” This image of Jerusalem as a rectangular city divided by walls is a misinterpretation of Josephus’s description of the city. Since Josephus’s works were well known to European scholars at the time, this graphic concept, which was incorrectly based on them, quickly became very popular and was copied by many later mapmakers.

The city’s grounds are filled with buildings and scenes, most of which are mentioned in the Scriptures, in Josephus, and in other historical sources. Each site and tradition is numbered and has a short caption; altogether there are 270 items.⁵² There is no differentiation between the various historical periods. Among the many sites, we find the palaces of King David, King Solomon, the Macabeans, Berenice, King Herod, and Pilate; the house of Caiaphas; and the Herodian amphitheater and hippodrome. Many of them are drawn in the form of European buildings of the sixteenth century. Around the city walls, other scenes are illustrated, among them the anointing of King Solomon, Absalom’s monument, the site of the pagan sacrifices to the Molech, and even Solomon’s zoo. For many sites, the artist did much more than draw the buildings: he depicted the traditions artistically,

as he imagined they had been in reality. Thus we find, for example, the high priest in front of the altar in the Temple, with the menorah (candelabrum) on his left and the table of the shewbread (Exodus 39:36) on his right. The Holy of Holies with the Ark is in front of him, with the Hebrew name of God—Jehovah—between the cherubim on top of it. Next to the Temple and near his palace, Solomon can be seen sitting on his throne. A special group of scenes is the one presenting the Passion of Jesus Christ, from his triumphal entry into the city on Palm Sunday, through the Last Supper, his prayer in Gethsemane, the Judgment, his way along the Via Dolorosa, and the Crucifixion on Mount Calvary. This series continues and depicts his appearance before his disciples on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:13ff.) and the Ascension from the top of the Mount of Olives. Besides these, there are many other, less important Christian traditions: the cursed fig tree, Judas Iscariot hanging from the tree, and so on.

Adrichom’s map is one of the most decorated and famous of the imaginary maps but definitely not the only one. Well known imaginary maps were made by Villalpando, Visscher, and others,⁵³ and they too were followed by many later editions, copies, and imitations.

From Pictorial Maps to Scientific Maps

The maps that we have discussed thus far were all pictorial, artistic illustrations. Yet at the same time a small but important group of maps that were less pictorial and had a more linear, scientific character, began to appear. Most of these maps, however, still reflected the interest of the Christian pilgrim, who experienced and described the Holy City and its sites from a religious viewpoint and rarely related to the inhabitants of the city or to the realia of its life.

The transition from pictorial to scientific maps is evident in five principal characteristics.⁵⁴

1. The diminishing use of pictorial elements and the increasing use of symbols, letters, and numbers, in particular, to mark buildings, sites, and landscape details. These letters and numbers were identified in the legends on the margin of these maps.
2. The gradual transition from panoramic or oblique birds-eye view

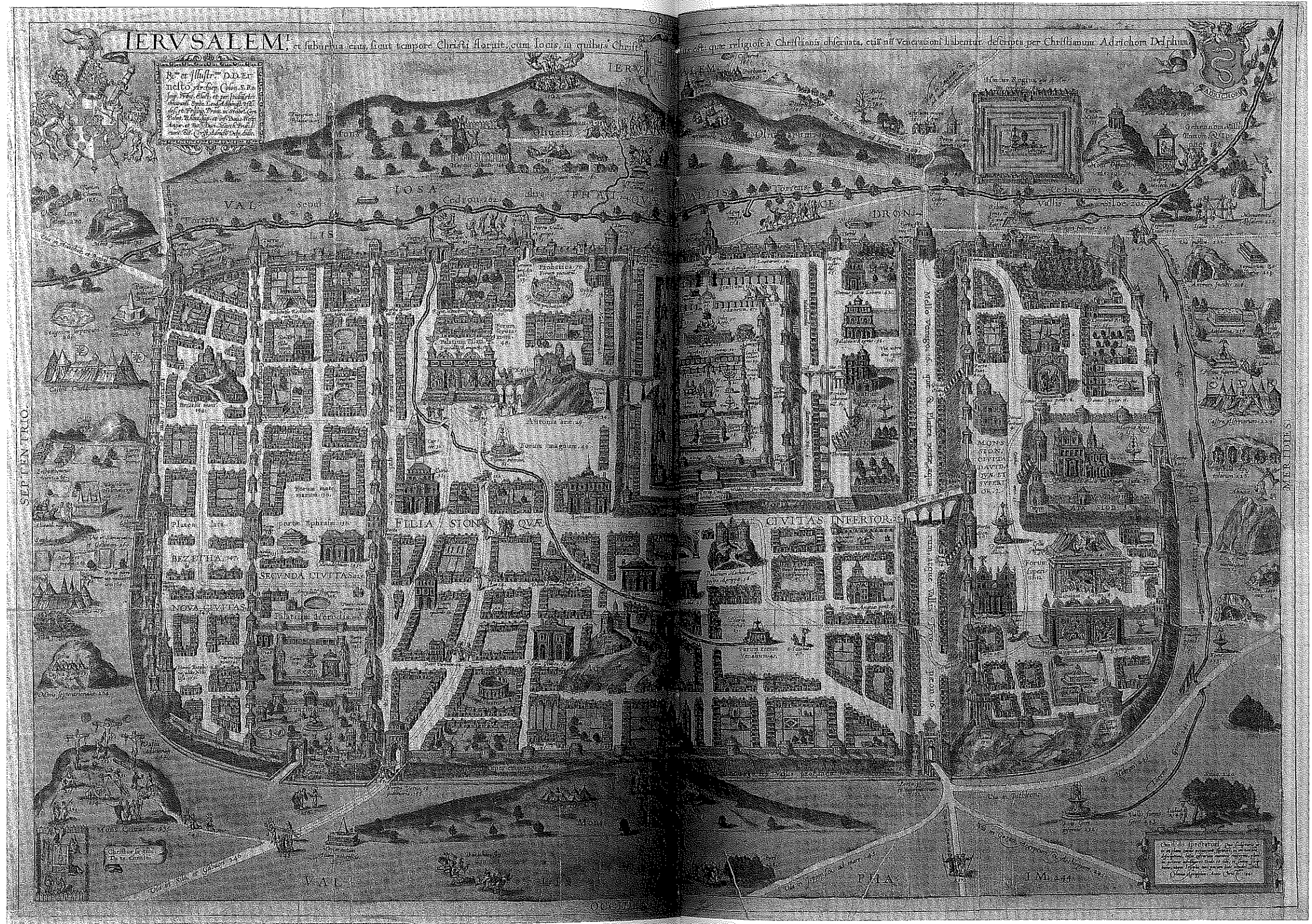


Figure 44. Christian van Adrichom's map of Jerusalem in the time of Jesus, 1584.

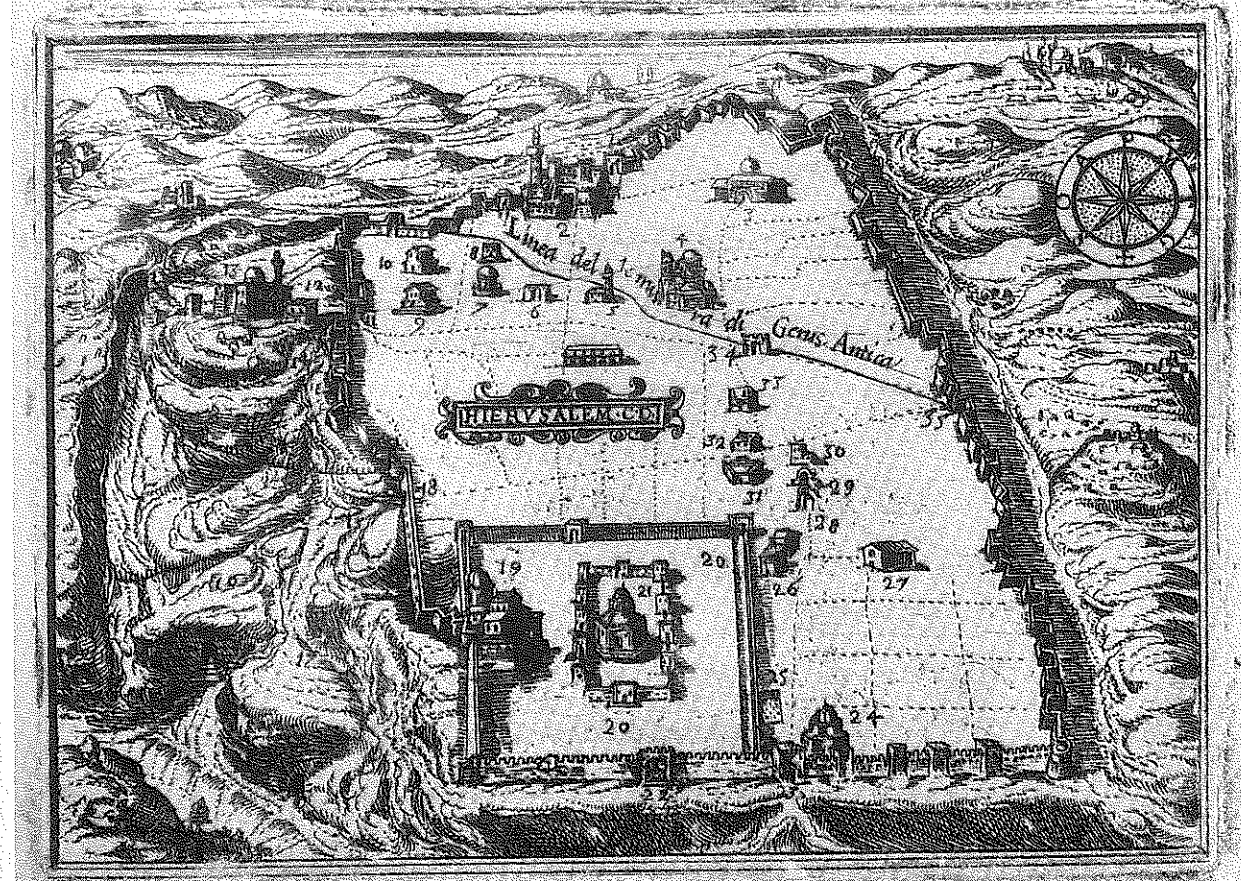
drawings that depicted the city from the Mount of Olives to maps that showed the city from a vertical bird's-eye perspective.

3. The development of techniques that enabled the depiction of topographic relief. It was only in the eighteenth century that the techniques of shading and hachuring came into use, and it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that the first map of Jerusalem with contour lines, which is the accepted technique in modern topographic cartography, was drawn.⁵⁵
4. The tendency to change the orientation of the maps, to the north. The tradition in the Middle Ages was to draw the map facing the east—which is, of course, the origin of the term *orientation*. At the same time, many of the artistic maps viewed the city from the height of the Mount of Olives—that is, from the east, westward. In the course of the development of scientific maps of Jerusalem, an orientation toward the north gradually became more prevalent.
5. Survey maps based on precise measurements began to appear in the nineteenth century. Yet even before their publication, the effort to draw a map of Jerusalem in proper proportion—or at least the pretension to do so—was evident.

These five features did not appear in the maps of Jerusalem simultaneously, but their presence in certain maps testifies to the development of the new “scientific trend”—which will be illustrated through several maps of Jerusalem that best exemplify the process from its beginning, at the close of the sixteenth century, to the first survey map drawn in the early nineteenth century.

The first map in which some of the new characteristics are apparent is that of Zuallardo (Zuallart), a Flemish pilgrim who traveled to the Holy Land, visited Jerusalem in 1586, and included the map in his book that was first printed, in Italian, in 1587 (Figure 45).⁵⁶ Zuallardo toned down the artistic component that was so dominant in his time and created the earliest map of Jerusalem in which cleanly drawn lines replaced the more artistic approach. The sites are marked only by letters, which refer to the legend printed below the map.

The second map of this style was that of Baron Louis des Hayes (1592–1632). Des Hayes, a French nobleman who served as a diplomat of the court of King Louis XIII of France, traveled in the Levant in 1621 as part of his diplomatic service, to aid the Franciscans in their



- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|----|---------------------|
| 1 | Porta di Giuffa. | 25 | Probatice Piscina. |
| 2 | Castello de Pilati. | 26 | Casa di Pilato. |
| 3 | Monasterio de' Carolici. | 27 | Casa del Re Herode. |
| 4 | Chiesa del S. Sepolero. | 28 | L'arco di Pilato. |
| 5 | Casa di Zebedeo. | 29 | Chiesi del Spasmo. |
| 6 | Porta Ferrea. | 30 | Simon Cireneo. |
| 7 | Casa di S. Marco. | 31 | Casa dell' Epulone. |
| 8 | Casa di S. Thomafo. | 32 | Casa del Farisea. |
| 9 | Chiesa di S. Iacomo. | 33 | Casa di Veronica. |
| 10 | Casa d'Anna Pontef. | 34 | Porta Iudicialis. |
| 11 | Porta David. | 35 | Porta Efraim. |
| 12 | Casa di Caipha Pontef. | 36 | Bazarre. |
| 13 | Il S. Cenacolo. (cor. della V.M) | | |
| 14 | Due i Giu. vollero pigliare il | | |
| 15 | Due S. Pietro piante. | | |
| 16 | Fonte di Siloe. | | |
| 17 | Fonte di Maria Verg. | | |
| 18 | Porta Sterquilina. | | |
| 19 | Chiesa della Prefe. della V.M. | | |
| 20 | Piazza del Tempio. | | |
| 21 | Tempio di Salomone. | | |
| 22 | Porta Aurea. | | |
| 23 | Porta di S. Stephano. | | |
| 24 | Chiesa di S. Anna. | | |

Figure 45. Zuallardo's map of Jerusalem, 1587.

struggle against the Armenian monks.⁵⁷ His book, printed in Paris in 1624, included the earliest map of Jerusalem depicting the city from a bird's-eye view.⁵⁸ However, the map did not indicate the scale to which it was drawn, as it did not pretend to provide an exact presentation of the city's appearance.

The maps of Jean Doubdan,⁵⁹ Jean-Baptiste Nolin,⁶⁰ Richard Pococke,⁶¹ and Thomas Shaw⁶² contributed to the development of the scientific trend among the maps of Jerusalem. These maps display the clash between two opposing factors: while the mapmakers were men of learning and their maps were designed in accordance with the most advanced scientific spirit of their time, their visits to Jerusalem were brief and they were not able to become well enough acquainted with the city to map it on the basis of their own observations. When they based their work on earlier sources, they often failed to interpret them correctly, and hence in the eighteenth century, when precise, accurate city maps began to be published in Europe, there appeared a group of Jerusalem maps that were progressive in their form and design but distorted in their content, and they failed to achieve their goal of presenting a realistic image of the city.

Nineteenth-Century Maps of Jerusalem

The first map based on measurement and calculation was prepared in 1818 by W. F. Sieber, a physician and naturalist (Figure 46).⁶³ He spent six weeks in Jerusalem, where he gathered topographic data and measured 200 different locations in the city. On the basis of these data, Sieber prepared his map, and it met with high praise from geographers and students of Palestine.⁶⁴

Sieber's map is oriented toward the east and shows Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings, from the Mamilla Pool in the west to the top of the Mount of Olives in the east, and from the Hill of Evil Council (Abu-Tor) in the south to the area north of Damascus Gate. The topographic relief around the city is shown through hachuring and shading. Outside the city, particularly to the north, agricultural fields surrounded by stone fences are depicted. The street patterns and houses are shown throughout most of the city, and important buildings, drawn in greater detail, are identified, including the Temple Mount (Haram al-Sharif) with the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa

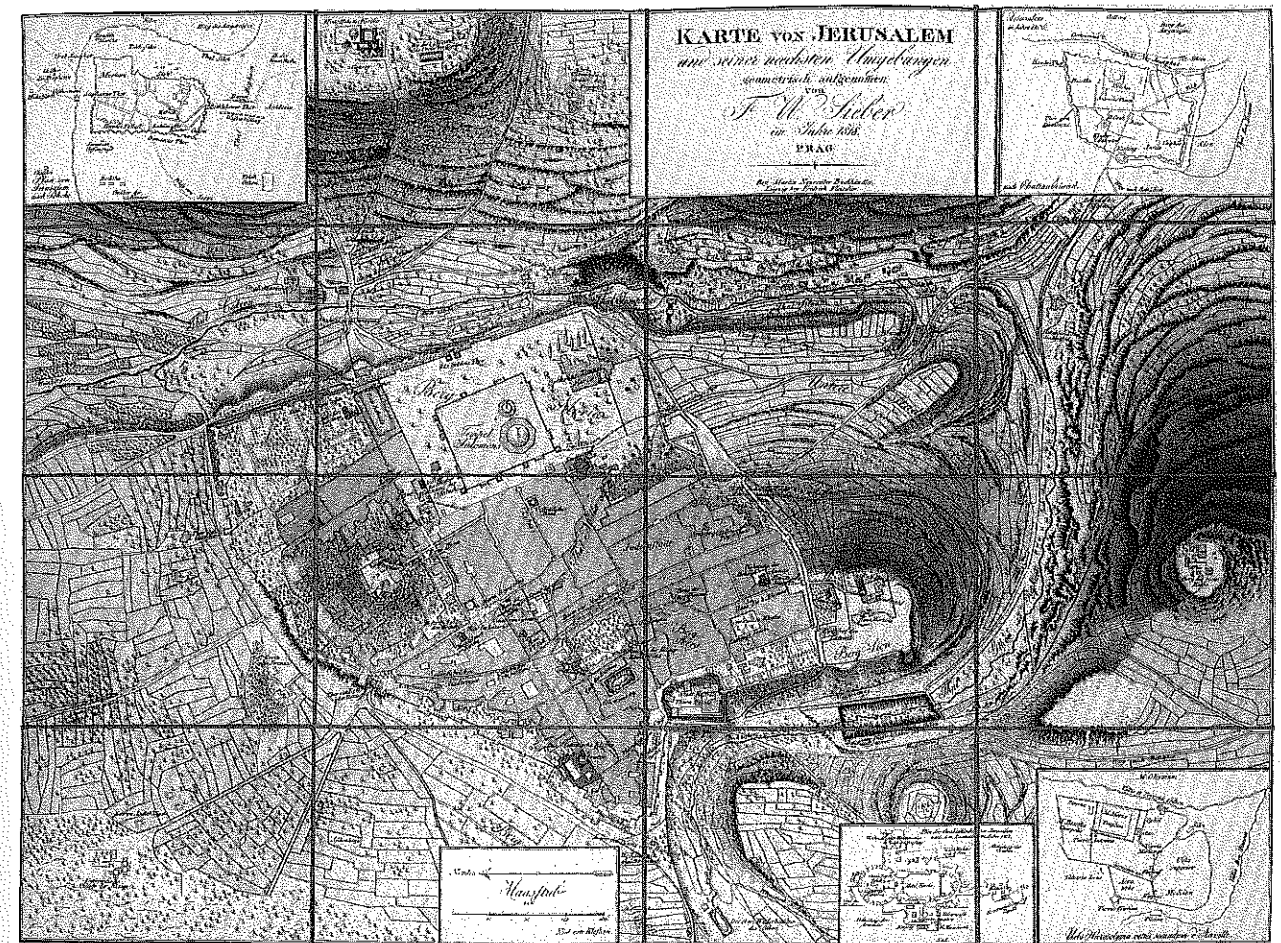


Figure 46. W. F. Sieber's map of Jerusalem, 1818.

Mosque, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Citadel, the Latin monastery, the Armenian Quarter, and the Jewish Quarter and its Sephardic synagogues.

Sieber's map constitutes a turning point in the history of the mapping of Jerusalem. On the one hand, he used maps by three of his predecessors—Pococke, Chateaubriand, and d'Anville—thus aligning himself with older traditions. And on the other hand, his was the first map of Jerusalem to be based on measurements and trigonometric calculations. In that sense it constituted a breakthrough and a

significant innovation in the history of the mapping of the city, being the forerunner of the accurate, survey-based maps.

In the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire grew weaker and the European powers became more and more involved in its affairs, Jerusalem and the Holy Land underwent a rapid process of change. The region became more accessible to European travelers as steamships arrived in Acre and Jaffa, and security within the country improved. Many of the travelers were scholars who came to study the landscape, archaeology, geography, and nature of the Holy Land.

This process led naturally to the development of scientific, measurement-based maps, starting with the above-mentioned map of Sieber (1811) and followed by those of F. Catherwood,⁶⁵ Aldridge and Simonds,⁶⁶ and many others,⁶⁷ until the map of Charles Wilson was produced by the British Ordnance Survey in 1864–65.⁶⁸ Captain Wilson was an officer of the Royal Engineers and was sent to Jerusalem especially to produce an accurate updated map. Indeed, his map, printed in two scales, 1 : 2,500 and 1 : 10,000, was the first perfectly accurate map, even in the eyes of modern cartography. It was also the first map of any part of the Holy Land that used contour lines to show topography.

The series of maps just mentioned are representative of the new scientific trend, which minimized the illustrative and pictorial elements of the earliest maps. However, at the same time that modern scientific mapping was developing, the traditional artistic mapping style still flourished, and both realistic and imaginary maps were being produced around the world. Several of them, like Eltzner's and Doburg's,⁶⁹ were similar to the maps of previous centuries, and if they were not identified by their makers' names and dates, they would be easily regarded, on the basis of style and content, as a continuation of the earlier maps. This trend spread from Europe to the New World, as may be seen in the Doburg map, which was printed in America, illustrating the growing interest in this genre on that side of the Atlantic.

The map in Graf Wartensleben's book about Jerusalem, published as late as 1870, is a combination: it has the style and viewpoint of the old-fashioned artistic maps, presented on a correctly drawn landscape that was so up to date it even showed the newly built Russian compound.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, with the development of archaeological and historical studies, a new type of map of ancient Jerusalem appeared, maps that were based on the actual topography of the city and suggested reconstructions of the Jerusalem of antiquity. Such maps depicted in a rather scientific and critical manner the lines of the three walls described by Josephus, Jerusalem's ancient aqueducts, and the like.

A new medium related to maps also entered the stage at this time: models, or three-dimensional maps.⁷⁰ Like the printed maps, some were realistic while others continued the tradition of imaginary historical maps.

The large model made by Stephan Illes in 1873 presented the city in a realistic manner (see Figure 14, page 226). It was a large-scale, fully detailed model that even portrayed consulates' flags, telegraph poles, and some shop signs in the bazaar.⁷¹ Several years later, Illes made two additional models, one of modern Jerusalem (scaled 1:625) and the other of biblical Jerusalem (scaled 1:1,250). The same realistic style was reflected by the models of historical Jerusalem and of the Temple by J. M. Tenz. His models were made in several copies and were sold to schools and churches as educational aids.⁷²

Conrad Schick's relief map⁷³ combines the image of ancient Jerusalem and the depiction of accurate topography. He used a contour, or topographical, map of Jerusalem as a basis, and built on it a three-dimensional map of contemporary Jerusalem; yet at the same time he also drew the outlines of the three walls and other ancient sites. In addition, Schick prepared a model of the Second Temple, which could replace the Dome of the Rock; it was kept in a box on the corner of the map.⁷⁴

Thus we see that in the nineteenth century, when geographical knowledge and cartographic design became accurate, the artistic, subjective, and impressionistic depictions of the Holy City did not disappear. Moreover, even today, when most of the maps are made by modern, partly automated equipment, there is still an ongoing tradition of artistic maps, mainly created for the use of tourists. This represents the perhaps never-ending dualism of the realistic image of the city and its historical and imaginary counterpart.